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PRE-CHRISTIAN SURVIVALS
IN THE FESTIVALS, RITES, AND
SYMBOLS OF THE CHURCH.

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Master of Arts

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INTRODUCTION.

Tarde, in his monumental work on "The Laws of Imitation", has formulated the following law: "Imitation proceeds from within outward," "ab interioribus ad exteriora" (1) That is, replacement of the inner element by development or by borrowing goes on more rapidly than the replacement of the outer element; ways of doing tend to persist beyond the ways of thinking or feeling with which they were originally associated.

As Ross says, "Man has always felt himself safe, provided only the aspect of time-hallowed ancestral things was duly preserved." (2) Hence ceremonial has well been called "the museum of history" (3)

To denote the processes and customs which have been carried on into a new state of society different from that in which they originally belonged Tylor has introduced into ethnography and anthropology the word "survivals". (4) Survivals are among the most important evidences which aid the investigator to trace the course of civilisation, they remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has evolved .

Ross enumerates a number of well-known instances of survivals in various fields of modern life. "Think how legal fictions permit the spirit of the legal system to change without

(1) 216. For a discussion of the law see Tarde, 211-232; Ross, 137-143.

(2) 142. (3) Paul Viollet, quoted Tarde, 229.

(4) Tylor, II, 16. Tarde mistakenly attributed the term to Lubbock. 227.

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disturbing the form, how interpretations alter the spirit of the written constitution, how primitive religious rites and symbols remain, but are adapted to the age by progressive refinement in the mode of interpreting them. In England we see democracy coming in without, however, displacing the forms of monarchy, just as in Rome imperialism crept in under the venerable republican forms. Our pagan ancestors, when they launched a ship, bound a captive on the rollers to propitiate the god of the sea. The bottle of wine broken on the ship's prow to-day is our way of "redding the keel" of the vessel to be launched. The old form is kept, but what a change in the spirit! In the distant past youths and maidens celebrated the coming of the season of love with licentious dancing about a symbolic pole. (1) Little children now caper innocently about the May-pole, but the sense of the original meaning of the thing is utterly lost. Anthropologists bid us recognize in the Lord's Supper the ancient rite, common to many primitive religions, of "eating the god". The sacrament may have had such a genesis, but it is certain that the theory of the rite, the significance of the symbolic act, has changed many times since the days of totemism." (2) Other striking illustrations of the principle that "the form is durable, the spirit adaptable" given by the same author are the following." When the "ordeal of battle" was the ultimate method of ascertaining the Divine Will, it was fitting that just before the coronation of an English sovereign an armed champion should offer to fight with any one who disputed the right of the claimant to the throne. Yet the armor-clad horseman continued to appear in coronations down into the nineteenth century; when men had completely forgotten

(1) See p.27 of this essay. (2) 141-142.

that the duel was once an appeal to the judgment of Heaven. Feudalism is defunct, but its titles-- Monsieur, Duke, Lord, Count etc.-- survive. Norse mythology is dead, but Yule-tide and Easter, repaptized as Christian festivals, live on. The original meaning significance of Thanksgiving Day has passed away, the festival is now little more than an excuse for family reunions, overrepletion, and intercollegiate football. No doubt it will experience many shiftings of significance in the future, but it will survive them all and die out only when the American people die out. Kingless though we be, the mace, that symbol of the Royal Presence, before which as before the King himself all unseemly brawling should cease, is still carried down the aisle of Congress when the members forget their dignity. That relic of pagan days, Hallowe'en, from the serious concern of men has become the glee time of prankish children,(1) and in 'Eeny-meeny-miny-mo" of the playground lives on some incantation that once made spirits obey and men tremble."(2)

Survivals are most abundant in fields which are essentially non-competitive, for custom cannot thrive where there is sharp competition. Hence the most fertile fields for the study of survivals are ceremony, festivals, forms of address, modes of spelling, riddles, proverbs, nursery life, folk-lore, and the like.(3)

(1) See p.48 of this essay. (2) 142-143.

(3) For discussion of this point see Ross, 255-256. A striking and typical example of survival in folk-thought is cited by Dantsen in his "Introduction to Norse Popular Tales". After nine centuries of preaching of "hell-fire" under Catholicism and Lutheranism, the Norwegian peasant, seated at his heath on cold winter evenings, still speaks of hell as a place where firewood is wanted at Christmas, and over which a certain air of comfort breathes, though meat is scarce. The student of Norse mythology at once recognises the goddess Hel's halls, where those were committed who had not earned a place with Odin in Valhalla.

In the Western world no field is more abounding in survivals of past ages than in the ceremonial and symbolism of the Christian Church, especially those branches of ^{it} which trace their history by organic continuity from the time of the introduction and establishment of Christianity in their respective parts of Europe, such as the Roman Catholic Church, the various Oriental churches (Greek, Armenian, Coptic, etc.) and the churches of the Anglican Communion. It is with survivals of pre-Christian ages and religions in the Christian cult, as distinguished from Christian doctrine or organisation, that this essay will deal. By the term "Church" and used in the title, we understand not only the ecclesiastical organisation in the narrow sense and things formally and officially connected with it, but also the community of people ~~belonging to~~ adhering to the Christian religion, to use the definition of the Book of Common Prayer, "all those who profess and call themselves Christians."

Now it may be recalled that Christianity began its career in the life and teachings of Jesus as a purely ethical and spiritual religion, without a perfected organisation, without a definite creed in the later sense of the term, without rite and ceremony, except the simple beginnings of what became the two chief sacraments of the Church, baptism and communion. Compare this original condition with the state of the Church as we find it say at the close of the Middle Ages, with its powerful and complex organisation and government, formal and authoritative dogmas, and an elaborate ceremonial. This change was due partly, it may be admitted for the purpose of this essay, to the internal development of tendencies and forces inherent from the beginning, ~~partly to the adoption and assimilation of things foreign to its Jewish beginnings.~~ ^{originally external to its spirit and form}, Much has been written about the influence of Greek philosophy on Christian theo-

logy , and of Roman law and administration on the organisation and government of the Church. It is our endeavour in this essay to discuss briefly and with no pretense of exhaustive treatment the influence of pre-Christian religious belief and practice on Church festivals , rites and symbols.

In studying the pre-Christian survivals in the Church, we must also observe the attitude of the early Church toward pagan usages, and attitude which was one of the most conspicuous features of the history of the Christianisation of Europe, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic. We know that the Church took its beginnings among the Jews, to which people its Founder and first apostles belonged, but it soon emancipated itself from the limitations of Hebraic customs and traditions and became a gospel not only to the Jews but to the Gentiles also. In the Book of the Acts of the Apostles we read the account of his first breaking away from nationalistic moorings to which some tried to bind the new religion. &

Great concessions seem to have been made by the Church with the design of facilitating conversion. The language of some of the early Fathers seems, it is true, to imply unsparring extermination of paganism and all things associated with it. Tertullian , who is conspicuous for his hostility to ancient classical culture (1) is especially severe in his condemnations. Speaking of pagan feasts, he says, " If we rejoice with the world, it is to be feared that we shall also mourn with the world".(2) But, says an English authority, it is certain that a much larger amount of compromise actually prevailed than theory countenanced. It was often found expedient to leave many di-

(1) Dilke(B), 385.

(2) Quoted Harnack, II, 252-253.

strictly pagan usages unchallenged for a time where these were not quite incompatible with fundamental Christian teaching. Heathen temples with their surrounding precincts were often permitted to stand uninjured, the idols being removed, and the buildings consecrated to Christian usage; while minor observances were allowed ~~to~~^{by} either connivance or tacit assent, to continue. With the lapse of time these became regarded as having gained the direct sanction of the Church, even in cases where such sanction was never expressed. Says another writer, "It was the invariable policy of the early Church to give a Christian significance to such of extant pagan customs as could not be rooted out." (1) Writing with reference to Scandinavia, the Danish historian Troels-Lund says, "Christianity pursued in the North as in other parts the golden rule not to destroy but to rebaptise and *gradually* transform the existing order of things."

(2) On this point the Italian archaeologist Lanciani says, "In accepting rites and customs not offensive to her principles and morality, the Church showed equal tact and foresight, and contributed to the peaceful accomplishment of the transformation." (3)

A large part of the pre-Christian survivals which fall within the scope of the essay, gather around the festivals of the Church year, a discussion of which these we shall now take up, following with a consideration of various rites and usages in the the Church and some of the principal forms of Christian symbolism. In conclusion we shall treat briefly of the religious significance and value of the things forming our subject-matter, and pass a moral judgment on the policy of the early Church as here indicated and as brought out further in dealing with specific instances.

(1) Walsh, 357. (2) 7. (3) 25.

PART I. FESTIVALS.

Chapter I. Christmas or the Nativity of Christ.

A striking instance of the influence of pagan practice on Christian usage is afforded by the first great festival of the Church year, namely Christmas, the festival of the Nativity of Christ, both as regards the time of its celebration and the customs associated with it.

The Gospels state nothing as to the day or season of the Nativity. Assuming the historical accuracy of the New Testament narrative as given in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, which the founders of the Christmas festival in the Church assuredly did, we have internal evidence that the Nativity could not have been at the time of the year which came to be observed in honour of it. That would be in midst of the rainy season in Palestine, with its wet, cold nights, when it is not likely that the shepherds would be tending their sheep on the plain at night. It was not the custom for the shepherds of Judea to watch their flocks in the open fields later than the end of October. (1) There is practical unanimity among commentators that the birth of Christ could not have taken place at the end of December.

The Nativity does not seem to have been observed in the early Church, at least there was no appointed or generally accepted time for such an observance. There is no certain evidence of the Christmas festival on the 25th of December before the fourth century. (2) The festival was undoubtedly of Roman or Western origin, and found its way into the east after the middle of the fourth century. (3) In a Homily of St. Chrysostom, by some authorities believed to have been preached

December 25th, 586, he speaks of the celebration of the separation of the two kings.
(1) Hislop, (2) Newman, in Corp. Inc. Lat. 338, Fraser (B), 254.
(3) Schaff, I, 222. Smith and Cheetham I, 261.

rate day of the Nativity as having been recently introduced into Antioch.(1)

The Roman origin of the institution of the festival is well established, but we have no clear trace of its early history. The earliest mention of the festival of Christmas is in the calendar of Philocalus drawn up at Rome 336. The words are " VIII.Kal.Jan.Natus Christus in Bethleem Judae.(2)

Since the time of St.Chrysostom the Nativity has been received by all churches of Christendom, with a few and temporary exception in Protestant times (3) , as ^{one of} the most important festivals . Thus in a sermon attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, but held to be of doubtful authenticity, yet of the same period, we are told that " now is heard accordant throughout the whole inhabited world" the celebration of Christmas, and St.Chrysostom speaks of it as second in importance to no festival, "which man would not be wrong in calling the chief of all festivals".(4)

The origin of Christmas is now practically universally explained as the adoption and adaptation of a festival or festivals found among the people with which the Church came in contact and who were converted to Christianity.Among all non-Christian peoples in the northern zones, the winter solstice is regarded as one of the most important points of the year. It marks

(1)"It is not yet ten years since this day was made known to us... Among those inhabiting the West, it was known before from ancient and primitive times, and to the dwellers from Thrace to Gadeira(Cadiz) it was previously familiar and well-known." Quoted Hislop,note,92-93. It is noteworthy that the day for the celebration of Christ's birth should be introduced into Antioch, n on the very borders of Palestine, from the European peoples to the West.

(2) Frazer(B),254. (3) See p. of this essay.

(4) Quoted Smith and Cheetham, I,361-362.

the beginning of the return of the sun toward the northerly ~~of~~ climes and the promise of the renewing of the life and activity of the powers of nature or of the gods which were personifications of these, especially of the deity, the Sun-god, "the lord and giver of light". At the time of the introduction of Christianity both the Roman and the barbarian world observed, in common with many other peoples, this season with festivities and religious rites.

Among the Roman festivals held in the latter part of December were the Saturnalia, the Juvenalia, and the Brumalia. Of these the last-named may have had some influence on the Christian festival. But the evidence indicates that the more direct progenitor of Christmas was a festival of more recent introduction into the Roman Empire, namely the Natalis Invicti Solis of the Mithraic religion. (1)

Mithraism was one of the numerous Oriental cults which spread over the Roman Empire in the period of its decline. (2) Of the gods who gained popularity in the West, Mithra seems to have been pre-eminent. Some authorities believe that he practically superseded all others in popularity. Dill says that Mithraism was the focus of the real devotion of the last age of paganism. (3) The researches of Cumont have revealed the existence of monuments of Mithraic worship throughout the whole territory of the Empire, from Scotland to Armenia. (4) Typical among these monuments is an altar from the time of Trajan bearing the inscription, "Deo Soli Mithrae." (5) In the legend on the reverse of coins of Constantine, retained long after his nominal conversion to Christianity, "Soli Invicto Comiti", there is the idea of the ancient sun-god coupled with the new Sun of Righteousness.

(1) Smith and Cheetham, I, 357. (2) For a discussion of the Oriental religions in the Empire, its causes and results, see Frazer(B), 251-252; Paulsen, 111-112; Milman, I, 150-153; Dill(A), 76. (3) Dill(B), §3. (4) See map in back of Cumont. (5) S. and C. I, 357

Mithra, originally a Vedic deity, Mitra the Friend, in the Persian religion developed into a great divinity of light, the victorious lord of life and ruler of all creation, next Ormuzd, and identified with the sun. For a complete description of the god and his cult we refer to Cumont's excellent work

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Both as regards doctrines and rites the cult of Mithra appears to have presented many points of similarity to Christianity. (1) This resemblance was not unnoticed by Christian leaders (2), and it was explained by some of the doctors of the Church as a work of the devil who sought to seduce souls from the true religion by false and insidious imitations (3), just as the Spanish conquerors of Mexico and Peru regarded many of the native religious rites as diabolical counterfeits, as did also Father Huc when he observed the striking similarity of the ceremonial of Thibetan Buddhism to that of the Roman Catholic Church, and as an English Protestant in a book recently published (and highly recommended to the writer by a prominent pastor in this state) regards all approximations to Christian conceptions and practices in non-Christian religions. The Mithraic religion had a strong hold in the Empire and was a formidable rival of Christianity, combining as it did solemn ritual with an aspiration after moral purity and a hope ~~and~~ of immortality. (4) The struggle for the supremacy between the two faiths was one of the most severe in the history of the early Church, and for a time the issue seems, to all outward appearances, to have hung in the balance. (5)

(1) Cumont, 193 seq. Frazer (B), 253. (2) E.g. Justin Martyr speaks of "the wicked devils who have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras" the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Quoted Allen, 478.

(2) Thus Tertullian, "Mithra signat illie in frontibus militis suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit." Corp. Inscript. Lat. 84.

(4) Dill (B), 80 seq. Id. (A), 619 seq.

(5) Cumont, 188 seq.

It was directly from this rival religion that the Church in the Empire got the time for the celebration of the Christmas festival. The 25th of December was the great day of Mithra, the supreme sun-god.(1) In the Julian calendar this date was reckoned the winter solstice.(2) In a calendar from the fourth century the 25 th of December is marked N.Invicti, i.e. Natalis Solis Invicti,(3); the Unconquered Sun, the name given to Mithra. The 25th of December was thus regarded as the day of his nativity.(4) This special form of the winter solstice festival seems to have been instituted by Aurelian ca.273.(5) The sanction of the Church and later the official institution of the 25th of December as the festival of the Nativity , is almost unanimously acknowledged by authorities, ancient and modern, to have been due to the effort to transfer the devotion of the pagans from the Sun, represented in Rome by Mithra, to Him who has been called the Sun fo Righteousness. (6)

The motives for the institution of Christmas are thus frankly stated by a Christian writer in Syria, who says that "the reason why the fathers transferred the celebration of the 6th of January (at which date some of the Eastern churches, following those in Egypt, observed the Nativity together with the Epiphany) to the 25th of December was this. It was the custom of the heathens to celebrate on the same 25th of December the birthday of the Sun, at which time they kindled lights in token of festivity. In these solemnities and festivities the Christians also took part. Accordingly when the doctors of the Church perceived that the Christians had a leaning to this festival they took counsel and re-

(1) Cumont, 187, 191, 196, 202. (2) Frazer (B), 224. See Pliny, Nat. Hist. xviii, 221. (3) Corp. Inscript. Lat. 278, with Mommsen's commentary, 338 seq. (4) Cumont, *ibid.* supra. (5) Tylor, II, 297. (6) Tylor, *ibid.* Cumont, *ibid.* Mommsen, in C.I.L. 338.

solved that the true nativity could be solemnised on that day and the festival of the Epiphany on the 6th of January. Accordingly along with this custom the practice had prevailed of kindling fires till the 6th."⁽¹⁾

When Christian missionaries came to the Teutonic and Celtic peoples they discovered that happily they too celebrated one of their annual solar festivals at the same time of the year as the people of southern Europe, and for the same reason, rejoicing over the turning again of the sun in its cycle toward their northern climes. This ancient Teutonic festival survives, besides in many other things, in the Scandinavian name of Christmas, Jul (pron. Yule), the same as the English Yule, the Anglo-Saxon Geol. Troels-Lund says, "When the North was Christianised, the ancient festivals were not abolished but given new names"⁽²⁾, in this case not even that, but a new significance.

Many of the popular customs associated with the celebration of Christmas show distinct traces of pagan origin. These are so numerous and various, differing more or less with the locality, but we shall briefly discuss a few of the more prominent characteristics of Christmas celebrations, and indicate their relation to pre-Christian practices.

It is commonly agreed among scholars that the Christmas-tree is a pagan survival, but the exact line of historic descent has not been determined. Trees occupy a conspicuous place in many mythologies and cults-- they seem to stand more especially first as symbolic of life and fertility ⁽³⁾, and as such are objects of worship among peoples. The "tree of life" in Genesis and Revela-

(1) Frazer(B), 255. Corp. Inscript. Lat. 338. (2) 7.

(3) See p. 27 of this essay.

tions is well-known to Bible readers. In the Norse mythology is found the tree Yggdrasil, at whose foot was the well of Mimir, the fount of wisdom for gods and men, and some scholars have found a connection between this and the Christmas tree. In the Roman Saturnalia pine-trees were decorated with images of Bacchus(1), and in the rites of Attis, the Phrygian deity of whom we shall have more to say in discussing Easter, the pine was the sacred tree. In Egypt the palm-tree occupied a similar place in religious and popular custom. In Egypt also was the practice of decking the houses with flowers at the winter solstice. A striking resemblance to this is found in the pyramids of green paper, covered all over with wreaths and festoons of flowers and strings of sweet-meats, used as a substitute for the Christmas tree in parts of Germany.(2)

The mistletoe, which plays such a prominent part in the Christmas observances, especially for youths and maidens, is undoubtedly a relic of paganism; among the peoples of northern Europe, at least in the British Isles, being a direct survival of the ancient Druidical religion, in which it was the object of special veneration, in connection with the sacred oak.(3) Pliny, the earliest authority on Druidism, states that it was called "omnia sanitatem" or "all-heal", and was looked upon as a cure for sterility and an antidote for poisons. At the time of the winter solstice the Druids were wont to gather the mistletoe with great ceremony, as also at midsummer. (4) In Scandinavian mythology the mistletoe is also met with. The Edda tells us that it was by means of a mistletoe that Balder, the sun-god, was killed by the

(1) "In jolly hymn they praise the god of wine,
Whose earthen images they adorn the pine,
And these are hung on high in honor of the wine." Virgil, Georgics, Dryden's translation, quoted Walsh 241x 227.

(2) Walsh, 241. See Sir Geo. Birdwood, Asiatic Quart. Rev. I, 19-20.

(3) Ditchfield, 17-18. Walsh, 227, 719.

(4) For description of the Celtic worship of the mistletoe see Frazer(A), 285-295.

(5) For the story of Balder see Frazer(A), II, 246. Bulfinch, 427-431.

blind Hodur at the instigation of the wily Loki.

The Golden Bough , by means of which Aeneas, in Virgil's epic, at the advice of the Cumæan Sibyl ,gained access to the underworld, grew on an oak and looked like a mistletoe, says the poet. Frazer, in his work of that title, concludes that the Golden Bough was " nothing but the mistletoe, seen through the haze of poetry and of popular superstition."(1)

The Christmas banquets, which have such a prominent place in the domestic and social life of Christian families and communities, are reminiscences of feasts in honour of gods and goddesses. Of a feast in honour of Cybele the Mother of the Gods, held at the winter solstice, Cato said that motive for was "not so much the eating and pleasure of drinking as that of finding one's self among his friends and conversing with them".(2) This sounds like a passage from the Christmas accounts of a Charles Dickens or a Washington Irving. A famous event in English history is the high revel held by Alfred at Christmas, 878, when he was surprised by the Danes . He was but carrying out ^{an} ancient custom, which was held in high honour at the English court for centuries after the Norman Conquest.

Another feature of Christmas celebration in England especially, was the " bringing in of the boar's head". In mediaeval England all great Christmas feasts began by the ceremonial bringing in of the boar's head as the initial dish. Queen Victoria retained the custom at court during her reign, and it is one of the events of the year at Oxford , where the boar's head is brought in with rejoicings and the singing of carols, among whom is the famous " Caput apri defero, Reddens laudes Domino."(3)

Now the boar is a familiar figure in pagan religions. The Druids killed ~~the~~ ^a boar at winter solstice and offered the head in sacrifice to the goddess of peace and plenty, the Freya of Norse mythology, wherein she is represented as riding upon a boar
(1)(A), II, 361. (2)Quoted Walsh, 227. Ditchfield, 22-24.
with (4) Walsh, 132.

In classical mythology Diana has frequently the boar's head as her accompaniment.(1) A reason for this will suggest itself in the light of the following explanation of the pig in religious rite and the reference to Diana as goddess of vegetation in our discussion of the festival fo the Assumption of the Virgin.(2) In Rome the boar formed the great article at the Saturnalia.(3)

Frazer offers as an explanation of the presence and prevalence of the pig in myth and custom its identification with the god of vegetation, the corn spirit, being one of the many animal forms under which this divinity is represented.(4) As one of the clearest of the conceptions of the corn-spirit as embodied in pig form, he gives the Scandinavian custom of the Yule Boar (Julgalten). In Sweden and Denmark at Christmas it is the custom to bake a loaf in the form of a pig, the corn of the last sheaf being often used to make it. All through Yule the Yule Boar ~~is~~ stands on the table. Often it is kept till the sowing time in the spring when part of it is mixed with the seed-corn and part given to the ploughmen and plough horses or plough oxen to eat, in expectation of a good harvest. "In this custom", says Frazer, "the corn-spirit is immanent in the last sheaf, and his quickening influence on the corn is shown by mixing part of the Yule-Boar with the seed corn, and giving part of it to the ploughmen and cattle to eat." Montelius in describing the same custom, calls especial attention to a feature, also referred to by Toels-Lund(5), but not noted by Frazer, viz. that the Yule Boar is marked with a "ring-cross", or ~~with~~ ^{parts of} with four spokes. He also mentions an additional fact that the Yule Boar are given to those who watch the herd, when they go out to pasture; even the cattle get pieces of it in order to thrive better.

(1) Hislop, 100-101. (2) See p 4/ of this essay.

(3) "Iste tibi fecit bona Saturnalia porcus." Martial, quoted Hislop, 108. (4) (A), 26-31. (5) Montelius, N.T., 1901, 34. Troels-Lund, 28.

"The Yule Boar, sacrificed(for we may speak thus of this image of the living boar which in pagan times was sacrificed at the Yule-tide) and saved till sowing time, is thus consecrated with the sacred wheel, the symbol of the sun, the festival of whose nativity was celebrated at Yule."(1)

Besides the real boar which was sacrificed in ancient times at Yule, Frazer observes, following Afzelius,(2) that there was apparently also a man in the character of the Yule Boar sacrificed.

This may be inferred from a custom still observed in Sweden."A man is wrapt up in a skin and carries a wisp of straw in his mouth, so that the projecting straws look like bristles of a boar. A knife is brought and an old woman, with her face blackened pretends to sacrifice the man".(3)

No other part of Europe furnishes better instances of pagan survivals than Scandinavia, and many customs wide-spread, here find their most characteristic forms. Besides the Yule Boar just described may be mentioned other interesting features of a Norse Christmas. One is the Yule Log ,(also found in England but ascribed by English authority to Norse origin),⁽⁴⁾ a huge piece of fire-wood put on the hearth. The introduction of heating stoves has wrought havoc with this time-honoured custom, but it is still found in England and Sweden. In Sweden it called " julbrasa", in Northumberland and Yorkshire, old Norwegian and Danish settlements, "yule-block" or "yule-clog". Similar customs are found among other and widely separated peoples in Europe. In France it is known as " souche de Noel". It is sometimes supposed to have magical and healing powers.(5).

Another survival of pre-Christian yule festival are the "Christmas cakes". They had ancient symbolic meaning, since they

(1)Montelius,N.T. 1901,p.34.(2)"Svenska Sago-Heftar"

(3)Frazer(A,31. Westermarck interprets these sacrifices as originally propitiatory, rather than sacrifices of the embodied spirit himself.

(4) Hackwood, xv. (5) Troels-Lund,22-23.

were either quite round, representing the sun (1), or of the form of living beings, ~~but~~ especially men, ^{goats,} and pigs. This latter represented, according to Troels-Lund, Thor, his billy-goats, and the boar of Freya. (2) Traces of this ~~swedish~~ feature are still found in the "cake-men" and "sugar-pigs", which are such a delight to Scandinavian children. The custom was introduced by the Vikings into England and in the regions they conquered and settled the Norse name of "Yule-cake" has endured to this day.

The "jule-buk", of which every Scandinavian child, even those reared in the older settlements in this part of America, has such vivid recollections, is a survival of the time of Thor-worship. The "jule-buk" was sometimes armed with a wooden hammer, the symbol of Thor. A game connected with the custom consisted in someone coming in dressed as a "buk" or he-goat, in that he carried a goat's head on a pole and was himself wrapped in a shaggy covering. During the singing and dancing, he fell down as dead, and then became alive again, just as did Thor's he-goats. (3)

A custom of which the writer has heard his father tell from his native district in Norway and which we have since learned is widely prevailing in Scandinavia is the marking with the "yule-cross". This is said to be for the purpose of scaring away evil spirits. A cross ~~is~~ ^{with pitch or chalk} made ^{over} the doors of the dwelling-house as well as of the stables and garneries, and also on the ale-kegs, hams, and other victuals. In some of the Danish and Swedish islands, where ~~some~~ many memories from the ancient time have been preserved, the yule-cross still has its original form--a cross surrounded by a ring, or as Montelius has shown it to be, a wheel with four spokes, the symbol of the sun. Troels-Lund also holds to the solar origin of this custom. (4)

(1) See Nordisk Tidskrift, 1901, 22, for a picture of such a loaf.
(2) 24. (3) Id. 49. (4) Id. 19.

CHAPTER II. EASTER OR THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

The other great festival of the Church year is Easter. The very name of the festival in the English-speaking world suggests a pre-Christian influence or origin, as this is the name of a ancient Saxon goddess, Eastre or Ostera, the divinity of the East, the morning or the spring. The month of April was dedicated to her, and still known as Ostermonat with the Germans as it was Eostur-monath with the Anglo-Saxons of the time of Bede(1). In most other European languages it has a name derived from the Jewish Passover(Spanish Pascua, French paque, Italian pasqua, Swedish påsk, Danish and Norwegian paaske).

Easter is now and has been many centuries a movable feast ,falling on the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon that happens to be reigning at the vernal equinox. How this rather clumsy chronological arrangement came about and the long and complicated discussions and controversies regarding the fixing of the time of the festival we need not here dwell upon. (2)

"The history of the paschal observance in the apostolic and early post-apostolic church is very obscure ", writes an English authority on the subject.(3) There is no evidence in the New Testament that it existed at first as an institution. In^{even} the primitive Church, as evidenced by the Acts and Epistles, the first day of the week was regarded as holy day--kept holy in honour of the Resurrection of Christ on that day. For some time Jewish Christians continued to observe the Sabbath on the seventh day together with the first or Lord's Day. But the ~~latter~~ ^{former} gradually ~~disappeared~~ ^{disappeared among Christians} and the first day became recognised throughout the Church as the sacred day of the week. Sunday was not however regarded as a substitute or successor of the Sabbath; its purpose and observance was very different; the identification or rather confusion of the two, as if the ancient

(1) Smith and Cheetham, I, 586. (2) See id. 589 seq. For a full acc't. (3) Id. 586.

Pentateuchal legislation were binding on, or had any bearing on the Lord's Day of Christendom. This view is one of the Hebraisms we owe to modern Sabbatarianism, especially as represented by English and American Puritanism. With Christians of Jewish descent and traditions the first day of the week after the Passover naturally got a special significance.

But there is evidence to show that the festival of Easter as it came to be observed in Gentile Christendom bears the marks of pagan influence. There appears to have been an amalgamation of the Passover derived from Jewish custom with pagan festivals occurring at the time of the vernal equinox, another cardinal point in the annual solar cycle, an event, which like the solstices, was celebrated with religious observances among many non-Christian peoples.

Among the Oriental gods ~~whose~~ whose worship ^{was found} in the Graeco-Roman world at the time of the propagation of Christianity in the Empire ~~whose~~ were two whose popularity was second only to that of the great Mithra. These were Adonis and Attis. The origin and character of their cults form a large part of Frazer's study, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris". Adonis was an Oriental god, (considered identical with the Babylonian Thammuz), whose worship centered in Syria. It is not certain whether he originally was one of the many solar deities or was regarded as a god of vegetation. The latter is the view of Frazer. The festival of the resurrection of Adonis was celebrated at the vernal equinox, which according to the Julian calendar, fell on the 25th of March.

Attis was the Phrygian counterpart of Adonis. The resurrection of Attis was likewise celebrated at the spring equinox, known in Rome as the Hilaria or festival of Joy.(1)

The worship of Adonis flourished especially in the Greek parts of the ancient world-- it appears to have made little headway in Rome and the West. It is certain that it never formed a part of the

(1) Frazer(B), 219, 227.

official Roman religion. On the other hand, the similar but more barbarous worship of Attis and Cybele, the Phrygian Magna Mater, flourished in Rome under official auspices, and was wide-spread in the Latin portions of the Empire, especially in Spain, Gaul, and Africa. (1) Their worship survived the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. Symachus records the recurrence of the festival of the great mother (2) and Augustine speaks of her effeminate priests still parading the streets and squares of Carthage and other cities in his day. (3) While in Greece the barbarous and cruel character of the worship of Attis and his mother-consort, with its frantic excesses, was repugnant to the better taste and greater humanity of the Greeks, who preferred, as we have noted, the kindred but gentler rites of Adonis, it attracted the less refined Romans and barbarians of the West. (4)

According to an ancient and wide-spread tradition the passion of Christ took place on the 25th of March, and at least in Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Gaul, and perhaps, as some evidence tends to show, at Rome, the celebration of the Crucifixion occurred on that day. That Christ was crucified on the 25th of March in the year 29 is expressly affirmed by Tertullian, Hippolytes, and Augustine. "This tradition is all the more remarkable because astronomical considerations prove that it can have no historical foundation. The inference appears to be inevitable that the passion of Christ must have been arbitrarily referred to that date in order to harmonise with an older festival of the spring equinox" (5) This is the view of the learned Roman Catholic ecclesiastical historian Msgr. Duchesne. "When we reflect how often the Church has skilfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith in the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted

(1) Frazer(B), 257. (2) Dill(B), 16. (3) Frazer(B), 250. (4) Id. 251.
(5) Id. ~~254~~ 257

upon a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis"(1), and , after referring to the origin of Christmas and like instances, the same authour says, " We can hardly be thought rash or unreasonable in conjecturing that the cardinal festival of the Church--Easter-- may have been in like manner and from like motives of edification , adapted to a similar celebration of the Phrygian Attis at the vernal equinox."(2) The places which celebrated the death of Christ at the spring equinox were Phrygia, and apparently Gaul, that is, the very regions in which the worship of Attis either originated or struck deepest root. It is difficult to regard the coincidence as purely accidental . "If the vernal equinox , the season at which in the temperate regions the whole face of nature testifies to a fresh outburst of vital energy, had been viewed from of old as the time of the when the world was annually created afresh in the resurrection of a god, notheing could be more natural than to place the resurrection of the new deity at the same cardinal point of the year."(3)

It may be observed that if the death of Christ was dated on the 25th of March, the Resurrection , according to Christian tradition, must have occurred on the 27th of March, which is just two days later than the vernal equinox of the Julian calendar. A similar displacement of two days in the adjustment of Christian and pagan celebrations we shall note in the case of the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin.(4) Frazer calls attention also to another Christian tradition, followed by Lactantius and perhaps by the practice of the Church in Gaul, according to which the death of Christ took place on the 23rd of March. If this was so, His Resurrection would coincide exactly with the resurrection of the pagan gods.(5)

(1) Frazer(B), 214. (2) Id. 259. (3) Id. ibid.

(4) See p. 41 of this essay.

(5) Frazer, 260,

"Taken together the ~~striking~~ coincidences of the Christian ~~festivals~~ with the heathen festivals are too close and too numerous to be accidental. They mark the compromise which the Church in the hour of its triumph was compelled to make with its vanquished yet still dangerous rivals." (1)

A custom found in connection with Midsummer observances, but also found in some parts of Europe at Easter are the "gardens of Adonis". As we have stated, the worship of Adonis was most popular in the Greek portion of the Roman Empire, including besides Greece proper Sicily and Southern Italy (Magna Graeca). Frazer says, "Sicily as well as Syria celebrated in ancient times the vernal festival of the dead and risen god... At the approach of Easter, Sicilian women sow wheat and lentils and canary seeds in plates, which they keep in the dark and water every two days. The plants soon shoot up; the stalks are tied together with red ribbons, and the plates containing them are placed on the sepulchres, which with the effigies of the dead Christ, are made up in Catholic and Greek Churches on Good Friday, just as the gardens of Adonis were placed on the grave of the dead Adonis." (2) This custom is also observed in Calabria in Southern Italy. The whole custom, sepulchres as well as plates of sprouting grain, is a survival of the worship of Adonis in these very parts. Nor are these Sicilian and Calabrian customs the only ones which resemble the rites of Adonis. There is a striking resemblance of Easter ceremonies in both the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches. (3)

In all parts of Europe Easter is associated with festivities and customs, many of whom are clearly of pre-Christian origin. (4) We shall briefly mention but a few interesting instances.

A Swedish fellow-townsmen of the writer states that in his native province the custom of marking doors of dwellings and out-
1) Frazer(B), 260. (2) Id. 211. (3) See id. 211-214. (4) For English customs see Ditchfield, 78-94.

houses with a cross was observed at Easter, and also at Midsummer, the same custom which we have found in some other parts of Scandinavia at Christmas. The spring equinox, like the winter and summer solstices, was an important event in the solar cycle and the sun-worship of the ancients.

Comparable to the Yule Boar is the custom in many parts of Russia of eating a roast lamb or suckling pig at Easter, and then throwing the bones upon the fields, to preserve the corn from hail. This may be explained on the the same theory of the pig as that suggested above under Christmas.(1)

An interesting survival of sun-worship is one of the most widespread ~~and~~ superstitions among European peoples, the belief that the sun danced in the heavens on Easter morning. (2) ,in joy over the Resurrection of Christ, but really the belief is a survival of the time when the worshippers of the solar deity danced in joy over the return of the sun to their climes and the awakening of Nature ^{its} under ~~the~~ benign influence. On Easter morning in Saxony and Brandenburg , the peasants still climb to the hill-tops before dawn , to see the rising sun give his three joyful leaps.(3) The same custom was long observed in Scandinavia and England (4), and as far as evidence goes, among nearly all Christian peoples. The truth of the belief was discussed by grave scholars and its error finally demonstrated with much erudition. (5) Sir Thomas Browne appended an apology to his declaration that " the sun do~~th~~ not dance on Easter Day".(6)

Easter bonfires, another form of sun-worship, formerly used to be ablaze mile after mile on the North German hill-tops, and are not yet altogether given up by local custom. The solar rite of the New Fire, adopted by the Roman Catholic Church as a paschal cere-

(1) Frazer (2), 29. (2) Hackwood, XIII, ^{Fosbrooke, II, 149.} Thus Sir John Suckling in "The Bride?": "But oh, she danced such a way, No sun upon an Easter day, Is half so fine a sight." Quoted Walsh, 358. (3) Tylor, II, 297. (4) Troels-Lund, 148; Brand, I, 167. (5) Walsh, 358. (6) Quoted Tylor, ibid

mony , may witnessed in Europe, with its solemn curfew on Easter Eve, and under the auspices of the Greek Church is held the rites of the miraculous descent from heaven of the holy fire into the Holy Sepulchre.(1)

The most popular and persisting of the Easter customs is that of the Easter egg, transplanted and flourishing on American soil as well as in Europe. The eating and rolling of Easter eggs are met with throughout Christendom. In both the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches Easter was wont to be begun with the eating of consecrated eggs. Says Troels-Lund, "Easter eggs are known from Scandinavia to Egypt, from England to Persia and Siberia. ..The egg has been from ages immemorial the symbol of awakened life, bursting forth from confinement, and has therefore been adopted as an emblem of the spring as well as of the resurrection. " He calls attention to the derivation of the word "Easter" from the Old Saxon "oster", "to rise," and its relation to "East". (2) The egg was found in the ceremonial and symbolism of many non-Christian religions, Druidical, Chinese, Hindu, Japanese, Egyptian, Greek, Babylonian, etc.(3)

In several parts of Europe the hare, in America changed to the rabbit, is associated with the Easter egg. This animal is also found in the mythology of other religions, but its origin and significance is not definitely known. It is supposed to have some relation to moon-lore. Many peoples recognise in our "man in the moon" a hare. According to a Buddhist legend, an especially virtuous hare was translated to the lunar orb.(4)

(1) Tylor, II, 297. A picture of the scene in the Holy Sepulchre Church at the time of this event in the present year is given in the "London Illustrated News", April 1909.

(2) T.-L. 149.

(3) Hislop, 108-110.

(4) Lang, "Custom and Myth,"

✓ 45 in.

CHAPTER III. MAY DAY (Sts.Philip and James.)

A festival whose accompaniments show plainly its pagan origin is that dedicated in the Church calendar to Sts.Philip and James, the 1st of May. Indeed the name is about all the Church has succeeded in changing, and that only ~~for~~ⁱⁿ its own official usage. This festival in all its main features preserves its pre-Christian characteristics. It is popularly known as May Day, and it is by that name, rather than by the rather cumbersome title given it by the Church, that we shall speak of here. In Scandinavia it is called "Valborg's Day" or Volder-mass; in Germany Walpurgis Day, the name by which it is known from Goethe's "Faust".

Like many other festivals, it shows traces of the solar cult, ~~as~~ as well as rites connected with vegetation.

In Scandinavia the festival was ushered in by the burning of bon-fires on the hill-tops, an ancient custom found among many peoples in widely separated parts of the earth, and had originally, and in many parts still to some extent retains, a religious significance. It was believed at least as late as the sixteenth century that these fires would frighten away the evil spirits, which on this night were abroad, ~~whom~~ especially the witches, ~~whom~~ held high revel at this festival.(1)

An interesting feature in connection with these fires was that, like other festal fires, they should be kindled not with ordinary fire, but by a "wild" fire, produced by the primitive method, used before the age of metals, of rubbing two pieces of wood together. This fire is known in all Teutonic countries by a related name, whose meaning is most clear in the Swedish "gnideld"(literally, "friction-fire"). In Danish and Norwegian it is called

(1) Troels-Lund, 152-153; Frazer(A), II, 181-182; Goethe, Faust.

"nödild", in German "notfeuer", in English "needfire".(1)

With similar fires in the Celtic parts of Europe is connected a remarkable survival of the Druidical religious practices. The Druids celebrated the feast of the god Bel at this season by lighting immense fires in his honour upon the various cairns. To this day similar customs survive among the Irish and ^{the} Scottish Highlanders, both remnants of the Celtic stock.(2) It is significant that the festival is known among them as Beltaine or Bealtaine, that is, "the day of Bel's fire". Thus in the Boat Song in Sir Walter Scott's "Lady of the Lake",

 ? Ours is no sapling, chance-sown by the fountain,
 Blooming at Beltaine in winter to fade".

In the central Highlands of Scotland, there survived in connection with the Beltaine fires, until the last century, traces of the Druidical practice of human sacrifice, traces which in the words of Frazer, are "particularly clear and unequivocal".(3) The fires were lit on various eminences known in the Highlands as "the hill of the fires". On the morning of May Day the people of the township or village repaired to a hill or knoll, cut a round trench in the green sod, leaving in the centre a platform of turf large enough to contain the whole company. They seated themselves on the turf, and in the centre was placed a pile of wood or other fuel, which they ignited with "tein-eigin", i.e. "need-fire", as among Teutonic peoples. The fire being lit, the company prepared a custard of eggs and milk, which they ate. Afterwards they amused themselves a while by singing and dancing round the fire. Then in the words of an eighteenth century ^{from Scotland} account(4), "they knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted in the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up they divide the cake into so many portions as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions over the charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits

(1) Troels-Lund, 153;. (2) Walsh 682. (3) Frazer & A., II, 254. (4) Id. 256 seq into a bannet. Etc.

into a bonnet. Everyone, blindfolded, draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Ball, whose favour they mean to implore in rendering the year productive ~~and~~ ^{the} of ^{the} sustenance of man and beast." The person thus selected " was called cailleach bealtine, i.e. the Beltane carline, a term of great reproach. Upon his being known a part of the company laid hold on him, and made a show of putting him into the fire... And in some ~~parts~~ places they laid him flat on the ground, making as if they would quarter him... While the feast was fresh in the people's memory, they affected to speak of the cailleach bealtine as dead."

Another widely prevalent custom is the May-pole. The original meaning of the May-pole is not agreed upon. The more general view is that suggested by Ross in the quotation given in the introduction of this essay(1), namely that it is a phallic emblem. The Greek word " phallos " means primarily a " pole ", but as used in descriptions of religious rites ~~which~~ classed as phallicism, it is used to designate a representation of the male sexual organ, taken as type of the generative and fertilising power of nature and the renewal of life. Phallic worship in its plainest and most undisguised form is found in the East, especially famous are the rites of India (2), though the practice is by no means confined to the Orient. The writer's attention has been called to like customs in France and in her African colony, among the natives of Madagascar. It has also been noted by investigators in the Philippine Islands. Frazer associates the May-pole with the similar custom of the May-tree.(3)" It was and still is in many parts of Europe the custom to go out to the woods, cut down a tree and

(1) See p. (2) A returned missionary relates that ^{the} " chapel " of the Hindu National College at Benares the only religious image is a six-foot marble representation of the human phallus.

(3) (A(I,74-75.

bring it abok to the village amid general rejoicings. Or the people cut branches in the woods ,and fasten them on every house. The intention of these customs is to bring home to the village, and to each house ,the blessings which the tree-spirit has power to bestow.

Hence the cuspom in some places of planting a May-tree before every house ,or of carrying the village May-tree ~~hafsrxsrxsr~~ from door to door, that every household may receive its share of the blessing."

Whether we take the generally accepted view that the May-pole was originally a representation of the human phallus or that it is a symbloic embodiment of the life-giving spirit of vegetation (it may well be a fusion of both conceptions, whose external representations would be very much alike) the meaning of the pole is the same--- it is regarded as having fertilising powers over both women and cattle, for this is also plainly the supposed influence of the May-tree. Mannhart relates (1) that in some parts of Germany on May-Day the peasants set up May-trees at the doors of ~~sat~~bles; this is supposed to make the cows yields much milk. Likewise the Irish, according to Camden(2), fancy that a green bough of a tree ,fastened on May-day against a house, will produce plenty of milk that summer. Frazer is of the opinion that " the common European custom of placing a green bush on May Day before the house of a beloved maiden probably originated in the belief of ^{the}xfertili-sing power of the tree-spirit.(3) This belief in the efficacy of trees is found in many lands. ^{E.g.} Among the Kara-Khirciz barren women role themselves under a solitary apple-tree, in order to obtain offspring.(4)

The power of granting to women easy delivery at child-birth is ascribed to trees both in Sweden and Africa. In some districts of

(1) Frazer(A),I,72. (2) Quoted Brand,I,227. (3) Frazer,I,73; this is also the view of Mannhardt. (4) Frazer, ibid. 74.

Sweden there was formerly a "bardträd" or guardian -tree in the neighbourhood of every farm. Pregnant women used to clasp the tree in their arms in order to ensure easy delivery. In some Negro tribes of the Congo region, pregnant women make themselves garments out of the bark of a certain sacred tree, because they believe that this tree delivers from the dangers that attend child-bearing. Frazer refers to the story of Leto clasping two trees, when she was about to give birth to Apelle and Artemis as an indication of a similar Greek belief in the efficacy of certain trees to facilitate delivery.(1)

The sexual origin and significance of the ~~May~~ primitive festival, which survives ⁱⁿ form though not in content in our modern May fetes, suggests the reason why it is held at this particular season of the year. This celebration is not only a survival of pre-Christian, but of pre-human times. This is an incident in that periodicity of sexual function which is one of most general facts of life, plant and animal. On this point we quote Westermarck, perhaps the foremost living authority on the subject, "Considering...that the periodicity of the sexual life rests on the kind of food on which the species lives, together with other circumstances connected with anatomical and physiological peculiarities, and considering, further, the close biological resemblance between man and the man-like apes, we are almost compelled to assume that the pairing time of our earliest human or half-human ancestors was restricted to a certain season of the year, as was also the case with their nearest relations among the lower animals. This presumption derives further probability from there being, even now, rude peoples who are actually stated to have an annual pairing time, and other peoples whose sexual instinct undergoes most decidedly a periodical increase at a certain time of the year. (2)

(1) Frazer(A), I, 74, following Betticher, "Der Baumkultus der Hellenen?"
(2) "Hist. of Human Marriage", 28.

According to a contributor to Schoelcraft's famous work on the American Indians, certain California tribes "have their rutting seasons as regularly as have the deer, the elk, the antelope, or any other animals" (1) Powers confirms the correctness of this statement, saying that spring "is a literal Saint Valentine's Day for them, as with the natural beasts and birds of the forest." (2) Speaking of the Watch-an-dies, in the western part of Australia, Oldfield remarks, "Like the beasts of the field, the savage has but one time for copulation in the year." (3) About the middle of spring ... the Watch-an-dies begin to think of holding their grand semi-religious festival of Caa-ro, preparatory to the performance of the important duty of procreation". (4) A similar feast, according to Bonwick, was celebrated by the Tasmanians at the same time of the year. (5) Dalton tells of an Indian hill tribe that every year has a great feast, when men and women become almost like animals in the indulgence of their amorous propensities, and the utmost liberty is given to the girls. (6) Like events are reported from many different parts of the world, facts gathered in Germany, England, and other European countries indicate the truth of the popular and poetical notion that the emotional accompaniments of sex are most intense in spring or at the beginning of summer. Westermarck says, "The unequal distribution of births over the different months of the year is ascribed to various causes by statisticians. It is, however, generally admitted that the maximum in February and March is, at least to a great extent, due to the sexual instinct being strongest in May and June. ~~This is the more likely~~

(1) "Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U.S., IV, 224.
 (2) "Tribes of California," 208. (3) "The Aborigines of Australia" in Trans. Eth. Soc. N.S. III, 230. (4) Westermarck regards this statement as an exaggeration. (5) "Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians," 198. (6) "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", 196. For these quotations and references the writer is indebted to Westermarck.

to be the case, as it is especially illegitimate births that are then comparatively numerous." (32 1)

Thus the May festival, to the student of anthropology, is a reminder of these primitive sex-feasts, when men and women, like the rest of the living ~~recreation~~, responded to the elemental passion; its ceremonies and symbol, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ their original meaning long since forgotten, are survivals of rites with which youths and maidens of old paid devotion to the deified urge of life.(2)

It is needless to remark that to the young men and ~~men~~ women who participate in present-day May feasts, as ^{to} the "little children" who, as Ross says, "new caper innocently about the May-pole," "the sense of the original thing is utterly lost." (3) The merry-makers of to-day are at a loss to conjecture what the custom means; it is "just for fun". The symbolism of the affair has been lost to the lay mind. But to the student of science and history it is a striking example of the persistence of ^a custom, whose origin goes back not only ~~is~~ beyond our civilisation and form of religion, but beyond our species. We may remind ourselves of the words of Westermarck in the introduction to his "History of Human Marriage": "The reader may find much that will outrage his feelings, and, possibly, hurt his sense of modesty, but the concealment of truth is the only indecorum known to science." (4).

(1) Loc.cit.32. (2) For the parallel Veneralia or festival of Venus at Rome, held in April (Italy being in a lower latitude and having earlier spring), see Westrepp and Wake, "Ancient Symbol Worship", 26; for the Huli festival in modern India, see Watermarck(A), 33; Reussel, India and its Native Princes, 173. For a study of the biological and social significance of the human pairing season in primitive times, see Westermarck, loc.cit. chapter II.

CHAPTER IV. MIDSUMMER DAY (St. John the Baptist).

The solar Christmas festival has its pendant, to use Tylor's expression, at Midsummer, the time of the celebrations connected with the summer solstice. This festival, which falls on the 24th of June, has been dedicated by the Church to St. John the Baptist. Referring to this Tylor says that " the same train of symbolism which has adopted the midwinter festival to the Nativity, may have suggested the dedication of the midsummer festival to John the Baptist in clear allusion to his words, 'He must \ddagger increase, but I must decrease'"(1) This analogy is also noted by Troels-Lund (2) and Montelius(3) . The analogy seems to have been in the mind of St. Augustine when he called attention to the fact that "at the Nativity of Christ the days increase in length, on that of John they decrease".(4)

Long before the rise of Christianity the period of the summer solstice was almost universally associated with the rites of sun-worship; some interesting survivals of these have been perpetuated in Europe to this day.

One of the most generally observed customs at Midsummer is the burning of fires on the heights, similar to those on May Day, except on a much more stupendous scale.(5) According to ancient custom, these fires like those of the earlier festival, should be kindled with "need-fire". To these fires were connected many popular superstitions.

Another European rite of undoubted solar origin is that of sending blazing wheels rolling down from the hills into the valleys . This ceremony as performed on the Stromberg Hill on the Moselle is thus described in an account from the year 1822: (6) The whole

(1) Tylor, II, 298. (2) 180. (3) (4) Quoted Walsh, 567-568.
(5) Frazer(A), II, 258-272; Troels-Lund, 181-185; Tylor, *ibid.* supra.
(6) Montelius, N.T. 1901, 36; Frazer(A), I, 260-261.

male population of the neighbouring village assembled on the top of the hill, while the women and girls took up their position on the slope below. They had brought with them to the hill-top a wheel, which they completely covered with straw. Each family had donated for the purpose a basket of straw, a tribute which none dared withhold for fear some misfortune would ensue. Torches were made of the straw not used in covering the wheel. At a given signal the wheel was ignited and sent rolling down the hill amid the shouts of joy. The men and boys swung their torches in the air, and as the wheel passed the women and girls raised cries of joy which were answered by the men at the top. The wheel was often extinguished before it reached the river, but if it succeeded in plunging blazing into the river, as it did in the particular year in question, it was regarded as a sign of a rich vintage. Similar ceremonies are reported from other parts of central Europe. An account from the Middle Ages, referred to by a number of authorities, speaks of this usage on Midsummer Eve, and especially observes that it dates from heathen times. Montelius in his discussion of the wheel as a solar symbol, calls attention to a remark of the mediaeval writer that "the wheel is rolled to signify that the sun now reaches its greatest height and immediately begins its descending course". Tyler also adopts this interpretation of the meaning of this wheel ceremony.(1)

As to the meaning of these and other forms of celebration of the Midsummer fire-festivals we quote Frazer's summary:(2) "The best general explanation of these European fire-festivals seems to be that the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of

(A)II, 268.

(1)II, 298; Frazer, (2) ibid. 267.

sunshine for men, animals, and plants." (1) After a discussion of the savage charms for making sun-shine, he observes that "we need not wonder that primitive man in Europe has done the same. Indeed considering the cold and cloudy climate of Europe during a considerable part of the year, it is natural that sun-charms should have played a much more prominent part among the superstitious practices of European peoples than among those of savages who live nearer the equator." This view of the festivals seems to be the one held by Tylor and Montelius also, and is supported by various considerations drawn partly from the rites themselves, partly from the influence which they are supposed to exert upon the weather and on vegetation. For example, the rolling of the burning wheel is a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky, and the imitation is especially appropriate on Midsummer Day when the sun's annual declension begins. Not less graphic is the imitation of his apparent revolution by swinging a burning tar-barrell round a pole (2). The custom of throwing blazing disks, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic. In these as in so many other cases, the magic force is supposed to take effect through mimicry or sympathy; by imitating the desired result, you actually produce it; by counterfeiting the sun's progress through the heavens you really help the luminary to pursue his celestial journey with punctuality and despatch. (3)

(1) Westermarck, ^(A) I, 56, n. 3, interprets these fires as purificatory agencies only. This view is hardly compatible with all the facts. However, that this conception is also present is probable. Frazer recognises the supposed purgative virtue and says that "to the primitive mind fire is the most powerful of all purificatory agents" .(-~~3~~), ¶ 312.

(2) Frazer ^(A), II, 262. (3) For a discussion of imitative magic see Tyler,

Further Frazer states that" the influence which these bonfires are supposed to exert on the weather and on vegetation goes to show that they are sun-charms, since the effects ascribed to them are identical with those of sunshine^B, and gives several examples of this. This interpretation is confirmed by a custom observed by the Hindus of South India at the Pongol or Feast of Ingathering. The festival is celebrated in the early part of January, when, according to Hindu astrologers, the sun enters the tropic of Capricorn, and the chief event of the festival coincides with the passage of the sun. On the morning of the first day of the festival heaps of collected combustible material are ignited. Every street and lane has its bonfire. The fire is an offering to [^]Surya, the sun-god, or to Agni, the deity of fire; it ~~is~~ wakes "him from his sleep calling on him again to gladden the earth with light and heat." Frazer remarks, "To say that the fires awaken the sun-god from his sleep is only a metaphorical and perhaps modernised expression of the belief that they actually help to rekindle the sun's light and heat."(1)

At Midsummer in Sicily and Sardinia are observed customs similar to those described under Easter(2) and like these are supposed to be survivals of the "gardens of Adonis", in connection with the worship of this Syro-Grecian deity. According to St. Jerome there was a festival of Adonis in June .(3)

But besides the similarity in respect to the pots of herbs and corn , there is another striking point of affinity between the pagan and Christian Midsummer festivals, namely in both of them water plays an important part. At the midsummer festival in Babylon, the image of Thammuz, the Babylonian Adonis(4), was bathed

(1) (A), I, 272. (2) See p. 22 - (3) Frazer(B), 201-204.
(4) Thammuz is said to mean "true son of the deep water".

with pure water,.At his summer festival in Alexandria , the image of Adonis , with that of his divine mistress,Aphrodite or Venus, was committed to the waves; at at the midsummer celebration in Greece the gardens of Adonis were thrown into the sea or into springs.

Now a prominent feature of the festival of bearing the name of St.John the Baptist, is the custom of bathing in the sea, springs, rivers, or the dew on Midsummer Eve or on the morning of Midsummer Day. In Naples is a church dedicated to St.John the Baptist bearing the name of St.John of the Sea(SAN S.Giovan a mare), and it was an old practice for people to bathe in the sea on St.John's Eve, believing that thus their sins were washed away. In the Abruzzi in Italy water is still supposed to acquire certain marvellous and beneficent properties on St.John's night. (1) The dew ,also,that falls on St.John's night, is supposed to benefit whatever it touches, whether it be water, flowers,or the human body. At Marsala in Sicily there is a spring of water in a subterranean grotto called the Grotto of the Sibyl. Beside it stands a church of St.John, which is supposed to occupy the site of a temple of Apollo. Drinking of, and bathing in this water is supposed to have curative and prophetic effects, the latter especially on maidens with matrimonial aspirations. (2) Petrach , in a letter to Cardinal Colonna, written from Cologne in 1530, describes how on St.John's Eve the women of that town were wont at sunset to wash their arms and feet in the Rhine, thinking thereby they washed off all potential ills of the year to come. (3) This custom still survives in the Walloon country. In Spain people still roll naked in the dew of the meadows on St.John's Eve,believing this to be preventative against di-

(1)Grimm,I,490. (2) Frazer(B),205. (3) Walsh,568; Frazer(B), 205-206; Grimm,I,489.

seases of the skin. Similar practices are found in Normandy and Provence in France. The practice of bathing in rivers on St. John's Day ~~is~~ appears to have been brought with the Spaniards to the New World. (1)

It may be thought that this widespread custom of bathing in water or dew at Midsummer is purely Christian in origin, having been adopted as an appropriate mode of celebrating the day dedicated to the Baptist. But this is not the view neither of the Church fathers nor of comparative ethnographers. St. Augustine denounced the practice and forbade the inhabitants of Libya from bathing on St. John's Eve. (2)

We have already cited instances of ~~similar~~ ablutions in connection with the Midsummer festivals of Tammuz and Adonis in Babylon and Egypt. The conclusion arrived at is "that the Church, unable to put down this relic of paganism, followed its usual policy of accommodation by bestowing on the rite a Christian name and acquiescing ... to its observance. And casting about for a saint to supplant a heathen patron of bathing, the Christian doctors could hardly have hit upon a more appropriate successor than St. John the Baptist."

In Sardinia and Sicily the displaced deity seems to have been Adonis. " Yet the Midsummer festival seems too widely spread and too deeply rooted in Central and Northern Europe to allow us to trace it everywhere to an Oriental origin in general and to the cult of Adonis in particular. It has the air of ^a ~~the~~ native _a soil rather than an exotic imported from the East. We shall do better, therefore to suppose that at a remote period similar modes of thought, based

(1) Frazer(B), 206. (2) Frazer(B), 207; Walsh, 568; Grimm, I, 490.

on similar needs, led men independently in many lands from the North Sea to the Euphrates, to celebrate the summer solstice with rites, which, while they differed in some things yet agreed closely in others, that in historical times a wave of Oriental influence, starting perhaps from Babylonia, carried the Tammuz and Adonis form of the festival westward till it met with native forms of a similar festival; and that under the pressure of the Roman civilisation these different yet kindred festivals fused with each other and crystallised into a variety of shapes, which subsisted more or less ~~and~~ separately side by side, till the Church, unable to suppress them altogether, stripped them so far as it could of their grosser features, and dexterously changing the names allowed them to pass muster as Christian."(1)

(1) Frazer(B), 207-208.

CHAPTER V. FESTIVALS OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, has an exalted place in Christian thought. Numerous festivals of the Church year are dedicated to her in honour of various events in her life. She too has fallen heir to many of the rites and beliefs that existed in Europe long before the name and teachings of her Son reached its shores.

In the Roman world at the time of the decline of the Empire, a goddess which looms above all other female deities is Isis, the Egyptian, wife and sister of Osiris. Isis was the goddess of fecundity, yet of chastity and fidelity in conjugal life. She was true wife and affectionate mother, thus unlike the unmarried and dissolute, coarse and cruel mother-goddesses of Asia, such as Cybele, Anaitis, and Astarte. The refinement and spiritualisation of Isis in later Roman times was a marked contrast to the general low level of religious life. Her cult was very popular at Rome, some of the emperors being among her worshippers. "In a period ~~was~~ of decadence, when traditional faiths were shaken, when the fabric of the empire itself, once deemed eternal, began to show ominous rents and fissures, the serene figure of Isis, with her spiritual calm, her gracious promise of immortality, should have appeared to many like a star in a stormy sky, and should have roused in their breasts a rapture of devotion not unlike that which was paid in the Middle Ages to the Virgin Mary".(1) Her ritual presented many points of similarity to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church -- the shaven and tonsured priests, matins and vespers, tinkling music, baptism and aspersions of holy water, solemn processions, jeweled images of the Mother of God.(2) "Ancient Egypt may have contributed its share to the gorgeous symbolism of the Catholic Church as well as

(1) Frazer(B), 347-349. (2) Dill(A), 580; (B), 79, 85. The chief passage on the worship of Isis in the West is in the 11th book of Apuleius' "Metamorphosis".

to the pale abstractions of her theology."(1)

The resemblance of Isis and the Virgin Mary has often been pointed out.(2), and it is probable that the resemblance is not purely accidental. In art the figure of Isis suckling the infant Horus is so like that of the Madonna and the Child, that it has ~~been~~ sometimes received the adoration of unsophisticated Christians.(2). Carpenter states that the Virgin Mary with the holy Child in her arms can be traced from the Christian church in Alexandria up through the later times to Isis with the infant Horus, and thence to the constellation Virgo. In the representation of the zodiac in the temple of Denderah in Egypt the figure of Virgo is annotated by a smaller figure of Isis with Horus in her arms. "And", he adds, "the Roman Church fixed the celebration of Mary's assumption into glory at the very date (15th of August) of the said constellation's disappearance from sight in the blaze of the solar rays, and her birth on the date(8th of September) of the same constellation's re-appearance". These dates have now shifted by two or three weeks, owing to the precession of the equinoxes. This is a remarkable coincidence if it be no more.(3)

To Isis in her later character of patroness of mariners, the Virgin Mary perhaps owes her epithet of "Stella Maris", Star of the Sea, under which she is adored by tempest-tossed sailors. The attribute of a marine deity may have been bestowed on Isis by the seafaring Greeks of Alexandria. "Sirius, the bright star of Isis, which on July mornings rises from the glassy waves of the Eastern Mediterranean, a harbinger of halcyon weather to mariners, was the true "Star of the Sea".(4)

(1) Frazer(B), 350. (2) Ibid. after Drexler in Roscher's "Lexicon der griech. und röm. Mythologie, II, 248, 430.

(3) Carpenter, 130-131. (4) Frazer(B) after Th. Trede, "Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche", III, 144.

The features of the Madonna as represented in Christian art until the time of Raphael show a striking similarity to the goddesses of the pagan religions which existed in that part of the world which was converted to Christianity. These Madonna pictures have neither Jewish nor Italian features. "In a land of dark-eyed beauties, with raven lock, the Madonna was always represented with blue eyes and golden hair, a complexion entirely different from the Jewish complexion". (1) The golden or yellow hair is common goddesses of all Caucasian peoples. Europa and Minerva are spoken of as "yellow-haired" (2). Diana is addressed as "the yellow-haired daughter of Jupiter". (3) Venus is frequently called "Aurea Venus", "the golden Venus" (4), and her mother Dione is described as "yellow-haired" (5). The Hindu goddess Lakshmi, the "Mother of the Universe", is described as "a golden complexion". Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, was called "the yellow-haired Ariadne" (6). The mermaid of the romantic tales of Northern Europe had like features. "The Elfenwoman (mermaid) is fair and gold-haired" (7). She is frequently seen sitting on the surface of the waters, combing her long golden hair with a golden comb. (8) (9)

The Virgin became not only the "Mother of God", but also the Queen of Heaven, "Regina Coeli", and is frequently connected with astronomic lore. The ornamentation of many Continental churches often includes a representation of the sun and moon in conjunction, the moon being emblematical of the Virgin and Child. Hackwood reproduces a figure of St. Mary with the crescent moon as Queen of Heaven

(1) Hislop, 85-86. (2) Ovid, Fasti, lib. v, l. 609. (3) Id. lib. vi, 652. (4) Anacreon, Od. lx, 204. (5) Theocritus, Idyll vii, v. 116. (6) Hesiod, Theogonia, v. 937. For this and the above classical allusions we are indebted to Hislop. (7) H. C. Andersen, Introduction to "Danish Tales". (8) Cf. Heine's "Lorelei": "... kempt ihr goldenes Haar, Mit goldenem Kämme sie kempt es". (9) A parallel instance to that of St. Mary on this particular point is that of St. Olaf, king and patron of Norway, who, in Norwegian folk-lore and modern pictorial representations, has taken the place of Thor as the mighty fighter of trolls and giants, the inheritance including even the red beard of the god.

bearing a striking resemblance to pictures of Diana in the same office.(1)

From the fourth century Church history records a sect whose members were wont on a certain day to carry about in a car, similar to those used in pagan processions, cakes or wafers consecrated to the Virgin. The cakes they first presented as offerings and subsequently ate them. They were called Collyrideans, from "collyridae", meaning "cakes". Neander, one of the most careful and conservative of Church historians, regards this practice as directly traceable to the worship of Ceres; the practice of offering the cakes he derives from the customary cake -offerings ^{at the pagan feast of} ~~at~~ the harvest. (2)

One of the principal festivals of the Virgin is that of the Purification, celebrated on the 2nd of February, also called Candlemas, from the custom of carrying and consecrating candles in the churches on that day. While this festival was probably instituted to commemorate a n event in the life of Jesus which was believed to call for special commemoration, the time and customs of the festival indicate another instance of tactful adoption and adaptation by the Church. The festival of the Purification of the B.V.M. was probably instituted in the sixth century. (3) In many of its details it shows itself to be a Christianisation of the pagan Lupercalia, celebrated in ancient Rome at about the same time. (4) ("Februa" means to expiate or purify) Pope Innocent XII in a sermon said, "Why do we in this feast carry candles? Because the Gentiles dedicated the month of February to the infernal gods, and as at the beginning of it Pluto stole Proserpine, and her mother Ceres sought her in the night with lighted candles, so they, at the beginning of this month, walked about the city with lighted candles. Because the holy

(1) Hackwood, 39, after an article in "The Antiquary" on "Pagan Myths and Christian Symbols". (2) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1543; Neander, III, 458. (3) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1140.

(4) Fosbroke, II, 645, Walsh, 68-69.

fathers could not extirpate this custom, they ordained that Christians should carry about candles in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and thus what was done before to the honour of Ceres, is now done in honour of the Virgin."(1) Pope Benedict XI XIV regarded any other view than that it been introduced with the purpose of assimilating the heathen feast to the Christian festival as heretical.(2)

The festival of the Assumption of the B.V.M. is celebrated on the 15th of August. Now the annual festival of Diana was celebrated in all over Italy on the 13th of August. Frazer says that "the Christian Church appears to have sanctified this great festival by adroitly converting it into the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the 15th of August"⁽³⁾. The discrepancy of the two days between the dates of the festivals, he does not consider a fatal argument against their identity. We observed a like difference of two days between Easter and the vernal equinox⁽⁴⁾. The reasons which prompted the conversion may be gleaned from the records of the Eastern Church. In the Syriac text of the treatise called "The Departure of My Lady Mary from this world", an account is given of the reasons which led to the institution of the festival of the Assumption in August. "The Apostles ordered also that there should be a commemoration of the blessed one on the 13th of Ab (i.e. August; the 13th is Diana's own day-- other mss. read the 15th of Ab), on account of the vines bearing fruit, that clouds of hail, bearing stones of wrath, might not come and the trees be broken, and their fruits, and the vines and their clusters"⁽⁵⁾. In the calendar of the Syrian Church the 15th of August is repeatedly designated as the Festival of the Mother of God for the vines. A like statement to the above is found in an Arabic text of the apocryphal work on "The Passing of the B.V.M.", attributed by tradition to St. John the Apostle.

(1) Quoted Walsh, *ibid.* (2) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1141. (3) (O), 18.
(4) See p. 21 of this essay. (5) Quoted Frazer (C), 20, after Journal of Sacred Literature, N.S. III, (1885), p. 153.

New Diana or Artemis was worshipped not only as the divinity (1) of the moon and of the chase, but as the goddess of vegetation. Vineyards and plantations were dedicated to her, and fruits offered to her in her temple standing in an orchard. The famous Arician grove was sacred to Diana. She was revered as patroness of vines and fruit-trees. Olaus Magnus relates that in Scandinavia was observed on the festival of the Assumption the custom of blessing the fruits of the earth and dedicating them to the Virgin. (2)

F.C.Conybeare, in a statement given by Frazer, says that "according to the express evidence of the Armenian fathers of the year 700 or later, the day of the Virgin was placed on September the 15th, because that was the day of Anahite, the magnificence of whose feats the Christian doctors hoped to transfer to Mary!" (3) Anahite, or Anaitis, as the Greeks called her, was a great Oriental goddess, exceedingly popular in Armenia and adjoining countries. The character of her worship was described by Strabo.

We conclude this chapter with a striking passage by Dasent; in his Introduction to "Norse Popular Tales" (4) "In the Norse mythology, Frigga, Odin's wife, who knew beforehand all that was to happen, and Freyja, the goddess of love and plenty, were prominent figures, and often trod the earth; the three Norns or Fates, who sway the minds of men, and spin their destinies at Mimir's well of knowledge, were awful venerable powers, to whom the heathen world looked with love and adoration and awe. To that love and adoration and awe, throughout the middle age, one woman, transfigured into divine shape, succeeded by a sort of natural right, and the Virgin Mary's head a halo of lovely tales of divine help beams with the soft radiance as a crown bequeathed to her by the ancient goddesses. She appears as di-

(1) See p. 15 of this essay on Diana and the pig as a symbol of the spirit of vegetation. (2) "Historia de gentium septentrionalium variis conditionibus"; quoted Frazer (C), 21. (4) vii.

vine mother, spinner, and helpful virgin. Flowers and plants bear her name. In England one of our commonest and prettiest insects is still called after her, but which belonged to Freyja, the heathen & 'Lady', long before the western nations had learned to adore the name of the mother of Jesus."

CHAPTER VI. ALL SAINTS' AND ALL SOULS'.

The two festivals of the Church year~~x~~ named All Saints' and All Souls', coming on two immediately successive days and being of similar nature and origin, we shall speak of in the same chapter. We shall take up the festival of All Souls first, as it is prior in time as well as in importance to our theme.

All Souls' Day^{is}, "like most Christian festivals, a rehabilitation of a pagan feast".(1) Days specially set apart for ceremonies in honour of the dead are common to humanity.

Frazer enumerates and describes a large number of annual festivals of the dead among peoples in different parts of the earth, such as the Esquimaux(one of whose ceremonies is lighting lamps for the dead), the Indians of California the Miztecs of Mexico, a Karen tribe of Burmah, people in Annam, Cochin-China, and Siam, the Chew-surs of the Caucasus and an agricultural tribe of northern Abyssinia.(2) Especially noted are the Chinese Festival of the Forgotten Dead(Ching Ming Chieh) and the Japanese Festival of the Dead(Bon Matsuri), also called the Festival of Lanterns, thus showing an analogy with the Christian feast of All Souls' both in the purpose of the feast as well as in custom of lighting lanterns.(3)

Beliefs similar to those found among non-Christian peoples survive to this day in Europe and find expression in customs such as are associated with these pagan festivals of the dead. Thus in Lower Brittany, the souls of the departed come to visit the living on the eve of All Souls', After vespers and a procession by priest and choir, the people go home and gather round the fire and talk of the departed. The house wife covers the kitchen table with a white cloth, sets out cider, curds,, and hot pancakes on it, and retires

(1)Walsh,29. (2) Frazer(B),301-309. (3) Walsh,322-323.

with the family to rest. The fire on the hearth is kept up by a huge log known as "the log of the dead" (kef ann anaon). All that night the dead warm themselves at the hearth and feast on the viands prepared for them. Sometimes the awe-struck listeners hear the stools creaking in the kitchen, or the dead leaves outside rustle under the ghostly footsteps.(1) A very common custom in Belgium is to eat "soul cakes" or "soul bread" on the Eve of All Souls'. The belief is that a soul is delivered from purgatory for every cake eaten. Doors are not slammed nor the floor swept, lest the ghostly visitors be disturbed. In the Tyrol, "soul-lights", i.e. lamps filled with lard or butter are lighted and placed on the hearth on All Souls' Eve, in order that the poor souls, escaped from purgatory, may anoint their burns with melted grease and so allay their pangs. Milk and doughnuts are left on the table for them at night.(2)

"A comparison of these European customs with the similar heathen rites can leave no room for doubt that the nominally Christian feast of All Souls' is nothing but an old pagan festival of the dead which the Church, unable or unwilling to suppress, resolved from motives of policy to connive at "(3)

There is also evidence to show why the festival of All Souls' came to be celebrated on that particular day in the beginning of November. In studying celebrations of this sort we observe that they are often held at the beginning of the new year.(4) The ancient peoples of north-western Europe, the Celts and the Teutons, appear to have dated the beginning of their year from the beginning of winter, the Celts reckoning it from the 1st of November and the Teutons from the 1st of October.(5) The different reckonings may be due to the difference in climate, the home of the Teutons in central

(1) Frazer(B), 309-310. (2) Frazer(B), 311; Tyler, II, 38.
(3) " " , 315. (4) Id. 303-308. (5) J. Rhys, Celtic Heathendom, 460, 514; K. Mullerheff, Deutsche Altertumskunde, IV, 379; cited by Frazer, ibid. 315-316.

and northern Europe being a region where winter sets in earlier than on the more temperate and humid coasts of the Atlantic, the home of the Celts. These considerations suggest that the festival of All Souls on the 2nd of November originated with the Celts, and spread from them to the rest of the European peoples, who while they preserved their old feasts ^{may have} transferred them to the 2nd of November. Evidence in regard to the ecclesiastical institution or rather recognition of the festival tends to confirm this supposition, for that recognition was first accorded at the end of the tenth century in France, an ancient Celtic country, from which the Church festival gradually spread over Europe. It was Odilo, abbot of the great Benedictine monastery of Clugny, the center of the great movement in the Church known as the Clugniac Reform, who instituted officially the festival of All Souls' in 998 (Frazer), according to Hackwood, 993, (1) by ordering that ⁱⁿ all the monasteries over which he ruled, solemn mass should be celebrated on the 2nd of November, for all the dead who sleep in Christ. This mass came to be said more particularly for the souls of the faithful in purgatory. (2) When Odilo "instituted the celebration of All Souls'"; remarks Tyler (3), "he set on foot one of those revivals which have so often given the past a new lease of life. The Western Church at large took up the practice, and around it, on the 2nd of November, there naturally gathered surviving remnants of the primitive rite of banquets to the dead. The accusation against the early Christians, that they appeased the shades of the dead with feasts like the Gentiles, would not be beside the mark now, 1500 years later. All Souls' Day keeps up within the limits of Christendom a commemoration of the dead, which combines some touches of pathetic imagination with relics of savage

(1) Frazer (B), 316; Hackwood, 253. For a quaint legend attached to the new ordinance see Hackwood, *ibid.* and Tyler, II, 37. (2) Frazer, and Hackwood, *ibid.* (3) Tyler, II, 37-38.

animism scarcely to be surpassed in Africa or the South Sea Islands."

The festival of All Saints; on the 1st of November, may also be explained on a similar theory. The analogy of similar customs elsewhere would lead us to suppose that the old Celtic festival of the dead was held on the Celtic New Year's Day, i.e. the 1st of November, not the 2nd. The earliest festival of All Saints was instituted at Rome in 610, when the Pope ordered that the heathen Pantheon should be converted into a Christian church, and dedicated to the honour of all the martyrs. This festival was held the 1st of May (1) The change ~~was~~ to the 1st of November was made in 835 (according to Frazer, 834 according to Hackwood), when the feast was instituted in France and Germany on the 1st of November by order of Emperor Lewis the Pious. (2) This was about 160 years before the introduction of the feast of All Souls. The institution of the feast of All Saints may have been the first attempt to give ~~the~~ a colour of Christianity to the ancient heathen rite by substituting ~~the~~ saints for the souls of the dead as the true object of veneration. The innovation was made by the Emperor on the advice of Pope Gregory IV, whose motive may well have been that of suppressing an old pagan custom which was still notoriously practised in France and Germany. The idea was not a novel one, however. Besides the original festival at Rome, there was according to the testimony of the Venerable Bede, in Britain, another country with a Celtic past, a feast of All Saints celebrated already in the eighth century. (3) It is probable that this attempt to divert the devotions of Christians to the saints proved a failure, and that finally the Church reluctantly decided to sanction the popular custom by frankly admitting a feast of All Souls into her calendar. But, as Frazer points out (4), it could not assign the new, or rather the

(1) Hackwood, 251. (2) Hackwood, *ibid.*; Frazer (B), 317.

(3) Smith and Cheetham, I, 57. (4) (B), 317-318.

old festival to the old day, the 1st of November, since that was already occupied by the feast of All Saints. Accordingly it placed the mass for the dead on the next day, the 2nd of November. On this theory the feasts of All Saints and All Souls mark two successive efforts of the Church to eradicate an old heathen festival of the dead. Both efforts failed. " In all Catholic countries the day of All Souls has preserved the serious character of a festival of the dead which no worldly gaieties are allowed to disturb. It is then the sacred duty of the survivors to visit the graves of their loved ones in the churchyard, to deck them with flowers and lights, and to utter devout prayer--- a custom with which in cities like Paris and Vienna even the gay and frivolous comply for the sake of appearance, if not to satisfy the impulses of the heart."(1)

In Hallowe'en, the eve or vigil of All Saints', we see a "curious recrudescence of classic mythology, Druidic beliefs and Christian superstitions."(2)

On November 1 the Romans had a feast to Pomona, goddess of fruits and seeds, in which stores ~~XXXX~~ laid up in summer for their use in winter were opened. To this or to similar customs in other parts of Europe is traceable the use of nuts and apples on Hallowe'en. November 1 or thereabouts was also the great autumn festival of the sun which the Druids celebrated in thanksgiving for the harvest.(3)

The Druids believed in transmigration; on the eve of this festival of the dead Samhan, the Lord of the Dead, called together the souls that within the last twelvemonth had been condemned to occupy the bodies of animals. But Samhan might be propitiated through the priests by incantations and gifts to mitigate his sentence.(4) Com-

(1) Frazer(B), 318, quoted from Herzog and Plitt, I, 304.

(2) Walsh, 501. (3) Ibid. (4) Ed., 29, 501.

pare the Roman Catholic Mass and offerings for the release of the souls in purgatory.

November was also one of the ^{quaternary} ~~quaternary~~ periods, when the Druids light ed their bonfires in honor of Bel or Baal, like those mentioned under May Day. This custom was kept up in many parts of Great Britain until recent times. Wales was especially tenacious in it, and the observances ~~xxx~~ which marked the November fires are held to have descended directly from the Druids.

A further fact which goes to prove the Druidical element in Hallowe'en is that in some parts of Ireland, that museum of ancient beliefs and customs, October 31 is known as Oidhche Shamhna, or the Vigil of Samhan.(1) In the island of Lewis in the Hebrides, the name Shamhna or Samhan seems to have been corrupted to Sheny. In an account from the beginning of the eighteenth century it is stated that it is "an ancient custom here to sacrifice to a seagod, called Sheny, at Hallowtide".(2)

In Scotland in the time of Robert Burns(3) it was believed that Hallowe'en was the night "when witches, devils and other mischief-making ~~spirits~~ beings are all abroad on their baneful midnight errands." (4) In England too All Hallow's Eve was regarded as the best time for prying into futurity, when the spirits of the dead were abroad, revisiting their former haunts.

(1) Walsh, 502-503. (2) Walsh, 503, quoted from Martin, "Account of of the Western Isles of Scotland"(1703). (3) See "Tam O'Shanter" and other poems. (4) Quoted ~~xxxx~~ Hackwood, 252.

PART II. RITES AND SYMBOLS.

CHAPTER I. VENERATION OF THE SAINTS.

We have noted several instances of the substitution of festivals dedicated to Christian saints for festivals sacred to pagan deities and rites. Thus the festival of St. John the Baptist in June has succeeded to the heathen Midsummer festival, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin in August has ousted the festival of Diana, the feast of All Souls and, probably, All Saints are a continuance of an old heathen feast of the dead, the Nativity of Christ Himself was assigned to the winter solstice because that was the day deemed the nativity of the Sun-god; Easter has been adapted to the festivals of Attis and Adonis and perhaps other gods at the vernal equinox.(1) Frazer also derives the festival of St. George in April from the ancient pagan festival of the Parilia(2).

In other ways than in their festal days do the saints of Christendom show themselves to be heirs of a pagan past. In the view of Baur (3) the veneration of martyrs and their relics (whence he derives the invocation of the saints) is to be traced to the hero-worship of pre-Christian times. Meander, while he holds to a Christian origin of the early practice, admits its transformation by pagan influences. The earliest recorded instance of the practice is the celebration of the anniversary of Polycarp's passion at Smyrna. The dove which, it was said, had been seen to rise from the martyr's body is compared by Baur to the mounting eagle which proclaimed the apothecosis of the Roman emperors. Tertullian speaks of "oblaciones pre de-

(1) Another instance of the substitution of a Christian for a pagan festival is mentioned by Frazer, (B), 259. On the 1st of August, the people of Alexandria used to commemorate the defeat of Mark Antony by Augustus and the entrance of the victor into their city. The heathen poem of the festival offended Eudexia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, and she decreed that on that day the Alexandrians should thenceforth celebrate the deliverance of St. Peter from prison instead of the deliverance of their city from the yoke of Antony and Cleopatra. (2) The author promises the evidence for this in the 3rd edition of the "Golden Bough". (3) "Kirchengeschichte," I, 526; SM and C. II, 1543.

functis, pro nataliis annua die"(1) and St.Cyprian of the "martyrum passiones" and their "anniversaria commemorative". (2)

St.Jerome and St.Augustine, in reply to accusation by Vigilantius and Faustus the Manichean, admitted the pagan origin of many customs of the Christians, among them the substitution of their martyrs for idols; others being the substitution of "agapae" for pagan sacrifices, appeasing the shades of the dead with wine and meat offerings, celebrating along with the pagans the ancient festival days, the Kalends and Solstices. But they maintained the utility of the customs, and specially vindicated their retention on the ground of expediency, but they disclaimed the notion that it was the design of the Church to deify the martyrs, whom it honoured and revered solely as instruments of divine power.(3)

Speaking of the relation of ancestor-worship to the Christian cult of the saints, Tyler says (4), "Although ancestor-worship is not practised in modern Europe, there remains even now within its limits a well-marked worship of the dead. A crowd of saints, who were once men and women, now form an order of inferior deities, active in different affairs of men, and receiving ~~their~~ from them reverence and prayer, thus coming strictly under the definition of manes. The Christian cultus of the dead, belonging in principles to the elder manes-worship, was adapted to answer another purpose in the course of religious transition in Europe. The local gods, the patron gods of particular ranks, and gods from whom men sought special help in special needs, were too near to the inmost heart of pre-Christian Europe to be done away with without a substitute. It proved easier to replace by saints who undertake their particular professions and even succeed them in their sacred dwellings. The system of spiri-

(1)The day of the martyr's death was regarded as that of his birth to immortality. (2) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1127. (3) Id., II, 1542-3; Milman, bk. III, ch. xi, bk. IV. ch. ii; Neander, III, 452-3. (4) II, 120.

tual division of labour was in time worked out with wonderful minuteness in the vast array of professional saints."

Santayana says(1)," In a Catholic country, every spot and every man has his particular patron. These patrons are sometimes local ~~antique~~ worthies, canonised by tradition or by the Roman see, but no less often they are simply local appellations of Christ or the Virgin, appellations which are known theoretically to refer all to the same numen, but which practically possess diverse religious value; for the miracles and the intercessions attributed to the Virgin under one title are far from being miracles and intercessions attributed to her under another. He who has been all his life devout to Loreto will not place any special reliance on the Pillar of Saragossa. A bereaved mother will not fly to the Immaculate Conception for comfort, but of course to Our Lady of Seven Sorrows." Other names applied to St.Mary, and under which she is invoked in particular situations, are Our Lady of Pity, of Mercy, of Succour, of Hope, of Liberty, of Wisdom, of Peace, of Salvation; she is also Our Lady of the Book, of the Girdle, of the Rose, of the Stars, of the Flowers, of the Rosary, etc. (2)

Among the national patron saints may be mentioned "the seven champions of Christendom", St.Denys for France, St.James for Spain, St.Anthony for Italy, St.Andrew for Scotland, St.Patrick for Ireland, St.David for Wales, and "St.George for England". Among those which Tyler calls professional saints, invoked by particular trades, avocations or conditions of life, are St.Cecilia, patroness of musicians, St.Luke, patron of painters, St.Peter of fishermen, St.Valentine of lovers, St.Sebastian of archers, St.Crispin of cobblers, St.Clement of blacksmiths, St.Nicholas of children, St.Agnes, patroness of virgins, St.Aloysius, "angelic youth, patron of those who apply to

(1) 101-102. (2) Hackwood, 24-25, 173, 232, 263.

studies" (1), and even we who pursue "secular learning" have our St. Catherine.

Tyler cites two cases which are perfect illustrations of the historical succession of the Christian saint to the heathen deity. ~~(2)~~ According to Roman legend, Romulus, ⁿ mindful of his adventurous infancy became after death a deity propitious to the health and safety of young children, so that nurses and mothers would carry sickly infants to present them in his little round temple at the foot of the Palatine. In after ages the temple was replaced by the church of St. ~~(2)~~ Theodorus, and there Dr. Conyers Middleton, ^A who drew public attention to this curious history, used to look in and see ten or a dozen women, each with a sick child in her lap, sitting in silent reverence before the altar of the saint. The ceremony of blessing children, especially after vaccination, may still be seen there on Thursday mornings. (2) Sts. Cosmas and Damianus, according to Maury, owe their recognised office to a similar curious train of events. They were martyrs who suffered under Diocletian, at Aegaeae in Cilicia. Now this place was celebrated for the worship of Aesculapius, in whose temple incubation, i.e. sleeping of oracular dreams, was practised. It seems as though the idea was transferred on the spot to the two local saints, for we next hear of them as appearing in a dream to the Emperor Justinian, when he was ill at Byzantium. They cured him, he built them a temple, their cultus spread far and wide, and they frequently appeared to the sick to show them what they should do. Legend settled that Cosmas and Damianus were physicians while they lived on earth, and at any rate they are the patron saints of the profession of medicine to this day. (3)

St. George in Syria ~~(2)~~ has fallen heir to a rather unusual function among the saints. His shrines are scattered all over the

(1) "Devout Address to St. Aloysius", Sedalists' Vade Mecum, 508-9.
(2) Tyler, II, 121; Middleton, Letters from Rome; Murray's Handbook of Rome. (3) Tyler, II, 121-2; Hackwood, 259; Maury, Magie, etc. 249; Acta Sanctorum, 27. Sept.

country.(1) The most famous of these is at Kalat el Hosn in Northern Syria. Barren women of all Christian sects, and also Moslems, resort to them to get offspring,(2) for at these sanctuaries the saint reveals himself through the agency of "holy men". "The license accorded to such in Syria", says Frazer (3), "may be explained by the desire of women for offspring", and further on, "customs like the foregoing may serve to explain the belief, which is not confined to Syria, that men and women may be in fact and not merely in metaphor the sons and daughters of a god, for these modern saints, whether Christian or Moslem, who father the children of Syrian mothers, are nothing but the old gods under a thin disguise." "Thus in the Syrian beliefs and customs of to-day we probably have a clue to the religious prostitution practised in the very same regions in antiquity. Then as now women looked to the local god, the Baal or Adonis of old, the Abu Rabah or St. George of to-day, to satisfy the natural craving of a woman's heart; and then as now, apparently, the part of the local god was played by sacred men, who in personating him may often have sincerely believed that they were acting under divine inspiration, and that the functions which they discharged were necessary for the fertility of the land as well as for the propagation of the human species. The purifying influence of Christianity and Mohammedanism has restricted such customs within narrow limits; even under Turkish rule they are now only carried on in holes and corners. Yet if the practice has dwindled, the principles which it embodies appears to be fundamentally the same; it is ~~the~~ a desire for the continuance of the species, and a belief that an object so natural and legitimate can be accomplished by divine power manifesting itself in the bodies of men and women".

(1) The legend of St. George originated in the East. He seems to have been adopted by Richard I as patron of the English crusaders. Since ~~in~~ the institution of the Order of the Garter in 1330 he has been fully recognised as the patron saint of England. Hackwood, 256. (2) Frazer (B) 69; ~~after~~ Curtiss, 118-9. (3) Frazer (B), 69-71.

With like motives, the women of Cyprus invoke the aid of St. Mary as of old they did the assistance of the Goddess of Love. " In honour of the Maid of Bethlehem the peasant of Kuklia anointed lately, and probably still anoint each year, the great corner-stones of the ruined Temple of the Paphian Goddess. As Aphrodite was supplicated once with cryptic rites, so is Mary entreated still by Moslems as well as Christians, with incantations and passings through perforated stones, to remove the curse of barrenness from Cypriote women, or increase the manhood of Cypriote men".(1)

We frequently find churches dedicated to a Christian saint who offered some similitude in name or attribute to the god who had been worshipped in the old temple. " The altar of the twelve gods was replaced by a church of the twelve apostles... Where there stood two ~~temples~~ temples of Demeter are now two churches of St. Demetrius. On the sites of the temple of Aesculapius is the church of the Hag. Amargyri, that is the unpaid physicians SS. Cosmas and Damian."(2) " A church of St. Elias often displaced a sanctuary of Apollo the sun-god, on account of the Greek name Helios; and temples of Pallas Athene might be converted into shrines of the Virgin." (3) In discussing the relation of the symbolic wheel to the sun, Montelius remarks(4), " The Grecian sun-god is indeed no longer worshipped by Christians--- under that name. Yet in the former Greek world his worship still survives, though he is now called Elias; the name has changed but little. Southern Italy was for a long time Greek, and in Naples, St. Elias, who is worshipped there, is represented with a wheel at his side", and, he adds, "Only by a so-called 'popular etymological' explanation, can any connection be made between this wheel and the fiery chariot drawn by fierys, which are spoken of in the narrative of the translation of Elijah in the 2nd chapter of the 1st book of Kings.

(1) D. G. Hogarth, "A Wandering Scholar in the Levant", quoted Frazer (B) 31-32. (2) de Julléville, "Sur emplacement et la vocable des Eglises Chrétiennes en Grèce.", quoted Bury, II, 41. (3) Bury, ibid. (4) Nordisk Tidskrift, 1901, p. 35.

The chariot in this narrative is its elf related to that of the sun-god".

Another interesting instance of the survival of the worship of a pagan deity by its name being given to the Christian saint we get from Ireland. Patrick and Bridget are names cherished of Irishmen. And Bridget, like Patrick, is ~~the~~ one of the great names in Hibernian hagiology, the St. Bride of ballad and romance. Now Brigit or Bridget was the native name of a Celtic goddess identified by the Romans with Minerva (1) Perpetual fires were kept up in her temples. At Kildare in Ireland nuns of St. Bridget tended a perpetual fire down to the time of the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII, thus keeping up the ancient pagan worship of Brigit in her character of fire-goddess. St. Bridget's church at Kildare was under an oak tree, which existed to the tenth century. ("Cill-dara" = "church of the oak"). An old ballad sings of

"That oak of St. Bride, which nor Devil nor Dane

Nor Saxon nor Dutchman could rend from her fane".

"The church of the oak" may well have displaced a temple or sanctuary of the oak, where in Druidical times the hallowed fire was fed, like the Vestal fire at Rome, with the wood of the sacred tree.

There is reason to suspect that conversion of this kind was often affected in Ireland by the early missionaries. The monasteries of Derry and Darrow, founded by St. Columba, are both named after the oak ~~groves~~ ^{groves} in which they were built. At Derry the saint spared the trees and strictly enjoined his successors to do the same. When an exile on the bleak and storm-swept isle of Iona, he wrote a poem in which occurs the following refrain: "My Derry, my Derry, my little oak grove", words which might well have been uttered by an ancient Druid away from his sacred precincts. (2)

(1) Caesar, "De Bello Gallico", VI, 17; Frazer(C), 222.

(2) Frazer(C), 222-223.

At Tara , in Ireland, before St. Patrick introduced Christianity there was a temple in which was a perpetual fire. The church built at the same place became in turn the sacred depository of the sacred fire. Contrivances for this perpetual fire exist in a number of churches both in England and on the continent.⁽¹⁾ We recall the similar fires kept by the Vestal Virgins in Rome and the Virgins of the Sun in ancient Peru.

An often noticed case of religious survival are the D.M. and D.M.S. and O.K. in Christian epitaphs. These letters are the initials of "Dis manibus" or "Dis manibus sacrum" or θεοῖς καταδροπίοις of the ancients.⁽²⁾ Bury remarks that perhaps the consecrated ground hallowed the pagan words, just as gems with images of heathen gods were sanctified by a Christian inscription or a monogram of Christ, and were countenanced by the Church."

The little chapels with images of the Virgin that so often meet the eye of the traveller in Southern Germany recall the "arae compitales", dedicated to the deities that presided over cross-roads and whose shrines hence adorned the points of junction. And such a substitution as this resemblance suggests actually took place in Rome, and probably in other places. The substitution of chapels and altars for these ancient shrines is a matter of record.⁽³⁾ The custom which was thus displaced goes back to pre-historic times⁽³⁾

(1) Maring-Gould, 120-121. (2) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1543; Tyler, II, 120; Bury, II, 54. (3) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1544; Lanciani, 33.

CHAPTER II. SACRIFICE.

Tyler points out that if we look for the sacrifici~~al~~ idea ~~in~~ within the range of modern Christendom, we shall find it in two ways not obscurely manifest. It survives in traditional folk-kore and it holds a place in established religion.(1)

One of the most remarkable survivals , as cited by this authourity , may be seen Bulgaria, where sacrifice of live victims is to this day of the accepted rites of the land. They sacrifice a lamb on St.George's day, telling to accout for the custom a legend which combines the ~~pre~~episodes of the offering of Isaac and the miracle of the ~~Three~~ ^{Three} Children. On the feast of the Panagia (Virgin Mary) , sacrifices of lambs, kids, honey, wine, etc. are made in order that the children of the house may enjoy good health through the year(2).

Within the borders of Russia many various sacrifices are still offered; such as the horse ~~with~~ smeared with honey and mane decked with ribbons cast into the river with two millstones to its neck to appease the water-spirit, the Vodyanig, at his spiteful flood-time in early spring; and such is the portion of the supper left over for the house-demon , the demovay, who if not thus fed is apt to turn spirit-rapper, and knock the tables and benches about at night.(3) Similar is the portion of the "julegröd", or Christmas porridge, which the Norwegian peasant never neglected to put in the loft of the stable for the "nisse", to win his good-will and keep him from injuring the stock. (4)

In many districts of Europe, "the tenacious memory of the tiller of the soil", to use the words of Tyler, " has kept up in wondrous perfection heirlooms of prae-Christian faiths". In Franconia, people will pour on the gerund a libation before drinking; entering a forest they will put an offering of bread adn fruit on a stone , to ~~com~~ avert the attacks of the demon of the woods, the "bilberry eman". The

bakers will throw white rolls into the ~~fire~~ oven flue for luck.
(1) II,406. (2) Id. 407. (3) Ibid. (4) For description of the same custom in Denmark, see J.A.Ris.

and say, "Here, devil, they are thine! ". The Corinthian peasant will fether the wind by setting up a dish of food in a tree before his house, and the fire by casting in lard and dripping, in order that gale and conflagration may not hurt him. At least up to the end of the eighteenth century this most direct elemental sacrifice might be seen in Germany at midsummer festival in the most perfect form; some of the porridge from the table was thrown into the fire, and some into running water, some buried in the earth and some smeared on leaves and put on the chimney-top for the winds.(1)

Relics of such ancient sacrifices may still be seen in Scandinavia. To give but one example, the old country-altars, rough earth-fast stones with cup-like hollows, are still visited by mothers whose children have been smitten with sickness by the trolls, and who smear lard into the hollows and leave rag-dolls as offerings .(2)

In France is found the country-women's custom of beginning a meal by throwing down a spoonful of milk or bouillon. At Audrienne in Dauphiny, at winter solstice the villagers ^{were wont to} go out upon the bridge when the sun rose and offered him an omelet.(3) The custom of burning alive the finest calf ,to save a murrain-struck herd ,had its last examples in Cornwall in the nineteenth century. Of the survivals of Beltane sacrifices in the Highlands of Scotland we have spoken of under May Day (4) Scotchmen of a generation or less ago still remembered the corner of the field being untilled for the Goodman's Croft(i.e.the Devil's), but the principle of "cheating the devil" was already in vogue, and the piece of land allotted was but a worthless scrap.(5) A remnant of an old sacrificial rite, which we have already described under Christmas is the Yule-boar in Sweden and the Bear's-head in England.(6)

(1) Tyler, *Folk* I, 408; Wuttke, 86; Grimm, 417; 602. (2) Hylten-Cavallius, "Varend och Wirdarne" part. I, 151-6, 157. (3) Menier, "Traditions Populaires", 187, 666. (4) See p. of this essay. (5) R. Hunt, "Popular Romances of Western England, 1st ser. 237; Brand, II, 74, 317. (6) See p. of this essay. Also Brand, I, 484; Grimm, 45, 194, 1188; Hylten-Cavallius, part I. p. 175.

In connection with funerals are observed many survivals of ancient sacrificial rites. A striking instance of this is the custom of sacrificing the warrior's horse at his tomb. Saint-Foix gives evidences for such occurrences in France. Mentioning the horse led at the funeral of Charles VI, with the four valets-de-pied in black, holding the corners of its caparison, he recalls the horses and servants killed and buried with pre-Christian kings. And that his readers might not think this an extraordinary idea, he brings forward the records of the property and horse being presented at the offertory in Paris in 1329, of Edward III presenting horses at King John's funeral in London, and the funeral service for Bertrand Du-guesclin, at St. Denis, in 1389, when horses were offered. (1)

Germany retained the actual sacrifice up to the last part of the eighteenth century. A cavalry general named Frederick Kasimir was buried in Treves, according to the forms of the Teutonic Order; his horse was led in the procession, and the coffin having been lowered into the grave, the horse was killed and thrown upon it. (2) This was perhaps the last occasion when such a sacrifice was consummated in solemn form in Europe. "But", to quote Tyler, "that pathetic incident of the soldier's funeral, the leading of the saddled and bridled charger in the mournful procession, keeps up to this day a lingering reminiscence of the grim religious rite now passed away." (3)

III

Burial-offerings, still practiced in Christian families and communities are also relics of a sacrificial rite. Tyler observes that "just as people in Berneo, after they had become Mohammedans, still kept up the rite of burying provisions for the dead man's journey... so the rite of interring objects with the dead survived

(1) Tyler, I, 474, after St. Foix, "Essai historique sur Paris".

(2) J. M. Kemble, "Horae Ferales", 66. (3) Ibid. supra.

in Christian Europe. As the Greeks gave the dead man an obolus for Charon's toll, and the old Prussians furnished him with spending money to buy refreshments on his weary journey, so to this day the German peasants bury a corpse with money in his mouth.... while the placing of a coin in the dead man's hand is a regular ceremony of the Irish wake, and similar little funeral offerings of coin are recorded in the folk-lore books elsewhere in Europe." (1) The writer recalls a case which happened some years ago in an Irish family in this state, where ^a twenty-five cent piece was placed in the coffin of a child, and we have been informed by another case, also in this state, at which a collection was taken up at the grave and the money poured on the top of the coffin after it had been lowered into the grave. The early Christians retained the heathen custom of placing in the tomb such things as articles of toilette and children's playthings; modern Greeks would place ears on a shipman's grave, and other such tokens for other crafts; the beautiful classic rite of scattering flowers over the dead still holds its place in Christendom. (2) "Whatever may have been the thoughts which prompted these kindly ceremonies, they were thoughts belonging to far pre-Christian ages." (3)

In Christian churches as in pre-Christian temples, ^{clouds} ~~smoke~~ of incense rise as of old. The use of incense is condemned by Tertullian, that arch-Puritan of the early Church, and some other writers as a pagan practice. The undoubted pagan origin of this and other observances of the Roman Catholic, also used to a lesser extent in the Greek and Anglican Churches, are pointed out by Conyers Middleton's celebrated "letters from Rome". (4) Father Hue was astonished to find in the Far East acolytes swinging burning censers while assisting censured priests.

(1) Grimm, 791-5; Wuttke, 212; Brand, II, 285; etc. (2) Maitland, "The Church in the Catacombs", 137; Forbes-Leslie, II, 502; Brand, II, 307; Meiners, II, 750; etc. (3) Tyler, I, 495. (4) Tyler, II, 409; Smith and Cheetham, II, 1543-4.

The sacrificial idea in established Christian worship centres about the sacrament of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. "The Lord's Supper was at first", to quote Allen (1), "organically related to an institution known as the Agape or Love-feast. A certain obscurity still hangs ~~around~~ about the agape, some points relating to it being undetermined; but the main point is clear, that the eucharist was associated and in some places identified with it, ~~and~~ as the ordinary evening meal... The agape continued to be held until after the middle of the fourth century, in the West as a charitable supper for the poor; in the East, at Alexandria, as an ordinary evening meal with which the Lord's supper was connected. The Lord's supper was not regarded as a sacrifice in the technical sense of the word by any of the church writers of the first three centuries ~~of~~, with the exception of Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage."~~(2)~~

Says Dr. Heber Newton, "The difference between the Mass of the Church of Rome and the Eucharist of the Greek Church, on the one hand, and the Love-feast of the primitive Christianity and the memorial meal of Jesus, on the other hand, admeasures the inflowings from the ~~pagan~~ surrounding Pagan environment of early Christianity?"⁽²⁾
Or to quote the statement of Tyler⁽³⁾, "Though the ceremony of sacrifice did not form an original part of Christian worship, its prominent part in the ritual was obtained in early centuries. In that Christianity was recruited among nations to whom the conception of sacrifice was among the deepest religious ideas, and the ceremony of sacrifice among the sincerest efforts of worship, there arose an observance suited to supply the vacant place. This result was obtained not by a new introduction, but by transmutation."~~(2)~~

(1) 517, 523-9. (2) No. Am. Rev. vol. 178, 548. (3) II, 409-10.

solemn eucharistic meal of the primitive Christians in time assumed the name of the sacrifice of the mass, and was adapted to the ceremonial in which an offering of food and drink is set out by the priest on an altar in a temple, and consumed by priest and worshippers. The natural conclusion of an ethnographic survey of sacrifice is to point to the controversy between Protestant and Catholic, for centuries past one of the keenest which have divided the Christian world, on this express question, whether sacrifice is or is not a Christian rite". (1)

For the internal development of the doctrine and rite of the Eucharist, see Allen, 515-565. For a discussion of the influence of the Greek mysteries on the sacrament, see Hatch . For an outline of the doctrine and argument of the Roman Catholic position, see "A Catholic Dictionary" by Addis and Arnold, pp. 342-358.

CHAPTER III. LUSTRATION.

The rites of lustration which have held and hold their places within the pale of Christianity are in well-marked historical connection with pagan as well as Jewish ceremonial.

Purification by fire has been practised in Christendom only by some little known sects. In European folk-lore is found the custom of passing children through or over a fire; but this ceremony may be as well sacrificial as lustral (Frazer takes it to be the former, Westermarck the latter; Tyler leaves it an open question.)

The usual medium of purification is water. We have discussed under Midsummer Day the custom of bathing on St. John's Eve. Sacred wells are found in various parts of Europe. A number of such wells in England still are or were lately frequented for the purgative and curative properties of their water (1)

The use of holy water is to-day in full sway in two greatest churches of Christendom. Some of the powers attributed to this water are thus enumerated by Tyler (2): "It blesses the worshipper as he enters the temple, it cures disease, it averts sorcery for man and beast, it drives away demons from the possessed, it stops the spirit writer's pen, it drives the spirit-moved table it is sprinkled upon to dash itself furcally against the wall", and the author adds, "some of the most striking of them have lately been vouched for by papal sanction." The lustration with holy water exactly continues the ancient classic rite. Lucida regards the origin of sprinkling with holy water to be found in the act referred to by Virgil, "Spargens rore levi et ramae feliciae olive" (3) The similarity of the pagan and Christian rites is so obvious, that some apologists have explained the correspondence by arguing that

(1) Menzies, 57; G.A. Gemme, "Ethnology in Folklore".
(2) II, 441. (3) Aeneid, VI, 1.280; Smith and Cheetham, II, 1543.

Satan stole it for his own wicked ends.(1) Justin Martyr, on the contrary, denounces the use of holy water as an un-Christian practice and declares it to have been introduced, at the instigation of demons, into the Christian ritual in imitation of the true baptism.(2).

The Ceremonial purification as a Christian act centres in the sacrament of baptism. The symbolic significance and the universal usage of this rite we shall touch upon at more length in our Conclusion. Its antecedents were both Jewish and pagan. The influence of the Greek mysteries upon this rite, as upon that of the Eucharist, is an interesting study, but we cannot go into it here. (3) The Greek mysteries were survivals of primitive ceremonies antedating the Homeric and classical mythology. They were direct descendant of the early nature-worship (4) In the scenic representations of the Eleusinian Mystery was symbolised "the earth passing through its yearly periods. It was the poetry of Nature. It was the drama which is acted every year of summer and winter and spring. Winter by winter the fruits and flowers die down into the darkness, and spring after spring they come forth to new life. Winter after winter the sorrowing earth is seeking for her lost child; the hopes of men look forward to ^{the} new blossoming of spring. It was a drama also of human life. It was the poetry of ^{the} hope of the world to come. Death gave place to life". And this is of special interest in this connection," It was ~~the~~ a purgation animae, by which the soul might be fit for the presence of God. Those who had been baptized and initiated were lifted into the new life. Death had no terrors for them. The blaze of light after darkness, the symbolic scenery of the life of the gods, was a foreshadowing of the life to come."(5)

Hatch 288.

Speaking of baptism, Tyler says, " Passing through a range of mean-

(1) Tyler, II, 441; Gaume, "L'Eau Benite" in "Rituale Romanum; Middleton, Letter from Rome. (2) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1543. (3) For a discussion of this see Hatch, ^{sum, see} ~~Allen~~, 399-408. (4) ^{for the history of the doctrine of bap-} ~~Lang, Making of Religion, 213.~~

ing such as separates the sacrament of the Roman centurion from the sacrament of the Roman cardinal, becoming to some a solemn symbol of new life and faith, to some an act itself of supernatural efficacy, the rite of baptism has remained almost throughout the Christian world the outward sign of the Christian profession." (2)

(1) II, 441-442.

CHAPTER IV. ORIENTATION.

Orientation enters into Christian rites in three ways, namely, the position of churches and altars, the posture of the dead in the grave, and the attitude of the worshippers.

The ceremonial of orientation was unknown in the primitive Church, but developed within the first four centuries. (1) One of the earliest testimonials to the prevalence of this custom among Christians is that of Tertullian, about 205, who refers to the suspicions entertained by the pagans that Christians were sun-worshippers "because they were well-known to turn to the East in prayer" (2) The "Apostolic Constitutions" direct that "the churches be oblong, turned toward the East" (3), and that the whole congregation "rise up with one consent, and looking to the East pray to God eastward."

(4) The same rule is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who says that "prayers are made looking toward the sunrise in the East". A chapter by John of Damascus in his treatise on "The Orthodox Faith", entitled "Concerning worshipping to the East", indicates the prominence of the rite in Church ceremonial. St. Augustine, in like manner, says, "When we stand at prayer we turn to the East."

The custom of digging graves east and west and laying the body of the dead with the head toward the west is observed throughout Christendom to this day. The writer recalls being told when a child, in answer to a query as to the reason for this uniformity, that according to a legend Christ at His second coming would appear in the East, and the dead would thus rise and face Him. An ecclesiastical writer of the sixteenth century thus states the rule and a reason for it: (5) "Debet autem quis sic sepulturi, ut capite ad occidentem ~~orientem~~ posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem, in qua quasi ipsa positione orat:

et innuit quod promptus est, ut de occasu festinet ad ortum: de mundo ad seculum."

(1) Tyler, II, 427. (2) Ibid.; (3) Smith and Cheetham, I, 586. (3) S. and C. II, 1526. (4) Id. I, 586. (5) Tyler, II, 423; Brand, II, 295, 315.

CHAPTER IV. ORIENTATION.

Orientation enters into Christian rites in three ways, namely, the position of churches and altars, the posture of the dead in the grave, and the attitude of the worshippers.

The ceremonial of orientation was unknown in the primitive Church, but developed within the first four centuries. One of the earliest testimonies to the prevalence of this custom among Christians is that of Tertullian, about 200, who refers to the apostolans entertained by the pagans that Christians were sun-worshippers "pa-

Handwritten: "The same rule is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who says that 'prayers are made looking toward the sunrise in the East'."

"Apostolic Constitutions" direct that "the churches be along, turn- ed toward the East" (3), and that the whole congregation "rise up with one consent, and looking to the East pray to God eastward."

(4) The same rule is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who says that "prayers are made looking toward the sunrise in the East."

A chapter by John of Damascus in his treatise on "The Orthodox Faith", entitled "Concerning worshipping to the East", indicates the prominence of the rite in Church ceremonial. St. Augustine, in like manner, says, "When we stand at prayer we turn to the East."

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cording to a legend Christ at his second coming would appear in the East, and the dead would thus rise and face Him. An ecclesiastical

writer of the sixteenth century thus states the rule and a reason for it: (3) "Sed autem quia ad sepulchra, ut capite ad orientem positio, pedes directi ad orientem, in qua quatuor positione orati: et inquit quod promptus est, ut de occasu festinet ad ortum: de

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including references to "Handbook of ecclesiology" and "The Church of Christ" by Smith and Cheetham, 1886.

"Though some of the most honoured churches of Christendom stand to show that orientation was no original law of ecclesiastical architecture yet it became dominant in early centuries."(1) Montelius (2) referring to the custom of building churches in the direction west to east, with the altar toward the east, states that it was believed to be due to a supposed facing of the altar in the Christian churches toward Jerusalem just the most important place in the Mohammedan mosque indicates the direction of Mecca. But he notes the fact that churches built in the early Christian centuries, whose ruins are found in Northern Syria, have their altars toward the east, although everyone in that region evidently knew that the not far - distant Jerusalem lay to the south.

The true explanation of this wide-custom of orientation in its various forms is that it is another instance of the adoption by the Church of an almost universal religious practice among the peoples of the earth, in accordance, as one writer says, referring to this very custom, "with the very wise rule which accepted all that was good and pure in the religious systems it (Christianity) came to supplant, breathing into the old ~~forms~~ ceremonies a new and higher life".(3) It is another survival of sun-worship. "The radiant East", the region of the rising sun, the source of light, became, in the words of Tertullian, a "figure of Christ". Clement of Alexandria thus states the Christian interpretation, "The East is the image of the day of birth. For as the light which first shone out of darkness waxes brighter, so like the sun, the day of knowledge of truth has dawned on those immersed in darkness".(4)

(1) Tyler, II, 427. (2) Nordisk Tidsskrift, 1901, 166-7.
(3) Smith and Cheetham, I, 586. (4) Ibid.

Tyler in his discussion of sun-myths and sun-worship has shown, to use his own words, "how deeply the association in men's minds of the east with light and warmth, life and happiness and glory, the west with darkness and chill, death and decay, has from remote ages rooted itself in religious belief". While the setting sun has shown to men from savage ages onward, the western region of death, the rising sun has displayed a scene more hopeful, the eastern home of deity."(1)

Thus the Christian custom of placing the dead facing the east finds its counterpart, among other like instances, in certain South American tribes, who observe the same custom, based on the belief that the east is the region of the great good deity, who will take their souls to his dwelling and the dead will meet again.(2)

"Where among the lower races sun-worship begins to consolidate itself into systematic ritual, the orientation of the worshipper and the temple becomes usual and distinct".(3) This may be seen among a number of American Indian tribes, such as the Comanches, the Pueblos, the Natchez, the Apalaches, etc. as well as in ancient Mexico and Peru. In Asia, the ancient Aryan religion of the sun manifests itself plainly in rites of orientation. The rite of facing the east is still observed in the weary daily ceremonial routine of the Brahman. The worshippers of Kali, the Hindu death-goddess, on the other hand, perform their rites toward the west.(4)

The rise of orientation in the Christian Church may be directly traced to the solar rites of the nations whose ideas were prominent in the early development of Christianity. On the one hand there was the Asiatic sun-worship, perhaps specially related next to the veneration of the rising sun in the old Persian religion, which has left relics in the eastern part of the Turkish Empire to

(1) Tyler, II, 421. (2) Ibid. 422. (3) Ibid. 424. (4) Ibid. 425.

modern times; Christian sects praying toward the ~~east~~ sun, and Yezides turning to the east as their kibleh and burying their dead looking thither.(1) Orientation was also recognised in the classic Greek religion. Lucian refers to a rule that the divine image stood so as to behold the rising sun through the temple entrance in the east. A contrary rule stated by Vitruvius carried out the same principle in a different way, namely, the sacred houses were to look toward the west, so that the worshippers might look at once toward the statue and the eastern sky.(2) Thus the direction of the "Apostolical Constitutions" that churches should be built toward the east, carries out in Christian usage the rule Vitruvius had laid down as to the temples of the gods, and is "only a part of the assimilation of the church to the temple which took effect so largely in the scheme of worship."(3)

Of all Christian ceremony it is in the rite of baptism that orientation took its fullest and most picturesque form. The catechumen was placed with face toward the west and then commanded to renounce Satan with gestures of abhorrence, stretching forth his hands against him, or smiting them together and blowing or spitting against him thrice. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his "Mystagogic Catechism", thus depicts the scene: "Ye first came into the ante-room of the baptistry, and standing toward the west ye were commanded to put away Satan, stretching out your hands as though he were present... and why did ye stand toward the west? It was needful, for sunset is the type of darkness, he is darkness and his strength in darkness, therefore symbolically looking toward the west ye renounce that dark and gloomy ruler."(4) The turning toward the east the catechumen took up his allegiance to his new Master, Christ. The cere-

(1) Tyler, II, 426; Layard, Niniveh, I, ch. ix. (2) Tyler, II, 426-7; Lucian, "De Demo", VI; Vitruvius, "De Architectura", IV, 5.

(3) Tyler, II, 427. (4) Smith and Cheetham, I, 586. Tyler, II, 428.

mony and its significance are clearly set forth by St. Jerome, thus, " In the mysteries (meaning baptism; note the use of the term to denote the sacrament) we first renounce him who is in the west, and dies to us with our sins; and so, turning to the east, we make a covenant with the Sun of Righteousness, promising to be his servants!"(1) This perfect double rite of east and west, retained in the baptismal ceremony of the Greek Church, may be seen in Russia to this day. The orientation of churches and the practice of turning to the east in an act of worship, are common to both the Greek and Latin ritual. In England they declined from the time of the Reformation until the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the periods of Puritanism, Rationalism and Evangelicalism alike, but have since been restored to prominence through the influence of the movement in the Anglican Church known as the Oxford Revival. In Scandinavia, the orientation of churches may be observed in some of the elder structures, showing the Catholic influence.

" To the student of history it is a striking example of the connexion of thought and rite through the religions of the lower and higher cultures, to see surviving in our midst, with meaning dwindled into symbolism, this ancient solar rite. The influence of the divine sun upon the rude and ancient worshippers subsists before our eyes as a mechanical force, acting diamagnetically to adjust the axis of the church and turn the body of the worshipper."(2)

(1) Tylor, II, 428; Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church", bk. vii, ch. 3; bk. xi, ch. 8; J. M. Neale, "The Eastern Church";
(2) Tylor, II, 428-429.

viated emblem of the solar wheel with spokes in it, the tire and the movement being indicated by the crampons."(1) One of the most famous and significant swastikas is that on the bust of the Apollo in his sun-chariot from a vase in the Kunsthistorische Museum of Vienna(2)

The Cross itself, that revered symbol of the Christian religion, is of pre-Christian origin. The Greek cross, or cross with equal arms, is the four spokes of the solar wheel. For a full discussion of this interesting theme we refer to Montelius' admirable essays(2) The Latin cross, as the same authority has well demonstrated, has a double origin - it developed in one way by the fusion of the Greek cross or wheel with four spokes with the staff to which it was frequently attached in symbolic usage; by another line of evolution it is derived from the hammer or axe, the weapon of the sun-god among many peoples. The form of this familiar to students of Norse mythology is the hammer of Thor, with which the god crushed the head of the great Midgard serpent, destroyed the giants, re-~~st~~ored to life his dead goats, which drew his car, and consecrated the funeral-pyre of Balder.(3) In the Latin cross of the Christian Cross were fused the two ancient symbols of the sun, the wheel and the axe. Longfellow in his description of the celebration of Christmas at Trondhjem by King Olaf, the patron saint of Norway, strikingly brings together the two symbols, the Christian and the pagan, as little suspecting their identity as did the king and his ~~pag~~ warriors:

" O'er his drinking-horn the sign
He made of the Cross Divine,
As he drank, and muttered his prayers.
But the Berserks ever more
Made the sign of the Hammer of Thor
Over theirs."

(1) Quoted Walsh, 907.(2), N.T., 1904. (3), N.T., 1907. Also the same author in "Svenska Fornminnesforeningens tidskrift, X, 277-296.

CHAPTER V. TYPOLOGY AND SYMBOLISM.

In the Christian typology and symbolism we find many instances of the adoption and adaptation of pre-Christian forms. An English authority states that "primitive Christian art was little more than the continuation of that which they found already existing, purified and elevated by the influence of the new faith." (1) So also Bury (2): "In the fourth century, at all events, little trace is left of the earlier prejudice against pictures and images which was derived from the Semitic cradle of the new religion. Christianity adopted old mythological ideas, and gave them an interpretation agreeing with the conceptions of their creed." "Distinctly mythological personages were pressed into the service of the church, and a new spirit being breathed into old forms, objects, persons, and scenes, to which the mind was familiarised in connexion with pagan myths, were made channels of conveying to the initiated the higher truths of which they became symbols." (3) The ancient types and symbols were sometimes regarded as prophetic of the life and work of Christ, just as the Jewish ceremonial has been so regarded until this day.

As Farrar says, "All that was true and beautiful in the old legends found its fulfilment in Christ, and was but a symbol of His life and work!" (4)

Of types which contained a fundamental religious idea common to paganism and Christianity, we shall mention but two of the most prominent. A favourite subject in early Christian art borrowed from pagan mythology is that of Orpheus taming the wild animals by notes of his lyre. The most remarkable Christian representation of Orpheus is that from the ceiling of a cubiculum in the cemetery of St. Calixtus at Rome. (5) Another noted example is found in the catacombs of St. Priscilla, (6) and numerous other representations of the same subject have been found in the catacombs, paintings, reliefs, engravings and other monuments of the early Church. (6) The mythol-

(1) Bury, II, 1534. (2) Bury, II, 40. (3) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1534. (4) Quoted ibid. (5) Woodcut in B. and C., I, 696. (6) See Lanciani 25. (6) Smith and Cheetham, II, 1534; Bury, II, 40; Piper, "Mythologie u. Symbolik, I, 123.

ogical theme was regarded as typical of "the taming all-conquering in fluence of Christ's Gospel in taming the fierce passions of the human heart, and uniting warring and discordant tribes in one common homage to their universally-acknowledged Master." (1) In this reference the Orphic myth is not infrequently alluded to by the writers of the early Church, such as Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Lactantius, and others.(2)

The original type of the Good Shepherds, which is such a common subject in early Christian art, was the pagan Hermes Kriophoros. (3) "The syrinx, or Pan-dean pipes, which is one of the most frequent accessories of the figure in Christian as in pagan art, was regarded as typifying the music of the Gospel, which recalls the wanderers and guides the sheep in the right way."(4) The face and form of the Good Shepherd, as of other representations of Christ, ^{often} appear to be borrowed from those of the young beardless Apollo.

Of another class of subjects in which the resemblance is merely formal and external, the mythological representations supplying a vehicle for Christian ideas, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ there are a number of instances that might be given. The most remarkable of these are Hercules carrying off the apples of the Hesperides, and the chariot of the sun-god, as respectively furnishing formal types for the fall in Eden and the ascent of Elijah. The resemblance between the Hercules subject and its Christian correlative is too striking to allow any doubt that the one was borrowed from the other.(5) Equally marked is the resemblance between the fire-horsed chariot in which Elijah is represented as ascending to heaven, and the ordinary representations of ~~xxxxxx~~ Apollo or Phoebus, as the sun-god in the rising. In the absence of distinctive accessories it is hardly pos-

(1) Cf. John, ~~xi, 32~~; Isaiah, xi, 6-9; lxx, 25. (2) References in Smith and Cheetham, ~~ii, 1534~~(3) See E. Lanciani, plate facing p. 248; also figure on p. 257. (4) ~~Smith and Cheetham, ii, 1534~~. (5) S. and C., ~~ibid~~. (6) S. and C., ~~ibid~~; Piper, I, 66.

(4) **and**
experience, not only the need of the "beauty of holiness", but also
and
the value of the holiness of beauty.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a series of paragraphs or a list of points, but the specific content cannot be discerned.]

sible to determine which of the subjects is intended. The difficulty is sometimes increased by the introduction of the Jordan as a river-god, with his urn, in the Scriptural event.(1) This symbolical representation of the Jordan by a river-god with his urn occurs ~~also~~ also elsewhere. There are remarkable instances in the mosaics of the baptism of Christ in the ~~by~~ baptisteries of Ravenna.(2)

We have already discussed the pagan prototypes of the Madonna and Child as found in early Christian art, under Festivals of the Virgin Mary. The type created by the Greek artists of the sorrowful Venus with her dying lover Adonis in her arms is considered by some authorities as the model of the "Pieta" of Christian art, the Virgin with the dead body of her Divine Son in her lap, of which the most celebrated example is the one by Michael Angelo in St. Peter's, Rome. "That noble group, in which the living sorrow of the mother contrasts so wonderfully with the languor of death in the son, is one of the finest compositions in marble. Ancient Greek art bequeathed to us few works so beautiful, and none so pathetic." (3)

A symbol of the Christian religion in great vogue in the early Church was the Fish. Now the religious symbolism of the fish is well-known in antiquity, especially in Egypt, where the figure is frequently found in sculpture. The use of the symbol in the Church seems to have originated in Alexandria. By a happy inspiration it was discovered that the word "ichthys" (fish) contained a declaration in brief of the Christian faith, "Jesus Christus, the Son of God, Saviour" (Iesus Christus Theou Uios Soter), at least that was the explanation of the use of the symbol given by allegorical writers. The symbol became very popular among the Christians, and served as

(1) Piper, I, 75-77. (2) Montelius, N.T. ; Smith and Cheetham, II, 153E
(3) Frazer (E), 214; the comparison is also made by Maury, "Histoire des Religions de la Grèce Antique, II, 221.

a secret pass-words which ~~the~~ bound the Christian fraternity together. The fish as a type of Christianity is first mentioned in patristic literature ^{by} ~~St~~ Origen, the Alexandrian father. (1)

The Phoenix was used in the early Christian typology as a symbol of rejuvenation and resurrection. This was derived from the well-known classical myth. Its use as a Christian symbol is referred to by Clement of ^{Rome} ~~Alexandria~~ and Tertullian. (2)

The Nimbus that, in Christian art, surrounds the head of a saint, was ~~derived~~ derived from the pictures of the heathen gods of light, and is originally a solar symbol. (3)

The "cruciform halo" which is used in Christian art as a mark of Divinity and to designate the Persons of the Trinity, is as has been shown by Montelius, an adaptation of the symbolic wheel, which was an ancient emblem of the sun. The same form of halo appears on the representations of deities in many pre-Christian religions. (4) The same view of the meaning of the wheel is held by several other authorities, among them Grimm, who ~~first~~ points out a curious analogy between the words "sun" and "wheel". (5)

The fylfot or gammadion, most commonly known by its Hindu name, "swastika" is another symbol of great antiquity and wide distribution found in early Christian pictorial representations. ~~(X)~~ Few if any other scholars would agree with Andrew Lang in his view that the swastika has no symbolic meaning but is simply "a natural bit of ornament or piece of hasty decorative work." (6) The prevailing interpretation, made by Montelius, Alviola, Aynslee-Murray, Max Muller and others is that it is an emblem of the sun, symbolical of the solar movement; in the words of the last-named authority, "it is an abbre-

(1) Mackwood, 227-228. (2) Schaff, II, 274. (3) Bury, II, 41; Smith and Cheetham, II, 1398-1402; Montelius, (4) Nordisk Tidsskrift, 1901., an English translation of this and the following essays on the history of the cross is in preparation by the writer. (5) Quoted Walsh 991. (6) For discussions of the swastika see ~~the~~, Alviola, "The Migration of Symbols", and Mrs. H. Murray-Aynslee, "Symbolism East and West". (6) "Custom and Myth", 288-9.

CONCLUSION.

After this brief survey of the some of the salient features of the Christian cultus as showing survivals of pre-Christian belief and custom, we may conclude with a consideration of the place and significance in ~~religious~~ Christianity of these elements of religious life.

One view of the matter with which we are familiar is that identified with ~~the~~ Puritanism, although this view is by no means confined to ~~that~~ the movement in English and American religious life that bears that name. This attitude was an outcome of the stern and stress of the Reformation, and is well illustrated by a famous work from that period, written in Germany, "The Popish Kingdom or Reigne of Antichrist, written in Latin by Thomas Neegeorgus, and Englished by Barnabe Geoge", as its title reads in an old English edition. A book written by an English Protestant minister in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which has come into the hands of the writer, shows the persistence of like views to our day. Like the older work it is savagely biased, but in attempting to prove its case, gives many valuable facts and references. Its name, "The Two Babylons" (1) indicates its thesis. Antichrist, Man of Sin, and Whore of Babylon are some of the choice epithets referred to by Sir Thomas Browne as current appellations of the Pope in seventeenth century England. (2) The writer is personally acquainted with a case in this state in which a suggestion to put a cross on the steeple of the new church building, was promptly turned down on the ground that it is "Catholic". Yes, this symbol of divinity, dating from pre-historic times and found among nearly all nations and religions of the world, is indeed catholic in a larger and truer sense than these objectors dreamed of.

A fierce attack was made by the Puritans, when they were in power in Old and New England, on the historic customs of the Church.

(1) By Alexander Hislop. (2) Religio Medici, 9.

We may take as a typical case their attitude toward Christmas, whose existence was threatened by Puritanism. It was condemned on the ground that it was pagan, or, what was worse, "popish". "Into what a stupendous height of more than pagan impiety have we not degenerated", ^X exclaimed the Puritan Prynne, with more fervor than rhetorical exactness. (1) In another place the same authour ~~writes~~ compares "our Bacchanalian Christmasses" with certain pagan festivals and concludes, correctly enough as fair as history is concerned that there is "such near affinitye betweene them both in regard to the time and in their ^{manner of} solemnising that we must needs conclude the one to be but the very ape and issue of the other," and then lays down the dictum, which the great bulk of Christendom denies and his own spiritual descendants are rapidly repudiating, that this "should cause all pious Christians eternally to abeminate them" ~~and~~ (2) The observance of Christmas was prohibited by the Puritans in Massachusetts (3). The Roundhead Parliament of 1643 abolished all saints' days and the "three grand festivals", Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

But such an attitude as this is now becoming rare, due to the combined influence, as we take it, of a broader religious consciousness and an larger scientific knowldege. The science of comparative religions has had an important function to perform in this regard. It has shown that the beliefs and practices of non-Christian religions are ^{not} the inventions of priests and devils, but efforts of human beings like ourselves, in all essentials of humanity, to find an adequate interpretation of the universe to meet the demands of the religious nature of man, to determine their "conduct by their conception of the nature and value of ultimate reality", as the prime function of religion has been well defined (4)

(1) Walsh, 231, quoting Prynne's "Histrie-Mastix". (2) Quoted Hazlitt, I, 118. (3) "Anybody who is found observing by abstinence from labour or fasting, or in any ^{other} way, any such days as Christmas day, shall pay for every such offence five shillings" - Gen. Court, Mass. 1659. (4) Norman Wilde.

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In speaking of the sacraments of the Church, a learned Anglican divine and church historian says that, if ^{it} be shown that "the origin of these venerable rites ^{can} be carried back "into pre-Christian ages, even to savage customs before the beginning of history", the Church and its institutions do not suffer thereby. For " we must learn to outgrow the fallacy that the origin of an institution neutralizes its validity; for certainly no cruder, grosser origin could be demonstrated than is now set forth by the scientific principle of evolution for the origin and descent of man. If Jews or heathens can be shown to have anticipated such rites as these, it only confirms their significance. We have got beyond the old apologetic, which sought to prove that Christianity in its doctrines, or ethics, or practice was something entirely new in the world. Its coincidence with other religions and older ethical systems are so many fresh illustrations of its truth!"(1) Another leading American theological teacher expresses the same view when he writes, " The manifoldness of the points of contact between Christianity and other faiths, the freedom with which it has taken from them the truth and the beauty which they contain, is not a mark of its weakness, but of its strength, the proof that it is indeed the universal religion which it claims to be".(2)

This view of the relation of Christianity to the other religions of the world, while we call it new, is one of the earliest of Christian conceptions. It was the view of the Greek Fathers generally, and is especially well expressed in the writings of St. Clement of Alexandria. They regarded that the Divine incarnation and revelation was as large, in time and space, as the human race--that the Divine Word or Reason was truly "the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world"--that not to the Hebrews only,

(1) Allen (Episcopal Theol. School, Cambridge, Mass.), 400-401;

(2) Brown (Union Theol. Sem., N.Y.), Hibbert Journal, VI, 399-400.

but to the Gentiles also, had God revealed Himself throughout the ages. Socrates and Plato were classed with Moses and Isaiah; Christianity was the flowering of an age-long and world-wide religious developemtn.(1) This oldest and the new view are well summed up in Jewett's statement that "the glory of Christianity is not ~~that~~ to be as unlike other religions as possible, but to be their ~~ful~~ perfection and fulfilment;(2) The chief superiority of Christianity James Freeman Clarke found to ~~be~~ lie in its being "not exclusive but inclusive".(3)

Then too the Protestant world is recovering from its "No Popery" terror which was one of the ^{events in the period of} products of the Protestant Revolution. The history and reasons for this attitude we need not go into here. Representative Protestant thought no longer expends its fancy and learning in trying to prove, on "most certain warrant of Holy Writ", that the Papacy is the Anti-Christ, the Roman Church the "beast" of the Apocalypse. An impartial study of Church history, especially the renewed interest in the Middle Ages, has brought about a more reasonable attitude, a larger appreciation of the good and the beautiful in the life and worship of this greatest of Christian communions.

This changed view has special reference to the attitude toward the liturgical ~~phases~~ and sacramental aspects of Church life and Christian worship. The ritual of the Roman and Anglican Churches was a special object of attack by many Protestants and Dissenters. To-day throughout the Protestant world we behold a rising tide of returning ritualism; the descendants of Prynne and Hampden, John Robinson and Cotton Mather, vie with the adherents of the ancient historic churches. There is a growing appreciation of the important place of the emotional and aesthetic phases of religious

(1) For a discussion of the teachings of St. Clement see Neander, I, 540. (2) Quoted Drummond, "Ascent of Man", 439.

(3) II, 68. The same author has a discussion of the "injustice often done to the ethnic religions by Christian apologists", I, 4-9.

experience, a realisation, not only of the necessity and "beauty of holiness", but also the value and holiness of beauty.

With this goes a renewed emphasis, through for reasons different from ^{ose} that given in the Decretals of Trent or the Confession of Augsburg, ^{on} ~~is~~ the value of the sacramental, which is but one phase of the symbolic, the poetic, in religious life. The sacramental ordinances and observances of Christianity as of other religions are, metaphysical speculation and ecclesiastical dogma aside, primarily the appropriation and consecration of things temporal and natural ^{as} ~~xxxxx~~ symbolic representations of spiritual realities. "The cultus of the Catholic church", writes Allen, "may be described as one vast effort to put a religious stamp upon both time and place, and thus conquer for Christ the visible and invisible worlds. The appropriation of time by the church and its consecration to the ends which the church proposed is known as the Christian Year"(1) "The development of the Christian year as the appropriation of time to the service of the church, ~~was~~ accompanied by another process, the consecration to the same end of the elements of the material world"(2) The latter we see embodied in its purest and sublimest form in the two generally-accepted sacraments of the Church. The sacramental idea rests on ^{an} ~~the~~ analogy between the laws and processes of the material and the spiritual worlds, which has been observed and utilised by all religions for the satisfaction of religious life, especially on its emotional and aesthetic side.

On this point we quote from an article by one of the leading Anglican divines in America, who writes(3): "The natural symbolism

(1) 466(2)476-477. (3) ^{R. Heber Newton,} No. Am. Rev. CLXXVIII, No. DLXIX, 547-548.

of washing had suggested itself to pious souls of many lands, and other religions than Christianity had their own sacred lustrations. The distinctive form of sacred washing which Christianity inherits from the Jewish John had grown into use in widely differing religions, as a rite of initiation into the divine life, the symbol of renunciation of the past, the sign of self-purification, the sacrament of divine forgiveness of sins. India had its well, recognizing baptism. The penitent seeking the remission of sin, the cleansing of his soul from evil, and the consecration of his life to holier aims, was led down by the Guru into the waters of the sacred river, immersed in the flowing tides, and was then led up the banks, clothed in white linen, and signed with the sign of the cross. Dean Alford's noble baptismal hymn might have been sung over the confessors of the faith by the Ganges, as by the Thames. Mithraicism has a similar ceremony, as had also the mysteries of Greece and other lands. The Christian Church holds its prized baptism as a trustee for humanity, whose sacred possession it is, the sacrament for the one spiritual life of the children of the one God in all lands and under all religions."

Speaking of the origin and significance of the Holy Communion, the same writer says: "The ancestry of the Mass is found in the mysteries of Mithraicism and Greece, as well as in the Passover of Judaism; it is the child of Isis, as of Jehovah. The sacred mysteries of different lands, these esoteric ethical and spiritual cults so widely scattered among the religions of antiquity, observed a sacred meal as a symbol of man's communion with God. The outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace whereby man doth partake of the very life of God, and doth nourish his being unto holiness by eating of the bread which 'cometh down from heaven', by drinking the wine which "maketh glad the heart of man", whose natural symbols are ~~the wheat and the grape~~ in the wheat and the grape, the choicest fruitings of the indwelling life of nature. Bread and wine were distributed

to the worshippers and eaten and drunk in reverence, with prayer and praise."

" All this was natural and inevitable in the sacramental system of nature, through which a law of correspondence runs, causing every form of life to be a type, a shadow of a higher form of life, making the fundamental function of feeding, whereby life is conserved and increased, a symbol of the functioning of the soul for the maintenance and development of the spiritual life, the growth in grace of the spirit of man by assimilating the thoughts of the divine mind, and converting them into character. The Christian Mass is the highest dramatization of the mysteries of the soul--- a dramatization rehearsed centuries ago upon the banks of the Euphrates, the Cephissus, and the Orontes". And he concluded, " This ~~is~~ is the glory, not the shame, of Christianity, proving it the flowering forth of the various religions of antiquity, whose best life strained into it, reappears in it."

The analogy drawn between natural phenomena and religious principles or events has been pointed out a number of times in our discussion of Church festivals and rites, both before and after their adoption or sanction by the Christian Church. Even with persons and bodies who have severed all connection, organic and doctrinal, with historical Christianity these festivals, rites, and symbols retain their fundamental religious symbolism. And we may venture the statement, that granting for present purposes, that there will come a time when there will prevail universal doubt or disbelief regarding the historical associations of these things in Christian teaching, that these symbolic usages, which antedated Christianity will also survive it, should it be superseded by a later religious development. To men of all times and beliefs in the future, as has been the case in the past, the elements of the sacraments of the Church will be used as symbols of the experiences of religious life, such as was pointed out by Heber Newton in the above quotation, and

however much the theoretical interpretations may differ, for they have differed greatly, not only ⁱⁿ the different religions, but in the Christian Church itself, and do differ to a large extent among members of the same communion, all ~~wh~~ of whom are equally devoted to the Church and its sacraments, as, for instance, the High Church and the Broad Church parties of the Anglican Communion, and no matter what historical revisions Biblical criticism will make necessary as to the events of the life of Jesus, yet let his existence be proved a myth, and the Yule-tide and Easter-tide will ever be celebrated by the sons of men as festivals of Nativity and Resurrection. As an indication of the truth of this contention, we quote the following from one of the leaders of the Ethical Culture movement, whose work as stated in the "Objects of the American Ethical Union" shall be "apart from any metaphysical and theological considerations". In concluding an address on the subject, "The Re-interpretation of Easter", delivered before the Society for Ethical Culture of New York on Easter Sunday, 1909, the speaker said: "We would look back beyond the empty tomb and the ascending Christ, back beyond the Eleusinian mysteries and Dionysiac worship, back beyond the early symbolism of the egg and the lotus lily--- to the great primal mystery of life renewing itself from year to year and cycle to cycle, with its accompanying new Easter-births of hope and faith, of courage and love in the hearts of men".(1) Witness also the elaborate ritual of the Positivists, these "advanced" thinkers of "the third stage", whose boast is that they have left theology, metaphysics, and all other superstitions of the dark ages behind and build only on the bed-rock of "science".

The early fathers and missionaries of the Church, in pursuing the policy frequently alluded to in these pages, builded better than perhaps they themselves knew. Here is the testimony of an eminent

(1) Percival Chubb, published in Ethical Addresses, XVI, No. 9 (May, 1909).

84-5.
nent ~~is~~ living naturalistic philosopher(1) "No judgement could well be shallower, than that which condemns a great religion for not being faithful to that local and partial impulse which may first have launched it into the world. A great religion has something better to consider: the conscience and imagination of those it ministers to. The prophet who announced it first was a prophet only because he had a keener sense and clearer premonition than other men of their common necessities; and he loses his function and is a prophet no longer when the need begins to outrun his intuitions....Christianity would have remained a Jewish sect had it not been made at once speculative, universal, and ideal by the influence of Greek thought, and at the same time plastic and devotional by the adoption of pagan habits".

"A universal religion", to use the words of the same author, "must interpret the whole world"; it must relate itself to every need of human nature, it must have a message, living and direct, to "all sorts and conditions of men", of every kind and degree, culturally, intellectually, and morally. There is perhaps a tendency in this age when it is getting fashionable for teachers and preachers ~~of religion~~ to be "liberal", "modern", "scientific", etc. in religious matters, to cast the message of religion, which should be so plain that "he who runs may read", so simple that "not even a fool ^{may} ~~can~~ err therein", in intellectual forms, which, like the language of the Roman ^{mass} ~~breiary~~, ~~is~~ "not understood of the people". ^{As} A recent writer says, "A Philosophy which is too exalted to be comprehended by any save the chosen few may be all the more respectable on that account. But a Religion which cannot touch the common people, or which even presupposes a high intelligence, is self-condemned." (2) The doctors of the early Church ~~uspe~~ spoke to the learned and cultured Greeks in terms of their own philosophy, even as St. Paul in

(1) Santayana, 84-85. (Prof. Harvard Univ.) (2) McConnell, "Christ", 22.

his sermon to the "men of Athens" on Mars' Hill, took his text from the inscription of a pagan altar and shewed them that the Christian conception of God was "even as their own poets had said"; but its early missionaries also brought "the good news" home to the hearts and minds of the rude, untutored barbarians of the forests, mountains and islands of northern, western, and central Europe, in forms which these could grasp, often as we have seen, by giving a higher and deeper meaning to these ^{very} things in their life which were most sacred to them, as they had been to their forefathers from times immemorial. These children of nature were not given long and learned dissertations on the "logos", the "hysteresis", and the "genesis", but in simple story and familiar figure they were told of "the white Christ". Modern missionaries might learn a valuable lesson from the experience and work of Beniface and Ansgar, of Columba and Augustine. A familiar instance is the story of the Angle-Saxon king and the bird flying through the room; and it ~~is~~ ^{is} not by its scientific method and evolutionary philosophy, but by an satisfactory answer to the old king's query, which came from the heart, not from the head, that Christianity will fulfill its claims and hopes, in this or any other age.

Shall we condemn the Church and its missionaries because they did not undertake or accomplish the impossible feat of immediately purifying the religious life of the converted peoples of everything gross and unworthy of Christians as viewed from the standpoint of modern refinement? No religion, least of all Christianity, can wait to strip a man of all their superstitions and shortcomings before accepting them into the household of the faith. Its method is that of the mustard-seed and the leaven. As the Church takes the

infant babe, in its weakness, ignorance, and non-moral nature, and incorporates ~~initiates~~ it by baptism into ~~its~~ her body, and declares it to be a "child of God, heir of the Kingdom of Heaven", so the Church took our forefathers into its fold, and taught them in her kindergarten,

so to speak, the rudiments of the new religion, with object-lessons drawn from, after the method of Christ Himself, from the familiar facts of nature and the common life, birth and growth, decay and death, sun-rising and sun-set, autumn, winter, and spring, the flowers, the birds, the mountain, and the sea. In the light of these considerations, can we withhold our admiration and approbation of the wonderful tact and foresight of the Church in its work among the peoples which our study has dealt with; can we pronounce the early Church, at least in these respects which fall within the scope of this essay, unfaithful to the mission and commission of her Master, who "came not to destroy, but to fulfill."

FINIS.

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