

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Librar



GIPE-PUNE-001553

**STUDIES IN ANCIENT HISTORY**



STUDIES  
IN  
ANCIENT HISTORY

THE SECOND SERIES

COMPRISING AN INQUIRY INTO THE  
ORIGIN OF EXOGAMY

BY THE LATE

JOHN FERGUSON M'LENNAN

EDITED BY HIS WIDOW AND ARTHUR PLATT

London

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & CO.

1896

R 4217.1.C

C6

1553

## PREFACE

THE second series of *Studies in Ancient History* is now published at so long an interval, not only from the publication of the former series but also from the author's death, that a word of explanation is called for. The delay is owing to a succession of most lamentable misfortunes. Mr. M'Lennan had originally contemplated the production of a great work on early society, which should have collected and presented in a better form all his previously published investigations, together with the results of his later study, and which should in particular have thrown some light on the origin of exogamy. Despairing, in his state of health, of ever executing this project, he decided to publish an intermediate volume to supply its place, but even this intention was frustrated by his death. His brother, Mr. D. M'Lennan, then took up the task, for which he was eminently fitted. He completed from Mr. J. F. M'Lennan's posthumous papers, and published in 1885, *The Patriarchal Theory*, a preliminary and polemical inquiry meant to clear the way, while at the same time em-

bodying positive results. He also brought out a new edition of the first series of *Studies in Ancient History*, with some notes added by himself (1886). But, while still employed in working on the most important part of his task, he was also carried off, and the work passed into the hands of Professor Robertson Smith. Unfortunately he was already attacked by that long illness to which he finally succumbed, and nothing has been found among his papers which has any bearing upon the work.

Under these circumstances, we determined to do what seemed to us possible in the way of arranging the mass of material which Mr. M'Lennan had left for the book. This consisted of a great quantity of notes, several chapters partially or entirely finished, and a list of chapter headings, which show clearly the principal lines on which the work would have been developed. One of these papers, that on Agnation, was used by Mr. D. M'Lennan for the *Patriarchal Theory*. Besides this, there was the "Essay on the Worship of Animals and Plants" (Totemism), published in the *Fortnightly Review* in the years 1869 and 1870; this would certainly have been embodied in the work by the author,—indeed parts of it have been used, as it is, in the ninth chapter of this volume. The rest, with some trifling changes, is here reprinted in an Appendix.

Of the chapters which were written for the new book,

none has hitherto appeared except that on the Origin of Exogamy, with additions by D. M'Lennan (*English Historical Review*, January 1888). They are here arranged in the order indicated by the list of chapter headings already referred to, deficiencies being supplied by short connecting passages, which give a skeleton of what should have been there. But the eighth and ninth do not correspond to any heading in the list, and we have thought it best to place them after the rest to stand independently. Our own additions are in smaller type and in brackets. The whole was to have been arranged in three books, the second of which would have included the evidence for the different races of man all over the globe. It would have come between our third and fourth chapters, according to the list left by the author, but it has swelled to such a size that we preferred to depart in this instance from his arrangement, and to place it separately as Part II. of this volume. The vast collection of matter which had been made for this section of the work was left in a condition of most unequal development. Some parts were completely finished, others were mere heaps of notes either marked in books or copied out, others worked up into shape in various degrees. The most important chapters, which could be printed as they stood, appear here in large type. America should have come first, but the notes for America were so fragmentary for the most part that

we prefer to give the precedence to Australia and the Pacific Islands, as being in the most satisfactory condition. This is largely due to Mr. D. M'Lennan's having worked at them after his brother's death. He rewrote a great part of, and added to, the chapters on Fiji, Samoa, and Australia. He also did the same for that on Ashantee, and wrote the essay on the Kamilaroi and Kurnai which is printed in the Appendix. Mr. Ralph Cator of Lincoln's Inn has arranged the rest of the African evidence, which was left in a nearly complete form, and has given us valuable assistance in other respects. The American evidence, as hinted above, was so fragmentary that little could be done with it, and it seemed better to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from it than to attempt to give Mr. M'Lennan's. As for the rest of the world, there were notes in abundance, and in particular upon Arabia, but nothing in any approach to literary form.

It proved quite impossible in this division of the work to carry out consistently any distinction between the author's text and the alterations which it was necessary or advisable to make; and so the brackets had to be generally discarded. What additions have been made were taken from the author's own notes, with only one or two exceptions, the principal of these being the references to Theal in Chapters XXVIII. and XXIX. The nature of the present work sufficiently



explains by itself the absence of any reference to recent writers on the subjects concerned, in particular Messrs. Frazer, Letourneau, and Westermarck.

It remains for us to thank Mr. W. H. D. Rouse for correcting that part of the work where a knowledge of Sanscrit was required, and for adding references; two notes of his are signed "R." Professor Strong was kind enough to assist us in the Arabic. We have also to thank the proprietors of the *Fortnightly* and *English Historical Reviews* for permission to reprint from them the papers above mentioned.

ELEONORA A. M'LENNAN.

ARTHUR PLATT.

With the deepest regret I have to add that while the following pages were in the press Mrs. M'Lennan passed away. During her husband's life she was his untiring assistant and amanuensis, and from his death every moment of her time was given up to the preparation of this book. Despite continual ill-health, she persisted in working at it, and after Professor Robertson Smith's death determined to complete it herself. It is due entirely to her unceasing devotion and resolution that it now sees the light.

A. P.

# CONTENTS

## PART I

### CHAPTER I

	PAGE
CASES RAISING THE QUESTIONS FOR INVESTIGATION . . . . .	1

### CHAPTER II

ON THE METHOD OF INQUIRY IN EARLY HISTORY . . . . .	6
-----------------------------------------------------	---

### CHAPTER III

THE MODE OF HANDLING EVIDENCE . . . . .	27
-----------------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER IV

DEFINITION OF TERMS . . . . .	43
-------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER V

KINSHIP, TOTEMISM, AND MARRIAGE . . . . .	47
-------------------------------------------	----

### CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF EXOGAMY . . . . .	57
---------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VII	
FEMALE INFANTICIDE . . . . .	PAGE 74
CHAPTER VIII	
CAN EXOGAMY AS MARRIAGE LAW BE INFERRED IN ANY CASE FROM THE LAW OF SUCCESSION? . . . . .	112
CHAPTER IX	
SOME EXAMPLES OF FABRICATED GENEALOGIES ADDUCED TO SHOW THE READINESS OF MEN IN ALL TIMES TO FABRI- CATE GENEALOGIES . . . . .	117
PART II	
SECTION I	
THE PACIFIC ISLANDS AND AUSTRALIA	
CHAPTER X	
HERVEY GROUP, OR COOK'S ISLANDS . . . . .	189
CHAPTER XI	
FILIAN GROUP . . . . .	206
CHAPTER XII	
THE SAMOA OR NAVIGATORS' ISLANDS . . . . .	232
CHAPTER XIII	
THE TONGAN OR FRIENDLY ISLANDS . . . . .	241
CHAPTER XIV	
NEW ZEALAND . . . . .	255

CONTENTS

xiii

CHAPTER XV

	PAGE
AUSTRALIA . . . . .	278

SECTION II

AMERICA

CHAPTER XVI

NORTH AMERICA, EAST AND SOUTH . . . . .	315
-----------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVII

NORTH AMERICA, WEST . . . . .	357
-------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XVIII

NORTH AMERICA, NORTH . . . . .	367
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XIX

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA . . . . .	378
--------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XX

PERU . . . . .	392
----------------	-----

CHAPTER XXI

GUIANA . . . . .	400
------------------	-----

SECTION III

AFRICA

CHAPTER XXII

GUINEA—THE KINGDOM OF ASHANTEE . . . . .	405
------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIII		PAGE
GUINEA—THE GOLD COAST . . . . .		417
CHAPTER XXIV		
GUINEA: SLAVE COAST—FIDA . . . . .		427
CHAPTER XXV		
LOANGO, ETC. . . . .		433
CHAPTER XXVI		
EQUATORIAL AFRICA . . . . .		440
CHAPTER XXVII		
SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA . . . . .		445
CHAPTER XXVIII		
KAFFIRS AND ZULUS . . . . .		477
CHAPTER XXIX		
BUSHMEN AND HOTTENTOTS . . . . .		483

## APPENDIX

I. THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS . . . . .	491
II. THE KAMILABOI AND KURNAL BY D. McLENNAN . . . . .	570

## APPENDIX

## I

### THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS<sup>1</sup>

[THE matter of the following essay would have been all recast or redistributed had the author lived to complete his work; indeed some of it has actually been so treated in the preceding pages. Thus those parts of the essay which deal with totemism among the Hindoos have been embodied in the chapter on fabricated genealogies, and are therefore here omitted. And the totemism of *e.g.* America has been rehandled and put into a new form in the chapters on America. But it appeared better to incur the charge of repetition than to alter the first part of the essay in any way.

As to the ancients, Mr. McLennan was well aware that Bryant was a treacherous authority to rely on. He said himself that nothing taken from him must be allowed to stand without being verified. And when his brother and Professor Robertson Smith entrusted me in 1885 with the task of supplying references to the ancient authorities, they instructed me to cut out all statements for which no such authority could be found, as well as anything else which might plainly be better removed. However, I have pruned this part of the text as sparingly as I could.

A great many further notes on relics of totemism among the ancients were left by the author. But in the present state of opinion on the subject it is really unnecessary to add anything. A. P.]

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869, 1870.

## PART I. TOTEMS AND TOTEMISM

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



there was kinship through mothers only, owing to the uncertainty of fatherhood.<sup>1</sup>

In the inquiry we are entering upon we shall have to contemplate, more or less closely, all the stages of evolution above specified. The subjects of the inquiry are totems and totem-gods, or, speaking generally, animal and vegetable gods; and the order of the exposition is as follows:—First, we shall explain with some detail what totems are, and what are their usual concomitants; showing how far they have, or have recently had, a place among existing tribes of men; and we shall throw what light we can on the intellectual condition of men in what we may call the totem stage of development. Next we shall examine the evidence which goes to show that the ancient nations came, in prehistoric times, through the totem stage, having animals and plants, and the heavenly bodies conceived as animals, for gods before the anthropomorphic gods appeared, and shall consider the explanations that have been offered of that evidence. The conclusion we shall reach is that the hypothesis that the ancient nations came through the totem stage, satisfies all the conditions of a sound hypothesis.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sanchoniatho's *Phœnician History*, by the Right. Rev. R. Cumberland, pp. 2, 3, 23 *et seq.* London, 1720. Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel.*, lib. i. cap. 10.

<sup>2</sup> While the materials we have bearing on this subject are deemed worthy of being submitted for consideration, the investigation is yet far from being complete, and its completion will demand the co-operation of many. In the inquiry as here exhibited, it will be seen that several persons have given assistance. Did our hypothesis not *seem* sound, we should not propound it; but, be it understood, it is submitted as an hypothesis only, in the hope that it may be tested by others better qualified for such investigations. The ancient mythologies have been so often crossed upon one another, interfused, and in appearance confounded with the intermixtures, intercommunications, and varying developments of the tribes of men who initiated them and modified them in successive generations, that it may appear a hopeless task to endeavour to throw new light upon them, still more hopeless to trace them to their beginnings. The only chance of dealing with them successfully, however, is to make them the subject of an hypothesis; and though some may think the chance too small to justify the labour—that this species of inquiry should be excluded from human endeavour—we do not at all agree with them. Their opinion is opposed by the lessons taught by the history of scientific discovery. These show that the inquirer who has facts to go upon should never despair; that in such a case as the present even a failure is a step of progress as demonstrating a line along which the truth does *not* lie—one

TOTEMS.—The first thing to be explained is the totem. The word has come into use from its being the name given by certain tribes of American Indians to the animal or plant which, from time immemorial, each of the tribes has had as its sacred or consecrated animal or plant. A proper understanding, however, of what the totem is cannot be conveyed in a sentence, or reached otherwise than by studying the accounts we have of totems among different tribes of men; and, therefore, for behoof of those who are not familiar with these accounts, we must go somewhat into details. Unfortunately, totems have not yet been studied with much care. They have been regarded as being curious rather than important; and, in consequence, some points relating to them are unexplained. As it is, we know that they prevail among two distinct groups of tribes—the American Indians, already mentioned, and the aborigines of Australia. Many more instances of their prevalence, it may be believed, will yet be brought to light. In the meantime it is some compensation for the incompleteness of the accounts that we can thoroughly trust them, as the totem has not till now got itself mixed up with speculations, and accordingly the observers have been unbiassed.

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

The natives are divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same name as a family or second name. The principal

---

more key, on the bunch to be labelled as unsuited to the lock. A negative result may forward an investigation. Whether we have hit the truth or not, we trust we have at least been preparing the way for those who in the fulness of time will reach it.

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

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

From this statement it appears that we have in Australia certain great family or stock names, represented by persons in various local tribes; that the marriage law prevents any local tribe coming to consist entirely of persons of one name or stock; while the law of mutual defence and blood feud combines into what we may call *gentes*, within the local tribes, all who have the same totem and are of the same stock. This is clear from what follows immediately after the words last quoted, namely: "All their laws are principally made up of sets of obligations due from members of the same great family towards one another—which obligations of family names are much stronger than those of blood." There are not only *gentes* within the local tribes, but the gentile bond is such as to constitute, in effect, a stock-tribe of all the *gentes* of the same family name, totem, or kobong, wherever they are situated.

<sup>1</sup> Grey's *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, vol. ii. pp. 225 et seq., 230.

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

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

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

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

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

5. *Koo-la-ma*, a species of water-fowl. "The Tdondarups are said by the natives to be these birds transformed into men."

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

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

8. *Nam-yun-go*, an emu; the local name for the Tdondarup family in the Vasse district.

In this imperfect list we have eight families, or branches of families, derived from beasts, birds, or fishes; and in five

<sup>1</sup> The linguists of the United States Exploring Expedition seem not to have paid attention to this subject.

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

No one has yet taken the trouble of making the inquiry, but our persuasion is that this *totemism*, as it has been called, will be found to prevail, or have prevailed, through the whole of Oceania. It is mentioned in the Report of the United States Exploring Expedition<sup>1</sup> that the great Deity of the Tahitians, Taaroa, is named from the Taro plant; and a legend is given which connects the Marquesan and Tahitian traditions, in explanation of the fact of—as we infer—the prevalence of vegetable names (presumably as tribal) both in Marquesas and Tahiti. The legend is, that the eponymous Oataia “named his children from the various plants which he brought with him from Vavau.” The first king on the Tahitian list is Owatea, who is identified with Oataia of the Marquesans. His wife, in either case, is Papa—“mother of the islands”—and is the same with the wife of the great god Taaroa.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> This *Papa* appears in the New Zealand mythology as the mother of all beings. She is the earth; her husband, Rangi, the heavens. The two clave together during 1000 divisions of time, each division a *being* called Po; and their children, who “were ever thinking” what the difference might be between darkness and light, after meditating their murder, resolved at last to rend them apart. In the family were the following gods: the father of forests, birds, insects, and all things that are in woods; the father of winds and storms; the father of cultivated food; the father of fish and reptiles; the father of uncultivated food; and the father of fierce human beings. They all, in turn—except the father of storms—essay to rend their parents apart. Success at last

Royal line is named from the Taro plant in this way: Owatea and Papa had a deformed child whom they buried; from it sprang the Taro plant, whose stalk is called *haloa*, which name they gave to their son and heir. This we must regard as a sample of the legends which are formed on an advance from totemism taking place, in explanation of its origin or relics. Names taken from vegetables appear to prevail in the Sandwich Islands.

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

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

There are sufficient proofs that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists amongst almost all the other Indian nations [*i.e.* all the others as well as the southern Indians east of the Mississippi, of whom he is writing]. But it is not so clear that they are subject to the same regulations. According to Charlevoix, "most nations are divided

---

attends the efforts of Tano-Mahuta, father of forests, who, with his head planted on his mother and feet against his father, thrusting, separated them. "Far beneath he pierces down the earth; far above he thrusts up the sky." On the separation multitudes of human beings were discovered that had been begotten by Rangî and Papa, and lay concealed between their bodies. What follows introduces new gods, and explains the war of the elements. The whole of this mythology is *scientific* in this sense, that it is a series of hypotheses to explain phenomena. The part assigned to the forest god illustrates this. It may be believed the tree god was highly esteemed considering how much was due to him.—Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*.

<sup>1</sup> What is called the *clan* here is identical with the Australian family, as will presently appear.

into three families or tribes. One of them is considered the first, and has a kind of pre-eminence. Those tribes are mixed without being confounded. *Each tribe has the name of an animal.* Among the Hurons, the first tribe is that of the Bear; the two others, of the Wolf and the Turtle. The Iroquois nation has the same divisions, only the Turtle family is divided into two, the Great and the Little."

The accounts are not so explicit with respect to the Lenape tribes. Mr. Heckewelder, indeed, says that the Delawares were divided into three tribes, but one of them, *the Wolf, or Minsi, had altogether separated from the others, and was a distinct nation or tribe* [not ceasing, however, to be a clan in the sense now under consideration]. According to Mr. Johnston, the Shawnoes have four tribes: the Chillicothe, the Piqua, the Kiskapooke, and the Mequachake. The first two, from having given names to distinct towns, would seem to be living in separate places; but the fact that the Mequachake can alone perform *the religious ceremonies of the nation* gives it the character of a clan. Whether the *totem* or family name of the Chippeways descends in a regular manner has not been clearly explained. But Dr. James informs us that no man is allowed to change his totem, *that it descends to all the children a man may have*, and that the restraint on intermarriage which it imposes is scrupulously regarded. The Chippeways and kindred tribes are much more subdivided than the other Indians are into clans. Dr. James gives a catalogue of eighteen totems, and says many more might be enumerated.<sup>1</sup>

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

Each of these bands derives its name from some animal, part of an animal, or other substance, which is considered as the peculiar sacred object, or *Medicine*, as the Canadians call it, of the band. The most ancient is that of the red maize; the most powerful, that of the *Wase-ishta* ("Male-deer"). The Puncas are divided into similar bands.<sup>2</sup>

We have made these long citations because they show us the totems or kobongs, as in Australia, descending as a general rule under the same system of kinship (through mothers only), and attended by the same law of intermarriage, namely, exogamy, leading to the interfusion of the stock tribes throughout the country; and the constitution into gentes in the local tribes of all persons having the same totem. The laws of blood-feud, of mutual rights and obligations between those of

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* vol. ii. p. 110.

the same stock, constitute stock-tribes of all having the same totem.<sup>1</sup> And we can see in the account cited how, at a stage considerably in advance of the Australian, the solidarity of the gentes in the local tribes has under these laws become so great as to enable the gentes, in some cases, to withdraw from the local tribes, in which they were developed, and stand, like the Wolves of the Delawares, by themselves, in local tribes of one stock. On a change of kinship, which would permit the totem to descend from the father instead of the mother—as it is said to do among the Chippeways—the gentes would, even supposing exogamy to continue in force, become permanent homogeneous groups after their segregation.

Let us obtain a list of the American totems.

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

The following tribes [or families] are known to exist, or to have existed, in the several Indian nations—the number ranging from three to eighteen in each. The Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, Crane, Duck, Loon, Turkey, Musk-rat, Sable, Pike, Cat-fish, Sturgeon, Carp, Buffalo, Elk, Reindeer, Eagle, Hare, Rabbit, and Snake; also the Reed-grass, Sand, Water, Rock, and Tobacco-plant.<sup>2</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Circular letter issued by Mr. Morgan, quoted in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1860, p. 149.



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

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

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

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

It may be asked, What are their views of the power by which these transformations were effected ? We cannot answer this question ; but one thing seems to be clear, that their speculations have not carried them as yet beyond the

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Grey's *Journals*, vol. ii. p. 229.

contemplation of the material terrestrial world they inhabit, and that in that world everything is to them at once material and spiritual, the animate and the inanimate being almost undistinguished. Like many races in Africa, they do not believe in death from natural causes, and think they would live for ever were it not for murderers and sorcerers. The latter they call *Boyl-yas*. A *Boyl-ya* gets power over a man if he obtains possession of anything that is his.<sup>1</sup> A *Boyl-ya* may cause death in many ways; he may cause a man to be killed "by accident," or he may render himself invisible and come nightly and "feast" on his victim's flesh. He can transport himself through the air at pleasure; and when he makes himself invisible, he can be seen only by other *Boyl-yas*. He enters his victim like a piece of quartz, and as such may be drawn out of him by the enchantments of friendly *Boyl-yas*. Pieces of quartz that have been so drawn out are preserved as the greatest curiosities. As *some one* is always the cause of death, the law is that when any one dies, some one else must be killed—the *Boyl-ya*, or the murderer, or some relative of the one or the other. Of course the *Boyl-yas* are objects of great dread. They consume the flesh of their victims slowly, as fire would;<sup>2</sup> they can hear from afar; they come "moving along in the sky"; and they can only be counteracted by other *Boyl-yas*. Besides the *Boyl-yas*, there is another object of terror—the *Wau-gul*. It is an aquatic monster, residing in fresh water, and has supernatural powers. It also can "consume" the natives like the *Boyl-yas*; but it confines its attacks mostly to women, who pine away almost imperceptibly and die. Nightmare is caused by an evil spirit that may be driven away by muttering imprecations and twirling a burning brand. Shining stones or pieces of crystal, called "*Teyl*," they respect almost to veneration. None but *Boyl-yas* venture to touch them. They believe in ghosts; and on one occasion Sir George Grey was taken by an old lady to be the ghost of her son, who had lately died! Such is the creed of this primitive race. They have no God in the proper sense of the

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Grey's *Journals*, vol. ii. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* vol. ii. p. 339.

word; and the only benign beings they know are their totems. The Boyl-yas of course practise imposture,<sup>1</sup> but are probably self-deluded as well to a great extent. Speculation has not reached as yet among them to the heavens. Their supernaturals are all naturals, for even the Wau-gul—no doubt a convenient fiction of the Boyl-yas for protection under the law of retaliation, and perhaps also in explanation to themselves of deaths they *know* they had nothing to do with—is a living creature, the tenant of a stream or lake. Even their ghosts may return to them, if precautions are not taken to secure them in their burying-places—their “houses,” as they are called, and in which, even after death, they are not incapable of action.<sup>2</sup>

It will have been seen that the totems are, as we may say, religiously regarded by the Australians, and that the Boyl-yas resemble the genii of the *Arabian Nights*, excepting that while they are genii they are also men. The Wau-gul might well grow into the water-kelpi, water-horse, or bull. It would be curious to know whether it is a fish or an aquatic kangaroo or opossum!

The American Indians, though they occupy a distinctly higher platform, have still much in common with the aborigines of Australia. Dr. Gay, who resided for several weeks among the Omahaws, states that among them the totem of each band “is considered as the peculiar sacred object (*Medicine*, the Canadians call it) of the band,”<sup>3</sup> and all we know supports the view that in every case the totem is religiously regarded.

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Grey's *Journals*, vol. ii. p. 218: “The whole tendency of their superstitions is to deprive certain classes of benefits which are enjoyed by others.”

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* vol. ii. p. 336: “After burial, the dead man can insert a mysterious bone into each of three doctors, who sleep on the grave for the purpose. By means of this bone, the doctors can kill any one they wish by causing it to enter into his body.”

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 112. The personification of inanimate objects, the *animism*, as Mr. Tylor calls it, of the Indians is nearly as complete as in Australia. See *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. pp. 25, 166, 169. No distinction between the animate and inanimate is made in the languages of the Esquimaux, the Choctaws, the Muscogees, and the Caddo. Only the Iroquois, Cherokee, and the Algonkin Lenape have it, so far as is known, and with them it is partial.

One author, Mr. Long, in a work published in 1791, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians, holds *totemism* to be a religious superstition, and says the Indian believes that his totem, "or favourite spirit," watches over him. "The totem," he says, "they conceive, assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think the totem bears."<sup>1</sup> In illustration of the truth of this, he relates what once befell an Indian whose totem was the bear. The man dreamed he should find a herd of elks, moose, etc., at a certain place, if he went thither. Having a superstitious reverence for his dream, he went,—unaccompanied, as he could get no one to go with him,—saw the herd, fired, and shot a bear! "Shocked at the transaction," says Mr. Long, "and dreading the displeasure of the Master of Life, whom he conceived he had offended, he fell down and lay senseless for some time." On recovering, and finding that nothing had befallen him, he hastened towards his home, when (according to his own report) he was met on the way by a large bear, who (he narrated) asked him what had induced him to kill his totem. On explaining the circumstances and his misfortune, he was forgiven, but was dismissed with a caution to be communicated to the Indians, "that their totems might be safe, and the Master of Life not angry with them." "As he entered my house," says Mr. Long, who writes as if he saw the man immediately after his accident, "he looked at me very earnestly, and pronounced these words in his own language, 'Beaver, my faith is lost; my totem is angry; I shall never be able to hunt any more.'" Should one be surprised to find that admonitory bear of the man's imagination worshipped as a god further on in the history of Bear tribes advancing undisturbed by external influences, correlated with the Master of Life in the Olympus, or even preferred to, or identified with him? The Master of Life of this story, we infer from other passages in the work quoted, is *Kitchu Manitoo*, a high rock in Lake Superior, which is worshipped as a god by the Chippeway Indians, and also by the Mathangweessawauks, whoever they

<sup>1</sup> Long's *Voyages*, p. 86.

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

The American Indians, like the aborigines of Australia, regarded themselves, we have every reason to believe, as being of *the breed* of the totem. We know this was the view of the Sun tribes—which we shall notice presently—and of several Snake tribes. That the Caribs were of the stock of the Serpent we learn from Mr. Brett.<sup>3</sup> And on this point—the regular authorities being silent—we are entitled, we think, to found on evidence furnished by Mr. Fenimore Cooper. His view appears in *The Last of the Mohicans*. Magua, a Fox,

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

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Brett's *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 390-398.

with a party of warriors, comprising a Beaver, happening to pass a colony of real beavers, the Beaver refused to pass without addressing his kinsfolk. "There would have been a species of profanity in the omission," says Mr. Cooper, "had this man passed so powerful a community of his fancied kinsmen without bestowing some evidence of regard. Accordingly, he paused and spoke in words as kind and friendly as if he were addressing more intelligent beings. He called the animals *his cousins*," and so on, concluding his address by begging them to bestow on his tribe "a portion of the wisdom for which they were so renowned." Uncas, again, Mr. Cooper represents as claiming to be of the stock of the Tortoise, "that great-grandfather of all nations"; and, indeed, all his Indians appear to regard themselves, and one another, as inheritors of mental and physical qualities from their respective totems.

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

4. *Traditions of Totems in Central Asia.*—The totem stage appears to have been passed through by numerous tribes of Central Asia. MM. Valikhanof inform us that a heritage of the nomadic races in that part of the world is a profound regard for, and an abundance of traditions respecting old times,

preserved by their elders in legends and ballads, and that these traditions refer the origin of their tribes to animals as progenitors.

The story of the origin of the Dikokamenni Kirghiz (they say<sup>1</sup>) from a red greyhound and a certain queen with her forty handmaidens is of ancient date. A characteristic feature in Central Asiatic traditions is the derivation of their origin from some animal. According to the testimony of Chinese history the Goa-qui (Kaotsché), otherwise known as the Tele or Chili people, sprang from a wolf and a beautiful Hun princess . . . who married the wolf. The Tugus (called the Dulgasses by Père Hyacinthe) professed to derive their origin from a she-wolf; and the Tufans (Thibetians) from a dog. The Chinese assert that Balachi, hereditary chief of the Mongol Khans, was the son of a blue wolf and a white hind.<sup>2</sup> [The authority cited for this is *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, by Klaproth, p. 204.] . . . It is evident from these instances that this kind of tradition in Central Asia and America is the most ancient, and even seems to be regarded as a descent to be proud of. The outspoken yet exalted tone of the Kirghiz legends, considered indecent by the present generation of Kirghiz, is a strong proof that they have descended in their original form. The tradition of the origin of the ninety-nine Kipebuk branches has been preserved among the Uzbeks and Kaisaks in such an indelicate shape that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to present it to the general reader.

It is accordingly not given; but surely the essence might have been, though not the shape. We learn from the same authorities that the genealogical tables of the Kaisaks, Uzbeks, and Nogais show that "they are a medley of different Turkish and Mongol tribes." The names of several tribes are given, but none have been examined etymologically to ascertain whether they comprise the names of animals or plants. The interfusion, or "medley," of the tribes (we are without a statement of the origin of it, but nearly all these tribes *are* exogamous, that is, prohibit marriage within the clan), and the general statement (though it is feebly supported by details) that they draw their origin back to animals, make it probable

<sup>1</sup> *The Russians in Central Asia*. London, 1865. Translated by the Messrs. Mitchell.

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

that we have in the Kirghiz, Uzbeks, and Nogais a series of tribes that anciently passed through the totem stage. This view is confirmed by what was recently stated at a meeting of the Geographical Society by Captain T. G. Montgomerie; namely, that round Cashmere, and among the aboriginal hill tribes on the Himalayan slopes, tribes of men are usually (or frequently, we have not the report before us) named, or we think he said "nicknamed," from animals now. If so, we may believe inquiry will bring to light a series of tribes in that quarter still existing in the totem stage. The statement was made in support of the hypothesis that an Ant tribe had existed to the north of Cashmere, put forward in explanation of what Herodotus relates that the gold-fields there were worked by ants.

5. *The Sun as a Totem: Hints of a Totem Olympus.*—We saw that in the local tribes or nations in America, some one of the tribes of descent had a superiority ascribed to it—that the Bear, for instance, was the leading tribe among the Hurons. This superiority infers subordination, of course; in other words, a political system. It is stated in the *Archæologia* that "it is among the Natches alone that we find, connected together, a highly privileged class, a despotic government, and something like a regular form of religious worship." The Natches occupied three villages near the town that has preserved their name, and were in four clans. What their totems were is not stated; but "the privileged class" and the sovereign had for *their* totem the sun. This seems a legitimate inference from their being called Suns, and claiming to be descended from the sun—the Sun tribe being so far like any other. "The hereditary dignity of Chief, or Great Sun," we are told, "descended as usual by the female line, and he, as well as all the other members of his clan, whether male or female, could only marry persons of an inferior [*i.e.* another] clan."<sup>1</sup> That is, the clan or tribe was in the same case with any other, except that it was dominant as the Bear was among the Hurons.<sup>2</sup> A Sun could not marry a Sun any

<sup>1</sup> *L.c.* vol. ii. p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Are the accounts incomplete? and is the dominant tribe among the Hurons



more than a Beaver could marry a Beaver; and the Sun name was taken from the mother.

If the sun could become a totem, why not the moon? That they were both *beings* we can see in numerous cases; we have distinct proof of it among the Indians in the case of the Chippeways.<sup>1</sup> If they were totems, they will explain for us the solar and lunar races of the Aryans. We have them in Peru as married persons, and also as brother and sister. The Incas were Suns, as their name and all the traditions imply—a Sun tribe, nothing less or more; their first parents children of the sun, sent to the earth to found society, as the reader may see in Prescott's opening chapters. Acosta tells us the brother of the Inca succeeded in preference to his sons,<sup>2</sup> and if so, this points to kinship among the Peruvian Sun tribe, having been at one time through mothers only—a note of the totem stage. The pride of power led the tribe to give up exogamy and become a caste; but then, to keep the stock pure, the Inca always married a sister, and when a son succeeded, it was as heir of the *Coya*, the lawful sister-queen, showing the lingering preference for the mother's side. We infer the presence of Sun tribes among the Hurons, the Bayagoulas, now extinct, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Caddoes of Red River, all of whom there is reason to believe more or less formally worshipped the sun. The Natches had sun temples and perpetual fires.<sup>3</sup> The Sun tribes may have been very powerful, but it is only what we should expect,

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

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. i. p. 352. The sun and moon were occasionally given to fighting, it appears.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. vi. cap. xii., cited by Prescott.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii. pp. 113, 114. Was Helios, who had herds of oxen on the island of Trinacria, chief of a Sun tribe there? The Heliades are suggestive of a Sun stock. Max Müller complains of Mr. Grote's disposition "to insist on the purely literal meaning of the whole of Greek mythology." We shall see by and by that Mr. Grote's disposition is the right one.

among a race simple enough to believe anything, that a peculiar sanctity, and corresponding privileges, would readily be conceded to those believed to be descended from the great Lord of Day; and that the supremacy in many groups should on this account be the more readily obtained by the solar stock. It is also apparent that *this* totem might well command a general veneration—the worship of all the tribes in the group; but it is equally manifest that the Sun would not, any more than the Master of Life, where it took the first place in the State religion, interfere with the allegiance due from the stock tribes composing the nation to their respective totems. The Incas, as Mr. Prescott points out, had the good policy to collect all the tribal gods into their temples in and round Cuzco, in which the two leading gods were the Master of Life and the Sun. In the temples, Mr. Prescott tells us, “there were animals also to be found,” but he does not specify them, stating only that “the llama with its golden fleece was the most conspicuous.” Were these animals the totems, or their emblems, of our friends the Bears and Beavers?<sup>1</sup>

6. *Totem Gods—a Totem Olympus.*—Among the Fijians we find a state of affairs such as may have preceded the consolidation of the monarchy and the Olympus of the Incas. They are proud of their pedigrees, and Toki, one of their chiefs, claims to be the descendant of a Turtle. Others have fishes for their progenitors. Their greatest god, the Creator, who is omniscient, omnipotent, and so on, in the opinion of

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

his special votaries, is *Nuengei*, "whose shrine is the Serpent." Some of their *gods* are "enshrined" in birds, fishes, or plants; some, in the same way, in men. Their second god in importance is *Tui Lakemba*, who claims the Hawk as his shrine; but another god disputes his right, and claims the Hawk for himself. The Shark is a great god; also the Crab. "One god," says Mr. Williams, "is supposed to inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so on, until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of some deity. He who worships the Eel-god must never eat of that fish, and thus of the rest; so that some are *tabu* from eating human flesh because the shrine of their god is in a man. . . . The Land-Crab is the shrine of Roko Suka, formerly worshipped in Tiliva, where land-crabs are rarely seen." When a land-crab favours them with a call, they make formal presents to him, "to prevent the deity leaving with the impression that he was neglected, and visiting his remiss worshippers with drought, dearth, or death." These gods are tribal, and no one can doubt but they are totems who have made such progress as we above suggested the Bear might make, and are become the objects of a more or less regular worship—the Serpent tribe dominant, and the Hawk tribe in the second place. The Men gods are a new element in the Olympus; but they appear as "shrines" merely like the other animals, and were no doubt arrived at by an extension to man of conclusions speculatively reached as to the nature of totem gods in general. The Fijians have filled the world with spirits and demons. They are incessantly plagued by ghosts, witches, or wizards. Vegetables and stones, nay, even tools and weapons, pots and canoes, have *souls* that are immortal, and that, like the souls of men, pass on at last to *Mbulu*, the abode of departed spirits. They worship pillars and rocks; but, so far as we know, they do not worship the sun unless their men gods are of the solar stock.<sup>1</sup>

7. *The Mental Condition of Men in the Totem Stage.*—The state of mind of men in the totem stage is familiar enough, from the accounts we have of the lower races of men. The absence of scientific knowledge nowise implies an absence of specu-

<sup>1</sup> *Fiji and the Fijians*, by Thomas Williams, vol. i. pp. 114, 123, 215 ff.

lation; it rather necessitates the presence of a great amount of it. Some explanation of the phenomena of life a man *must* feign for himself; and to judge from the universality of it, the simplest hypothesis, and the first to occur to men, seems to have been that natural phenomena are ascribable to the presence in animals, plants, and things, and in the forces of nature, of such spirits prompting to action as men are conscious they themselves possess. So far as we know, this has been at some time or other the faith of all the races of men; and again, so far as we know, it is a faith that has nowhere been given up as unsatisfactory otherwise than gradually on its being perceived, from case to case, that the behaviour of the forces of nature and of the bodies they act upon is not wayward or wilful, but conformable to law; and until the law has been ascertained. This animation hypothesis, held as a faith, is at the root of all the mythologies. It has been called Fetichism; which, according to the common accounts of it, ascribes a life and personality resembling our own, not only to animals and plants, but to rocks, mountains,<sup>1</sup> streams, winds, the heavenly bodies, the earth itself, and even the heavens. Fetichism thus resembles totemism; which, indeed, is Fetichism *plus* certain peculiarities. These peculiarities are, (1) the appropriation of a special Fetich to the tribe, (2) its hereditary transmission through mothers, and (3) its connection with the *jus connubii*. Our own belief is that the accompaniments of Fetichism have not been well observed, and that it will yet be found that in many cases the Fetich *is* the totem. Be that as it may, we may safely affirm that as Fetichism dies slowly, withdrawing its spirits from one sphere after another on their being brought within the domain of science, so it grew slowly through various stages of development, bringing the realms of nature one by one within the scope of the hypothesis which is its foundation. Our information is incomplete; but from all we know, the aborigines of Australia are, as theorists, far in advance of the Bushmen, Veddahs, Andamans, and Fuegians, while it

<sup>1</sup> Himavat (the Himalayas) was a great Hindu god. He had goddess daughters; one, Ganga (the Ganges), another, Uma, "the most excellent of goddesses." See Dowson, *Dict. Hind. Myth.*, s.v. "Himavat."

appears they themselves have many steps to take before reaching the fulness of the animism of some American Indians. They have not yet, for example, so far as we know, vivified the heavenly bodies. The Indians, again, have not yet advanced so far as the New Zealanders, who assign spirits to groves and forests,<sup>1</sup> as did the Greeks and Romans, while none of the peoples last mentioned reached that perfection of Fetichism allied to an ontology which is Pantheism.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See "The Adventures of Rata," and "The Children of Heaven and Earth," in Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*.

<sup>2</sup> A striking illustration of the graduality of the evolution of Fetichism will be found in *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 241. The Fijians are far in advance of the Tongans.

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

<sup>4</sup> Code, chap. xii. vv. 42, 43; and see chap. i. vv. 49, 50.

doctrine. Let us consider how such a doctrine could have arisen.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The systems of transmigration have been various. In the Brahmanic the purified soul returns to Brahma; in the Buddhistic it attains Nirvana. The Egyptian resembled the Brahmanic, as did the Grecian, which was neither indigenous to Greece nor a popular faith. The Jews may have had their system from the Greek philosophers. It is taught in the *Kabbala*, and resembles the Brahmanic. The soul of Adam reappeared in David, and was to reappear in the Messiah. Some early Christians held the doctrine, but it was never the creed of the Church. It was the creed of the Manicheans. Origen believed it; so, lately, did Lessing. It was indigenous in Germany and in ancient Mexico.

windows in heaven, and the firmament separating the waters above from the waters below them, do not more clearly demonstrate the old theory of *rain*, than this doctrine demonstrates pre-existing Fetichism.

That the doctrine of transmigration was invented at a pretty late date in the progress of the Hindu races we may be certain. There is but one sentence in the *Rig-Veda* (Hymn i. 164) which has even been supposed to imply transmigration, and it does not do so, we are assured, when the words are taken literally in their usual sense. Yet the belief in the soul's life after death may be traced in some of the hymns of the *Veda*. This belief, however, assumes many forms, and the present writer has no certain information as to its Vedic form. Of the forms it assumes many are highly curious. The Australian and Fijian we saw. Among the Tahitians human souls were supposed to be the food of their god, and they offered to him human sacrifices that he might be fed. The Khonds have a limited quantity of soul as tribal property, and they explain their female infanticide by saying that the fewer their women are the more soul there will be for the men. The customs of some tribes in Madagascar show that they think that one man may have several souls; and not a few tribes, holding that the souls of the dead return in their new-born babies, bury in the houses or near the doors to facilitate the return.

It is familiar that men everywhere in ancient times believed spirits to inhabit trees and groves, and to move in the winds and stars, and that they personified almost every phase of nature. We have now seen that such beliefs cannot be regarded as having been deduced from the grander doctrines of the ancient religions; but that the latter must be regarded as having been constructed upon such beliefs as their foundations. Demons and genii, and the spirits of plants and minerals, were older than Brahma; let us hope they will not survive him. They are everywhere lively still, even in the most advanced nations; and we have not to go very far back in time to find them playing a most important part in our medical theories. Demons—a species of disembodied

Boyl-yas—were connected with diseases by the Jews and early Christians, and it is familiar how on one occasion when driven out of a man they entered into a herd of swine. The genii of the early Italians—so like the totem—are familiar, and even more so are the genii of the *Arabian Nights*. The Mahometans, if they are true to their prophet, must still believe in them. In that very curious book *Mishkátu 'l-Maṣābiḥ*, a record of the sayings and doings of the prophet, bearing to be made by those who knew him best—his wives and disciples—we find the following, which is pertinent to our subject:—

Ibn-Omer said, "I heard his highness say, 'Kill snakes, and kill the snake which has two black lines upon its back, and kill the snake called *abter*, on account of its small tail; for verily these two kinds of snake blind the eyes as soon as they are looked at; and if a pregnant woman should see them, she would miscarry from fright.'" Ibn-Omer says, "Just as I was about killing a snake, Abū-Labābah-Ansarī called out to me not to kill it. Then I said, 'His highness ordered me to kill them; why do you forbid?' He said, 'His highness, after giving the order for killing them, said, You must not kill the snakes that live in the houses, because they are not snakes, but a kind of genii.'" Abū-Sāyib said, "We went to Abū-Sāid-Khud'hrī; and whilst we were sitting, we heard a shaking under his bedstead; and we looked and saw a snake. Then I got up to kill it, and Abū-Sāid was saying his prayers, and he made a sign to me to sit down, and I did so. And when he had finished his prayers, he made a sign towards a room in his house, and said, 'There was a youth in my family lived there who had newly married.' Then Abū-Sāid said, 'We came out of Medinah along with the Prophet, to a trench which was digging for fighting, and this youth would ask the Prophet's permission to return to his house every day at noon, which was granted. Then one day the youth asked his highness's leave, who said, Put on your armour, because I am alarmed about you, from the evil designs of the tribe of Beni-Kuraidhah. Then the youth took his arms, and returned towards his house; and when he arrived, he saw his wife standing between two doors; and the youth was about piercing her with a spear, being seized with jealousy at seeing her standing out of her room; and she said, Withhold your spear, and come into the room that you may see what has brought me out. Then the youth went into the room, and beheld a large snake coiled up sleeping upon his bed, and he struck his spear into the snake; then the snake attacked the youth, and bit him, and it was not known which of them died first, the snake or the youth. Then I went to the Prophet and mentioned the occurrence, and said, Supplicate God to give life to the youth. Then his highness said, Ask God to forgive your friend; wherefore do you wish



a prayer to be made for his life? After that he said, In these houses are the genii, some of them believers, and some infidels; therefore when you see anything of those inhabitants turn them out, but do not hurry in killing them, but say, Do not incommode me; if you do, I shall kill you. Then if he goes away, so much the better; but if not, kill it, because it is an infidel *genius*. And his highness said to the youth's tribe, Take him away and bury him. And in one tradition it is thus, that his highness said, Verily there are genii in Medfnah which have embraced Islâm; then when you see any one of them, warn him three days; and if he appears after that, kill him, because he is none but an infidel." Omm Sharîc said, "His highness ordered a chameleon to be killed, and said, 'It was a chameleon which blew the fire into which Nimrod threw Abraham.'" . . . Abûhurairah 'A.G.S. "An ant bit a prophet, and he ordered the ant-hill to be burnt, which was done. Then God sent a voice to the prophet, saying, 'Have you burnt, on account of one biting you, a whole multitude of those that remembered God, and repeated his name?'"<sup>1</sup>

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

We have said enough to prepare the reader for the examination we are about to enter upon, of the evidence of the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 310. Book xviii. chap. iii. Part I. "In explanation of animals, lawful and unlawful, to be eaten." Calcutta, 1809-10.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 314.

worship of animals and vegetables among the ancients; to give him the feeling that it is not very improbable that in classical regions we shall find totems, or something like them.

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

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

## PART II. TOTEM-GODS AMONG THE ANCIENTS

We now proceed to examine the cases of the ancient nations. Inasmuch as these had, before the dawn of their histories, advanced far in civilisation (otherwise their histories, which depend on monuments and literary records, could not have commenced), we should expect that in the interval which intervened between their being in the totem stage—supposing they were ever in it—and the beginning of authentic records, the totems, if they were to become gods, would be promoted to a distinct place as the gods of the tribes that possessed them, and be the objects to them of regular religious worship. Looking again to the results of exogamy and female kinship, we might expect that while here and there, perhaps, a tribe might appear with a single animal god, as a general rule tribes and nations should have as many animal and vegetable gods as there were distinct stocks in the population. Some one animal we should expect to find in a first place among the animal gods of a people as being the god of the dominant tribe; but we should not expect to find the same animal dominant in all quarters, or worshipped even everywhere within the same nation. Moreover, since if the ancient nations came through the totem stage their animal and vegetable gods must have been of more ancient standing than the anthropomorphic gods, such as Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon, we should expect to find in the sacred legends some hints of that priority. If we find any great number of such gods worshipped by the ancients, and if we find hints of their priority; still more, if we find tribes named after the sacred animals, and having them for their ensigns; and, lastly, should we find the worshippers believing themselves to be, or having traditions, such as the Kirghiz have, that they were of the stock or breed of the animal they worshipped,—then we think we may safely conclude that so many concurring indications of the totem stage having been passed through are not misleading—that, in fact, the ancient nations had in the prehistoric times been in the same case as that in which we now find the natives of

Australia. It will be a confirmation of this conclusion should we find the hypothesis that they *had* been in the totem stage to make intelligible numerous legends that have hitherto appeared entirely without meaning. It will be a further confirmation should we find that there is evidence that the ancient nations had been exogamous, and had the system of kinship through females only.

What evidence then have we to show that the ancient nations came through the totem stage? If they did, it was in prehistoric times. About these we have some facts preserved in the signs of the Zodiac, the majority of which are animals, or compounds of human and animal forms. We have another set of facts in the fanciful forms of those constellations which were figured, prehistorically, in animal forms.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the stellar groups, we know, were named after gods or deified heroes. Were the animal groups named after gods also, or how was it the animals came to be promoted to the heavens? There is nothing in the grouping of the stars to suggest the animal forms: no one can seriously pretend to perceive materials for any such suggestion. The stars, we must believe, were long familiar objects of study and observation before they were grouped and named; that they were conceived to be *beings* we may say we know. How came the early students of the heavens to name the groups from animals, and even many of the individual stars? The probability is,

<sup>1</sup> The Zodiacal constellations figured on the porticoes of the Temples of Denderah and Esne, in Egypt, are of great antiquity. "M. Dupuis, in his *Origine des Cultes*, has, from a careful investigation of the position of these signs, and calculating precession at its usual rate, arrived at the conclusion that the earliest of them dates from 4000 B.C. M. Fourier, in his *Recherches sur la Science*, makes the representations at Esne 1800 years older than M. Dupuis. . . . The truth seems to be that nothing is as yet definitely known of these ancient representations; for the manner in which the investigations have been mixed up with the Biblical question of the antiquity of man has prevented any truly scientific research."—Chambers's *Encyc.* art. "Zodiac." The ancient Zodiacal figures of the Hindus, ancient Persians, Chinese, and Japanese, in some respects resemble those of the Egyptians. Mr. Williams, of the Astronomical Society, informs me that three of the Chinese signs are named from the quail. The symbols of the years in the Aztec Cycle were named after plants and animals. Neither these nor the two hundred gods in the Aztec Olympus have yet been examined.

that in ancient as in modern times, stars, when named, were given names of distinction, that commanded respect, if not veneration; and the suggestion therefore is, that the animals whose names were transferred to the stars or stellar groups were on earth highly if not religiously regarded. The legends that have come down to us, explanatory of the transference to the heavens of particular animals, bear out this suggestion. It will immediately be shown that nearly all the animals so honoured were anciently worshipped as gods.

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

1. *The Serpent.*—We take the case of the serpent first, because for several reasons it has been more studied than any other. The serpent faith was very wide-spread, and it has attracted special notice from the part assigned to the serpent in Genesis in connection with the fall of man. Faber and Bryant have both pretty fully investigated this subject, which has also been treated in a separate work by Mr. Bathurst Deane.<sup>1</sup> Lately (in 1864) M. Boudin handled it in what may be called a large pamphlet rather than a book,<sup>2</sup> and last year Mr. Fergusson's elaborate work<sup>3</sup> threw much light upon it, at the same time that it has done more than any previous work to draw public attention to this extraordinary religion.

It is unnecessary to adduce the evidence which establishes the prevalence, in ancient and modern times, of this worship.

<sup>1</sup> *The Worship of the Serpent.* London, 1830.

<sup>2</sup> *Culte du Phallus ; Culte du Serpent. Études Anthropologiques.* Paris, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Trees and Serpent Worship,* by James Fergusson, F.R.S. India Museum, London.

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

Mr. Fergusson's introductory essay shows that the worship of the serpent has, at some time or other, found a place in the religious system of every race of men. It had its place in Egypt and in Palestine, even among the Hebrews; in Tyre and Babylon; in Greece and Rome; among the Celts and Scandinavians in Europe; in Persia and Arabia; in Cashmere and India; in China and Thibet; in Mexico and Peru; in Abyssinia, and generally throughout Africa, where it still flourishes as the state religion in Dahomey; in Java and Ceylon; among the Fijians, with whom, as we saw, it still prevails; and in various quarters in Oceania. Not less well established is the fact that it was a terribly real faith, with its

priests and temples, its highly-organised ecclesiasticism and ritual, its offerings and sacrifices, all ordered according to a code. The code, the ideas of the divine government, the god himself even, varied from point to point, there being no more uniformity observable here than elsewhere in a matter of faith. In one place the god was a living serpent; in another a collection of serpents, as if the whole species was religiously regarded. Here, again, the object of worship was an image of a living serpent; there, an image of a creature of the religious imagination—a spiritual ideal—the five-headed, seven-headed, or nine-headed Naga. The god in some systems stood alone, was *the* god—God; in others he had associates, sometimes equal, sometimes even superior to himself, such as the sun, or fire, an anthropomorphic god, the emblems of the procreative power, some other animal, like the horse, or some tree or vegetable, or the ocean. But under all the varieties the fact is manifest of the serpent having attained *divine* honours: the character of being a good, wise, beneficent, powerful deity, to adore and propitiate whom was man's duty and privilege. We have cited no authorities in support of these statements, because the facts are indisputable and well known, and a general reference to the works of Bryant and Fergusson is therefore sufficient.<sup>1</sup> Two points, however, must be touched

<sup>1</sup> As to the *doctrines* of the serpent faith, we have, unfortunately, but meagre accounts. The Dahomans have both an earthly serpent and a heavenly. The earthly serpent (called Danh gbwe) is the first person in their Trinity, the others being trees and the ocean. Burton says of this serpent, "It is esteemed the supreme bliss and general good. It has a thousand Danh-si, or snake wives, married and single votaries, and its influence cannot be meddled with by the two others [trees and ocean], which are subject to it." It is believed to be immortal, omniscient, and all-powerful. In its worship there are solemn processions; prayers are addressed to it on every occasion, and answered by the snakes in conversation with the high priest. The heavenly serpent is called Danh, and has for his emblem a coiled and horned snake of clay in a pot or calabash. He is the god of wealth. The priestesses, in this serpent system, are girls resembling the Nautch girls in the temples of Southern India, and when of age they are married to the god, who himself sets his seal upon them, marking them with his image under circumstances and with mysteries that are undivulged. Ancestral worship is conjoined with that of the snake in Dahomey, as it has been and is in other places, and with it almost certainly, and not with serpent-worship, are connected the horrible human sacrifices that occur on the coast of Guinea. The

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

(1) Of the great antiquity of the faith there can be no doubt. Compared with it, all the religions are modern; they imply it at their foundations, and their earliest history is the record of its more or less complete suppression or subordination. The cultus prevailed, for example, among the Hebrews before the true faith. "With the knowledge we now possess," says Mr. Fergusson, "it does not seem so difficult to understand what was meant by the curse of the serpent [in Genesis]. . . . When the writers of the Pentateuch set themselves to introduce the purer and loftier worship of Elohim, or Jehovah, it was first necessary to get rid of that earlier form of faith which the primitive inhabitants of the earth had fashioned for themselves." The curse, of course, was not on the serpent, but on the cultus. We find a similar story in Persia and in India, in both of which places this religion prevailed. "The serpent

state of our information on the Dahoman religion is to be regretted, as a minute knowledge of the beliefs of the worshippers, and of their traditions regarding the history of their religion, would be valuable in this inquiry. It is equally to be regretted that we are without details as to the beliefs of the snake-worshippers of India, who, we learn from the Indian newspapers, are to be found throughout our Eastern empire. How much have we yet to learn of our contemporaries even under the same Government with ourselves! As we write, a letter appears from Bishop Crowther, respecting serpent-worship at Brass, a station of the Niger mission. "No poultry," the Bishop says, "can be reared on account of the snake cobra, which is held sacred here. Not to be killed because sacred, they become possessors of the bushes, and prove a great nuisance to the country. They very often visited the poultry coops at night, and swallowed as many as they wanted; in consequence of which no poultry could be kept, either by the natives themselves, or by the supercargoes in their establishments on shore: neither goats, sheep, nor small pigs escaped them. Thus the country is literally impoverished by them." To support the superstition there are two articles in the treaty made and sanctioned by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po on November 17, 1856, one of which runs thus:—

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



that beguiled Eve," says Max Müller, "seems hardly to invite comparison with the much grander conception of that terrible power of Vritra and Ahriman in the Veda and Avesta."<sup>1</sup> In the Avesta there is a great battle between Thraëtaona and Azhi dahâka, the destroying serpent.<sup>2</sup> The greatest exploit of Indra was the slaying of the serpent Ahi. "Where, O Maruts," he is made to say in one of the Vedic hymns, "was that custom of yours that you should join me who am alone in the killing of Ahi."<sup>3</sup> In another song Traitana takes the place of Indra in this battle; more frequently it is Trita who fights, but other gods also share in the same honour.<sup>4</sup>

The result of Mr. Fergusson's investigations is to represent serpent-worship as the basis of the religions of India, excepting Sivaism, in which the bull has had the first place.<sup>5</sup> In Africa we most probably have the faith as it existed before the dawn of history.

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

<sup>1</sup> *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Müller's *Rig-Veda Sanhitâ*, vol. i. p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> The Vedio Ahi was three-headed, like the heavenly Nagas in Mr. Fergusson's photographs, or like the Permian Zohâk, only one of Zohâk's three heads had become human.

<sup>5</sup> This, we shall see, is a very partial view. Besides the serpent and bull, the sun and moon; the sheep, goat, and elephant; and the tortoise, fish, boar, and lion, enter (as totems) into the bases of the Hindu mythologies. *Fire* also, we may believe, was a totem in India. The Piqua tribe (one of the tribes of the Shawanese) are descended from a fabulous man generated in a fire.—*Arch. Amer.* vol. i. p. 275.

(2) It was common for those who had this worship to believe that the serpent was their progenitor. They were called, and called themselves, *Serpents*, after and as being of the breed of their god. Whole peoples, says Bryant, had the serpent-name, and counted themselves as being of the Serpent-breed.<sup>1</sup> "In Phrygia and upon the Hellespont was a people styled 'Οφιογενεῖς, or of the Serpent-breed, who were said to retain an affinity and correspondence with serpents."<sup>2</sup> In Rhodes, an old name for which was Ophiusa;<sup>3</sup> in Tenos, one of the Cyclades;<sup>4</sup> in Cyprus, also of old styled Ophiusa and Ophiodes;<sup>5</sup> in Crete,<sup>6</sup> and in the island Seriphus,<sup>7</sup> it is related there were Serpent-tribes, or, as fable put it, swarms of *Serpents*, the personality of the tribesmen being lost in their name, as derived from the god. Similarly at this day in India there are numerous tribes of *Nagas* on the north-eastern frontier, *i.e.* literally, *Serpents*, who were undoubtedly so named from the Serpent-God, as the Snake Indians are named from their totem. The name *Nag* has passed into a family or stock name among Hindus generally. Colonel Meadows Taylor says, "It is a common name both for males and females among all classes of Hindus, from Brahmins down to the lowest classes of Sudras and Mléchhaa."<sup>8</sup> The Thebans were esteemed Serpentigenæ;<sup>9</sup> Ægeus, one of the Athenian kings, was reputed of the Serpent-breed;<sup>10</sup> and the honour of having been first king of Athens was assigned either to Δράκων, a dragon, or to Cecrops, who was half a snake<sup>11</sup>—probably as being on the mother's side not of the Serpent stock. Sparta

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Mythology*, vol. i. p. 481. The references to Bryant are to the Second Edition. London, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> See Bryant *ut supra*; Strabo, L. xiii. 1, p. 880; Pliny, L. vii. c. 2. "Crates Pergamenus in Hellesponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuisse [tradit] quos Ophiogenes vocat."

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xiv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> ἐλεῖθη Ὀφιοῦσα, Steph. Byz.

<sup>5</sup> Ovid, *Met.* x. 229.

<sup>6</sup> Antoninus Liberalis, xli.

<sup>7</sup> Virg. *Ciris*, p. 477 ("serpenteram," Scaliger coll. Strabone, x. 5).

<sup>8</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Appendix D. We infer from the statement that *Nag* is the name of a *gotra*.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Soph. *Antig.* 126.

<sup>10</sup> Tzetzes, *Schol. Lycophron.* 496.

<sup>11</sup> Meursius *de Reg. Aith.* i. 6; Diod. Sic. i. 28; Aristoph. *Fesp.* 438.

is said of old to have swarmed with serpents;<sup>1</sup> and the same is related of Amyclæ,<sup>2</sup> in Italy, which was a Spartan colony, the meaning of the tradition being that the inhabitants in either case were what in India would be called Nagas, and in America Snakes.<sup>3</sup> The kings of Abyssinia put the Serpent first on their list of kings as the progenitor of the royal line. In Peru, where the worship of the serpent was conjoined (as in many other cases) with sun-worship, the principal deity in the Pantheon was the Sun-Serpent, whose wife—the female Serpent or female Sun—brought forth at one birth a boy and girl who became the first parents of mankind. So the Caribs—a fact already glanced at—relate that the first of their race was half a serpent, being the son of a Warau woman by a river-god. Being slain and cut in pieces by his mother's brothers, the pieces, when collected under a mass of leaves, grew into a mighty warrior, the progenitor of the Carib nation.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *de Mirab. Auscult.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 5; viii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable how many fables become intelligible when read in the light of this and similar facts which we shall produce. Take, for example, the case of Cadmus as interpreted in this light by Mr. Fergusson: "Cadmus fought and killed the dragon that devoured his men, and, sowing his teeth, raised soldiers for his own purpose. In Indian language, he killed the Naga Raja [Serpent-king] of Thebes, and made Sepoys of his subjects."

<sup>4</sup> Brett's *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, pp. 390-393.

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

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

The natives are said to have made use of it as a royal tiara (says Bryant) with which they ornamented the statues of Isis.<sup>1</sup> We learn from Diodorus Siculus that the kings of Egypt wore high bonnets which terminated in a round ball, and the whole was surrounded with figures of asps. The priests likewise on their bonnets had the representation of serpents.<sup>2</sup>

Menelaus, a Spartan—and Sparta, we saw, was "Ophite"—is represented as having a serpent for a device upon his shield.<sup>3</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> *Ælian, Nat. An.* x. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Mythology*, vol. i. p. 475; *Diod. Sic.* iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Pausanias*, x. 26.

Amastris in Paphlagonia; of Cyzicus and Pergamus in Mysia; of Dardanus in Troas; of Cos, an island of Caria; and of Magnesia, Nacrassa, and Thyatira, in Lydia.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

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

Figs. 2 and 3 of this Plate (*i.e.* lxxx.) and Fig. 3 of Plate lxxxi.,

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

instead of the emblems we are usually accustomed to, contain two medallions, the upper representing the worship of the Horse, the lower Buddha, seated cross-legged, surrounded by listeners or adorers. As we have frequently had occasion to remark, the Horse plays an important part in the sculptures at Amravati. It is once represented as honoured at Sanchi; but this form of worship occurs here several times, but nowhere so prominently as in those three Dagobas (and it is to be presumed that there was a fourth). It is not easy to say what we are to understand from the prominence of the Horse in such a position as this. Is it an importation from Scythia, brought by immigrants from that country? Is it the Horse of the Sun or of Poseidon? Is it the Avalokites'vara of the Thibetan fables? Some one must answer who is more familiar than I am with Eastern mythology. At present it will be sufficient to recall to memory how important a part the Horse sacrifice or As'wamedha, plays in the Mahābhārata, and in all the mythic history of India. What is still more curious is, that the worship of the Horse still seems to linger in remote parts of India. At least, in a recent work by Mr. Hislop, missionary at Nagpore, edited by Sir R. Temple, he [Mr. Hislop] describes the religion of the Gonds in the following nine words: "All introduce figures of the horse in their worship." Other instances might, no doubt, be found if looked for; but the subject is new and unthought of.

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

The horse occurs again in Mr. Fergusson's plates. In Plate xcv., Fig. 4, he is introduced in mid-air, alongside the wheel (a Buddhist idol<sup>1</sup>), as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture, where the wheel just above him is the special object of worship. In Plate xcvi., Fig. 3, he issues from the portal with the umbrella of State borne over him, the hero of the representation. The same subject is repeated on another slab, Plate xcvi., Fig. 2. The opinion formed by Mr. Fergusson is that the bas-reliefs show that the horse was an object of reverence, if not exactly of worship, at Amravati, and

<sup>1</sup> See Ezekiel, chap. x. vv. 8 ff.

that the reverence paid to him is the counterpart of the worship of the bull Nandi by the Shivites.

Let us now see what evidence there is of this worship elsewhere. Mr. Bryant supplies a goodly array of facts. In his Essay<sup>1</sup> on Metis and Hippa, after disposing of the former as one of the most ancient deities of "the Amonians," represented under the symbol of a beautiful female countenance surrounded with serpents, he proceeds to say:—

Hippa was another goddess of like antiquity, and equally *obsolete*. Some traces, however, are to be still found in the Orphic verses, by which we may discover her original character and department. She is there represented as the nurse of Dionysus, and seems to have been the same as Cybele, who was worshipped in the mountains of Phrygia, and by the Lydians upon Tmolus. She is said to have been the Soul of the World — Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἴππα τοῦ πάντος ὄντα ψυχή:<sup>2</sup> and the person who received and fostered Dionysus when he came from the thigh of his father.<sup>3</sup> This history relates to his second birth, when he returned to a second state of childhood. Dionysus was the chief god of the Gentile world, and worshipped under various titles, which at length came to be looked on as different deities. Most of these secondary deities had the title of Hippius and Hippia; and as they had female attendants in their temples, these, too, had the name of Hippai. What may have been the original of the term Hippa and Hippus will be matter of future disquisition. Thus much is certain, that the Greeks uniformly referred it to *Horses*.

Ares was Hippius;<sup>4</sup> so was Poseidon, although a god of the sea, being so called from raising a horse out of the earth in his contest with Athene for the superiority at Athens;<sup>5</sup> but Athene herself was Hippia, as were also Demeter and Hera.<sup>6</sup> Demeter, styled Hippa, the Greeks represented as turned into a mare;<sup>7</sup> Hippius Poseidon, in like manner represented as a horse, they supposed in that shape to have had an intimate connection with the goddess.<sup>8</sup> The nymph Ocyroë was changed into a mare, and so was Philyra, whom Saturn, in the shape

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See, in proof of this, *Orphic Frag.* 43; Orpheus Ggeneri Lipsiæ, 1764, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Orph. Hymn.* 48, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. v. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Serv. ad Georgic.* i. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. *l.c.*

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. viii. 25, § 5; and see Smith's *Dict. s.v.* "Arion."

<sup>8</sup> Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 118.

of a horse, followed neighing over the mountains of Thesaly!<sup>1</sup>

Bryant, who conceived that the ancients knew nothing of their own mythologies, and whose great discovery was that every mythological fact anywhere to be found related either to Noah, the ark, or the deluge, thinks the Greeks were quite wrong in fancying Hippa and Hippius to have had anything to do with the horse. These gods, he says, came from Egypt and were one with the sun and Osiris, and ultimately with the ark.<sup>2</sup> He tells us, however, that the *horse* (like the ox and eagle, which we shall see were gods) was a sacred symbol in Egypt, where almost every animal, from beetles to bulls, was worshipped, so that the Egyptians made the mistake equally with the Greeks, if there was one. Mistake or not, there is no question of the reality of the faith that followed on it. The horse-gods and mare-goddesses had their temples and regular worship, and not only gods and goddesses, but places, and presumably tribes of men, were named from the horse. There were the Hippici Montes in Sarmatia; Ἴππων κόμη in Lycia; Ἴππων ἄκρα in Libya; and a town Hippos both in Sicily and in Arabia Felix.<sup>3</sup> The horse-name occurs frequently in composition, as in Hipporum, Hippouris, Hippana, Hipponesus, Hippocrene, and many others; and, indeed, horse-names are so frequent in Homer alone—a fact observed by Mr. Gladstone—as to suggest that there were horse-tribes in, and bordering on, Greece, as there were Nagas and Ophites. One of the twelve Athenian tribes was Hippothoontis,<sup>4</sup> their eponymous progenitor Hippothoon, who was nurtured by mares!<sup>5</sup> Æolus and his family were Hippotades,<sup>6</sup> and a village in the tribe Ceneis was Hippotamada.<sup>7</sup> There was a tribe, Hipporeæ,<sup>8</sup> in Upper Æthiopia, and the Hippopodes were a people of Scythia, who had horses' feet!<sup>9</sup> There was a city Hipponesus

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 668; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 408. That the totem should be identified with the Sun is what we should expect. ●

<sup>3</sup> Agathem. ii. 13; Steph. Byz.

<sup>4</sup> Beckh, *Corp. Inscr. Att.* 40, 45, 46, 59, etc.; Pollux, viii. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* 187.

<sup>6</sup> Hom. *Od.* x. 2, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. Byz.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Diomys. *Per.* 310; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* iv. 13, § 27, etc.



in Caria, and another of that name in Libya.<sup>1</sup> There were two towns called Hippo in Africa, and a town Hippola in the Peloponnesus; also a Hippo in Spain, and a town of the Bruttii, now Monte Leone.<sup>2</sup>

The horse appears on the coins of four cities of Thrace, where were the horses of Diomedes, that fed on human flesh<sup>3</sup>—a suggestion that these horse-tribes men were cannibals. Bryant says these horses were the priests of Dionysus; his theory also is that they were men. When we turn to Thessaly—*equorum altria*—on the coins of fourteen towns in which we find the horse, we are in the country of the Centaurs, half men and half horses—no doubt men who were yet called horses, after their animal god. Their battle with the Lapithæ, springing out of a quarrel at the marriage of Hippodamia, is famous in fable.<sup>4</sup> Chiron, the most celebrated of the Centaurs, was a son of Saturn (by repute), who changed himself into a horse to avoid his wife Rhea.<sup>5</sup> Intimate relations these between the horse and the oldest anthropomorphic gods. He was the instructor of mankind in the use of plants, the study of medical herbs, and the polite arts, having in these even the great serpent Æsculapius for a pupil.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Jupiter made a constellation of him under the name Sagittarius.<sup>7</sup>

Pausanias says that Demeter, worshipped by the Phigalians, was represented as a woman with the head of a horse.<sup>8</sup> Marus Balus, an old Italian god, who lived three times, was biform, half man, half horse.<sup>9</sup> In Pegasus we have a winged horse sprung from the blood of Medusa, that flew up to heaven immediately on being born.<sup>10</sup> He was the favourite of the Muses, figured in various exploits on earth, and was finally placed among the constellations.<sup>11</sup> He was the special insigne of Corinth, and occurs on ancient coins of that place, of Syracuse, and Corcyra.<sup>12</sup> A Gaulish coin belonging to the first

<sup>1</sup> Steph. Byz.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xvii. 3, § 13; Steph. Byz.; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* iii. 1, § 3; Pompon. Mela, ii. 4.   <sup>3</sup> Lucret. v. 29, etc.   <sup>4</sup> *Odys.* xxi. 295, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Tzetzes ad Lycophron. 1200.   <sup>6</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 6, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* v. 414.

<sup>8</sup> viii. 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Ælian, Var. Hist.* ix. 16:

<sup>10</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 281, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 457.

<sup>12</sup> *Spanhemii Numismata*, vol. i. pp. 274 et seq.

century B.C. has the horse with a human head. We have heavenly horses in Homer; the horses, ordinary and winged, of Agni, Indra, and Soma, and the eight-legged horse of Odin. There is a controversy as to whether Agni himself was not a horse.<sup>1</sup> In Max Müller's *Rig-Veda Sanhitā* (p. 15) the reader will find the distinguished professor combating Messrs. Boehtlingk and Roth over certain Vedic passages, in which these gentlemen, in their Dictionary, say: "He (Agni) himself appears as a red horse." We cannot pretend to enter into the merits of the controversy, but the reader may already be satisfied that an Agni Hippius should create no more wonder than a Hippius Poseidon.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

The living animal (says Bryant) was in many places held sacred, and revered as a deity. One instance of this was at Memphis, where

<sup>1</sup> Whether he was a horse or not, he was certainly a goat, as we shall see. Like the other men-gods, he was in turn identified with the totem, whatever it was, of the tribe that took him up.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rig-Veda Sanhitā*, pp. 14-18; and see p. 27. In the Padma Purāna, Krishna in the form of a horse is represented as rescuing the vedas when "the worlds" were burnt up (Muir's *Texts*, vol. iii. second edition, p. 28); and in the Vishnu Purāna we have the Sun as a horse teaching a horse-tribe—men called Vāgins (*i.e.* horses), from being instructed by the Sun-horse (Muir's *Texts*, vol. iii. second ed. p. 51; and see p. 52). The horse gives his name to a Brahmanic gotra. The Sun (Āditya) appears again as a horse in the Çatapatha Brāhmana (*Id.* vol. iv. p. 62; and see vol. i. second ed. pp. xii. and 12, where the horse is also identified with Yama and Trita.) We have no doubt that these partial contributions to ancient Indian literature were made by men of the horse stock.

they worshipped the sacred bull Apis;<sup>1</sup> and another was to be found at Heliopolis, where they held the bull Mnevis in equal veneration.<sup>2</sup> The like custom was observed in Mo-memphis, Aphroditopolis, and Chusa, with this difference, that the object of adoration in these places was an heifer or cow.<sup>3</sup>

The animal was also worshipped under symbols, or as represented by images. We see this illustrated in the case of the Jews, who fell into the idolatry with the sanction of Aaron himself.<sup>4</sup> An apology made for Aaron is, that he adopted this image not from Apis or Osiris, but from the *Cherubim* having the faces of oxen!<sup>5</sup> The idolatry was probably never fully suppressed. It was openly renewed under Jeroboam, who made two calves, and set one up in Bethel, the other in Dan. In this case, as in the preceding, the calf was recognised as the god that had brought the people out of the land of Egypt! The calves of Jeroboam are spoken of by Hosea (x. 15) as young *cows*; as also by the Septuagint and by Josephus, who says that Jeroboam made two heifers of gold, and consecrated to them two temples. The Bull Nandi is, at the present day, a quasi-god in India, worshipped by the Shivites; while by all Hindus the cow is religiously regarded. Of course, in Bryant's system, the bull is Noah, while the crescent on the side of Apis is the Ark. Every one knows what cows are in the Dawn system of Mr. Max Müller.

As in the case of the serpent and horse, the religious imagination conjured into existence a variety of spiritual bovine beings—bulls with men's bodies, men with bull's bodies, bulls with two heads, and so forth. Astarte, we saw, had, according to Sanchoniatho, a bull's head, and Diana was worshipped by the Scythæ, under the title of Tauropolus<sup>6</sup> and Taurione.<sup>7</sup> In the Orphic fragments Dionysus is represented as having the countenance of a bull, and elsewhere as *being* a

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch *de Is. et Os.* 83.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. p. 415. Strabo, xvii. 1, § 22; *ibid.* § 35; Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 27.

<sup>4</sup> See a curious chapter on this subject in Lewis, *Origines*, vol. iii. p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> The later Jews say that the insigne of the tribe of Ephraim was an ox.

<sup>6</sup> Eurip. *Iph. Taur.* 1457; Aristoph. *Lys.* 447; Soph. *Ajax*, 172.

<sup>7</sup> Suida.

bull.<sup>1</sup> In Argos he was *βουγενής*, the offspring of a bull; <sup>2</sup> *ταυρογενής* is one of his epithets in the Orphic hymns.<sup>3</sup> Poseidon was Taureus<sup>4</sup> as well as Hippius, and so also was Oceanus.<sup>5</sup> The bull-faced people are frequent in the legends of India, where the bull is a god; and in Japan we find a deity, Goso Tennen—the ox-headed prince of heaven.<sup>6</sup>

The people of the Tauric Chersonesus were named, according to Eustathius, from the bull—Taurus—*οἱ δὲ Ταῦροι τὸ ἔθνος ἀπὸ τοῦ ζώου ταύρου, φασί, καλοῦνται.*<sup>7</sup> So were the following mountains, places, and peoples:—Taurus, Taurania, Taurica, Taurenta, Tauropolis, Tauropolium, Taurominium, Tauri, Taurini, and Taurisci.<sup>8</sup> How far the god might be followed as giving names to other places and peoples by the process of etymologically analysing the names in different languages, we have not the means of ascertaining.

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

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

On coins of Hispania and Gallia; <sup>9</sup> Teate in Marrucini; Capus in

<sup>1</sup> *Orph. Hymns*, 30, 45; *Lyc. Cass.* 209; et *Schol. ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch de Isid. et Osir.* 35; *Quæstiones Græcæ*, 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Orph. Frag.* 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesiod.*, Sc. 104; *Hesych.*; *Eustath. ad Iliad.* ii. 381.

<sup>5</sup> "Bull-headed." *Eurip. Orest.* 1377.

<sup>6</sup> *Kämpfer's Japan*, p. 418, cited by Bryant.

<sup>7</sup> *Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 306.

<sup>8</sup> *Steph. Byz.*; *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* ii. 4; *Strab.* vii. 4, iv. 6, § 12, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Mr. John Evans*, in his work on *British Coins*, p. 180, says the lion frequently occurs on Gaulish coins.

Campania; Arpi in Apulia; Venusia in Apulia; Pæstum in Lucania; Heraclea and Velia in Lucania; Rhegium in Bruttium; Leontini, Panormus, Syracuse, and Messana, in Sicilia; Chersonesus Taurica (Panticapæum); Tomis in Mœsia Inferior; Abdera, Perinthus, Cardia, Lysimachia, and the Chersonesus, in Thracia; Thasos; Amphipolis, Macedonia; Thessalia *in genere*; Coreyra in Epirus; Heraclea in Acarnania; Corinthus in Achaia; Gortyna in Creta; Adrianotherae vel Hadrianotherae in Bithynia; Metroum in Bithynia; Germe in Mysia; Magnesia and Miletus in Ionia; Smyrna in Ionia; Acrasus, Apollonia, Attalia, Blaundus, Gordus, Hyrcania, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Sættæ, Sardes, Silandus, Temenothyrae, Thyatira, all in Lydia, being thirteen towns; Acmonia, Cadi, Cibyra, Peltæ, Sala, and Synaus, towns in Phrygia; Pessinus in Galatia; Cyrene in Cyrenaica; in Libya *in genere*. The coins are all of date before the Christian era.

Was the lion, who was thus honoured, a god? He was; but his worship must have early become obsolete, as we have only one well-vouched instance of it within the historical period, namely, in Leontopolis, the capital of a district of the same name in Egypt. Ælian and Porphyry both say it was worshipped there—was the deity of the place.<sup>1</sup> There is a considerable amount of evidence, however, that this animal had, in prehistoric times, been more generally worshipped, and that tribes of men had been named after him.

We have become familiar with compounds of human and bestial forms in connection with the worship of the serpent, horse, and bull; the serpent body with human head; the female human form with one or more horse-heads; the Minotaur; and should expect that if the lion were a god, he should, by the same mental processes, be made to enter into similar compounds. Since we have him in one place as a god, and have him in the heavens and on numerous coins, and, what is familiar, as the symbol of many tribes, should we find such a compound of the human and leonine forms worshipped, venerated, or feared, or with a remarkable hold on the imaginations of men, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the compound had an origin similar to the others we have become acquainted with. Now we have such a compound in the

<sup>1</sup> Bryant's *Observations and Inquiries*, Cambridge, 1767, p. 130. Ælian *de Animal.* xii. 7. Porph. *de Abst.* iv. 9; cf. Strab. xvii. 1, § 40.

Sphinx, which therefore may throw some light on the cultus of the lion.<sup>1</sup> In the Egyptian hieroglyphics, we are told, the sphinx bears the name of *Neb* or Lord, and *Akar* or Intelligence—the form of it being a lion's body with human head. The Great Sphinx at Gizeh is colossal, and hewn out of the natural rock.<sup>2</sup> It is of great antiquity—an age at least equal to the Pyramids. In front of the breast of this sphinx was found, in 1816, a small chapel formed of three hieroglyphical tablets, dedicated by Thothmes III. and Rameses II. to the sphinx, whom, it is said, they adored as Haremukhu, *i.e.* the sun on the horizon.<sup>3</sup> The fourth tablet, which formed the front, had a door in the centre, and two couchant lions placed upon it. "A small lion was found on the pavement, and an altar between its fore-paws, apparently for sacrifices offered to it in the time of the Romans."<sup>4</sup> In 1852 discovery was made of another temple to the south of the sphinx, built at the time of the fourth dynasty, of huge blocks of alabaster and granite, and which was most probably, like the former, devoted to its worship. Numerous sphinxes have been found elsewhere in Egypt, as at Memphis and at Tanis. That found at the latter place is assigned to the age of the Shepherd dynasty. Sphinxes have also been found in Assyria and Babylonia, and they are not uncommon on Phœnician works of art. Mr. Layard mentions having dug out of the Mound of Nimroud "a crouching lion, rudely carved in basalt, which appeared to have fallen from the building above, and to have been exposed for centuries to the atmosphere"; also a pair of gigantic winged bulls, and a pair of small winged lions, whose heads were gone. Human-headed lions he found, of course; also human figures with lions' heads.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reader will find a long treatise on the Sphinx in the *Numismata Spankensis*, where also the Sphinx is figured on several coins. It is hardly necessary to say it is common on coins.

<sup>2</sup> It is upwards of 172 feet long and 56 feet high.

<sup>3</sup> "Isis sub forma Leonis itidem et cum facie muliebri occurrit nonnunquam in nummis Ægyptiorum sicuti in quodam Antonini Pii quem servat Gaza Medicea."—*Spankensis Numismata*, tom. i. *De Sphinge in nummis*.

<sup>4</sup> See article "Sphinx," Chambers's *Encyc.*, and authorities there cited.

<sup>5</sup> *Ninereh*, vol. ii. p. 463.

The Egyptian sphinx had the whole body leonine, except the face, and this would appear to be the most ancient form; the sphinxes with wings are later, and are supposed to have originated with the Babylonians or Assyrians. The Greek sphinxes were still further from the primitive type; they were all winged, and had other elements in their composition besides the human and leonine. Probably they were unrelated to the Egyptian as an original. The Theban sphinx, whose myth first appears in Hesiod (*Theog.* 326), had a lion's body, female head, and bird's wings—a suitable emblem, we should say, for a composite local tribe comprising lions and, say, eagles or doves.<sup>1</sup> She was a supernatural being, the progeny of the two-headed dog of Geryon, by Chimæra;<sup>2</sup> or of Typhon, by Echidna.<sup>3</sup> On either view she had lion kindred, for Typhon, although a Naga, had one celebrated lion among his offspring, the Nemean lion to wit,<sup>4</sup> who infested the neighbourhood of Nemea, filling its inhabitants with continual alarms. The first labour of Hercules was to destroy him, and the Nemean games—instituted in honour of one who had fallen a victim to a snake<sup>5</sup>—were renewed to commemorate the destruction of a lion! A strong suggestion, this, of the new-comers, the Heraclidæ, being alike antipathetical to the snakes and lions,—to the tribes, as we read it, who had these animals as gods, and were called after them.

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

5. *The Dog.*—The Dog gives its name to three constellations—Canis Major, Canis Minor, and Canicula, as well as to the stars Canis Sirius (*Cohen Schuur*), the brightest in the heavens; Procyon and Cynosura, “the dog's tail.” It appears

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Phœn.* 1023; Palsephatus *de Fabulis*; Schol. Eur. *Phœn.* 45, 806; Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 5, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Hes. *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 5, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* ii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* iii. 6, 4.

on various ancient coins; for example, on uncertain coins of Etruria; on coins of Pisaurum in Umbria; Hatria in Picenum; Larinum in Frentani; on the coins of Campania *in genere*, notably of Nuceria in Campania; of Valentia in Bruttium; Agyrium in Sicilia; of Eryx, Messana, Motya, Panormus, Segesta (very many), and Selinus, all in Sicily; of Chersonesus Taurica; Phalanna in Thessalia; Corcyra in Epirus; Same in Cephallenia; Cydonia in Crete; Colophon in Ionia, and Phocæa in Ionia. Besides these, which are all of date B.C., there are coins figured in the *Numismata Spanhemii* with the legend of the dog Cerberus, and one in Mr. Evans's *British Coins*, of which that learned author says:—

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

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

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

The facts are as follows:—Juvenal states that dogs were worshipped in some places, "*oppida tota canem venerantur*";<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *British Coins*, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Sat.* 15, v. 8.



Diodorus Siculus says the same thing;<sup>1</sup> Plutarch relates that in Egypt they were *holy*, but not after the time of Cambyses, when they misbehaved themselves by devouring the bull Apis, whom that king slew;<sup>2</sup> and Herodotus informs us they were so regarded by the Egyptians in his own time that when a dog died the members of the family it belonged to shaved themselves all over.<sup>3</sup>

The dog was called Cahen and Cohen—a title given by the Egyptians to the animal and vegetable gods they worshipped in general—(query, an equivalent of totem?); and while the living dog was thus esteemed, there were spiritual dog-beings or gods, such as Canuphis, or Cneph (Anuphis and Anubis of the Greeks and Romans), some represented as having the human body and dog's head, and others conceived as having the full canine figure, with one, two, or more heads, just as in the case of the heavenly Nagas, bulls and horses. As the animals last named gave titles to the gods who superseded them, so did the dog; Hermes<sup>4</sup> was a dog. Hecate had three heads,—one a dog's, one a horse's, and one a boar's,—which suggests, on the system of interpretation we have been propounding, that she originated in a compromise of a local tribe, which contained gentes of the dog, horse, and boar stocks. The boar will be shown to have been a god,—at least a totem. In a temple of Vulcan near Mount Ætna was a breed of dogs that treated good men gently, and were ferocious to bad men, which is curious, as we have similar fables respecting serpents in Syria (given by Aristotle),<sup>5</sup> and birds in the islands of Diomedes (given by Pliny).<sup>6</sup> On these dog-beings Bryant has some remarks in which we are disposed to concur. "When I read of the brazen dog of Vulcan," he says, "of the dog of Erigone, of Orion, of Geryon [a two-headed dog], of Orus, of Hercules, of Amphiloachus, of Hecate, I cannot but suppose that they were titles of so many deities, or else of their priests, who were denominated from their office."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> i. 18.<sup>2</sup> *Isid. et Ovir.* 44.<sup>3</sup> ii. 66.<sup>4</sup> *Plut. de Isid. et Ovir.* xi.; *Porphyr. de Abst.* iii. 18.<sup>5</sup> *De Mirab. Auscult.* 161.<sup>6</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist.* x. 61.<sup>7</sup> Bryant, vol. i. p. 347.

There were dog-tribes as a matter of course. Such we must assume the Cynocephali in Libya to have been, whom Herodotus mentions as a race of men with the heads of dogs;<sup>1</sup> named, as Bryant observes, from their god—fable adding the physical peculiarity in explanation of the dog-name. Ælian and Plutarch, besides bearing witness to the veneration paid to dogs in Egypt, relate “that the people of Ethiopia had a dog for their king; that he was kept in great state, being surrounded with a numerous body of officers and guards, and in all respects royally treated. Plutarch speaks of him as being worshipped with a degree of religious reverence.”<sup>2</sup> No doubt they had heard something like this, and misunderstood it. The king was a dog, in the same way that a Naga Raja is a serpent, and the reference is to a dog-tribe. What the lamented Speke tells of the traditions of the Wahuma in Central Africa suggests to us that inquiry may yet show that there *was* a tribe in that quarter with the dog for its totem, and it is probably there still.<sup>3</sup>

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

We have no direct evidence of the swan having been a god—that is, having temples of his own; but two great gods, Zeus and Brahma, wore his form, and the latter was named after him; and there is a considerable quantity of myth and fable explainable on the supposition that the bird had been at least a totem. Mr. Evans inclines to think the swan was Phœnician. It is found figured on ancient Phœnician works of art.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iv. 191; Isidor. *Hisp. Orig.* xi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Bryant, vol. i. p. 329; Ælian *de Nat. Anim.* vii. 40; Plut. *adv. Stoicos*, xi.

<sup>3</sup> Speke's *Journal*, pp. 252, 257.

Three persons are named by Ovid as having been changed into swans:—a son of Poseidon, who was killed by Achilles before the metamorphosis; a son of Apollo, who in a fit of vexation committed suicide, and was changed into a swan; and a son of Sthenelus, of Liguria, who in his affliction for the death of his friend Phaëthon was changed into a swan.<sup>1</sup> Of the last story there is another version given by Lucian, who speaks of swans in the plural in his jocular account of an attempt to discover the sweet-singing birds when boating on the Eridanus.<sup>2</sup> In the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, Io is directed to proceed till she reaches the Gorgonian plains, where reside the three daughters of Phorcys in the shape of swans, with one eye and one tooth between them.<sup>3</sup> Socrates is represented as speaking of swans as his fellow-servants, and Porphyry assures us that he was very serious in doing so.<sup>4</sup> Calchas, a priest of Apollo, was called a swan;<sup>5</sup> and at the first institution of the rites of Apollo, it is said many swans came from Asia, and went round the island Delos for the space of seven days.<sup>6</sup> The companions of Diomedes, lamenting his death, were changed into birds resembling swans.<sup>7</sup> They settled in some islands in the Adriatic, and were remarkable for the tameness with which they approached the Greeks, and for the horror with which they shunned all other nations.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, the singing of swans was very celebrated, and spoken of not only by the poets, but by such men as Plato, Plutarch, Pliny, and Cicero as a thing well known. Their melancholy strains were never so sweet as when they were dying. The only instance of the form of this bird being assumed by a Greek god is in the case of Leda or Nemesis. Zeus, in the form of a swan, deceived the lady. She produced two eggs in consequence, from one of which sprang Pollux and Helena, and from the other Castor and Clytæmnestra!

Again, the inhabitants of islands who, though in the swan

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Met.* xii. 144, vii. 379, ii. 377. Besides these there are two mythical persons of the name, both sons of Ares.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian *de Electro seu Cygnis*.

<sup>3</sup> Porph. *de Abst.* iii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Callim. *Hymn to Delos*, 249.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Æsch. *Prom.* 814.

<sup>7</sup> Lyc. *Cass.* 428.

<sup>8</sup> Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 509.

form, were yet human, like the birds of Diomedes, can only mean a Swan-tribe, we think. The fact of the swan figuring in the heavens and on ancient coins, taken along with the fact that it was a tribal name, makes it probable that the swan was a god, and highly probable that it was at least a totem elsewhere than in Australia, where it is a totem now.

7. *The Dove*.—The Dove, or Pigeon, is figured on coins, in the *Numismata Spanhemii*,<sup>1</sup> of Eryx in Sicilia (where we shall see it was worshipped). Mr. Sim states that it is figured on the coins of Scione in Macedonia; Halonnesus, an island of Thessalia; Cassope in Epirus; Leucas in Acarnania; Seriphus and Siphnus, islands in the Ægean Sea; Antioch in Caria; Side in Pamphylia; and on uncertain coins of Cilicia, all of date B.C. It is a question whether the Pleiades derived their name from the doves direct, *πλειάδες*, the virgin companions of Artemis, who with their mother Pleione, when pursued by Orion in Bœotia, were rescued, changed into doves, and put in the heavens; or from the word *πλεῖν*, to sail, the most favourable season for setting sail being supposed to be the time of the heliacal rising of these stars. But there is no doubt that omens were taken from doves at the setting out on a voyage, and that the two accounts are reconciled by a third, namely, that these stars came to be called doves from the coincidence of their rising and the seasons esteemed most favourable for taking such auguries, and for setting sail. It is unnecessary, however, to found on the doves being a constellation; as, whether they were or not, there is abundant evidence that the dove was a deity. The cultus is treated of at some length in Selden's *De Diis Syris*,<sup>2</sup> and at great length in Bryant's work, the dove being very important to the Arkite scheme of that writer.<sup>3</sup>

That there were persons called *πλειάδες*, or doves, in various places, is agreed upon. They were said to have been the most ancient prophetesses at Dodona, and also at Thebes; and indeed the oracles at Dodona and in Libya were founded

<sup>1</sup> Tom. i. p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Lipsie, 1672; Syntagma ii. cap. 3, *De Dagon*.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 281 *et seq.*

by two doves that came from Thebes. Herodotus' account of these black pigeons that flew from Egypt, and settled the one at Dodona and the other in Libya, is familiar. He states that, according to the priestesses of Dodona, the pigeon that arrived there spoke from a beech-tree in a human voice, directing a temple to be founded to Zeus; but that the priests of Thebes, on the other hand, assigned the founding of Dodona to one of two of their sacred women who had been carried off by Phœnicians.<sup>1</sup> These women were called *doves*, as being ministers (says Bryant) to the dove-god. It is thus he explains the several narratives of women being, like the daughters of Anius, turned into doves.<sup>2</sup> They became priestesses. It seems certain that in some temples the deity had no representation but the dove. He was *in the shape* of that bird. Athenæus states that Zeus was changed into a pigeon, and this notion prevailed in Achaia, and particularly at Ægium.<sup>3</sup>

It was not merely Zeus, however, to whom doves were "ministers." They were sacred to Venus. "Ejusdem Deæ quemadmodum ministræ habitæ fuerint, docet optimè historia illa de Columbis circa Erycem Montem in Sicilia volitantibus et diebus quas ἀναγωγὰς et καταγώγια nominabant incolæ."<sup>4</sup> A dove, also, was the sole emblem of Semiramis, who was worshipped as a deity.<sup>5</sup> Selden quotes Johannes Drusius as follows: "Samaritanus circumcidit in nomine imaginis Columbam referentis, quam inventam in vertice Montis Garizim certo quodam ritu colunt;" and says, "Aliam quam Semiramidis figuram hic non intelligo; cujus etiam nomen Syris seu Babyloniiis Columbam Montanam denotare volunt nonnulli." The legend was that, on her death, Semiramis was changed into a dove, and under that form got divine honours;<sup>6</sup> but Bryant, we think, is right in maintaining that she never existed, and that her title Samarim, or Semiramis, was a stock name. He says that it belonged to the Babylonians, and to all others as

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 54, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 674.

<sup>3</sup> Athen. ix. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Selden, *l.c.* p. 274; Athenæus, *l.c.*; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 15. This temple of Venus at Eryx was celebrated.

<sup>5</sup> Diodor. Sic. ii. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Diodor. Sic. *l.c.*; Athenagor. *Leg. pro Chr.* 26.

well who acknowledged Semiramis, the dove, and took it as their national insigne, *i.e.* totem. That the Babylonians did this seems to be well made out. One of the gates of their city, Herodotus mentions, was called Semiramis.<sup>1</sup> The Babylonians, according to Bryant (and Selden vouches that many have taken that view), were also called Iōnim, or children of the dove; and their city Iōnah, the dove being the national ensign, and depicted on the military standard.

Hence (says Bryant) the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of the land of Israel being laid waste by the Babylonians, mentions the latter by the name of Iōnah, which passage is rendered in the Vulgate, *facta est terra eorum in desolationem a facie iræ Columbe*. In another place the prophet foretells that the Jews should take advantage of the invasion of Babylonia, and retire to their own land, and he puts these words into the mouths of the people at that season: "Arm, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, from the oppressing sword." But the word *sword* here is Iōnah, and [the passage] signifies *from the oppression of the Dove*—the tyranny of the Iōnim. It is accordingly rendered in the Vulgate *a facie gladii Columbe*. The like occurs in the 50th chapter of the same prophet.<sup>2</sup>

Worshippers of the dove existed in Chaldea, among other districts in Babylonia. The Samaritans worshipped it, as the Jews alleged, and had a representation of it in Mount Gerizim, already noticed in a passage cited from Selden. The Assyrians worshipped it; *διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὴν περιστερὰν τιμῶν ὡς θεόν*, says Diodorus,<sup>3</sup> on which passage Bryant remarks, "It was, we find, worshipped as a deity." The worship prevailed in Syria, about Emesa and Hierapolis,<sup>4</sup> and "there were Samaritans in those parts," says Bryant. The dove, in fact, was very generally received—was almost as great a god as the serpent. Pausanias<sup>5</sup> mentions that Æsculapius, when exposed as a child, was preserved by a dove, which thus appears fostering a Naga. It became an emblem with the Hebrews, and is still, as every one knows, a symbol of the Holy Ghost, who once appeared in its shape. We have seen, however, that it was a reality long before it became a Christian symbol. To put this beyond

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iii. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 299 ff.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian *de Syria Dea*, 14, 54.

<sup>5</sup> viii. 25.

doubt we must cite Clemens Alexandrinus,<sup>1</sup> who says 'its worship was the basest idolatry, remarking that the people styled Syro-Phœnicians revered, some of them doves, others fish, as zealously as the people of Elis worshipped Zeus.<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, long before, noticed that in those parts divine honours were paid to doves.<sup>3</sup> Diodorus says the worship was universal in Syria.<sup>4</sup> It was most marked at Ascalon and Hierapolis, as we know on the authority of Philo Judæus<sup>5</sup> and Lucian, both of whom attest that the veneration of the people extended to the living bird. Lucian relates of the people of the latter city that the pigeon was *the only bird they never tasted*, as it was held by them to be particularly sacred.<sup>6</sup> We must believe it was so regarded by the Babylonians, who were named from it, and counted themselves to be its offspring; and we must believe that there were tribes elsewhere than in Babylonia that took its name and claimed the like descent.

8. *The Ram*.—The Ram is in the heavens as Aries. It appears on the coins of many cities, as Panormus in Sicilia; Perinthus, Hephæstia, and Samothrace, in Thracia; Halonnesus, an island of Thessalia; Issa, an island of Illyria; Phea in Elis; Cranii and Same, in Cephallenia; Clazomenæ in Ionia; of uncertain cities of Cilicia; Antioch in Seleucis; Damascus in Cœlesyria; and of some other towns in Africa. These coins are all of date B.C. A coin of Panormus having the ram is very remarkable and suggestive. It is figured in the *Numismata Spanhemii*, tom. i. p. 204, along with the Yoni, at which it is staring.

The ram was sacred to Jupiter Ammon, and probably had, at the Libyan oracle, a position not inferior to that of the Dove at Dodona. The story is, that Jupiter, in the form of a ram—a ram incarnation—relieved Hercules, or Bacchus, and his army when they were in straits, from thirst, in the deserts of Africa, who, out of gratitude, erected a temple to the god, re-

<sup>1</sup> What follows here is abridged from Bryant, vol. ii. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* p. 12, ed. Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Apud* Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. ii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Lucian *de Syria Dea*, 14.

presented with the horns of a ram.<sup>1</sup> There were some three hundred Jupiters, as we know,<sup>2</sup> and if one of them got a place in a group in which the sheep stock was dominant, it would be a small tribute to the totem of the dominant tribe to give Jupiter ram's horns. So, where a horse or bull tribe was dominant, he might reasonably be Hippius or Taureus, and have, say, the head of a horse or bull, or some other element of the one or the other in his composition.<sup>3</sup>

There are the usual stories indicating that there had been supernatural, if not divine, ram-beings. In the fable of Phrixus a ram with a golden fleece rescued the son and daughter of Athamas from their stepmother, Ino, carrying them through the air. This ram was said to be the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane.<sup>4</sup> The lady being changed into a sheep, the god took the form of a ram to woo her in.<sup>5</sup> The offspring of

<sup>1</sup> Serv. ad *Æn.* iv. 196. The god Ammon of Thebes was ram-headed.<sup>1</sup> See Kenrick's *Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 44, and the note, p. 67, on the ram-sphinx of Karnak. See also Lord Herbert of Chesham's *Religion of the Gentiles*, p. 45 where the Ram-god is identified with the sun. His worshippers would not eat mutton!

<sup>2</sup> Tertull. *Apol.* 14.

<sup>3</sup> We saw in America a considerable number of *Suns* and *Sun-tribes*, and we remember the policy of the Incas. There were far more *Zeuses* in Greek legend than *Suns* in America. Take the story of Endymion as handled in Müller's *Chips* (vol. ii. p. 78). Endymion is son of Zeus and also of Æthlius, king of Elis—an Inca—who is, of course, himself a son of Zeus. Many cases resemble this. "The same custom," i.e. of taking the Sun for father (or, as we say, totem), says Müller, "prevailed in India, and gave rise to the two great royal families of Ancient India—the so-called Solar and the Lunar races."

<sup>4</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* 188.

<sup>5</sup> Incarnations of gods in animal forms for such a purpose as we have here are feigned in many mythologies. Perhaps the most curious instance of the fiction is that which occurs in the *Bṛihad-Araṇyaka Upanishad* (Muir's *Texts*, vol. i. pp. 24 ff.), where Parusha (the Procreator) having divided into male and female parts, the following incidents occurred. "He cohabited with her (i.e. his female division). From them *MRS* were born. She reflected, 'How does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear!' She became a cow and the other a bull, and he cohabited with her. From these *kine* were produced. The one became a mare, and the other a stallion; the one a she-*am*, the other a male *am*. He cohabited with her, etc. etc. The one became a she-goat, etc. etc." The speculation as to the origin of the different

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 42, etc.



the connection was thereafter by the gods gifted to Athamas, the father of Phrixus, as a reward for his piety. The recovery of the golden fleece from Colchis, as every one knows, was the object of the Argonautic expedition, an expedition of the most famous sort, ranking even with the hunt of the Calydonian Boar. These legends are intelligible if we conceive that there was a sheep-tribe, and an idol of the ram, believed to be a god, and an object of worship, that was stolen and sought to be recovered and restored to its shrine. The reader will remember the Golden Fleeced Llama in the Temple of the Incas. Evidence, beyond what lies in these facts and legends, that the living animal was religiously regarded, we have none, except a few Vedic facts, and the fact that *Sheep* were worshipped in Egypt. There were numerous tribes of men in Egypt—a land on which many races impinged; and, in our view, we have in that an explanation of the multiplicity of the forms in Egypt of animal and vegetable worship. It was not that all Egyptians worshipped every creature, from bulls to beetles, and crocodiles to cats; but that there were certain of them presumably of distinct tribes, gentes, or stocks, to whom one or other of the animals was sacred, and the others detestable. This is borne out by what Cunæus says (*De Rep. Heb.* lib. i. c. 4), as quoted by Lewis, in the close of the third volume of the *Origines Hebrææ*, in explanation of the saying that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians. "That nation," he says of the Egyptians, "who revered, *some* sheep, *some* goats, *some* other four-footed beasts; being persuaded there was in them something of divinity." It is more forcibly borne out by what is stated by Wilkinson. "It frequently happened," he says, "in the worship of the sacred animals, that those which were adored in some parts of Egypt were abhorred and treated as the enemies of mankind in other provinces, deadly conflicts occasionally resulting from this worship and detestation of the same animal."<sup>1</sup> This is quite intelligible on the hypothesis that the animal gods were tribal,

species of animals here contained is in several respects more *primitive* than that of the Khonds on the same subject, as given by Major M'Pherson.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. p. 159.

or, more probably, gentile, *i.e.* totem-gods; but how is it explicable on the supposition that they were emblems?

9. *The Goat*.—The Goat is in the heavens as Capricornus, and figures on many ancient coins, all of date B.C.; on coins of Thermæ, or Himera, in Sicilia; Ægospotami in Chersonesus, Thracia; Ænus in Thracia; Macedonia *in genere*; Issa, an island of Illyria; Pharos in Illyria; Ægira in Achaia; Elyrus in Creta; Syrus Insula; Antandrus in Mysia; Parium in Mysia; Ægæ in Æolis; Ephesus in Ionia; Ægæ in Cilicia; Cyzicus in Mysia; Augusta in Cilicia; Tralles in Lydia; Commagene *in genere*. It appears on two British coins figured in Mr. Evans's book, and on some coins in the Gaulish series.<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that the goat was a god, as the reader will find who consults any classical dictionary, art. "Pan."<sup>2</sup> The readiest to the present writer's hand is Lemprière, who has the following: "In Egypt, in the town of Mendes, which word signifies a *goat*, there was a sacred goat kept with the most religious sanctity. The death of this animal was always attended with the greatest solemnities, and like that of another, Apis, became the cause of a universal mourning."<sup>3</sup> Pan himself had a body compounded of the human and goat forms—was a goat-being of the same order of beings as the Minotaur, Sphinx, Hippa, and others we have seen. Fable represented him as the offspring of various deities—Mercury<sup>4</sup> and Jupiter<sup>5</sup> in particular. He took the complete form of a goat on some occasions, as once to woo Diana.<sup>6</sup> What form had she? He was alive in the time of the wars with the giants, and when the gods fled from their enemies to Egypt he assumed the form of a goat, and they all immediately followed his example!<sup>7</sup> The particular goat whom fable put in the heavens was Amalthæa, the daughter of a king of Crete, who fed Jupiter with goat's milk when he was a child.<sup>8</sup> So there

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *l.c.* p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> See also art. "Lupercalia."

<sup>3</sup> Herod. ii. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. *Hymn to Pan*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 4, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Philarg. ad *Georgic.* iii. 391.

<sup>7</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* 196.

<sup>8</sup> Lactant. i. 21; Hygin. *Poet. Astron.* ii. 13; Callim. *Hymn Jov.* 49.

was a lady who was yet a goat, and a king, who was her father, in Crete when Jupiter was a baby. The goat was no doubt a totem-god long before Jupiter was thought of.

We saw in Egypt a town named from the goat. Were there tribes named from it also? It was also a stock name in India.

Lewis, in his *Origines* (vol. iii. p. 21), points out that the Hebrews used to offer sacrifices to *Seirim*, who were demons in the form of goats. His explanation is that they did so in imitation of the ancient Zabii. "It seems more reasonable," he says—than another hypothesis, which need not be cited here—"to believe the old Hebrews worshipped the Demons adored by the ancient Zabii, who appeared in the shape of goats; and this practice was universally spread in the time of Moses, which occasions that this kind of idolatry was so strictly forbidden in his injunctions." In the Olympus of Mohammed are seven regions, and above the seventh, eight angels *in the shape of goats*. On their backs stands the throne of god.<sup>1</sup>

10. *The Fishes*.—The fishes may be rapidly disposed of. They are in the heavens, and very common on coins. They were worshipped in most places where doves were, as among the Syrians, Babylonians, and Phœnicians. In Egypt the fish had a prominent place in connection with Isis, who was figured with it on her head. The fishes in the heavens are spoken of by Hyginus as *persons*, and he quotes Eratosthenes as saying that *the fish* was the father of mankind: "Eratosthenes ex eo pisce natos homines dicit."<sup>2</sup> The Phœnician god Dagon, also the Assyrian Oannes, was a man-fish, one of our familiar compounds. Dagon invented agriculture, of course, and many other arts, and was worshipped in many places.<sup>3</sup> Berosus, as quoted by Eusebius,<sup>4</sup> says Oannes had the body of a fish, and below the fish-head, placed upon the body, a human head coming out under the other. He had a man's feet coming out under the tail, and a human voice.

<sup>1</sup> *Mishkátu 'l-Magabih*, vol. ii. p. 652.

<sup>2</sup> Hyginus, *Poet. Astron.* ii. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Lewis, *Origines*, iii. 81.

He used to come every morning out of the sea to Babylon to teach the arts and sciences, returning to the sea in the evening. Derceto was another such compound—a woman to the waist, for the rest a fish.<sup>1</sup> According to some she was human in the face only.<sup>2</sup> She was a Syrian goddess, and the Syrians, according to Diodorus Siculus, would eat no fishes, “but they worshipped fishes as gods.” There is a story in explanation of this, to the effect that, ashamed of an indiscretion, the goddess plunged into a lake near Ascalon, where she had a temple, and became a fish.<sup>3</sup> Ovid calls her Dione, and gives a somewhat different history of the plunge. He represents her as received in the water by two fishes, which afterwards became the Pisces of the heavens.<sup>4</sup> Fish were sacred to Venus.<sup>5</sup> A considerable variety of fishes are figured on ancient coins, the cetus and dolphin being the most frequent. We have no list of any number of them, but a few are figured in the *Numismata Spanhemii*. A variety of them will be found figured at p. 339 of vol. iii. of Mr. Campbell’s *Celtic Tales*, being “all the fish figured on the sculptured stones of Scotland.” Fish, in Mr. Campbell’s opinion, “clearly have to do with Celtic mythology.” We have seen fishes giving stock names to tribes of men now existing, and can understand how, having been totems, they should have become gods to the tribes that had them in that character. Of course in Bryant’s system the fish is the Ark, while Dagon, Oannes, etc., are the Patriarch Noah.

As to *one* fish we are able, thanks to Plutarch, to put his totemship beyond doubt. “The Egyptians in general,” says that writer, “do not abstain from all sorts of sea-fish; but some from one sort and some from another. Thus, for instance, the inhabitants of Oxyrynchus [Piketown] will not touch any that is taken with an angle: for as they pay an especial reverence to the pike, FROM WHENCE THEY BORROW THEIR NAME [*i.e.* they are Pikes], they are afraid lest perhaps the hook may be defiled by having been some time or other employed in

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *de Syria Dea*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Diodor. Sic. ii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Diodor. Sic. l.c.

<sup>4</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 461.

<sup>5</sup> Athenæus, vii. 18.

catching their favourite fish. The people of Syrene, in like manner, abstain from the Phagrus, or sea-bream." Can any one doubt that in Oxyrynchus there was a Pike-tribe? <sup>1</sup>

11. *The Bear*.—The Bear is in the heavens as Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, the former distinguished as early as the time of Homer by the name of Arktos.<sup>2</sup> He occurs on various Gaulish coins; on coins of Urso in Spain, and on a coin of Orgetorix, chief of the Helvetii.<sup>3</sup> He probably occurs on other coins, but we have no list of them.<sup>4</sup>

The constellation connects itself with the names of Callisto and Arcas. Callisto was changed into a bear for a fault committed with Jupiter, of which Arcas was the fruit. Jupiter, to atone for the metamorphosis, made her a constellation along with her son.<sup>5</sup> This Arcas, of the bear stock, reigned in Pelasgia, which from him took the name Arcadia. He taught the people agriculture, of course, and other arts, *e.g.* the spinning of wool.<sup>6</sup> The Greek name for the constellation enters into Arcturus, and there was another star near the Bear, called Arctophylax. The island of Cyzicus was called Arcton, and the Arctanes were a tribe of Epirus.<sup>7</sup> The suggestion is, that the bear gave its name to a stock, and was a god; that there were bear-tribes in Arcadia once as there are bear-tribes now in America.<sup>8</sup>

The bear, as a god, probably became, in most places, obsolete very early, having no special claim to a place in the Religion of the Life-powers—the first great speculative faith that supervened on the primitive animal and vegetable worship, and with which most of the other animals we have been considering undoubtedly came to be connected. It is curious that

<sup>1</sup> *Isis and Osiris*, 7. The word translated *pike* is given in Liddell and Scott as meaning a species of sturgeon.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xviii. 487; *Od.* v. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Numismatique*, 1860. Plate IV.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Sim's note is, "Bears are only to be found on uncertain coins of Gallia. Some of these have the wild boar on the obverse. Some have two bears. They are all earlier than Julius Cæsar."

<sup>5</sup> Ovid, *Met.* ii. 476-507.

<sup>6</sup> Pausan. viii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Steph. Byz.

<sup>8</sup> We have the bear as an object of worship in Athens, with a strange history in explanation of the fact. See Suidas, s. v. *Ἀρκτα*.

we have him as an eponymous progenitor elsewhere than in Arcadia. For example, a bear was the progenitor of the kings of Denmark. In Olaus Magnus' History,<sup>1</sup> it is gravely related how this came about, the narrative being quoted, "ex historia charissimi ante-cessoris," of the author—the Archbishop of Upsala. It opens thus: "Cujusdam patrisfamilias in agro Suetico filiam, liberalis formæ, cum ancillulis lusum egressam, eximie granditatis ursus, deturbatis comitibus, complexus rapuit." The lady, being carried off by the bear, had by him a son. "Ut ergo duplicis materie *benigna artifex natura* nuptiarum deformitatem seminis aptitudine coloraret, generationis monstrum usitato partu edidit." She gave him his father's name. His grandson begat Ulfo, "a quo Rex Sueno et cætera Danorum Regum stemmata, ceu quodam derivata principio, longo successionis ordine (teste Saxone) profluxerunt. Quomodo autem similes partus judicabuntur, August. de Civ. Dei plurima dicit de simili propagine, utri sexui magis sit attribuenda." On which Olaus Magnus piously remarks, "Crediderim ego id a vindice Deo effectum, ut Dani, qui de sanguinis nobilitate plus nimio gloriantur, Suetiamque frequentius quam feliciter impugnare consueverant, Regibus a fera Suetica genitis obnixos vertices inclinare cogenterent. Quam acer autem hic Ulpho Sprachaleg Suecus *ursi nepos* fuerit in bello, quam etiam astuti et vafri ingenii supra videre licet!"

Joannes Scheffer mentions as one of the primitive gods of the Lapps, "Hyse," whose function it was "lupis et ursis imperare." Whether this king of the wolves and bears was a wolf or a bear, and what was his nature or functions, does not appear. In Scheffer's chapter, *De Sacris Magicis et Magia Lapponum*, we find the Bear on the Magic Tympanum along with Thor, Christ, the Sun, and the Serpent—who were gods to them—and some other animals, e.g. the wolf and reindeer; and in his chapter on the wild beasts of the country, he tells us they call the bear the lord of the woods, "vocant eum dominum sylvarum," which is explained to mean that he is "*herus omnium animalium reliquorum*"; so that the king of

<sup>1</sup> P. 702, ed. Basilee, lib. xviii. c. 30.

the wolves and bears might well be a bear, and could not well be a wolf<sup>1</sup> There is no clear evidence, however, of *the worship* of the animal by the Lappa.

12. *The Crab*.—The crab stands next. He is in the heavens as Cancer, and on the coins of Cumæ in Campania, Butuntum in Apulia, Bruttium *in genere*, Crotona in Bruttium, Terina in Bruttium, Agrigentum in Sicilia, Eryx in Sicilia, Himera in Sicilia, Panormus in Sicilia, Priapus in Mysia, Cos, island of Caria. The dates of these coins range from 300 B.C. to 100 B.C. There are probably many others having the crab. We do not know much of him in mythology; but we saw him as a god now worshipped by a tribe in Fiji. The reason assigned for putting him in the heavens is of an intenser degree of silliness than that usually given for so promoting an animal. When Hercules was attacking the Hydra—the many-headed Naga—"Juno, jealous of his glory, sent a sea-crab to bite his foot. This new enemy was soon despatched, and Juno, unable to succeed in her attempt to lessen the fame of Hercules, placed the crab among the constellations, where it now bears the name of Cancer."<sup>2</sup> It will be admitted that this story, read literally, is quite ridiculous. If we take Hercules to stand for a tribe—the Heraclidæ (what does this name *mean* etymologically?), the Hydra for a Serpent-tribe or nation, and the sea-crab for a Crab-tribe, the story becomes intelligible. The Crabs, having come to the relief of the Serpents, when attacked by the Heraclidæ, were defeated along with their allies. The introduction of Juno into the legend probably was of late date, and had for its object to explain why Cancer was a constellation—a fact that would cease to be easily accounted for when, as a totem-god, the crab had become obscure or obsolete.

<sup>1</sup> Schefferi *Lapponia*, ed. Frankofurti, 1673, pp. 59, 125, and 386. There was a wolf-man in Arcadia (and he was worshipped), namely, Lycaon, as well as a bear-man, who was king of the country; and Pan's Greek name was Lyceus, from λύκος, a wolf.

<sup>2</sup> Article "Hydra" in Lemprière's *Dictionary*. This account is substantially the same with that given in the most recent *Encyclopedia*. Apollodor. ii. 5; Hygin. *Poet. Astron.* ii. 23.

We have now examined the list of animals set down for consideration, excepting the Aselli—the little asses, and then we must pass over, as they would take much space, and there are more important animals to attend to. The Jews said the Samaritans worshipped the Ass, and the Samaritans said the Jews worshipped it. The Romans and others joined chorus with the Samaritans. The reader who is curious on this subject, will find in Kitto's *Encyclopædia*—the edition before last—*sub voce* "Ass," some guidance in his inquiries. The story Tacitus gives is well known,<sup>1</sup> and so is the controversy between Josephus and Apion as to whether the Jews had the cultus. Some light on the subject is thrown by the book of Zacharias in the Apocryphal New Testament, and in Hallam's *Middle Ages*, in which there are accounts of the Asinarii and the Festival of the Ass. The reader will recall the asses that helped Bacchus,<sup>2</sup> and that in Egypt the ass was the symbol of Typhon.<sup>3</sup> We may be pretty sure he was the totem of some tribes of men who were of importance, otherwise he would not have been promoted to the heavens. He furnished a stock name to the Arabs.<sup>4</sup>

It would be out of place, even were we able to do it, to attempt to exhaust the subject in an article of this description. There are two creatures, however, which it is as well we should notice before going on with our argument. They are the Bee and the Eagle. It is pretty certain, we think, that both of them were totems promoted to be gods.

13. *The Bee*.—There was a goddess Melitta, or Melissa, who was represented by a bee, and there were tribes named after her, "Melittæ," or "Melissæ," that is, Bees. "The Grecians," says Bryant, "have sadly confounded the histories where they are mentioned by interpreting the Melissæ Bees."

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Hygin. *l. c.*

<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> See *Mishkât ul-Maqabih*, vol. ii. p. 93, footnote respecting Himar, or the ass (that is, he was surnamed ass), "the last Khalifah of the dynasty of Ommiah." The ass was here in the royal line.



He admits the bee, however, to have been the hieroglyphic of Melissa. "It is to be found as a sacred and provincial emblem upon coins which were struck at places where she was worshipped (the italics are ours). But the Greeks did not properly distinguish between the original and the substitute, and from thence the mistake arose." The Greeks, we submit, knew quite well what they meant, and it is the moderns who should be reflected upon for misunderstanding them. They called them bees, as we, in referring to American tribes, would speak of bears, wolves, and eagles; and the bee that had originally been a totem had become a totem-goddess. The following passage, from Bryant, we submit, is almost perfectly sensible when read in the light of our hypothesis:—

Philostratus mentions that, when the Athenians sent their first colony to Ionia, the Muses led the way in the form of Bees. And Herodotus says that all the northern side of the Danube was occupied by Bees. Jove also, upon Mount Ida, was said to have been nourished by Bees. When the temple at Delphi was a second time erected it was built by Bees.<sup>1</sup>

There was, we may conclude, not only a Bee-tribe, but there were gentes of the Bee stock spread over a vast tract of country, as they should be owing to incidents of the totem stage. What Bryant says of the *bee* coins shows the importance of the sort of evidence ancient coins furnish. We have the bee on ancient coins of Athens, whence Philostratus says bees set out; on coins of Elyrus in Crete, where Melitta, daughter of a king Bee, lived, and helped the goat Amalthea to nurture Jove;<sup>2</sup> on the coins of Coressia and Julis, towns in the island of Ceos; on the coins of Præsus in Crete; of Sicinus; of Ephesus in Ionia, whose coins also give the bee and half-stag; of Cyon in Caria; Tabæ in Caria; Elæusa, island of Cilicia, and of Acrasus, in Lydia. These coins are all of date B.C.

14. *The Eagle*.—This bird could perhaps be made as much of as the serpent, horse, or bull. We must dispose of it in a few sentences. Bryant says it was *the* ensign of the Egyptians, who were named after it; but more probably the

<sup>1</sup> Philostr. *Icon.* ii. 8; Herod. v. 10; Callim, *Hymn to Jove*, 50; Pausan. x. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Lactant. i. 22.

dominant tribe only was so named. The eagle was Nisrôch the god of Nineveh. It was also the symbol of the kings of Chaldæa. Of course it got to be compounded with the human form, to have two and three heads, and so on. Mr. Layan's remarks of these compounds of the eagle, bull, and lion, are as follows: "It is worthy of observation that wherever they (that is, the human-headed lions and bulls) are represented either in contest with the man or with the eagle-headed figure, they appear to be vanquished." And he adds, "I have already ventured to suggest the idea which these singular forms were intended to convey—the union of the greatest intellectual and physical powers; but certainly their position with reference to other symbolical figures would point to an inferiority (that is, of the lions and bulls) in the celestial hierarchy."<sup>1</sup> Of the emblem hypothesis we shall have something to say presently. Meantime, it suffices, as regards the eagle, to find a tribe named from it, and that in one quarter it was a greater god than the horse or bull. Among the Jewish tribes (the later Jews, say) the eagle was the emblem of the tribe of Dan, an ox of Ephraim, and the lion of the tribe of Judah,<sup>2</sup> the lion here appearing as belonging to the

<sup>1</sup> *Nineveh*, vol. ii. p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> See Lewis, *Origines*; chapter on coins. It is Aben Ezra, says Lewis, who gives the tradition which assigns the Lion, Ox, and Eagle to the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and Dan respectively, as ensigns. In the Douay Bible (2nd edition, edited by Halydock and Hamill. Two vols. Dublin. No date) the reader will see on a plate at p. 180, vol. i. the ensigns of the tribes according to, at least, some authority esteemed by Roman Catholics. The plate illustrates v. 2, cap. ii. of Numbers, where the ensigns and standards of the Hebrews are referred to. On Judah's standard is the Lion; on Dan's, the Eagle; on Naphtali's, the Hind or Hart; on Benjamin's, the Wolf; on Manasseh's, the Horse (or Ass); on Ephraim's, the Bull or Ox; on Asher's, a Tree; on Issachar's, the Sun and Moon; and on Gad's, a cone on an altar—the Assyrian Lings! In Jacob's dying speech, Genesis xlix., to the eponymous progenitors of the tribes in which their fortunes are indicated, Judah is spoken of as "a lion's whelp"; Issachar as "a strong ass"; Dan as "a snake in the way"; Benjamin as "a ravenous wolf"; Naphtali as "a hind (or hart) let loose"; and Joseph as "a fruitful bough." Compare our version with the Vulgate. The wolf, hind, and lion only are the same in the speech and in the plate of the Douay Bible. In connection with the subject of this note, Ezekiel x. vv. 8-22, is worth looking at, it being kept in view what the faces of the cherubim were. And see *Seder Olam Rabba*, p. 58; *Truma Chron. Institute of London*, vol. ii. part ii.; and Carpzov's *Apparatus Historico-criticus*, etc., Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1748.

dominant tribe. The Roman eagle will occur to every one, and in Rome *eagle* was a gentile name. A great many places were named from the bird, notably Aquileia, known as *Roma secunda*. We must say no more of the eagle, however. It is everywhere. The coins having it belong to all places and dates, and are far too numerous for enumeration.

The list of animals that were totems among the ancients might be extended, by evidence of varying degrees of force, to comprise the tiger, wolf, cat, panther, elephant,<sup>1</sup> stag, boar, fox, rat, and rabbit; the raven, hawk, and cock; the ant, butterfly, and grasshopper—all the creatures, in short, that figure in heraldry. Strange as it may seem, there is a Lord of tigers now, and he is a *good god*, as a totem should be.<sup>2</sup> The Bygahs or Jogeos regard him so much that *they won't eat him*—a poor compliment, but it is significant. In the Bygahs' mythology a milch tigress was foster-mother to the first man. "*Coeval with the creation of the world were created one Naga Joge, and his wife, Mussumat Naga. One day they went into the forest to dig for roots, and from the earth they dug up a boy-child, who was nursed for them, under the direction of Mahadeo, by a milch tigress.*"<sup>3</sup> Major M'Pherson, in his paper on the religion of the Khonds, says that people believe "natural tigers to kill game only to benefit men, who generally find it but partially devoured, and share it; while the tigers which kill men are either Tari (a goddess), who has assumed the form of a tiger for purposes of wrath, or men, who, by the aid of a god, have assumed the form of tigers, and are called

<sup>1</sup> The elephant is a totem-god now in Burmah, where the king is styled "King of the Rising Sun, Lord of the Celestial Elephant, and Master of Many White Elephants, and Great Chief of Righteousness." (There is a Rising Sun tribe among the Cheppeyans, in North America, *Archæ. Amer.* vol. ii. p. 18.) It occurs with totem marks in the *Çalapatya Brâhmana*, and is there identified with Vivasvat (the Sun), the son of Aditi (see *Muir's Texts*, vol. iv. p. 13)—a sun-elephant corresponding to the sun-serpent of Peru. Elsewhere we have Gunesch, an elephant-headed divinity, "the mother of the universe," an object of worship at this day.—*Diary of a Pedestrian in Cashmere and Thibet*, 1868, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> He is mentioned in Mr. Justice Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "The Bygahs' Mythology," p. 52 of the *Report of the Indian Ethnological Committee*, 1866-67. Nagpore, 1868. .

'Mleepa Tigers.'"<sup>1</sup> The way in which the beneficent nature of the totem is here, by fictions, put beyond suspicion, is delightfully simple.<sup>2</sup> "Mleepa" or "Were" wolves are also common, as every one knows; and it is equally familiar that the wolf has often been a foster-mother, as she was to Romulus and Remus. The tiger and wolf are totems in America, as are several others on the list above given. It is altogether out of the question, however, to attempt to deal here with such a list. Enough has been said to prove that the most savage animal may be accepted by a tribe of men as a totem and be thereafter developed into a great and benign god.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Religion of the Khonds*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> "Mleepa Tigers," Du Chailly states, are to be found in Africa. They also occur among the Arawaks, who call them "Kansima Tigers." See Brett, *l.c.* p. 368.

<sup>3</sup> We may here, in a footnote, dispose of a few facts which, indeed, are those that, now four years ago, suggested this inquiry, though the writer has been unable to work upon it till recently. The fact of Serpent and Bull tribes being known to exist, and to have existed, seemed to offer an explanation of the myth of Cadmus, at Thebes, and of the cow that led him thither.<sup>1</sup> On the same suggestion it occurred that there might have been a Snake-tribe in Rhodes. Phorbas obtained the supremacy by freeing the island of snakes.<sup>2</sup> The myth of the Ants and Ægina next strengthened the suggestion of the presence of tribes with totems. The ants in the island were miraculously turned into men—the *subpupes* into the Myrmidons—Ants, that is, quite on the level of the Australian opossum.<sup>3</sup> Then occurred the Calydonian boar hunt—there is something like it in the *Celtic Tales*, and in the Highlands, we have no doubt, inquiry will yet establish the totem stage. It seemed incredible that the slaughter of a boar should have employed the whole chivalry of Greece—an army of warriors—and that the feat should ever after rank among the proudest exploits of the nation. The question rose, Was there a Boar-tribe? The Oracle enjoined Adrastus to give his daughters in marriage, one to a boar, and the other to a lion.<sup>4</sup> This was complied with by their marrying Tydeus and Polynices respectively! Tydeus came from Calydon, and was son of Æneus, king of the country. He was therefore possibly a boar, if the question above put was to be answered in the affirmative. Was Polynices, then, a lion, and was there a Lion-tribe? As he was the son of Ædipus, from the land of the sphinx, it seemed not improbable, on the totem view, that he might be a lion. And so the matter appeared worthy of investigation. The facts here stated will, we think, be felt to add force to those in the text. Most of them were first noted by the writer in 1866, as challenging such an inquiry as the present.

Since this note was in type the writer's attention has been called to *The*

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæc. Frag.* 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Diod. Sic.* v. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Apollodor. iii. 6.

We must also dispose of the worship of plants in a summary manner. This matters the less that the worship of a considerable variety of them is established in Mr. Fergusson's recent publication on *Tree and Serpent Worship*.<sup>1</sup> Among these we have the Pear-tree, Oak, Asclepias—a creeping shrub—the Soma, a great Indian god), the Pipal, the Fig-tree, the Bela, the Tulsi plant, the Tamarisk, and the Elapatia and Talok trees. To this list we may add the Olive, Laurel, Lotus, Palm, Pomegranate, and Poppy. A spiritual idea of a tree we have in Yggdrasil. Some of these became great gods, and got a place in the religion of the Life-Powers. In one or two cases the legends that give us the earliest accounts of plant worship, give us also a primitive mother for the tribe having the worship and the suggestion of kinship through the mother only having existed in the tribe. Thus in the legend of Athens, which introduces the Olive, as we have it from Varro (*apud August. de Civi. Dei*, xviii. 9), we learn that "a double wonder" having appeared springing out of the earth—namely, the Olive-tree and Water—the Oracle declared the Olive to signify Athene, and the Water Poseidon, and that the citizens must choose from which of the two they would name their town. Men and women voted together, and the latter carried the honour for Athene by a majority. Poseidon was thereon enraged, and to appease him women were deprived, among other privileges, of that of *having their children named*

*Antiquities of Heraldry*, by Mr. W. S. Ellis, which has recently been issued, and which propounds a view which, at first sight, seems to resemble that in these papers insisted on. Some of the points made, and not a few of the facts founded on, in the chapter devoted to the Heraldry of Mythology are the same as those here given. His view of the order, and even of the nature of the evolution, will be seen, however, on a close inspection, to differ essentially from that of the present writer. Had Mr. Ellis more fully studied the totem he might have anticipated what is here being said.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fergusson's book is, in our opinion, apt to mislead in several respects.

(1) The reader gets the impression from it that the worship of the serpent is an exceptional phenomenon; *i.e.* that it has been singular among animals in being worshipped. (2) It gives the impression that there is a special connection between the serpent and tree. (3) Its title gives the impression that trees only were worshipped, whereas its contents prove the worship as well of small shrubs and plants. All this notwithstanding, it is a valuable book, and one of the most beautiful ever issued.

after them. So that anciently, the story bears, children in Athens took their names from their mothers, as they do among the Australians and American Indians. The case of the Ioxidæ again gives us the suggestion of female supremacy in a legend which also informs us that "they revered as holy and worshipped," a certain marsh plant, which no doubt was their totem.<sup>1</sup>

With these few observations on plant worship we must pass on to our argument. We shall consider first the explanations that have been offered of divine honours being paid to such beasts as the serpent and lion, and to trees, etc.; and after showing that they are unsatisfactory, we shall proceed to consider the weight of the evidence direct and indirect that goes to show the soundness of our own hypothesis.

1. *The Emblem Hypothesis.*—Suppose we knew that all men were, as Bryant believed, derived from one family since 2348 B.C.—the date of the Deluge—that writer's Arkite system would still be worth nothing, either as an explanation of animal worship, or as evidence of the Deluge having occurred. He does not pretend to include nearly all the animals or plants that have been worshipped in his list of Arkite emblems; and, accordingly, to give a reasonable colour to his hypothesis that there had been any Arkite emblems at all that had degenerated into gods, he ought to have excluded the possibility of those he includes having become gods through the operation of such causes as led to the worship of the others. Such causes, whatever they were, being admitted to have been in operation, will explain all the cases; and before an hypothesis of special causes in some cases can be entertained, the operation of the general causes as regards them must be shown either to be insufficient or to be excluded. This, however, Bryant has not attempted, or even thought of attempting, to show; and, therefore, even could we make the necessary supposition as to the history of human tribes, we must still conclude that this learned and, in a confused sort of way, ingenious man has succeeded in nothing—not even in setting up a respectable

<sup>1</sup> Pliney, *Théorie*, chap. viii.

hypothesis. It is simply impossible, however, with our modern information—the history of several nations having been carried beyond the point of time assigned to Noah and his family—to make such a supposition as Bryant requires to set out with. Moreover his system demands not one, but a series of hypotheses, to support it, and they are all bad. (1) There is the hypothesis that the animals had been emblems. This is bad, as we have shown. (2) There is the hypothesis that the emblems degenerated into gods. This is not supported by one instance adduced of such degeneration having, historically, taken place, or even by a fair analysis of the probable steps through which it could have happened. (3) There is the hypothesis that through the idolatry of some one animal of a species thus induced, a religious regard came to be extended to the species. This is subject to the same remark as we have made on the preceding hypothesis. The far-fetched processes by which even a poor appearance of a case has been made for the emblems as at all probable, we need not remark upon. At the same time, as we have amply acknowledged, we have profited much by Bryant's researches at one point. It was necessary in his scheme, as in ours, that it should be shown that the totems—as we say; the animal emblems, as he says—were precedent to the gods of the mythologies.

Another emblem hypothesis represents each animal as, in some way not now to be understood, typical of the nature of some one or other of the gods. This again is a fanciful explanation surrounded by the same sort of difficulties. How came men to think of taking animals and plants to represent their gods? We can understand the selection only when we conceive their gods as spiritual ideals of animals or plants. Besides, the hypothesis assumes the deities as existing before the animal gods, and this is contrary to the evidence. And why should the selection of an animal to be the type of a god render its species sacred? We do not religiously regard the pigeon, though the dove is one of our most mysterious symbols. We can understand, on the other hand, how it decayed into a symbol, knowing it to have been a god that had grown obsolete.

The fish is a Christian symbol; but we have not a religious regard for fishes. When the fish-god was a power, however, his worshippers religiously regarded the finny tribe. They would not *eat* them. It has been true of these as of most symbols; facts come first, and symbols are facts in decadence.

There is yet another form of the emblem hypothesis. It is that mentioned in a passage cited from Mr. Layard, and which, almost in a sentence, that author states and abandons. This is the hypothesis that the compounds of various animals and human forms "were intended to convey the union of the greatest intellectual and physical powers." This altogether fails to touch the fact of the *real* worship of *living* animals. Moreover, as an explanation of the compounds it is untenable. It simply won't hold of the Naga compounds. They are *not* intended to convey anything of the sort. Will it hold of the dog compounds? As to the bull, lion, and eagle compounds we saw Mr. Layard's opinion to be that it will not hold; the evidence showing the creatures to have a place, and to be subordinated to one another in the celestial hierarchy. The fact is, though *we* now make use of lions, sphinxes, and so on to convey such ideas as he refers to, we demonstrate in doing so only the poverty of the modern imagination and the feebleness of our art instincts; inasmuch as being incapable of inventions, we mimic old forms derived from the religious faiths of long past and misunderstood generations.

While no cases are producible in support of the emblem hypothesis of animals regarded as emblems merely, or illustrating their transition from being emblems to being themselves objects of adoration, we are not without cases to show that the animal-gods were prolongations of the totems. We have such a case, for example, in Peru. The Peruvians, according to Acosta, worshipped the sun, moon, planets, and stars; fountains and rivers; rocks, great stones, hills, and mountains; land (Tellus) and sea (Poseidon)—all these objects being regarded as persons. They worshipped Thunder, believing him to be a man in the heavens with a sling and mace! Of lesser objects



on earth, he tells us, they worshipped fruits and roots, some small stones, and the metals; while among the animals they worshipped he makes special mention of the bear, lion, tiger, and snake. Now we are able from this author to see what were the speculations of a people in the stage in which, having animals as gods on earth, they also worshipped stars in heaven. Of his account of star-worship in Peru, we cite the following version from Lord Herbert of Cherbury: "They particularly adored that constellation which we call *Cabrillas*, or the goat, and they *Colca*; and commanded that such offerings should be made to some stars, and such to others, those being particularly worshipped according as every one's necessity required. The *Opisons* adored the star *Urchuchilly*, feigning it to be a *Ram* of divers colours, who only took care of the preservation of cattle; and it is thought to be the same which the astrologers call *Lyra*. Besides these two, they worshipped two others that are near them, and say that one of them is a *Sheep* and the other a *Lamb*. There are some who adore another star that ruled over the *Serpents* and *Adders*, from which they promised safety to themselves; others who worshipped the star called the *Tiger*, who they believed to preside over tigers, lions, and bears. *They were of opinion that there was not any beast or bird upon the earth WHOSE SHAPE OR IMAGE DID NOT SHINE IN THE HEAVENS*, by whose influence its similitude was generated on the earth, and its species increased."<sup>1</sup> Thus we see that the *beings* in the stars were believed to have the animal forms, and to be powers in the celestial hierarchy.

This case proves (1) a connection, such as we have been endeavouring to trace, to have existed between the worship of animals and the nomenclature of the heavens; (2) that the celestial beings were conceived to be *in the shape* of the animals, and to have special relations to their breed on earth; and (3) while it indicates the persistence of tribal preferences for particular stars as animal gods, it shows the process to have been in operation by which, on the consolidation of the political system, the divine functions are distributed among

<sup>1</sup> Acosta, *Histoire Naturelle*, Paris, 1600, pp. 214, 217 (lib. v. chaps. 4 and 5); Herbert's *Religion of the Gentiles*, 1705, p. 86.

the tribal, or rather we should say, gentile, gods of a group.<sup>1</sup>

Now of two things one. Either the Peruvians, as some maintain, independently achieved the civilisation they had, starting from the totem stage in which their neighbours remained, or their civilisation, including the religious doctrines, were derived by them from some one or other of those nations we call the ancient. On the former view, of course, the animal gods are the prolongations of the totems; on the latter we have, in the case of the Peruvians, a reflection of the religious system of some one or other of the ancient nations. So that on the least favourable of the alternatives we have the fact, that in some one at least of the ancient nations that worshipped animals—and they all did—the animals were *not* emblems, but the exact images of the gods. What was true in one case, the presumption is, was true in all. That is to say, there are not only no facts to support the emblem hypothesis in any of its forms, but the presumption derivable from the facts we have is against that hypothesis.

2. *Mr. Fergusson's Explanations.*—So much for the emblem hypothesis. There is no other that we know of except in the special case of the serpent and tree, in regard to which views have been put forward by Mr. Fergusson. Tree worship he conceives to have sprung from a perception of the beauty and utility of trees. "With all their poetry and all their usefulness," he says, "we can hardly feel astonished that the primitive races of mankind should have considered trees as the choicest gifts of the gods to men, and should have believed that their spirits still delighted to dwell among their branches, or spoke oracles through the rustling of their leaves." Of this it suffices to say, it does not at all meet the case of the shrubs, creepers, marsh-plants, and weeds, that have been

<sup>1</sup> We have seen in numerous cases the disposition of the tribesmen to identify their totem with the sun. It is highly probable that the identification of the totems with particular stars conceived as the sun's inferiors is, like the distribution of functions, a late phenomenon, posterior, that is to say, to the settled co-ordination of the tribes in the political system.

worshipped, and is obviously *not* the key to the mysteries of plant worship. His account of the origin of serpent worship is, if possible, even more unsatisfactory. He ascribes it to the terror with which the serpent inspired men; to the perception of his remarkable nature, the ease and swiftness of his motions, and his powers of quickly dealing death by sudden spring or mysterious deadly poison. To this the objection is, that the serpent religion is not a religion of fear but of love. The serpent, like the tiger and bull, is a benign god. He is a protector, teacher, and father. How came a religion beginning in terror to be transformed into a religion of love? The terror hypothesis will, we submit, not meet the case even of the serpent. And no such hypothesis, it is obvious, can be extended to cover the run of cases—to explain the worship, say, of the dog, the dove, or the bee.

The hypothesis we put forward starts from a basis of ascertained facts. It is not an hypothesis explanatory of the origin of *totemism*, be it remembered, but an hypothesis explanatory of the animal and plant worship of the ancient nations. It is quite intelligible that animal worship growing from the religious regard for the totem or kobong—the friend and protector—should, irrespective of the nature of the animal, be a religion of love. What we say is, our hypothesis explains the facts. It admits an endless variety of plants and animals to the pantheon as tribal gods; it explains why the tribes should be named from the animal or plant, and why the tribesmen should even, as we saw in some cases they did, esteem themselves as of the species of the totem-god. It explains why in Egypt, Greece, India, and elsewhere, there should be a number of such gods, by showing that there should be as many as there were stocks, counting themselves distinct, in the population; and it also explains why in one place one animal should be pre-eminent and in another subordinate, the gods following the fortunes of the tribes. It explains, moreover, on rational principles, for the first time, the strange relations represented by the concurring legends of many lands as having existed between various animals and

the anthropomorphic gods; it throws a new light on the materials employed in the so-called science of heraldry, showing whence they were drawn; and, lastly, it enables us to see sense and a simple meaning in many legends, and in some historical narratives, that appeared to be simple nonsense till looked at in the light of this hypothesis. Since it is so simple and so comprehensive, and has a basis of facts for its foundation in existing totem-races; since we have seen reason to believe that the mental condition of these races and the beliefs they entertain have been at some time the mental condition and beliefs of all the advanced races; and since the only *assumption* we make is that all races have been progressive, which in other matters they undoubtedly have been, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that our hypothesis is a sound one—that the ancient nations came through the totem stage.

Some facts which make for our hypothesis cannot be too much insisted on. We have found in numerous cases what seems good evidence that from the earliest times animals were worshipped by tribes of men who were named after them, and believed to be of their breed. We have seen in several cases the oldest anthropomorphic gods having titles derived from the animals, or believed to be of their breed, or to have been fostered by them; and the conclusion seems to be forced upon us that these gods were preceded by the animals as totems, if not as gods,—and that the latter bore to them the same kind of relation that we know in India the serpent had to Buddha, and bears to Vishnu. On the rise of Buddhism among the Nagas, serpent worship was for a time repressed or subordinated; but the serpents were too strong. They reasserted themselves, and the old serpent faith revived with a *human* figure in the Olympus! The heavenly Naga is even now the shield and protector of Vishnu.

The hypothesis that similar occurrences had taken place among Horse, Bull, Ram, and Goat tribes will explain the peculiar relations which we have seen existed between these gods and these animals respectively, and we know of no other

hypothesis on which they can be, at least so well, explained. That Dionysus or Poseidon, for instance, should be *ταυρογενής* is a fact presenting no difficulty on our hypothesis any more than that either of them should have been figured as a bull or with a bull's head. To what other hypothesis will the fact not be a stumbling-block? Since these and all the other gods of their class were false gods that were gradually developed by the religious imagination, the fancy of poetical persons, and the interested imposture that is everywhere promotive of novelties in religion; since the whole of the facts we have been surveying demonstrate a progress in religious speculation from savage fetichism; and since among the lowest races of men we find no such gods figuring as Zeus and his companions, we seem already, at this stage of the argument, to be justified in arriving at the conclusion that the ancient nations came through the totem stage, and that totemism was the foundation of their mythologies.

## II

### THE KAMILAROI AND KURNAI

(BY DONALD M'LENNAN)

SINCE the preceding Essay<sup>1</sup> was written, Mr. Howitt has published an account of the Kurnai tribes of Gippsland (South-Eastern Victoria);<sup>2</sup> but, though in some other respects interesting, this adds nothing that is certain to our knowledge of the structure of Australian tribes.

The Gippsland natives, like the Narrinyeri, called themselves men (Kurnai), and the neighbouring tribes, with whom their relations were usually hostile, wild men (Bra-gerak). When the country was first settled, in 1839, they may have numbered (Mr. Howitt says) from 1000 to 1500, but by 1877 there remained of them only 140; and their conversion to Christianity and settlement in missions had to a great extent broken down the force of the old customs among this remnant. The old tribal divisions had disappeared; and the circumstances and mode of living of the survivors were entirely different from those of their predecessors. Mr. Howitt had an official position in Gippsland, and no doubt had good opportunities of gathering such information as was still to be got; but he had, in fact, very few—too few—informants, and he relied chiefly on the knowledge of a man who had lived from early youth

<sup>1</sup> [*I.e.* the chapter on Australia, *supra* p. 278.]

<sup>2</sup> *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. By the Rev. L. Fison and A. W. Howitt. Melbourne, 1880.

among the settlers.<sup>1</sup> Though he had a slight knowledge of the Kurnai language, too, his communications with his informants had to be carried on in the main in English, and the Kurnai English, however fit for other purposes, was not unlikely, without severe testing, to prove misleading or uninforming in regard to such matters as kinship or tribal structure. Moreover, Mr. Howitt was chock-full of theories; and it is clear that this helped to divert him from the line of inquiry which might possibly have yielded results of value.

It follows that one has always carefully to scrutinise Mr. Howitt's facts, comparing them where possible with the slender accounts of the Gippsland natives which have come from other sources; and (both on account of his theories and for other reasons) it is necessary still more carefully to scrutinise his inferences from facts, and as to the state of the facts in particular cases. In the list of the Kurnai divisions or local tribes, which he has laboriously collected, there appear three tribes or bodies of natives with names taken from men who were living when the country was settled by the whites (*e.g.* Bunjil Nullung's mob), and he offers these names to us as proper tribal names. This might of itself be enough to show that his facts are to be taken as somewhat doubtful; and, as to his inferences, observe what his comment upon this mode of naming is. "Each of these divisions," he says, "received its designation from an eponym, who *changed with each generation.*"

The Kurnai, we are told, claimed the whole of Gippsland from near Cape Everard to near Cape Liptrap, there being border lands, however, which were disputed between them and the Maneroo and Omeo tribes, their neighbours. The inhabitants of certain districts were known, as a whole, as Kroatungolung or east-country people; and, similarly, there were Briakolung or west-country people, and Tatungolung or south-country people. Besides these there were, each with their separate country, the Bra-brolung tribes and the Bra-taulung, to the

<sup>1</sup> In Brough Smith's *Aborigines of Victoria* (vol. i. p. 57), Mr. Howitt mentions that this man, Tulaba, "was caught as a young lad by the Macleods of Buchan, and thus got his name, Billy Macleod."

meaning of whose names a clue is given in the statement that Bra, like Kura, signifies man. The whole Gippsland population was comprised in those five divisions. This is what Mr. Howitt tells us; but it should not pass unnoticed that the east, west, and south country people here spoken of were the Kurnai who lived to the east, to the west, and to the south of the Bra-brolung, among whom he found his chief informants. The Bra-taulung lived to the south of his south-country people, and rather farther to the west than his west-country people. And while Bra-brolung and Bra-taulung seem both to be simply variants of Kurnai (meaning men), east and west and south country people may have been designations in use among the Bra-brolung (such designations are so used among ourselves) for people who had besides other names more proper to them. There were diversities of language from district to district; there were the usual blood-feuds and tribal quarrels, a frequent cause of quarrels being the stealing of women; but the Kurnai seem to have been ready to unite against their Bra-jerak neighbours; and the people of four out of the five districts were bound together by the ceremonies for the initiation of youths to manhood, which were performed by them in concert. In these the east-country people took no part. Initiation to manhood was unknown among them—a proof this (the Kurnai, notwithstanding differences, being obviously one people) that it was formerly unknown among the Kurnai generally.

While the whole country was divided (or divisible) into five districts as aforesaid, the population of each district was made up of small local tribes, each of which had its recognised boundaries. The structure or composition of these local tribes is what now concerns us, and, unfortunately, Mr. Howitt has not been able to tell us anything distinct about it.

It may be said in passing that polygamy was practised among the Kurnai; that fidelity was expected of the wife but not of the husband; and that the husband did not give his wife to his guest. In general, too, the tribe had a name said to be taken from the principal place within its territory. There were no chiefs, but the ablest or most forward took the lead when leadership was wanted. The women had a voice,



and an influential one, in whatever concerned the common good.

Mr. Howitt has not ascertained how kinship was taken in the Gippsland local tribe; nor has he collected many facts such as might help us in judging of this for ourselves. The transmission of family (totem) names is, among the Australians as among similar peoples elsewhere, the surest guide in this matter; but, according to Mr. Howitt, family names were unknown among the Kurnai. He mentions only personal names and nicknames. And he believes that the Kurnai were not divided, as the Australians generally are, into totem clans or families. Rules for inheritance also throw light upon kinship; but neither are these of any avail as regards the Kurnai. A man's personal property was in general buried at his death; and there was nothing that could be inherited from him unless it were his wife or wives. The wives, Mr. Howitt says, where there were more than one, went to his brothers in order of seniority, one to each—which, with polygamy, if taken literally, would prove male kinship, and might even suggest agnation; but it is evident that Mr. Howitt did not think of inquiring whether uterine brothers had a preference, or whether it was uterine brothers who could thus inherit. Of the case in which one wife only was left, all he says is that the wife went to the deceased's brother, the statement being in no way particularised, and being therefore equally consistent with kinship being through males or through females. Even the blood-feud, as Mr. Howitt has been able to describe it, does not carry us far. The sister's son was foremost in the work of vengeance—that is clearly brought out in one case; and this shows beyond doubt that kinship was at one time counted through females only among the Kurnai (as Mr. Fison has remarked), and that kinship through females was still of importance, whether the exclusive kinship or not. Mr. Howitt's impression is that relatives both on the father's side and on the mother's side took part in the blood-feud, which would show that kinship through the father had come to be acknowledged. Unfortunately the cases he gives as examples of the blood-feud (possibly through the facts having been imperfectly explained to him)

suggest that the persons upon whom it placed a duty usually got all the friends they could to help them.

Some other facts are given by Mr. Howitt which show the importance of the connection made through marriage—all being consistent, however, with kinship through the father being also an established kinship. Marriage made a man free to live with his wife's local tribe as well as with his own. And it was a man's duty to share food with his father-in-law (it may be only when living with him, but it is puzzling to find this spoken of as an every-day matter). Young children were never killed (the distinction was made by Mr Howitt's informants), but abandoned, as happens where the father is answerable for his children to the mother's relatives. The woman herself, too was under the protection of the blood-feud.

As to the marriage law, Mr. Howitt has not tried to base it upon kinship, or to put it upon any definite basis. He has laboriously gathered information as to the localities to which the men of each local tribe went for their wives, but facts of this class cannot show whether there was any principle by which marriages were governed. It might be believed without them that men sought wives where women whom they were free to marry could be got most conveniently or easily, and that custom counted for a good deal in the matter; and they do not carry us any further. Since, however, any Kurnai might marry a Bra-jerak or foreign woman, it may be inferred that, in general, where there was no kin there was no restraint upon marriage. And there was interdiction of marriage on the ground of kin. A man could not marry his "sister"—a term which, as Mr. Howitt defines it, included all first cousins, whether on the father's side or on the mother's. Mr. Howitt does not tell us that it extended beyond first cousins. Nor has he been able to say that the interdiction of marriage on the ground of kin went further in one direction than in another. It was of importance, as it happened, in the case of those cousins only who belonged to different local tribes; and it prohibited a man from marrying (among others) his father's sister's daughter and his mother's brother's daughter—women who, with the totem system, would not have been of his own

totem, from whom an exclusive kinship either through males or through females would not have cut him off. A man could not marry any woman of his own local tribe. And in some cases, in addition to this, he could not marry any woman of his mother's local tribe. Mr. Howitt does not offer any explanation of these prohibitions.

His statements might carry us, nevertheless, to a conclusion as to this, and as to tribal structure among the Kurnai also, but for one uncertainty. Mr. Howitt insists that wives were got among the Kurnai (except to a very trifling extent) by means of elopement or capture, which were both practised under the same conditions; indeed, nearly all the information given to him was about elopements; and one cannot be sure that he has not confounded limitations put by circumstances upon capture and elopement with limitations put by law or custom upon marriage. There might have been women both in a man's own tribe and in his mother's tribe whom he was not debarred from marrying, and yet it might have been too risky a thing or too gross an outrage, especially as the tribes were very small, for him to steal away with one of them, whether without her consent or with it. The Kurnai restrictions, as stated by him, however, were those which prevailed among the Narrinyeri—prohibition of marriage within the tribe, and prohibition of marriage with certain near relations not of the tribe—with, in some cases among the Kurnai, the prohibition added of marriage within the mother's tribe. These are all restrictions which may occur where, after kinship through females only, the local tribe has become a proper clan established upon male kinship. The prohibition of marrying in the mother's tribe may be much more easily and completely explained upon this view of them than it can be upon any other view. And Mr. Howitt's facts are all consistent with it. Moreover, with fidelity exacted from the wife, there was no reason why there should not have been among the Kurnai the fullest acknowledgment of kinship through the father. And, on the other hand, the acknowledgment of kinship through the father is the best possible reason for fidelity being exacted from the wife.

We get incidentally another fact from Mr. Howitt which strongly suggests that the Kurnai were, as to kinship and the composition of their tribes, much in the position of the Narrinyeri. He has been able to translate for us only a few of the Kurnai tribal names. And there is perhaps only one, the name of a tribe of the Bra-brolung, which he has translated with perfect confidence. But the name of that tribe meant Widgeon (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 227). This is a name of the totem kind; and if it was a totem name, it would show, consistently with what has otherwise been indicated to us, that one local tribe of the Kurnai was a proper clan with male kinship. Why, then, finding it among Australians, should we doubt that it was a totem name? There would really, all the facts considered, be scarcely any reason for doubting, if any, but that our authority tells us he failed to discover totem divisions among the Kurnai. He had a theory, however, at this point, as will be seen by and by. And he has given us at least one other fact strongly suggestive of totemism, which occurs (where such a fact was likely to occur) in his account of the procedure at an elopement.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the case in which totemism is most likely to escape discovery is that in which the tribe having male kinship, all the people of the tribe are usually of the same name and totem, while there is also (as there is said to have been, in general, among the Kurnai) a local name by which the tribe is commonly known.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "By and by," Mr. Howitt says, in describing an elopement, "one of the eligible young men met one of the marriageable young women; he looked at her, and said, 'Djeetgun!' She said, 'Yeerung! What does the Yeerung eat!' The reply was, 'He eats so and so,' mentioning kangaroo, opossum, or emu, or some other game. Then they laughed, and she ran off with him without telling any one" (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 201). Mr. Howitt gives this without any sort of explanation, and totemism may give the explanation. The woman's question, if customarily made, must have been either still necessary or a traditional form; there must have been a reason for it, whether a continuing reason or not. Now, when women eloped with strangers there might be need for inquiry as to marriageableness; for the Kurnai men did not scar themselves—that is, they did not bear tribal or family marks. The women did bear scars of some sort. And with totemism giving the rule for marriage, the man might marry the woman if he might eat her totem.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Gallatin was certainly not a less able or a less careful inquirer than Mr. Howitt, and his opportunities were incomparably better than Mr. Howitt's. It

Mr. Howitt thinks that the inhabitants of each of the five districts into which Gippsland was divided formed a single clan, of which each of the local tribes of the district was a section or division. But there appears to be absolutely nothing to support such a suggestion. On the other hand, with kinship through females only (of which it is clear they had had experience), the Kurnai, being exogamous, must have been in the common Australian case of having people belonging to different stocks, clans, or families mixed together, not only in every district, but in every local tribe. And a change in kinship need oust none of these clans from the district. It might lead to the people of each clan being collected into a single local tribe, as among the Narrinyeri; and the name of the Waiung or Widgeon tribe may indicate that it did this, to some unknown extent, among the Kurnai. The district names, too, so far as known to us (putting aside those which indicate geographical relation only)—Bra-brolung, Bra-taulung—were mere variants of Kurnai, meaning the men or the people; and are no more likely to have been clan names than Narrinyeri, which has the same meaning, and is, as we know, a general name for the people of many different clans, or than Kurnai itself. It appears, too, that the Bra-brolung, or, at any rate, some of them, could intermarry with one another, which makes against the view that they formed a single clan. Very likely, when not quarrelling among themselves, the inhabitants of each district of Gippsland were ready to unite against other Kurnai; but from such a fact there can be no inference as to clanship. The Iroquois, notwithstanding their famous league, were made up of several clans or families, in which descent was taken through the mother.<sup>1</sup>

seems, therefore, worth while to mention here, with reference to the scantiness of indications of totemism in Mr. Howitt's work, that Dr. Gallatin, in writing of the Southern Indian nations of North America, while describing them admirably in other respects, disclosed that they had totems only casually and in a footnote. That they were in totem clans is now known on other authority. Dr. Gallatin, however, was able to mention a number of totem names, while Mr. Howitt has given us only one, but with what may fairly be taken as an indication of there having been others.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Howitt's earliest statement about the Kurnai is to be found in Mr. Brough Smith's *Aborigines of Victoria* (vol. ii. pp. 323 *et seq.*), and is confined to the Bra-

Mr. Howitt's facts which bear upon the tribal system of the Kurnai have now been all dealt with. But there are two other matters which figure largely in his book, and should not be overlooked.

In a work which will be noticed hereafter, it appears that the natives of the Port Fairy district of Victoria were made up of five clans or families having totem names which were taken through the mother—viz. Long-billed Cockatoo, Pelican, Banksian Cockatoo, Boa-snake, and Quail—and that, as is usual in such cases, no man could marry any woman of his own totem name. It appears, too, that, like other people in the same social state, the Port Fairy natives had superstitions or practices which had to do with animals from which none of them took their names, and which were common to them all, of whatever totem name. And among other things, the common Bat, we are told, belonged to the men of whatever totem, who protected it against injury, "even to the half-killing of their wives for its sake"; so that it was protected by the men against the women. Similarly, the Fern-owl, or large Goatsucker, belonged to the women of whatever totem, and, though a bird of ill omen, creating terror at night by its cry, was jealously protected by them. If a man killed one, they were "as much enraged as if it were one of their children," and would strike him with their long poles; so that the women protected it against the men. A fact such as this, wherever it occurs, is curious, and no doubt worth inquiring about. Among the Port Fairy people,

brolung tribes. The name Kurnai is not mentioned in it, and it is not clear whether the Bra-brolung, as a people, called themselves Kurnai as well as Bra-brolung. In this statement Mr. Howitt said that the Bra-brolung were in three "clases," by which he meant local tribes, within each of which marriage was forbidden, while each might intermarry with the other two. Had this statement remained undisturbed, there could have been little doubt that the Bra-brolung local tribe was a true clan with male kinship, and exogamous (even without it being known that the name of one of the tribes meant Widgeon). In *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* Mr. Howitt gives the names of five local tribes of the Bra-brolung, and tells us something of the habits in respect of marriage of three of them. One of the three, he says, took wives from a neighbouring district only; the second took wives from the Waiung or Widgeon tribe only; while the Waiung took wives from those two, and also went abroad for them. As to the name Kurnai, it seems to have been added to the name of a local tribe when an individual of the tribe was to be designated.

whatever its import, it is clear that it had to do with sex; and it is clear also that it had nothing to do with totem names or tribal divisions. It would not be surprising were one brought to conclude that it was connected with the initiation to manhood, the effect of which was to take youths from the women and make men of them.

It is upon a fact precisely the same as this, however, that Mr. Howitt and his collaborateur, Mr. Fison, have based their whole view of the history and tribal condition of the Kurnai; and, naturally, their view is a very extraordinary one. Among the Kurnai the Yeerung, or Emu-wren, belonged to the men, and was protected by the men against the women, just as the Bat was among the Port Fairy people; and the Djeetgun, or Superb Warbler, belonged to the women, and was protected by the women against the men, as the Goatsucker was among the Port Fairy people. Both figured in the proceedings of the men and women at the ceremonies of initiation, and in these, in connection with the young men, another bird, the Nurt, a species of duck, also played a part. Mr. Howitt seems at an early stage of his inquiry to have become possessed with the notion that the Yeerung and the Djeetgun were all the Kurnai had for totems. (But why did he overlook the Nurt?) And he concluded that the Yeerung was the totem of the Kurnai men, and the Djeetgun the totem of the Kurnai women. By parity of supposition perhaps the Nurt should have been the totem of Kurnai young men. Yeerung and Djeetgun, however, dominate his book, turning up in the most unexpected places; and Mr. Fison has devised a theory to account for the totem system being employed among the Kurnai, not to distinguish one body of kindred from another, but to distinguish men from women.

One need not say much of such an error, or of the ingenuity of theorising expended upon it. It is enough to repeat that the Port Fairy people had precisely similar sex preferences to those of the Kurnai, and had totem names and divisions besides, and that (unless as regards their origin) the two had nothing to do with each other; and it may be added, for those who are interested in Mr. Fison's theory, that though the former

had somehow to do with sex, it was the latter which regulate marriage; so that the theory, with all its developments, including the explanation of "marriage by elopement," is absolutely chimerical. Obviously Mr. Howitt's view could never have been thought of had it been known that the Kurnai had totem names or divisions. And it was just the view which might make the most candid inquirer rather slacken his search for such things. Very likely these (if the totem system prevailed among the Kurnai) were not so easily to be heard of as a fact in which all Kurnai men and women were interested. As it is, Mr. Howitt has found for us one Kurnai tribal name which was an animal name, and has given us indications of others. And without a good knowledge of Kurnai speech, supposing that the Kurnai had the totem system, it may have been impossible for any one to do more. It need scarcely be added that, whatever totem names they may have had, we may be sure that Yeerung and Djeetgun were not among them.

The other matter to be noticed (of which incidentally something has been said already) is the mode in which the Kurnai got their wives. Here once more there is uncertainty, as to Mr. Howitt's facts. He tells us that, as a rule, a young Kurnai could get a wife only by running away with her—this is, by her freely eloping with him, without the knowledge of her parents. "If the young man was so fortunate as to have an unmarried sister, and to have a friend who also had an unmarried sister, they might arrange with the girls to run off together;" this is the first illustration of the system of elopement which he gives us. In other cases, a young man and young woman ran away together because they happened to fancy one another, and the first advances might come from either. The girl, in all cases alike, went freely, and without the knowledge of her parents; and their consent, if asked would be refused as a matter of course.

By and by it comes out that there was a good deal of capture among the Kurnai, and that the stealing of women was a frequent cause of quarrels between tribes. There is some recognition also of exceptional cases, in which women did not elope, but were given away—made, it would seem,



because a correspondent of Mr. Howitt's who had lived long among the Kurnai, Mr. Bulmer of the Lake Tyers mission, had expressed doubts as to the accuracy of Mr. Howitt's information.

Mr. Bulmer's own account of marriage among the Kurnai, written some years before Mr. Howitt's, is to be found in *The Aborigines of Victoria* (vol. i. pp. 82 *et seq.*). When a girl is thirteen or fourteen, he says (p. 84), a yam-stick is given to her for protection; "and this precaution is nearly always needed, for it would not be sufficient for her to say 'No' to an important question. She drives away any young man who is smitten with her charms with her yam-stick." Mr. Bulmer here puts the risk to a young woman from violence into the foremost place, but it was not his purpose to speak of capture. "Matches," he continues, "are generally made up among the young men; the women never initiate matches, though they have a good deal to say when it is known that a young woman is sought after by some young man. The match is mostly arranged between two young men who have sisters, or some female relative over whose fate they may happen to have control. They follow a system of barter in their matrimonial arrangements. The young woman's opinion is not asked." He speaks, it will be observed, as if this matchmaking, carried on by means of barter, were a common thing, as if it were a system—indeed, as if it were the regular thing; and what he describes is marriage by exchange, which is exceedingly prevalent among other Australians. He goes on to tell how the transaction was carried out. "When the young men have settled the business," he says, "they propose a time when one of them is to take a girl for his wife. The young man marches up to her equipped as if for war, with his club and club-shield in his hands; and indeed these are needed, if he does not wish to receive a blow on his head from the yam-stick, which would perhaps prevent the further progress of his love-making. After a little fencing between the pair, the woman, if she has no serious objections to the match, quietly submits, and allows herself to be taken away to the camp of her future husband." It is plain that the young man marching up to the woman

equipped for war does not go to propose an elopement to her and that he does not go meaning to put up with a refusal. It is manifest that, in virtue of the bargain made, he goes to take her away, by force if necessary; and, in short, there is a form of capture.

Mr. Bulmer tells us also that elopements took place, and he speaks as if they were pretty frequent. He shows that elopement was resented much as capture would have been, though, no doubt, in a less degree; and also that the woman was nearly always brought home again, so that elopement was far from leading immediately to marriage. After a couple had eloped again and again, however, and been punished for the offence, the girl's friends *usually consented* to a marriage. The man had got love tokens from her, Mr. Bulmer explains, which, in the hands of a sorcerer, would put her life at his mercy; she became ill, and her friends grew anxious; there was pity for the young man, too, who had braved so much for her; and so, in the end, "the tribe give him to wife the girl for whose sake he has borne so many honourable scars." In the detail just given there is little difference between Mr. Bulmer and Mr. Howitt; and (besides that the woman was *given* at last) it scarcely seems descriptive of a mode of getting married to which there was no sort of recognised alternative.

Mr. Howitt's admissions about capture show that he made his statement as to elopements much too strong; and, after reading Mr. Bulmer, it cannot be doubted that he mistook the place of exchange in Kurnai marriage. So much, as to exchange, might almost have been inferred, indeed, from the Kurnai having been polygamous. Men do not get many wives by elopement practised under difficulties; men do not get many wives even by capture—polygamy cannot get on without more regular means of wife-getting; and, allowing for inheritance, there can scarcely be any practice of it worth speaking about without wives being obtainable by some form of contract. No doubt the marriages arranged by brothers, which Mr. Howitt classes among elopements, were in general marriages by exchange.

What proportions, however, the three—capture, exchange, elopement—bore to each other among the Kurnai does not greatly matter. It is plain that the Kurnai arrived at marriage by exchange in a movement from capture, for what the man got by his bargain was permission to take away or carry off the woman. That elopement also was arrived at in a movement from capture is clearly shown by a curious fact, immediately to be noticed, which Mr. Howitt mentions. And if elopement and exchange both grew up upon capture, which of the three was the more in vogue becomes a question of subordinate interest.

In an account of the capture of women as practised by the Australians, given in Mr. Brough Smith's *Aborigines of Victoria* (vol. ii. p. 316), it is stated that "in any case, where the abduction has taken place for the benefit of some one individual, each of the members of the party claims, as a right, a privilege which the intended husband has no power to refuse." Where a tribe carried off women from another tribe, it is added, "the unfortunates are common property till they are gradually annexed by the best warriors of the tribe." The general case and the particular agree in this, that, in the first instance, a woman was common to those who had made capture of her; while she was, in the latter, given immediately after that to the man for whose behoof she had been carried off, and was, in the former, monopolised as soon as some particular man was influential enough to make his own of her. Similarly, Mr. Howitt tells us of a tribe in which (p. 346) "the female war captive was at first common to the men present at the capture, and then became the property of her captor"—that is, provided she were a woman he was free to marry. And of a woman who had been taken in war, he was told (Kurnai practice this) that "before she was the wife of Tankli she belonged to all the Yowung men," which coincides with the second of the foregoing statements.

It need not be said that the practice thus disclosed as following upon capture is not peculiarly Australian; and no far-fetched theory is needed to account for it. With contract for marriage and capture remaining as a form, we sometimes

find it continued—the bride carried off, though the carrying off has been only a form, the bridegroom's party treat her as in like case their predecessors would have treated a captive woman. Now, among the Kurnai, as Mr. Howitt shows us, this practice was a concomitant also of elopement. The man with whom a woman had agreed to elope summoned his friends, and the woman was treated by the party as she would have been if they had carried her off for him by force, or taken her in battle.

Where we find it with marriage, this practice reveals to us an association early formed between wife-getting and capture, which, with capture become a form, and possibly reduced to a meaningless formality, continues to manifest itself in marriage doings. It as clearly shows that the elopements of the Kurnai—in which the man stole away with a woman, and was punishable much as he would have been for stealing her—were an aftergrowth of their system of capture.

Mr. Fison has suggested that this practice among the Kurnai illustrates what Sir John Lubbock has called expiation for marriage. But elopement, though so much akin to capture, and though it might prove a step towards marriage, did not make marriage among the Kurnai; in general, it was not followed by the appropriation of the woman, and Mr. Fison has been puzzled to say what there was to be expiated. "The man," he says, in the only passage in which he has ventured to speak clearly (p. 303, footnote), "is one of a group each member of which has as much right to elope with the girl as he has. The secret meeting in the forest seems to be a compounding for that right." He might have said they had all as much right to capture her without being very paradoxical. And the same could equally well be said of all the men of many groups. But when he speaks of a right to elope with her, it becomes difficult to treat him seriously. In elopement the girl had choice as much as the man; she was not restricted to men of any particular group; there was no man who had any right to elope with her. Her consent even can scarcely be said to have given a right even to the man whom she

favoured, though no doubt it gave him an opportunity. Moreover, the "expiation" was not offered to all the men of even one group, but only to those near friends of the man from whom he might have claimed help for her capture, the men who, with regular marriage, would have been his backers at the wedding.

On Sir John Lubbock's theory, no doubt, a war captive, or foreign woman taken captive, belonged to the captor, and there was no need that her appropriation should be expiated; it was the appropriation of a native woman that needed to be expiated, that infringing a right of the tribe. It seems worth while to add, nevertheless, that before the practice which the Kurnai followed in their elopements, and which some other peoples have had in marriage with the form of capture, could be taken as showing expiation for marriage in any case whatever, the same practice in all cases of actual capture would have to be explained as expiation for marriage. That fighting men are much the same, with women at their mercy, in early times and in late, and whatever the current views about marriage right may be, seems to afford a simpler view of its origin. But, apart from that, could it be said there was expiation for marriage in the case of those women captured by a tribe, who were common to the tribe at first, but were afterwards appropriated? Did the women remain unappropriated until their appropriation was sufficiently expiated? The fact seems to be that the woman's first position in this case is that of undivided and unallotted booty—unallotted because nobody has a paramount claim to it. She is common because she is not anybody's, but everybody's, and she ceases to be common as soon as some one man is able to make his own of her.

Mr. Howitt gives, in appendices to his work on the Kurnai, some information procured by him respecting four other Australian tribes—information too meagre in every case, but still worth a few words of notice.

The Gournditch - Mara tribe (Western Victoria; Gournditch being a local name, and Mara = man) is said, on the

authority of the Rev. J. H. Stähle, to have been composed of four classes, that is, divisions, named Kerüp (water), Büm (mountain), Dirck (swamp), and Gilger (river); and to have had "no exogamous rule affecting marriage"; so that, though wives were got from neighbouring friendly tribes, and occasionally through capture, there was no rule which restricted marriages within the tribe itself. It is not stated whether the distribution of the tribesfolk into four divisions had any effect or served any purpose, but the names given are of the totem kind; they may therefore have been totem or family names; and the blood-feud may have depended upon them, though it is said they did not regulate marriage. Besides the statement as to marriage, the most interesting points in Mr. Stähle's information are that children belonged to the division of their father, and spoke his language, when the mother was of another tribe, and not the mother's language (the mention of which seems to show that the mother was often of another tribe); and that, there being a headman of the tribe, son succeeded to father in this office. It thus appears that kinship through males was thoroughly established among the Gourditch-Mara. There is nothing to show to what extent there was kinship through the mother. Sisters were exchanged in marriage, that is, girls were bargained away not by their parents but by their brothers—a point worth noticing, because the same thing happened among the Narrinyeri, who had male kinship, and among the Kurnai, who appear to have had male kinship; but the consent of the parents was necessary. Fidelity was expected from the wife, and the husband did not lend her to his guest, both points tending to show a thorough establishment of male kinship. There was no objection to polygamy.

As to the statement about marriage, of course, there is the question whether it can be trusted; and it does not tell us, be it observed, of any restriction upon the marriage of relatives however near. On reasoning given in *Primitive Marriage*, however, a practice of polyandry might prevent the rise of exogamy; and exogamy, where it had arisen, might disappear in the confusion following upon the change from kinship through females only to kinship through males. If the

Gournditch-Mara had the totem system, and were really not exogamous, the latter is the probable explanation of their not being exogamous.

Is it still possible to ascertain whether they had any marriage law? The mere statement that they were not exogamous, marking them as singular among Australian tribes, makes them more worth inquiring about than most of the numerous tribes which are known to have been exogamous.

The information as to the Geawe-gal tribe (now extinct; Hunter River, New South Wales) communicated to Mr. Howitt by Mr. G. W. Rusden is so meagre, and has been so evidently supplied from imperfect recollection of facts imperfectly observed or understood, that it would perhaps be best to say nothing of it. Mr. Rusden tells us, however, that "it was absolutely necessary that women should be married according to tribal laws," and he states that these were laws "of forbidden degree or class," which may be taken as an indication of exogamy. He mentions also that "the Geawe-gal had a superstition that every one had within himself an affinity to the *spirit* of some bird, beast, or reptile," which (error or misunderstanding duly allowed for) may be taken as an indication of totemism. Mr. Rusden has nothing to tell as to the kinship system of the Geawe-gal.

Some statements as to the Turra tribe (York's Peninsula, South Australia), which are very interesting so far as they go, are given by Mr. Howitt on the authority of the Rev. W. Julius Kühn (but apparently not in the language used by him). Of this tribe, according to Mr. Kühn, there were two main divisions—Wiltu (eagle-hawk) and Multa (seal). It will be seen immediately that it is left somewhat in doubt whether these were not really separate tribes. The Wiltu sub-tribe contained people of ten, the Multa people of six, different totems. All the totems are mentioned. We are told that the divisions or sub-tribes were exogamous, but that any totem of one might marry with any totem of the other; and that children belonged to the totem of their father, and therefore, to his division or sub-tribe; so that here once more we come upon kinship through males in an Australian tribe in con-

nection with totemism and exogamy. Daughters were given in marriage by their parents, and wives were also obtained by exchange of female relatives. Faithfulness, it is said, was expected both of husband and wife, which tends to show a thorough establishment of the family upon the basis of male kinship. Elopement was not unknown, but the penalties were serious. A girl who eloped would be put to death by her relatives, if they could recover her; and they would kill the man also if they could, but he was generally protected, it is said, by the division of the tribe to which he belonged. What is mentioned to illustrate this, however, is that if a man of the Wortu (wombat) totem of the Wiltu (eagle-hawk) sub-tribe were to elope with a Multa woman, he would be protected by the Wiltu-Wortu men—that is, by the men of his own totem; and, to illustrate the marriage-law, it is added that a Wiltu-Wortu man would not be allowed to keep a Wiltu-Wortu woman—that is, a woman of his own totem—even if he captured her; statements which suggest a doubt whether either the restraint upon marriage or the duty of affording protection really extended beyond the totem.

We are not told into what small groups or local tribes the Turra people were subdivided, but by the conditions under which they lived they almost must have been subdivided. It might have been expected that the people of the same totem would in general be found living together; nor does the mention of the capture of a Wiltu-Wortu woman by a Wiltu-Wortu man, as if it were a case which might occur, make against this, for (besides that the woman, when married, would be living among strangers) the statement was evidently made in answer to a "leading question," and seems to be only a way of saying that a man might not marry a woman of his own totem in any case whatever. As to the sub-tribes, we are told that when a woman of one was captured in war by a man of the other, her sub-tribe would fight to recover her, and failing in that, would endeavour to capture a woman of the other; and this tends to show that they lived as separate tribes. Mention is also made of their meeting together for a grand corroboree.



In connection with the grand corroboree, a statement (already referred to in a footnote)<sup>1</sup> is given which is of the greatest interest in relation to the origin of exogamy. At the corroboree (though at ordinary times men did not lend their wives to brothers or friends) "the old men took *any* of the young wives of the other class [sub-tribe] for the time, and the young men of the Wiltu exchanged wives with those of the Multa, and *vice versa*, but only for a time, and in this the men were not confined to any particular totem." As men were not confined even in marrying to any particular totem, this can only mean that for the time the totem made no restriction; that a Wiltu man might for the occasion take any Multa wife—even a woman of his own totem. The Turra people habitually insisted on conjugal fidelity; and the men of one sub-tribe were prohibited from marrying (so it is stated) any of the women whom the men of the other would in general have for wives, and, at any rate, they all were strictly prohibited from marrying within their own totem. Was their practice at corroborees a tradition (observed at extraordinary occasions) of the ordinary practice of their early predecessors? Did the exogamous prejudice apply at first to wiving only?

Of the Wa-imbio tribe, whose territory extended from the junction of the Darling and Murray rivers to the Rufus, a slight account, supplied by the Rev. J. Bulmer, is given by Mr. Howitt. Of the Wa-imbio, Mr. Bulmer says, there were two primary divisions, Muquarra (eagle-hawk) and Kilparra (crow); he implies that each of these contained people of several different totems, but he mentions two totems only—Karnie (a large lizard), which belonged to the Muquarra division, and Namba (the bone-fish), which belonged to the Kilparra division. Mr. Bulmer wrote from experience that he had of the Wa-imbio in his early days; he seems to have remembered no other totems, but he is "most confident" that children were always of the same division as their mother, which involves that they were of her totem also, and that kinship was taken through the mother. With respect to the conditions of marriage, he thinks the consent of parents was usually required, elope-

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 287.

ments also occurring, however; but beyond this his knowledge seems to have failed him; what he says scarcely amounts to more than that there were conditions involving exogamy, and that they were strictly enforced. A man would not be permitted, he tells us, to keep as his wife a woman of his own "class," and the people would not hesitate to kill a man who broke the rule; but he does not say what "class" means in this statement—whether a division of the tribe or the totem kindred only. In an earlier statement<sup>1</sup> he had said that "a Muquarra could not marry a Muquarra, nor a Kilparra a Kilparra"; but in that statement no hint was given of the existence among the Wa-imbio of any totems except these two. The only marriage mentioned by him is a marriage, which followed upon betrothal, between a Wa-imbio man and a woman of the Tapio tribe.

To the preceding notices of Australian tribes scarcely any addition of fact can be made from that portion of *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* for which Mr. Fison is responsible, that being chiefly occupied with theories and controversial matters. The brief citations from correspondents which occur in it (though his theories are mainly founded upon them) are, in general, too meagre to be of any use, even could they be trusted; and it often seems quite obvious that they are not to be trusted. Of course it has to be borne in mind that Mr. Fison was unable to study Australian tribes for himself; and that the only means he had of adding to our knowledge of these fast-dying Aborigines (a most praiseworthy object, if pursued with proper care and without theoretical bias) was to spread schedules of questions far and wide, among all sorts of people who had been in contact with natives, and do his best with the answers he got. It must be said, however, that (while nearly all his new matter is, to speak mildly, doubtful) he has, in his eagerness for new information, ignored a great deal that was already known on better authority than it was in his power to have recourse to. He has besides—legitimately, no doubt, in setting forth his hypotheses, but to a much greater extent than justice

<sup>1</sup> *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. p. 86, 1878. By E. Brough Smith.

to these demanded—used all marriage and kinship terms, as he says himself, in an accommodated sense—that is, in a non-natural sense, and in other ways mixed up fact and theory together, often speaking too confidently of his theoretical views, as if they were matter of fact. His work, while it displays an intrepid ingenuity which finds nothing impossible, nothing even difficult, would for those reasons prove misleading and mystifying if taken for a source of information as to the condition of the Australian tribes as they actually have been made known to us.

Some account, however, must be given of the tribe, or population, by means of which (and not the Kamilaroi, who are, in fact, a difficulty for him, though their name is on his title-page) he has illustrated his principal theory, if only to illustrate his manner of dealing with facts. This tribe, when Mr. Fison received his information about it, consisted of seventeen persons; twenty-eight years earlier it had numbered 900. His informant (a Mr. Stewart) regrets that he had not been put upon close inquiry ten years earlier, "when the natives were numerous, when there were old people of intelligence to be found among them, when one might, without hesitation, accept their ideas and expressions as original."

The name of this tribe is not mentioned, which is curious; it is spoken of only as the Mount Gambier tribe. It had the totem system, but, as Mr. Stewart understood the matter, with this peculiarity, that while each body of kindred had one animal or plant which was its totem—for example, pelican or tea-tree—each regarded a number of other things as included with the totem, which apparently means as on the same footing with it. For pelican (to go on with the examples already given) these are said to have been dogs, black-wood trees, fire, and frost; for tea-tree, ducks, wallabies, owls, and crayfish. A man did not kill, or use as food, any of the animals belonging to his own totem group (of the same subdivision with himself, are Mr. Stewart's words; and the totem divisions are his subdivisions) unless compelled to it by hunger, and then with expressions of sorrow for having to eat his *wingong* (friends), or *tumanang* (flesh). "When using the last word, they touch their breasts to indicate the close

relationship, meaning almost a part of themselves." The totem clan was called tuman. It is natural to suspect misconception on Mr. Stewart's part as to portions of this statement; and of this something will be said immediately. The statement, nevertheless, gives unexceptionable evidence of totemism; and those of the same totem were those of the same flesh, or, as we say, of the same blood—that is, they were the body of acknowledged blood-kindred. Accordingly the tuman took "a prominent part in the blood revenge arrangement," "also in cases of uncertain death, the tuman of the slayer (slain ?) appear at the inquest." The life of the tribe was so far based on the totem system. It included eight different totem clans or tumans, the names of which are mentioned.

So much is clear. There was also a division of this population (for which as a whole we know no name) into Kumite and Kroki (feminine, Kumitegor, Krokigor); and five totems are mentioned as having been Kumite, three as having been Kroki. The meaning of these words is unknown it is not known that they are either totem names or local names. The tribe is described by Mr. Fison as exogamous and as taking kinship through the mother. Were it worth while to make surmises, it would be not unreasonable to surmise that at Mount Gambier two separate local tribes containing different totem kindreds had, through the operation of exogamy and female kinship, become welded into one community.

As to the peculiar extension of the totem system in this tribe which has been mentioned, there is a general statement made which goes vastly beyond the particulars which are given for the several totems. Mr. Stewart is quoted as saying that "not only mankind, but things in general, are subject to these [the totem] divisions"; and to this is appended—as a specimen, Mr. Fison says—the full list of those "things in general" which Mr. Stewart felt able to mention for each totem (averaging three or four for each). The reference to mankind in that passage is in no way explained, and it is of uncertain meaning; it may mean only that the tribe was composed of totem clans, and yet something more seems

intended; surely it cannot mean that strangers to the tribe were necessarily considered as belonging to one or other of its clans. Things in general, however, according to the statement, were distributed between the clans. On what principle of distribution then? "I have tried in vain," Mr. Stewart says, "to find a reason for the arrangement." How then did he find out so much as he did? and did he jump from that to his general statement? or did the general statement come to him independently of the particulars? Mr. Fison has here left us entirely to our conjectures. He has given us, however, one little glimpse of Mr. Stewart pursuing his inquiries. "I asked," Mr. Stewart says, "'To what division does a bullock belong?' After a pause came the answer, 'It eats grass; it is Boortwerio [tea-tree].' I then said, 'A crayfish does not eat grass [the crayfish had already been described to him as Boortwerio]; why is it Boortwerio?' Then came the standing answer for all puzzling questions: 'That is what our fathers said it was.'" Here we see the poor savage—anxious to please, indifferent to truth, ready to give answers such as are expected of him (so observers concur in describing him)—put to the question with a result which perhaps might have been anticipated. He finds a totem or tuman for the bullock on the spot. Mr. Stewart, be it observed, was by this time fully possessed of the notion (in whatever way he got it) that things in general were distributed between the totems. It may be assumed that he had been put upon his inquiries by Mr. Fison; and it will be found that Mr. Fison had got a hint of something similar from another quarter (not, however, without warning as to the risk of error; see *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. p. 91).

The only things it seems necessary to say about this remarkable disclosure are, first, that it, at any rate, shows us again very clearly the position of the totem clans in this tribe (as Mr. Stewart understood the matter)—that they were the units, or separate components, of the community; and, next, that Mr. Fison should not have published, as illustrating savage speculation, a statement one branch of which, as it stands, looks like mere nonsense, and which may be altogether

a product of self-mystification, without giving the necessary explanations, and not without giving us in some part of his work every word which his correspondent had given to him. We need in such a case all the testimony, and that in the very form in which it has been given, if only to enable us to form our own opinion of the witness and of his actual meaning.

To complete the account that can be given of the Mount Gambier people, it remains to notice what is disclosed to us as to their marriage law and their system of kinship. This is very brief; it is given as on the authority of Mr. Stewart but with only a single line cited from that informant to illustrate or support it. Kumite, the male, Mr. Fison tells us, married Krokigor, and the children were Krokigor (that is, of the Kroki division); Kroki, the male, married Kumitegor, and the children were Kumitegor (that is, of the Kumite division). Kinship was taken through the mother, according to this statement; that is clear and need not be doubted. As to the marriage law indicated, when, at another part of the work, we get incidentally, and for a different purpose, a brief citation from Mr. Stewart (that which has already been noticed), we find that Mr. Stewart, with the knowledge he had, had to speak of the totems almost exclusively. It was the totems which were prominent in the blood-feud; the totems which determined what each man ought not to eat; the totems between which there was the alleged distribution of mankind and of things in general. Mr. Stewart tells us nothing here of Kumite and Kroki, but that either might eat the other's totems; and this was probably stated in answer to a question, for it was superfluous coming after what he had said previously of the totems in same connection. This evidence prepares us to find the totems regulating marriages in the tribe, as they did all other things of importance. Now Mr. Fison tells us that they did not affect marriage in any way; but that marriage was prohibited between all Kumite men and women, and between all Kroki men and women, while any man of the one name might marry any woman of the other. It appears that he expected to find the totems affecting marriage by putting a *further* restriction upon it (pp. 41, 42); he was

prepared to find that a Kumite totem did not intermarry with all the Kroki totems, but only with one or more of them; and the single line as to marriage which he cites from Mr. Stewart gives a negative answer to a question on this point. What other inquiries he made, and how far Mr. Stewart's knowledge extended, we cannot know. Though treating this matter of the marriage law as of great importance (and it is the sort of matter which necessarily is of interest), Mr. Fison has produced no statement about it from Mr. Stewart except the one line just mentioned; and so there is nothing more to be said of it. It is clear, at any rate, that the Mount Gambier people had the totem system, and also that they had exogamy and female kinship.

What Mr. Fison descrites among the Mount Gambier people (and this it is which makes Kumite and Kroki important in his eyes) is a division of the tribe into two *intermarrying classes* having kinship through the mother, by which he does not mean two divisions within each of which marriage was prohibited, but two divisions which intermarried with each other, and at first made no other marriages; or, to be more accurate, in which the men of one had conjugal rights of a communal sort over the women of the other *of their own generation*. It need not be said that this is hypothesis merely, and there is nothing adduced to support it for this particular tribe or population. It is as intermarrying classes nevertheless that Kumite and Kroki are introduced to us; and by stretching out to sea as far as New Britain, Mr. Fison finds four other tribes fit to be put in the same category as illustrating what he believes to have been the earliest division of tribes among the Australians. Two only of the four are Australian, and Mr. Fison's information about these seems to consist of a few sentences for each division, which, as described to us, is each subdivided into two, but with a system of naming which suggests that the two are one—a system of naming which is a difficulty for Mr. Fison; not an insurmountable difficulty, however, for he has been able to offer two entirely different solutions of it. How far imperfect information is the true solution it is bootless to inquire. Of the

first, the Mount Gambier people, we have already spoken. The other (on the Darling River) is also in totem divisions, being made up of the Muquarra and the Kilparra (eagle-hawk and crow), of which we have learned something already on the authority of Mr. Bulmer. Each division includes several totems, but Mr. Fison's informant, a Mr. Lockhart, has, like Mr. Bulmer, been unable to give a list of the totems, and mentions only three. The little Mr. Lockhart says of marriage, by the way (p. 41), is expressly said to illustrate how the divisions Muquarra and Kilparra are continued through the system of female kinship, but has been unaccountably misunderstood by Mr. Fison, who finds in this the main, if not the only, foundation for a theory of his which has been already referred to, that where a division includes several totems, and there is no marriage within the division, the totem puts a further restriction upon marriage; so that, for example, a particular totem of Muquarra could intermarry only with a particular totem of Kilparra. For the Banks Islanders and the natives of New Britain, who complete his list, Mr. Fison's information is more scanty still—a sentence or so for each.

Such is the basis of fact for the hypothesis of intermarrying classes on one side; to note how very slight it is, besides being otherwise very dubious, is all that is here intended. On what basis of fact, then, does Mr. Fison place the other branch of his hypothesis, the communism predicated of the men and women *of the same generation*?

First and chiefly, he relies upon the fact that in a large proportion of Australian tribes a husband lends his wife to his guest. This he takes to be not a part of hospitality, a kindness customarily rendered on the side of the husband, but proof of a *right* to the woman on the part of the guest, than which there scarcely could be any view more novel or surprising. It seems to involve that there was a right to the hospitality to which this was at any rate incident; and yet Mr. Fison has to admit that by many tribes a stranger might be not entertained but eaten. No doubt the practice referred to was very common. No doubt, too, where it prevailed it was usually ascertained that the men and women might cohabit



without incest (this is stated, at p. 66, to have been done in one district even in cases of forcible rape); and no doubt, that point being clear, the woman was not refused to the guest, but that is a very different thing from the guest having a right to her, which he could assert even in her husband's dwelling. Plainly the facts show nothing more than that the Australians acted on their views of hospitality, when they happened to have conceded it. Mr. Fison relies also upon the license allowed at corroborees, where the polygamous elders who monopolised the women waived their rights for the time in favour of the body of tribesmen. This license (without which the monopoly of the elders might have been intolerable) he takes to be proof of an ancient right of tribesmen; but what it discloses manifestly is a state of things in which there is no right. He adds, on the authority of Mr. Lance (of whose competency as a witness we have already had opportunities of judging<sup>1</sup>), that, among the Kamilaroi, when Kubbi and Ippata met, they saluted each other as *spouse*; that the Kubbi thus meeting a stranger Ippata would treat her as his wife; and that his right to do so would be recognised by her tribe, and this is capped in a footnote by a statement from Mr. Cyrus E. Doyle to the effect (to go on with the same names) that any Kubbi could take any Ippata as his wife and *keep her*, and that his right to her would not be questioned by her family (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 53). Mr. Doyle's statement, made of a polygamous district where wives must have been eagerly sought for, is obviously sheer nonsense. Mr. Lance's, when his misconceptions of fact are allowed for, may show that considerable license was practised without much objection from the men interested among the Kamilaroi; based upon essential error as it is, it cannot show anything more. As to the use of the word which is rendered *spouse* between entire strangers, what it would show is that husband and wife addressed each other by a term which was proper to be used between many other people than husbands and wives, that they had no special term of address for each other. Father and son, brother and sister, all kinsfolk indeed among the Australians, were as to terms of address in this position

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 299 nota.

(see *Studies in Ancient History*, first series, pp. 310, 311). A similar use of the word for husband is noted by Mr. Bulmer in his account of the Wa-imbio tribe (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 289), and in that case it carried no implication of rights or duties, for fidelity was expected from the wife.

It is clear that Mr. Fison has found no basis in fact at all for this second branch of his hypothesis. He has evidence which, no doubt, is strongly suggestive of ancient promiscuity, by which is meant a social condition in which conjugal rights did not exist, but nothing whatever which indicates the modified communism for which he wanted a basis, which is a communism involving marriage right—the “communal marriage” of groups of men in the one division (of a tribe in two divisions) to the groups of women which were of the same generation with them in the other division. He has failed to show that men had some right of a conjugal sort over women other than the right which was acquired by marriage, and that is all he has attempted. And he has not, even from Mr. Lance, any suggestion of such a right being limited to women of the man's own generation. Moreover, he has no fact which suggests that marriage (or license either) was ever, among the Australians, confined to the tribe. And it is well known that the Australians, since they have been known to us, have everywhere taken women, by capture or otherwise, from strange tribes as often as they could get them.

The hypothesis appears, then, to be “in the air.” To examine Mr. Fison's method of establishing it would not be an agreeable task, but that seems to be unnecessary. It was devised to account for what Mr. Lewis Morgan has called the Turanian form of the classificatory system of relationships; and evidence has already been adduced which shows clearly that Mr. Morgan (whom Mr. Fison follows) entirely misconceived that system and its uses.<sup>1</sup> If the misconception has to be admitted, there is no need to take trouble about the theories formed to account for it. And it will be found when the actual use of the classificatory terms is considered that if we are to seek the origin of those terms in some system of marriage

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Ancient History*, first series, pp. 305-312.

and the form of the family consequent upon it, there is no need to think of any forms but those which are well known by observation. It has seemed proper to notice what Mr. Fison adduces as favouring his hypothesis, because, from Mr. Fison's mode of working, there appears to be a little danger of intermarrying classes and the semi-conjugal rights ascribed to men over women whom they were merely free to marry being accepted by the unwary as Australian facts.

Mr. Dawson's book,<sup>1</sup> which has already been mentioned incidentally, gives an account of the natives of the Port Fairy district, Western Victoria, a considerable population once (for Mr. Dawson calculates that the twenty-one tribes which met together once a year must have numbered 2500, and there were tribes on the coast which did not come to those meetings), but represented in 1880 by only fourteen survivors. Mr. Dawson tells us that he got his information from natives only; and that he avoided putting suggestive or leading questions as much as possible, because "the natives, in their anxiety to please, are apt to coincide with the questioner, and thus assist him in arriving at wrong conclusions"—a fact which many other observers have noted, and which should always be kept in view in reading *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. To this work his book, from which theories are absent, offers a striking contrast. Of course it is not to be supposed that all the information he gathered is equally to be depended upon.

The population consisted of local tribes, which Mr. Dawson believes to have numbered, on an average, about 120 apiece. Throughout all tribes, it was made up of five *classes*, which took their names from animals—the names being Kuurokeitch (long-billed cockatoo), Kartpærapp (pelican), Kappatch (the Banksian cockatoo), Kirtuuk (the boa-snake), and Kuunamit (the quail). Every one belonged to the class of his mother; and marriage being forbidden between those who were considered to be of one flesh, no man and woman of the same class could marry one another, however remote from each other their tribes might be. Moreover, the Kuurokeitch and the

<sup>1</sup> *Australian Aborigines*. By James Dawson, Melbourne, 1881.

Kartpærapp classes were regarded (on what grounds there is nothing to indicate) as being so closely related that marriage between them could not be permitted; so also the Kappatch and Kirtuuk classes; while a Kuunamit was free to marry into any class but his own. The marriage law, therefore, as in all works about Australia except Mr. Fison's, was a law of prohibition only—not a law which, while prohibiting men from marrying certain women, gave them rights over certain others. And Mr. Dawson gives a tradition which illustrates it admirably (it may be worth while to compare with this Mr. Fison's *Theory of the Kurnai System*), and which also shows that it was by exogamy (or prohibition of marriage between persons of the same flesh) and female kinship that these natives explained to themselves the fact that their tribes were made up of persons belonging to several different classes, to use Mr. Dawson's word—that is, stocks, or bodies of blood (or flesh) kindred. The tradition ascribed the origin of all their tribes to a Kuurokeitch who had for wife a Kappahear (feminine of Kappatch), and whose children therefore were Kappatch and Kappahear, and could not marry each other. This made it necessary to introduce "fresh flesh," and wives were got from a distance; and, children following the mother, five different stocks came by and by to be represented in the community.

It is also stated that every person was considered to belong to his father's local tribe, and could not marry within it; nor could a man marry a woman of the tribe from which his mother came, nor of his grandmother's tribe (by which the mother's mother's tribe seems to be meant), nor of an adjoining tribe, nor of any tribe speaking his own dialect. It may be taken that these prohibitions (some of which may merely indicate what was usual) were accretions which, with time and change, were made to the marriage law, and that the original prohibition was that which is illustrated by the tradition just spoken of—prohibition of marriage between persons of the same flesh kindred or female kinship stock. It was the duty of the chief (for there were chiefs, who are said to have had great power, and to have been treated with much observ-

ance) to ascertain that there was no flesh relationship between persons about to be married or betrothed to one another; and that, even when this was not doubtful, his permission had to be "rewarded with presents."

That a process of change had gone pretty far among these people is shown by many circumstances which Mr. Dawson mentions. He tells us, as to children, that "if the infant is a boy, the nearest relative is the father; if it is a girl, the nearest relative is the mother" (p. 38); and agreeably with this, that the first child of either sex is called after its father, and the second, if a daughter, after its mother (p. 41). This would show, what has not been noticed elsewhere in Australia, and is found very rarely anywhere, kinship to have been in a stage of transition—a man belonging still to the widely diffused female kinship stock of his mother, and being bound not to marry a woman of its "flesh," and being nearer, nevertheless, to his father than to his mother (while a woman was still nearer to her mother than to her father); and it is consistent with this that the tribal bond should have become so important that he was also forbidden to marry in the tribe of his father (which was his own) on the one hand, and in the tribe of his mother, and the tribe of his mother's mother, on the other.

What Mr. Dawson tells us of the blood revenge, of inheritance, and similar matters, is also consistent with this, but can hardly be made to throw additional light upon the matter. There seems sufficient reason for believing, however, that these natives were in a transitional phase of kinship.

Children were usually betrothed when just able to walk, the father of the girl making the proposal. After a betrothal the girl's mother and aunts (which aunts not indicated) might not look at, or speak to the boy; and they used the "turn-tongue" language when they had to speak in each other's presence. The father being dead, the brother could give a girl away with consent of the uncle (father's brother, no doubt); while, if a girl had no male relative, the chief could give her away; but it is said there was danger (p. 35) of his keeping her to himself—which, if it be taken as correct, would show that the rule against marrying in the tribe might be

waived, in the case of the chief, though it was enforced by him upon the others. Polygamy was carried so far by the old chiefs that "many young men are compelled to remain bachelors, the native word for which means to look out; while an old warrior may have five or six of the finest young women of the tribe for his wives."

Both men and women among these people were ornamented by cicatrices, "arranged in lines and figures, according to the taste and custom of the tribe"; but Mr. Dawson takes it that these were ornamental merely. The bodies of relatives of either sex who had lost their lives by violence were eaten, "as a mark of affectionate respect, in solemn service of mourning for the dead." The flesh of enemies was never eaten, nor that of members of other tribes.

Having given a tradition preserved by Mr. Dawson to show that the Port Fairy natives, assuming the existence of totem families or clans, having female kinship, in which marriage, otherwise free, was forbidden on the score of kindred, explained to themselves the composition of their tribes as being the result of their exogamy and their system of female kinship, it seems worth while to point out that it is the same constitution of society which is disclosed in what Mr. Fison has termed the Murdu legend (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 25). This was first published in a pamphlet by Mr. Samuel Gason on the Dieyeri tribe (Cooper's Creek), and is quoted therefrom by Mr. Fison. It sets forth that, "after the creation, brothers, sisters, and others of the closest kin intermarried promiscuously"; that "the evil effects of these alliances" became manifest; that a council of chiefs was held to consider how to get rid of them; and that the result was a petition to the Muramura (good spirit), who ordered "that the tribe should be divided into branches, and distinguished one from another by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana, and so forth; the members of any such branch not to intermarry, but with permission for one branch to mingle with another. Thus the son of a dog might not marry the daughter of a dog, but

either might form an alliance with a mouse, rat, or other family."

This, like the Port Fairy tradition, is an attempt to account for the constitution of a population composed of totem clans interfused with one another, within each of which marriage, otherwise free, was forbidden. The difference between the two is that this is purely irrational; while the Port Fairy explanation is rational as far as it goes—and it was no proof of irrationality to take totem families, with exogamy and female kinship, for granted as a basis to start from. The point to be noticed, however, is that both take account of that structure of society which has been shown above to be the prevailing one in Australia, and which, with variations in kinship and changes consequent thereupon, is found throughout Australia, wherever we have trustworthy evidence. The Murdu legend, equally with the Port Fairy tradition, is dead against the theories of Mr. Fison. It shows us no "intermarrying classes," with a marriage law which, while prohibiting marriage in the one, gave men conjugal rights over the women of the other, which rights, when the "class" came to include totems, were restricted by the totems. It shows us a community made up of totem clans, with a marriage law of prohibition merely, marriage being prohibited between all persons of the same totem. It seems worth while here to repeat—our information about the Kamilaroi being still, and being likely to continue, imperfect—that it is simply this marriage law which was indicated to Mr. Lance, to explain how an Ippai could have an Ippata for his wife. "This Ippai is not a Blacksnake, but an Opossum; that explains it." Ippai Opossum might not marry Ippata Opossum, but there was nothing to prevent him from marrying Ippata Blacksnake. It will be found that it is, in general, perfectly clear that what Mr. Fison and his correspondents speak of as "classes" are totem clans or families merely, and that, wherever this is not clear, the constitution of the "class" is involved in obscurity.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Lewis Morgan found in the opening part of Mr. Gason's story a "basis of probability" for his hypothesis of the consanguine family, taking that as

giving "an accepted and perpetuated native legend" of what happened after the creation (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 4). It does not seem, however, to countenance that hypothesis, which is an hypothesis of limited and systematised communism subsisting in a body of kindred, all the men and women of the same generation being married to one another "in a group." It is interesting, too, to note that Mr. Fison—who does not accept the hypothesis of the consanguine family, upon which Mr. Morgan's other theories are built up, and prefers to begin with "intermarrying classes," having the system of communism which had been thought out by Mr. Morgan—inclines towards the Muramura account of the origin of totem kindreds as affording the best explanation of the origin of his "classes" (*Ibid.* p. 161).

Mr. Gason goes on to mention that the marriage system shown in the legend was still observed among the Dieyeri, and that the first question asked of a stranger was, "What murdu? *i.e.* of what *family* are you?" And we learn from another authority (the Rev. H. Vogelsang—information procured by Mr. Howitt—*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 52) that the question Minna Murdu was connected with "eating and hospitality." "For instance, when a stranger blackfellow arrives here, the question is Minna Murdu? What are you? Kangaroo, or Rat, or Mouse, or whatever else it may be. All those of the same name go to the same camp, eat together, live together, even lend each other their women. Even alien blackfellows, from a distance of 300 or 400 miles, are thus hospitably entertained." "Our tribe, the Dieyeri," Mr. Vogelsang continues, "have different names for their Murdus from those of the neighbouring tribes, but they can always understand each other"—that is, they do not fail to find out what the Murdu is. It thus appears that, among the Dieyeri, men acknowledged a stranger from whatever distance, and though speaking a strange language, to be of their kindred as soon as it was ascertained that he was of the same Murdu or totem family with them; that thereupon they entertained him hospitably; and that the lending of women *was* a part of hospitality. Of course a woman whom a man of the stranger's totem might have



for wife was a woman with whom the stranger was free to cohabit.

It may be added that the tribes consisting of Muquarra and Kilparra (eagle-hawk and crow, each comprising several totems), which Mr. Fison ranks as intermarrying classes, have a rather interesting totem tradition of their own (*The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. p. 423). "They believe that the beings who created all things had severally the form of the Crow and the Eagle. There was continual war between these two beings, but peace was made at length. They agreed that the Murray blacks should be divided into two classes—the Muquarra or Eagle-hawk, and the Kilparra or Crow. The conflict that was waged between the rival powers is preserved in song . . . the meaning of which is: Strike the Crow on the knee; I will spear his father. The war was maintained with great vigour for a length of time. The Crow took every possible advantage of his nobler foe, the Eagle; but the latter generally had ample revenge for injuries and insults. Out of these enmities and final agreement arose the two classes, and thence a law governing marriages amongst these classes." It is a tradition, obviously conceived in the Eagle interest, of a state of war between rival powers having been followed by peace and peaceful relations, which has got from the narrator, as most things have done in the work from which it is taken, a tinge of Mr. Fison's theories. But what it suggests is, not that Crow and Eagle agreed to divide one tribe into two, with a view to the better regulation of marriage, but that Crow and Eagle or Eagle-hawk were tribes (and they might have been constituted in the ordinary Australian way) which long waged war against each other, and that at length there came peace, and then their complete interfusion by means of friendly marriages. And, whatever such traditions may be worth, this account of Muquarra and Kilparra seems vastly preferable to Mr. Fison's.