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BOANERGES

BY

RENDEL HARRIS

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CONTENTS

		PAGES
	Preface	vii—ix
	Errata	x
	Introduction	xi—xxiv
CHAP.		
I.	Boanerges	1—12
II.	The Parentage of the Twins	13—19
III.	The Thunder-bird	20—30
IV.	The Red Robes of the Dioscuri	31—48
V.	The Twin-Cult in West Africa	49—97
VI.	The Twin-Cult in South Africa	98—107
VII.	The Twin-Cult in East Africa	108—128
VIII.	The Twin-Cult in Madagascar	129—131
IX.	The Twin-Cult in South America	132—141
X.	The Twin-Cult amongst the North American Indians	142—151
XI.	Of Twins in Ancient Mexico	152—154
XII.	The Twin-Heroes of North and South America	155—159
XIII.	The Twin-Cult in Saghalien, Northern Japan, and the Kurile Islands	160—164
XIV.	Of Twins in Burma, Cambodia, and the Malay Archipelago	165—170
XV.	The Twin-Cult in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia	171—178
XVI.	The Twin-Cult in Assam, etc.	179—181
XVII.	The Twin-Fear in Ancient India	182—190
XVIII.	The Twin-Cult in Central Asia Minor	191—194
XIX.	Why did the Twins go to Sea?	195—204
XX.	The Twins and the Origin of Navigation	205—215
XXI.	The Twins in Phœnician Tradition	216—220

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CHAP.	PAGES
XXII. The Voyage to Colchis of Jason and his Companions	221—233
XXIII. The Ploughs and Yokes of the Heavenly Twins	234—249
XXIV. The Twin-Cult at Edessa	250—264
XXV. Further Traces of the Twins in Arabia and in Palestine	265—279
XXVI. The Twin-Cult in Egypt.	271—274
XXVII. The Story of Esau and Jacob interpreted .	275—280
XXVIII. Further Traces of Dioscurism on the Sea of Galilee	281—288
XXIX. The Dioscuric Element in II Maccabees .	289—290
XXX. On the Names commonly given to Twin Children	291—296
XXXI. On the Twins in the Lettish Folk-songs and on the Holy Oak	297—303
XXXII. The Heavenly Twins in Graeco-Roman Tradi- tion	304—312
XXXIII. Some Further Points of Contact between Graeco-Roman Beliefs and Savage Life .	313—316
XXXIV. Some Further Remarks on Twin-Towns and Twin-Sanctuaries	317—325
XXXV. The Case of King Keleos	326—332
XXXVI. Jason and the Symplegades	333—337
XXXVII. Jason and Triptolemos	338—343
XXXVIII. The Woodpecker and the Plough	344—347
XXXIX. The Korybantes and the infant Zeus . .	348—353
XL. Bees and the Holy Oak	354—357
XLI. The Twins in Western Europe	358—360
XLII. Dioscurism and Jasonism	361—374
XLIII. Some Further Remarks upon Graeco-Roman Dioscurism	375—379
XLIV. Are the Twin-Myths one or many? . . .	380—383
XLV. Twins in the Eridal-Chamber and in the Birth- Chamber	384—388
Additional Notes	389—419
Index	420—424

PREFACE

IN publishing the present volume, I must confess that there are results arrived at, and other results adumbrated, which I did not anticipate when I set to work to arrange into something like order the mass of information which I had collected concerning the antiquity and wide diffusion of Twin-cults, and their influence upon religions past and present. The investigation, however, opened up from point to point, in a way that made it impossible for me to limit its scope or obscure its meaning. As often as I repeated to myself the warning to beware of the idea that one had found a master-key in mythology, so often some fresh door or window would open under the stress of the particular key that I was carrying; and it was necessary to go on with what one had begun, when the first stages of enquiry were so rich in results. However much one might elect to rest and be thankful over the elucidations which a knowledge of Twin-cults furnishes to the history of the Ancient Roman State or of the Modern Roman Church, we could not stop the investigation in mid-stream, and say that it should not be carried into the history of the Ancient Jewish State, or the Modern Christian Church. There was a harvest of results in the myths and legends of the Book of Genesis, which now for the first time became intelligible; but the pathway of the enquirer led on from Genesis into the books of the Maccabees; and by establishing Dioscurism for the period immediately preceding the Christian era, one was

able to take a flying leap into the very centre of the Gospel history. As said above, this was not what I originally expected or intended: but the motion of the enquiry could not be arrested. If we have really found a clue for the elimination of certain Gospel miracles from the pages of history, we must follow the clue as far as it can fairly be traced, on the ground that what is good for the Old Testament or for Judaism cannot necessarily be illicit for the New Testament or for Christianity. The value of the enquiry and its supposed results will be estimated later on by those who are more expert than ourselves in theological learning, and in the folk-lore which we have assumed to be a branch of theology.

No book that I have ever written has left me with a greater burden of indebtedness to my friends; they have furnished me with parallels and with facts from the four corners of the world and from the longest extension of time. It is impossible to name them all; here and there the reader will find an acknowledgement made for some service or information, or verified quotation. My own students, from their international character (Woodbrooke being a meeting place of the nations), have delved for me into the folk-lore of Europe, Asia, Australia, and America: if I mention one who has worked harder for me and brought home more spoil than others, it will be my friend, Mr R. H. D. Willey. Dr Glover, as in previous cases, has helped me with many wise suggestions, and with the elimination of many errors, typographical and otherwise. Mr F. G. Montagu Powell supplied me with an actual carved image of a dead twin, which he had obtained from his son, who is a doctor in Lagos. Dr Frazer gave me many a hint from his vast collection of folk-lore. Mr Fritz Krenkow helped me where I was altogether unfurnished, in the region of early Arabic literature. My Missionary friends,

too, in many a field of foreign service, found for me one desired link after another. From Miss Jane Harrison and Prof. Gilbert Murray I have had some wise criticisms and valuable confirmations. It has been difficult to acknowledge all that I received; but I tender grateful thanks to one and all, with the assurance that none of my friends is in any way involved in any discredit attaching to conclusions that I have drawn or suggested.

In two directions I should like to have improved the book; first, it has occasionally happened that a reference could not be verified, owing to the distance at which I live from the great libraries; second, it will be felt at many points, that the book ought to have been illustrated; the expense has deterred me from an adornment of the pages which I recognise to be almost necessary.

For the first time in my life I have made an index to my book, for which, rough as it is, my readers will be grateful.

RENDEL HARRIS.

WOODBROOKE,

SEELY OAK.

1 August 1913.

ERRATA

- p. 61, l. 3, *for contrast read compare.*
- p. 63 note, *add sets after Benin.*
- p. 78, l. 19, *for Cessou read Ceston, and again l. 25.*
- p. 213, note ¹, *for Larkey read Larkby.*
- p. 241, note, *for J. H. Allen read J. H. Allan.*
- p. 284, note ³, *for Sauve read Sauvé, and corr. ref. to v. 157 ff.*
- p. 287, l. 12, *for Xenophon read Xanthippos.*

INTRODUCTION

IN the present treatise, I propose to make a more extended study of the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* than I was able to attempt in my previous investigations into the subject. It was inevitable that the discovery which I made of the existence of pairs of twin saints in the Church calendars, and which led back naturally to the place of the Heavenly Twins in the religions of Greece and Rome, should require to be approached from the side of anthropology rather than from that of ecclesiastical or classical culture, as soon as it became clear that the phenomena under examination were world wide, and that the religious practices involved were the product of all the ages of human history. At the same time, I do not want to discuss the subject altogether *de novo*, nor have I the expectation of writing the one book on this particular subject. The banquet of research at which I am seated is likely to be one of many courses: if I could fancy myself beginning once more at the first course, I have no prospect of sitting the feast out *ab ovo usque ad mala*. Indeed, I am reasonably sure that I shall never get to the apples at all, and on that ground might well be absolved from the completeness which one naturally desires in the study of a single compartment of knowledge. For these reasons, then, I think it best to assume some of the results which I have arrived at in previous books and articles on the subject, and to use these results as a basis for further study, making such changes as may be necessary in the light of clearer knowledge, and confirming previous enquiries made in limited areas by the parallels which are supplied by a wider knowledge of the world and of the history of man.

My first book on the Twin-Cult was an expansion of a short course of lectures given in Cambridge in the year 1903. It was entitled the *Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*. Starting from the observation that there was a tendency in human nomenclature to express by similarity of sound or by parallelism of meaning the twin relationship, it was suggested (and this was the real point of departure in the enquiry) that Florus and Laurus in the Byzantine and other calendars were twins. Vespasian's retort upon a courtier who had corrected him for saying *plostrum* instead of *plaustrum* by calling him *Flaurus* instead of *Florus*, may be used to illustrate the pronounciation of the names.

Florus
and
Laurus
twin-
saints ;

with care
of horses ;

It was then noted that amongst the Russian peasantry *Florus* and *Laurus* (or as they say *Frol* and *Lavior*) are regarded as the patron saints of horses, which led to the next suggestion that they were the representatives of the Great Twin-Brethren of pre-Christian times.

they were
stone-
masons.

That they were twins was confirmed by a reference to their Acts in the Synaxaria of the Greek Church, where they were described as twin-brethren, who were of the craft of stone-masons, the day of their celebration being the 18th of August.

This might have been confirmed by calendars of the Syrian Church ; for example, in the Paris Syriac MS. 142, they are commemorated as follows :

18th of Ab. Commemoration of the holy martyrs,
the twin-brethren Laurus and Florus.

Ab was, of course, the substitute for August, when the festival was taken over, and it is to be observed that it was as twins that they were in the first instance commemorated in Syria.

The next fact betrayed by the Church calendars, was that the 18th of August was the day on which the Greek Church honours St Helena, the mother of Constantine, which immediately suggested that the Cult of the Twins was accompanied by a cult of their sister ; Castor and Pollux, as Florus and Laurus, being ecclesiastically attached to their

sister Helen, who has now become the Dowager Empress of Cult of Helen.
Byzantium.

The next step was to show why the Byzantine hagiologists describe the twins as stone-masons, rather than as horse riders or horse-rearers, as in Homer and elsewhere; or since the Russian connection between the Twins and horses was probably primitive, we had to ask the question whether the Heavenly Twins were builders in stone as well as tamers of Heavenly Twins are builders. horses. The latter was well known, not only from Homeric references to horse-taming Castor, but also from the parallel cults in ancient Greece and in India (where the Twins are actually known as *Agvinan* or the *Dual Horsemen*). The other part of the identification was made for Castor and Pollux, from Greek traditions of cities that they had built, and of cities that they had destroyed: in particular it was shown that the title *Λαπέραι*, which had been given to them in ancient times, and was commonly interpreted by the scholiasts as the *Destroyers of the City Las*, was a misunderstanding of an original *Stone-Workers*. And a comparison with kindred myths, such as that of the Theban twins, Zethus and Amphion, confirmed the belief that the twins were builders of cities, and patrons and inventors of architecture. By this time, the questions of the origin, meaning, and diffusion of the Twin-Cult were moved into a wider field. The Greek parallels showed that the worship of the Great Twin-Brethren was not confined to Sparta, nor to Dorian colonies. The Indian parallels suggested that the myth might go back to the origins of the Aryan race. The Twins were found in Persia as well as in India, and, if we examined the Vedic hymns, we could deduce such a variety of useful offices discharged by the twins, as to make it certain that a cult, which we find so highly differentiated, must be of extreme antiquity.

It was then shown that a cult of the same kind had Twin-
been described by Tacitus, as prevailing among the Naharvāli Brethren among the Naharvāli.
in Eastern Europe (perhaps in Lithuania), and that the existing folk-songs of the Lettish people describe certain *Sons of God* who ride upon horses, and who are identified,

from certain points of view, with the Morning Star, and the Evening Star. This discovery was important, not only for its confirmation of the observation of Tacitus, who said that the young men named Alcis amongst the Lithuanians were honoured as Castor and Pollux amongst the Romans, but also because it suggested that there was an earlier stage of stellar identification which preceded that of the well-known stars in the constellation Gemini. It was clear that at one time the Aryan race did not know that the Morning Star was the same as the Evening Star; and because they were alike, they were treated as twins, rather than as the same star. Moreover, they never appeared in the East and West on the same night, but, as it was said, when one was up, the other was down, and conversely, which led at once to the beautiful story of the divided immortality of Castor and Pollux in the Greek mythology. This strange belief in the duality of the planet Venus was illustrated subsequently on a journey across Asia Minor, when I could not find anyone who was aware that the Morning Star was the same as the Evening Star. The Greeks themselves seem to have arrived at this knowledge quite late.

Twins half
mortal,
half im-
mortal.

We are now able to detect the earlier belief which lay behind the Greek legend of the divided immortality of Castor and Pollux, and to suspect that in each case of a pair of Great Twin Brethren, one of the pair was mortal and the other was immortal; this was due, not to a study of the stars, but to the dual paternity, which had affected the mother of twins, one parent being an immortal god, and the other a mortal man. This observation turned out to be very important; it was not suspected at the time, as proved afterwards to be the case, that the belief in question was not confined to the Aryan race, but that, in some form or other, the dual paternity theory could be illustrated from the most uncivilized and savage races that exist upon the planet; so that we need not have begun our enquiry with ancient histories or with classical writers; we might have begun it with the modern missionary and traveller engaged in work for and observations of the rudest peoples. This point was

to come out more clearly at a later stage. It is interesting to note that in these investigations the Zodiac had already been left far behind; whatever may be the reason for including the Heavenly Twins in the Zodiac, or in an early calendar of months, we were not dealing with Babylonian myth-making, but with something much earlier. In the history of the Twins, the elevation to a Zodiacal peerage is almost the last honour that is conferred upon them.

The next step in the enquiry was to collect from the Vedic literature the varied functions discharged by the Twin-Brethren, some of which could be paralleled at once from Western twin-cults. The principal of these functions were:

- (1) To save from darkness:
- (2) To restore youth and remove senility:
- (3) To protect in battle:
- (4) To act as physicians (especially as miracle-workers, in healing the blind, the lame, etc.):
- (5) To be the patrons of the bride-chamber, and bless newly married people:
- (6) To promote fertility in men, as well as in animal life and in plant life (as by the invention of the plough and the bestowal of the rain and dew):
- (7) To protect travellers by land and sea, under which latter head their fame became great in the Mediterranean, where, indeed, it subsists even to the present day.

It has already been intimated that a cult so highly evolved has antiquity written large upon it: it must go back to the earliest pages of human history. A superficial objection has been, however, made to some of the characteristics here recognised as denoting the Twin-Horsemen, on the ground that the functions assigned to them really belong to other gods, as, for instance, rain-making to Indra, and military prowess to other gods; so that we ought not to emphasise their functions so strongly on the ground of occasional Vedic references, and it is even said that, in any case, more proof

Twins
earlier
than
Olympic
religion.

is required that the Vedic Horsemen are the Dioscuri. The objection may be noted; it will answer itself as the enquiry proceeds: when it has been shown that similar beliefs can be traced all over the rest of the world, we shall not be able to insulate India, or even Palestine. It may, however, be remarked in passing, that the variety of functions assigned to the Great Twins is just as marked in the West as in the East: though their place in the pantheon of Olympus is barely recognised, they share functions with almost every Olympic god: but it is not they who are encroaching upon the Olympians: every one knows, by this time, that, with some exceptions, it is the Olympians who are modern: the overlapping in function between them and the Twins arises from the fact that the religious stratum which appears in the Olympic religion is superposed upon earlier strata, which it does not wholly cover: and when the antiquity of the Twin-Cult is demonstrated, there is no difficulty in their exercising powers of divination with Athena, or going hunting after the fashion of Artemis. With Zeus they share antiquity as well as function, and the latter because they are Dioscuri, *Zeus' boys*.

Dioscuri
in *Acts of*
Thomas.

To return to the investigation in *Dioscuri and the Christian legends*. The attempt to classify the functions which the Dioscuri exercised both in the East and the West, led to a startling result in another quarter of the Christian world. It is well known that legend had been busy with St Thomas and with his place in the propagation of Christianity in the East, say from Edessa to India. These legends occur in an early Syriac document, called by the name of the *Acts of Thomas*, which gives the story of St Thomas' apostolate in native Syriac, showing no signs of a translation. It is well known that the name Thomas means nothing more or less than Twin; and when we read the account of his mission, we find him discharging Dioscuric functions all along the line. He can build palaces and temples and tombs; he can make ploughs and yokes, and masts for ships; he can tame animals for driving, and he can act as the patron of a wedding; to say nothing of other

powers and interests not so obviously Dioscuric. In all these functions he has with him as his immortal companion and counterpart, similar in every respect to himself, the Lord Jesus; and although the scribes of the Acts have tried to obliterate the startling statement, he is, over and over again, recognised as being the Twin of the Messiah. Attempts on the part of the scribes to substitute a slightly different word, to read *Abyss of the Messiah*, or *Ocean-flood of the Messiah* (*Tehoma* for *Tauuma*), only serve by their unintelligibility to bring more strongly into relief the fact that in the earliest days of the Syrian Church at Edessa, Jesus and Thomas were regarded as Twin-Brethren. They were, in consequence, the Dioscures of the City: and there was raised the interesting question whether we could find the original Dioscures, whom they might be assumed to have displaced, in the same way as Castor and Pollux were displaced in the West by Florus and Laurus and other pairs of saints. It was well known that the chief religion at Edessa was Solar, Twins at Edessa. in which the Sun was honoured along with two assessors, named Monim and Aziz. The names appear to be Semitic, but there can be little doubt that they correspond to the Twin-Brethren of the Aryan religions: in particular, their close relation to the Sun-god, shows them to be parallel to the two torch bearers of the Mithraic monuments, one of whom stands with a torch raised, and the other with his torch depressed, and who are known by the names of Cautes and Cautopates. As, however, in spite of the similarity of these names, which suggests twinship, nothing was known as to the meaning of the names, nor as to the functions which they discharged, we could not take the final step of identifying Monim and Aziz with Cautes and Cautopates. The Mithraic or Persian figures remained over for further investigation. It was, however, fairly established that the Edessan religion had Dioscuric features. It is inconceivable that there should be so many twin-traits in the *Acts of Thomas* unless the writer had been using Jesus and Thomas to replace some other pair of Great Brethren.

In this connection we tried to establish the existence of

Twin
pillars at
Edessa.

the Dioscuric stars on the coinage of Edessa, and to show that the two great pillars, which still rise above the city from the ramparts of its citadel, were votive pillars in honour of the Twins, and it was suggested that the Syriac inscription on one of the pillars could be read in that sense. Under both these heads there was something wanting to the argument; the numismatic evidence was susceptible of other interpretations and the decipherment of the inscription on the pillar was challenged by Prof. Burkitt on an important point. So that, here again, caution and repeated investigation were necessary. The main points as to the existence of Dioscuric worship at Edessa are quite clearly made out. The Twins were there from old time, and they were replaced by Jesus and Thomas. That was the chief result of the enquiry, and, it need hardly be said, it raised at once the question whether the Twins had been similarly displaced elsewhere, and whether Jesus and Thomas were really Twins, or whether they were only treated as such by the hagiologist, for the sake of the good results that would follow in the depaganisation of Edessa.

Collaterally, again, the question was raised as to the place of the Twin-Cult in the Semitic religion. Edessa, itself, was in ancient times a meeting point of religions: it is so, almost as decidedly, to-day. We must not, however, assume Semitic ancestry for the Twins because they are called Monim and Aziz: these might be only names given by the Edessan Arabs to the Aryan or Parthian Twins. The question as to the existence of Twins in Semitic religion has to be investigated on its own merits, as, for instance, in Phoenicia (though we are not quite sure that Phoenicia is originally Semitic) and in Palestine and Arabia. On these points also further enquiry was to be desired.

In the volume which followed, named the *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (published in 1906), the enquiry was resumed: and this time, instead of beginning with the pairs of twin-saints under ecclesiastical disguise in the Calendar, I began at the opposite end of the evolution of the cult, with a study of the Taboo of Twins, which prevails to this day

among savage tribes, and constitutes their greatest Fear or Supreme Reverence, and so furnishes the basis from which the evolution of Natural Religion must inevitably proceed. It was shown, in the first instance, that the Taboo in question, which can be traced through almost all elementary races, involved in its earliest stage the destruction of the mother of the twins, the twins themselves, and of the house and the chattels which might conceivably have been infected by the Taboo. From this simple solution of the problem raised by the great Fear for the Savage, we passed on to consider those subsequent stages of reflection in which reason was sought for the phenomenon, and for the best way of dealing with it, and measures of mitigation were proposed for the severity with which the unfortunate causes of the Taboo were treated. It became more and more clear that this initial application of reason, which started from the observation that the mother had either done or suffered something dreadful, resulted in the hypothesis of a double paternity, of the kind which is common in Greek and Roman mythology; only the second father was not yet become an Olympian: he was, perhaps, only a spirit, or the externalised soul of some person or thing, or an animal—by preference a bird. It was natural that the hypothesis of dual parentage should lead to some difference in the treatment of the children; if only one was abnormal, a very elementary instinct of justice would suggest that only one should be killed. From this point the progress of humane feeling was seen in the further development of lenity in the substitution of exile for death, or its equivalent, exposure. The mother and children are now isolated, and the result of their isolation is to make their retreat in wood or in island, into a sanctuary: thus, from the taboo on twins, there arose the sanctuary rights of Twin-towns. It was suggested that these Twin-towns, which still exist in their earliest simplicity in parts of Africa, were at one time very common in Europe, and that Rome itself was such a sanctuary. An important discovery was then made, that the Taboo on Twins is not always interpreted as Evil, but that there are tribes to-day

Twin-
cults
among ele-
mentary
races.

Formation
of Twin
towns.

which regard Twins as a blessing, though they show, by their purifications of the persons involved, and of the community in which they appear, that the second interpretation either leans upon the first, which it has corrected, or, which is perhaps the more accurate way of stating the case, that the primitive Fear, aroused by the uncommon or abnormal event, has been explained in two opposite senses. It is curious that, to this day, tribes which are locally almost contiguous, will take opposite views of the perplexing phenomenon. Those which think twins a blessing appear to do so, because they find them serviceable; they, with their mother, stand for abnormal fertility, which is thought of as contagious; and they are credited with control of the influences which make for fertility, which gives them at once a place of authority, because of their usefulness, in the tribes where they are born. The next important step was the discovery that there were tribes in S.E. Africa, which had referred the parentage of both the twins to the Sky (or perhaps to its equivalent, the Thunder) and that the Twins had obtained, through this parentage, the title of Sky-children, or Thunder-children. We are now at a stage in the evolution of the cult which must have been very nearly that of the ancestors of the Greeks, when they gave to their idealised Twin-Brethren, the title of Dioscuri, or Zeus' boys. From this point, the investigation proceeds with comparative ease, the more savage interpretations of twinship being now left behind, except for stray survivals of ancient customs; and an increasing sense is developed of the greatness, and goodness, and usefulness of the Twins, as being, either wholly or in part, the descendants and representatives of the Sky-god.

Twins
children
of the Sky.

Various
functions
of twins.

It was now possible to explain why the Twins had such a prominent place in agriculture, and amongst the tribal rain-makers. Successive inventions could be directly traced to them, and they became the patrons of sexual acts and the restorers of lapsed sexual functions. They acquired mantic gifts, and became prophets and healers; they used their relation to the all-seeing Heaven to determine whether men

spoke truly, and became the patrons of trust, and of commerce which reposes on trust, and the punishers of perjury. In cases where the twins were not, both of them, credited to celestial parentage, it was natural that steps should be taken to define, if possible, the Immortal one of the pair, and to distinguish him from his less favoured brother. Traces were found of favourite forms of differentiation, such as Red and White, Rough and Smooth, Strong and Weak, Mechanic or Artist, or by the discrimination of names expressing either the priority of one twin over the other, or their special characteristics. The naming of twins was evidently a subject deserving further and closer attention. The use of assonant names was especially noticed.

The rest of the book was chiefly devoted to the expansion and verification of the former thesis that the ecclesiastical calendar was full of cases of disguised twins, who were, ^{Twins in the calendar.} presumably, transferred to the service of the Church from the Dioscuric cults which prevailed all over Europe before the introduction of Christianity. The most interesting cases were those of Cosmas and Damian, Protasius and Gervasius, the Tergemini at Langres (Speusippus and his brethren), Nearchus and Polyeuctes. A further enquiry was made into the case of Judas Thomas; and some explanations were given of the symbols proper to represent the Dioscuri in Sparta and elsewhere.

It will be seen that the investigations, which we have thus briefly summarised, had thrown a great light upon the history of that branch of human culture, which we now call Dioscurism. Much still remained to be cleared up, both with regard to the savage origins, and with regard to the ecclesiastical disguises of the cult: special investigation was also necessary in explanation of certain functions discharged by the Heavenly Twins, which did not seem to have any connection with savage life, or with savage explanations of life. To take a single case of one of the most widespread Dioscuric functions, the protection of sailors in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, it was by no means obvious how such

a function should have fallen to the lot either of twins, or the descendants of twins. The same thing appears in the functions of chariot-driving and horse-training: we may easily prove these functions to exist over wide areas; but we cannot easily prove that they were implicit in the archaic cult. These and similar enquiries remain over, to be discussed more carefully as we know our Twins better, and as we cease to be satisfied with merely recording the facts, without giving a reason for the facts.

Twins
protect
sailors.

In order to solve the question as to why the Heavenly Twins became the special patrons of sailors, and are so, to some extent, even to the present day, it did not seem to me to be adequate to label the Twins as Universal Saviours, and then deduce from that title one of their most striking functions; nor did it seem sufficient to say that the respect paid by sailors to the Twins was due to the control which the Twins exercised over the weather by their affiliation with the Sky-god; for we found them exercising their art over inland waters and streams, as well as over open seas, and in those cases the control of the weather seemed hardly an adequate motive. Accordingly I proceeded to make a further study of the Dioscuri as Sea-Saints, and discovered that there were not a few cases in which it could be proved that the Twins had definitely come down-stream, and had been honoured on rivers before ever they came to be revered at sea: an interesting case was that of Romulus and Remus, who are still worshipped on the Riviera as San Romolo and San Remo, and under other disguises can easily be recognised on the Atlantic sea-board and elsewhere.

Twins as
River-
Saints.

These results were presented to the Oxford Congress for the History of Religions in 1908, and were published in the *Contemporary Review* in January of the following year. Many new illustrations were given, not only of the general thesis that the Dioscuri were River-Saints before they were Sea-Saints, but also of their care of navigation in dangerous shallows and straits, and of their patronage of harbours and of lighthouses.

Some of these points may be re-stated in the following pages: but at present it is to be noticed that in taking the DioscURI up-stream and inland, we had definitely abandoned the idea that the reason of their nautical activity lay in their care of the weather. We shall, therefore, be obliged to seek for another solution, and we shall find it before very long. We are to go up the stream of time, as well as to ascend the great rivers: we must go back to the time before man had donned the '*robur et aes triplex*,' which, Horace says, must have been the equipment of the first navigator; we must proceed as if the sea did not exist, and search for simpler experiments than those which made Horace wonder: and as the stream of time is ascended by us, the Twins are to ascend with us, and help us to the explanation of their various functions. It does not, at first sight, seem likely that the art of navigation can be proved to be a DioscURIC art from its first inception, but this is the direction in which the ship's head (the ship itself being now much diminished) appears to be pointing.

Now let us make the briefest possible summary of the results already arrived at, so that in the following pages we may see how to confirm them and how to extend them, where to limit the area or the time to which they are to be referred, and where to extend and make universal the facts which have come to our knowledge. The following summary, necessarily incomplete, will assist our further investigations.

The appearance of Twins is regarded by primitive man with aversion: they are a great Fear, a Taboo. The mother of such twins, and the twins themselves, must be killed: the settlement must be purified from the Taboo. She, the mother, is either a criminal or a victim; she has had connection with a spirit, or the numen residing animistically in some object; perhaps it was a bird, perhaps it was the thunder, or the lightning, or the sky.

Alleviations are proposed; spare one child (but which?), spare the mother. Exile the mother and kill the children; exile the mother and the children, to an island or a village

of their own: make a twin-island, or twin-sanctuary, or twin-village, or place of refuge.

Or perhaps they are not bad at all; then do not kill them: use purificatory rites and revere them; perhaps they are the children, one of them at least, of the Sky, or the Thunder. Then they can help with rain-making, and their mother, by contact, can fertilise fields and plants and crops. Primitive agriculture is of the woman; how much more is it of the woman who has borne twins! Perhaps they will show us how to make digging-sticks and ploughs. As they are fertile they will help women who are going to have offspring, and men and women who are past having any. If their father is the Sky the boys will get rain from him; and he will help them to find stolen property (for he sees and knows everything), and to know if men speak truly: and they will help trading (for the merchants can deposit their goods securely in the neighbourhood of their sanctuaries), and they will punish lying. As they know what their father knows, they will tell us in dreams things that we ought to know, and the medicines that we ought to apply to our diseases; and we will make images of them by which we may keep them in remembrance, and make our salutations before them.

This is a brief summary of the facts already collected about Twins.

CHAPTER I

BOANERGES

As is well known, the title which we place at the head of this chapter is the name which is given in the Gospel of Mark to James and John, the two sons of Zebedee, and which is explained by the Evangelist as meaning 'Sons of Thunder.' Sons of
Thunder. Neither of the two other Synoptic writers, Matthew and Luke, transfers this statement of Mark to his pages. It may, perhaps, be inferred that they found the explanation unintelligible or objectionable. The only other ancient Christian writing in which it occurs is in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, where Justin professes to be giving information from the *Memoirs of the Apostles*, and was, therefore, either working directly from the Petrine tradition in Mark, or from some collateral tradition¹; in either case, the antiquity of the statement is confirmed; and the probability that Justin's source is Mark will be increased when we observe that they appear to share in a peculiar and perhaps corrupt form of spelling for the name.

The difficulties attaching to the Marean statement relate, first, to the form of the spelling; second, to the meaning of its equivalent translation.

As there seemed to be no Hebrew word exactly answering to the termination *-reyes* or *-erges*, those of the early Fathers who were scholars could do little with the linguistic problem, and it was reserved for Jerome to suggest that, as the word

¹ Justin, *Dial.* 106. 'He changed the name of one of the Apostles and called him Peter; and in his (Peter's) memoirs it is also recorded to have happened, that he changed the name of the sons of Zebedee to Sons of Thunder (Boanerges).'

for Thunder in Hebrew is *re'em*, where the middle letter (Ayin) is often transliterated in Greek by *g*, an error had been made in the final consonant of a Semitic word: *Boane-*would, then, be an attempt to transliterate, from some dialect or other, the word for 'Sons of,' which we commonly write *B'nē*.

It is possible that Jerome's is the right solution. It may, however, be suggested, that there is a closely related root in the Arabic language, which may furnish us the necessary explanation; the word *ragasa* (رجس) means to 'roar aloud,' 'to thunder'.¹ Perhaps, then, this is the root that we are in search of.

Turn, now, to the explanation which Mark gives of the matter. He tells us to equate the transliterated Semitic word with 'Sons of Thunder'; and we shall see that no room is left for reasonable doubt as to what was meant by the peculiar appellation given to the two young men.

None of the Fathers, however, seems to have had any suspicion as to the true meaning; and the modern commentators are as much at sea as their patristic antecedents. The common method of interpretation is to compare the forceful actions and utterances of James and John with the thunder. Thus, in the recently discovered scholia of Origen on the Apocalypse, when Origen comes to discuss the seven thunders in c. 10, v. 3, and the proposal to incorporate the voices of these seven thunders in the Apocalypse, he remarks parenthetically that 'if you enquire into the case of the Sons of Thunder, James and John, whom Jesus called Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder, you will find them very properly called Sons of Thunder on account of the loud voice of their ideas and doctrines'.²

Origen on
Boanerges.

The same line is taken among the moderns by Dr Swete, who tells us³ that 'in the case of James, nothing remains to

¹ The same word occurs in Hebrew (? Aramaic) in the second Psalm, 'Wherefore do the heathen rage?' as our translators imitatively rendered the word. Cf. the Latin, *Quare fremuerunt gentes?*

² *Texte u. Untersuch.* xxxviii. 3, p. 40.

³ *Comm. on Mark*, iii. 17.

justify the title beyond the fact of his early martyrdom, *probably due to the force of his denunciations* (Acts xii. 2): John's *φωνή βοωντή* (Orig. *Philoc.* xv. 18) is heard in Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse.'

It is not necessary to examine into any further explanations, either ancient or modern, of the perplexing Boanerges, since it is clear that 'Sons of Thunder' is quite intelligible from the standpoint of folk-lore, and means that the persons so named were either actually twins or so twin-like in appearance or action, that they might appropriately be spoken of as 'the twins.' As the results which will follow this identification are of the highest importance, it will be well to set down some of the confirmations of the correctness of the interpretation. Can we find 'sons of thunder' elsewhere, either exactly so named or in equivalent language? Can we find either 'sons of the sky,' or 'sons of lightning,' as parallels to the Boanerges? And if they are found, is there any evidence which suggests that the idea that twins were children of the thunder was as much at home in Palestine as in the outside world? The first and most obvious remark to be made is that the expression is *quam proxime* the equivalent of the title by which the Spartan Twins were known; for 'Dioscuri' is literally 'Zeus' boys,' and while it is common to explain Zeus etymologically as the equivalent of the bright sky (Dyans), everyone knows that the actual Zeus is just as much the Thunder as he is the Bright Sky; in Graeco-Roman circles he is, in fact, the thunder-god rather than the sky-god; and, as might be expected, when we move into regions further north it is the Thunder-god whom we meet in the person of Thor, and not the bright sky at all. The fact is that the original notion of 'sky' involved the idea of 'thunder'; and just as in the African tribes of to-day, one word did duty for both.

Twins as
Zeus'
Boys.

We shall see, by-and-by, when we examine into the cult of the Heavenly Twins more closely, that in almost every case in which the Twins are represented, in art, in worship, by an attached priesthood, or by appropriate sacrifices, one colour

dominates the representations, the red colour of the lightning. There is not the slightest objection to the equation of the Greek Dioscuri with the Children of the Thunder.

Bana-ba-
Tilo.

To take the matter a step further: it has been shown that amongst the Baronga tribes in Portuguese East Africa, it is the custom to attach to twins, when born, the collective name of 'Bana-ba-Tilo,' or 'children of Tilo,' where the word 'Tilo' is used for 'sky' in the general sense, including the thunder and lightning, and possibly the rain. And it was evident, as soon as attention was drawn to it, that we had here in an African tribe the very same nomenclature of twins which we find for the special ideal twins, Castor and Pollux, amongst the Greeks. It is curious that Dr Frazer, who had studied the account of the Baronga customs given by M. Junod, the Swiss missionary, did not notice the equivalence between Bana-ba-Tilo and Dioscuri, until I pointed it out to him; and he promptly retorted upon my own lack of vision by remarking that in that case we had the explanation of the perplexing Boanerges in the New Testament. We had between us arrived at the equivalence:

Boanerges = Dioscuri = Bana-ba-Tilo!

We shall have to refer to the Baronga tribes again for other features of the twin-cult: at the present point, all that is necessary is to show how widespread is the idea that twins are to be assigned, either wholly or in part, to the parentage of the thunder¹.

Twins in
Palestine.

Now let us return to Palestine. If we take the Survey map of the Palestine Exploration Society, we shall find a village not far from Jaffa, marked by the name of *Ibn Araq* or *Ibraq*. It is four or five miles from Jaffa, and a little to the north of the road that leads from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The name means 'Son of Lightnings,' and suggests at once a classification with the 'Sons of Thunder' that we are discussing: only, in that case, we should expect a dual or a plural in the Arabic. Now let us look at the book of

¹ M. Junod's work, *Les Ba-ronga, étude ethnographique sur les indigènes de la Baie de Delagoa*, was published at Neuchâtel in 1898 in vol. 10 of *Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie*.

Joshua xix. 45, where we shall find a series of place-names in the tribe of Dan and amongst them *Jehud* and *Bnē-Baraq* and *Gath-Rimmon*. Here we have the name in its original form, with the desired plural, while the worship of the thunder is further attested by the presence in the neighbourhood of a place which is compounded with that of the Thunder-god (Rimmon). We need not, therefore, hesitate to say that there was an ancient town in Palestine, not far from Jaffa, which was named after the Heavenly Twins. Further confirmation will be found in the great inscription of Sennacherib, which mentions a town *Bana-ai-bar-qa* in connection with *Joppa* and *Beth-dagon*. We are sure, then, that such a town as was named *Sons of Lightning* existed from the earliest times in Western Palestine.

We have now to investigate further the meaning of this peculiar appellation: and it seems as if it could be only one of three things: either (a) it is a settlement of people coming from elsewhere, and bringing with them the name of their protector-gods, much as the Greeks gave the name of Tyndaris to a settlement in Sicily, in honour of the Tyndaridae, or Sons of Tyndareus (Castor and Pollux); or (b) it is a place-name of the same category as a number of Dioscurie shrines, where sailors made appeal and presented votive offerings, the position of such sanctuaries being determined by dangerous rocks, shallows, and straits; or (c) it is a primitive sanctuary of the Twins, and a twin-town, similar to those which are being formed by exiled twin-mothers and their children in West Africa at the present day.

Of these explanations the second is the most probable, for, as is well known, the shore at Jaffa has outside it a dangerous reef of rocks which was certain to require a special oversight on the part of those who have the care of sailors. Perhaps the actual position of the modern village *Ibn Ibray* is moved somewhat from its original site. We should have expected the Dioscurion to be on high ground, especially if it served as lighthouse and look-out station as well as shrine. Here, then, we have, and again

on Palestinian soil, a decided memory of Twin-cult. It may, perhaps, be urged that the village belongs to the Philistines and their cult, and in the same way that the Boanerges of Galilee are Aryan and not Semitic. That may be so, but our first business is to find them; if we want to get them out of the Holy Land again, that will come later, and will require special proof, which will perhaps not be forthcoming. Wherever these commemorated twins come from, they are to be studied along with the similar phenomena that are being recorded and observed all over the world. There must be no preliminary exclusion of the Holy Land.

Twins in
Cyrene.

For instance, it is well known that Cyrene and the Cyrenaica are under the protection of the Dorian twins, and that the Cyrenians regarded themselves, when they posed as Greek, as being a Dorian colony. Hence they put on their coins stars, horses and the silphium plant, which are the sacred symbols of the Dioscuri¹. But it must be noted that they had other than Spartan reasons for the cult of the Twins, for just off their coast lay the Great Syrtis, one of the chief perils to ancient navigation, which we remember to have been dreaded when the tempestuous wind Euraquilo swept St Paul's ship across the Mediterranean from Crete to Africa. Amongst the famous cities of the Pentapolis we find the name of Barca, which again reminds us by its name and by its coins, that the city was named after the Children of the Lightning. And this name is Semitic and not Dorian Greek; so that we hesitate to ascribe the cult of the Twins in the Cyrenaica only to Dorian (Spartan) colonizers². It is much more likely to be Phoenician first

¹ e.g. Hunter Collection, no. 36 (Cyrene): a coin showing silphium plant between two stars etc.

² The recognition of Cyrene as a cult centre for twin-worship has a literary as well as a numismatic interest. When the author of the second book of Maccabees epitomized the five books of Jason of Cyrene, his first section was concerned with the attempt of Heliodorus to rob the temple at Jerusalem, and his repulse by certain young men, who have been recognised as the Dioscuri, slightly disguised as angels. But in that case, Jason must have given the first place to this incident, and this is natural enough, for he was writing in Cyrene and for Cyrenian readers, who would understand perfectly the kind of interposition which he was recording, and be predisposed to accept his interpretation.

and Dorian after. In the same way the Twins of Bnē Barqa may be Palestinian first and Philistian or Phoenician afterwards. A somewhat similar case, of the carrying of the Twins by colonization, will be found in the Spanish city *Barcelona*, whose ancient name *Barkinon* shows that it was a Punic settlement. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, Phoenician navigators or settlers should have established a shrine or a sanctuary or a settlement, named after the Twins, and we shall see later an abundant evidence of the Twin Cult in Phoenicia itself. If, on the other hand, it should be urged that the colony (if it was a colony) was Philistian, and came originally from Crete, we shall be equally able to establish Twin-worship for the early civilization of that famous island. And, in brief, whoever may have been the people that were responsible for the settlement and naming of Bnē Barqa, the name itself can only stand for the Heavenly Twins, considered as the Sons of the Lightning. We have, then, the companion term of the highest antiquity for the Boanerges of the New Testament. Nor does there seem any reasonable doubt as to the accuracy of our interpretation.

At this point, however, it becomes necessary to stop and consider more closely the forms under which thunder and lightning were regarded by primitive mankind, and the characteristics which they attributed to them. One caution may be expressed before we turn to this investigation. It has been suspected that in attributing twins to the parentage of the Thunder, whether one or both of them be so honoured, that we are on a plane of human evolution, where the facts of racial propagation are not regarded as established in final form, and according to an unvarying law. Parentage, for the primitive man, can come from anywhere: from natural forces, and unusual objects and events. The wind was credited with the fecundation of mares; the Egyptian bull Apis was conceived from a lightning flash, if we may believe Herodotus. Amongst the North American Indians, we find parentage imagined

in the most diverse forms. And it seems certain, therefore, that there may be cases where single births are credited to the Thunder and the Lightning, as well as dual births. We must not dogmatically affirm that every Son of Thunder is necessarily a twin.

Thunder-
god in
ancient
Damascus.

To take a single example: the Aramaean people in N.E. Syria worshipped, amongst other objects of devotion, the god Hadad, who is the equivalent of the Babylonian god Adad, the god of thunder. It seems, moreover, that a number of the Syrian kings of Damascus took the title of Bar-hadad. We should clearly be wrong in assuming that Bar-hadad was a twin: for we can make out a sequence of kings of Syria as follows:

Tab-Rimmon.

Bar-Hadad = Heb. Ben-hadad.

Hadad-idri = Heb. Hadad-ezer.

Bar-Hadad = Heb. Ben-hadad.

Hazael.

Four out of these five are affiliated to the Thunder-god, either in the Assyrian form Ramman, or in the Babylonian (? Amorite) form Adad or Hadad. Now the succession of the names shows that the reference to the Thunder-god must be a matter of dignity, not an indication of twin-ship. It will be otherwise with private persons who do not stand in the same close relationship to the gods as their kings. Such persons may, and constantly do, have theophoric names; but the term *Son of Thunder* is more than an ordinary theophoric name, implying the gift or grace of a god in the birth of a child. The probability is, therefore, that when such a name was borne by a private individual, the name connoted twin-ship. To take a curious illustration, we find in the chronicle of *Joshua the Stylite*¹ that a bishop of Tella in the sixth century was named Bar-hadad. The persistence of the ancient name must be conceded, although it may be questioned whether its meaning continued to be understood: and the easiest explanation of the persistence of such a pagan name

¹ Ed. Wright, c. 58.

in Christian circles is that it was for the general population the name of a twin. If, however, it should be thought that this explanation is unwarranted, the occurrence of the name with its undoubted meaning would be one more reason for caution in the too rapid inference from Thunder Sonship to Twinship.

There is another direction in which we may require a preliminary caution. We have shown that it does not necessarily follow that when the parenthood of the Thunder is recognised, it necessarily extends to both of the twins. The Dioscuri may be called unitedly, Sons of Zeus; but a closer investigation shows conclusively that there was a tendency in the early Greek cults to regard one twin as of divine parentage, and the other of human. Thus Castor is credited to Tyndareus, Pollux to Zeus; and of the Theban twins, Amphion is divine, and the son of Zeus, while Zethus is human and of ordinary parentage; and a little reflection shows, that such a distinction was, in early days, almost inevitable. The extra child made the trouble, and was credited to an outside source. Only later will the difficulty of discrimination lead to the recognition of both as Sky-boys or Thunder-boys. An instance from a remote civilization will show that this is the right view to take.

For example, Arriaga, in his *Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, tells us that 'when two children are produced at one birth, which, as we said before, they call Chuchos or Curi, and in el Cuzco Taqui Hua-hua, they hold it for an impious and abominable occurrence, and they say, that *one of them is the child of the Lightning*, and require a severe penance, as if they had committed a great sin¹. And it is interesting to note that when the Peruvians, of whom Arriaga speaks, became Christians, they replaced the name of Son of Thunder, given to one of the twins, by the name of Santiago, having learnt from their Spanish teachers that St James (Santiago,

Twins in Peru.

¹ Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Idolatria del Piru*, p. 32, Lima, 1691.
'Quando nacen dos de un parto, qui como diximos arriba llaman Chuchos, o Curi, y en el Cuzco Taqui Huahua, lo tienen por cosa sacrileja y abominable, y aunque dicen, que el uno es hijo del Rayo, hazen grande penitencia, como si oviesen hecho un gran pecado.'

S. Diego) and St John had been called Sons of Thunder by our Lord, a phrase which these Peruvian Indians seem to have understood, where the great commentators of the Christian Church had missed the meaning. When they heard the Spaniards fire off their harquebuses, they used to call the piece fired by the name of Illapa (i.e. Thunder¹) or Rayo (i.e. Lightning) or Santiago (i.e. Son of Thunder)². Santiago, for them, was the equivalent of the thunder.

Thunder-
stones in
Denmark.

Another curious and somewhat similar transfer of the language of the Marcan story in the folk-lore of a people, distant both in time and place, but sharing the Jewish or Galilean popular beliefs, will be found, even at the present day, amongst the Danes. Dr Blinkenberg, in his valuable monograph on *The Thunderweapon*, has collected evidence from many parts of Denmark to show that it is still common to pay regard to Thunderstones, as being animistically inhabited by the Thunder, and able in consequence to avert the lightning from persons or places, in time of storm³.

¹ See Acosta, *Natural and Moral history of the Indies*, reprinted by Hakluyt Society, Lond. 1880, p. 304, 'The thunder they (the Peruvians) called by three divers names, Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intillape (Yllapa is Thunder in Quichna), supposing it to be a man in heaven with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause rain, haile, thunder and all the rest that appertaines to the region of the air.'

² Arriaga, l.c. p. 33, 'En el nombre de Santiago tienen tambien supersticion y suelen dar esto nombre ad uno de los Chuchos como a hijos de Rayo, q̄ suelen llamar Santiago. No entiendo que sera por el nombre Boanerges, que les pusso al apostol Santiago y a su hermano S. Juan Christo nuestro Señor, llamandoles Rayos, que esto quiere dezir hijos del trueno, segun la frasse Hebrea, sino o porque se avra estendido por aca la frasse, o conseya de los muchachos de España, que quando truenan, dicen que corre el cavallo de Santiago, or porque veian, que en las guerras que tenían los Españoles, quando querian disparar los arcabuzes, que los Indios llaman Illapa, o Rayo, apellidavan primero Santiago, Santiago. De qualquiera manera que sea, usurpan con grande supersticion el nombre de Santiago, y assi entra las denias constituciones que dexan los Visitadores acabade la visita es una, que nadie se llamo Santiago, sino Diego.'

³ It must not be supposed that this use of the thunderstone as a lightning-avert is peculiar to Denmark. Probably the horse-shoes which one sees everywhere in country houses in England belong to the same category. Usener (*Götternamen*, p. 287) gives an account of the pulling down of an old convent at Bonn in the year 1884, when an axe of the stone age was discovered under one of the beams. Evidently it had been regarded as a thunder axe, and had been used for the protection of the

Besides the conventional flint axes and celts, which commonly pass as thunder-missiles all over the world, the Danes regard the fossil sea-urehin as a thunderstone, and give it a peculiar name. Such stones are named in Salling, *sebedæi*-stones or *s'bedæi*; in North Salling they are called *sepædeje*-stones. In Norbaek, in the district of Viborg, the peasantry called them *Zebedee* stones: At Jebjerg, in the parish of Örum, district of Randers, they called them *sebedei*-stones. At Römshinde, in the district of Aarhus, the man who carried a zebedee-stone in his pocket believed himself immune from thunder. At Salten, and at Taaning in the same district, they were called *seppedij*-stones. At Klakring, in the district of Vejle, they were called *spædejo*-stones, and are put under the roof as a protection against lightning. Zebedee-stones.

The name that is given to these thunderstones is, therefore, very well established, and it seems certain that it is derived from the reference to the Sons of Zebedee in the Gospel as sons of thunder. The Danish peasant, like the Peruvian savage, recognised at once what was meant by Boanerges, and called his thunderstone after its patron saint. Probably he displaced some earlier title in giving the stone this name.

Feilberg, in his great dictionary, discusses the meaning of the name under the head of *Spædejesten*, and with the following conclusion: the word *spædeje* signifies a *witch*, a *prophetess*; hence the stone is a *witch-stone*. The zebedee-stone is a perversion of this, under the influence of Mark iii. 17. In Kolkar's dictionary, the same derivation is given, and the same allusion to Mark iii. 17; and the name *bodejesten* is explained in the same way as *milkmaid-stone* from *bodeje*, a milkmaid. There is no difficulty about the latter derivation, as the stones are actually used in dairies to keep the thunder from souring the milk; but the other derivation is inadequate, and in view of the Peruvian analogy, it is more natural to suppose that the stones were regarded

sacred building against lightning. We shall see later how the same result is accomplished by the attachment to a building of the body or representation of the thunder-bird.

as embodiments of the thunder, in which case the thunder-stone becomes naturally enough a Zebedee-stone¹.

¹ It may be asked whether this does not require or suggest a further possibility that Zebedee may itself be a thunder-name, whose meaning having been obscured, an alternative name for the Sons of Thunder was introduced.

The name Zabdai (Zebedee) is good Hebrew; it will be found, for instance, in the last chapter of Ezra in the form *Zabad bis*, and Zebadaiah (i.e. God has bestowed). It must be regarded as a genuine Hebrew name, unless there should be reason to believe that Zabdai is a Hebrew substitute for some non-Semitic name. Of non-Semitic influence in Galilee, there seem to be decided traces; but it is extremely unlikely that we can refer Zebedee to such a source. The only possible direction would be the name of the Phrygian Zeus, which the Greeks give as Sabazios, Sabadios, and a variety of similar spellings. Usener traces the root of this name (*Götternamen*, p. 44) to the word *storm*, which would make Sabazios originally a storm god. His cult can be traced as far east as Cilicia and Cappadocia; and in the west he follows the Roman armies with Mithra. I know, however, of no trace of him in Syria or Northern Palestine. In his cult-monuments we sometimes find depicted the Eagle and the Lightning, and the Oakbranch. On a bronze relief of Sabazios in Copenhagen, the corners of the plate are occupied by the Dioscuri, standing by the side of their horses. This may be nothing but Syncretism. On the other hand, the Eagle is the Thunder-bird, and as we shall see, the Oak-tree is the Thunder-tree; so we have five suggestions for identifying Sabazi with the Thunder. If such identification were possible, Zebedee might still be a real person, for his name would be theophoric. In the mysteries of Sabazios the initiate became identified with his god. The identification of Sabazi with Zebedee would not, therefore, imply that Zebedee was not a real person. The name occurs, moreover, a number of times in the recently recovered papyri from Elephantine, in the forms Zabdai and Zebadaiah, so that there appears to be no reason for questioning its Hebraism, or introducing a mythological meaning.

On the other hand, it might be suggested that the awkward and unnatural expression, 'the mother of Zebedee's children,' which occurs twice in the Gospel of Matthew (xx. 20, xxvii. 56), would be perfectly lucid, if 'Zebedee's children' were equivalent to the Dioscuri or Zeus' boys.

CHAPTER II

THE PARENTAGE OF THE TWINS

IN the previous chapter it was shown that the popular belief which expressed itself in the name Boanerges was very widely spread over the ancient and the modern world. It was not maintained that the Thunder, considered as parent, had no children except twin children, but it was clear that such were commonly assigned to him; and that one child out of a pair of twins was his by right, the other was his by concession. The second child gravitated, so to speak, to the same parentage as the first.

It becomes proper, therefore, to discuss more at length the primitive conception of the Thunder, in order that we may explain from it, wherever possible, the functions assigned to the Twins in early or later stages of evolution. We shall, therefore, indicate briefly some of the forms through which the idea of Thunder has passed, without attempting an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

Everyone knows the Thunder-god in the latest form ^{Aryan} which he took for our ancestors, or for the artists and poets ^{Thunder-} of Greek and Roman civilization. The conception was ^{god.} anthropomorphic; the Thunder was either Thor with his mallet, or Jupiter with his lightning in hand, or Zeus, striking men and ships with his bolts. There was a European Sky-god, who was viewed alternatively as a Thunder-god. The thunder was, in fact, his monopoly. A very little study, however, of classical literature and archaeology, will show that this monopoly is an acquired monopoly. The thunder has been 'cornered,' to use a modern commercial expression. Rival firms have been suppressed or made tributary; they produce the article, but after the rule of 'sic vos non vobis.'

have been evolved out of animal and bird forms, or have at least been evolved side by side with such forms.

The memory of such cult ancestry lingered amongst the Greeks and Latins to a very late day. They told legends of a time when Zeus was not, and when Woodpecker was king; and even if such statements should be made by a comic poet¹, ^{King Wood-pecker.} he was not playing the innovator when he made the statement, but the thoughtful conservative. In the same way, artists all over the world have drawn the Thunder with bird characteristics, very commonly with bird's feet. The popular pictures of the devil with cock's feet are only an intimation that the devil is one of the dispossessed thunder-gods. In China, as we shall see later on, the thunder is drawn as a man hurling lightnings, but the man has bird's feet. In Crete there was a legend of the death of Zeus, which caused holy horror to the pious Greeks of Olympian times, and was the foundation for the much misunderstood saying that 'the Cretans were aye liars'; but along with this legend there was another as to the death of Picus, who was also Zeus. Picus is, of course, the woodpecker. The statement is preserved for us by Suidas, under the form of an epitaph,

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν [Βασίλειος] Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς.

All of which is suggestive enough, and intimates to us that we should make an investigation into the bird-forms or animal-forms with which the thunder was identified by men of ancient days. Nor can we, in such an enquiry, ignore the question as to whether the thunder had inanimate forms, or vegetable forms, with which the primitive animist had alternatively made his equation. That such forms existed is clear from the persistent belief in the thunderstone, extant in Europe down to the present day; such stones being recognised in the stone axes of early times, or in fossil-forms (like the sea-urchins amongst the Danes), which the thunder has tenanted in such a way as to make them either a danger or a means of security. In the vegetable world, as we shall see, there are various thunder-incarnations. It suffices to

¹ Aristophanes, *Aves*, 478.

The
Thunder-
Oak.

mention, in the first instance, the oak-tree, which is for the Europeans of ancient time the same thing in vegetable life as the eagle was in bird life, comparable also to the sky itself, as being an animistic dwelling of the thunder. Mr A. B. Cook, in a series of remarkable papers on the European sky-god¹, has shown how closely the cult of the sky-god amongst our ancestors was connected with the cult of the sacred tree, the oak being the tree most commonly honoured, though there are distinct traces of other tree cults. We shall find the best explanation of the equation between the sky-god and the oak-tree in the lightning which passes from one to the other, and makes its secondary dwelling in the tree that it strikes. We shall probably see reason for believing that peculiar sanctity attaches to a hollow oak. In the same way the Romans regarded as sacred, and fenced off from the public with appropriate warnings, the spot of ground where a lightning flash struck, or where a thunderstone was supposed to have fallen. The thunderstone itself, when identified, became a sacred object, either dangerous, as still containing the thunder within it, or protective, on the hypothesis that lightning does not strike lightning. The thunder-weapon accordingly becomes one of the principal objects of cult, and in some points of view is regarded as almost divine. In the East the gods constantly carry it, in the form of an axe, frequently a double axe, while in the West the most common form of the axe is known to us as the hammer of Thor. On the ancient Cretan monuments, on the Hittite and Assyrian sculptures, the sky-god (storm-god, thunder-god) is constantly represented with or by the single or double axe; and in many cases the god carries his axe (thunderstone) in one hand, and his bunch of lightnings in the other, the bunch of lightnings being often in the form of a single or double trident².

The
Thunder-
axe.

We have thus two series of identifications to keep in mind:

¹ *Folk-Lore*, 1904.

² For illustration, see Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon*: Roscher, s.v. Ramman, Teshub, Dolichenus, etc.

Sky-god

or Thunder-god = Oak-god (with various substitute or alternative trees).

or Lightning-god = Thunderstone (stone-axe, double-axe, hammer, etc., including fossils with imagined thunder-forms).

= Lightning (trident, double trident, etc.),

to which must be added the anthropomorphic, ornithomorphic or zoomorphic representations of the thunder.

These representations of the thunder as beast, bird or man are of the first importance in our enquiry as to the origin and development of the twin-cult; for, if the Twins are regarded as the sons of the thunder, the parentage will be more easily recognisable when the thunder takes an animate shape. It is not impossible that thunder-trees or thunderstones should be identified with twins, but it is, in the nature of the case, much less likely than that the twins should be recognised in forms of animal life, which have been associated either with the thunder, or the thunder-tree. Moreover, we shall be able to trace the modification of the parentage of the Twins from a bird ancestry to a human ancestry, since this very change of view is actually taking place among certain savage tribes at the present day, the Thunder being considered by them in the first instance as a bird, and in a later and secondary identification being endowed with a human form. As we have said, it is these identifications and modifications which need to be carefully watched, if we are to determine how such an idea as that of the great Twin Brethren of the Dorians arose out of the senseless but terrible taboo which we find still existing in savage Africa at the present day.

Of bird ancestries, we shall show that the first place must be given to the woodpecker, but that there are a number of other birds, more or less demonstrably thunder-birds; we shall also come across suspicious cases of thunder-beasts, including the squirrel, the flying-squirrel and perhaps the beaver; and all of these must be grouped in an equation of identification similar to what is given above, so that the

Sky-god

or Thunder-god = woodpecker, robin, stork (?), swan (?),
eagle, etc.

or Lightning-god = squirrel or beaver (?), etc.

= thunder-man (Zeus, Jupiter, Thor, etc.),

and according to the state of evolution of the idea of the thunder, will be the form assigned to the Twins considered as of Thunder-parentage.

The Twins
as Wood-
peckers.

The importance of the last consideration will be evident. If, for example, we find Twins regarded as Woodpeckers, or as human beings with names or characteristics which imply woodpecker antecedents, then the twin-cult which we are considering is older than the time when the woodpecker had given place to an eagle or to an Olympian Jove. We are working from a very ancient stratum of civilization, if it can be called civilization, and not from a time when gods and goddesses many had already been recognised and defined. To say that the Twins in Greek religion are pre-Olympian is to put it very gently indeed. They may be Zeus' boys, but just as there was a time when there was no Zeus, so there was a time when there were no boys. And it is to the study of such a time that we must turn if we are to understand the cult.

If, moreover, we must not derive our cult from Olympian Zeus, or from any similar anthropomorph, still less must we begin by discussing the Twins as they were finally lodged in the Zodiac. For even if the Zodiac were as ancient as the neo-Babylonian school imagine (which it almost certainly is not), its antiquity would be a mere handbreadth compared with the space of distant time in which our forefathers worked out their fears of the elemental forces into the fabric of a noble, though idolatrous, religion. The Zodiac can be left almost to the last section of such an enquiry as that upon which we are engaged.

Returning, then, to our theme, the suggested parentage of Twins by the Thunder or Lightning requires that we should examine rapidly the forms which the Thunder-cult takes in different parts of the world, and determine in what

cases a Twin-cult has associated itself with the Thunder-cult. The two parts of the enquiry will, almost of necessity, go on side by side; but perhaps it will be best to fix our minds at first upon the Thunder rather than upon the Twins.

If it should happen that anyone should be sceptical as to the multiplicity of the forms, animate and inanimate, which have been suggested for the Thunder in the previous pages, we have only to remind ourselves that exactly the same thing happens with regard to the Corn Spirit, which is recognised as man, as woman, as maid, as wolf, dog, cat, hare, and a number of animals associate or associable with the cornfield.

CHAPTER III

THE THUNDER-BIRD

THE Thunder-bird was, as I suppose, first discovered amongst the Red Indians of North America, and it is still extant among surviving tribes of that rapidly disappearing race.

Thunder
among
Red
Indians.

For example, among the Déné Indians in the north-west of Canada, known as the Hare-skin Dénés, there is a belief that the thunder is a huge bird: all winter long he lies hidden under ground, somewhere in the west-south-west. But when the warm weather returns, he returns along with the migrant birds; then, if he shakes his tail, we hear the thunder; and if he winks his eyes there are dazzling lightnings¹.

What is here reported of the Déné Indians is common belief of the whole race, although some tribes, such as the Iroquois, may have changed or abandoned their beliefs under the influence of the white man. If, however, we go back to the accounts given of Indian beliefs by the first Jesuit Missions, we find enquiries made and reports collected which prove how universal was the belief in the thunder-bird. Thus the missionary, Le Jeune, in his Relation under date

¹ Pettitot, *Traditions Indiennes du Canada Nord-Ouest, Légendes et Traditions des Déné Praux-de-Libère*, p. 283, 'Iti est un oiseau gigantesque, qui demeure au pays des manes avec le gibier émigrant. Il y séjourne tout l'hiver sous terre, à la retombée de la voûte céleste, bien loin, au *Pied-du-Ciel*, dans l'ouest sud-ouest. Mais lorsqu'il fait chaud de nouveau, lorsque le gibier ailé revient vers nous à tire d'ailes, vers notre pays accourt Iti, suivi de toutes les âmes ou revenants. Alors, s'il fait vibrer les plumes de la queue, nous entendons gronder le tonnerre, et s'il clignotte des yeux les éclairs de la foudre nous éblouissent, dit-on. Celui-ci est une divinité mauvaise, car elle cause la mort des hommes.'

1632 (*Jesuit Relations*, v. 57) tells of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Quebec that 'they (the Iroquois) believe ^{The Iroquois} that the thunder is a bird, and a savage one day asked a Frenchman if they did not capture them in France; having told him yes, he begged him to bring him one, but a very little one: he feared that it would frighten him if it were large.' Two years later (1633, 1634), Le Jeune reports again (*Jesuit Relations*, vi. 225), 'I asked them (the Montagnais) about the thunder: they said they did not know what animal it was; that it ate snakes and sometimes trees; that the Hurons believed it to be a very large bird. They were led to this belief by a hollow sound made by a kind of swallow which appears here in the summer. I have not seen any of these birds in France, but have examined some of them here. They have a beak, a head and a form like the swallow, except that they are a little larger; they fly about in the evening, repeatedly making a dull noise.' Le Jeune explains that the Hurons compared this noise with that made by the thunder-bird: 'there is only one man who has seen this bird, and he only once in his lifetime. This is what my old man told me.'

Evidently the Hurons as well as the Iroquois believed in the thunder-bird. In a note which is added to the tenth volume of the (reprinted) *Jesuit Relations* (x. 319, 320), the matter is summed up as follows:

'The myth of the Thunder-bird was, in some form or other, common to the North American tribes from Mexico to Hudson's Bay, and from the St. Lawrence to Bering Strait, and it is still current among most of the northern and western tribes. They explain the vivid and (to them) mysterious and terrible phenomena of the thunderstorm as proceeding from an immense bird, so large that its shadow darkens the heavens: the thunder is the sound made by the flapping of its wings, the lightning is the flashing or the winking of its eye, and the deadly and invisible thunderbolts are arrows sent forth by the bird against its enemies. The Indians greatly dread this imaginary bird, often addressing prayers to it during a thunderstorm.'

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Thunder is

The
Sioux.

always imagined to be a large bird; on the contrary, as we shall see presently (and the point is important for our enquiry), there are tribes that have seen the thunder in a form as small as the humming bird. The legends of the Dakota Indians and of some other tribes identify the thunder-bird with the Creator of the World, and say that it brought fire from heaven for the use of men: they tell of an unceasing strife between Unktaha, the god of waters, and Wauhkem, the thunder-bird. Mrs Mary Eastman gives the following Sioux explanation of the thunder¹: 'Thunder is a large bird, flying through the air; its bright tracks are seen in the heavens, before you hear the clapping of its wings. But it is the young ones that do the mischief. The parent bird would not hurt a Dahcotah. Long ago a thunder-bird fell from the heavens; and our fathers saw it as it lay, not far from the Little Crow's village.'

For a more detailed statement of Dakota beliefs, with an important modification, *v. infra*.

Lillooet
Indians.

Transition
from
Thunder-
bird to
Thunder-
man.

Mr Teit, in his account of the Indians on the Lillooet River in British Columbia², tells us, in an account to which we shall have to refer again, that 'some describe the thunder-bird as being like the ruby-throated humming-bird and of about the same size. Others describe the thunder as a bird about one metre in length. On its head it has a large crest, like that of the blue jay, but standing far backward....When it turns its head from side to side, as it does when angry, fire darts from its eyes, which is the lightning....Some of the lower Lillooet Indians say that the thunder is a man. It is said that he was seen on the Lower Lillooet river some years ago, during a heavy thunderstorm. Each time a flash of lightning came he could be seen standing on one leg.'

We shall have to return to this account, but for the present it is sufficient to note, over and above the conventional Red Indian account of the origin of thunder and lightning, that the bird is sometimes regarded as extremely small, and that the actual change from the ornithomorph to

¹ Eastman, *Dahcotah or Life and Legends of the Sioux*, p. 19.

² Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*.

the anthropomorph is actually in process amongst the Indians of British Columbia. Both of these points should be carefully noted.

This important transformation in the belief can also be traced among the Dakotas, to whom we were just now referring: for they say that the Thunder-bird which was killed at Little Crow's village on the Mississippi River, *had a face like a man, with a nose like an eagle's bill; its body was long and slender. Its wings had four joints to each, which were painted in zigzags to represent lightning*¹. The
Dakotas.
Thunder-
bird with
man's
face.

Here, then, we see the same transformation going on, with the aid of a pictorial symbol. It is not difficult, in view of such beliefs, to realise the changes which produced out of birds the thunder-gods of antiquity, for they also often carry on, more or less definitely, the bird tradition. In the case of the Dakotas, the human form is just beginning to appear. In the case of the Thompson Indians, the change appears to have been completely made, though it has not been accepted by the whole community. In Graeco-Roman religions, Jupiter will keep at his side the eagle out of whom he has been evolved. In China, all the bird will disappear except the feet, the bill, and perhaps the wings.

The same belief in the Thunder-bird, but apparently without any deflection in the direction of the Thunder-man, will be found amongst the Thompson Indians of British Columbia². According to them, the thunder is 'a little larger than the grouse, and of somewhat similar shape...the thunder-bird shoots arrows, using its wings like a bow. The rebound of its wings in the air, after shooting makes the thunder...The arrow-heads fired by the Thunder are found in many parts of the country. They are of black stone and of very large size. Some Indians say that lightning is the twinkling of the thunder's eyes etc.'

In the same way the Ahts of Vancouver Island believe in a great thunder-bird. His name is Tootooch. He is a

¹ Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, vol. III. p. 466; *ibid.* p. 233.

² Teit, *The Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 338 seq.

mighty, supernatural bird, dwelling aloft and far away. The flap of his wings makes the thunder (Tootah) and his tongue is the forked lightning¹.

The importance of these statements is obvious in view of the belief in the thunder-arrow and the thunder-axe amongst our own ancestors, and amongst modern Europeans, like the Danish farmers, whom we have described above. It is not necessary, for our purpose, to collect further evidence of the Thunder-bird amongst the North American Indians: those who wish to examine further into the subject may consult Myron Eells on 'The Thunder-bird,' in the *Journal of the American Anthropological Society*²; or Brinton's *Myths of the New World*, pp. 239, 245, or Chamberlain, 'Thunder-bird amongst the Algonquins,' in the *Journal of the American Anthropological Society*³. We shall presently see that there is no need to describe these beliefs so exclusively as *Myths of the New World*: but before returning to the Old World in search of parallels to the Indian beliefs, it may be as well to point out that the thunder-bird can be located amongst the Esquimaux, and that it can be followed south into Mexico, and into South America. A few instances may be given. For the Esquimaux, see Hoffmann, *Graphic Art of the Esquimaux*, pl. 72, where a picture of the thunder-bird, from the Esquimaux' point of view is given.

The
Caribs.

Amongst the Caribs, the Thunder-god is called Sawaku; sometimes he is spoken of as a star, and sometimes as a bird, who blows the lightning through a great reed⁴.

The
Brazil-
ians.

Amongst the Brazilians, the fear of the thunder is very great; they have a thunder-god named Tupa, whose voice or the flapping of whose wings, makes the thunder. From him comes the name Tupecanongo, given to the thunder, while the lightning is called Tupaberaba, i.e. the flashing of Tupa. Some of the Brazilians think the thunder is the noise made by departed spirits. They also attribute to the thunder-god the invention of agriculture.

¹ Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 177.

² Vol. II, pp. 329-36.

³ Vol. III, pp. 51-4.

⁴ Müller, *Amerikanische Urreligionen*.

It is sufficient to point out that, even if Tupa should be regarded as a thunder-man, it is a thunder-man who has been evolved out of a thunder-bird, which appears to be not very dissimilar to the type current among the North American Indians¹.

The belief in a thunder-bird, which we find so widely Thunder-bird in Polynesia. diffused over North and South America, can be traced amongst the Polynesians, with the aid of the observations we have already made as to the development of the belief. For instance, John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, brought home amongst other relics the image of the god Taan, the god of Thunder: and he tells us that, 'when the thunder peals, the natives said that *this god was flying, and producing this sound by the flapping of his wings.*' This is almost exactly the language by which we found the thunder-bird described by the Dakotas or the Brazilians².

In the same way we are informed by Ellis, the Polynesian missionary, that 'among the Hervey Islands, they worshipped a god of thunder; but he does not appear to have been an object of great terror to any of them. *The thunder was supposed to be produced by the clapping of his wings.*' Evidently another slightly disguised thunder-bird.

Now let us try South Africa, and see whether the same beliefs are current.

Mr Dudley Kidd³ tells us that 'the natives in Zululand The Zulus. believe that if one examines the spot where lightning struck the ground, the shaft of an assegai will be found.' This corresponds exactly to the European or Red Indian belief in the thunderstone or thunder-arrow. 'The lightning is thus thought to be some dazzling spear hurled through the air. Others maintain that a special brown bird will be found at this spot, which is supposed to be surrounded by a mist or haze—probably their interpretation of the dazzling of their eyes by the bright light. This idea is modified in

¹ For the Brazilian Thunder-god, see Muller, *ut supra*, p. 271.

² Williams, *Missionary Enterprise*, p. 109.

³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, p. 417.

⁴ *The Essential Kafir*, p. 120.

The
Pondos.

The Bom-
vunas.

Pondoland, where the natives assure you that lightning is caused by a brown bird, which spits fire down on the earth. The Bomvunas modify this again, by saying that the bird sets its own fat on fire, and throws it down on the earth. I was on the point of shooting one of these birds, and the natives cried out in horror, begging me not to "shoot the lightning".

Mr Kidd goes on to explain that, in the native opinion, the thunder is caused by the flapping of the bird's wings, a belief which we have found in North and South America, and in Polynesia. When the thunder is loud and crackling, the agent is said to be the female bird; when it is distant and rumbling, the male bird.

Lightning
averters.

A further modification of the thunder-bird is said, by Mr Kidd, to exist in Natal, where '*a white bird*' of enormous size comes down and flaps his wings. An old native was quite indignant with a missionary who contradicted this assertion. The old man wanted to know how such a person could ever presume to teach the natives, when he did not know that thunder was caused by a bird.' Mr Kidd goes on to explain the various means employed by the South African Bantus to avert the lightning. The Kafirs stick assegais through the roof when a storm begins; and others place a hoe leaning against the side of the house. These practices are clearly parallel to our European methods of protection from the thunderstone by means of the thunderstone. It is more difficult to understand why the natives on the Zambesi place pieces of ostrich shell on their roofs as a protection against lightning. Does this mean that any African tribe had identified the ostrich with a thunder-bird? The real business of protection against lightning belongs to the medicine men. These have for their business, as Mr Kidd says, to control the clouds, which they drive about like herds of oxen. They use as medicine the assegai shafts which lie on the ground where the lightning strikes, they catch the thunder-bird and make medicine of its feathers, and they even eat the birds so as to be strong to fight the storm.

¹ Is this a case of white lightning?

Something of this kind had been noticed by the great African missionary, Dr Moffat, amongst the Bechuana^s. He tells us¹ 'Thunder they supposed to be caused by a certain bird which may be seen soaring very high during the storm, and which appeared to the natives as if it nestled among the forked lightnings. Some of these birds are not infrequently killed, and their having been seen to descend to the earth may have given rise to this ludicrous notion. I have never had an opportunity of examining this bird, but presume it belongs to the vulture species.' The missionary little suspected that the 'ludicrous notion' was once the common belief of his own European ancestors. How near his description of the Bechuana thunder-bird approaches to the eagle of Zeus! Amongst the Zulus the same belief can be traced; we have a striking statement on the subject in Callaway's *Religious System of the Amuzulu*² which has the advantage of giving the Zulu belief in their own words, as follows: 'There is a bird of heaven: it too is killed; it comes down when the lightning strikes the earth and remains on the ground...The bird of heaven is a bird which is said to descend from the sky, when it thunders, and to be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the lightning has struck. The heaven doctors place a large vessel of amasi mixed with various substances near a pool such as is frequently met with on the tops of hills: this is done to attract the lightning that it may strike in that place. The doctor remains at hand watching, and when the lightning strikes the bird descends and he rushes forward and kills it.' The body of the captured bird makes a very powerful medicine. The heaven doctor here described might equally be called thunder-doctor or rain-doctor; for the same term commonly describes sky, thunder, and lightning among African tribes, a usage which has its parallel in the terms in which the Greek poets describe Zeus. We shall return to these Zulu beliefs at a later point. For the present, it is sufficient to show that the thunder-bird has a leading place

¹ Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 4th ed. p. 338.

² p. 119.

in South African religion, and that the thunder-man does not seem to have yet arrived, unless the medicine man should be his foreshadowing and prototype.

Thunder-
bird in
Mada-
gascar.

Crossing to Madagascar, we might suppose that we had passed outside the area of belief in the thunder-bird; there is, however, as my friend John Sims points out, a bird known to the natives as *vorombāratra*, which is exactly *bird-of-thunder*.

Yoruba
tribes.

In West Africa, among the negro tribes, we have the curious phenomenon of an advance in civilization relatively to the Bantus; for the thunder appears, in some places, to be regarded as a man. Amongst the negroes of the Guinea Coast, the thunder-god is Shango, and I have not as yet detected any trace of bird-ancestry about him; though it is very probable that closer acquaintance would disclose it. Ellis shows in his *Yoruba-speaking Peoples* (p. 47) the two stages of belief closely adjacent: 'the notion we found amongst the Ewés that a *bird-like creature* was the animating entity of the thunderstorm has no parallel here, and Shango is purely anthropomorphic.'

The exact passage in which Ellis describes the lightning-god of the Ewé-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast is deserving of study¹.

'Khebioso, whose name is often abbreviated to So, is the lightning-god, and the word itself is used to mean lightning, though the more correct term for that is *So-fia*. On the Gold Coast, the lightning is wielded by the Sky-god, Nyankupon.

Ewé-
tribes.

'The name Khebioso is compounded of *Khe* (bird), *bi* (to let go light, to throw out light), and *so* (fire), so that it literally means the bird, or bird-like creature, that throws out fire....The Ewé-speaking negroes imagine that Khebioso is a *flying god, who partakes in some way of the nature of a bird*. The general idea appears to be that Khebioso is a bird-like creature, hidden in the midst of the black thunder-cloud, from which he casts out the lightning, and by some *the crashing of the thunder is believed to be the flapping of its enormous wings*.'

¹ Ellis, *Ewé-speaking peoples*, p. 37.

Ellis also notes that the negroes of the Slave Coast, as elsewhere, identify the flint implements of the Stone Age with thunderbolts, and they are consequently called *So-Kpe* (*Kpe*=stone). 'After a building has been struck by lightning, the priests of Khebioso, who at once run to the spot to demand that the inmates should make amends for the evident offence they have given their god, almost invariably produce a flint arrow-head, or axe, which they of course bring with them, but pretend to have found in or near the building.'

The case of Shango, who is also known by the name of *Hurler of Stones* (i.e. of thunderbolts), is interesting, as we shall see later, on account of his having migrated to Brazil with the slaves of the Portuguese, where he held his own as an object of religion, even after the conversion of the Brazilian negroes to Roman Catholicism.

The thunder-bird is also known to the Bakerewe, who ^{The} live on the largest island in the Victoria Nyanza Lake¹. ^{Bakerewe.} I give the account at length. 'Foudre (nkuba)—Comme la plupart des Nègres, les Bakerewe personnifient la foudre; c'est un coq mystérieux, au plumage de feu, qui s'abat capricieusement sur les hommes et les choses, tuant, détruisant ou brûlant tout ce qu'il touche. Bref! c'est un esprit des plus malfaisants. Cependant il y a un moyen de l'empêcher de nuire: être assez prompt pour le couvrir, dès qu'il apparaît, d'une corbeille fortement tressée, dans laquelle il demeure prisonnier quelques instants, pour s'en retourner bientôt purement et simplement par où il est venu, sans causer le moindre dommage.'

So, then, the domestic cock is amongst the thunder-birds, and his colour is red.

When we pass into Asia, we find ourselves nearing the beliefs of our ancestors; the thunder is now commonly regarded anthropomorphically, although there are still traces of bird-ancestry in the existing beliefs. One of the most striking cases has already been alluded to, the Chinese representation of the thunder-god with bird's feet. There

¹ See Huxel in *Anthropos*, 1911, Heft 1, p. 75.

Chinese
Thunder-
god.

is in the possession of Mr Freer, of Detroit, a beautiful painting of the thunder-god by Hokusai, a Japanese painter who affects Chinese archaism; the picture, which I had the opportunity of studying when I was in Detroit some time since, shows this very peculiarity of the human form joined to bird's feet. We shall refer to this picture again when we come to discuss the colour of the thunder-god. More striking is the figure of the Chinese thunder-god which Miss Harrison (*Themis*, p. 115) has reproduced from Simpson (*The Buddhist Praying Wheel*). Here we have the god beating a series of drums arranged in a circle; he has a thunderbolt in his left hand, and his bird-ancestry is betrayed by wings, claws and an eagle's beak.

We have now, perhaps, illustrated sufficiently for our purpose the existence of a wide-spread belief in the thunder-bird. It is not our intention to deal exhaustively with this subject; but we have to prove that the belief was held by our own Indo-European ancestors, for until we know what was the idea of the thunder that prevailed amongst them, we cannot trace to its origin the Cult of the Heavenly Twins, considered as the Children of the Thunder. As far as we have gone, we have found evidence of the existence of two dominant fears in the mind of primitive man, one the perfectly natural fear of thunder and lightning, the other, which at first sight seems as artificial as the other is natural, the fear of twins; and we have already more than a suspicion that these two fears are closely involved in one another: so much of religious practice and belief is traceable to one or other of these forms of terror that we might almost say that on these two dreads hang nine-tenths of subsequent religion.

We now know how to recognise the thunder-bird when we see him in *proprâ personâ*, or in forms which have displaced him. There is, however, a further direction in which identification of the thunder can be made; in this also we shall find constant connection between the Thunder and the Twins: we refer to the colour identification to which we propose to devote our next chapter.