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ORDINARY MEETING, APRIL 19, 1880.

H. CADMAN JONES, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed, and the following elections were announced :—

ASSOCIATES :—Rev. H. K. Moore, Queenstown ; F. M. Sexton, Esq., Birmingham ; Rev. G. P. Quick, Rio Janeiro.

Also the presentation of the following Works for the Library :—

“ United States Geological and Geographical Survey.”	<i>From the same.</i>
“ Proceedings of the American Geographical Society.” 4 vols.	”
“ Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.”	”
“ Report of the United States Comptroller of the Currency.”	”
“ United States Deaf and Dumb Congress at Columbus.”	”
“ Cretaceous Plants.” By Dr. Wallich.	”
“ The Threshold of Evolution.” By the same.	”
A Pamphlet.	

The following paper was then read by the Author :—

THE RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE ARYANS OF NORTHERN EUROPE. BY R. BROWN, ESQ., F.S.A.

1. The Aryan Race in the Holoethnic Period.

THERE was a time when the mighty Aryan* race, small in numbers and simple in manners, lived undivided in Western Asia ; and from this beginning sprang Vedic-Indian, Baktrio-Iranian, Slav, Greek, Latin, Teuton, and Kelt, nationalities as yet unborn. The primitive Aryans spoke one language, the Proto-Aryan tongue ; and ere they separated, although what we now know as grammar and dictionary were

* According to Prof. Max Müller the term “ Aryan ” is derived from *ar* or *ara*, the *ear*-th, as ploughed (vide p. 315, note on Ertha). Thus Arya is “ one who ploughs.”

unknown to their mind, yet had they already firmly established both, and in their subsequent wanderings carried with them the same general linguistic peculiarities, and in a vast number of instances even the same words.* The position of Latin with respect to the Romance dialects exactly illustrates the position of Proto-Aryan with reference to the Aryan languages. As the Proto-Aryans had one language, one class of manners and customs, and one special type of idiosyncrasy, so naturally, and even necessarily, they had but one religion; and just as the languages of Germany and of Iran are daughters of the common Aryan speech, so the religious mythologies or mythological religions of Scandinavia and of Baktria are children of the common Aryan faith. What this primeval belief was is a matter for investigation; but that, like the language, it was but one, is a proposition which has almost passed beyond the sphere of legitimate controversy into the region of historical certainties. To a hasty glance, the difference between the religious systems of India, Iran, Greece, Rome, and Scandinavia, seems so vast as to absolutely preclude the possibility of their having sprung from a single source; and the same remark applies equally to the languages of those countries. Yet, as no one who has investigated the languages doubts their kinship as children of a common parent, so no thorough student of the variant phases of Aryan belief will doubt their pristine unity. The comparative study of forms of belief, whether of the Aryan race or of mankind at large, has been styled somewhat infelicitously "the science of religion"; an expression which not unnaturally aroused the hostility of those who are more desirous of finding occasion of offence than of investigating abstruse questions, and who hastily concluded that it was intended to put religion on a par with chemistry or engineering, as a branch of knowledge to be acquired by a course of scientific study. It cannot, however, be too strongly insisted that the Christian religion has nothing to fear from any amount of real investigation, comparative, historical, scientific, or otherwise; but that, on the contrary, every *fact* added to our knowledge is more or less a gain to the (general) truth. It is easy to expose the scientific and other errors of individual Christians, as, for instance, Professor Draper has cleverly done, in his popular *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, in which, however, he has somewhat disingenuously mainly resolved Christianity into the Latin Church and a selection of

* Vide Appendix A. On the subject of primitive Aryan unity, vide Prof. Max Müller, *Chips*, vol. ii., Essay xvi., "Comparative Mythology."

her mediæval and other dogmas. Yet, however such a work may be applauded by the unreflecting, I cannot but think an uneasy thought must have crossed the mind of the writer at the close of his labours that his book ought rather to have been called, "A History of the Conflict between the Errors of certain Religionists and Science." It seems almost impossible that a thinker could on calm reflection avoid seeing the utter failure of such an attack. Imagine, conversely, an ardent religionist, possessed of zeal without knowledge, penning an elaborate assault upon science generally, supported only by a long account of various admitted fallacies and exploded scientific theories.

2. *Modern Investigation into Aryan and Proto-Aryan Speech.*

Sasseti, an Italian scholar who was living at Goa in the year 1585, speaks in a letter of an ancient Indian language called *Sanscrita*, in which treatises on arts and sciences were written; and De Nobili, who went to India in 1606, became "the first European Sanscrit scholar." Roth, a Jesuit missionary, appears also to have been a good Sanscritist, and wrote an account of the Sanscrit alphabet about 1666, in which year he was at Rome. Throughout the last century the knowledge of the language continued to increase, at first slowly, and ultimately with considerable rapidity. Grammars and dictionaries begin to make their appearance, and Sir William Jones, Wilkins, and Lord Monboddo all ultimately perceived that Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, were dialects of a more ancient tongue. At length, in 1808, Frederick Schlegel invented the name "Indo-Germanic" as a general designation of the great Aryan family, and laid the foundation of true scientific investigation in his work, *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians*. Then it was seen, once and for ever, that just as the Romance languages, themselves sister dialects, can be traced back to Latin as their parent and origin; so the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Wendic forms of speech, with all their subdivisions and variations, are themselves but dialects of the common mother-tongue spoken by the united Aryans in the holetnic period, when the whole Aryan "earth was of one language and of one speech." This vast advance in linguistic and general knowledge has been styled "the discovery of a new world." One immediate result of it was that the Hebrew, a comparatively modern Semitic dialect, and, with the Phœnician, a twin-daughter of the Chaldeo-Assyrian, was no longer regarded as the archaic speech of mankind, or tortured in the vain effort to make it yield Greek and Latin words. Occasionally people

are still met with who derive Jove from Yahveh, but they are rule-illustrating exceptions.

From the beginning of this century Aryan linguistic science has gone steadily forwards. Bopp's great work, *A Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Slavonic, Gothic, and German*, 1833-52, "will form for ever the safe and solid foundation of comparative philology."* Grimm's vast *Teutonic Grammar*, 1819-37, is based on the same principle; and soon numerous specialists appear, applying scientific methods to distinct portions of the one great subject. Thus the Baktrio-Iranian language† (Zend), including the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, was successfully grappled with by the great Eugène Burnouf, who has been followed by Spiegel, the late Martin Haug, Justi,‡ West, Hübschmann, Darmesteter, Hovelacque,§ Prof. De Harlez,|| and others. The names of Sanskrit scholars are legion; Prof. Max Müller, Prof. Monier Williams, and Dr. Muir being the most prominent in this country, whilst abroad may be mentioned Aufrecht, Benfey, Bergaigne, Grasemann, Kuhn, Roth, and Whitney.

Passing on to those who have made general investigations into Aryan speech, I may mention especially Schleicher,¶ who has attempted to restore the form of Proto-Aryan, in which language he has written a story.** Ficks's great work†† is divided into seven parts, which treat of the words of the mother-language (the "Ursprache,") and of words peculiar to the Indo-Iranian, European,‡‡ Slavo-Teutonic, and other linguistic unities. For the benefit of those who have not studied the question, I have given a few specimen-words in illustration of the original unity of the Aryan language,§§ and also a list of the primary roots of the Proto-Aryan ac-

* Prof. Max Müller.

† Vide *The Religion of Zoroaster considered in connection with Archaic Monotheism*. By the Writer. This Essay, hereinafter referred to as *Zoroaster*, appears in the *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*.

‡ *Handbook of the Zend Language* (Leipzig, 1864).

§ *Grammaire de la Langue Zende* (Paris, 1878).

|| *Manuel de la Langue de L'Avesta* (Paris, 1878).

¶ *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatic der indo-germanischen Sprachen* (Weimar). "Ce précieux manuel" (Chavée) has reached a fourth edition.

** Mr. J. P. Postgate has made a similar attempt on a small scale (*Academy*, June 14, 1879, p. 523). *Svars bhragati ani varunai*, etc.; "the sun blazes in heaven" (Gk. *ouranos*). So *Râx daivâm*=Rex deorum.

†† *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, third edition (Göttingen, 1874-6).

‡‡ This unity is doubted by some scholars.

§§ Appendix A.

according to Fick.* Curtius† has treated of the chronological development of the Proto-Aryan, which he divides into seven periods, namely, (1) Period of monosyllabic roots,—what are now called “roots,” being merely, according to many philologists, the most primitive words; (2) Period of the determinatives, *i.e.*, the suffixes added to the primary roots; (3) Primary verbal period; (4) Period of stem-formation; (5) of compounded verbal forms; (6) of case-formation; and (7) the adverbial period, adverbs and prepositions being originally nouns which became fixed in a particular case.‡ Amongst other writers on this subject may be mentioned Ascoli, Bergaigne, Delbrück, Douse,§ Lottner, Friedrich Müller, Schmidt, Steinthal, and Windisch. Thus a vast body of scientific literature, as yet very little known in England, has of late years sprung into existence; many once-difficult problems are solved, whilst many others still await solution. Evidence is being accumulated, and even intelligent errors have frequently proved of no little service. Such, in brief, is the present state of comparative Aryan philology, which is now engaged in debating, What was the primitive form of the noun-cases? Has the inflexional Aryan language previously passed through the phases or avatars of isolation|| and agglutination?¶ and in similar abstruse and important inquiries.

Lastly, the vast and most fascinating problem of the origin of language has been attempted by Geiger,** Chavée,†† and Ludwig Noiré.‡‡ As yet, however, the sphinx cannot be said to have revealed her secret; but she has certainly indicated, although dimly, the method of discovery.§§ Several very

* Appendix B.

† *Zur Chronologie der indo-germanischen Sprachforschung*, second edition (Leipzig, 1873).

‡ *E.g.* the Greek adverb *aei*, *aei*, is originally the dative case of a lost Greek noun, *aio*s. Vide *inf.*, sec. 20.

§ *Grimm's Law: a Study* (London: Trübner, 1876).

|| The Radical or Monosyllabic stage, in which there is no distinction between a root and a word.

¶ The Terminational stage, in which two or more roots unite to form a word. In favour of such an evolution of language may be mentioned Schleicher, Max Müller, and Whitney; against,—Pott, Renan, and Sayce.

** *Ursprung der Sprache*, etc.

†† *Idéologie Lexicologique des Langues Indo-Européennes* (Paris, 1878).

‡‡ *Max Müller and the Philosophy of Language* (London: Longmans, 1879).

§§ “There is no reason to despair of our eventually determining this problem of problems” (Rev. Prof. Sayce, *The Principles of Comparative Philology*, Preface, xviii.).

interesting and meritorious works in this direction are somewhat vitiated by the writers confining themselves too closely within the Aryan sphere, and drawing general conclusions thence, some of which could not be sustained on a wider investigation.

3. *The Rise of Mythology.*

Mythology, in its most ancient and prominent aspect, may be broadly defined as the application in human idea to natural phenomena of the mental and physical characteristics peculiar to man and other animals; *e.g.*, the sun is a giant, archer, racehorse, or fish; the stars are the eyes in a peacock's tail; the moon and stars are a virgin queen (S. Ursula, *i.e.*, "Little Shiner") and her maiden attendants.* This application, which is a necessity of thought, in its earliest form contains nothing either moral or immoral, religious or irreligious, but has nevertheless frequently been confounded by religious writers with corrupted forms of religion. That Boreas aided the Athenians against the Persian fleet, is transparent mythology; and this in a later age passes into conscious simile, becomes connected with metaphor, allegory, symbolism, and play upon words (a feature which, by no means necessarily jocose, arises from a sound having accidentally more than one meaning); and, finally, takes its place in a high civilization as (what we term) poetical imagery and expression. That Boreas (the wild "North-wind") carried off the damsel Orithyia (the "Mountain-tree") from the top of a rock, is simple enough to us; but the first error in connection with such an idea when it has become a legend, is to regard it as an actual occurrence in human history; and not even the mighty mind of Sokrates (or Plato), so much is a man the slave of his age, could escape from this. He says: "I might have a rational explanation that Orithyia was playing with Pharmacia, when a northern gust carried her over the rocks." He sees that Boreas is the wind, but regards Orithyia as a girl thus accidentally killed. This error soon produces another, far more serious. Boreas comes to be regarded as a divine or semi-divine personage having power over the wind, and he is supplicated not to injure us, but to destroy our enemies; and so we find that at the time of Sokrates there was "some sort of an altar of Boreas at the place" where the damsel was said to have been snatched

* Vide *Zoroaster*, secs. 6, 30.

away.* To take a more elaborate instance :—Zeus, the upper heaven, the ethereal blue, loves Io, the horned moon; and thus, anthropomorphically regarded, excites the jealousy of his mythological consort Hera, the lower and gleaming heaven. She appoints the hundred-eyed Argus to watch the damsel, and Zeus sends Hermes, the wind-power in connection with the clouds, who slays Argus, *i.e.*, covers the starry eyes, which Hera afterwards puts in the tail of her bird, the peacock; and thus Zeus can love Io unobserved. Translated into an actual occurrence amongst sentient beings, the crude, and indeed awful result is, that the highest of the gods is represented as an adulterer; and it was because they knew no other point of view in which to regard it, that many Greek philosophers hated mythological story, and from their standpoint rightly deemed it impious. Had such a mind as that of Plato possessed our key to these enigmas, with what keen lucidity would he have illustrated them, in what thoughts of imperishable beauty would he not have clothed them! Thus upon a simple mythology has intruded sooner or later a corrupted religion, and as a result has produced disorder and every evil work. But religion and mythology, originally distinct, have, as I observed on a former occasion, always existed contemporaneously; Zeus, the broad, bright, ethereal heaven, is the visible and mythological counterpart of Zeus, the supreme and spiritual God.

4. *Certain Primary Unities.*

In our investigations into the archaic period we are supported by the unity of the human mind and of religion; and these in turn rest upon two prior unities, the unity of God and of the Kosmos. As to the human mind, Emerson well observes, "there is one mind common to all individual men."† The standpoints and ideas of far-off generations are not wholly strange to us; we can put ourselves in their place, having the same nature, passions, aspirations, difficulties, living on the same planet, and observing the same natural phenomena. "The last Rear of the [human] host will read traces of the earliest Van";‡ yes, will *read* them, they will not be undecipherable. As to language, again, or, at all events, as to

* Vide Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, ii. 105. The myth is the subject of a beautiful bronze group, discovered by Mr. C. T. Newton at Kalymnos. "Boreas is represented with buskins and large wings as a wind-god. Orithyia seems to be looking back to the world from which she is snatched away" (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, i., 330).

† *Essay on History*, 1.

‡ Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 163.

Aryan speech, we may say with Prof. Müller, "We can understand the necessary breaking-up of one language into many; and we perceive that no amount of variety in the material or the formal elements of speech is incompatible with the admission of one common source. The science of language thus leads us up to that highest summit from whence we see into the very dawn of man's life on earth, and where the words which we have heard so often from the days of our childhood, — 'And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech,' — assume a meaning more natural, more intelligible, more convincing, than they ever had before."* As to religion, there is and has been but one true and divine religion; at sundry times and in divers manners has God in time past spoken unto the fathers of the human race, but one and the same expanding scheme and purpose was culminated by the advent of His Son. Nor is this religion founded upon sacred books only, for it existed ages ere Genesis was penned; and the beliefs of those who have wandered from it, like the dialects of their speech, are but altered copies of a single original, changed by time, locality, climate, progress, discovery, conquest, but above all by the influence of the baser side of humanity. But mark the vast importance of this fact. Just as the investigations of comparative philology bid fair in time to reproduce to our view the hidden source of language and its primeval phases, so comparative investigation into the variant religious beliefs of mankind promises to reproduce to us a primitive religion, and in so doing will undoubtedly contribute a weighty argument in favour of the truth of Christianity. People may discuss for ever such a question as, Who wrote the Book of Genesis, and when? without being able to convince each other; but it would not be easy to disregard a wide argument based upon nature and confirmed by universal history. Let no one, therefore, disparage the importance of such inquiries, or think that old-fashioned dogmatizing *about* the two Testaments is all that need now be done for the defence of religion. Prof. Müller speaks of "those who are for ever attacking the Bible with arrows that cannot reach it," and of "those who defend it with weapons they know not how to wield." Let us shun the second class even as we would the first.

5. *The Argument from General Consent.*

From mention of the foregoing unities we pass naturally to a brief consideration of the argument in favour of the existence

* *Lectures on the Science of Language*, i. 447-8.

of God and of the truth of religion which is derived "from the general consent of mankind"; and as Stuart Mill supposed that he had "disposed briefly"* of it, I will here notice his disposition. It has, we learn, "little scientific weight, but greater influence than much better arguments." Why? *Ans.* Because it appeals to "authority," by which the opinions of the majority are governed. But if we are to be governed at all, what should govern us save authority?† No answer given. "Thinkers" do not value it; to them what Plato and Newton thought is unimportant, they can cogitate for themselves. "The argument from other people's opinions has little weight." A question respecting the archaic religion of China, the management of an ironclad, the reform of a university, arises. The experts appear before us; we hear what they say, and smilingly dismiss them, remarking, "That you have profoundly studied the subject and are agreed in your views of it does not affect us; the argument from your opinions has little weight." As a matter of fact, all the world knows that the argument from other people's opinions, *e.g.*, the conclusions of the judges of the land or of eminent physicians has the greatest weight; and rightly so, if it is possible for one man to know more of a subject than another. The opinions of others, he continues, should make us weigh their reasons. Doubtless. "Accordingly, those who make any claim to philosophic treatment of the subject, employ this general consent chiefly as evidence that there is in the mind of man an intuitive perception, or an instinctive sense, of Deity." Certainly. "From the generality of the belief, they infer that it is inherent in our constitution; from which they draw the conclusion that the belief must be true." The conclusion drawn is not that the belief *must* be true, as if proved to demonstration like a mathematical problem, but that it thus comes before us with a vastly preponderating weight of probability in its favour—95 points out of the 100; and this conclusion is thus no mere vague possibility, as, *e.g.*, that the belief *may* be true, which would afford no assistance. But the argument from consent is said to "beg the question." How so? Simply "since it has itself nothing to rest upon but the belief that the human mind was made by a God, who would not deceive His creatures." In other words, the argument assumes that the conclusions of the mind are to

* Vide J. S. Mill, *Theism*, 155, *et seq.*

† "Kent. You have that in your countenance which I would fain call master.

Lear. What's that?

Kent. Authority.—*King Lear*, act i, scene 4.

be relied upon, and this is called "begging the question"! Now the mind is either capable of coming to a true conclusion respecting Theism or any other subject or it is not. If it is not, farewell to Mill's elaborate reasonings on the matter; they are intrinsically worthless. Thus Samson perishes with the Philistines against whom he fights. All conclusions are founded on the assumption that we are capable of drawing them. But is this a *mere* assumption? Are all our mental efforts thus valueless? Certainly not. And why? Because we have in numberless instances found our theories to be absolutely correct, *i.e.*, to be thoroughly supported by and in perfect harmony with objective actuality. The mind has a theory respecting thirst (it matters not for the present purpose whether it be intuitional or acquired), and comes to a true conclusion on the subject. Therefore, we need not beg the question by assuming that the mind *can* come to a true conclusion, because we know as a fact that it does so arrive. It is of opinion that thirst can be quenched by certain liquids, and this is the case. The mind, therefore, comes before us not even merely as a credible witness, but as a witness whose truthfulness and credit have been proved a score of times, and whose evidence must therefore be received with the greatest respect. Such a witness may, it is possible, deceive either wittingly or unwittingly; but its testimony appears with a vastly preponderating weight of probability in its favour—95 points out of the 100. Thus Mill's argument, if valid, would destroy all reasoning, including of course his own; would even, "force entangling itself with strength,"* destroy itself; for, if the mind can come to no sound conclusion, then the proposition that *The mind can come to no sound conclusion* is untenable. Thus the argument from general consent emerges from this attack not merely uninjured, but strengthened, so far as our belief in it is concerned, by being able to resist such an assailant.

Mill having, as he supposes, routed the argument, would fain pursue the flying foe, and asks, "What ground does the general prevalence of the belief in the Deity afford us for inferring that this belief is native to the human mind, and *independent of evidence*?" These last words convert the idea contained in the question into a truism. No one supposes that general beliefs are "independent of evidence"; but evidence arises from circumstances internal or subjective as well as from circumstances external or objective. If we omit the words italicised we may answer the question by another —

* *Antony and Cleopatra*, act iv., scene 12.

What ground does the general fondness of dogs for a bone afford us for inferring that this fondness is innate in the dog? Or, again, How does a characteristic propensity assist in determining character? which is an absurd inquiry. Again, Mill seems strangely enough to think "that the appearances in nature of a contriving Intelligence," which form a portion of objective evidence, interfere in some mysterious way with man's innate ideas on the matter, though how does not appear; the simple fact being that the intuitions of the mind are harmoniously answered, and thereby confirmed by external actuality. Passing on to consider the almost universal belief in Deity "among barbarous tribes," and having put forward the very doubtful proposition that "the ignorant in civilized countries take their opinions from the educated," he very briefly constructs the imaginary history of the past necessarily adopted by Evolutionists, according to which mankind started with a stock in trade "of primitive ignorance" and "Fetichism of the grossest kind," which poor materials, by some stupendous miracle, have yielded the present state of things.

Having thus *assumed* that the savage has no innate belief in Deity, he adroitly presents "the Intuitionist" with a dilemma, the whole force of which however is solely founded upon the previous assumption. He puts the argument thus:—Some men believe in a Deity, but others (primitive savages) do not, and therefore there is no "general consent" in the case; so that "it is needless to dwell upon the difficulty of the hypothesis of a natural belief not common to all human beings, an instinct not universal." It is quite needless, for the facts of the case present no such contradiction, raise no such dilemma. The Turanian (to use a term now familiar, but yet much objected to, and perhaps abused by some writers), as well as the Aryan or the Semite, worshipped God; and, not liking to retain Him in his mind, fell into idolatry or the worship of the visible. The divine King became Molekh, the Heavenly Father a degenerate Jupiter; but Molekh and Jupiter, like dark and lurid clouds, merely for a time and in a measure shrouded the one only and eternal Heaven.

We may consider with advantage Mr. Herbert Spencer's reasonings in the opening chapter of his *First Principles* in support of the proposition that belief "gains in strength according to the number of its adherents." In fine, the force and importance of the argument from general consent can hardly be over-estimated, especially when considered in connection with the actual result of investigation into archaic religious opinion.

6. *The Wends, their several Divisions and Religious Belief.*

The foregoing considerations respecting the nature and province of mythology, the unity of the human mind, of religion, and of the Aryan race and its language, and the value to be placed upon the argument from General Consent, would not be strictly appropriate in a solely separate investigation into the special phases of the religion and mythology of the Aryans of Northern Europe. But as I am dealing with the subject from a comparative point of view, which indeed is its far most interesting and important aspect, it is absolutely necessary that these preliminary principles should be carefully borne in mind; and it is also desirable that the paper should be considered in connection with my former one on *The Religion of Zoroaster*.* There, after a consideration of the Eastern Aryans, *i.e.*, the Iranians and Vedic Indians, certain definite conclusions were arrived at; and if those deductions be correct, a study of the north-western branch of the same great family must, in accordance with the principle of unity, furnish similar results. Should such be the case, it is obvious how greatly the prior argument and method of investigation is strengthened and confirmed.

The Wends† and the Teutons form the two great divisions of the Aryans of Northern Europe, and the former are divided into the Letts and the Slavs. The Letts consist of the Lithuanians and the inhabitants of Kurland and Livonia. Lithuanian is the language of a small portion of the inhabitants of East Prussia and of those of the adjoining part of Russia, and is akin to the old Prussian, which latter dialect became extinct in the seventeenth century. At the present time it employs some forms more closely resembling those of Sanskrit than the corresponding modes of expression in Greek and Latin;‡ and is “more conservative in its retention of many primitive grammatical forms than even Sanskrit”§ itself. The Slavs divide into three branches—Eastern, the Russians; Western, the Poles, Bohemians, and Moravians; and Southern, the Serbians, Bulgarians, Croats, etc. Of old non-Christian literature Wending has none; no writer of an *Edda* or a *Veda*, no Homer or Hesiod arose among them to compose theogonies and describe the relative positions and the proper epithets of the

* Vide sec. 2.

† “Winidae being one of the most ancient and comprehensive names by which these tribes were known to the early historians of Europe” (Prof. Max Müller. *Lectures on the Science of Language*, i. 226).

‡ *Ibid.*, 227.

§ Rev. A. H. Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, 47.

gods. Nor do these matters seem to have been much investigated by any contemporaneous foreign writer ; so that almost all which survives consists of a few names of divinities and a vast mass of folk-lore, which on analysis is found to harmonize with that of other branches of the Aryan family, but does not concern our present purpose.* Beginning with the general name for "god," we find that amongst the Letts it is *dewas* ; old Prussian, *deiwas* ; Lithuanian, *diewas* ; old Irish, *dia* ; Latin, *deus* ; Greek, *theos* ; Sanskrit, *deva*, "the Bright-one," Dyaus-Zeus;† and as we know the concept and character of Zeus-Jupiter, "the supreme Aryan god," we see by the faithful testimony of language that the Letts, like the other archaic Aryans,‡ worshipped a great heaven-father, of whom the bright blue sky was the material symbol. Among the Slavs the common name for "god" is Bogu, which, as we have seen,§ is the Vedic Bhaga, "the Distributer," a phase of the Supreme as Isodaites, "the Equal-divider," who gives to all their portions in due season. In the *Avesta* Bagha is used in the general sense of "god," and the Slavonic religion "knew a *biel-bog*, or white god, and a *czerny bog*, or black god,"|| two personages corresponding to the Iranian Ahuramazda and Angromainyush. It is to be observed that in some instances, both of language and belief, there is a special connection between the Iranians and the Wends, which, amongst other reasons, may be accounted for by original geographical proximity. Czerny-bog appears further west as the Anglo-Saxon malevolent divinity, Zernebok,¶ the nocturnal potency which appears at times in a semi-humorous aspect, as in the tricksy Puck ; whence, next, the name Pug, applied first to a monkey from its tricks and playfulness, and afterwards to the now-familiar Dutch breed of dog, as having a monkey-like face. To such strange uses do august and sacred terms often descend ! We know from the previous investigation that Bogu, the distributing god, is Dewas, the Bright-one ; and that Lett and Slav have thus, like Indian and Greek, selected different names to express the same great Being.

* Mr. W. R. S. Ralston, author of *The Songs of the Russian People, Russian Folk-Tales*, etc., has made this field especially his own.

† Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 12.

‡ "Fick agrees with Pictet (*Les Origines Indo-Européennes*) in discovering indications of monotheistic thought in the midst of the naturalism of the primitive Aryan people" (Pezzi, *Aryan Philology*, 178).

§ *Zoroaster*, sec. 19.

|| Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 273.

¶ Cf. Scott, *Ivanhoe*, cap. xvi., "Mista, Skogula, and Zerneboc, gods of the ancient Saxons."

Another name for the god of the sky is Svarogu,* the "Gleaming Strong One," and Svantovich,† the "Wise and Holy." The bright heaven-god is manifested in, and sometimes in idea glides almost imperceptibly into, the bright god of the heaven, *i.e.*, the sun-god, whose material counterpart is the solar photosphere.‡ And so the Byel-bog, or "White-god," Svantovich, seems to have become a sun-god; and Montfaucon§ gives a symbolical representation of him as a four-headed|| human figure standing on a pedestal and holding a bow, often a symbol of the solar god. The sun-god is also called Dazhbog,¶ the "God of Heat;" and he is naturally represented as the son of Svarogu, the sky-god. We find an impersonation of fire, Ogon, the Vedic Agni,** and may judge to a considerable extent of the character of the former from that of the latter. Perkunas, the rain and thunder-god, has been compared with the Vedic Parjanya, the "rain" and raining-giving power, the son of Dyaus. Below the god of heaven and the sun-god, the Varuna and Mitra†† of the Wends, stand various other personages, who represent phases of the sun-god, the under world personified, etc.; but very little detail about them has survived, and especially the meanings of their names (the best clue to an archaic concept) are either unknown or doubtful. Tiele well remarks,—“Religion among the Wends remained at a point of development far behind that of the Vedic and old German religions. It is certainly lower than any of the Indo-Germanic religions with which we are

* Cf. Sk. *svar*, the sun, heaven; *svarga*, the sky, *i.e.*, "the gleaming," in Greek mythology Hère, wife of Zeus, the upper æther. *Og*=Sk. root *oj*, whence *ojas*, strength, splendour, etc. Cf. old Irish *og*, young, fresh; *oig*, a champion; Gk. *hyg-iês*.

† Cf. Iranian *spenta*, "holy," and *vid*, *videre*, *eidô*, "to know."

‡ The all-important distinction between Sun-god and sun is admirably illustrated by a reply of the Santhals, a very low race in India, who, when told that it was absurd to say that Chando (*i.e.*, "the bright one"), the sun, had created the world, replied, "We do not mean the visible Chando, but an invisible one" (apud Prof. M. Müller, *Lectures on the Origin of Religion*, 208).

§ *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. ii., part ii., plate clxxxiv. The figure is taken from a work on ancient German divinities by Grosser, published at Leipzig in 1714.

|| For a consideration of four-faced solar divinities, which represent the sun in the four seasons, *e.g.*, the Baal-image set up by Manasseh in the Temple, vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 359, *et seq.*

¶ From the root *dah*, *dagh*, "to burn." Cf. Zend, *dazh*, "to burn"; Goth. *dag-s*, Ang.-Sax. *daeg*, Eng. *day*, *i.e.*, the time when the burning (sun) is visible.

** Vide *Zoroaster*, secs. 30-32.

†† Vide *Ibid.* secs. 15, 16, 26, etc.

acquainted.”* But it has had no great chronicler, cosmogonist, or poet, and this is perhaps its misfortune almost as much as its fault. We can see from the fragments that the general outline of the intellectual building was similar to that of the Teutons and the Eastern Aryans, but inferior as a Welsh cathedral is to Lincoln or York.

7. *The Teutons and their several Divisions.—German Religious Belief.*

The Teutons, with whose religion and mythology, as reflected in the Scandinavian branch of the family, we are now more particularly concerned, may be linguistically divided into the High-German, Low-German, and Scandinavian branches. High-German, or the general dialect of Germany, divides itself into (1) Old High-German, *i.e.*, the language prior to the twelfth century; (2) Middle High-German, the language from the twelfth century to the Reformation; and (3) New High-German, the language since the Reformation. Low-German produced the extinct dialects of Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon and Old Dutch, and their living successors; and from the Old Norse of the Scandinavian branch spring the dialects of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The German religion “does not essentially differ”† from that of the Northmen or Scandinavians, which fortunately has been preserved in full as a specimen of the intellectual development of the whole family; and it is in the Norse religion that the Teutonic faith must mainly be studied. Some of the scanty statements of classical authors, however, on the subject are, notwithstanding their late date and the very limited knowledge of the writers, of considerable value in an archaic investigation, particularly when viewed in connection with linguistic science. Julius Cæsar, who was but a short time in Germany, says that the Germans worshipped the gods whom they saw—the Sun, Vulcan (*i.e.* the igneous principle, Agni-Ogon), and the Moon.‡ Tacitus, who had more carefully studied the matter, describes them as worshipping Mercury, Mars, and Ertha§ (“*id est, Terram matrem*”), and states also that some of the Suevi revered Isis.|| The first German

* Tiele, *Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions*, 180.

† *Ibid.* 189.

‡ *De Bello Gallico*, vi. 21. He adds,—“*Reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.*”

§ Root, *ir, ri*; later form, *ar*; Sk. *ira, ida*, Gk. *era*, Old High-Germ. *ero*, Gaelic *ire*, Gothic *airtha*, Ang.-Sax. *eortha*, *i.e.*, land which is eared (cf. Auth. Ver. Isaiah xxx. 24) or made *ar*-able. || *Germania*, ix. xl.

divinity here referred to is Wuotan,* whose identification with the Latin Mercurius, a personage absolutely but most incorrectly identified with the Greek Hermes, is very interesting, inasmuch as both Odhinn and Hermes are wind-gods, and the *petasos* (broad-brimmed hat) and *talaria* (ankle-wings) of the latter appear in the mantle and eight-legged horse, Sleipnir, the "Slippery," of the former. By Mars is meant either Tyr or Donar (Thor) probably the former. The latter seems to be the personage whom Tacitus calls Hercules. Hertha is Demeter ("Mother Earth"), *i.e.*, the cultivated and orderly earth; and her German ritual corresponds with the Iranian view of agriculture as a sacred duty.† Isis is not the great Egyptian goddess, but Ziza, an earth-mother and female reflection of Zio, and of whom we know but little more than her name, and that her symbol was a boat-shaped vessel.‡ The unfortunate habit, common to classical writers, of applying the names of their own divinities to those of foreign nations, has been a source of great confusion, from which, however, we have fortunately now emerged. Tacitus adds this remarkable testimony respecting the religious feeling of the ancient Germans,—“Moreover, neither do they think to enclose the gods in walls, nor to portray them in any kind of human form, on account of the greatness of heavenly beings. Woods and groves they consecrate, and call by the names of gods that mystery (*secretum*) which they behold by religious awe alone.” Thus did our ancestors, even at a late period, understand that the Most High dwells not in temples made with hands; and whilst a hasty observer (like those superficial travellers who tell us they encounter races without any religion) described them as worshipping the Visible alone, it is evident that the exact opposite of his statement is correct, and that they worshipped the Invisible alone, regarding the Visible as its creature and manifestation. Lucan§ mentions two German divinities whom he calls Teutates and Hesus. The name of the former, the Keltic Taith, is connected with the general name of the great Aryan divinity, the German Tiu or Tiw, old High-German, Zio; Oscan, Djovis; old Latin, Vedjovis (Jupiter, Zeus, Dyaus); the Norse, Tyr.|| Hesus or Esus,

* Old High-Germ. Wuotan, New High-Germ. Wodan, Ang.-Sax. Woden; vide *inf.* sec. 9, *Odhinn*.

† Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 8. The car of Hertha was cow-drawn.

‡ She is probably the Siwa of Grosser, who gives a picture of her resembling a Venus with long, flowing locks. § *Pharsalia*, i. 444.

|| As to Tyr, vide *inf.* sec. 9. Camden observes, "Our Britons call God Dyw" (vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 12).

a statue of whom has been found at Paris, and after whom Hessary Tor in Devonshire is thought to be named, is, if possible, a still more interesting epithet, for it carries us back to the other grand Aryan name of God, Asura, the "Living," a noble title which I have elsewhere considered.* Thus, in the far Aryan west, as in the far Aryan east, we find the Deity called by the same great names; the Asura and Dyaus of India reappear in the Esus and Taith of the Kelts, and the value of linguistic testimony in favour of the monotheistic position can hardly be over-estimated. It is only those unfamiliar with the question who will regard such inquiries as merely laborious trifling, which, whilst it may amuse the otherwise idle hours of an antiquary, is unworthy of the serious attention of the defender of the Faith.

Tacitus also states that the Germans celebrate in ancient songs the god Tuisco and his son Mannus, the founder of their race.† Tuisco or Tivisco, *i.e.*, "the Tiu-ish," is a variant form of Tiw; and, similarly, amongst the Aryan Indians Manu,‡ *i.e.*, Man, is styled the son of Dyaus, in other words, — Ἀδάμ του Θεοῦ. "Why was *Tuisco* called the father of *Mannu*? Simply because it was one of the first articles in the primitive faith of mankind that in one sense or other they had a father in heaven."§ Thus we find the Germans worshipping the great Heaven-father, known to and believed in by the undivided Aryan race, and beholding Him by faith and reverence alone. Man, as created by God out of the dust, has ever known that he is the son both of Zeus and of Gaia, of Tuisco and of Hertha, of Dyaus and of Prithivi.||

8. Scandinavian Sacred Literature.

Iceland produced and preserved Scandinavian sacred literature, which consists of the Elder and the Younger *Eddas*. The word *Edda*, meaning "great-grandmother," is used in this connection in the special sense of guardian of the ancient lore, and as a name is not anterior to the fourteenth century. The most complete codex of the Elder *Edda* was found in 1643 by the learned Bishop Brynjolf Sveinsson, and was ascribed by him to Saemundar, son of Sigfus, commonly called "the

* Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 11, "History of the name Asura"; vide *inf.* sec. 9. The Aesir. From the root *as*, "to breathe" (vide Appendix A.).

† *Germania*, ii.

‡ From the root *man*, "to think." Man is "the Thinker"; cf. Min-erva, Min-os, *menis*, *mens*, *mind*, etc.

§ Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 501.

|| The "Broad" Earth; cf. Gk. *plátús*.

Wise," who was born at Oddi in the south of Iceland about A.D. 1055, and died in 1133. Bishop Sveinsson entitled his transcript of the codex, *Edda Saemundi Multiscii*, and the original is now in the royal library at Copenhagen. The compilation of the Younger *Edda* is ascribed to Snorri, son of Sturla, who died in the year 1241, and it is called *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar*. The Norsemen began to colonize Iceland about A.D. 860, and Christianity became the religion of the country in the year 1000. "The men to whom the collection of the ancient Pagan poetry of Iceland is commonly ascribed were men of Christian learning. It is owing to their labours that we know anything of the ancient religion . . . of the Norsemen. The religious system of Iceland is the same, at least in its general outline, as that believed in by all the members of the Teutonic family, and may truly be called one of the various dialects of the primitive religious and mythological language of the Aryan race."*

The collection of songs which compose the Elder *Edda* may be divided into the lays (1) of the gods, and (2) of the heroes. Amongst the former the most remarkable is the *Voluspá*, i.e., "The Vala's† Prophecy," which treats of the creation, the birth of giants, gods, and men, the contest which at the end of the present state of things shall occur between the powers of good and evil, and the destruction and renewal of the world. *Baldur's Dreams*, *The High One's Lay*,‡ and *Odhinn's Rune-song*, are the titles of some of the other songs of the gods.

The Younger *Edda*, which is in prose, consists of three parts: (1) *The Vision of Gylfi*, an ancient king of Sweden who was desirous of knowing particulars concerning the gods, and of the destiny of the world; (2) *The Sayings of Bragi*, the god of eloquence; and (3) the *Skalda*, a history of the origin and character of the poetic art. In the *Vision of Gylfi* is given an account of the creation of the world, of the various principal divinities, powers of evil, and monsters; of the great contest to take place at the end of the present age, and of the new heaven and earth. Thus in the Eddaic compilations, themselves formed within a comparatively short period after the

* Prof. Max Müller, *Chips*, ii.

† "The most remarkable class of seid-women [Seid was a species of divination, possibly connected with boiling] were the so-called Valas or Völvas. We find them present at the birth of children, where they seem to represent the Norns" (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 214), the Teutonic Paræ. *Vala* may mean "one possessed of hidden knowledge" (cf. Sk. root *val*, "to cover"). Mr. Stallybrass well compares "the Slavic *volkhe*, *magus*," with *völva* (Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, i. 97. Eng. Trans.).

‡ The *Hamaval* or High Song of Odhinn.

formal establishment of Christianity in the country, are preserved religious and other ideas of a most remote antiquity, and which belonged in their origin to the archaic period of the undivided Aryans.

9. *The Norse Divinities.*

In accordance with the principle adopted on a former occasion,* I will next tabulate the Norse divinities, and notice the meaning of their names. The following are the principal personifications or divine personages of the Eddaic faith :†—

Baldr. "The White-shiner"; Anglo-Sax., Baldag; the Slavonic Byel-bog. The bright summer and day-god, father of Forseti, "First-sitter," the god of justice, which here as elsewhere is connected with the sun. Son of Odhinn and Frigga, and husband of Nanna, the flower-goddess, who (like Istar and Persephone) descended with him to the Under-world; he was accidentally slain by Hodhr.

Bragi. "The Brilliant." The god of poetry and eloquence, son of Odhinn, and husband of Iduna. Cf. Eng., *brag*.

Freyia. "The Lady." Goddess of love, and sister (female-reflection) of Freyr; mistress of Friday, *dies Veneris*. A variant phase of Frigga.

Freyr. "The Lord." Cf. Gk., *Kurios*. A beneficent sun-god, presiding over rain, sunshine, the earth-fruits, and wealth; is united with Gerdha, the earth-girding sea.

Frigga. "The Fruitful." Cf. Lat., *frugis*. Wife of Odhinn, and queen of the gods; the fruitful, cultivated earth.

Heimdallr. "Enlightener-of-the-worlds" (Bunsen). An ancient sun-god and light-giver, dwelling in Himinbiorg, "Mons Cælius," riding the steed Gulltopp, "Gold-mane," lord of the rainbow-bridge, Bif-rost, "the trembling road," sentinel of heaven and possessor of the Gjallarhorn, "the blast-horn," *i.e.*, thunder, the sound of which echoes through space, whilst its point sticks in Nifheimr, "Nephele-home," the ninth and lowest world. He hears and sees all things, and in his exalted character closely corresponds with the Vedic Agni.

Hermodhr. "Courage-of-hosts." The messenger of the gods,

* Vide Zoroaster, sec. 19.

† Vide Jacob Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (vol. i., translated by Jas. S. Stallybrass, 1880); Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*; Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*; Bunsen, *God in History*, vol. ii.; Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*; Anderson, *Norse Mythology*; Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*, cap. iv., sec. 5.

Sol Victor, the Yule (*i.e.*, *hjul*, "wheel") sun of December 25, the returning and brightening sun. Descended to the Under-world to fetch Baldr from the realms of the dead.

Hodhr. The name, according to Thorpe, signifies "war or battle," but this is very doubtful. "It may be traced in the forms Hadupracht, Hadufians, etc., to the Chatumerus of Tacitus."* The blind god, lord of darkness, who, accidentally and at the instigation of the evil Loki, slays Baldr, his twin-brother (*i.e.*, the powers of day and night are twins), and is slain in turn by his brother Vali when the latter is only one night old (*i.e.*, by the sun of the next day).

Hoenvr. "The Winged." The air-spirit, one of the creating triad.

Iduna. "The Fair-one." From the root *id*, 'again,' expressive of activity and renovation. Cf. the Vedic *Ida*, the cultivated earth. Guardian of the golden apples of ever-youth.

Odhinn. "The Pervader." Old High-German, Wuotan; New High-German, Wodan; Frisian, Weda; Sax. Wuodan, Woden. From *vadha*, 'to go;' pret. *vodh* or *odh*.† Cf. Latin, *vadere*; Sanskrit root, *vá*, "to blow"; *vata*, "air," and hence the air-god; Greek *aó*, *aér*, etc. The divine protagonist, king and father of the gods, the æther-wind-spirit of the world. Called *Alfadir*, "Father-of-all"; *Thrida*, "the Third"; *Har*, "the High"; *Gangleri*, "the Ganger" or quick-goer; *Yggr*, "Deep-thinker"; *Valfadir*, "Sire-of-the-slain," and has about two hundred other epithets. One of the creating triad, and lord of Wednesday. Sometimes united with and sometimes distinguished from a still higher and more august All-Father; turned by Christianity into a demon, and becomes the Wild-huntsman, etc.

Oegir. "The Dread." Cf. Ogen, Ogyges, Ogre. God of the stormy sea, whose name is still given to the tidal wave on some English rivers, *e.g.*, the Ouse and Trent.‡ His wife is *Ran*, "the Robber," the hungry sea.

Thorr. "The Extended."§ Old High-German, Donar;

* *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, ii. 93.

† Vide C. W. Keary, *Wind Myths* (in *The Contemporary Review*, July, 1875, p. 282).

‡ "Lo! along the river's bed a mighty eygre reared his crest" (Miss Ingelow, *The High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire*).

§ "The word in its first meaning has no reference to noise. The root denotes simply extension as applied, whether to sound or to any other objects, and from it we have the Greek and Latin words *τείνω* and *tendo*, to stretch, *τόνος*, tone, *i.e.*, the stretching and vibration of chords" (*Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, i. 378).

Taranis (Lucan). God-power throughout the kosmos. The mighty, striding lord of the bright heaven, of thunder, lightning, and rain, champion of the gods, and unwearied defender of gods and men, heaven and earth against the powers of evil. Called Veorr, "the Defender," and Asa-bragr, "the Asa-prince"; father of Magni, "Might," and Modi, "Courage"; lord of Thursday.

Tyr, Ty. "The Bright!" Cf. Tiu, Zeus, etc. Son of Odhinn, god of war and lord of Tuesday.

Vali. "The Vigorous." Called Bui, "tiller of the earth;" a mighty archer, the strong sun of morning and of spring who avenges his brother Baldr's death upon Hodhr.

Ve. "The Sacred-one."* Brother of Odhinn and Vili; this triad ruled heaven and earth, which, with the sea, they formed from the body and blood of the giant-monster Ymir, "the Roarer," the primeval chaotic abyss.

Vidhr. "The Forest-god." From *vidr*, "a wood." Son of Odhinn, and called the Silent; an impersonation of the eternal might of God in nature.

Vili. "Will," i.e., the power which sets things in motion. Cf. Sk. root *vel*, "to move about;" Greek *eiló*, Latin *volvo*, etc. One of the creating triad.

The divinities generally are sometimes called *tivar*, "gods," Vedic, *deva*,† and Aesir (sing. *As*, Goth, and Old High-German *Ans*; Sk. root *as*, 'to be, live, exist,' Eng. *is*. The primary meaning is 'to breathe.' Cf. Asura, Hesus, etc.)‡ "the Living-ones." A certain section of the divinities was called the Vanir,§ and ruled in air and sea. Freyr and Freyia were, according to the late systematizing, Vanir; but were taken into the number of the Aesir or ethereal gods. The sun (solar-photosphere) is personified as Sol, the sister of Mani, the moon.

10. Analysis of the Norse Divinities.

The foregoing eighteen personages on analysis appear as follows:—

* "Ve signifies in the O. Nor. tongue, a place of assembly, with the idea of holiness and peace. Goth. *veih*s, O. H. G. *wih*, sacred" (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 146).

† Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 12.

‡ Vide *Ibid.* sec. 11. "History of the Name Asura."

§ "The word "wanen" was originally "anen," coming from the root *and*, i.e., "breath," "air," "spirit" (Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 486).

I. *Phenomenal Objects.*1. *Aërial.*

Hoenr.
Odhinn.

2. *Semi-solar.*

Bragi.
Heimdallr.
Thorr.
Tyr.

3. *Purely solar.*

Baldr.
Freyr.
Hermodhr.
Vali.

4. *The Earth.*

Freyia.
Frigga.
Iduna.

5. *The Sea.*

Oegir.

6. *Darkness.*

Hodhr.

II. *Abstractions of Deity.*

Ve.
Vidhr.
Vili.

NOTE.—Odhinn is also a semi-solar and kosmogonical divinity, and a representation of the Supreme.

General character of the personages—supporters of existing kosmic order.

The personifications representing Earth, Sea, and Darkness, explain themselves; and, like the Vedic Prithivi,* may be dismissed from the number of original divinities. As before observed,† there must have been a time when the one sun had not yet been divided in idea, and therefore the purely solar divinities necessarily resolve themselves into a sun-god. The diurnal sun (Baldr) becomes the sun of the Under-world (Hermodhr); and, subsequently, the sun of the next day or next year (Vali). There is also the mighty power of the bright heaven, but after all, the Bright-brilliant-extended-enlightener-of-the-worlds (Tyr-Bragi-Thorr-Heimdallr) is but the sun-power on high who rules with thunder and lightning. The solar photosphere, as noticed, was distinct from all these personages, and spoken of as female; so we have, in effect, a male Sun-and-heaven-god, in connection with whom is an All-Father, Odhinn, who with two mysterious companions, Ve and Vili, formed heaven and earth in kosmic order. But Ve and Vili are only abstractions, the combination of their names signifying that the Will-of-the-Sacred-one, *i.e.*, of Odhinn, was so exercised upon the kosmos. And, similarly, the first man and woman were animated by Odhinn, and two other

* Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 20.

† *Ibid.*, sec. 23.

mysterious companions, Hoenr and Lodr. The meaning of the name Hoenr is obscure, but Lodr undoubtedly signifies "warmth," and the myth appears to express that the corporeal frame of man was in the first instance animated by Æther (spirit), Air (soul), and Fire (physical life-heat). Lastly, the renovating might of deity (Vidhr) will be exercised on the renewed earth (Iduna); and Vidhr is only a son (phase) and even a name of Odhinn.* Baldr, Bragi, Heimdallr, Hermodhr, Thorr, Tyr, and Vali are also all sons (manifestations) of Odhinn. Again, none of these names except the general appellation As (plural Aesir), Tyr, and perhaps Iduna and Oegir,† are primitive (Proto-Aryan). In the period of considerably more than two thousand years which elapsed between the departure of the Teutons from the primitive Aryan home and the discovery of the Norse divinities in Iceland, some old names have doubtless faded away, these and other numerous new ones have arisen, but through all these ages the great name of God, Asura-Zeus, As, or Asa-Tyr, has remained unconquerable by time. It is true that Tyr in the Norse Pantheon as formerly constituted does not occupy as high a place as the Vedic Dyaus-Varuna, Zeus, Ju-piter, or the German Tiu; but he was originally identified with Odhinn,‡ although afterwards he became distinct in idea, and was relegated to a lower, yet very honourable position, in the same way that Dyaus, and subsequently Varuna, were superseded in India by other divinities. Thus, on analysis, these personages resolve themselves into a spiritual All-Father in heaven, whose greatness and goodness are chiefly manifested in solar light; that is to say, we meet again with Varuna and Mitra under other names.§ Kingsley, in a beautiful passage, thus sets forth the faith of our ancestors:—"They looked round upon the earth, those simple-hearted forefathers of ours, and said, 'Where is the All-Father? Not in this earth; for it will perish. Nor in the sun, moon, or stars; for they will perish too. Where is He who abideth for ever?' Then they lifted up their eyes and saw, beyond all which changes and will change, the clear blue sky, the boundless firmament of heaven. The All-Father must be there, unchangeable in the unchanging heaven; bright, and pure, and boundless, like the heavens; and like the heavens, too, silent and far off. So they named him after the

* *Hrafnagaldr Odins* ("Odhinn's Raven's Song"), 17.

† Perhaps connected with the Sk. root *oj* (vide p. 314, note).

‡ "Originally Odin, like Zeus, was the Æther. As such he bore the name of *Twin*, in the northern dialect *Tyr*, both of which are forms of Zeus, *Dev*, *Divus*, *Deus*" (Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 488).

§ Vide *Zoroaster*, secs. 24-26.

heaven, Tuisco—the god who lives in the clear heaven, the heavenly father; and man was the son of Tuisco and Hertha, heaven and earth.”*

11. *The Norse Kosmogony.*

In the beginning there existed two regions, one cold and low, and far to the north, Nifheim, “the mist-world”; the other hot and high, and far to the south, Muspelheim, literally, “home-of-the-spoiler-of-wood,” *i.e.*, the fire world. In this latter region reigned Surtr, “the dark red,” the lord of heat. Between them was Ginungagap, “the yawning abyss”; and when in this third region the hot blasts from the south met the frozen vapour from the north, the latter melted into drops which became a giant-man, Ymir, “the roarer,” also called Aurgelmr, “the wet-clay-mass,” chaotic matter. From the rime-drops was further produced a cow, named Audhumbla, “the treasure of moisture,” whose milk fed Ymir, and who, by licking the salt† rime-stones, produced a man, Buri,‡ “the Generator,” who had a son named Bor,§ “the Begotten”; and he married Bestla, “Desire,”|| daughter of the giant Bolt-horn, “Kernel-of-the-globe”||; their children were Odhinn, Vili, and Ve, who slew Ymir, and from his body, bones, and blood formed earth, heaven, and sea, in kosmic order. At each of the four quarters they placed a dwarf-guardian and sky-supporter; the names of these dwarfs were Nordri, Sudri, Austri, and Vestri. Subsequently Odhinn, as mentioned, with Hoer and Lodr, animated Askr, “Ash,” and Embla, “Alder,”|| the first man and woman. The Kosmos ultimately contained nine worlds, situate for the most part directly one below the other; (1) Muspelheim, in the highest part of which is Gimli,¶ “Heaven,” the ultimate abode of the righteous; (2) Asaheim, the world of the gods, the ethereal expanse; (3) Vanaheim, the abode of the Vanir, the aerial expanse; (4) Ljosalfheim, “the world of the light elves”**; (5) Mannaheim, the world of man, Midgard,†† “the central enclosure,” surrounded by the

* *The Good News of God*, 241.

† Salt typifies the power of motion, and hence of heat. Cf. Sk. root *sal*, “to move,” *sala*, “water;” Gk. *salos*, *hals*; Lat. *salum*, *sal*; Slav. *sol*; Eng. *salt*.

‡ “The forth-bringing, origin, source” (Thorpe). Cf. Sk. *bhu*, “to be.”

§ The *born*, *bairn*. Cf. Lat. *puer*.

|| Bunsen.

¶ Or Gimil, Germ. Himmel.

** *Alfr.* Ang.-Sax. *Aelfenne*, “The White-beings.” From the root *alf*, *alb*, *alp*.

†† In the Christian epic the *Heljand*, *i.e.* “Healer,” “Saviour.” 9th cent. the earth is called *mittelgarten*.

Ocean-stream, beyond which is, (6) Jotunheim,* the abode of the Giants, the rude chaotic powers of nature who oppose the kosmic gods. Below the earth-plain is (7) Svartalfaheim, "the world of the dark Elves"; below which is (8) Helheim, the world of the dead, abode of the goddess Helt, "Darkness." The lowest deep is (9) Niflheim, "the mist-world," where dwells the serpent Nidhoggr, which constantly gnaws the third root of Yggdrasil, "the Bearer-of-the-deep-thinker," (*i.e.*, the Alfadir), the mighty mundane ash-tree, which spreads through all worlds except the highest.

A certain obscurity as to how Mind began to act pervades the commencement of this kosmogony; but we read that the melted drops quickened into life "by the might of him who sent the heat"†; so that Mr. Martineau's canon is satisfied,— "Mind is first, and reigns for ever." In the Younger *Edda* the Supreme God, or Alfadir, is said to live for ever, to govern and direct all things, great and small, to have formed heaven, earth, and air; to have made man, and given him a spirit that shall live after the body has perished, and to have prepared a place called Gimli, where ultimately the just shall dwell with him. And this Being is clearly distinct from the Odhinn of the formal and completed Pantheon. It is quite possible that these statements may all be genuine and original; but we must remember that the compilers of both *Eddas* were Christians; and it seems to me that we have here some touches from a Christian hand dexterously interwoven into the original fabric. In the *Elder Edda* there are also two passages which should be considered in this connection:—

"Then shall another come	Few may see
Yet mightier,	Further forth
Although I dare not	Than where Odhinn
His name declare.	Meets the wolf."§

And in the *Voluspa* we read that in the happy times after Ragnarok;—

"Then comes the Mighty One	He shall dooms pronounce,
To the great judgment,	And strifes allay,
The powerful from above,	Holy peace establish,
Who rules o'er all.	Which shall ever be."

* The Giants are called Jotunn, "eaters, voracious." Cf. Ang.-Sax. *eoten*, Lat. *edo*, etc.

† Cf. Sk. Kali, "the Black"; Ang.-Sax. Hel-an, "to cover over," etc.

‡ "He who sent forth the heat is not Surt, who is only the guardian of Muspelheim, but a supreme ineffable being" (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 1, 3, note 5).

§ *I.e.* in the Ragnarok-contest (*Lay of Hyndla*, 42).

|| *Voluspa*, 64.

The former passage seems to be genuine, the writer appearing to be conscious of a mightier Being than the nature-power-gods, who necessarily will be involved in the ruin of nature; but the latter is more probably a Christian addition to the *Voluspa*, and is not found either in the oldest restored text or in the Copenhagen MS. Thorpe and Anderson, however, accept it.

The wonderful kosmogony works out thus :—At the earliest period we can imagine, there existed the potentialities of heat and not-heat (Surtr being the personified genius of the former), and an unknown power the Heat-sender. The combination of heat and not-heat, which was arranged by the Heat-sender, produced Chaos, which has two great aspects, (1) an evil one, as being the opponent of order, and hence of light and good—Ymir; (2) a good one, as the mother and precursor of a better state of things—Audhumbla.* Hence, under the influence of Audhumbla, appears a being in human form, a father (Buri), who forms a triad with a son (Bor), and personified Desire (Bestla), *i.e.*, wish to benefit all things, godlike love. From these spring a second triad, Odhinn, Vili, and Ve, *i.e.*, the pervading will of the Sacred One, which makes Chaos into Kosmos, so that both Ymir and Audhumbla pass away. Buri, Bor, and Bestla, have no history; they are not personages, but anthropomorphic expressions by which man's struggling sense endeavours dimly to indicate the progress of divine energy in the universe. Vili and Ve are likewise only expressions and personifications of the same sacred action; but Odhinn is a personage to the mind of the Norseman, and so rises higher in the religious scale, and becomes identified with the All-Father, the Asa-Asura, Zeus-Tyr. Yggdrasil is a pictorial representation of the present kosmos, or orderly heaven and earth; and as the Alfadir fills these, so he is said to hang upon Yggdrasil.† This is the grand meaning of the mysterious verse in which Odhinn declares :—

* The nourishing power (cow) through motion (salt) produced hair, head and human form; or vegetable, intellectual, and animal life (vide Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 140).

† "This mighty ash-tree in Grimm's belief is only another form of the colossal Irminsul, the pillar which sustains the whole Kosmos, as Atlas bears up the heaven. Virgil speaks of the ash-tree as stretching its roots as far down into earth as its branches soar towards heaven" (Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, ii. 19). "According to the old scholiast on Adam of Bremen such a tree [*i.e.* with three roots]—which was green both summer and winter—stood near the ancient temple at Upsala; near which was the sacred spring, into which the offerings were sunk" (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 155). Thorpe adds, "The myth is both Indian and Lamaic. The tree of life gathers around it all higher creatures in one worship, as the earthly offering-tree assembled all followers of the same faith under its overshadowing branches."

<p>“ I know that I hung Nine whole nights,* And to Odhinn offered,</p>	<p>On a wind-rocked tree, With a spear wounded, Myself to myself.”†</p>
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But the present state of things is doomed to destruction in consequence of the restless action of the powers of evil, which practically constantly war upon it, and threaten to wear it out; and so we read:—

<p>“ More serpents lie Than any one would think [Six serpents] the branches Yggdrasil’s ash, Greater than men know of; And in its side it rots,</p>	<p>Under Yggdrasil’s ash, Of ignorant apes: Ever lacerate. Hardship suffers A hart bites it above, Nidhoggr beneath tears it.”‡</p>
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At Ragnarok it trembles and groans, and is burnt in the general destruction.§

12. *The Opponents of the Gods.*

Having considered briefly the Norse divinities and the general kosmogonic scheme, I pass on to notice the habitual opponents of the gods; in which number I include not merely those who are to take an active part in the Ragnarok-contest, but also those personages of dread, evil, or malignant nature who are opposed to purity or happiness. The principal members of this list are:—

Angurbodha. “Messenger-of-fear.” A giantess, who by Loki became the mother of Fenrir, Hel, and the Midhgardhsormr. The original phase of this great Asiatic myth is simply the imagery of the storm. Fire, in its terrible and demoniac aspect (Loki), unites with the Thunder-cloud (Angurbodha) and produces darkness (Fenrir), which becomes nether-gloom (Hel), and also brings forth the storm-dragon (the Midhgardhsormr), which falls from heaven as rain. Odhinn is said to have hurled him into the sea. Vide *inf.* Loki, etc.

Beli. “The Roarer.” A giant slain by Freyr, *i.e.*; a storm-wind allayed by the bright sunshine-power. Beli affords a good example of the hostile character and fate of the giant-powers.

Draugr. “Destruction.” The Iranian Drukshsh or Drug. This being, in the Norse idea, a death-announcing spectre,

* A night for each world.

† *Hamaval*, 140. “He has entered into this universe and shares its fate” (Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 407).

‡ *Grimnismal*, 34-5.

§ For some points of contact between the Norse kosmogony and other Aryan myths, vide Appendix C.

supplies a very interesting link between the Vedic, Iranian, and Scandinavian systems. "The evil against which good men are fighting is called *drukhsh*, 'destruction, or lie,'"* and in the *Vedas* the Druh is personified as a female demon,† as is the Drug, "inactive, inglorious, and fiendish," in the *Avesta*.‡

Egdir. "Eagle." A terrible bird that keeps watch for the giantess Angurbodha; at Ragnarok it shall appear, scream, and tear corpses with its beak. The howling wind on the hill-tops. Cf. the connection in idea between *aquila* and *aquilo*.

Fenrir. "Dweller-in-the-depth." "The fennes hyde hi with their shadowe." (Job xl. in Bible of 1551). A demon-wolf, offspring of Loki and Angurbodha, bound by the gods in a lake of blackness, Amsvartnir, in the Under-world. At Ragnarok he is to break loose and devour the sun and Odhinn, an illustration of the solar aspect of the latter. Fenrir represents chaotic darkness; and thus Ragnarok is a "wolf-age," when "The sun darkens, Fall from heaven The bright stars,"§ and another wolf || shall swallow the moon.¶

Garmr. "Swallower." A hell-hound, largest and fiercest of dogs, confined in Gniphellir, "the Holding-cave," whence at Ragnarok he shall break forth and fight with Tyr. Another form of the monster of darkness kept down by the bright powers; so it is an Eddaic caution that "a hero must never fight towards sunset."** "The dog is scarcely distinguishable from the wolf in the twilight"†† of mythology. Garmr is a variant phase of Sarvari—Kerberos.‡‡

Grabakr. "Gray-back." One of the dread brood of serpents in Niflheim, who are ever gnawing at the third root of Yggdrasil. Serpents in the Norse mythology are invariably connected with evil and chaos, although they hold positions widely different in some other schemes.§§

* Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 304.

† Vide Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 266.

‡ Sk. root *druh*, "to seek to hurt;" cf. Lat. *trox, atrox*; Irish *droch*, "evil."

§ *Voluspa*, 56.

|| Vide *Managarmr*.

¶ For illustration of the gloomy and demoniac character of the mythological wolf, vide Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 147-8.

** Cf. the Vedic dictum, "The evening is not for the gods; it is unacceptable to them" (*Rig-Veda*, V. lxxxvii. 2).

†† *Zoological Mythology*, ii. 34. Prof. Gubernatis gives many curious illustrations of the connection between the mythological wolf and darkness. Cf. the popular saying, "Dark as a wolf's mouth." ‡‡ Vide Appendix C.

§§ I have elsewhere (*The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 67, *et seq.*) considered the mythological serpent in its connection with wisdom, the sun, time, and eternity, the earth-life, fertilizing moisture, and phallic symbolism.

Hel. "The Black." Goddess of death, cast down by the All-Father into Nifheim. A personification of the darker aspect of a future existence.

Hraesvelgr. "Corpse-devourer." A giant clad in eagle's plumage, who sits at the northern end of heaven, and from whose wings comes the wind. (Cf. *Egdir*). Wind-powers of course come into great prominence in stormy regions; hence the importance of the wind-aspect of Odhinn. These myths belong to a period when the wandering Aryans had colonized the wild North.

Jotunn. "Eaters." The Giants; unruly, devouring, turbulent powers of nature, who are especially opposed to and overthrown by Thorr, the bright champion of cosmic order, on the establishment of which they were driven beyond the ocean-stream to Jotunheim, the Utgard or Outer-world. Amongst them are such beings as Beli* and Hrungrnir, "the Heaped-up" (*i.e.*, rude, wild mountains), who was slain by Thorr. Their original sire was Ymir. Cf. the Greek Titans. In illustration of their opposition to the bright-powers, we find that "both giants and dwarfs shun the light. If surprised by the breaking-forth of day, they become changed to stones."†

Loki. "The Shiner," *i.e.*, Fire.‡ The evil-aspect of the fire-power, which originally as Lodr, beneficent "Warmth," played an important part in the animation of man. Loki, by his tricks and recklessness, constantly endangered the gods, who at length bound him; but he will break loose at Ragnarok and especially oppose Heimdallr; he also, as noticed, became the sire of the great monsters and a representation of evil.

Managarmr. "Moon-swallower." A wolf, offspring of Loki, who at Ragnarok shall swallow Mani, the moon; the sun and moon are constantly pursued by the wolves of darkness, who will at length overtake them.§

Midgardhsormr. "The Serpent-of-Midgard." Midgard is the earth as the cosmic centre-point; and in the aerial heavens originally rages the serpent, snake, or dragon of storm and darkness, the Vedic Ahi|| and Vritra,¶ the Ira-

* Vide *sup.* In *voc.*

† *Northern Mythology*, i, 8, note 3.

‡ Sk. root *lok*, "to shine;" old Norse *logi*, "flame;" etc.

§ Vide *Garmr*. In this connection we may remember "the Manducus, a symbolic effigy with gaping jaws which was borne aloft in Roman games and processions to represent the under-world" (Rev. Isaac Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, 121).

|| The "Binder," "Strangler"; Sk. root *anh*, "to press together;" Gk. *echis*, *echidna*.

¶ The "Coverer"; Sk. root *vri*, "to cover." In Vedic mythology Vritra personified as a rain-restraining demon.

nian Ajis Dahaka, "Biting-snake," who in later tradition appears as the Perso-Arabian giant Zohak. The storm, offspring of the thundercloud (Angurbodha), is cast from heaven as rain, and becomes identified with the lower storm of water, *i.e.*, the sea; into which, accordingly, Odhinn, as the heaven-ruler, hurled the Midgardhsormr. Here the monster grew to such a size that with tail in mouth he surrounds the world, and so is Jormungurdr, "Earth-encircler," and Weltums-panner, "Stretcher-round-the-world;" *i.e.*, he became identified with the ocean, into which he had been cast. In the contest with the gods he is specially pitted against the equally-extended Thorr. The translator of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, edit. 1770, well observes: "We see plainly in the above fable [*i.e.*, myth] the origin of those vulgar opinions entertained in the North, and which Pontoppidan has recorded, concerning the Craken, and that monstrous Serpent, described in his *History of Norway*."* In an ancient Akkadian Hymn we read, "The thunderbolt of seven heads, like the huge serpent of seven heads (Ibear); like the serpent which beats the sea, (which attacks) the foe in the face."† The sea here referred to was probably originally the Oversea, the "mare magnum sine fine." Again, the "Lernaes turbâ capitum anguis" seems similarly to have originally represented the many-headed, changing storm-clouds.‡

Nidhoggr. "Gnawing-serpent."§ The fell hell-serpent that with numberless other snakes dwells in a well under one of the three roots of Yggdrasil, which it constantly gnaws; and it also sucks or shall suck the bodies of the wicked dead. Goranson, in his Latin version of the *Younger Edda*, renders the passage, "Ibi enim Nidhoggius (Diabolus) excarnificat cadavera mortuorum." Anderson styles Nidhoggr, "The dragon of the uttermost darkness." It is animated by a hatred of what a Zoroastrian would call the "good creation," and is thus an opponent of cosmic order.

Another drakontic monster, but one which belongs to the cycle of the heroes and their exploits, is Fafnir, a name akin to the Greek *thér*, Æol. *phér*, Latin *fera*, English *deer* (a good example of restricted meaning of a term once general), who guarded treasure on a heath, and was slain by the solar hero Sigurd, who, concealing himself in a pit (the Under-world), pierced Fafnir (the nocturnal-darkness) to the heart with his sword (ray) as the monster passed over the pit's mouth.

* Vol. ii. 136, note.

† Apud *Records of the Past*, iii. 128.

‡ Cf. *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, ii. 48.

§ Thorpe. Perhaps "murderous-biter."

Surtr. "The Dark-red." The principle of primeval fire. Although distinct in character from the foregoing personages, he will join with them in the great assault on the present state of things, and will burn the world.

13. *Analysis of the Opponents of the Gods.*

The foregoing fifteen personages on analysis appear as follows:—

I. *Phenomenal Objects.*

1. *Rude Nature-forces.*

Jotunn.

2. *Fire.*

Loki (malignant fire).

Surtr (primeval fire).

3. *Storm.*

Angurbodha.

Beli.

Egdir.

Hraesvelgr.

Midgardhsormr.

4. *Darkness.*

Fenrir.

Garmr.

Grabakr.

Hel.

Managarmr.

Nidhoggr.

II. *Abstractions of Evil.*

Draugr.

Loki (malignant mind).

Nidhoggr (diabolical hate).

General character of the personages—opponents of existing kosmic order.

I necessarily pass over unnoticed a large number of minor incidents and features in the Norse scheme, although many of them are of very considerable interest. My principal object is to supply a general, and also to some extent a comparative, view, and the foregoing analysis will enable us to consider the nature of the contest of which the earth and its surroundings are regarded as the scene. This is the warfare of darkness against light, disorder against order, storm against serenity, destruction against renovation, and evil against good. I place the bad powers first, as they are the aggressors. Now, one of the most common views of the day with respect to mythology and religion, is that the latter sprang from the former; that is to say, that the physical world supplied the human mind with the idea of contest; that "good" was originally a term equivalent for that which seems to be immediately beneficial to man, and "evil" for that which seems to be immediately injurious to him; and that in subsequent ages, under the expanding

power of the mind, the physical struggle in nature was spiritualized; abstract ideas, such as good and evil, entered the field of human reason, and ultimately Religion, *i.e.*, mythology-with-a-bad-memory, appeared upon the scene. This subtle position, in itself so lucid and apparently so truly scientific, one, moreover, which appears to be capable of being illustrated by an almost infinity of instances, many of them startling in their seeming appropriateness, and which if true would simply annihilate Religion as we understand the term, inasmuch as in this case Religion would have sprung from man and not from God, this most dangerous mythological half-truth, is chiefly supported;—

1. By previous failures to explain the system of mythology, especially by crude-historical* (Euemeristic†), allegorical,‡ moral, or metaphysical§ (so-called) explanations.

2. By the undoubted exceedingly important part which natural phenomena have played in mythology, and in connection with the religious thought of archaic man.

3. By the previous absence of any searching analysis, which, whilst accurately setting forth the sphere and influence of the physical, will show that there is also another element in primitive idea.

Thus, in the foregoing view of the gods and their opponents, we see at a glance how large is the part played by the physical; the representatives of darkness, disorder, storm, and destruction do not necessarily postulate any element of metaphysical or moral evil. We can trace the career of the great sea-serpent from the Oversea to the Ocean-stream, and from the climate of Central Asia to the pages of Aldrovandus|| and Pontoppidan; but that fact is no more conclusive against the occasional use by archaic man of the serpent as a symbol of moral evil, than it is proof positive that no large marine monster has ever actually existed. When we have removed all personages who are merely representatives of natural phenomena from both sides, there is a most important residuum. On the one

* Thus, Jupiter, even in recent editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* appears as a king of Krete; and Odhinn has often been described as a friend of Mithradates, who fled to the North from the Romans.

† Euëmeros, B.C. 316, "dressed up the myths as so many plain histories" (vide Grote, *History of Greece*, Part I. cap. xvi.; Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. I. cap. ix.).

‡ The Baconian. Thus, according to Lord Bacon, the sharp and hooked talons of the Sphinx represent "the axioms and arguments of science."

§ The Neo-Platonic (vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 66, *et seq.*). These pretended explanations are quite arbitrary, and therefore worthless.

|| *Serpentum et Draconum Historia*, 1640.

hand appears a God-power, beneficent, sustaining, renewing, a divine Will, who gave to the residue of existence its commencement and what potentiality it has. On the other hand is an Evil power, animated by a malignant hatred against good and against man, a power which allies itself with, and whose action is illustrated by, the hurtful agencies of nature, as the God-power is illustrated and revealed by the beneficial. It is a natural thought,—but if the Midgardhsormr is merely an aspect of nature, why should Nidhoggr be more? If Surtr is merely an igneous personification, so is Loki. This idea, which, logically regarded, is only saying, If A is an Englishman, so is B, will be rebutted by an examination of the story. Thus, the Great Serpent is never represented as directly attacking any man, because the rage of storm, aërial or oceanic, is never directed against individuals as such; whereas Nidhoggr, on the other hand, is constantly assailing, both verbally* and by deeds, the powers of good who maintain the order of the world, and has special power and office in connection with the wicked dead. Loki, a fallen god, is an equally remarkable concept.

Many may think such inquiries as the present unimportant, but the grand question of the truth of Religion will, so far as general argumentation is concerned, have a growing tendency to revert to its origin as far as known, and thus to bring us face to face with the opinions and belief of archaic man.

14. *The Law of Kosmic Order.*

It will be observed that the foregoing view of ontology assumes the habitual triumph of the principle of kosmic order, against which the evil-powers constantly vainly strive. Far from being of the opinion expressed by a modern that "Nature ought to be hung at the Old Bailey," archaic man devoutly believed, nay, more, exceedingly rejoiced in the grand harmony of existence, although its conditions were often infinitely sterner than those which are presented to ourselves. The doctrine that blind chance or unreasoning and accidental atom-play had produced the Apparent, would have been an idea almost utterly unintelligible to him; and when he had painfully grasped it, he would have unhesitatingly rejected it as an impious absurdity. This belief in universal order took a tangible shape in the Vedic concept Rita, whose Baktrio-

* A curious feature in the Norse kosmic myth, is the squirrel Ratatosk, perhaps "Wandering-whisperer," who runs up and down Yggdrasil bearing rancorous words between the dragon-serpent Nidhoggr at the bottom and a wise eagle who sits at the top.

Iranian equivalent is Asha.* *Rita*, from the Sanskrit root *ri*, "to go," signifies (1) going, motion, flowing; (2) a stream, *i.e.*, that which is ever going and flowing; (3) a course, line, *i.e.*, the way taken in going; (4) method, manner, fashion, *i.e.*, the usual way in which people go; and hence (5) usage, observance, custom. Derivatives prove that along with *asha*, existed a variant form *arta*, and the Sanskrit root *ri* sprang directly or indirectly from a Proto-Aryan root *ar*, "to go;"† so that *rita* (*arta*) and *asha* have a common origin, the word and the idea alike belonging to the period of Indo-Iranian unity,‡ and doubtless also to a much earlier stage of Aryan history. *Rita* is used in the *Rig-Veda* as a representation of kosmic order;§ "the going, the procession, the great daily movement, or the path followed every day by the sun from his rising to his setting, followed also by the dawn, by day and night,|| and their various representatives, a path which the powers of night and darkness could never impede."¶ This *Rita*-path is said to have been made by Varuna** for the sun to follow;†† the dawn also follows it,‡‡ but evil-doers never cross it;§§ and "the law of *Rita*" is identified with "the law of Varuna,"||| that is to say, kosmic order is an ordinance of the Supreme.

When considering the myth of Kadmos, "the Easterner," and his bride Harmonia, a Phœnician personage with an Hellenic name, I observed that the term *harmonia* includes "any means of joining things," as a joint or clasp. "Hence it is used of immaterial clasps, as covenants, leagues, laws; and these strongly conveying the idea of orderly management, it becomes connected with proportion, *i.e.*, due proportion in architecture, sound, or character. Hence it is more specially applied to cadence and modulation, and so the full meaning of the word is That-which-is-fitted-together-in-due-proportion. But in a Phœnician and kosmogonical connection that which is fitted together in due proportion is the Kosmos itself; and similarly the Pelasgoi called the gods Disposers (theoi),¶¶ "because they had disposed and arranged all things in such a beautiful order."*** In this connection let

* Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 14.

† Vide Appendix B.

‡ Vide Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 16.

§ *Ibid.* 1.

|| Kosmic Night (Hodhr), distinct from the malignant aspect of darkness.

¶ Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 239.

** Gk. *Ouranos* (vide *Zoroaster*, secs. 26, 33), the Asura.

†† *Rig-Veda*, I. xxiv. 8. ‡‡ *Ibid.* I. cxxiv. 3. §§ *Ibid.* IX. lxxiii. 6.

||| *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 243.

¶¶ *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 236.

*** *Herodotos*, ii. 52. A derivation, of course, "purely fanciful."

us take three strictly parallel sayings from the *Rig-Veda*, the *Psalms*, and a Greek philosopher, in order to show how widely and firmly belief in the splendid principle of kosmic order is rooted in the ancient mind:—

“Surya does not injure the appointed places.”*

“Helios† will not overstep his bounds; if he do, the Erinyes,‡ the auxiliaries of Justice, will find him out.”§

“The sun knoweth his going down.”||

Do not fear this juxtaposition of passages, or suppose that I regard the Psalmist as exactly on a level with the Hindu and Greek sages; but, again, do not let us for a moment suppose that the Hebrew monopolized ancient belief in “a faithful Creator” who kept covenant with man in nature as well as otherwise. And this law of Kosmic Order, thus rightly accepted by the archaics, leads us up to the Argument from Design, respecting which I can only remark here that if there were no such thing as general harmony in nature, if *e.g.*, the movements of the sun were altogether eccentric, and men were now frozen, now scorched; if herrings filled the sea whilst rabbits covered the land; if twenty males were born to one female; then how fiercely would the Argument from Design be attacked by the opponents of the belief in the existence of Deity. But it is fiercely attacked by them now, and pronounced to be valueless; therefore, happen what may, they are prepared to object and to deny.¶

15. Ragnarok.

Such being the general conditions of the present existence, and such the opposing forces discovered in it, the next inquiry

* *Rig-Veda*, III. xxx. 12.

† Surya, Helios, and Sol are variant phases of the same name, which means “the Shiner.” Apollo=“Son-of-the-revolving-one” (Sayce).

‡ As to Erinyes, the Vedic Saranyu, *i.e.* “the running-light” of morning, vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 309, and authorities cited.

§ Herakleitos, *Apospasmata*, xxxiv. || Psalm civ. 19.

¶ The principle of kosmic order and its contest with chaotic violence and evil are admirably illustrated by the Akkadian legend of *The War of the Seven Evil Spirits against Heaven* (translated by Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 398, and H. F. Talbot, in *Records of the Past*, v. 161, *et seq.*). The form of the two first spirits is unknown; but the second, third, and fourth seem to have resembled a leopard (a nocturnal symbol, vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 196; ii. 9; cf. the Fenrir-wolf), snake (cf. Nidhoggr), and dog (cf. Garmr). “The sixth was an enemy to heaven and its King” (cf. Loki); “the seventh was a destructive tempest” (cf. the Midgardhsormr.). “Against high heaven, the dwelling-place of Anu the King, they plotted evil,” and advanced against “the noble sun” (cf. Odhinn), and “Im the Warrior,” “who answers to the Jupiter Tonans of the Latins” (cf. Thor). It is a kind of primeval Ragnarok contest.

is,—Will this state of things be permanent? and the answer given by the Norse religious-mythology is that it will not. A moment of supreme crisis will arrive in which the ever-opposing forces, who may be briefly described as the Powers of Good and Evil, will engage in a decisive and intensified contest called Ragnarok,* “the Twilight-of-the-gods.” The first sign of this terrible event will be the gradual increase of human wickedness:—

“ Further forward I see,	Much can I say
Of Ragnarok	And the gods conflict.
Brothers shall fight,	And slay each other ;
Cousins shall	Kinship violate.
No man will	Another spare.
Hard is it in the world,	Great whoredom ;
An axe age, a sword age,	Shields shall be cloven,
A wind age, a wolf age,	Ere the world sinks.” †

Three winters of bloodshed and general disorder will be followed by the terrible Fimbulvetr, “mighty-winter,” or three winters of severe cold, when the sun will lose its force. At length the Evil-powers will break their present restraints and make a general attack upon the world and the gods. The wolves who have so long pursued the sun and moon will overtake and swallow them; and “the bright stars fall from heaven.” ‡ A golden-combed cock, type of the benevolent and beneficial solar power, will crow over the Aesir; whilst a lurid-red cock, type of the destructive flame, will crow in the Under-world. To the mighty plain called Vigridr, “Battle,” hasten the opponents of the gods; namely (1), Surtr, whose sword outshines the sun, and the genii of the fire from Muspelheim, who, as they march across the bridge Bifrost, break it in pieces; (2) Hrym, “Rime,” and the array of frost giants; and (3) Loki and his children, with the terrible dog Garmr, for Fenrir and Garmr have burst their bonds and come up from the Under-world, and the Great Serpent lashing the sea in fury comes forth against the gods and places himself by the side of the Wolf. Meanwhile, Heimdallr arouses the gods by terrific blasts upon the Gjallerhorn, and they gather upon the fatal plain, supported by the Einheriar, or “Great Heroes,” who, having fallen gloriously in battle have been received by Odhinn into Valholl, “the Hall-of-the-slain.” The contest begins. The solar Odhinn, with golden helmet and

* “From *regin*, gen. pl. *ragna*, *deus*, *potestas*, and *röckr*, *twilight*, *darkness*” (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 205).

† *Voluspá*, 44-6.

‡ *Ibid.* 56.

spear, opposes the wolf Fenrir ; Thorr matches himself against the Midhgardsormr which he had already previously assailed when out fishing in the deep wild sea ; Tyr attacks the dog Garmr ; Freyr opposes Surtr ; and Heimdallr Loki ; the Einheriar, we may suppose, are matched against the Frost-giants ; and either host has a strong reserve-force ; on the one side, Vidhr and Vali, on the other, Hel and Nidhoggr.

The battle goes hard with the gods ; Fenrir, whose upper jaw reaches heaven and his lower earth, swallows Odhinn, a reduplication of the swallowing of sun and moon by the other wolves. Thorr, "the Extended," whose bright potency fills the Oversea, pitted against the Serpent-undersea, crushes the monster's head with his club, and thus slays the "worm" ; but, staggering back nine* paces, falls dead, suffocated with the outpoured floods of venom. Tyr and Garmr, and Heimdallr and Loki, mutually slay each other ; and after a terrible contest Surtr beats down Freyr and fires the world. At this moment the reserve of the gods hasten forward to the rescue. Vidhr with colossal strength seizes the Wolf by the jaws, and rends him till he dies. But the whole contest is too terrible for man and nature to endure. Ghosts flock in crowds to the Underworld, † mountains are hurled down, all fetters and bonds break, universal fear prevails ; the trembling Yggdrasil is set on fire, and the earth sinks down consumed whilst the dread flames roar up against the very heaven.

The previous analysis will have made this grand picture easily comprehensible. Darkness (Fenrir) veils the sun (Odhinn), but is in its turn rolled away by divine might in renewal and recreation (Vidhr). So sings the poet ;—

"The Wolf will	The Father of men devour ;
Him Vidhr will avenge ;	He his cold jaws †
Will cleave	In conflict with the Wolf." §

The brightness of kosmic order in the heavens, with its thunder strength and lightning splendour (Thorr), and the fury of the chaotic storm and wild raging sea (the Midhgardsormr) encounter, destroy each other, and pass away together, and the sea is not any longer. The bright brow of heaven (Tyr) encounters the chthonian darkness (Garmr), and they

* The number 9 contains a kosmical allusion to the nine worlds. The nine paces which Thorr retreats, show that he ceases to exist in any world. Similarly, Heimdallr is said to be the son of nine mothers, *i.e.*, his influence extends throughout all the worlds.

† "All men will their homes forsake" (*Voluspa*, 55), *i.e.*, die.

‡ Those who regard Fenrir as a symbol of subterranean fire have omitted to notice this expression.

§ *Lay of Vafthrudnir*, 53.

mutually fall and disappear; as do the guardian heavenly fire (Heimdallr) and the demoniac telluric fire (Loki), when they close in contest. But the principle of primeval heat (Surtr) shall, at the general conflagration, triumph over the mild warmth of the kosmic world (Freyr), and complete the destined devastation. Surtr and Vidhr, twin powers of God, double aspects of one nature, remain triumphant on opposite sides, and do not attempt to assail each other.

16. *Beliefs respecting the End of the World.*

That the world, understanding by that term the present state of things, would eventually come to an end, and that by the instrumentality of fire, is an ancient doctrine, both traditional and philosophical. Thus, according to Herakleitos, of Ephesos, at a determined period, the world will disappear in fire, and then be built anew by the Deity.* This is also the usual doctrine of the Stoics; at the termination of a certain occult kosmical period the world will perish in a general conflagration.† But the Magi and the archaic Iranians held a doctrine strikingly resembling the Norse faith, and so strong is the correspondence in many particulars that Waring observes,—“The whole scheme of Northern mythology appears to be a wild travestie of that of ancient Persia, combined with local and tribal legends.”‡ It might, of course, be said with equal truth that Latin is a travestie of Greek, but the quotation illustrates the remarkable parallelism between the beliefs of the Teutonic and Iranian branches of the Aryan race. According to the philosopher Theopompos, § B.C. 340, the Magi were of opinion that Oromasdes (Ahuramazda) ruled alone for 3,000 years, after which Areimanios (Angromainyush) ruled for another 3,000. At the close of this period war commenced between them, and continues, but at length Areimanios shall perish, the dead will rise, men become immortal, will enjoy a blessed state of life, neither casting shadows nor requiring food. Hermippos, B.C. 250, the Greek most acquainted with Magism and Zoroastrianism generally, speaks similarly of the Magian belief in a grand crisis or consummation, when Arei-

* Vide Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy* (translated by Morris), i. 39, 41, and authorities cited.

† Vide Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, ii. 46; Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam*, 26. And the belief is echoed by the poets (vide Lucan, vii. 810; Ovid, *Metam.* i. 253).

‡ *Ceramic Art in Remote Ages*, 19, note.

§ Apud Plutarch, *Peri Isis kai Osiridos*, 47; Diogenes Laertios, *Peri Biôn*, Introduction, 6: “Theopompos tells us that, according to the Magi, men will have a resurrection and be immortal, and Eudemos, of Rhodes, coincides in this statement.”

manios shall perish, and the earth under one rule shall be inhabited by happy men, speaking only one language.* In the *Bundahish*† (Kosmogony), which, in its existing form, is a Persian work of the period of the Sassanian dynasty, A.D. 226-641, is contained, amongst other things, an account of the Creation, of the conflict between the good and evil powers, of the future destiny of mankind, and of the general resurrection and Last Judgment. Of this book Haug observes that its contents agree "so exceedingly well with the reports of Theopompos and Hermippos, that we are driven to assign to the original or its sources, a date not later than the fourth century before the Christian era."‡ In the *Bundahish* we meet with a great kosmical period of 12,000 years, a term which also appears in Brahmanism,§ and in the kosmogony ascribed by Soudas|| to the ancient Tuscans. According to this later system, the Demiurge consecrated the period of 12,000 years to his works as at present existing; in the first thousand years, he made heaven and earth; in the second, the firmament; in the third, the sea and waters; in the fourth, sun, moon, and stars; in the fifth, animals, except man; in the sixth, man; the human race, therefore, will continue for six thousand years. With this whole period the writer connects the twelve houses of the sun or signs of the zodiac. The cycle, therefore, is derived from an intensification of the ordinary year. Of this system M. Darmesteter observes, "This pretended Etruscan kosmogony is merely a fusion of the Biblical kosmogony and that of the Bundelesh: on the one hand, the creations of the first six thousand years correspond to those of the six days; on the other hand, there are twelve thousand years, as in the Bundelesh,"¶ in which also it is explained that "each 1,000 years, each month of the world, is under the sway of one of the signs of the zodiac." It is quite possible that Soudas, or the writer in his *Lexicon*, derived a portion of the above kosmogony from Biblical sources, but we must remember in this connection the statement of Plutarch respecting the prodigies which occurred at the time of the civil wars between Marius and Sulla. He says,—“One day, when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it the sound of a trumpet, so loud, so shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The Tuscan sages said it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world: for they observed that there were eight several kinds of

* Vide Plutarch, *Peri Is. kai Os.*, 47; Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 9.

† Translated by Justi in 1868.

‡ *Essays*, 33.

§ Vide Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 300.

|| In voc. *Tyrrenia*.

¶ *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 306, note.

men, all different in life and manners : that Heaven had allotted each its time, which was *limited by the circuit of the great year.*"* It is evident, therefore, that the Etruscans† were well acquainted with a great kosmical period, which, in all probability, was estimated at 12,000 years, a term whose origin was, of course, subsequent to the development of a regular system of astronomy, and which nevertheless may be an idea of very remote antiquity, both on account of its wide-spread prevalence, and also since even the Akkadians, for instance, used the same zodiacal signs as ourselves.‡ With respect to the doctrine of the destined end of the world, it is not, I believe, asserted in any quarter that either Persian or Teuton borrowed the theory from Biblical sources.§ Winter appears at the close of the kosmical period as at the end of the ordinary year, and just as Hrym and the Frost-giants, with the Midhgardsormr, are great opponents of the gods; so Angromainyush is stated to have made in opposition to the first creation of Ahuramazda "a mighty serpent and frost."||

17. *The Regeneration.*

But in the grand Norse creed the scheme of existence is not to end with a vast catastrophe; Ragnarok is to be followed by a re-creation, a new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. The potencies and principles of renewal have survived the conflagration; Thorr and Odhinn have passed away for ever, but Thorr's offspring, Magni, "Might," and Modi, "Courage," with Vidhr, a greater Odhinn, remain uninjured. The wise and gentle Baldr, erst slain by the darkness, shall return in immortal splendour; Vali, the "Vigorous," will beam again upon a happier world, for lo, the sun, although wolf-devoured, has left a daughter more beauteous than herself, as it is written, "A daughter shall the sun bring forth ere Fenrir destroys her. The maid shall ride on her mother's track when the gods are dead."¶ Nor is man forgotten; in a mysterious grove called Hoddmimir's Holt, were concealed unhurt during the Ragnarok contest and the ensuing conflagration a man and a woman, Lifthrasir,** "Life-raiser," and

* *Life of Sulla.*

† Vide Appendix D.

‡ Vide *Records of the Past*, i. 64. It is quite possible that the zodiacal signs, and the use of a great kosmical period not unconnected with them, may hereafter appear as a link between Etruria and Akkad.

§ "In the present state of our knowledge on this subject, it is quite unnecessary to bring forward detailed proofs of the autochthonic origin of this conception of the ancient Teutons" (Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 492).

|| *Vendidad*, i.

¶ *Gylfaginning*, 53.

** "Force vitale" (Darmesteter).

Lif, "Life," from whom will spring another and a happier race; that is to say, the eternal life-principle of the righteous will pass unscathed through the great crisis at the end of the age. Mimir, whose name means "Possessing Knowledge,"* was the giant-guardian of the spring or well under one of the roots of Yggdrasil, and physically represents the ocean as encompassing the foundation of the world; so his sons, *i.e.*, the waves, dance at Ragnarok,† and Odhinn leaves his eye, *i.e.*, the sun, in his well as a pledge.‡ Odhinn used Mimir's head, which had been cut off by the Vanir, as an oracle,§ and mention is made of a mythic tree, distinct from Yggdrasil, and called Mimameidir, "Mimir's Tree," which no fire shall harm, and which is a creator of mankind,|| a kind of tree of life. The connection between the deep, the ocean, and wisdom, is both very archaic and very occult;¶ but I am unable further to consider it here.

Hoddmimir signifies "Circle-Mimir," or "Sphere-Mimir,"** that is to say, the physical Mimir or ocean, like the Midgardhsormr, encircles the earth, and when the latter is consumed, the selected members of the human race are safely conveyed away across ocean to the far ocean-grove. M. Darmesteter calls the "bois Hoddmimir equivalent du frère Yggdrasil,"†† but this is not the case, nor is this grove a "dedoublement" of Yggdrasil (the present state of things) which is destroyed. We here, in fact, encounter another occult and archaic myth, the Grove of the Under or Unseen World. It is connected with the Under-world because it lies in the direction pursued by the sinking sun. The Greeks knew it well. Thus we find it in Homer,— "When thou hast sailed in the ship across the stream Okeanos (Hodd-mimir) where are groves of Persephoneia, poplars and willows."‡‡ Stesichoros, B.C. 632–552, tells how Helios, like the Vedic Yama, §§ found out the way and sailed in his golden boat-cup

* Cf. the Sk. root *mi*, "to measure, judge, observe," akin to the Proto-Aryan root *ma*, "to measure, gush forth." Lat. *memor*, Ang.-Sax. *meomer*.

† *Voluspa*, 47.

‡ So, according to the *Rig-Veda* (X. lxxii. 7), Surya (Helios-Sol) was drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden.

§ *Voluspa*, 47.

|| Vide *Friðsvinsmal*, 20-3.

¶ Cf. the Akkadian divinity Hea, lord of the deep and of deep wisdom.

** Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 158.

†† *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 299.

‡‡ *Odysseia*, x. 508. So, again, according to Egyptian belief, in Amenti (Hades) were sacred cypress-groves, guarded by fire-breathing, solar Arani (cobras).

§§ Vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 24.

o'er ocean to see his dear ones in the sacred laurel* grove; † and Mr. Ruskin, in a grand passage, exclaims :—“ The poor Greeks of the great ages expected no reward from heaven but honour, and no reward from earth but rest; though, when on these conditions, they patiently and proudly fulfilled their task of the granted day, an unreasoning instinct of an immortal benediction broke from their lips in song; and they, even they, had sometimes a prophet ‡ to tell them of a land ‘ where there is sun alike by day, and alike by night, where they shall need no more to trouble the earth by strength of hands for daily bread, but the ocean breezes blow around the blessed islands, and golden flowers burn on their bright trees for evermore.’ ” § And such is “ Hoddmimir’s Holt,” || which flame and tempest cannot touch.

A new earth rises in fresh beauty; the Aesir meet again, speak of the wondrous things of yore, and reign in peaceful splendour. And the Vala, in her prophecy, exclaims :—

<p>“ She sees arise, Earth from ocean, Unsovn shall All evil be amended. She a hall sees standing, With gold bedecked, There shall the righteous And for evermore</p>	<p>A second time, Beauteously green, The fields bring forth. Than the sun brighter, In Gimil : People dwell, Happiness enjoy.” ¶</p>
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Then follows the stanza beginning, “ Then comes the mighty one,” already quoted.** And such, according to the *Eddas*, is the glorious destiny of the righteous.

* *I.e.* “ bright ” grove. “ The dawn was called δάφνη, the burning, so was the laurel, as wood that burns easily ” (Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 549, note; vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 26. In voc. *Philodaphnos*, an epithet of the solar divinities Apollon and Dionysos).

† Vide *Zoroaster*, p. 28, note 1.

‡ Pindar, *Olymp.* ii.; cf. *Od.* iv. 563, *et seq.* :—“ The deathless gods will convey thee to the Elysian plain and the world’s end, where is Rhadamanthos [the Egyptian Rhot-amenti, *i.e.*, “ Judge-of-the-Hidden-World,” a title of Osiris-Dionysos] of the fair hair [cf. Dionysos Chrysokomes], where life is easiest for men. No snow [Hrym and the Frost-giants] is there, nor yet great storm [the Midhgardhsormr] nor any rain ” (*apud* Butcher and Lang).

§ *The Queen of the Air*, i. 50.

¶ *Voluspa*, 57, 60, 62.

|| *Vafthrudnismal*, 45.

** *Sup.* sec. 11.

18. *Odhinn and the Supreme Aryan God.*

We have already noticed* that the undivided Aryans worshipped a supreme god whose name implied either—

1. *Existence, e.g.,* Asura, Ahura, (As plu., Aesir), Aesar, Hesus, etc.

2. *Brightness, e.g.,* Dyaus, Deva, Zeus, Theos, Ju-piter, Deus, Svar-ogu, Tiu, Zio, Tyr, Taith, etc.; or,

3. *The Coverer* (Proto-Aryan), Varana; (Vedic), Varuna; (Zend), Varena; (Greek), Ouranos. And it will further be observed that Odhinn, the head of the completed Norse Pantheon, although at times almost spoken of as a supreme god, is nevertheless more or less faintly distinguished from the latter, possesses characteristics distinctly aerial and solar, which the supreme God does not, is overcome in the great conflict by the opposing evil power, a situation in which the supreme God is never represented; and finally, is distinct in name from the Asura-Dyaus-Varana, thereby showing that he is also distinct in origin.

The explanation of this singular circumstance reveals an historical fact of great importance in the consideration of the history of religion, namely, that the Supreme Aryan God in the course of time was, with a single exception, *degraded* in the cult of his votaries. In India, Varuna was superseded by Indra, a local divinity, unknown to the Proto-Aryans,† and he had in turn to give way to Brahma. In Greece, Zeus sank lower and lower in general estimation, until the Aristophanic jest that Vertigo (Dinos) had expelled him,‡ became a most practical reality; whilst in the Roman Empire, Jupiter was reduced by Mithra and Serapis to a petty planetary genius.§ Perkunas, the Hindu Parjanya, superseded the supreme Aryan divinity amongst the Lithuanians; and, similarly, amongst the Germans and Scandinavians, Wuotan-Odhinn, the Hindu Vata, and like Perkunas and Indra, the lord of the stormy atmosphere, superseded Tiu-Tyr, who was relegated to a position altogether secondary. In Persia alone did the Aryan remain faithful, as the Parsi does to-day, to the belief in Ahura as the Supreme God.||

* Zoroaster, secs. 11, 12, 19, etc.; *sup.* secs. 6, 7.

† Vide Zoroaster, sec. 19. In voc. *Indra*; Darmsteter, *The Supreme God in the Indo-European Mythology* (in *The Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1879, p. 287); Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 121, *et seq.*

‡ *Nephelai*, 1471.

§ Vide Zoroaster, sec. 15.

|| *Ibid.*, sec. 10.

19. *The Law of Reduplication.*

The adherents of the theory of primitive fetishism, primeval barbarism, and the like, when hard-pressed by the evidence which shows the simplicity and purity of the religious views of archaic man, are wont to take refuge "in boundless time,"* where indeed they are perfectly safe from our pursuit. Thus Mr. A. Lang, in a recent criticism† of Prof. Max Müller's well-known views respecting fetishism, namely, that it is a "corruption of religion," is supposed to make "a distinct point" by "reminding us that the hymns of the Rig-Veda, to which Prof. Max Müller so constantly appeals, are not at all really early documents, or adapted to throw light upon primitive, untutored, religious sentiment." It would be very interesting to have a specimen of "a really early" document, a rather unfortunate term to apply to the Vedic Hymns, so long handed down by oral tradition. It may be that Vedic Hymns, Akkadian Tablets, and Egyptian Papyri are very late documents; but as "late" is merely a relative term, we should be glad to inspect older ones before so classifying them. But, in truth, the theory of the Fetishists may be crystallized into two cardinal positions, namely:—

1. Primitive man, about whom we *know* little or nothing, but dogmatize much,‡ was as we think him to have been.

2. There is nothing really ancient except the modern savage.

On this latter point it is well to hear Mr. Herbert Spencer, an authority as a rule by no means favourable to the views of the present writer. He well remarks:—

"To determine what conceptions are truly primitive, would be easy if we had accounts of truly primitive men. But there are sundry reasons for suspecting that existing men of the lowest types, forming social groups of the simplest kinds, *do not exemplify men as they originally were.* Probably most of them, if not all, *had ancestors in higher states.* . . . While the degradation theory, as currently held, is untenable, the theory

* Vide *Zoroaster*, p. 15, note 1.

† *Mind*, Oct. 1879.

‡ Vide the numerous wild statements in Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Women*, cap. i. So the Rev. T. W. Fowle, after remarking that as yet "evolution is a matter of faith rather than of knowledge," immediately adds, "We confine ourselves to the bare [barren?] assertion that there was a time when the ancestors of our race had no further consciousness of self than is now possessed by an intelligent dog" (*The Nineteenth Century*, March, 1879, p. 390). Similarly Ludwig Noiré asserts, "There was a time when man, or, at least, the thought of man, knew neither man nor wife nor child, neither sun nor moon, no beast, no tree, no I nor thou, no here nor there" (*Max Müller and the Philosophy of Language*, 100). Such assertions, in the absence of evidence, are of course valueless.

of progression, taken in its unqualified form, seems to me untenable also. . . . It is quite possible, and, I believe, highly probable, that *retrogression has been as frequent as progression.*”*

The tendency of man to adore, worship, or reverence, with varying degrees of intensity, numerous real or imaginary personages and a great variety of things, has been assumed to have been an original tendency; which is to assert that a trait in the character of the man must have appeared in that of the child; whereas the child, the youth, may have been temperate, the man of mature years may be a hopeless drunkard. In such a case, the youth had not the vice in question, but merely its not-yet or possibility; and so, in the abstract, it may have been with primitive man. But there is a natural principle which may assist us in accounting or partially accounting for his polytheistic reveries, and this is the Law of Reduplication. Primitive man observed a constant repetition and reduplication in nature; dawn followed dawn, sun succeeded sun, day after day; he looked upon his fellow-man, and saw himself again, and learnt that two was one repeated. He would further notice that this repetition was exact or differentiated, *e.g.*, new but similar combinations of clouds; or, again, woman, *i.e.*, mother-man. And all reduplication was connected with intensity of continuance, of being, of wish, of effort. Thus it took the form of;—

1. *ξμφασις*, *i.e.*, something appearing in or on a body which was not previously there, an indirect species of reduplication, *e.g.*, *ǣ* became *â*. And this principle is thus in constant antagonism with the Law of Least Effort, so closely connected with Phonetic Decay.

2. *Direct phonetic and linguistic repetition.* *E.g.*, the Malay *raja-raja*, “princess,” and *orang-orang*, “people”; the Akkadian *khar-khar*, “hollows,” *gal-gal*, “very great” (*i.e.*, great + great); the Dayak *kaká-kaká*, “to go on laughing loud”; the Tamil *muru-muru*, “to mur-mur.”† The Akkadian, both in sound and in pictorial delineation, supplies numerous instances of this principle.‡

3. *Pictorial Reduplication.* The Assyrio-Akkadian ideo-

* *Sociology*, 106. It is to be observed also that very many modern examinations of the belief, etc., of savages, are palpably superficial, incomplete, or contradictory.

† *Apud* Prof. Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, 277. Mr. Sayce gives various examples of the principle, *e.g.*, “the reduplicated Aryan perfect,” the formation of the plural in the language of the Bushmen, etc.

‡ *E.g.* *taltal* (the god Hea), *mukmuk-nabi* (altar of incense, *i.e.* building, *muk*, + building, intensive for the special building), *mermer* (the air-god Rimmon).

graphs are very frequently constructed upon this principle, beginning, of course, with the sign for "two, twice."* Thus *ana-essecu* ("God-three-times," Triune God?) = star + star + star.

4. *Purely Mental Reduplication*.—And this applied to (1) personages, (2) general ideas, and (3) their embodiment in tales and legends. Thus, *e.g.*, the one solar power became almost infinitely divided, and the story of the sun and the dawn is told and retold with innumerable variations. M. Bergaigne has attempted in the treatment of the Vedic portion of this branch of the subject to establish a "law of mythic numbers"; and whether his particular solution be accepted or not, sooner or later a general principle underlying them will, doubtless, be detected.

20. *The Illustration of the Metaphysical through the Physical.*

The last principle which I can here notice, and one which has been copiously illustrated in the present paper, is the Law of the Illustration of the Metaphysical through the Physical; that is to say, that the human mind employed physical phenomena in working out those ideas which we now call metaphysical. This principle must be carefully distinguished from the theory of the evolution of the metaphysical from the physical, which with it has no affinity. Just as Pindar tells that Zeus possessed something which the other gods had not,† so man possessed something,—call it α ,—which the other animals had not; and which showed itself in the capacity for entertaining abstract ideas, in language, and in religion. There is not the slightest evidence that any other animal possesses even the not-yet of any of these capabilities or qualities; and hence the difference between them and man may well be said to be in kind and not in degree. But this α possessed by man contained the non-yet of metaphysics or "the things which come *after* physics"; ‡ and when applied by him to the physical world produced purely metaphysical ideas, *e.g.* :—

* Vide *e.g.*, the following numbers in Prof. Sayce's *Cuneiform Syllabary*, 4a, 16, 17, 39a, 107a, 137, 140, 165, 166, 168, 169, 188, 197, 198, 212a, 281, 311, 314, 356, 358, 382, 438, 481.

† Vide Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 149; Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 484.

‡ "The name 'Metaphysics' is a mere title signifying 'the things which follow after physics'—a title given by Aristotle's school to a mass of papers which they edited after his death," and which "were composed after the physical treatises" (Sir Alexander Grant, *Aristotle*, 160).

To be is primarily to grow (cf. Sanskrit root *bhū*).*

He is signifies primarily he breathes (cf. Sanskrit root *as*).*

The soul and spirit, *saivala* (Gothic), *ghost*, *geist*, *gust*, *spiritus*, *animus*, *anima*, *pneuma*, *thymos*, etc., are air in motion or agitated (cf. Greek *seio*, and Sanskrit root *dhu*, to shake).

Time, i.e., the partition of period, is originally identical with eternity (Sanskrit root *ay*, to go; Sanskrit, *āyus*; Greek, *aios*, *aiē*, *aiōn*; Latin, *aevum*, *aevitas*, *aetas*, *aeviternus*, *aeternus*, *aetaticum*; Etruscan, *aiv-il*; French, *aé*, *edage*, *âge*; Gothic, *aivs*, *aiv*, *niaiv*; Modern German, *je*, *nie*; English, *age*, *ever*, *never*, *eternal*, *everlasting*); † and is primarily the flow and reflow of solar, lunar, and sidereal light in space, ‡ i.e., existing extension, substantial and non-substantial. So dies = *lux*. No light, no time. § Thus we say that time, the real solar-phoenix, *flies*.

These are, of course, Aryan instances, but non-Aryan languages will supply similar results. Thus through the visible-external was coined the purely mental; the former clothed the latter, as the body does the soul. But to assume, e.g., that because man connected evil in his mental picture with darkness or chaos, therefore darkness or chaos was his only idea of evil, would be altogether unwarrantable. || The poet calls Ingratitude a "marble-hearted fiend," and on such a principle we might as well suppose that the ungrateful were originally regarded as having literally marble hearts. The use by man of the physical to assist him in the expression of the metaphysical, no more proves that the germ of the latter is contained in the former, than the use of an axe to cut a stick proves that the germ of the stick is the axe.

To conclude: I have endeavoured in the present paper, which, in method and general line of argument, is a continuation of my former one, to analyze the religion and mythology of the Aryans of Northern Europe; and, in so doing, to illustrate the true position occupied by the physical in archaic thought; to call attention to some important consequences which result from the Primitive Aryan unity; and particularly to notice the

* Vide Appendix A.

† Vide *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 274.

‡ I have recently illustrated this in a lecture delivered before the Hull Philosophical Society, and entitled *The Hall of Seb: an archaic study of Time*.

§ "That which is before the sun is no-time" (*Maitri Upanishad*, vi. 14, *apud* Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 410). The writer declares that the sun is the source of time—*śryō yonih kalasya*. Cf. *Genesis*, i. 14).

|| For some excellent remarks in illustration of this point, vide M. Lenormant, *The First Sin* (in *The Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1877, p. 162).

great importance of the linguistic aspect of the subject; and, lastly, to indicate several grand unities which run throughout existence, and several harmonious principles which supply illustration and explanation of physical and mental phenomena. However we may differ from our ancestors we shall do well to believe with them that we are all children of the one great Father, who has reserved for them that love and obey Him a glorious future, such as appeared through a glass dimly to the poet-prophet Pindar, when he exclaimed,—

“Pious spirits, tenanting the sky,
Chant praises to the Mighty One on high.”*

THE RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE ARYANS OF NORTHERN EUROPE.

Synopsis.

1. The Aryan Race in the Holoethnic Period.
2. Modern Investigation into Aryan and Proto-Aryan Speech.
3. The Rise of Mythology.
4. Certain Primary Unities.
5. The Argument from General Consent.
6. The Wends, their several Divisions and Religious Belief.
7. The Teutons, and their several Divisions,—German Religious Belief.
8. Scandinavian Sacred Literature.
9. The Norse Divinities.
10. Analysis of the Norse Divinities.
11. The Norse Kosmogony.
12. The Opponents of the Gods.
13. Analysis of the Opponents of the Gods.
14. The Law of Kosmic Order.
15. Ragnarok.
16. Beliefs respecting the End of the World.
17. The Regeneration.
18. Odhinn and the Supreme Aryan God.
19. The Law of Reduplication.
20. The Illustration of the Metaphysical through the Physical.

APPENDIX A.

Illustrations of the Primitive Unity of the Aryan Language.

APPENDIX B.

Primary Roots of Proto-Aryan according to Fick (the “alpha speech”).

* Εὐσεβέων δ' ἐπουράνιοι ναίονσαι
Μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν ἀείδοντ' ἐν ἕμνοισι (Threnoi, Frag. iii.).

APPENDIX C.

Some Points of Contact between the Norse Kosmogony and other Aryan Myths.

APPENDIX D.

The Etruscans.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.—Page 4.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE UNITY OF THE ARYAN LANGUAGE.

The Substantive Verb :—Sk. *asmi, asi, asti* ; Zend, *ahmi, ahi, asti* ; Gk. *cimi, essi, esti* ; Lat. *sum, es, est* ; Lith. *esmi, essi, esti* ; Goth. *im, is, ist* ; Eng. *am, art, is*. Roots :—Sk. *as*, “to breathe,” Eng. *is* ; Sk. *bhu*, “to grow,” Gk. *phu-o*, Eng. *be* ; Sk. *vas*, “to dwell,” Eng. *was*.

Father :—Sk. *pitar*, Zend, *patar*, Gk. *patér*, Lat. *pater*, Goth. *fadar*, Eng. (temp. Wiclif) *fadir*, Irish *athair*.

Mother :—Sk. *matar*, Zend, *matar*, Gk. *mêtér*, Lat. *mater*, Slav. *mati*, Irish *mathair*.

Daughter :—Sk. *duhitar*, Zend, *dughdhar*, Gk. *thugatér*, Goth. *dauhtar*, Irish *dear*.

House :—Sk. *dama*, Zend, *demana*, Gk. *domos*, Lat. *domus*, Slav. *domu*.

Horse :—Sk. *asva*, Zend, *aspa*, Gk. *hippos*, Lat. *equus*.

Cow :—Sk. *go, gaus*, Gk. *bous*, Lat. *bos*, Old Germ. *chuo*, Mod. Germ. *kuh*, Eng. *cow*.

Dog :—Sk. *svan*, Zend, *span*, Gk. *ku-ôn*, Lat. *can-is*, Goth. *hun-ds*, Eng. *hound*.

Sow :—Sk. *su*, Gk. *hus*, Lat. *sus*, Eng. *sow*.

Mouse :—Sk. *mîsh*, Gk. and Lat. *mus*, Old Germ. *mîs*, Eng. *mouse* (i.e., “thief”).

Yoke :—Sk. *yugam*, Gk. *zupon*, Lat. *jugum*.

Smoke :—Sk. *dhumas*, Gk. *thumos*, Lat. *fumus*, Old Germ. *daum*, Eng. *fume*.

Ship :—Sk. and Gk. *naus*, Lat. *navis*.

Two :—Sk. *dvi*, Zend, *dva*, Gk. *duo*, Lat. *duo*, Slav. *dva*.

Cardinal numbers in Zend :—*æva* (Sk. *eka*), *dva* (vide *sup.*), *thri* (Sk. *tri*, Gk. and Lat. *treis*, Goth. *thri*, Slav. *tri*), *cathvar* (Lat. *quatuor*), *pancan* (Lat. *quinque*), *kshvas* (Sk. *shash*, Gk. *hex*, Lat. *sex*, Eng. *seox, six*), *haptan*, *astan*, *navan*, *dasan* (Sk. *dasa*, Gk. *deka*, Lat. *decem*), *æva-dasan* (i.e. 1 + 10, Sk. *ekadasa*), etc.

APPENDIX B.—Page 5.

PRIMARY ROOTS OF PROTO-ARYAN (According to Fick. “Alpha speech”).

I. Roots formed from a vowel.

a, to breathe ; *i* (*ja*), to go, press ; *u* (*va*), (1) to cry, etc. (2) to twist ; *u* (*av*), to be content, to be fond of, help, etc.

II. *Roots formed from A and a consonant.*

ak (three meanings), to reach, see, bend; *ag* (two meanings), to push, snear, etc.; *agh*, to desire, speak; *ad*, to eat; *ap*, to reach; *abh*, to resound, swell; *am*, to hurt; *ar* (four meanings), to go, disjoin, shine, utter sound *as*, to throw.

III. *Roots formed from a consonant and A.*

ka (five meanings), to reach, lend, utter, sound, desire, burn; *ga* (three meanings), to push, be clear, utter sound; *gha* (three meanings), to gape, utter sound, strike; *ta*, to stretch; *da* (four meanings), to give, look, bind, move; *dha*, to place, stream; *na* (three meanings), to bend, bind, cry; *pa* (four meanings), to reach, touch, swell, pant; *ba*, denotes a sound; *bha*, to appear, strike; *ma* (six meanings), to diminish, exchange, measure, gush forth, remain, roar; *ra*, to abide, love; *va*, to blow, push, wet; *sa*, to let go.

IV. *Roots formed from a double consonant and A.*

kva, to swell, burn; *ska* (five meanings), to move, cover, glow, rest, cleave; *sta* (three meanings), to utter a sound, hide, stand, *sna*, to wash, swim; *spa*, to draw, have space; *sva*, to utter a sound.

APPENDIX C.—Page 27.

SOME POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE NORSE COSMOGONY AND OTHER ARYAN MYTHS.

1. *The Cow Audhumbla.*

In the Baktrio-Iranian system a primeval cow, ox, or bull, existed prior to the present state of things, and was slain for the good of the world and in furtherance of kosmic order (vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 8; Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 147; Bleeck, *Avesta*, ii. 29). In India imagery very similar to the Norse had probably, in a climate entirely different, quite another signification, and the cow of abundance is sometimes the cloud whose rain is milk, and perhaps at times the dawn which nourishes the young sun (vide Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, i. 224; cf. also Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 159, 191). So Carlyle remarked long ago, "The cow Adumbra, licking the rime from the rocks, has a kind of Hindoo look. A Hindoo cow, transported into frosty countries. These things will have a kindred with the remotest lands, with the earliest times. Thought does not die, but only is changed" (*Lectures on Heroes*, i.).

2. *The Four Dwarf-Guardians.*

The nations of antiquity generally divided the horizon into four regions (cf. Job, xxiii. 8, 9), east (before), west (behind), north (left), and south (right). Hindu mythology has placed an elephant in each of "the four ends of the world," but the dwarf myth is the older of the two. The protection of a house, the *door*, has preserved its primitive name in most of the Aryan dialects, Sk. *dvar*, Gk. *thur-a*, Lat. *fores*, Old Germ. *tor*, Slav. *dver-i*, and hence Sk. *dvarika*, "door-keeper"; Ang.-Sax. *dverg*, Eng. *dwarf*, a word which acquired its present sense "when that office was assigned to those whose bodily defects disqualified them from hunting or war" (Rev. D. H. Haigh, *Yorkshire Dials.*, in *The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical*

Journal, v. 165. Mr. Haigh's article is a very fine study). Obscure general ideas, kosmogonical and otherwise, will frequently become luminous when illustrated by original manners and customs often their material counterparts.

3. *Askr, the First Man.*

Grimm identifies Isco, the second son of Mannus, with Askr; and Alcuin, A.D. 735—804, "still uses the expression, son of the ash-tree, as synonymous with man" (Prof. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 503). According to Hesiod, "the men of the third or brazen age had sprung from the ash-tree; that is to say, they were giants who had descended from the wood-crowned hills, with brazen weapons and spears of ash-wood" (Bunsen, *God in History*, ii. 24). In the Norse kosmogony "the earth brings forth the first pair of human beings as man and wife, under the likeness of the hard ash-tree and the soft alder. The gods endow them with intelligence and strength, and deliver them from the giants, or destructive agencies of nature" (*Ibid.* 407). Cf. Homer, "Thou art not sprung of oak or rock, whereof old tales tell" (*Od.* xix. 163, *apud* Butcher and Lang). So Virgil speaks of "gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata" (*Æn.*, viii. 315). The kosmos is an ash-tree, Yggdrasil; and men are its children.

4. "The Gods who possess the Wide Heaven."

The bright divinities of Asaheim and Vanaheim, occupants of the ethereal and aerial expanse (vide *sup.* secs. 9, 10), exactly correspond with the Homeric "gods who possess the wide heaven," a standing formula (vide *Ilias*, xx. 299; *Od.* i. 67; iv. 378; v. 169; vi. 150, etc.). expressive of the light-powers; Zeus, the "Bright," Hère, the "Gleaming," Athene, the "Dawn," Artemis, the "Pure-and-sound-one," Apollo, and others; and light physical is inseparably connected in idea with light mental, so that Athene is the wisdom of Zeus, and Apollo the manifested splendour of his will exhibited in harmonious action. Precisely similar are the Indian possessors of the bright heaven, the inhabitants of the Vedic Asaheim (vide *Zoroaster*, c. 19, etc.). Bunsen well observes that the earlier Eddaic lays "constantly betray a reference to the climate of Central Asia" (*God in History*, ii. 494).

5. *The Ocean Stream and Under-world.*

The Norse view of the earth as surrounded by the ocean-stream, is exactly in accordance with the Homeric; and the concept of Helheim and Niflheim in many respects resembles the Homeric Under-world, except that, in accordance with a northern climate, in the Norse Under-world, cold is a prominent evil, whilst naturally it is not a feature in the Greek myth, which also, moulded by a more refined taste, is free from those bizarre symbolical representations that harmonize with the genius of India and Scandinavia, and also of many non-Aryan nations. The hell-hound Garmr, the "Swallower," the Vedic Sarvari, "Darkness-of-night," the Greek Kerberos, and whose earliest appearance is in a dual form, as the two dogs of Yama, is a prominent feature in both the Greek and the Norse myth. The dog-myth is exceedingly interesting and instructive; the animal was held in the highest esteem by the Eastern Aryans, both Indic and Iranic, and the Yama-dogs, guardians of the ways from and to the Under-world (a dog being the natural symbol of a way-guardian) were at first dogs-of-light, friendly to the good. They gradually became more awful and strange in form, being "four-eyed" (*i.e.*, the flow of light to the four quarters), and at length sinking with the sun to the Under-world, they change into a dog or dogs of

darkness and monsters, like the Greek Orthros (the Vedic Vritra), a two-headed dog (*i.e.*, the two dogs in one) slain by the solar Herakles in the western island of Erythia, the "Reddish." The comparative student will also remember the Assyrian Under-world in this connection (vide *The Descent of Ishtar*, in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 118, *et seq.*).

APPENDIX D.—Page 40.

THE ETRUSCANS.

The ethnological position of the Etruscans is yet undetermined. It is admitted on all sides that the labours of Donaldson, the Earl of Crawford, and Professor Corssen (to say nothing of Sir William Betham and other earlier investigators) have been in vain. Corssen, especially, from whom so much was expected, has failed utterly (vide the criticisms by Aufrecht and Deecke upon his *Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker*, and some amusing remarks upon the same work by Mr. Robert Ellis, *Peruvia Scythica*, 170). Professor Sayce, notwithstanding the efforts of the Rev. Isaac Taylor (*Etruscan Researches*; vide also a very able paper, *On the Etruscan Language* read by Mr. Taylor before this Society in 1876), regards Etruscan as *sui generis*, but admittedly non-Aryan. I incline strongly towards Mr. Taylor's view that it is a Turanian language of the Altaic type, and hence remotely connected with the Akkadian (vide Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 299 *et seq.*). It is to be observed that the words (admittedly numerals, cf. Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, second edition, 69) upon the celebrated dice of Toscanella, whatever else they may be, are also Akkadian terms,—*Mach* (one), "supreme" (vide *Zoroaster*, sec. 2); *Ci* (two) "the earth" (cf. the goddess *Nin-ki-gal*. "Great-lady-of-the-Earth," also called *Dav-cina*, "Ruler-below," the Greek *Dauke*); *Zal* (three), "the sun" (*Assyrian Samsu*); *Sa* (four), "blue, the firmament" (stretching to the four quarters, vide Appendix C.); *Thu* (five) would = Ak. *Tu* ("the Etruscan *th* being equivalent to *t* or *d*," Taylor, *Etruscan Researches*, 163), "the god of death" (Professor Sayce in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* iii. 165), primarily the evening sun (cf. *Zoroaster*, sec. 24, *Yama*), called by the Law of Reduplication (vide sec. 19) *Tutu*. So *Ubara-tutu*, "the-glow-of-sunset," is the sire of *Tamzi* (the Syrian *Tamuz*), "the-sun-of-life" or morning sun. Again, the sun when below the horizon is called *Utuci* (vide Prof. Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, Syllabary, No. 14), *i.e.*, *utu* ("sun") + *ci* ("earth, lower"). Cf. Ak. *tu*, *tuv*, *tum*, "fear"; *tum*, "to bring down"; *tuv*, *tum*, "to produce, to create, obscurity"; and the Egyptian *Tum*, the divinity of the setting-sun and darkness, called "the sun who reclines himself"; and also styled *Atum* (cf. the Kamic *a*, "old," the Ak. *at*, "father"). *Huth* (six) = Ak. *Ud*, "sun, day, to rise, light." *Ud*, *ut*, seems to be primarily the morning sun (perhaps *U*, primarily sun-word, and *du*, "front," *i.e.*, east); the reverse is certainly the evening-sun. Taking these six words on the dice, the three couples placed opposite each other are *Mach-Zal* (God—the Sun-god), *Ci-Sa* (Earth-Heaven), and *Thu-Huth* (Darkness-Light). God, as revealed in the Sun-god, reveals the two opposites, Earth and Heaven, by the succession of the two opposite principles, Darkness and Light. But there is another set of six mysterious words which compare very remarkably with the foregoing, namely, the words said to be in an unknown tongue engraven on the waist and feet of the great statue of Ephesia-Polymastos, a divinity early confused by the Greeks with their own purely Aryan Artemis. These words are given by Hesychios (in voc. *Ephesia Grammata*) as *Askion*, *Kataskion*, *Lix*

(Aix ?), Tetrax, Damnameneus, and Aision ; and formed the famous Ephesian Letters or Spells (vide Plutarch, *Sympos.* vii. 5 ; Suidas, in voc. *Ephesia Grammata* ; cf. Acts, xix. 19). Whether the inscription on the image was bilingual, or whether the foregoing words are an attempted translation of originals, does not positively appear. Androkydes the Pythagorean "said that *askion* (shadowless) meant darkness, for it has no shadow ; and *katasikion* (shadowy) light, since it casts with its rays the shadow, and *lix* is the earth, according to an ancient appellation ; and *tetrax* [i.e. the number 4] is the year, in reference to the seasons [rather, I think, the heaven in reference to the four quarters] ; and *damnameneus* [a word which has been found on Gnostic amulets] is the sun ; and *ta aisia* [a variant reading of *aision*] is the True Voice. And the symbol intimates that divine things have been arranged in harmonious order,—darkness to light, etc." (Clemens Alex. *Stromata*, v. 8. ; vide my *Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 131, *et seq.* ; King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 94, note). Here, again, we find six words with the remarkable meanings Truth (= God, One, Supreme), and the Sun, Darkness and Light, Earth and Heaven. The year, or period of four seasons, which is a purely mental concept, is out of place in this list of great external phenomena. The subject is one of much interest, but this is not the place in which to continue the investigation further.

Mr. William Edward Hearn, in his interesting work, *The Aryan Household*, 1879, attempts to show that reverence for ancestors and the common-wealth were the foundations of the religious cult ; and with him the "house spirit," and the Lares and Manes come prominently to the front. But as he entirely ignores the Etruscan (non-Aryan) element in Roman belief, his proofs and instances do not really much affect the question of the primitive religion of archaic Aryan man. Mr. Hearn would fain supply even the word "Lar" with an Aryan derivation, observing "What we want is an instance of a Sanskrit word commencing with *n* that is represented by a Latin word commencing with *l*" (page 287, note). This, however, is not forthcoming ; and there is no reasonable doubt that "Lar" and "Manes" are non-Aryan words, and also to a great extent non-Aryan ideas. Mantus and Mania are the Latin forms of the names of the Etruscan king and queen of the Under-world, and whilst any dogmatism on so obscure a subject would be altogether unwarrantable, I cannot but remark that in Akkadian Man tu = "King-of-Darkness," and Ma-na "Land-of-eclipse." Mr. Taylor has already observed that *ma* is "land" alike in Etruscan and Akkadian. After some statements (which seem to me to be highly doubtful) respecting the religious belief of archaic Aryan man, Mr. Hearn quietly remarks (p. 21), "It is not easy to give strict *proof of propositions* which are not so much expressly stated by any early writer as implied and assumed throughout *all ancient literature*" (!) Thus, whilst these mysterious "propositions" cannot be proved, we must *assume* that everyone else has always assumed them ! The *Rig-Veda* does not countenance these views, but this awkward fact is explained by a reference to a statement in a work long subsequent that these hymns relate "to the worship of the gods [*only*]," other matters being, we are again to assume, purposely omitted.

Mr. George Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, edit. 1878, vol. i. p. 355) gives an unique representation from a tomb at Tarquinii of the heroes Theseus and Peirithoos with the demon Tuchulcha in the Under-world, where, according to the legend, they had descended in a wild attempt to carry off Persephone, the bride of the King of Hades (vide Horace, *Carmina*, III. iv. 80). "The hideous and malignant demon, who bears the novel name of *Tuchulcha*, has asses' ears, two hissing snakes bound round his brows and mingling with his shaggy locks," and "an enormous eagle's beak, which

serves at once for nose and mouth, wide open. He appears to be seizing Pirithous by the neck with one hand, while with the other he brandishes a huge black and blue serpent over the head of Theseus" (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, i. 353). He has also "open wings." Any explanation of the name "tuchulcha" (= *tu-kul-ka*) will, I feel sure, be sought for in vain amongst Aryan dialects; but when we turn to the language of Akkad, the whole occult representation at once becomes luminous. *Tu* (vide p. 52) = (1) The setting-sun, and hence (2) Darkness (Erebos, vide *Zoroaster*, p. 17, note 2). *Kul* (vide Prof. Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, Syllabary, No. 375) is "to destroy" (cf. the Etruscan, *Kul-mu*, the Turkish *Ghoul*, etc.). *Ka* or *ca* is "mouth" (*As. Gram.*, Syllabary, No. 39). The cuneiform combination is the ideograph of a mouth. Vide Geo. Smith, *Phonetic Values of the Cuneiform Characters*, 5). *Tuchulcha* would therefore signify in Akkadian the "Destroying-mouth-of-Darkness," represented by the Manducus-figure (vide *sup.* p. 29, note 4), "the jaws of vacant darkness" (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, xxxiv.), into which the luckless heroes have fallen, and is thus a variant phrase of the wolf Fenrir and the dog Garmr; but the general idea is naturally the common property of both Aryan and Turanian. *Tuchulcha*, like night, "embraces with dusky wings."

The eagle's beak is a peculiar feature, and one which reminds us of the eagle-headed being (formerly called Nisroch, vide 2 Kings, xix. 37). The LXX. read variously, Asarach, Nasarach, or Mesorach) who appears on the sculptures at Nimrud, holding the mystic pine-cone (vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, Vol. II, cap. viii., sec. 2. In voc. *Cone* and *Pine*). But there was also an archaic Chaldeo-Akkadian legend respecting a wicked being, apparently one of the inferior gods, called Zu (vide Geo. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, cap. vii. The Sin of the God Zu; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, 171, note 6), who was connected with or transformed into a terrible bird called the Zu-bird. This creature is described as a sharp-beaked, flesh-eating, quick-darting, lion, giant, cloud, and storm-bird (vide Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, 96); and in the myth the actual habits of some "ravenous bird" (Isaiah, xlvi. 11, where the expression is used symbolically) of the country are evidently applied to natural phenomena. The cloud-and-storm bird is the upper or aerial darkness, in fact a variant phase of the giantess Angurbodha (vide *sup.* p. 27); and the gloom which falls from above (cf. Homer, *Od.*, v. 294: "Night started from heaven"), sinks to the Under-world, where it is personified as Fenrir or *Tuchulcha*. The sharp beak and quick darting probably refer to the lightning. In addition, however, to the foregoing line of thought, it is quite possible that in the mysterious history of the god Zu, his bird the eagle, and his insults to and quarrel with the divinities of the Chaldeo-Akkadian Pantheon may, as I have already elsewhere (*The Great Dionysiak Myth*, ii. 257, note 3) suggested, be dimly portrayed—some archaic religious dispute between Aryan, Turanian, and Semite, between the followers of Zeus-Dyaus and of Bel, such a schism as that which subsequently broke out between Indian and Iranian (vide *Zoroaster*, pp. 15, 17, 60). The wars and discords between different bodies of religionists are frequently described in legend as the contests of their respective divinities. (For numerous illustrations of this principle, vide *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, cap. x.)

The CHAIRMAN.—I have to return the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Brown for his very interesting paper. It is now open for any member to make remarks thereon.

Mr. J. E. HOWARD, F.R.S.—I am sure we are all very much indebted to the author of this learned and admirable paper. As far as I am qualified to appreciate it, I consider it to be a great addition to our knowledge on the subject. I could, however, have wished, in reference to the original belief of the Aryan race, that the writer had referred to some passages in the Rig-Veda, which express in admirable language exactly the same truths which we find stated on p. 323 of the paper.

Mr. D. HOWARD.—The subject of Mr. Brown's paper is one of special interest to us all; because, after all, it is to the Teutonic branch of the Aryan race that we owe our origin, and it is interesting to find that the Aryan mythology has preserved a state of comparative purity. There can be no doubt that the power of the Teutonic races against the Roman Empire was owing to the comparative strength of their religious belief; for, poor as it was, it was comparatively valid as contrasted with the utter degradation of the Roman belief. If we compare the state to which religion had fallen among the Romans with that of our Teutonic ancestors at the time when the Eddas were written, it will at once be admitted that, although the religion of our forefathers was crude and barbarous beyond description, especially from our modern point of view, there was a magnificent force about it, as shown in the worship of Thor and Odin, which was great when contrasted with the no-belief of the Greeks and Romans; for, low as those forefathers of ours had fallen, when we compare their later belief with the original faith, they still occupied a higher position than the people of Greece and Rome. I may also say that I think the Mahommedan invasion is a just exemplification of the immense power of an imperfect over an utterly fallen, or no-belief. (Hear, hear.) I think, therefore, that the study of such a subject is one of peculiar interest. There is another thing which, I think, rather illustrates one point connected with this subject, and that is the practical difficulty which has confronted many of our missionaries—a difficulty on which one hears a good many opinions expressed—of knowing what to call God in a heathen nation. The mere philologist runs the risk of making exactly the same mistake as he might have made in regard to the two branches of the Germanic race in Europe—he might call God by the wrong name, he might use a word which means, as Deva does, either god or devil, just as "Deus" and "Deuce" are identically the same word, and just as the Slavonic "Bogu" is our "Bogey." And this points to another curious thing. The Greeks and Romans assumed the identity of the persons they worshipped—they assumed that Zeus was Jupiter, that Heracles was Hercules, that Hermes was Mercurius, and so forth; so that we have been brought up to confuse them entirely, and to believe that the religion of the Greeks and the Romans was the same. There must have been some origin for this identification, and I believe that it arose from the

fact that the Greeks and Romans were sound philologists. Being nearer the fountain-head, they recognised the identity of two false gods, or, rather, of the false worship or the degeneracy from true worship; and it is curious to find how completely in Christian times, in the north of Europe, we have assumed an opposite identity, and take almost every one of the names of the Norse gods as a name for the devil. There is not a familiar or vulgar name for the devil that is not derived from the Norse mythology,—even the very undignified name of “Scratch” is actually derived from “Scratti”; and of course our words “Bogey” and “Deuce” are equally derived from our old heathen forefathers’ names for gods. By a very natural inversion of the old Roman process, the Christians assumed that the gods of their forefathers were actual personal devils, and even the popular idea of appearance of the devil is undoubtedly derived from Pan, or some northern variation of Pan—some wood-god—for certainly nowhere else can we find the familiar representation of the author of evil, which I believe is so firmly impressed on the minds of many people that they would consider any doubt about it as an absolute disbelief in the Bible. It is curious that to this day, the old traditions have remained, and still affect popular ideas, and we can trace these myths in the old nursery tales, and it is singular to find that these nursery tales contain, after all, some of the oldest of our learning—how old one does not know, but certainly extending over a very large number of the twelve hundred years the Etruscans would have traced back our history. (Applause.)

Mr. J. H. BUCKLEY.—I should like to ask what it is that Mr. Herbert Spencer means when he says, “While the degradation theory, as currently held, is untenable.” What is the degradation theory to which he alludes?

Mr. BROWN.—I believe the theory to which Mr. Herbert Spencer alludes is that mankind started with a completely formulated creed given to them by directly Divine revelation, and that they worked down to the condition in which we find the modern savage.

Mr. J. H. BUCKLEY.—Somewhat analogous to the Biblical theory.

Mr. BROWN.—Somewhat. It is Mr. Herbert Spencer’s statement that it is untenable—not mine. He would probably repudiate all that we call the supernatural.

Mr. J. H. BUCKLEY.—Precisely.

Mr. BROWN.—It only remains for me to thank the members of this Institute for the very kind attention they have given to my Paper on a subject which, although exceedingly interesting and important, is undoubtedly severe. Perhaps I may be allowed to make one or two further remarks which, I hope, will interest you. I had the pleasure, only last Friday when coming up to town, of reading the “Hibbert Lectures” for last year—lectures in which “the origin and growth of the Christian religion as illustrated by the religion of ancient Egypt” are treated by M. Renouf, who is an authority on that topic. The publication of those lectures had been delayed, and I was exceedingly gratified on going through

the book to find that M. Renouf's conclusions with regard to Egypt are similar to those to which I have ventured to come with regard to the Aryan family. For instance, I have mentioned the Rita-path as a law of kosmic order. I was not aware when that was written that anything analogous to it had been discovered in Egypt, but I am glad to observe from what I find in M. Renouf's book that the law of kosmic order is as fully laid down in Egypt as ever it was in India. I find on pages 208-9 an allusion to the law called "Maât," which controls all things, and which is the outcome of some Supreme Being. It is particularly connected with the ordinary phenomena of nature, the setting of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the course of the seasons, while even the various inferior gods are bound by it—that is to say, the personifications of nature act in exact harmony with kosmic law—an idea precisely analogous to that which we find in India; because, as a matter of course, the laws of nature were not found out in a day; that knowledge was the result of long and careful observation, and it must have been a long time before man came to have full confidence in those laws. Another important point which I find in M. Renouf's lectures is the principle of monotheism, or a belief in one God,* which it is one of the great objects of this Institute to set before you. M. Renouf expresses himself with considerable caution on this point, but he quotes translations, many of them perfectly new to us, all which go a long way to prove that during the whole history of ancient Egypt monotheism was the belief, at all events of the more enlightened people, until comparatively late times, when the religion of the Egyptians became purely pantheistic and thoroughly degraded. The author observes, after having quoted what the idea of God is, as given in the words of Dr. Newman:—"I am obliged to acknowledge that single parallel passages to match can be quoted from Egyptian far more easily than either from Greek or from Roman religious literature. . . . Where shall we find a heathen Greek or Latin saying, like that of a papyrus on the staircase of the British Museum: 'The great God, Lord of heaven and of earth, who made all things which are'? Or where shall we find such a prayer in heathen Greek or Roman times as this: 'O my God and Lord, who hast made me and formed me, give me an eye to see, and an ear to hear thy glories'?" That is a very ancient Egyptian prayer. I think I have already mentioned the "self-existent Being," and I may refer you to another passage from an Egyptian text which says: "The Divine Word is made for those who love and for those who hate it; it gives life to the righteous and it gives death to the unjust"—a passage which very forcibly reminds me of that in which the Apostle Paul speaks of "The

* Canon Cook, the editor of the Speaker's Commentary, has informed me that, after a long and careful examination of the question, the result of his researches has been to show that monotheism was existent in the earliest ages, and not pantheism, as some still urge.—Ed.

savour of life and death." Again, "in a papyrus at Turin," as M. Renouf tells us, "the following words are put into the mouth of 'the almighty God the self-existent, who made heaven and earth, the waters, the breaths of life, fire, the gods, men, animals, cattle, reptiles, birds, fishes, kings, men, and gods [in accordance with one single thought]. I am the maker of heaven and of the earth. I raise its mountains, and the creatures which are upon it; I make the waters and the mehura comes into being. I am the maker of heaven and of the mysteries of the twofold horizon. It is I who have given to all the gods the soul which is within them. When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness. I make the hours, and the hours come into existence.' Another text says: 'I am yesterday, I am to-day, I am to-morrow.'" This is almost an exact parallel to the sublime passage in our own book:—"The same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." Another text says, "Watcher, who traverseth the endless ages of eternity. The heaven was yet uncreated, uncreated was the earth, the water flowed not; thou hast put together the earth O, God! architect of the world, thou art without a father, thou art without a mother It is by thine own strength that thou movest Heaven and earth obey the commands which thou hast given O, let us give glory to the God who hath raised up the sky and who causeth his disk to float over the bosom of Nut"—that is to say, the over sea—the expanse above—it means the God who has raised up the sky, and caused the disk to pass across it. The passage proceeds:—"Who hath made all lands and countries, and the great sea in his name of 'Let-the-earth-be.'" You see how this harmonises with the language of Genesis:—"Let there be light." Everything is, according to this, laid down and produced by the omnipotence of the Creator. M. Renouf adds:—"A beautiful hymn (written, it is expressly stated, for the harp) preserved in two MSS., now in the British Museum," . . . in that hymn we read:—"He is not graven in marble, as an image bearing the double crown. He is not beheld; He hath neither ministrant nor offerings; He is not adored in sanctuaries; his abode is not known; no shrine [of his] is found with painted figures. There is no building that can contain Him. . . . Unknown is his name in heaven; He doth not manifest his forms. Vain are all representations." I think it would be hardly possible to use language more simple and beautiful, or more in accordance with our own ideas. (Hear, hear.) I also find in M. Renouf's book some passages as to the degradation of religion, where, after quotations as to the destination of the righteous in earlier times, we come to later times—such as those of Greece and Rome—when the early belief in righteousness and temperance and the judgment to come had died out, and thus we find a lady who had died, represented as addressing her husband from the grave in these words:—"O, my brother, my spouse, cease not to drink and to eat, to drain the cup of joy, to enjoy the love of women, and to make holiday: follow thy desires each day, and let not care enter into thy heart as long as thou livest upon earth. For as to

Amenti" (which means the Hades) "it is the land of heavy slumber and of darkness, an abode of sorrow for those who dwell there. They sleep in their forms; they wake not any more to see their brethren; they recognise not their father and their mother; their heart is indifferent to their wife and children. Every one [on earth] enjoys the water of life, but thirst is by me. The water cometh to him who remaineth on earth, but I thirst for the water which is by me. For as to the god who is here, 'Death-Absolute' is his name. He calleth on all, and all men come to obey him, trembling with fear before him. With him there is no respect for gods or men; by him great ones are little ones. One feareth to pray to him, for he listeneth not." So that, you see, in the last ages of Egypt, the religion of the people had come to this: true belief had died out, and there was nothing in its place but "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." It is very gratifying to find that so accomplished an authority in the great field of Egyptology finds the same results as those who have been directing their inquiries into the Aryan branch of the human race. In the two cases we find similar myths about day and night, the sun and the dawn, the crocodile of night being said to devour the sun, and so forth; and then, when the original world may be said to have passed away, when the ancient states had given up belief in the old religion, just at the moment when everything seemed to be dying, the splendour of Christianity broke upon the world and restored it. (Applause.)

The meeting was then adjourned.