

offering for the blessings of the past year. But in respect of the *ἀραχαί*, of the firstfruits of the harvest and vintage, another motive, belonging to a different order of ideas, may be discerned or surmised. On the day called the Pithoigia, 'the opening of the wine-casks'—the first day of the Attic Anthesteria, when the new wine was ready for drinking—the citizens bore a mixture of the sweet wine to Dionysos 'in the marshes' before they ventured to drink themselves.¹ We may regard this as a religious rite instituted for the purpose of removing the tabu from the new vintage; and, as there is abundant evidence of the belief that a religious sanctity conserves and fences round the growths of the field before they are fit for the use of man, we may suppose that the *ἀραχαί* of corn had originally this significance. The most conspicuous example of these was the *ἀραχαί* sent from a great part of the Greek world to the goddesses at Eleusis; but a detailed inscription of the 5th cent. reveals that they came to be regarded as mere tributes or thank-offerings, and a certain residue of them were sold in the market, the price being devoted to the purchase of *ἀναθήματα*.²

4. Blood-sacrifices and the gift theory.—The blood-sacrifices have now to be considered, and it is to these rather than to those of the former type that certain ideas which may be called mystic will be found to attach. Before considering any general theory about them, one must review the facts. The first question is whether any general principle is discoverable governing the choice of animals. The choice was certainly a wide one, including all domesticated animals, all edible birds, even fish, and all the wild beasts of the chase. The domesticated animals are nearly always those that form the ordinary food of man. The only exceptions were dogs occasionally offered to Hekate, Ares, and Eileithyia,³ horses offered to Helios and Poseidon,⁴ and asses to Apollo and the winds;⁵ we have a record of the sacrifice of an elephant offered by one of the Ptolemies on a single occasion, which excited so much popular disapproval that it was not repeated.

Apart from these few exceptions, the facts at first sight seem to be sufficiently explained by the gift theory, namely, that the meat-offerings were tributes paid to the deity for favours received in the past or expected in the future, or to deprecate his anger. And such a rite reveals the working of the primitive idea that the deity is not of his own nature immortal and self-existing, but is dependent like mortals on continual nourishment for his continual existence—an idea plainly enough expressed in Egyptian, Babylonian, and Vedic religions. It is true that in no articulate Greek utterance, nowhere in the earliest literature, is the belief bluntly proclaimed that the divinity would perish if not fed by the sacrifices, and later thinkers scoffed at the view that the gods needed them in any sense. But we cannot avoid supposing that such an idea, however inarticulate, was in the background of the popular religious consciousness; and, in spite of the refining influence of more cultured thought, the popular faith must have long prevailed that the deities in some way actually ate of the flesh of the victim and always delighted in it. Hence arose at some indeterminate date such divine epithets as *Αιγοφάγος*, 'goat-eater,' *Ταυροφάγος*, 'bull-eater,' of Hera⁶ and Dionysos,⁷ derived from the victims offered. Also, in a well-known passage in the *Iliad*, Zeus himself admits that he owes great consideration to Hektor in

return for his many offerings.¹ This is the fundamental view of the gift theory.

But, when we look more closely into the facts, whether in regard to the choice of victims or in regard to the actual forms of the sacrifice itself, the more we find that this theory, even if always true to some extent, is seriously inadequate. If the sacrifice were regarded merely as a gift to provide the divinity with food, why should the rule obtain on the whole that the god prefers the male victim, the goddess the female?² Why should it have been supposed that a maiden heifer should be more acceptable as food to a maiden goddess?³ Why should the horns of the ox be elaborately decked with gold, its neck in later times with wreaths, and why should the rule have been generally insisted on that the victims should be *καθαρά* and *ἀλόκληρα*, pure and unblemished?⁴ Certainly the primitive mind applies certain ideas of sympathetic magic to the choice of food; and we can explain, in reference to them, why a pregnant sow should be offered to the earth-goddess to stimulate her fertility,⁵ why entire male victims, *ἐνορχα*, should be chosen as sacrificial food by specially virile divinities such as Ares, Poseidon, the river-gods, and certain heroes, and why a cock should be an appropriate offering to the war-god, to quicken his fighting powers. But the simple food theory, whether assisted or not by ideas of magical working, would not explain why black animals should be offered to the dark powers below the earth, called 'chthonian,' and to the gods of storm, and animals of bright hue to celestial powers, the Olympians, and the deities of brightness.⁶ Such a choice would be dictated by the idea that there should be some resemblance or affinity between the animal of sacrifice and the divinity. And later writers of classical antiquity were evidently aware of this prevalent feeling; we find such pronouncements as that bulls were offered to Selene because the horns of the animal resemble the horns of the moon,⁷ and a general axiom that 'victims are offered because of some similitude' to the deity.⁸ The author of this phrase impairs its value by adding to it the words 'or because of some contrariety,' which is explained by his later statement, 'victims are offered which are detrimental to the deity'—'immolantur quae obsunt.'⁹ This was doubtless suggested by such facts as that the goat was commonly offered to Dionysos, and the goat was injurious to vines. But we are certain that this view is false, and that it was utterly repugnant to ancient Hellenic thought and feeling that an animal should be chosen for sacrifice which was naturally detrimental or hostile to the divinity. On the contrary, evidence can be given establishing a mysterious connexion or sympathy between the victim and the divine power to whom it is consecrated on the altar, and it is this that compels us, in certain forms of sacrifice, to regard the gift theory as inadequate.

5. Sanctity of the altar.—It is now necessary to consider those forms for which the earliest evidence is afforded by certain passages in the Homeric poems. By combining some of them we can present a typical Homeric sacrifice, as offered by a tribe or a group of men.

¹ *Il.* xxiv. 84 ff.
² To this rule, formulated by Arnobius (*ada. Gent.* vii. 10), the exceptions are very numerous (some shrines were indifferent as to the sex of the victim—e.g., at Thasos [*Roehl. Ins. Graec. Ant.*, Berlin, 1832, no. 379]); but on the whole it prevailed.
³ *Il.* vi. 276.

⁴ Aristot. frag. 108 (Athenens. 674 f.); for curious exceptions to this rule see *El. Nat. An.* xii. 34.

⁵ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Sacrae*, 26.

⁶ Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* iii. 13; Aristoph. *Ran.* 347.

⁷ Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 21.

⁸ Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* ii. 320.

⁹ *Id.* *Aen.* iii. 13.

¹ *CGS* v. 214 f.

² Dittenberger², 20, ll. 10-12; see *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1914, London, 1915, p. 114 L.

³ *CGS* ii. 707 n.

⁴ See above, § 1.

⁵ *CGS* 1633; *CGS* iv. 100; *Et. Mag.*, s.v. *Ἀναθήματα*.

⁶ Paus. *lit.* xv. 9.

⁷ Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 380.

The victim, one or many, was brought near the altar; holy water, barley-stalks in a basket, and a vessel for catching the blood were held in readiness; the sacrificers purified themselves with the holy water and formally raised up in their hands the barley-stalks, which had been sanctified by some preliminary rite; then the chief officiator—the king or chieftain or, more rarely, the priest—cut off some of the victim's hair and threw it into the fire, at the same time or immediately afterwards uttering the prayer to the deity for blessing or special aid. At this point the sacrificers 'threw forward the shredded barley (or barley-stalks)'; the victim, if a powerful one like an ox or a bull, whose struggles would be embarrassing, was smitten with an axe in such a way as to render it impotent; then, if women were present, they raised the *δαλυρῆ*, which was an auspicious appeal to the deity by name to grace the ritual with his or her presence;¹ the animal, if the oblation was to the Olympians, was lifted off the ground, its head drawn back so that its face was turned to the sky, and its throat cut; the blood was probably caught in the sacred vessel, though we do not know for what purpose; the dismembering of the carcass began, the thighs were cut away and wrapped in fat, and, with portions of meat cut probably from every part of the victim, were placed on the altar and roasted, while a libation of wine was poured over them. While these were roasting, the worshippers ceremonially partook of the inward parts—*σπλάγχνα*—which had been cooked; then the other parts of the victim were cut up and roasted on spits and provided a common feast for the sacrificers; the feast was followed by a wine-drinking, inaugurated by a libation to the deities, and in certain cases the rite might close with religious dance and singing.² There is much here that needs skilled interpretation. Homer is not an expounder of ritual; much of his account is stereotyped and has the quality of shorthand. One point of importance is obvious: the victim is not a gift to the gods for their own exclusive use; only that portion of it belongs to them which is burnt on the altar; the rest serves as a feast for the people, in which they may be supposed to be feasting with their divinity; so that the typical Homeric sacrifice may best be described, not as a tribute or bribe, but rather as a communal meal in which the people strengthened their sense of fellowship with the god or goddess. But is there any trace of the idea that the victim is in itself divine? Nowhere in the Homeric poems is there any hint of such a character attaching to it before it has been brought into touch with the altar. But we may discern in part of the ritual the intention to sanctify the animal, to fill it with the divine spirit; and, as the altar was the centre to which the divine spirit was attracted, this aim would be effected by establishing a *rapproch* between the deity represented by the altar and the victim. Such might well have been the intention of throwing its hair into the altar-fire before the immolation, for by a well-known law the sanctification of the part means the sanctification of the whole. There is reason for thinking that this was also the intention and use of the *δαλυρῆ*, though careful consideration is needed before arriving at any definite view of these. The acts expressed by *δαλυρῆ* *ἀνέλονται* and *δαλυρῆ* *προβάλλονται* belong to the initial part called *ἀπρόχρηστος*, which preceded the

¹ This has been wrongly interpreted as a cry of sorrow, also as a cry to avert evil spirits (e.g., G. G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1911, p. 57); in no passage in Greek literature is *δαλυρῆ* or its cognates a sorrowful cry (the two examples quoted in Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*, are false); it is generally joyful, always auspicious.

² The two most complete passages from which this description is taken are *Il.* i. 447-474, and *Od.* iii. 440-483; cf. *Od.* iii. 5, *Il.* ix. 220.

central act of sacrifice and of which the purpose was the sanctification of the victim and the worshippers. A comparison of many later authorities suggests the following interpretation: the barley-stalks are first placed on the altar, and thus become charged with its spirit, as does everything that touches it; they are then solemnly taken up and 'thrown forward' so as to strike the victim or touch it on the forehead, whereby the holy spirit passes into it. When, elsewhere, the Achæans have no barley at hand, they use leaves,³ and we know that in later ages leaves were strewn on altars. There is no hint that barley or any other cereal had this mystic power, independently of contact with the altar. Thus charged, the victim is no longer, as it had been hitherto, a merely secular beast, but becomes holy flesh, and those who partake of it are filled with the divine spirit and enter into mystic fellowship with their deity, however faintly this may have been realized by the poet and his contemporaries. This idea will also explain the ceremonial tasting of the *σπλάγχνα* before the communal feast begins; and it is in the Homeric evidence concerning this part of the whole rite that the sacramental concept emerges most clearly.⁴

Such is the general type of sacrifice familiar to Homer, from which we must carefully distinguish another that we may call the oath-sacrifice; this, which was known to Homer and the later periods, presents special characteristics and will be discussed below. The communal sacrificial feast, which has been described above and which may be interpreted as a ceremony in which the worshippers feasted with the deity and feasted on flesh into which the divine spirit had temporarily entered, was a genial institution, containing potential germs of advanced religion. It may have inspired Hesiod with his vision of a golden age, 'when immortal gods and mortal men had fellowship in the banquet and sat together.'⁵ And, although in the later periods the sense of inner fellowship and mystic union with the divine may have waxed dim, the forms of it certainly survived. The later literature gives us abundant testimony that the altar continued to be the radiating centre of sanctity for the whole sacrifice. The *οἶλα*, barley-stalks or meal, continued to be strewn on the altar and used for the sanctification of the victim and even perhaps the bystanders; the *χέρμη*, or holy water, was sanctified by a brand from the altar being dipped in it; the *κὰν*, or baskets containing cereals, were sanctified by being taken in solemn procession round the altar; and, thus charged, they sanctified the sacrificial knife which was carried in them.⁶ Connected thus by more than one link with the centre of sanctity, the victim became temporarily a sacrosanct beast, and the eating of its flesh might be felt in some degree to be a sacrament. The belief that a part of the personality of the deity might be thus incarnated for a time in the victim explains many of the old rules concerning the choice of animals: the maiden goddess might prefer a maiden victim, the bright deities a bright-haired victim.

6. Bouphonia ritual.—This view of the sacrifice emerges clearly in the ritual of the Bouphonia at Athens and in the legends concerning it, upon which much has been written in the way of con-

¹ The most important references are schol. *Hom. Od.* iii. 441, 445, schol. *Il.* i. 449; schol. *Aristoph. Fr.* 1187; *Enstath. Il.* i. 449; *Aristoph. Pax.* 961; for modern theory see Ziehen, in *Hermes*, xxxvii. (1902) 391; and Stengel, *Opferbräutigam der Griechen*.

² *Od.* xii. 357.

³ See art. *ΓΕΡΑΣΣΕ ΖΕΛΙΘΙΟΝ*, vol. vi. p. 398.

⁴ *Frags.* 82 (Rzach).

⁵ *Athenaeus*, pp. 207 D, 409 B; *Aristoph. Pax.* 948-960, *Lysistr.* 1129; *Eur. Elect.* 800-814 (full account of 5th cent. sacrifice); cf. *Iph. Aul.* 955, 1111, 1471, 1540; *Herod.* i. 150.

troveray and theorizing.¹ The sacred character of the ox in this ceremony is shown in strange and impressive ways: he dedicates himself to the god by voluntarily approaching the altar and eating the corn upon it; the priest who slays him goes into feigned exile, a solemn trial is held for his murder, and the axe of sacrifice is adjudged guilty and cast into the sea. All partake of his flesh, and a simulated resurrection of the ox is enacted by sewing his hide together, filling it with hay, and yoking it to the plough. This ox has been interpreted by Robertson Smith as a totem-animal, and the name 'theanthropic' has been applied to him; but the theory of totemism breaks down here when critically examined, and the name 'theanthropic' has no right to be applied to any sacrificial beast in Greece; some were regarded temporarily as divine, but none as at once divine and human. There is much more to be said for Frazer's theory that this ox is the vegetation-spirit; but the theory is not essential to explain the facts. What emerges clearly from the records of the ritual and the legends is that the ox has no innate and independent sanctity of his own; this quality enters into him only after his contact with the altar, whereto he is called by the god; henceforth he is charged with the god's spirit, and the slaying of him is felt to be an awful deed, though necessary; and the eating of his flesh is felt to be a sacrament, whereby the Cretan stranger who in the legend performs the ceremony becomes of one flesh with the citizens and is admitted to citizenship. The feigned resurrection may be an apology to the spirit of the ox. Similar ideas are discernible in the ritual of Zeus Sosipolis of Magnesia, as attested by a famous inscription of the latter part of the 3rd cent. B.C.² At the beginning of the agricultural year the finest bull that could be procured was solemnly dedicated to Zeus, 'the Saviour of the City,' in a ceremony called the *αὐδαίσις*; we are not told, but we may suppose, that the consecration took place by the altar of the god; towards the close of the year, when the harvest was ripe, the bull, having been treated with great reverence and care all through the months, was led in a solemn procession and sacrificed to Zeus, and his flesh was distributed among those who took part in the procession. There is no reason to suppose that the bull possessed any independent sanctity previous to his dedication; but by that ceremony the spirit of Zeus, who was undoubtedly a god of fertility in Magnesia, became temporarily incarnate in the bull, and those who ate the sacrificial meat would be put in communion with him; if they ate it in a communal meal round the altar, the concluding act of the ritual would be exactly parallel to the old Homeric sacrificial feast. And that this was a common practice in the State sacrifices is indicated by such not infrequent formulae as *οὐκ ἀποφορὰ*, or *δαίνυσθων αὐτοῦ*, 'let not the flesh be taken away' (from the neighbourhood of the altar), 'let them banquet there' (around the altar)³—rules which show that the flesh was considered too holy to be removed with safety into private dwellings, and that the full virtue of the sacrifice could be maintained only if the worshippers ate the sacred flesh in the presence of their deity.⁴

Moreover, the mystic power that the animal

¹ Paus. i. xxiv. 4; Porph. *de Abst.* ii. xxix. 30 (from Theophrastus); *CGS* i. 56 f., 88-92; Robertson Smith, *Idol. Sem.* 2, p. 204 ff.; *GE3*, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 5-9; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 14.

² O. Kern, *Die Inschr. von Magnesia am Mavander*, Berlin, 1900, no. 98; Nilsson, p. 26.

³ See examples in Ada Thomsen, 'Der Trug des Prometheus,' *ARW* xii. (1900) 467.

⁴ That this type of sacrifice and this view of it were rite in later paganism is proved by St. Paul's phrase, *τραπέσις δαιμονίων κερύειν* (1 Co 10²¹).

acquired from the altar and through the sacrifice remained after its death. Its blood might be used for cathartic purposes, and specially and chiefly for washing the altar-steps,¹ probably a post-Homeric ceremony. The *ἁγίοι*, the 'holy' priests of Delphi, acquired their holiness from the victim that had been sacrificed to Apollo and was called *ἁγιωτήρ*,² 'he who makes holy,' because the beast communicated holiness to the official, probably by means of some ritual contact. Also the skin of the sacrificial animal might long retain mystic power: the *Διὸς κἀβίον*, the skin of the ram offered to Zeus Meilichios at Athens, was employed in the purification of homicides;³ the consultants of the prophetic hero, Kalchas, slept on the fleece of the black ram that had been offered to him;⁴ the *αἰγὴ* of Athene, probably nothing more than the skin of the goat yearly offered to her on the Acropolis at Athens, was taken round by the priestess to bless newly-married couples with.⁵ But these are exceptional cases; ordinarily the sacrificial skins—so great was their number in the Greek States and especially in Athens—formed a valuable revenue from which the priest sometimes got his dues and the State an appreciable return.

We no longer hear of the ceremonial or sacramental eating of the *σπλάγχνα* by the worshippers, and we have some evidence that these might be given to the priest or sacrificer for his private profit or burned on the altar as the deities' portion;⁶ but they evidently retained here and there a certain mystic value, for sometimes they were separately placed on the knees of the idol,⁷ and in the narrative of Herodotus the Spartan prince who desired to extract from his mother a solemn attestation sacrificed and placed in her hands the *σπλάγχνα* of the victim as she swore.⁸ We may say, then, that the belief remained vivid down through the later periods that the divine spirit was specially infused into these parts; and it was therefore these that were of chief avail in the post-Homeric ritual of divination.

7. Incarnation of deity in certain animals.—In the cases hitherto dealt with it appears that the sacrificial animal obtains his temporarily divine character merely through contact with the altar. But we are able to discover traces in ritual legend of the primitive belief that the deity habitually incarnated himself or herself in some favourite animal—e.g., Apollo in the wolf,⁹ Artemis in the bear;¹⁰ and that such holy animals might occasionally be offered—an act of ritual which might evolve the conception that the deity actually died in the sacrifice. Most of such legends are vague and difficult to interpret with certainty, and, though the bear which contained the spirit of Artemis and the wolf that incarnated Apollo might at times have been sacrificed, we are not told that this was for the purpose of a sacramental feast; and no higher Hellenic divinity was supposed to die in and through the sacrifice. It is only when the Thracian Dionysos is admitted into Greece that such ideas can be traced in the legend and ritual, especially in the Menad and Bacchic 'omophagies,' or readings of the bull or goat, and the drinking of its hot blood, which was the very spirit or substance of the god.¹¹

¹ *ἐλάσσειν τοὺς βωμοὺς* (Schol. Hom. *Od.* iii. 414); Pollux, i. 27; Steudel, *Opferrituale der Griechen*, p. 19.

² Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 9.

³ Suidas, p. 1404, *Διὸς κἀβίον*; Eustath. pp. 1925-1928.

⁴ Strabo, p. 231.

⁵ Varro, *de Re Rustica*, i. ii. 19; Suidas, s. v. *Aiγὴ*.

⁶ See Dittenberger, 371; *Athen. Mitt.* xiii. 166; Athenaeus p. 261 A; Steudel, *Jahrb. des kais. deut. arch. Inst.* ix. [1894] 114.

⁷ *SCH.* 1913, p. 195; Aristoph. *Birds*, 518.

⁸ vi. 67 f.

⁹ *IB.* ii. 434-433.

¹⁰ *CGS* iv. 113-123.

¹¹ *IB.* v. 154-151.

Originally these were no acts of sacrifice, but acts of wild ecstatic communion, enacted without fire or altar. But in a more civilized Hellenic form they survived in a unique ritual practised down to a late period in Tenedos. The citizens selected a pregnant cow and treated it with great respect until the calf was born; the latter they dressed up in buskins—part of the human equipment of Dionysos—and sacrificed it to the god, but pelted the sacrificer with stones and drove him into exile for a time.¹ Here both animals are semi-divine, not through any contact with the altar; but the preference of the god for and his immanence in the new-born calf are quaintly and picturesquely displayed; therefore by those who devoured its flesh—and we must suppose that this was the intention of the sacrifice—the idea of sacramental communion must have been vividly realized.

8. Underworld sacrifices. — There is another type of Greek sacrifice, essentially distinct from the above, wherein none of the worshippers partook of the food, but all was made over to the divine or semi-divine power. The simplest forms of it, where the gift was offered directly without an altar, have been already considered. In other cases the victim was wholly burned on the altar, and no sacrificial meal was allowed (*δολοκάματα*).² We find this rule most frequently, though not exclusively, in the ritual associated with the lower world, the cults of the chthonian deities, heroes, and souls of the dead. In these cases the blood was usually poured down through an opening into the *βόθρος*, the grave or the earth-hollow,³ and the flesh of the victim was wholly consumed in the altar fire. The underlying motive was, no doubt, the desire to avoid communion with the lower world lest its contagion should blast the living; hence *δολοκάματα* were offered to the Eumenides,⁴ to Zeus Meilichios,⁵ and usually to the heroes.⁶ The words *ἐνάγισμα*, *ἐνάγισμα*, specially used for sacrifices to the last, express the tabu put upon the food-offering, and point to the same feeling, which would also explain why only the most abandoned vagrant would venture to taste the offerings placed for Hekate, the ghost-goddess, at the cross-roads.⁷ Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that this fear of the contagion of death did not so far possess the imagination of the later Greeks (more sensitive as they were in this respect than was the Homeric world) as to prevent their desire at times to enter into communion with the kindly powers of the lower world by means of a sacrificial feast of the Homeric type. An inscription records a sacrifice at Mykonos to 'Zeus of the under world' and 'Ge of the under world,' in which a communion-meal was held round the altar and only citizens could partake;⁸ and a similar rite occurred in the cult of the *θεοὶ Μετῶν*, undoubtedly chthonian gods in Lokris.⁹ We have more than one example of communion-feasts with heroes;¹⁰ and in the private grave-ritual there is clear evidence of a family meal taken with the departed spirit.¹¹

On the other hand, in the case of the *ἀποτρόχαιοι θούριαι*, sacrifices to avert evils and to assuage the

wrath of *δαίμονες*, vaguely conceived powers of revenge and pestilence, it was an absolute rule that the offerings must not be tasted and even that the officiator must purify himself after the ceremony before returning to the society of men;¹ and the victim chosen for these rites of 'aversion' or 'riddance' was often an animal unfit for human food, such as the dog.² Akin to the 'apotropaic' rites are the 'cathartic,' those intended to purify from stain, and especially the stain of bloodshed. Much of the latter ritual does not concern sacrifice at all; but, when it was performed at an altar, as was sometimes the case,³ it is probable that a purificatory victim was sacrificed upon it. Any thought of a sacrificial meal would be repugnant here; but the animal's blood or skin would be used in the purification; the blood of the pig, the familiar animal of the lower-world powers, was specially effective in the case of homicide;⁴ and we hear of the 'fleece of god,' the skin of the ram offered to Zeus Meilichios, being used for the same purpose.⁵ In these instances the person to be purified is brought into spiritual contact, through the immanent sanctity of the sacrificial animal, with the offended divine powers. Therefore, though there is no question of a sacrificial meal, we must reckon with the possibility that the idea of divine communion underlies some of the ritual of Greek *κάθαρσις*.

9. The oath sacrifice. — Again, in the type of ritual which may be called the oath-sacrifice, if the ratification of the oath was accompanied by the slaying of an animal, the flesh was never eaten, but was either buried or cast into the sea. The flesh was tabued, because the slaying was the enacting of a conditional curse against oneself.⁶ The animal was consecrated to a divinity only in order that the divine power might be present at the oath-taking; and those swearing put themselves into communion with the deity by touching a portion of the victim;⁷ this contact ensured dangerous consequences in the event of perjury. The gift-theory of sacrifice has no meaning here.

10. 'Sober' and wine offerings. — Another special distinction in Greek sacrifices is between those that were called 'sober' (*νηφάλια*) offerings of, or with, non-intoxicant liquids and those that were accompanied with wine. The scholiast on Sophokles⁸ declares that the former were offered to Mnemosyne, the Muses, Eos, Helios, Selene, the Nymphs, Aphrodite Ourania; we have other evidence that enables us to add to this list Zeus *Γεωργός*, the god of agriculture, the Eumenides, the child-god Sosipolis of Elis, the winds, and in some cults Poseidon and even Dionysos.⁹ Merely looking at the variety of this list of names, we see that no single explanation will apply to all of them. The cheerless powers of the dark world might refuse wine, yet it was offered generally to the dead and to the heroes.¹⁰ Nor can we suppose that the rule arose in a period before the introduction of wine;¹¹ for these cults are by no means all among the most ancient. In some centres of worship the rule might be explained by the date of the

¹ Porphy. *de Abst.* II. 44; cf. E. Littré, *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, Paris, 1839-61, VI. 362.

² Plut. *Quest. Rom.* III. p. 290 D.

³ E.g. Paus. I. xxxvii. 4.

⁴ See art. PURIFICATION (Greek); cf. Athenæus, p. 410 A-B (quoting from Doritheos).

⁵ Above, p. 16.

⁶ Cf. Hom. *Il.* III. 103, xix. 267.

⁷ Esch. *Sept.* 45; Demosth. κ. *Ἀριστοκράτ.*, § 68; Hom. *Il.* III. 274. Plato, *Kritias*, p. 120 A, imagines a form of oath-taking among his citizens of Atlantis which may be called an ordeal by communion; those who swear drink the blood of the bull sacrificed to Poseidon.

⁸ *Ed. Col.* 109.

⁹ See CGS v. 199 L.

¹⁰ Plut. *Quest. Rom.* p. 270 B; Hom. *Od.* I. 517; Lucian, *Charon*, 22.

¹¹ J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 90-94.

¹ *Æl. Nat. An.* XII. 34.

² Cf. the name *κυνός* for the purificatory pig burned at Kos (W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Kos*, Oxford, 1891, no. 37).

³ Hom. *Od.* x. 517; Porphy. *de Antro Nymph.* 6; Lucian, *Char.* 22.

⁴ Esch. *Eum.* 166; schol. Soph. *Ed. Col.* 39.

⁵ Xen. *Anab.* VII. VIII. 31.

⁶ The proper word to designate the altar of the hero was *εὐχάρα*. The sacrifice to him took place towards evening, to the Olympians in the forenoon (Diog. Laert. VIII. I. p. 33; schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 587).

⁷ Demosth. *in Konon*, § 39.

⁸ Dittenberger², 615, l. 25.

⁹ *Id.* x. iv. 10, v. xiii. 2.

¹⁰ E.g. the *περίθεστρον* (Artemid. *Oneirok.* v. 82).

not always let him take advantage of the indulgence. Similarly, it was not thought proper to drink the milk of the she-camel destined for sacrifice, except under necessity. If the she-camel should calve on the journey, her calf might be carried, if necessary, upon the back of the dam, and it was sacrificed along with her. The victim was 'garlanded' and 'marked.' The garland did not consist of flowers, which were, of course, not to be found. In the times of 'ignorance' before Islām the pagan Arabs used bark from the trees of the sacred territory of Mecca. Thereafter any object served. 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar, mentioned above, used to hang a pair of worn-out sandals on it, facing the *qiblah* as he did so. The 'mark' was an incision made with a beam or lancet on one side of the camel's hump, sufficient to draw blood. 'Abdallah used in addition to cover the sacrifice with fine, white Egyptian linen or other saddle-cloth (*jull*), which, when done with, he presented to the Ka'bah, or, if it should have already been 'clothed,' gave away in charity. According to 'Abdallah also, the camel should be not less than five full years old, and other animals in their third year at least. Another of the early Muslims used to bid his son 'not to offer to God any beast which he would be ashamed to offer to his most honoured friend, for God is the noblest of the noble, and the worthiest of those for whom choice is made.' Should a camel break down on the road through fatigue, Muhammad ordered it to be slaughtered, its garland to be dipped in its blood, and its flesh to be eaten. If the offering was purely voluntary, it was then regarded as accomplished; otherwise—*i. e.*, if it was in fulfilment of a vow—the offerer must find another victim. If any one missed the pilgrimage, *i. e.* failed, whether through losing his way or through miscalculating the days, to be present at Minā on the day of sacrifice, 'Umar required him to offer another victim the next year. If he had not the wherewithal, he must fast three days during the pilgrimage, and seven on his return home.¹ This verse mentions the sacrifice of 'what is convenient' as an atonement for not duly performing the pilgrimage. The phrase is generally taken to mean a sheep or goat. The sacrifice which is a penalty for killing game during the pilgrimage or a similar offence must be offered in Mecca;² but, if it take the form of fasting or of alms, this may be accomplished in whatever place the penitent may choose. As originally signifying 'a gift,' these terms may be compared to the Hebrew *minqan*.

(c) *Nusuk*, *nusk*, and *nastak* are all used of a victim offered in sacrifice. In the Qur'an the pilgrim who through sickness cannot shave his head (in token of having performed all the ceremonies and fulfilled his vow) must pay a ransom or forfeit by fasting or giving alms or sacrificing a sheep (*nusuk*).³ The other forms of the word do not occur in the Qur'an. In later times the word came to mean asceticism, and already in the Qur'an *nusuk* is used in the sense of worship generally,⁴ and *mansak* means a religious ceremony, and *nasaka* to practise these ceremonies or rites.⁵ The root meaning of the word appears to be to wash or cleanse—*e. g.*, a garment. *Nastak* is synonymous with *dhabitah*. The terms are probably derived from the Heb. *netekh*, a libation of oil often joined with the meal-offering (Nu 23rd etc.).

(d) *'Aqiqah*.—This is the hair which covers the head of a newborn infant, and which the Muslims shave off on the seventh day after birth. Herodotus⁶ mentions a similar custom in Egypt. The occasion is celebrated by the slaughter of a ram or a goat, the flesh of which is cooked and distributed to the poor. This victim is also named *'aqiqah*. The practice is not mentioned in the Qur'an, but Mālik ibn Anas states that Muhammad, being asked about it, replied that he did not like it; Mālik adds that he only meant that he did not like the name, not the thing, as the word means a beast having its throat slit right across, and so was considered ill-omened. It is related in a tradition that Fātimah weighed the *'aqiqah* of each of Muhammad's grandsons, Hasan and Husain, and gave the weight in silver in alms; and this became a recognized custom. One of the early Muslims permitted the substitution of a bird for a sheep,⁷ but this was not approved, and the practice is one sheep for each child, whether a boy or a girl. Moreover, the sheep must be without blemish—not blind, emaciated, sick, or having a broken horn—nor may any of its flesh or its skin be sold. The blood also must not be allowed to touch the child.

(e) *Daḥiyah*.—The victim slaughtered on the morning (*ḍuḥā*) of the 10th of Dhul-Hijjah is so named from the hour at which the sacrifice takes place. The word has various forms, in both singular and plural. The collective is *'adhā*, from which the day is named *yaum al-'adhā*, 'the day of the victims'; also *'al-'adhā*, 'festival of the victims.' These words do not occur in the Qur'an. The regulations laid down in the *Muwatta'*⁸ are identical with or supplementary to those for the sacrifice under its other names. Muhammad, asked what was to be avoided in the *daḥiyah*, replied: 'Four things: the lame whose limping is visible, the evidently blind, the evidently diseased, and what is so starved as to have no fat.' To these must be added that it be of the proper age (see above, (f)). Hence 'Abdallah ibn 'Umar sacrificed any victim that was of the right age and without blemish; and this is the principle approved by Mālik.

In the great pilgrimage no one may slay his sacrifice before the *inām*, or leader of the pilgrims, has slain his; still less may he slay it at an earlier hour of the day. In either case Muhammad ordered the offender to sacrifice a fresh victim,

even if he could not find one that had attained the prescribed age. Muhammad on one occasion forbade the eating of the *daḥiyah* after three days. It was pointed out to him that the people were in the habit of melting the fat and preserving it in skins. He replied that he had said what he did only for the behoof of certain Arabs of the desert who had been driven by drought into the town; and he gave full permission to preserve and store the meat of the sacrifice. Opinions are divided as to whether it is allowable for a number of pilgrims to take shares in a sacrifice. On the one hand, it is related that at al-Hudābiyah, when Muhammad was prevented from entering Mecca and sacrificed on the spot the victims which he had brought with him, seven of his followers went shares in each camel or each head of cattle. Hence the Shāfi'ites and Hanbalites hold that partnership in a sacrifice is legitimate. Mālik, on the other hand, maintains the preferable doctrine that, whilst people of the same family may sacrifice for the family, for those who are not so connected to contribute towards the purchase of the beast and then share in its flesh is a thing 'to be hated.' Sometimes a child still unborn was made a partner.

(f) *Qurban*.—This is simply the Hebrew word taken over into Arabic. It occurs three times in the Qur'an—iii. 179, where it is put into the mouth of the Jews; v. 50, in the story of Cain and Abel; and xiv. 27, where, however, it means 'a near associate,' from the verb which in Arabic, as in Hebrew, means 'to bring near' or 'to sacrifice.' No doubt it is borrowed from the Hebrew. Lane¹ mentions a tradition, 'Prayer is the offering of every pious man,' meaning that it is what brings him near to God.

7. Arab and Hebrew sacrifice compared.—In conclusion it may be of interest to note some of the points of contrast between Arab and Hebrew ideas about sacrifice. The most important is that the idea of an atonement scarcely, if at all, enters into Arab sacrifice. Even when the offerer is regarded as having forfeited his life, as in the case of the pilgrim who breaks his *ihram*, he is ransomed not by the act of slaying a victim, but by the act of benevolence in distributing the portions to the poor. There is, again, no holocaust in Muhammadan sacrifice; the victims are slain to be eaten; only the blood is rejected, but it is so whether the slaughtering has any religious import or not. There is no libation, no meal-, wave-, or heave-offering in Islām; the sacrifice is always a beast or bird which is killed. With the Hebrews the beast sacrificed was a male; with the more open-handed Arabs it was often a female. With the Arabs the sacrifice was shared, not with the priests—an unknown class among them—but with the poor. With them also the only sacrifice of a communal character, if any can be considered such, is the annual sacrifice of the Great Feast. The rich man's offering with them is the camel, an animal held unclean by the Hebrews. Among the latter every sacrifice, and even every implement, was salted; on the other hand, preserving the flesh for future use was not allowed. Partnership in a sacrifice, except between members of a family, is (by the Mālikite school) forbidden in Islām. All these differences point to the fact that with the Hebrews sacrifice was a really ritualistic act of worship, whilst it was not so among the Muslims.

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T. H. WEIR.

SACRIFICE (Semitic).—In this section we consider the subject of sacrifice among the following peoples—Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramæan and Arab tribes (ancient and modern), Hebrews, Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and Abyssinians. On the propriety of including (with reservations) the Egyptians in the foregoing list see the beginning of art. HUMAN SACRIFICE (Semitic).

¹ Arab.-Eng. Lex., 1563-93, s. v.

¹ Qur'an, ii. 190.

² v. 90.

³ ii. 190.

⁴ vi. 163.

⁵ xxii. 86.

⁶ ii. 65.

⁷ Cf. Lv 128.

⁸ P. 186 E. (ed. Delhi, 1307 A. H.).

1. Occasion of sacrifice.—One of the most satisfactory classifications of sacrifices available is that which divides them into (a) periodic, and (b) non-periodic or occasional. To the former belong sacrifices on feast-days recurrent at certain seasons or days of the year; to the latter belong sacrifices offered on particular occasions, as at the birth of a son, the foundation of a building, the initiation of some military or other enterprise, etc.

(a) Periodic sacrifices may be daily, monthly, or seasonal. In Egypt part of the daily temple services consisted in clothing and decorating a figure of the deity, and then setting before it an offering of food—bread, geese, beef, wine, and water. These, after standing a while before the god, were most probably appropriated by the priests (cf. the story of Bel and the Dragon). The dead were supposed to partake of this daily banquet.¹ At certain great feasts—e.g., the anniversaries of the birthday of the god, or of his mighty deeds—there were increased offerings, which the worshippers shared in a common feast.

In the fully developed sacrificial liturgy of the Hebrews we read of a variety of periodic sacrifices—the daily burnt-offering (Nu 28³); the weekly offering on the Sabbath, double in number of the daily offerings (28⁹); the monthly sacrifice, at the new moon (28¹¹); and certain annual sacrifices, as the Passover (full moon of first month), the day of the firstfruits, the beginning of the second half of the year (first day of seventh month), and the full moon of the seventh month (28¹⁶-28²⁶).

In Arab heathendom the annual sacrifices of the month Rajab must be mentioned; this was perhaps the most important ceremonial event of the pre-Muhammadan religion.

Examples of periodic sacrifice might be multiplied from the other branches of the Semitic world, but these will suffice. It is obvious that they all depend on the motions or phenomena of the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, the planet Venus, etc.), or on the annual recurrence of seed-time and harvest, or on the increase of flocks. They are such as would naturally arise in the regular unbroken existence of a pastoral or an agricultural community.

(b) Non-periodic sacrifices are more of a personal nature. They take place on the occasions which break the monotony of the existence of such a community, or of individual members thereof. The birth and circumcision of a son; the foundation of a house; the beginning of a military or other enterprise, and its successful conclusion—all these are events celebrated by a sacrifice. Moreover, by sacrifice an individual seeks to obtain some desired boon from the gods—the health of a sick relative, purification from the sense or consequence of sin, and the like. A few examples may be cited in illustration.

(1) Birth.—Among the Arabs 'the child must be taken on a pilgrimage to the shrine to which the sheik of the tribe belongs. The minister of the shrine sacrifices for them near the threshold. The child is anointed on his forehead, or on his nose, with a mark of the blood of the victim.'² The Hebrews do not appear to have had a special sacrifice to celebrate a birth, but the first-born son had to be redeemed (Ex 13¹³ 34²⁰) with a money payment of five shekels.

(2) Children.—The modern Arabs offer sacrifices for a child (especially a son), if there is any fear that it may not live. It is also customary to offer sacrifices at circumcisions. In sacrificing for a child care must be taken (according to Curtiss)³ not to break one of the animal's bones, lest a similar injury be inflicted on the child.

(3) Foundation of a building.—A tablet given by Zimmern⁴ apparently records a sacrifice at a new house. In various Palestinian excavations traces of foundation-offerings of one

kind or another have been found.¹ Among the modern Arab a sheep is sacrificed when a new building is begun.

(4) Inauguration of a king.—In Egypt the king began his reign with a sacrifice to Min, the god of fertility, in the presence of the statues of his ancestors. 'A priest presents him with the royal sickle, with which he cuts a sheaf of corn; he then strews it before the white bull, symbolizing the offering of the first-fruits of his reign. He then offers incense before the statue of the god, while the priest recites from the mysterious books of the "dances of Min."² Cf. the inauguration of Saul (1 S 10⁵).

(5) Dedication or consecration of a building.—Ashurnasirpal dedicated the temple of Ninib in Calah with prayer and offerings,³ as did Solomon the Temple of Jahweh at Jerusalem (1 K 8).

(6) As a sin-offering.—Curtiss⁴ quotes 'a devout Muslim, of good sense but unlettered,' as saying that 'sacrifice would cover sin.' He likewise quotes from Burton a statement that the victim at the Mecca pilgrimage is sacrificed 'as a confession that the offender deems himself worthy of death.' The sin-offering occupies a conspicuous place in Hebrew ritual (Lv 4²², etc.), as does the analogous purification-offering from various forms of uncleanness (Lv 14, 15, Nu 19). The Babylonians likewise had purification-sacrifices for a house after sickness.⁵

(7) Sickness.—In Babylon, according to a ritual tablet printed by Jastrow,⁶ a lamb was to be sacrificed near a sick man, the body of the animal being opened and its inwards torn out—possibly with the idea of tearing out the malady by sympathetic magic. Sacrifices at exorcism of demons and at the purification of a house may also be mentioned here.

(8) Death and funeral ceremonies.—Offerings of the mourners' own hair and blood to the dead are forbidden to the Hebrews (Lv 19²⁸), but were nevertheless practised (Jer 16⁷). W. B. Smith⁷ and Curtiss⁸ note similar customs among the Arabs. The latter cites a peasant informant as telling him that when a man comes to die he appoints some one as executor to sacrifice some animal. It is preferable for a man to offer the sacrifice during his life. . . . He rides the animal across the narrow way on the day of judgment.' Another informant told him that 'only the Arabs [i.e. the Bedawin] offer sacrifice for the dead';⁹ but Curtiss questions the accuracy of this statement. The sacrifices for the dead is not eaten in a feast, like other Arab sacrifices, but is given to the poor.¹⁰

(9) Sacrifice of spoil captured in war.—This, according to Diodorus Siculus,¹¹ was a custom of the Carthaginians; and it is indicated for the Hebrews by 1 S 14²⁴ 16¹⁹; cf. also David's laying up of Goliath's sword. A similar instance is cited from Arab heathendom by Wellhausen.¹²

The above must suffice as a selection of the occasions on which non-periodic sacrifices were offered among the Semitic tribes. A full list, with a properly marshalled series of illustrative examples, would fill a large volume. It may be said in short that there was hardly any possible event in the individual or communal life that was not marked by a sacrifice among one or more of the Semitic peoples.

2. The persons and materials involved.—The persons involved, in a complete sacrificial ritual, are four in number—either four individuals or four communities. These are (1) the person or persons offering the sacrifice; (2) the person or persons for whose benefit the sacrifice is offered; (3) the intermediary or priest, who receives the sacrifice from the person offering and disposes of it according to the rubrics governing the ritual; and (4) the person to whom the sacrifice is offered. On occasion these four may be reduced to three, (1) and (2) being identical, or even to two, (1), (2), and (3) being identical; but as a rule the interposition of a priest between the person offering and the recipient is considered desirable, as he by his ordination and consecration is supposed to be more familiar with the unseen world, and by his special knowledge is able to avoid ritual mistakes. Among the Hebrews the Passover sacrifice was the only one that could be offered without the mediation of a priest.

The person or persons offering the sacrifice may be any member of the tribe or any group of fellow

¹ See R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, London 1912, ii. 428-437.

² Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard, London 1894, p. 63.

³ Jastrow, *Rel. Babylonians und Assyrians*, i. 225.

⁴ P. 211.

⁵ Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Bab. and Assy.* p. 313.

⁶ *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* i. 350.

⁷ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 523.

⁸ P. 178.

⁹ P. 178.

¹⁰ *Ib.*

¹¹ P. 178.

¹² *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 112.

¹ A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, tr. A. S. Griffith, London, 1907, p. 481.

² Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 201.

³ P. 175.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, pp. 147-149.

⁸ P. 178.

⁹ P. 178.

¹⁰ *Ib.*

¹¹ *Ib.*

¹² *Ib.*

clansmen (a family, clan, gild, secret society, etc.). Foreigners are as a rule excluded from participation in the presentation of offerings (Lv 22²⁵); and the priest must be chosen by some special sign (e.g., heredity, as among the Hebrews) and set apart for his calling by ordination. The recipient of the sacrifice is as a rule a deity; but sacrifices, as we have just seen, may be offered to the dead, and may even be claimed as a mark of divinity by kings during his lifetime.¹

The materials involved (i.e. the object offered in sacrifice) can be grouped into a number of different classes. The object sacrificed is a kind of intermediary whereby the worshipper comes into contact with the divinity. Such contact as a rule is of an indirect kind; but there are cases when the worshipper offers a part or characteristic of himself, in which the contact is more direct—e.g., the numerous offerings of blood or of hair, and sacrifices of manhood or of female chastity.² More commonly, however, the offering consists of some object not a part of the offerer, though selected from his property; and in the vast majority of cases it is an animal. Vegetable offerings are also made, especially of the firstfruits of the field or of the trees; but mineral offerings are rare except as a simple *ex voto* donation or as a concomitant of animal or vegetable offerings (especially salt).

The animal kingdom is divided by every tribe into beasts which may, and beasts which may not, be sacrificed. According to the totemistic theory of the origin of sacrifice (see below), the totem-animals would in the beginning be the normal, if not the only admissible, victims; and W. R. Smith saw relics of totemism in the sacrifices of swine, dogs, and mice reproved by the second Isaiah.³ The sacrifice of the totem-animal had already in pre-historic times given place to the practice of sacrificing the animals normally used as food, especially of the cow and sheep kind. Besides these the Hebrews admitted sacrifice of goats, turtle-doves, and pigeons. Fish, though eaten, was not sacrificed, nor were wild beasts. The Arabs added to these permissible animals the camel⁴ and gazelle (as a miserly substitute for a sheep).⁵ The same animals—cow, sheep, goat, and fawn—as well as some kind of domestic bird (cock and hen?) are enumerated on the Marseilles and Carthaginian sacrificial tablets.⁶ The Babylonians added fish and cream⁷ to the list. Human sacrifice is discussed under its own heading and need not be referred to here.

The vegetable offerings were those of the ordinary harvest produce, and need not be specially enumerated. Dates and other fruits were offered in Babylon. The burning of aromatic gums (see art. INCENSE) calls for passing notice here; it is found in sacrificial worship among all the Semitic peoples⁸ except, apparently, the Arabs.⁹ Wine-offerings and the use of oils (like the holy ointment of which the prescription will be found in Ex 30^{23,24}) also belong to this category. These also are not found among the Arabs. Milk is the normal Arab drink-offering.¹⁰ There is some inconsistency in the Hebrew documents as to the use of leaven in the sacrifice. It is forbidden in Ex 23¹⁸ and Lv 2¹¹; the latter passage also excludes honey. On the

other hand, it is enjoined in Lv 7¹³ 23⁷, with which passages Am 4⁹ may be compared. Probably W. R. Smith is right in associating with the prohibition of leaven the precautions taken to prevent any of the meat of the sacrifice being left over; similar precautions are found in the Arab rites, and are evidently designed to prevent the sacred flesh from putrefying.

Among minerals we need refer only to salt (Lv 2¹⁰). David's libation of water (2 S 23¹⁶) is an exceptional and special case, not indicating any rule. The gifts of gold from which Aaron made the calf (Ex 32⁷) hardly come under the head of sacrificial material. The total or partial destruction of the object sacrificed distinguishes a sacrifice from an *ex voto*.

3. The purpose of sacrifice.—It may be taken that in all cases the purpose of sacrifice is to secure a benefit, but the benefit may be for the donor, for the recipient, or for a third party.

The majority of sacrifices are for the benefit of the donor (whether an individual or a community) or of some third party. Such are the primitive communal sacrifices, in which the god and his worshippers partake of a common meal. Here the meal preserves the fatherhood of the tribal deity from suffering eclipse owing to neglect or transgression on the part of the tribe, and thus keeps the deity on friendly relations with his children. The offerings of firstfruits belong to the same category: the bounty of the tribal god is acknowledged by the gift and by that form of gratitude manifested which has been cynically defined as 'a lively sense of favours to come.'

Such is, primarily, the purpose of the seasonal sacrifices. The deity is periodically fed by the gifts of his children, and thus is kept continually favourable towards them. But the non-periodic sacrifices are likewise meant to secure a favour of one kind or another. Special sacrifices, when the deity is for any reason supposed to be angry with his people, or cathartic or placular sacrifices, designed to win for the offerer a deliverance from disease or from sin or its consequences, fall under the same category.

The only sacrifices in which the recipient is directly benefited, without a necessary reflexion of the benefit on the donor, are sacrifices made to the dead or offerings deposited in the tomb. As the latter not infrequently consist of human beings or animals put to death, to provide the dead with servants or assistants in the future life, these may fairly be included among sacrifices; as is well known, even inanimate objects are often broken, to liberate their spiritual essence; and excavation in Palestine and elsewhere has shown that this is the case in the Semitic world as well as elsewhere. Food offerings are also given, perhaps, as E. S. Hartland has ingeniously suggested,¹ that the shade may not be compelled by hunger to eat of the food in the other world, and so be obliged to remain there for ever, in accordance with an ancient and wide-spread belief. In Egypt offerings to the dead were often endowed, an attendant being paid to keep the tomb in order and supplied with relays of gifts. In special cases, from an early time, the endowment was granted by the king himself, and the prayer 'Let the king give an offering' begins almost every funerary inscription in Egypt.² The specific purpose of the various kinds of Semitic sacrifice can, however, be more conveniently considered in connexion with the ritual observed, to which we now turn.

4. The method of sacrifice.—(a) *The place*.—Sacrifice must be offered at an appointed holy place. The killing of a sacrificable animal else-

¹ As by Gudea; see Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* I. 170.

² See Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, *passim*.

³ *Rel. Sem.* 2 p. 290 ff.; on the occasional use of certain other animals—deer, stags, wild asses, quails—see additional Note F of the same work.

⁴ Wellhausen, p. 114, etc.; *Qur'ân*, xxii. 33.

⁵ Wellhausen, p. 115.

⁶ *CIS* I. 165-170; *RHR* lxxix. 70, and references there.

⁷ Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* I. 59.

⁸ *Ib.* I. 335, etc.; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 507; *Lv* 101, etc.

⁹ Wellhausen, p. 114.

¹⁰ *Ib.*

¹ *The Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 47.

² Erman, *Handbook of Egypt. Rel.* p. 123 f.

where is a murder, to be expiated as such (Lv 17³⁻⁵). Even in patriarchal times, as a rule, sacrifice takes place on a spot hallowed by a theophany (Gn 28¹⁷); it is probably indeed a mere accident when specific mention of the theophany is omitted (4²⁻⁷ 8²⁰). Moses cannot allow his followers to sacrifice to their Lord in Egypt; he must conduct them to a place 'three days' journey into the wilderness' for the purpose (Ex 3¹⁸). The 'camp' of the wandering Israelites, owing to the presence of the Ark, is *ipso facto* a holy place, and therefore anything that defiles, such as the burning of the sin-offering (29¹⁴), the bodies of the sacrilegious Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10¹), a leper (13⁴⁴), the execution of a criminal (24¹⁴), must not profane the sacred precinct. The same ideas are to be traced among the Arab tribes.¹

(b) *The altar.*—This has already been described,² so that few words are necessary here. The necessity for the altar arose from two requirements—the need of something visible and tangible to which to apply a gift supposed to be made to a physically invisible and intangible deity, and the need of something to prevent the sacrilege of the holy blood falling on the level earth.³ For this purpose a heap of stones (such as, we may presume, the altar that Abraham built [Gn 13¹⁶]), a bank or mound of earth consecrated for the purpose (Ex 20²⁴), or a large stone (1 S 14³²) would serve. According to the Book of the Covenant, a stone altar was not to be profaned with the touch of new-fangled metal tools (Ex 20²⁵), though doubtless this rule was not universally observed—*e.g.*, by Ahaz (2 K 16¹⁰). An altar, however, is not absolutely necessary; Gideon (Jg 6²⁰) offers his sacrifice on a rock (which may, however, have been an altar-like mass or boss of rock). The altar of Elijah (1 K 18) was apparently a cairn of stones surrounded by a circle of twelve monoliths outside which was a trench; it is the most completely described 'high place' altar mentioned in Hebrew history.

Among the Arabs the sacred stone (*nus̄b*) served the purpose of an altar. It was, however, more than an altar; rather was it a representation of the divinity, sometimes indeed hewn into a form to represent him.⁴ A curious series of rock-cuttings found some years ago at Petra⁵ may perhaps be a late Aramean or Nabatean place of sacrifice, as has been supposed. But the rocks of Palestine are cut about in all sorts of ways, with quarries, wine-presses, tombs, etc.; and, unless evidence were found confirming the explanation of these Petra cuttings as a kind of sanctuary, it would be rash to build very much upon them. For Egyptian altars, and the few facts known about altars of the other Semitic peoples, reference may be made to the artt. ALTAR.

(c) *The ritual.*—This naturally varied according to the character of the sacrifice. In the primitive communal sacrifice the animal was slaughtered, usually by having its throat cut (with an antique form of knife),⁶ and the blood was allowed to fall over the altar-stones. This was the share of the deity, and its application to the sacred stone was equivalent to feeding the deity upon it. In the official Hebrew legislation sacrifice could be offered only by those of the house of Levi; but in the earlier history Jethro (Ex 18¹²) and Balaam (Nu 23¹⁴) offer sacrifices to Jahweh. The flesh of the animal was divided among the worshippers and eaten by them; thus they shared in the meal with their deity. Such a sacrifice is known in the Hebrew Scriptures as *zēb*; or *zēb*, translated 'sacri-

fice' and 'peace-offering'¹ respectively in the RV. The etymology on which the latter translation is based is not absolutely certain.² The former word, like the modern Arabic ذبيحة, includes the slaying

of animals for food, after such an action had ceased to have any special sacrificial significance. The occasions for such a sacrifice, besides the periodic feasts, were numerous—any time of rejoicing, such as the end of a successful war (1 S 11¹⁵), the cessation of a pestilence (2 S 24²⁵), and a family gathering (1 S 20⁶). A preliminary sanctification was obligatory on the worshippers, with lustrations, continence, and change of garments (Ex 19¹⁰⁻¹⁴). When the animal was slaughtered, the blood and the fat—the portion assigned to the divinity—were consumed on the altar, and the rest was divided between the priests and the worshippers. Hophni and Phinehas in their greed seized more than their share, before the portion meant for the deity had been set aside (1 S 2¹²⁻¹⁴). With the offering was unleavened bread. The flesh was boiled—Hophni and Phinehas offended the people's religious feelings by requiring it to be roasted. Similarly, Curtiss tells us,³ the ministers of some [modern Arab] shrines are inclined to frown upon the custom of preparing the sacrificial meal away from the shrine.⁴

On occasions when the joyful feast of the *zēb* was inappropriate the proper sacrifice was the *zēb*.⁵ In times of war, doubt, or difficulty the animal was slain beside the altar and there wholly consumed. The sacrificers did not in this case partake of it; the whole was, as it were, volatilized and placed at the service of the deity.

While in Hebrew and Arab theory the animal thus offered seems to have been regarded as a tribute, Babylonia preserves for us an older stage of the development which may well be totemistic in origin. Here the idea of tribute is secondary. The primary purpose of sacrifice, so far as the sacrificers are concerned, is divination, especially by markings upon the animal's liver (interpreted as modern charlatans interpret the markings on the human hand). This form of divination is referred to in Ezk 21²¹. The sacrificed animal seems to have been considered as having partaken of the divine nature, just as an animal whose flesh has been eaten by a man enters his organism and henceforth partakes of his nature; the various parts of its organism are therefore essentially the corresponding parts of the divinity, in tangible form; and on them are impressed signs of the divine foreknowledge. This is conspicuously the case of the liver, which is regarded as the seat of the soul.⁶

The treatment of offerings other than animal victims (cereals, meal, etc.) was presumably similar to that of animal victims. Under the Levitical code part was consumed by the altar-fire, and the other part was at the disposal of the priests (Lv 6¹⁴⁻¹⁵). Under the Levitical régime a sacred fire (perhaps kept burning perpetually from a flame supposed to have been miraculously kindled) was used for these ritual purposes. To use other fire was sacrilege (Lv 10). The Arabs, on the other hand, scarcely offered fire-sacrifices at all.

¹ A more general term for gift or offering is *zēb*, which in the later books denotes more specifically offerings of cereals. The general term in the later books is *zēb*. *zēb* is a 'Bra-offering.'

² See W. R. Smith², p. 237.

³ P. 171, n. 5.

⁴ The *zēb* seems, properly speaking, to have originally meant the part of a sacrifice burnt. A 'whole burnt-offering,' in which the entire animal is burnt, was *zēb* (Nowack, *Archäologie*, ii. 215).

⁵ See Jastrow, *Rel. Belief in Bab. and Assy.*, p. 147 ff.; also his *Rel. Bab. und Assy.*, *passim*, esp. ii. 213 ff.

¹ W. R. Smith², pp. 115-118.

² See art. ALTAR (Semitic), vol. 1, p. 350.

³ See Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, p. 181.

⁴ Wellhausen, p. 101 f.

⁵ See, for references, ERE 1. 251.

⁶ Wellhausen, p. 115.

'The altar,' says Wellhausen,¹ 'is not a hearth: no fire burns on it.' After mentioning a few doubtful exceptions, he adds: 'The normal Arab rite of animal sacrifice consists simply in smearing the blood on the sacred stone, or pouring it into the *phatya*' (the receptacle for this offering).

Among the Babylonians, however, fire was essential to sacrifice: by fire the offering was brought to the presence of the gods, and fire symbolized the intermediation between the worshipper and the divinity. Owing to this fact the fire-god Girra-Nusku (a conflation of two ancient fire- or solar-deities) was present at every sacrifice.²

For a discussion of some of the minutiae of Hebrew sacrificial ritual, such as the ceremony of 'heaving' and 'heaving' the portions set aside for the priests, reference should be made to special works on Hebrew archaeology (such as that of Nowack or of Benzinger) or to the standard commentaries on the legislative parts of the Pentateuch. We must, however, note some peculiar rites which do not fall under the foregoing heads.

(a) The first of these is the rite of the *scapegoat* (Lv 16¹⁻¹⁰). In this very primitive rite, on the great Day of Atonement, two goats were brought to the sanctuary. One was slain, and the other, after confession of the people's sin had been made over it, was turned loose in the wilderness 'for Azazel' (AV 'for a scapegoat,' a translation based on an analysis of the name now deemed untenable). Whatever Azazel (*g.v.*) may have been—a question to which no certain answer can be given—the sacrifice evidently belongs to a well-known group of purificatory rites in which uncleanness is transferred to another man or animal. A precisely similar rite, with birds, was performed at the purification of a leper—one of two birds being sacrificed, the other, after being sprinkled with the blood, wherewith the leper also was sprinkled, being set free (Lv 14¹⁵; cf. also v. 15¹⁵). The whole subject has been studied by J. G. Frazer in *GE*, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913. See, further, art. SCAPEGOAT (Semitic).

(β) Another form of sacrifice involving the liberation of an animal is recorded from Arabia in which a camel, stallion, etc., being dedicated to some deity, is allowed to go free and can never again be used.³ The milk of such a dedicated animal could be used only by the poor and by guests.⁴

(γ) *Libations*.—David's water libation has already been mentioned as an exceptional case.

The libation, which holds quite a secondary place in the more advanced Semitic rituals, and is generally a mere accessory to a fire offering, has great prominence among the Arabs, to whom sacrifices by fire were practically unknown, except in the case of human sacrifice.⁵

Smith cites libations of blood and milk. He might have added coffee, of which among the modern Arabs libations are poured at feasts in honour of a being called Shaikh Shādli.⁶ A libation, presumably of wine and oil, was poured by Jacob on the stone at Bethel (Gn 35¹⁴); and elsewhere throughout the OT we find passages which indicate that among the Hebrews wine was the proper material for 'drink-offerings,' and a regular accompaniment of animal-sacrifice—e.g., Ex 29²⁰, Lv 23^{13, 15, 17}, Nu 15⁵, Dt 32¹³. From these we learn that $\frac{1}{2}$ hin (about 3 pints) of wine was the proper drink-offering to accompany a lamb, $\frac{1}{2}$ hin (2 quarts) of wine a ram, and $\frac{1}{2}$ hin (3 quarts) of wine a bullock. Drink-offerings of blood are condemned in Ps 16⁴ as heathenish, but on the other hand a wine-offering to the deity Meni is referred to in Is 65¹¹. The actual ritual is nowhere described, but presumably the libation was poured over or beside the altar. The heathenish rites of the Israelite women, who worshipped the 'Queen

of Heaven' (*g.v.*) with 'cakes' (ps. i.e. probably terra-cotta plaques stamped with the likeness of the divinity, such as have come to light in large numbers in Palestine), included libations as an essential element, though the material is not specified (Jer 19³ 32² 44^{17, 18}). The water poured annually into a cleft in the temple at Hierapolis¹ was probably not a libation, but a rain-making or fertilizing charm.

It is not quite correct to speak of libations as occupying 'quite a secondary place in the more advanced Semitic rituals.' Certainly in Mesopotamia they are abundantly referred to as an essential concomitant of the burnt-offering. The material is not often specified; a libation of some drink prepared from a cereal is mentioned in a tablet given by Jastrow.²

(δ) *Lectisternia*.—The table of shewbread was the Hebrew equivalent of the lectisternia, a table laden with food being set before the god. The name of this offering would perhaps be better and more intelligibly translated 'bread of the presence' (of Jahveh). The custom of laying up food before the god is wide-spread, and was no doubt adopted into the official Priestly Code from earlier pre-Pentateuchal rites. We have already seen illustrations from Egypt, and have referred to the tale of Bel and the Dragon. In the earlier rites the consumption of the food by the priests of the temple was probably secret, and arranged to keep up among the uninitiated the fiction that the god himself partook of the banquet. In the Hebrew rite, however, the food was openly the perquisite of the priests, and in the earlier times could even be given by them to laymen (1 S 21). The same or a similar rite was observed by heathenish Israelites; Is 65¹¹ speaks of people 'preparing a table for Gad,' doubtless a god.

(ε) *The Passover*, though ostensibly a memorial feast commemorative of the Exodus, is probably one of the most primitive of the religious rites which Hebrew ritual preserved, belonging in fact, like the sheep-shearing festival of 1 S 25, to the time when the ancestors of the Hebrews were nomad shepherds. The special characteristics of the Passover are (1) that it took place in spring, at the time of the vernal equinox (Ex 13⁴, Dt 16¹); (2) that the victim was a lamb or a kid (Ex 12³), a male in its first year; (3) that, unlike the other sacrifices, this was a domestic celebration, the lamb being sacrificed by the head of the house, not at any special sanctuary, and not by any special religious functionary (Ex 12, though this is modified in the Deuteronomic legislation [16^{2, 6, 7}]); (4) that the entire lamb was to be roasted, not boiled as in other sacrifices (see above), and eaten by the household in haste (two households individually too small to dispose of a whole victim being allowed to combine), all properly initiated Israelites attached to the household being admitted, as well as any foreigners naturalized by the rite of circumcision, though all uncircumcised foreigners were excluded (Ex 12⁹⁻¹⁰); (5) that, when the animal was slaughtered, the blood was smeared on the door-posts and lintels of the house. The feast was followed by a period of a week in which no leavened bread was to be used; but it seems to be a doubtful point whether this was an intrinsic part of the Passover ceremony or whether the proximity of the two ceremonies in the calendar is not merely accidental. The events said to be commemorated by the Passover were (i.) the last of the Egyptian plagues, when the first-born in the land of Egypt was smitten except in those houses on which the paschal blood was smeared; (ii.) the hasty departure of the people from the land. The original

¹ P. 116.

² Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* i. 297, 488.

³ Wellhausen, p. 112 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 115.

⁵ W. R. Smith, p. 229.

⁶ Curtius, p. 183; see also J. E. Hanauer, *Folk-lore of the Holy Land*, London, 1907, p. 293.

¹ Lucian, *de Deo Syria*, 18.

² *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* i. 448.

celebration is, however, probably much older, and the connexion with the Exodus only secondary and aetiological. Wellhausen¹ and J. Müller² see in the sacrifice a survival of an ancient pastoral feast, when the firstfruits of the flock were sacrificed (as in the sacrifice of Abel [Gn 4¹]). The 'sacrifice in the wilderness,' which was the ostensible motive of the Exodus, was, in fact, the Passover; and the king of Egypt, by preventing this, roused the wrath of Jahweh, who in punishment took to Himself the first-born of Egypt. The domestic nature of the rite certainly favours its origin among a simple and primitive pastoral organization; but the peculiar details of the rite—the rapid devouring of the whole animal and the smearing of the doorway with the blood—show that it is in its nature something more than a mere offering of *primitia*. With regard to the former, we are irresistibly reminded of the famous Arab camel-sacrifice described by Nilus, to which frequent reference is made by W. R. Smith³ and by the writers who follow him; and the analogy suggests that the haste with which the animal was to be eaten was primarily inspired by a similar cause—a ceremonial requirement that it should be disposed of before some (astronomical?) occurrence had taken place. The door-post rites indicate that the ceremony belonged to the numerous blood and threshold covenants (on which see the works of Trumbull). The sedulous avoidance of the chance putrefaction in any form, to which allusion has already been made, is specially to be noticed in the Passover rite.

(f) *The red heifer sacrifice*.—This singular rite is described in Nu 19. A red cow (note the sex, which is the opposite to that of most sacrificial victims) which was without blemish and had never been used in a yoke was to be taken 'without the camp'—i.e. outside the temple hill—by a subordinate priest (the high-priest could not risk the contamination of the rite). A second official slaughtered the animal, and the first priest dipped his finger seven times in the blood, sprinkling it 'towards the tabernacle.' A pyre having been erected, the body of the heifer was to be placed upon it and reduced wholly to ashes, sweet-smelling woods being thrown on the fire during the ceremony. A third official was to gather the ashes of the heifer and of the pyre together and deposit them 'without the camp' in a clean place, where they were to be preserved. The three officials involved in the rite were made unclean, i.e. tabu, by the ceremony till the evening, when by washing they recovered their normal condition. The ashes thus obtained and preserved were to be used in lustrations necessitated by the uncleanness involved by contact with a dead body or any part thereof (such as a bone), some of the ashes being placed in a vessel and having running water poured over them, which was then sprinkled with hyssop on the person or thing requiring to be cleansed. The rite, though the description of it is preserved in a comparatively late document, is probably in its origin of very great antiquity. The red colour of the cow, and the scarlet cloth burnt on the pyre with the aromatic woods, suggest the colour of blood; the aromatic woods are also probably connected with primitive ideas of the cathartic value of odours such as they produce.⁴

Analogous with this rite, but to be carefully distinguished from it, is the sacrifice of a heifer in Dt 21¹⁷ as an expiation for an unexplained murder. Here the village nearest to the spot where the murdered body was discovered had to provide a

¹ *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 82-94.

² *Kritischer Versuch über den Ursprung und die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Pesach- und Mazzothfestes*, Bonn, 1853, esp. p. 69.

³ Pp. 281 ff., 381 f.

⁴ See art. INCENSE.

heifer (colour not specified) which, like the red heifer, had never been brought under a yoke. The village elders were to lead the animal to 'a rough valley' and there to break its neck, probably by precipitating it over a high rock. Over the body the elders were then to take an oath of compurgation.¹

5. *Origin of sacrifice among the Semites*.—It may be taken as a universal rule that no trustworthy account of the origin of sacrifice, or of specific sacrifices, is to be gleaned from those who themselves perform the ceremonies. In every case they give us aetiological myths of other than historic interest. Thus it is necessary in considering the development, and especially the origin, of sacrifice among any people to apply the comparative method and to draw our conclusions from a large number of related examples. In an article like the present it is not possible to give more than the conclusions, with references which will enable the reader to follow out for himself the premisses and arguments of the authors quoted.

E. B. Tylor² was the first to endeavour to give a scientific explanation of sacrifice. He regarded the rite as simply the offering of a gift or bribe to a divinity, precisely analogous to the gift or bribe that might be offered to an Oriental potentate, and for analogous reasons—to secure favour or to avert anger. As the gods recede from man, the gift becomes more and more an act of homage and self-abnegation. This theory, as Hubert and Mauss well say,³ describes rather the moral development of the rite than its actual machinery, and, while it doubtless contains an element of truth, is little more than a restatement, in definite scientific language, of the vague pre-scientific aetiological myths.

W. R. Smith⁴ showed that the problem was much more complicated, and involved a variety of elements. His work, though in certain minor details proved open to criticism, has stood as the foundation of all subsequent study of the subject. Beginning with totemism, which J. F. McLeannan had (a short time previous to the first publication of this book) brought to the notice of anthropologists, he formulated a theory which may be thus briefly summarized. In the primitive nomadic life the solidarity and unity of the clan is an essential feature. Its members are bound by a tie of common blood with one another and with the god, their father. The domestic animals of the tribe to some extent share in this community, at least inasmuch as they are the tribal guests, and have the privilege of adoption conferred on human strangers by the mere fact of guesthood. When the god is angry, his favour can be restored by an act of communion between him and his worshippers; and the victim is the non-human member of the clan (i.e. the totem). When the nomad ceases from his wandering life and becomes an agriculturist, his relation with the god alters. The god is no longer a father, but a king or proprietor, from whose hand the worshipper receives his land as a tenant. The sacrifice is now not so much a communion as a tribute. The god is fed (both in the earlier and in the later theories) first by leaving portions of the flesh by the sacred stone; afterwards (as less materialistic ideas of the nature of deity develop) by pouring out the life-bearing blood on the earth as his portion, which, as it sinks and disappears, can more readily be supposed to be absorbed by the Deity than the solid flesh; and finally by burning the victim, which thus becomes volatilized and, as it were,

¹ For the peculiar method of slaughtering the animal whereby effusion of blood was avoided see W. R. Smith³, pp. 371, 419.

² *PC* ii. ch. xviii. p. 362.

³ *L'Année sociologique*, ii. 30.

⁴ *Rel. Sem.*, *passim*, esp. lecta. vi.-xi.

etherialized by the smoke. The deity is thus satisfied by the 'sweet savour' of the offering. The temper of a master is more doubtful than that of a father, so that the worshippers are uncertain whether he is satisfied. In the stress of calamity human victims are offered, and finally victims counted unclean and therefore exceptionally sacrosanct. W. R. Smith seems to have been the first to insist on the importance of distinguishing three types of sacrifice: the communion form, in which the god and his people were commensals; the propitiatory form, an expiation for sin—essentially substitutionary in character, the [totem] animal being slain as a substitute for the guilty tribesman; and the mystical form, in which the god himself, in bodily form, is supposed to be slain by his worshippers and ceremonially eaten by them.

A covenant-sacrifice is the most obvious illustration of the communion-nature of the rite. When two men (as Jacob and Laban) made a covenant, they held a common meal on an altar (Gn 31⁴⁶). When Abraham and the deity made a covenant, victims were divided, and God, typified by a torch, passed between them (Gn 15). When Moses made a covenant with God on behalf of the people, he poured half the blood of the victims on the altar and sprinkled the people with the other half (Ex 24⁴⁻⁸).

That offerings are regarded as literally the food of the gods is illustrated by numerous texts. In one of the Babylonian penitential hymns, as restored from a fragmentary tablet by Jastrow, the sinner confesses to having eaten and drunk unknowingly of the food and drink of his goddess, and also to having eaten what was unclean (i.e. tabu) to her; and Tabi-utul-Bel, king in Nippur, speaks of troubles having fallen upon him 'as though he had eaten of his god's food, and neglected to bring drink to his goddess.'¹ Another tablet speaks of offerings as 'the pure heavenly food.'²

Frazer* finds his work on the foregoing conclusions, but in some points carries it farther. Especially with regard to the last-named point, he infers from the comparison of an enormous number of related rites from all parts of the world that the ceremonial god-slaying is intended to prevent the god from being overborne by old age.

These theories have not gone unchallenged. L. Marillier doubts the essential postulate on which they are based, that an animal-god is necessarily a totem-god; and Hubert and Mauss question the essential connexion between the communal meal at the god's table and the more complex form of sacrifice.⁴ M. J. Lagrange,⁵ following Smend,⁶ objects to Smith's theory, while doing full justice to the value of his masterly work, that totemism is assumed rather than proved for the Semitic tribes, and substitutes for his view of the origin of sacrifice among these people the theory that sacrifice is essentially an act, not of consecration, but of de-consecration. Starting from animism, whereby the savage sees a spirit in everything, he argues that, if a savage wished to make use of anything—say, an animal whose flesh he desired to eat—the presence of the spirit would make it tabu. By sacrifice the savage desecrates the desired object; by leaving a part of it (e.g., the blood) as the share of the spirit he hopes to obtain the rest for himself. By offering the firstfruits of his flocks and his crops, and even of his own family, he earns the right to secure the remainder of the produce to his own use. The newly-planted tree (Lv 19²³) remains 'uncircumcised' (i.e. tabu) for three years;

¹ Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assy.* ii. 102, 126.

² *Id.* ii. 93, n. 8.

³ *CEB*, *passim*.

⁴ For the references see the bibliography at the end.

⁵ *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1905, ch. vii.

⁶ *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 123 ff.

its fruit for the fourth year is given to the deity; from the fifth year onwards it may be freely used. The sacrifice of the firstfruits was probably the beginning of animal-sacrifice. Lagrange holds that, while animals might have entered into totemistic relationship with a human clan, they could hardly be supposed to have similar relations to gods, and that to regard every immolation as a sacred act is not the same as to abstain from all immolation except when one is definitely intending to engage in an act of worship; moreover, that to admit the whole clan to a share in the feast does not mean that no slaughter can take place without the consent of the whole clan.

Curtiss, as a result of his researches in modern Palestine, was led to dissent from the theories of the origin of sacrifice usually associated with the name of W. R. Smith. According to his view, the essential point was not the gift or the eating of the sacrificial animal, but the effusion of its blood, the substitutionary idea being in his belief the prevalent and the original essence of the rite.¹ Thus, a sheep is slain at the foundation of a house because every new house requires a life; the life of the sheep redeems that of an occupant of the house. A sheep slain on behalf of a sick person, likewise, is a substitute whereby the life of the patient is redeemed. The blood is placed on the door-post and lintels of the shrine 'perhaps to remind the saint of the blood of the victim that has been slain.' The fallacy that the East is 'immovable,' however, vitiates some of these deductions. It is true that very primitive rites and beliefs survive among the modern Arabs; but they do not necessarily survive in their primitive form, or with primitive ideas attached to them. On the contrary, they have been modified profoundly by the leavening influence of Islām. Moreover, Curtiss takes no account of the bloodless sacrifices or those in which the effusion of blood is carefully avoided.²

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¹ See esp. p. 224 ff. ² On which see W. E. Smith², p. 413.