

CONTENTS

PREFACE Pp. v-vi

CHAPTER I.—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL. Pp. 1-71

§ 1. *The Transference to Inanimate Objects*, pp. 1-8.—The principle of vicarious suffering, 1 *sq.*; the transference of evil to things, 2-5; evils transferred to other persons through the medium of things, 5-7; evils transferred to images, 7; Mongol transference of evil to things, 7 *sq.*

§ 2. *The Transference to Stones and Sticks*, pp. 8-30.—Fatigue transferred to stones, sticks, or leaves, 8 *sq.*; heaps of stones or sticks in America and Africa, 9-11; heaps of stones or sticks on the top of mountains or passes, 11 *sq.*; fatigue let out with the blood, 12 *sq.*; heaps of stones or sticks on the scene of crimes, 13 *sq.*; heaps of stones, sticks, or leaves on scenes of murder and on graves, 15-17; stones and sticks hurled at dangerous ghosts and demons, 17-20; other uses of stones and sticks thrown on heaps, 20 *sq.*; cairns raised in honour of Moslem saints, 21; stones as channels of communication with saints, 21 *sq.*; the rite of throwing stones or sticks a mode of purification, 23 *sq.*; this interpretation confirmed by Greek and Indian tradition and custom, 24 *sq.*; the throwing of stones and sticks as an offering, 25-29; the throwing of stones and sticks accompanied by prayers, 29 *sq.*; transformation of a magical ceremony into a religious rite, 30.

§ 3. *The Transference to Animals*, pp. 31-37.—Evils transferred to animals in Africa and other parts of the world, 31-34; evils transferred to birds, 34-36; evils transferred to animals in India, 36 *sq.*

§ 4. *The Transference to Men*, pp. 38-46.—Evils transferred to human beings in India, Scotland, Borneo, and New Zealand, 38 *sq.*; evils transferred to annual eponymous magistrates, 39-41; Indian story of the transference of evils to a saint, 41 *sq.*; transference of evils to human scapegoats in Uganda and Travancore, 42 *sq.*; transference of sins to sin-eater in England and India, 43-45; transference of sins in Tahiti, 45 *sq.*

- § 5. *The Transference of Evil in Europe*, pp. 47-59.—Transference of evils in ancient Greece, 47 *sq.*; transference of warts, 48 *sq.*; transference of sickness, 49; sickness transferred to animals, 49-53; sickness and ill-luck transferred to inanimate objects, 53 *sq.*; sickness and trouble transferred to trees and bushes, 54-59.
- § 6. *The Nailing of Evils*, pp. 59-71.—Sickness and pain pegged or nailed into trees, 59 *sq.*; gods, ghosts, and demons bunged up or nailed down, 60-62; evils and devils nailed into stones, walls, doorposts, and so on, 62-64; plague and civil discord nailed into a wall in ancient Rome, 64-66; annual ceremony of knocking a nail in Rome probably a purificatory rite, 66-69; nails knocked into idols to attract the attention of the gods or spirits, 69-71.

CHAPTER II. — THE OMNIPRESENCE OF
DEMONS Pp. 72-108

Attempts to get rid of the accumulated sorrows of a whole people, 72; sorrows conceived of as the work of demons, 72 *sq.*; primitive belief in the omnipresence of demons, 73 *sq.*; demons in Australia, 74; demons in Africa, 74-78; demons in South America, 78 *sq.*; demons in Labrador, 79 *sq.*; demons in Polynesia, 80 *sq.*; demons in New Zealand, 81; demons in the Pelew Islands and the Philippines, 81 *sq.*; demons in Melanesia, 82 *sq.*; demons in New Guinea, 83-85; demons in Timor, 85; demons in Celebes, 85 *sq.*; demons in Bali and Java, 86 *sq.*; demons in Borneo, 87; demons in Sumatra, 87 *sq.*; demons in the Nicobars, 88; demons in the Malay Peninsula, 88 *sq.*; demons in Kamtchatka, 89; the permanence of demons compared with the transience of the high gods, 89 *sq.*; demons in ancient India, 90 *sq.*; demons in modern India, 91-94; demons in Ceylon, 94 *sq.*; demons in Burma, 95 *sq.*; demons in Siam, 97; demons in Indo-China, 97-99; demons in China, 99; demons in Corea, 99 *sq.*; demons among the Koryaks, 100 *sq.*; demons among the Gilyaks, 101 *sq.*; demons in ancient Babylonia and Assyria, 102 *sq.*; demons in ancient Egypt, 103 *sq.*; demons in modern Egypt, 104; demons in ancient Greece, 104 *sq.*; demons in mediaeval Europe, 105 *sq.*; demons in modern Europe, 106 *sq.*; demons in modern Armenia, 107 *sq.*

CHAPTER III.—THE PUBLIC EXPULSION OF
EVILS Pp. 109-169

- § 1. *The Occasional Expulsion of Evils*, pp. 109-123.—General clearances of evils take the form of expulsions of demons, 109; expulsions of demons in Melanesia, 109 *sq.*, in Australia and South Africa, 110 *sq.*, in Minahassa, Halmahera, and the Kei Islands, 111-113, in Nias, 113-116, in the Solomon Islands, 116, in Burma, 116 *sq.*, in India and China, 117 *sq.*,

in Japan, 118 *sq.*, in Corea and Tonquin, 119, in Africa, 120 *sq.*, in America, 121; flight from the demons of sickness, 122 *sq.*

- § 2. *The Periodic Expulsion of Evils*, pp. 123-169.—Annual expulsion of ghosts in Australia, 123 *sq.*; annual expulsions of Tuña and Sedna among the Esquimaux, 124-126; annual expulsion of demons among the Koryaks, 126 *sq.*, among the Iroquois, 127; annual expulsion of evils among the Cherokees, 128, among the Incas, 128-130; annual expulsion of demons in West Africa, 131-133, in Abyssinia, 133 *sq.*; annual expulsion of demons at harvest in New Guinea, 134, among the Hos of West Africa, 134-136, among the Hos of North-Eastern India, 136 *sq.*, among the Hindoo Koosh tribes, 137; annual expulsion of demons at sowing among the Khonds, 138 *sq.*; annual expulsion of disease in Chota Nagpur, 139; annual expulsion of demons among the Mossos of China, 139 *sq.*; periodical expulsion of demons in Bali, 140 *sq.*; annual expulsion of the fire-spirit among the Shans, 141; annual ceremony in Fiji, 141 *sq.*; annual ceremony in Tumleo, 142 *sq.*; annual expulsion of demons in Japan, 143 *sq.*; annual expulsion of poverty and demons in China, India, and Persia, 144 *sq.*; annual expulsion of demons at end of the year in China, 145-147; annual expulsion of demons in Tonquin, 147 *sq.*, in Cambodia, 149, in Siam, 149-151; annual reception and expulsion of the spirits of the dead in Japan, 151-152, in ancient Greece, 152-154, in ancient Rome, 154 *sq.*; annual expulsion of Satan among the Wotyaks and Cheremiss of Russia, 155 *sq.*; annual expulsion of witches and other powers of evil in Christian Europe, 157; widespread fear of witches and wizards in Europe, 157 *sq.*; annual expulsion and burning of witches on Walpurgis Night, 158-164; annual expulsion of witches during the Twelve Days from Christmas to Epiphany, 164-167; annual expulsion of Trows in Shetland on Antinmas, 167-169.

CHAPTER IV.—PUBLIC SCAPEGOATS

Pp. 170-223

- § 1. *The Expulsion of Embodied Evils*, pp. 170-184.—Expulsion of demons personified by men among the American Indians, 170 *sq.*; expulsion of a demon embodied in an image among the Mayas of Yucatan, 171; expulsion of a demon personified by a man in Queensland, 172; expulsion of demons embodied in effigies in India and Russia, 172 *sq.*; expulsion of demons embodied in animals in Esthonia, 173; expulsion of demons embodied in boys in Spain, 173; annual expulsion of demon of plague among the Khasis of Assam, 173 *sq.*; the Tug of War probably a contest with demons represented by human beings, 174; the Tug of War in Chit-tagong, 174 *sq.*, in Burma, 175 *sq.*, in the Timor-laut Islands, 176, in the East Indies, Assam, Corea, Kamtchatka, and New Guinea, 177 *sq.*, in Morocco, 178-180, in French Guiana, 181, in North-Western India, 181 *sq.*, in Morocco, 182, in Shropshire and Radnorshire, 182 *sq.*; contests of ball in Morocco, 179 *sq.*, in Normandy, 183 *sq.*; annual sham fights may represent contests with demons, 184.

- § 2. *The Occasional Expulsion of Evils in a Material Vehicle*, pp. 185-198.— Demons of sickness expelled in a small ship in the Malay Archipelago, 185-187, in Selangor, 187 *sq.*, in New Guinea, the Philippines, Tikopia, and the Nicobar Islands, 188-190; demons of sickness expelled in the form of animals in India, 190-193, in Africa and America, 193; goddess of disease expelled in a toy chariot in India, 193 *sq.*; human scapegoats in Uganda, 194 *sq.*, in China and India, 196; sliding down a rope in Kumaon, 196 *sq.*, in Tibet at the New Year, 197 *sq.*
- § 3. *The Periodic Expulsion of Evils in a Material Vehicle*, pp. 198-223.— Periodic expulsion of spirits in rafts from Perak, 198 *sq.*; annual expulsion of evils in small ships in the Indian Archipelago, 199-201, in the Nicobar Islands, 201 *sq.*; annual expulsion of embodied evils in India, China, Corea, and Tibet, 202 *sq.*; biennial expulsion of demons embodied in effigies at Old Calabar, 203 *sq.*; annual expulsion of demons embodied in effigies at Porto Novo, 205 *sq.*; annual expulsion of embodied evils among the Hos of Togoland, 206 *sq.*, among the gypsies, 207 *sq.*; annual expulsion of evils in an animal scapegoat among the Garos of Assam, 208 *sq.*; dogs as annual scapegoats in India, Scotland, and America, 209 *sq.*; the annual Jewish scapegoat, 210; annual human scapegoats put to death in Africa, 210-212, formerly in Siam, 212; annual human scapegoats in Japan, 212 *sq.*, in Sumatra, 213, in mediæval Europe, 214; annual expulsion of Posterli in Switzerland, 214; annual expulsion of the devil, personified by a man, from Munich on Ascension Day, 214 *sq.*; the criminal annually pardoned at Rouen on Ascension Day perhaps a public scapegoat, 215 *sq.*; divine animals as scapegoats in India and ancient Egypt, 216 *sq.*; divine men as scapegoats among the Gonds of India and the Albanians of the Caucasus, 217 *sq.*; annual human scapegoats in Tibet, 218-221; the original Tibetan scapegoat perhaps the Grand Lama, 221-223.

CHAPTER V.—ON SCAPEGOATS IN GENERAL

Pp. 224-228

The immediate and the mediate expulsions of evil identical in intention, 224; annual expulsion of evil generally coincides with a change of season, 224 *sq.*; annual expulsion of evil preceded or followed by a period of general license, 225 *sq.*; remarkable use of a divine animal or man as a scapegoat, 226 *sq.*; why a dying god should serve as a scapegoat, 227; the use of a divinity as a scapegoat explains an ambiguity in the "Carrying out of Death," 227 *sq.*

CHAPTER VI.—HUMAN SCAPEGOATS IN

CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY Pp. 229-274

- § 1. *The Human Scapegoat in Ancient Rome*, pp. 229-252.—Annual expulsion of "the Old Mars" in March, 229-231; "the Old Mars" beaten by the

Salii, the dancing priests of Mars, 231 *sq.*; the dances of the Salii in spring and autumn perhaps intended to quicken the growth of the corn then sown, 232; the armed processions of the Salii perhaps intended to expel demons, 233 *sq.*; demons of blight and infertility expelled by dancers in Africa, 236-238; masked dances to promote the growth of the crops in Borneo and Brazil, 236; dances for the crops in Aracan and among the Tarahumare and Cora Indians of Mexico, 236-238; dances and leaps of European peasants to make the corn grow tall, 238 *sq.*; dances of mummers called *Perchten* in Austria for the good of the crops, 240-246; the bells worn by the *Perchten* perhaps intended to ban demons, 246 *sq.*; bells rung to make the grass and the flax grow, 247 *sq.*; whips cracked to make the flax grow, 248 *sq.*; in these processions the mummers seem to personate spirits of fertility both vegetable and human, 249 *sq.*; the view of W. Mannhardt, 250; the use of bells and swords in these ceremonies, 250 *sq.*; these masquerades intended to stimulate vegetation in spring and to expel demons, 251 *sq.*; application of these conclusions to the expulsion of "the Old Mars" in ancient Rome, 252.

- § 2. *The Human Scapegoat in Ancient Greece*, pp. 252-274.—The "Expulsion of Hunger" at Chaeronea, 252; human scapegoats at Marseilles, 253; human scapegoats put to death at Athens and Abdera, 253 *sq.*; annual human scapegoats in Leucadia, 254; human scapegoats annually put to death at the festival of the Thargelia in Asia Minor, 255; the custom of beating the human scapegoats probably intended to increase their productive energy, 255-257; W. R. Paton's view that the human victims at the Thargelia personated fig-trees and simulated the artificial fertilization of the fig, 257 *sq.*; the view confirmed by a comparison of the Roman rites of the *Nonae Caprotinae*, 258 *sq.*; beating as a mode of dispelling evil influences, 259 *sq.*; beating people to rid them of clinging ghosts, 260-262; beating practised by South American Indians and others as a mode of conveying good qualities, 262-265; beating people in Morocco with the skins of sacrificed sheep or goats, 265 *sq.*; European custom of beating cattle with branches to make them healthy or drive away witches, 266 *sq.*; European custom of beating people with fresh green branches at Easter and Christmas to make them "fresh and green," 268-272; hence the beating of the human victims at the Thargelia with fig-branches and squills was probably intended to increase their reproductive energies, 272 *sq.*; parallel between the human sacrifices at the Thargelia and the bloody ritual of the Arician grove, 273 *sq.*

CHAPTER VII. — KILLING THE GOD IN

MEXICO Pp. 275-305

Aztec custom of annually sacrificing human representatives of gods, 275 *sq.*; sacrifice of a man in the character of the great god Tezcatlipoca in the fifth Aztec month, 276-279; sacrifice of a man in the character of the great god Vitzilopochtli (Huitzilopochtli) in the month of May, 280 *sq.*;

sacrifice of a man in the character of the great god Quetzalcoatl in February, 281-283; sacrifice of a woman in the character of the Goddess of Salt in the month of June, 283 *sq.*; sacrifice of a woman in the character of the Goddess of the Young Maize about Midsummer, 285 *sq.*; sacrifice of a woman in the character of the goddess "Our Mother" on Christmas Day, 287 *sq.*; sacrifice of a woman in the character of the Mother of the Gods in August or September, 288-291; sacrifice of a young girl in the character of the Goddess of the Maize in the month of September, 291-295; identification of the human victim with the Goddess of the Maize whom she personated, 295 *sq.*; resurrection of the Maize Goddess set forth by the wearing of the flayed skin of her human representative, 296; Xipe the Flayed God and the festival of the Flaying of Men, 296-298; the skins of the flayed human victims worn by holy beggars and representatives of gods, 298-300; men and women roasted alive as representatives of the Fire-god, 300 *sq.*; women flayed in honour of the Fire-god and their skins worn by men who personated gods, 301 *sq.*; the divine resurrection set forth by men wearing the flayed skins of human representatives of gods, 302; the idea of resurrection suggested by the observation of snakes and other creatures that cast their skins, 302-304; hence the attempt of the Aztecs to renew their own skins by putting on those of other people, 304 *sq.*

CHAPTER VIII.—THE SATURNALIA AND KINDRED FESTIVALS Pp. 306-411

- § 1. *The Roman Saturnalia*, pp. 306-312.—Saturn and the Saturnalia, 306 *sq.*; license granted to slaves at the Saturnalia, 307 *sq.*; mock King of the Saturnalia, 308; personation of Saturn at the Saturnalia by a man who afterwards suffered death, 308 *sq.*; the martyrdom and tomb of St. Dasius, 309 *sq.*; the mock King of the Saturnalia probably the successor of temporary kings who personated Saturn at the Saturnalia and suffered death in the character of the god, 311 *sq.*; the modern Carnival perhaps the equivalent of the ancient Saturnalia, 312.
- § 2. *The King of the Bean and the Festival of Fools*, pp. 313-345.—The King of the Bean on Twelfth Night, 313-315; serious significance of the King of the Bean and Twelfth Night, 315 *sq.*; fires on the Eve of Twelfth Night for the sake of the fruit and the crops in France and England, 316-321; candles on the Eve of Twelfth Night in Ireland, 321 *sq.*; the weather of the twelve months determined by the weather of the Twelve Days, 322-324; the Twelve Days in ancient India, 324 *sq.*; the Twelve Days probably an ancient intercalary period introduced to equate twelve lunar months to the solar year, 325 *sq.*; the superstitions attaching to the Twelve Days not of Christian origin, 326-328; superstitions attaching to intercalary periods, 328 *sq.*; the Three Kings of Twelfth Night, 329-331; the Lord of Misrule in England, 331-334; the Festival of Fools in France, 334-336; Festival

of the Innocents and the Boy Bishop in France, 336 *sq.*; the Boy Bishop in England, 337 *sq.*; the superstitions associated with the Twelve Days probably relics of an old intercalary period at midwinter, 338 *sq.*; superstitions associated with the intercalary periods among the Aztecs and Mayas, 339 *sq.*; the five supplementary days of the year in ancient Egypt, 340-342; early attempts of Aryan peoples to substitute an intercalary month at longer intervals for the annual Twelve Days, 342-345.

- § 3. *The Saturnalia and Lent*, pp. 345-350.—The modern Carnival perhaps the equivalent of the ancient Saturnalia, 345 *sq.*; the Saturnalia, a festival of sowing, may have originally fallen at the time of the spring sowing, 346 *sq.*; the Lenten fast in spring may be an old heathen period of abstinence intended to promote the growth of the seed, 347 *sq.*; the forty days' mourning for Persephone, the Greek goddess of corn, 348 *sq.*; the Buddhist Lent, 349 *sq.*
- § 4. *Saturnalia in Ancient Greece*, pp. 350-354.—Inversion of social ranks at ancient Greek festivals in Crete, Troezen, and Thessaly, 350 *sq.*; festival of the Cronia compared to the Saturnalia, 351 *sq.*; the Olympian Cronia held at the spring equinox, 352; one of the kings at the Olympian Cronia perhaps put to death in the character of King Cronus, 352 *sq.*; sacrifice of a man at the Cronia in Rhodes, 353 *sq.*
5. *Saturnalia in Western Asia*, pp. 354-407.—The Babylonian festival of the Sacaea, 354 *sq.*; the Sacaea probably identical with Zakmuk or Zagmuk, the Babylonian festival of New Year in March, 355-358; apparent discrepancy in the dates of the festivals, 358 *sq.*; identity of the two festivals Sacaea and Zakmuk confirmed by the connexion of both with the Jewish Purim, 359-364; origin of Purim according to the book of Esther, 364 *sq.*; the rival pairs Mordecai and Esther on the one side, Haman and Vashti on the other, 365; Jensen's theory of their opposition, 366 *sq.*; the mock King of the Sacaea probably personated a god and paired with a woman who personated a goddess, 368 *sq.*; reminiscence of such pairs in the legend of Semiramis (Ishtar, Astarte) and her lovers, 369-372; the sacred drama acted at Zela in Pontus, 372 *sq.*; such sacred dramas are magical rites intended to influence the course of nature, 373 *sq.*; magical intention of sacred dramas and masked dances among the savages of America, New Guinea, and Borneo, 374-384; religious origin of the drama in Greece and India, 384 *sq.*; suggested reconciliation of Euhemerism with a rival school of mythology, 385 *sq.*; the widespread Oriental myth of the loving goddess and the dying god probably acted every year by a human couple, 386 *sq.*; Sardanapalus and Ashurbanapal, 387 *sq.*; the burning of Sandan, 388-390; death in the fire of human representatives of gods, 390-392; traces of human sacrifices at Purim, effigies of Haman burnt, 392-394; accusations of ritual murder brought against the Jews, 394-396; mitigated form of human sacrifice, 396 *sq.*; the "fast of Esther" before Purim compared with the mourning for Tammuz, 397-

400; the resurrection of the dead god, 400; the divine death enacted by Haman and Vashti, the divine resurrection by Mordecai and Esther, 400 *sq.*; the Persian ceremony of "the Ride of the Beardless One" compared to the triumphal ride of Mordecai, 401-404; the "Ride of the Beardless One" a ceremonial expulsion of winter, 404 *sq.*; the opposition of Haman and Vashti to Mordecai and Esther a contrast between the annual death of nature in winter and its revival in spring, 405-407.

§ 6. *Conclusion*, pp. 407-411.—Wide prevalence of festivals like the Saturnalia in antiquity, 407; the social and political conditions implied by such festivals, 407 *sq.*; the decline and fall of the festivals, 408 *sq.*; probable homogeneity of civilization over a great part of the old world in antiquity, 409; possible influence of the sacrifice of deified men on cosmogonical theories, 409-411.

NOTE.—The Crucifixion of Christ . . . Pp. 412-423

INDEX Pp. 425-453