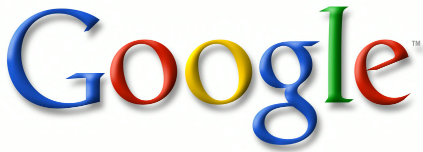

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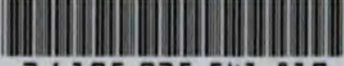
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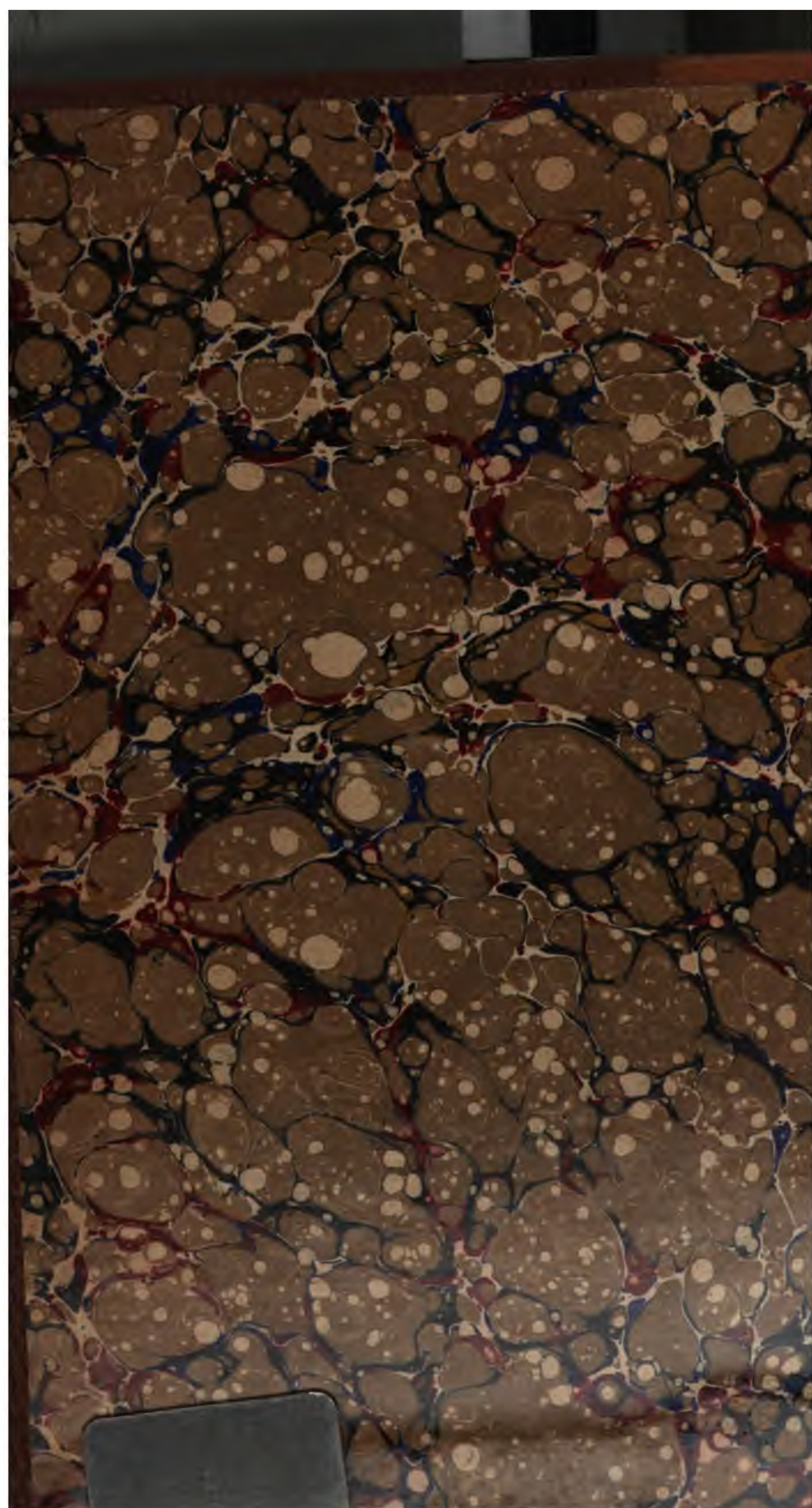

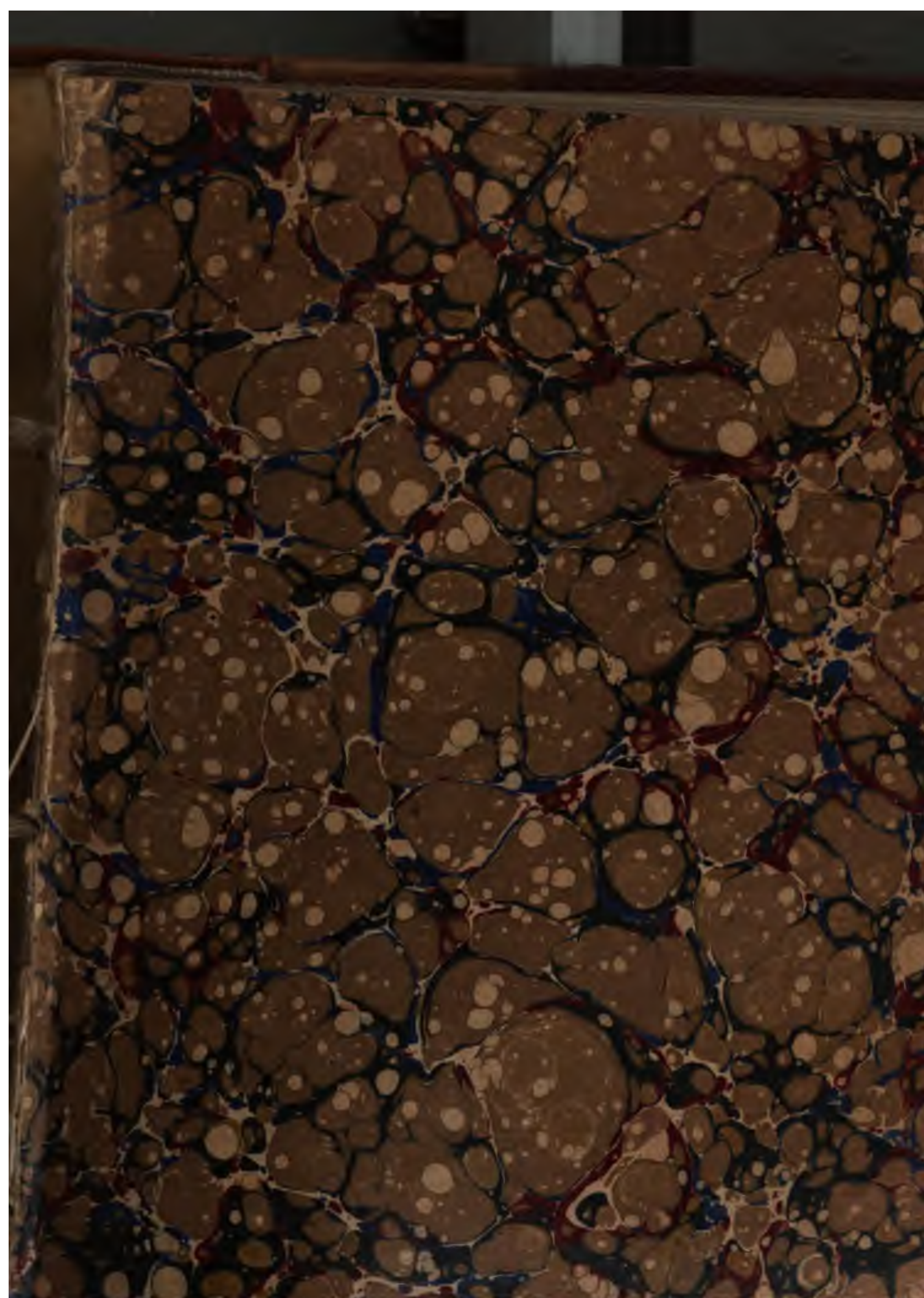

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FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW
OF
MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

And incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and*
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ERRATA.

Page 7, line 19, for *af* read *of*.
Page 27, line 16, for *twentieth* read *twenty-first*.
Page 179, line 5 from bottom, for *Moqis* read *Moquis*.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. IX.] MARCH, 1898. [No. I.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16th, 1897

In the unavoidable absence of the PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt), the Chair was taken by Mr. EDWARD CLODD.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The deaths of Sir E. McCulloch, Mr. T. Barwell, and Mr. A. M. Williams were announced. The election of the following new Members was also announced, viz.: Mr. J. W. Barwell, Mrs. J. Langloh Parker, Messrs. J. Max and Co., the Rev. E. Wrangles Clarke, Major McNair, Mr. F. O. Harvey, Sir Alfred Lyall, and the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

The following resignations were also reported, viz.: Mr. A. W. Johnston, the Rev. S. A. Brenan, Mrs. Bennett (*née* Fulcher), the Rev. A. Löwy, Professor Kuno Meyer, Mr. A. W. Moore, Mr. Ernest Clodd, Mrs. Chaworth Musters, and Mrs. E. F. Andrews.

The following books, which had been presented to the Society since the last meeting, were laid upon the table, viz.: "Golspie, contributions to its Folklore," edited by E. W. B. Nicholson, presented by the Editor; "Introduction to Folklore" (New Edition), by Miss M. Roalfe Cox, presented by the Author; "The Transactions of the Shropshire Archæological Society" (series II., vol. ix., part 3),

presented by the Society; "The Voyage of Bran," vol. ii., by A. Nutt, presented by the Author; and the "Administration Report of the Madras Government Museum for 1895-96," presented by the Indian Government.

The Chairman announced that Professor Starr of Chicago had offered to present to the Society's museum a collection of objects of folklore interest from Mexico upon certain conditions, to which the Council had very gladly acceded.

Mrs. Gomme exhibited a Feast-cake from Calymnos, kindly sent by Mr. W. R. Paton, and presented by him to the Society for its museum. Cakes of this description are made at Calymnos annually at Easter. The egg enclosed is represented to be that of a partridge.[1]

Mrs. Andrews exhibited a photograph of a spotted Kaffir.

Mr. F. Sessions read a paper entitled "Some Syrian Folklore Items gathered on Mount Lebanon," and exhibited a number of charms worn by the native peasantry. In the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, and Messrs. Gomme, Crooke, and Higgens took part.

At the conclusion of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Sessions for his paper.

[1] The Society is indebted to Miss Ffennell for a photograph of the cake, which is here reproduced in the hope that it may lead to the collection and preservation of other specimens, or at least photographs and records, of these curious and significant, but fragile, relics of the past. So perishable is the specimen sent by Mr. Paton that it could not be taken out of its nest of cotton-wool to be photographed.

PLATE I.

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EASTER CAKE FROM CALYMNOS.

To face page 2.

SOME SYRIAN FOLKLORE NOTES GATHERED ON MOUNT LEBANON.

BY FREDERICK SESSIONS.

THESE fragmentary notes are derived from inquiries made on the spot from or through missionaries, English-speaking doctors, schoolmasters, government officials, &c., during the spring of this year (1897).

It must be remembered that the district of the Lebanon is not Mohammedan; it is controlled by the European Powers. Since partial autonomy was granted it, good roads have been or are being made, and everything conspires to bring the inhabitants into touch with Europe. Dress, speech, ideas, religious, social, and even legal, are altering. Cheap sea-travel induces many natives to visit America, to peddle goods peculiar to the Holy Land. They come back often with a little money, and always with superstition lessened and an independent spirit fostered. With exception of those interesting, mystical, soldierly mountaineers—the Druzes—the people are by religious profession Greeks or Maronites, with a sprinkling of Latin Catholics and Protestants. What their ethnic origin may be is not my present purpose to inquire.

If I understand the term Folklore aright, it deals as much with archaic survivals of land-tenure and communistic customs in connection with them, as with remains of prehistoric and popular superstitions.

In the Lebanon the soil is now held by individuals, and personal ownership only is recognised by government. Yet there are many evidences that this was not always so, apart from those which literature may furnish. The tendency of a centralising government to break up communistic owner-

ship has been carried farther than in India, or in the adjoining territories of the Turkish Empire.

Traces of the older rule exist in the fact of the Law Courts treating all lands and houses as held in $\frac{24}{24}$. One man may own the whole, or $\frac{23}{24}$, or $\frac{11}{24}$, or $\frac{5}{24}$, and the remainder may be owned by another, or a dozen others, as the case may be; but each has the right of separate sale. Each has also the power to sell his share of the land, apart from the trees and their crops, the springs, and water-rights. Mission societies and other European purchasers have to be careful that all these things are separately bargained for and inserted in the deeds of sale. I know some who have been subjected to much inconvenience and loss, owing to neglect or ignorance of this. An old Druze castle has been partly purchased, but another owner is in exile and cannot be got at. Thus the living rooms above are one owner's, the stables and schools below with their flat roofs which form our courtyard are another's, and the old towers or chapels are another's again.

I called on one family of fifty persons—Greek Christians—fathers, sons, brothers, with wives and children, occupying separate apartments in a very large house, but keeping a common purse, and receiving us in a common room. In this case, the right of property was vested, I believe, in the head of the family.

A man cannot leave his real estate to whom he likes by will, but the $\frac{24}{24}$ must be divided among sons and daughters in the proportion of two parts to a son against one to a daughter. This is sometimes evaded by an owner selling to a favourite son during his lifetime. The risks of this are obvious, and sometimes befall the seller.

In most villages there are some "common" lands, groves, orchards, pastures, and some corporate properties, houses, or fields, the income from the produce or letting of which goes to the community holding them. Over common lands that are cultivated the villagers have a right of pasturage

for sheep or cattle after the crops are off. These properties cannot be alienated, except by some process of law.

The land-measures remind one of our old English and Domesday basal measures of ploughlands. A *fedān* is what a pair of oxen can be supposed to plough in a day, *i.e.* 1,200 *drah*, a *drah* being nearly a square yard. A *feddan* is about 135 English acres, and is reckoned the equivalent of what a yoke of oxen can plough in a year.

Boundaries, where they do not follow a stream, or are marked by well-known rocks or ancient trees, consist of irregular rows of larger stones gathered off the fields, with small piles at the angles. By far the larger proportion of lawsuits are with regard to the continual sly and gradual removal of the neighbours' landmarks. There is no beating of the village bounds, as far as I could ascertain, though government officers at periodical visits examine them, and hear local complaints upon the spot.

Spring festivals, accompanied by eating, drinking, and dancing, are observed, at which Christian priests (or Moslem, just beyond the Protectorate) bless the young crops and the budding fruit-trees, and the former sprinkle them with holy water. The mulberry-trees, which are invaluable in the silk-producing country, are special objects of this superstition. Red ribbon, a bone, or half a cow's shoe, tied on a vine, preserves the grapes from evil influences.

On the Epiphany, the fruit-trees are said to bow their heads in adoration of Christ, and then women hang a piece of dough (bread of life, and sacred, as we shall see by-and-by) wrapped in a cloth on the bough of a tree. Next morning the dough has "risen." They say, of course, this would not happen on any other day of the year.

At the ingathering of crops of all kinds—corn, olive, figs, grapes, pine-seeds—enough must be let fall on the ground to give the poor a liberal gleaning.

The tendency to partnership extends from the land to its produce. At the silkworm-feeding season, families will

club together temporarily to buy eggs and rear the grubs, distributing one family among the homes of the rest, and devoting one entire house to the shelving and trays for the feeding of the myriads of silk-spinners. Horses and carriages are also held in shares, as are ships in England, especially amongst relatives. Family circles are often large, and clannish to an inconvenient extent. One is recommended to make a purchase, for instance, of a shopkeeper or merchant. It is pretty certain you are recommended to a near relation of your friend, who has 100 or 150 uncles and cousins ready to do anything for you—for a consideration—and probably for your friend too. One schoolmaster in a certain village has actually at least 150 near relatives, and the school is largely composed of the younger ones, who would be withdrawn should he be dismissed.

The peasantry live in stone houses with flat earthen roofs, mended with fresh layers of mud from time to time, and carefully rolled with a stone roller, kept always at hand. These roofs are often merry-making places on summer evenings, when pipe and drum keep up for hours the sound which is so peculiarly trying to European nerves. They are to the natives what courtyards are to us, and when crops are drying are covered with peas, beans, flax, pine-cones, or what not. In all but the very poorest houses is a *Leewān*, or reception room, beyond which a stranger is seldom admitted. Around the Leewān is a divan, or low sofa. Seated on this, the guest is presented with some of the rich sweetmeats and lemonade and rose-water of the country. On entering, you have saluted with hand on heart and forehead, and been greeted with "Mar haban" (welcome, *lit.* "Our house is white"); or with "Ahlān wa sahlān" ("We are friends, our house is yours"). If you are very much the superior personage, your hand has been kissed and raised to your host's forehead. After partaking of the sweets and cooling drinks, you replace your glass on

the tray, and, looking to your host, you say: "Dēmi" (*lit*. "Always," meaning "May you ever live to do as much for me"); but this must be omitted when a death has recently occurred in the household. To your "Dēmi," the reply is "Sherufta" ("I have been honoured by you"). You answer again: "Ta sherufta" (equivalent to "I also have been honoured by you"). Black Arab coffee is served in small cups just ere you leave. To produce this too quickly is as much as to say: "Pray, don't stay any longer." To omit any one of these tedious ceremonies on either side, before or after the special business of the call, is to insult host or guest. You must not—you cannot—hurry in the Lebanon. Among the poorer classes, women share in the hard outdoor manual labour of the men, as well as attend to indoor duties. Many of the ladies of the wealthier Druzes keep pretty much to their own apartments, and are seldom seen abroad, and then always with veiled faces. Indeed, the Druze women of all ranks wear fichus, which are to be drawn across the face at the approach af a male stranger. The sisterhood all through the mountains, Christian or Druze, is fond of jewellery; and the amount of money locked up in coins, on head-dresses, necklaces, &c., is frequently considerable. The horns of silver or copper formerly worn by Druze brides have been bought up by curiosity-dealers, and are almost extinct. Old silver ornaments are, however, to be occasionally met with.

When a child is born, it is rubbed with salt, or with oil in which green myrtle is ground. It is washed and tightly swaddled. The cradle is a curious structure, into which the child is so tightly strapped as to be unable to move hand or foot. It is unlucky to the child to rock an empty cradle. On coming into a room where lies a newly-born babe, it is unlucky not to salute it with "In the name of God, what a fine child!" If the name of God is omitted, the child is open to the influence of the Evil Eye, a thing fearfully dreaded everywhere. The same formula must be used on entering

a silkworm-shed, and on very many other occasions, for the same reasons. Europeans are always excused from this, as their ignorance of these things involves no risk.

At funeral-feasts, boiled wheat, flavoured with spices, almonds, hazel-nuts, walnuts, or pine-seeds, is distributed among the relatives of the deceased, and especially to priests, often at the exit-door of the church, when the mourners, as they take it in passing, say: "May God bless him for whom we eat this now." If eaten in the house of mourning itself, the same formula is used.

Druze men are buried lying on the back, Druze women lying on the left arm.

I could not learn that windows or doors had to be left open when the spirit left the body, though I diligently inquired.

There are few games natural to children in the Lebanon beyond dances, akin in some cases to those of the Bedouin encampments. These children of the desert are not uncommon, as they bring their sheep to pasture among the mountains. These dances may be thus described:

Eight or nine girls stand in a semicircle, while two others, representing the lovesick swain and coquettish maiden respectively, dance to and fro in front of them, approaching, receding, and passing each other, with gestures of persuasion, rejection, disappointment, forgiveness, coolness, and final reconciliation, appropriate doubtless to the thread of story that runs through the song. Then they change to another song more lively and animated, that we understand dwells upon the prowess of some young warrior Sheikh, and all dance with clasped hands, suddenly separating, and clapping, with a step to rear, a step to left, a step forward into position, rejoining hands, while the whole ring is slowly moving round from left to right.

On Palm Sunday, in some places, girls dance on the threshing-floors, exactly as did the virgins of Shiloh when the wifeless Benjamites rushed upon them from their hiding-

places among the vineyards, and carried them away "every man to his tribe and family." They dance around sacred trees also at the same season. On the site of the ancient Phœnician city commonly called Old Beyrout, on the spot where evidently once stood a sacred grove—now represented by a single oak that has virtue to cure sickness—on September 21st, the people—men and women separately—dance and sing all night. There is a Roman inscription on an altar in the Phœnician Sun temple higher up the hill, dedicated to the god of the dancing festivals.

The children of the Friends' Mission Training Homes furnished us with the best illustrations of native games. The one of these which was the least like any European one I have seen is called *Ambeel*. The boys divided themselves into two ranks, facing each other at some distance apart, with a line drawn on the ground midway between them. One side sent out a scout across the line into the territory of the other. The moment he had stepped over it, he began calling in one breath, as rapidly as he could, and loud enough for everyone to hear: "Ambeel! Ambeel! Ambeel! Ambeel!" The enemy had to stop his doing so by compelling him to take breath, and if they succeeded he was out of the game, but they must throw him down, or otherwise make him stop speaking, without his touching them with his hands; if he does so, then the one he touches is out, and he returns victor to his friends. If he finds himself getting spent, he may retire; but the act of retreat proves often the opponents' opportunity to rush in. The two sides send out the scouts alternately, till a certain number are first "out"—the number to be mutually agreed upon previously—and the side holding in the longest, of course, wins. The girls seem to have no running or knockabout games of any sort; but a variety of the common game with knucklebones is played.

I have spoken of the terrible and universal fear inspired by the Evil Eye. Not everybody can cast it, and it is not

always known who can do so; but people with blue eyes, perhaps because of their scarcity, are peculiarly dreaded, especially blue-eyed women. Hence, probably, the general use of blue beads as a preventive. Strings of blue beads are hung around horses' necks, or a few are twisted into the mane or tail. One man, asked how these voided the evil, replied: Because the offending eye naturally lighted first upon them, and thus the blow was, so to speak, warded off from the bearer by the bead. Among both Jews and Arabs, a newly-born child must be spat upon four times by a visitor before she looks at it. Moslems in Palestine place the skull of an ox or camel over the door of a newly-built house to avert the Evil Eye. A print made by a human hand dipped in paint upon doors, door-posts, and shutters of a Moslem or Jewish dwelling is everywhere to be seen in Beyrout and in the coast towns still retained by the Turks. Christians substitute a string of shells or blue beads; though even they, when a house is newly whitewashed, dip their hands in the pail and print their hand-marks on windows and flour-boxes, to avert chilling February winds from old people, and to bring luck to the bin. White stones and animal-bones are hung on people's necks. Here is a small cylindrical metal case with chain and pendants, which is usually worn on children's caps, with a drop of mercury in it; for quicksilver hath virtue also against the eye of evil. Here is a round amulet-box of common metal, made to contain pieces of the bones of martyrs, which save both from the Evil Eye and from sickness. This particular box has been worn by generations of one family for sixty years. Here are four triangular leather cases, tied together on a faded and rather greasy old bit of ribbon, which contain respectively spells against the Evil Eye, sickness, nightmare, and the crying of children in their sleep.

I have before me the translation, by my friend Mr. Tanius Cortas, a master at the Boys' Training Home, Brumana, of one of these spells made by a man after twenty-four hours

of fasting and prayer, and sold by him to Elias Soloman It is so curious that I give it entire, premising that the names Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John stand on the four corners of the face of the spell, and at each of the four corners of the back, when folded up, is the name of Ilias Soloman, for whom the spell was prepared.

"I begin in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the one God. Amen.

"In the name of the Lord, and none beats his power, and everything runs away from his face, in the east and west.

"It was said that our lord Solomon charmed and asked to charm in the wild wide forests and dry places. He saw a small goat hanging down her ears and showing her teeth. She howled like wolves and barked like dogs. When it was night, Solomon asked her: 'Against whom hangest thou down thy ears and workest slyly?' She answered: 'I come to all, big and small, to the girl and the bride in her marriage, to the boy and young man in their sleep, to the horseman in his gallop, to the camel under his load, to the donkey in his walk, to the cow when she is eating. I come upon a company and scatter them in an hour. I enter into a house and make it soon desolate.' Then Solomon said to her: 'O thou fairy and Evil Eye, I will put thee in narrow vessel of brass, and pour upon thee mercury and melted lead, and throw thee in the depth of the sea, where thou wilt have no shelter.' The fairies said to him: 'Our lord Solomon, for the sake of the covenant of God, and his promise, we will not hurt the bearer of this charm Ilias as long as the silver is white and the stone solid.' Solomon said: 'This is lying, but I exorcise you by the name of Ibahashiralia and the four evangelists, the sixty-six angels who came down on the city of Antonius, the three men who were thrown in the furnace of fire, and the Virgin Mary, the mother of the Light, and the Lord Almighty. So that the servant of God, Ilias, the bearer of this charm, shall be kept from all jealous eyes, harms, troubles, evil spirits; and all shall run away and melt, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O Thou that dwellest in the heavens. Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of

their master, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God that he have mercy upon us. Have mercy upon us: for we are exceedingly filled with contempt. Our soul is exceedingly filled with the scorning of those that are at ease, and with the contempt of the proud." *Ps.* 123.

"The Lord God guards the bearer of this book."

Here is a wolf-bone—I think a vertebra from the neck, quite polished with constant use. It has been a talisman against children starting in their sleep, and against the "wolf (or whooping) cough." The theory seems to be that every child has at its birth an attendant fairy or Jīn, or "genius," as I fancy it is called in our versions of the *Arabian Nights*, and that the wolf has power over these companion-spirits, and therefore its bones prevent the child from being choked in coughing. The next is a short chain of small links, from which are suspended two little metal, five-pointed and serrated bits of iron, and a tiny pair of iron scissors. The pieces of iron are to represent a male and female frog (*dafdaa*). They are preservatives against a swelled throat, thrush, croup, and similar ailments; and the scissors "cut the swelling," if it comes. Five brothers of a family at Biskinta have worn it in turn. There is a current saying that, as the frog's own throat swells when he is croaking—and the Eastern frogs *do* croak—he is muttering threats of evil against any who will hurt him. Next, is a piece of white stalactite, about as large as a shilling, with a hole in the centre. It has been taken from a cave beneath the Convent of St. Anthony in the Lebanon. In this convent, intractable mad people are imprisoned, and I am afraid are awfully maltreated. The Arabic word for an insane person means that he is possessed by a demon, and the demon is to be exorcised by priests and magicians, through chaining, beating, and starving, till the miserable victim recovers or dies—generally the latter fate is his.

By the law of mental association that seems to run through nearly all this business of charming, the piece of white lime-accretion from the roof of this cave will save or cure from madness. Simpler charms are such as this brass ring, worn by a patient in Brumana hospital to keep him from falling sick. As it had not fulfilled its end, he gladly gave it me. More expensive ones are those of the Maronites. They are little purses for the scrip, with a rough sketch of the Virgin and Child on the cover; and these little purses are kept in covers wrought in silk, and gold and silver wire, and beads.

The superstitions of the poor people sometimes take a comical aspect, though at the same time they are infinitely sad. Only the other day, a woman, probably touched with that mysterious and multiform disease of the nerves called hysteria, was given some grapes by a male neighbour. Some of these grapes were spotted; and she took it into her head that a love-spell had been applied to them by him—which I believe was not the case, though such things are done sometimes—and in an excited state she followed him about. Our mission-doctor heard of the case, and went to her house, finding a lot of people there, by their own wrought-up condition further stimulating her complaint. He promptly turned them all out, and, making her sit down, calmly assured her that he would not go until the evil spirit that possessed her had departed. After awhile she seemed quieter, but something had to be done; so he lanced one of her feet, and drew blood. Possibly the blood-letting itself was a good thing; but the impression on the woman's mind was wholesome; and when he opened the door she was handed to her friends in her right mind.

The personality of spells is a subject closely connected, I take it, with the Evil Eye, and is at the root of stone-casting, tying rags on trees, &c. It must surely be involved in the idea of the influence of the "eye," the essential being of an individual, going forth to give or receive cursing or blessing.

Here is a case in point: The daughter of a certain family, who was a fine healthy girl, and a good one to boot, was engaged to be married to a young Syrian. Before the happy union could be accomplished, the Syrian died of consumption. The natives, who believe that certain people live surrounded by an atmosphere of evil powers, apart altogether from the Evil Eye, took it into their heads that, although they did not lay upon her any responsibility for the deed, it was her presence that had cast a spell of death upon her friend. She ultimately married another young man, who, curiously enough, also died early, shortly after the wedding, from fever, or some such disease, which he had contracted. Of course, the neighbours were entirely confirmed that she could not help causing the death of those she was thus closely connected with.

If a child's cap falls on the floor, and it is stepped on or over, the child will sicken. To remove the Evil Eye, or a personal spell cast on a child, by a person stepping over it as it lies on the floor or in a cradle, the child's clothes must be hung on the door-lintel of the same house, and the person of evil influence must pass under them. The passing-under draws back, I presume, the influence imparted by passing over, and as the child cannot be hung on the lintel, the clothes alone suffice.

It is unlucky for a child even in play to pass between an adult's legs; the only way then to avert evil is to pass it back again the contrary way.

If, however, a child so influenced continues to waste away, a Lebanon mother knows no other remedy than the kill-or-cure of a dip in the sea for her babe. Many a weary mile has been, for this end, traversed by sorrowful mothers with their darlings, only to return with still more sorrowful hearts.

Another belief in spells relates to the imparting of personal names. To call a child after a relative is equivalent to saying: "May you soon die, and this child prove

to be your heir." It is a deadly insult to name a horse or dog after a donor.

One outcome of this imparting personality is the customs with regard to casting curses or prayers with stones from the hand. All tourists to Jerusalem have seen Absolom's tomb, and the hole in the base of its pinnacle through which generations of Jews have conveyed thus their imprecations on an ungrateful and impious son. *En route* from Jerusalem to Jericho you pass a large square slab, covering the remains of a Moslem saint, which has multitudes of smaller stones upon it, each placed there with a prayer for the saint's intercession and blessing. In many places in Palestine are spots marking the graves of murdered men. Stones are placed on them by passing relatives, with prayers for the dead. Coming in sight of Sychar, on the slopes of which is another Moslem saint's tomb, there are scores upon scores of little heaps of stones, placed along the mountain-ridge to mark where prayers and thanksgivings have been offered by travellers. A frequent formula in concluding a prayer or a curse seems to be: "O stone, I witness with thee to-day; witness thou with me at the resurrection." At Biskinta, on the Lebanon, is the tomb of a Druze who, tradition says, was buried alive to obtain merit in the next stage of his existence; for the Druzes believe in the transmigration of souls. Greek Orthodox Christians in the village—and they only—cast stones on this grave with muttered curses as they pass. Near Brumana, where our own headquarters were, is the grave of a murdered oil-seller. Piles of stones are cast upon it; for he was said to have been a bad man. At Mar Sesin the Druzes have four stones that were formerly wood, and turned to stone as a saint lay on them. They kneel and kiss them, and lay their sick upon them. Rags are, as is well known, hung on trees, &c., with prayers for recovery from sickness. This was frequent in Palestine, but less so, I noticed, than among the idolaters of India, and more so than in the Lebanon. The evergreen

oak already alluded to at Old Beyrout not only had rags sometimes suspended on it, but a root that arches above-ground cures those who crawl beneath it of rheumatism and lumbago, and secures easy child-birth to mothers. This tree is so sacred that a man's arm withered who dared to cut a branch.

Sacred wells and fountains do not seem to be common now in the Lebanon. But the one now called Ain Salaam, at Brumana, was formerly called Ain Jīn. It was then a waste wilderness, and the villagers dared not pass the Ain alone at night. A Greek priest declares he often saw Jīn marriages being consummated there, and that he had contracted such an intimacy with the fairy-folk, that he alone could exorcise them from persons who had become possessed by them. A friend of mine, a Protestant, once in the old times lost his way after nightfall in that neighbourhood, and not a soul could he get to lead him past Ain Jīn.

Ordeal is still sometimes practised rather shamefacedly, or after other means have failed, for the detection of crime. A sorceress at Roomy undertakes to discover a person who has cast an Evil Eye on another, by dropping melted tin into cold water. The Arabic letter nearest to the form the tin assumes is the initial of the culprit's name. She is also a discoverer of thieves. Some use divination for the same purpose by counting beads while they say in turn: "Brown eye, light-brown eye, blue eye, black eye, black hair, grey hair, light hair," &c.

Sacrificial survivals may perhaps be traced in the killing of sheep or oxen, as at the opening of the Beyrout-Damascus railway; at the finishing of a new house, when everybody helps at the last job, the whitewashing of a ceiling; or when several men will take a lamb to a bridegroom and kill it for the wedding-feast. Even our Protestant missionaries fell in with the custom at the re-christening of Ain Salaam.

Customs connected with bread are curious. It is unlucky to cut the thin cake-loaves with a knife: they must be torn

by the hand. Everybody knows how the Bedouin regards breads as sacred, the staff and representative of *life*, and how in consequence even an enemy who has partaken of it is safe till he has digested it—about twenty-six hours' "law" being granted. Even then he is secure, if he can steal a loaf and hide it under his garments, and produce it when followed and attacked. And even the flour from the surface, and crumbs fallen on his lap, will be carefully gathered into the Bedouin's palm and "whiffed" up into his mouth, so that none shall get into wrong and unholy bodies. In Beyrout, a Moslem will stop to pick up a crumb on the roadway; and to throw pieces of bread about produces horror and indignation. No one must step over dough while women are baking, or an evil influence is imparted to it. When baked without mishap, and eaten fresh, it is very nice; and so they say of a morose fellow: "He has not a smile even for fresh bread!" I have already spoken of dough hung on trees at Epiphany. At this season, semi-fluid dough is fried with carob-dibs, and if possible dipped in water from the Jordan, and marked with a Greek cross. Loaves of mass-bread, five times the size of an ordinary loaf, in memory of the five loaves that fed the 5,000, are sent by pious women to the churches. None may eat of these but regular attendants and the priests. They are printed with the cross and sacred emblems by olive-wood stamps, blessed by priests, and sold by them at a large profit.

Hidden treasure is guarded by the Jīn, and is searched for. On the hill surmounted by the monastery of Mar Elias are remains of excavations. At Sidon, the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus was found by a treasure-hunter, following a well-known tradition. On the mountain road to Damascus is a stone with an inscription: "If you dig here, you will be sorry; if you do not dig, you will be sorry also." People usually dig at night-time, often in Roman ruins, under the guidance of a sorcerer, who gets the most gold—from the *diggers*, not the *diggings*.

I came across no traces of Baal-fires, unless the lighting of fires on the 14th September (the Feast of the Cross), always on the house-tops, when inhabitants and guests leap over them, be a survival.

Tattooing is common. The date of birth is continually found recorded on the arms of older people; and it is often the only proof of age available. The Turkish crescent, the Sultan's monogram, the Holy Sepulchre, links and pendants representing the Trinity, and circles, lines, and dots of which I failed to trace the meaning, are the commonest. I never saw any representation of anything living.

Spoiling a nest brings on tertiary fever.

A pair of ravens crossing the path bring good luck; a single one, or an odd number, bad luck.

An owl heard hooting by a sick person is an omen of death.

From Christmas Day to twelve days after, unleavened dough, placed with pieces of money and a ring of cyclamen roots in a calico wrapper, and hung on a tree, and every morning dipped in a pure spring, will cause the money to prosper and increase, as the dough may, or may not, ferment.

People sometimes wind a girdle of threads around a church to secure themselves a blessing.

Trees must not be cut in a waning moon.

Children say that if they point to the stars, or count them, they will have warts.

It is exceedingly propitious to die on Good Friday.

Blood-feuds die hard. Six murders were committed in Beyrout in two months; some of these were the revenge of near relatives for earlier ones.

To drive a man mad, or cause him to hate his wife, you have only to write the necessary curse upon his door.

Two ancient friends deliberately severing their friendship break a straw between them.

"Will you go to Mar Elias?" is asked of a man whose

word is doubted; as we might say: "Will you swear to that?" If the challenge is accepted, the swearer takes three strides towards the altar, and with uplifted hand calls on the saint to strike him dead if what he has said is not true.

At Easter, boys formerly went from house to house, performing the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead; and the payment was invariably an egg from each householder—this only, I believe, among the Greeks.

The seventh son has peculiar power in charming away sickness, and writing effective spells.

The Jīn not only guard wells and hidden treasure, but sometimes perform kindnesses to the poor and distressed, by multiplying their meal, or causing mills to grind extra-quickly. In these cases, they manifest themselves as old men of the mountains. In one case, a miller was aided in performing impossible tasks, such as carrying flour in a bottomless tub, and water in a bottomless pitcher, imposed upon him by an evil spirit, who was to have his soul if he failed.

If the foregoing notes have any merit, it is that all have been gleaned on the spot. None of the writings or travels of others have been put under requisition. Had they been, instances might have been multiplied, as, for instance, Dean Stanley's notice of broken sherds in the Ilex Groves. I have drawn no conclusions as to the origins, religious or ethnic, of any of the items collected. I trust that others may be able to make use of them in these directions, and that hints for future use may be given me, in case I return to the Lebanon, as is not improbable.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21st, 1897.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignations of Col. Rivett Carnac, Mrs. Lothian Nicholson, and Miss R. M. Thompson were announced. The election of the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson as a new member was also announced.

Mr. W. Crooke read a paper entitled, "The Wooing of Penelope;" and in the discussion that followed Mr. Gomme, Miss Burne, Mr. Kirby, Dr. Gaster, the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson, and the President took part.

The Meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18th, 1898.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report, Statement of Accounts, and Balance Sheet for the year 1897 were duly presented; and upon the motion of Mr. Clodd, seconded by Mr. Kirby, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

The following ladies and gentlemen who had been nominated by the Council as President, Vice-Presidents, Mem-

bers of Council, and Officers for the year 1898 were balloted for, and upon a scrutiny of the ballot papers were declared to have been duly elected, viz.:—

As *President:* Mr. Alfred Nutt.

As *Vice-Presidents:* The Hon. J. Abercromby, Miss C. S. Burne, Mr. Edward Clodd, Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, Professor A. C. Haddon, Mr. Andrew Lang, The Rt. Hon. Sir J. Lubbock, Lt.-Gen. Pitt-Rivers, Professor F. York-Powell, Professor J. Rhys, the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, and Dr. E. B. Tylor.

As *Members of Council:* Mr. C. J. Billson, Dr. Karl Blind, Miss M. Roalfe Cox, Mr. W. Crooke, Mr. Leland L. Duncan, Mr. J. P. Emslie, Dr. Gaster, Mr. T. Gowland, Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, Mr. T. W. E. Higgens, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, Dr. F. B. Jevons, Mr. W. F. Kirby, Mr. J. T. Naaké, Mr. T. Fairman Ordish, Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, Mr. M. J. Walhouse, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, and Mr. A. R. Wright.

As *Hon. Treasurer:* Mr. E. W. Brabrook.

As *Hon. Auditor:* Mr. F. G. Green.

As *Secretary:* Mr. F. A. Milne.

Dr. Gaster moved, and Miss Grove seconded, that Rule VI. of the Rules of the Society, providing that at each Annual Meeting all the Members of the Council shall retire from office, but shall be eligible for re-election, be altered by providing that one-fifth of the Members of the Council shall retire by seniority at the end of each year, and shall not be eligible for re-election for a period of two years.

Mr. Kirby moved as an amendment, and Mr. Wheatley seconded, that the Members retiring at the end of each year should be those of the London Members who had been least regular in their attendance at the Meetings of the Council during the preceding twelve months.

A discussion ensued, in the course of which Mr. Brabrook pointed out that Dr. Gaster's object might be equally well effected if the Council were to pass a standing order in the

sense of his motion to guide them in the preparation of their House List.

Upon Mr. Kirby's amendment being put to the vote, it was declared lost, only three voting for it. Dr. Gaster's motion was then put to the vote, and also declared lost; but it was understood that the matter would be brought before the Council and dealt with by them in accordance with Mr. Brabrook's suggestion.

The President then delivered his Presidential Address, his subject being "The Discrimination of Racial Elements in the Folklore of the British Isles." At the conclusion of the Address a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the President on the motion of Professor York-Powell.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

18TH JANUARY, 1898.

THE Council are glad to report that there has been no falling off of the general interest shown in the work of the Society during the past year. The attendance at the evening meetings, on the whole satisfactory, has in some instances been gratifyingly large; papers of marked interest and value have been forthcoming, and there has been an increase in the number of smaller communications, and in the exhibits of folklore objects.

The Council were able to issue early in the year the extra volume for 1896—Mr. H. M. Bower's "Elevation and Procession of the Ceri at Gubbio." In the last Report this work was described as likely to prove of exceptional interest and value, and the Council think that its reception by Members of the Society and by the learned world has fully justified their forecast. It is to be hoped that the Author will not quit the new field of research he has opened up for English readers, and that the Society may count upon further contributions from him.

The Journal has fully maintained its accustomed high level, thanks chiefly to the efforts of the Publications Committee, consisting, as heretofore, of Miss Cox, Messrs. Hartland, Gomme, Kirby, the President and Treasurer, and in especial to the untiring and admirable work of the Chairman, Mr. Hartland, whose services, the Council are pleased to say, will be available during the forthcoming

year. The practice of illustrating papers has been extended, and considerably more space has been given to reviewing. The Council believe that both of these features are appreciated by readers of *Folk-Lore*, and they only await increase of the Society membership, and consequent increase of the publication fund, to still further develop them.

With regard to the extra volume for 1897, the Council have modified the programme foreshadowed in the last Annual Report. Miss Mary Kingsley, whose travels in West Africa have excited such widespread interest, kindly consented to select for publication a portion of the valuable material concerning the beliefs and popular literature of the Fiote or Fjort (natives of French Congo), collected and forwarded to the Society by Mr. R. E. Dennett, a West Coast resident of over twenty years' standing, and one of the few Europeans competent by mastery of the native idiom and intimate acquaintance with native thought to present a faithful picture of native lore. The Council are further indebted to Miss Kingsley for a valuable introduction which will be of much service to students.

Mr Dennett's work, which will largely fill the gap in our knowledge of the West African native existing between Colonel Ellis' classic studies of the Guinea Coast and Nigeria, and Mr. Heli Chatelain's account of Angola folklore, published by the American Folk-Lore Society, will form the extra volume for 1897, and will be sent as soon as possible to all Members, having paid their subscription for that year.

During the past year evening meetings have been held and papers read thereat as under :—

Jan. 19. President's Address.
Feb. 16. "The Story of Orendel." By Professor Ker.
March 16. "The Death and Burial of the Fiote." By R. E. Dennett.
"The Fetish View of the Human Soul." By Miss Mary Kingsley.

April 27. "Folklore Parallels and Coincidences." By M. J. Walhouse.
"Folklore of the Hebrides." By Miss Goodrich Freer.
"An Ancient Custom at Sea." By Miss Richards.
"Shetland Legends." By the Rev. C. L. Acland.

May 18. "On an Inscribed Leaden Tablet found at Dymock, Gloucestershire." By E. Sidney Hartland.
"Folklore of the Uraons." By H. Raynbird, Jun.
"Some Country Remedies and their Uses." By John H. Barbour.
"Four Yorkshire Folktales." By S. O. Addy.
"Fairies of the Fairy Knoll of Caipigbill." By M. McPhail.

June 29. "The Binding of a God—A Study of the Basis of Idolatry." By W. Crooke.

Nov. 16. "Some Syriac Folklore Items gathered on Mount Lebanon." By F. Sessions.

Dec. 21. "The Wooing of Penelope." By W. Crooke.

Many objects of interest have been exhibited at these Meetings. The Council desire to express their gratitude to the Exhibitors, and trust that other Members of the Society will follow the good example they have set.

During the year the Society has lost by death six Members, including Mr. J. Theodore Bent and Sir Edgar McCulloch, while 22 have resigned. Twenty-six new Members have, however, been elected, there being thus a net decrease of two in the roll of Members, which now stands at 377. The Council would again emphasise the fact that they are unable with the income derived from the present Membership to carry out many schemes of first-rate import to our study, or to provide for the speedy publication of all the material in their hands.

The accounts of the Society as audited, together with a statement of its assets and liabilities, are appended to this Report. The Council note that the financial position of the Society is more satisfactory than it has been for many years past, but point out that it would be considerably improved if new Members would avail themselves of the very favourable terms offered some years ago to purchasers of the back publications.

As regards the future work of the Society, there is a

sufficient supply of papers received or promised to ensure an interesting session and a volume of *Transactions* that will amply sustain the Society's reputation.

In the autumn of last year, Mr. E. Sidney Hartland, after attending the Meeting of the British Association at Toronto, visited Chicago, and there had the good fortune to meet with Professor Starr, who most generously offered to present to the Society's Museum a collection of objects fully illustrating the folklore of Mexico. The Professor made this offer subject to three conditions, viz.:—

(1) That the collection should be kept as a Mexican collection with the donor's name attached;

(2) That the Society should print an illustrated catalogue, the MS. for which he would prepare and pass through the press; and

(3) That at some time not more than from three to six months after the presentation, there should be a suitable display at some regular or special meeting of the Society, and that the catalogues should be ready for distribution by then.

The Council, feeling that this was an opportunity which ought not to be lost, at once accepted the offer, and informed Professor Starr that they would be prepared to issue the catalogue referred to by him as one of their series of publications; and they accordingly propose to issue it as the additional publication for 1898.

The Professor has started afresh for Mexico in order to complete his collections, and does not expect to complete the catalogue and despatch the objects to England before the autumn of 1898, so the Society can hardly enter into possession of his munificent gift until the end of this or the beginning of next year.

It may be necessary to postpone the issue of any further instalment of County Folklore until next year, but should there be such an increase of membership as to justify the Council in issuing two extra publications for 1898,

Mrs. M. C. Balfour's Northumberland collection is available for publication.

Of the other County Folklore collections in course of completion, the Council are advised that that of the Orkneys and Shetlands is nearly completed, and they are pleased to be able to report that a new collector has come forward in the person of Miss A. B. Henderson, who is at work on the Folklore of Caithness.

It is now twenty years since the Folk-Lore Society was founded. Members can look back with pride upon the work of the past, but if that work is to be continued on the same lines, and especially if it is to be developed in a manner adequate to the growing importance of the study and to the imperial position of Britain, strenuous and unremitting efforts are required. It is desirable that the Society should signalise the twentieth year of its existence by increasing its membership to at least 500, a result easily to be achieved if all Members would actively exert themselves on its behalf among their friends. Ignorance concerning the aim and work of the Society, and even its existence, far more than lack of interest, is the foe that has to be contended against—ignorance that can only be dissipated by individual action on the part of Members. An earnest appeal is addressed to all who have the welfare of the Society at heart, and who desire to see its sphere of work enlarged. The Secretary will place prospectuses and application-forms at the disposal of Members, and will render all other assistance in his power. It is especially desirable that the number of public libraries subscribing to the Society's publications should be increased, in order to diffuse as widely as possible accurate knowledge of our study. The Council are preparing a special appeal to libraries, but in the meantime they urge all Members serving upon library committees to represent the claim which the Society has upon all who study the popular antiquities of the very various races under the dominion of the Queen.

TREASURER'S CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1897.

RECEIPTS.

		£ s. d.
To Balance carried forward from 1896		57 17 6
,, Subscriptions, 1898 (7)	£7 7 0	
,, ,, 1897 (336)	352 16 0	
,, ,, 1896 (14)	14 14 0	
,, ,, earlier years (7) ...	7 7 0	
		382 4 0
To Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt:—		
Fourth Quarter, 1896, and First Quarter, 1897	19 12 6	
Second and Third Quarters, 1897	23 1 5	
		42 13 11
To Contribution from Mr. H. M. Bower towards the Expenses of *The Ceri of Gubbio*		8 0 0
,, Compounding Fee		10 10 0
		£501 5 5

E. W. BRABROOK, *Treasurer.*

PAYMENTS.

		£ s. d.
By Printing Account (Publications):—		
Messrs. Nichols & Sons—		
Folk-Lore, Vol. vii. 2, 3, and 4	125 17 8	
ditto Vol. viii. 1 and 2 ...	70 19 3	
Messrs. Ballantyne—		
The Ceri of Gubbio	41 18 6	
Engraving Blocks and Paper for *The Ceri of Gubbio*	13 14 5	
		252 9 10
,, Miscellaneous Printing		34 13 5
,, Index to *Folk-Lore*, Vols. vii. and viii. ...		10 10 0
,, Postages, Despatch of Volumes (Oct. 1896—Oct. 1897)		45 9 8
,, Binding Account (Simpson & Co.)		16 18 0
,, Hire of Meeting Room (1896, 1897)		8 8 0
,, Expenses at Evening Meetings		4 5 4
,, Advertising (*Athenæum*)		3 0 6
,, Insurance of Stock (2 years)		2 10 0
,, Subscription to Congress of Archæological Societies		1 0 0
,, Secretary's Salary...	£35 0 0	
,, ditto Poundage	21 7 0	
		56 7 0
,, Petty Cash Expenses (Secretary) ...	10 0 0	
,, ditto Bank and other Discounts	1 2 2	
		11 2 2
,, Balance in hand		54 11 6
		£501 5 5

Examined and found correct January 10th, 1897.
F. G. GREEN, *Auditor.*

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER, 1897.

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.
Printing of Publications:—			
Folk-Lore, Vol. viii. 2 and 3 (say)	75	0	0
Folklore of the Fjort, by R. E. Dennett (say) ...	50	0	0
Secretary's Poundage	21	12	0
General Printing (say)...	5	0	0
Advertising	0	16	0
Petty Cash Expenses	2	10	1
	£154	18	1

ASSETS.

		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions for 1897 outstanding ...	£21 0 0			
Less Subscriptions paid in advance ...	7 7 0			
		13	13	0
Balance at Bank		54	11	6
The Stock (about 2,000 vols.) is estimated to considerably more than cover the difference of ...		86	13	7
		£154	18	1

E. W. BRABROOK, *Treasurer*.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE DISCRIMINATION OF RACIAL ELEMENTS IN THE FOLKLORE OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

IN my address last year[1] I had occasion to lay considerable stress upon the presence in English literature of features derived, as I contended, from the mythico-heroic romance of the Celtic portion of our mixed population. I shall essay this evening to determine the limits within which conjecture as to the possible share in our common folklore of each section of that population is likely to prove fruitful, and to briefly indicate the lines along which, in my estimation, research should move if it is to attain any definite result. The discussion will necessarily be of a general character. I shall not be able to check the principles that may emerge from it by any examination of folklore items. But it is at times useful to take a broad survey of certain fields of our study, to plan out one's campaigning ground, as it were, from a lofty eminence unembarrassed by the water-courses, swamps, and forests which are apt to encumber the progress of the toiler on the plains.

I necessarily leave out of account the numerous items of British folklore of recent and well-ascertained historical origin, as well as those traits and features which, be their ultimate source what it may, have undoubtedly assumed their present form (or rather the form of which the present one is a degradation) in a specifically Celtic or Teutonic environment. But there remain vast masses of belief and fancy the proximate origin of which is uncertain, and in which definite racial influences of the most varied character have been detected on very slight grounds.

[1] The Origin and Nature of Fairy Mythology in English Literature.

I must at the outset state that the sense which I attach to the term folklore in the present connection is that of elements of culture surviving among the less advanced sections of the community, but discarded by the more advanced. Whether the idea of survival necessarily belongs to the conception of folklore used in its widest significance is a question that need not be discussed here; in connection with a community like the British, the more advanced members of which have entirely or almost entirely outgrown the philosophical and artistic ideas embodied in folklore, survival must be regarded as the dominant and characteristic note of the latter. Folklore, then, I treat this evening as a survival of elements of culture. These elements may, it is evident, be of different nature and intent, and may also survive from strata of culture different either sociologically or historically. As far as the difference of these elements in nature and intent is concerned, I have already indicated the two classes into which I divide them: philosophical and artistic. As far as their origin in varying sociological and historical strata of culture is concerned, racial considerations may or may not be involved. The same race may conceivably pass through such sociological changes, be affected by such varying historical conditions, as to bring about the difference between the conceptions and ideals of various sections of the race resulting in folklore. On the other hand, admixture of races is on *a priori* grounds an extremely likely factor in the production of folklore. It nearly always implies dominance of one, and the conceptions and ideals of the dominating supersede and oust those of the dominated race, but rarely to such an extent as to prevent their survival as folklore. Do the known facts of British history, using the term in its widest sense, justify the hypothesis of varying racial elements as a dominant factor in the production of existing British folklore, and is that hypothesis further justified by a searching and unbiassed examination of our folklore itself?

In endeavouring to answer this question, the two classes into which I divide folklore must in my judgment be considered separately. I have styled them philosophical and artistic. The terms will serve provided it be clearly understood that folk philosophy is definitely and rigidly practical. Man in the folklore stage philosophises with a view to action; it is in the last degree essential that his philosophy should be sound, as it is to result in action the effects of which involve life or death, dearth or plenty, weal or woe for him. Philosophical speculation in the air, without any definite relation to or bearing upon the practical conduct of life, is one of those benefits of progress which man in the folklore stage not only contrives to do without, but the excellence of which he fails to grasp.

This practical philosophy is necessarily largely conditioned by the sociological surroundings of the community. The agriculturist, the hunter, the warrior have not precisely the same object in view; and as their philosophy is designed to result in action which shall attain the object, it must necessarily differ to some extent. But the variation need not be large; the details of the philosophy may, nay must, vary slightly, but the guiding principles remain the same. Increase of the medium of sustenance, whether it be mainly vegetable or mainly animal, increase in the capacity for offence and defence alike of the community and of the individual against other men, against other animals, against the invisible forces which ever, as storm and drought and pestilence, war against mankind, increase in the capacity for augmenting individual or communal sway over the more primitive human passions, lust and hate and greed—such are the objects aimed at alike by the peasant, the hunter, or the warrior. His philosophy is to help him to achieve them.

It follows, I think, that as regards this, the practical side of the primitive philosophy we style folklore when it confronts our advanced thought, the discrimination of racial

elements is a task of extraordinary delicacy. The objects of that philosophy are universally human—man must eat, must defend himself, ever seeks to gratify the overpowering impulses we style passion. It is *a priori* unlikely that different groups of mankind should elaborate markedly distinct philosophies, and this unlikelihood is intensified by examination of such groups or individuals as still live, or have lived in the the past, in the folklore stage. We find amazingly close kinship all the world over, and at all stages of recorded history, between practices intended to ensure plenty of crop or herd, to avert defeat or pestilence, to enable the gratification of lust or hate. I have already stated that communities living for a long lapse of time in the same stratum of culture will naturally develop special details of practice suited to their special needs. A community of fishermen of several centuries' standing brought suddenly into contact with one of nomad herds, or of fixed tillers of the soil, will certainly have a vast number of folklore items to exchange with its newly-found neighbours, but the philosophy under which these items have assumed form will be found to be largely identical. The only marked variation that is likely in my opinion to take place in the practical philosophy of communities living in the folklore stage is when one of them devotes itself exclusively or almost exclusively to war as a means of winning food and gratifying passion. Such large sections of the philosophy fall into desuetude when man pits himself mainly against his fellows, instead of mainly against other animals and nature generally, that a new and clearly discriminated type is likely to result; this likelihood can, I believe, be confirmed by historical investigation, especially of the communities of antiquity, and the result of such investigation sheds, I believe, considerable light upon the development of ancient beliefs and rites.

Let us apply these general considerations to the special conditions of the British Isles. We know that shortly prior

to the Christian era Britain was partly inhabited by communities speaking well-differentiated varieties of that form of Aryan known as Celtic; we presume, on fairly convincing grounds, that these communities came here from the Continent during the course of the millennium preceding the Christian era; we conjecture, on grounds which are really of the vaguest, that they found in possession communities which did not speak any variety of Aryan. We know that in the course of the millennium following the Christian era there was a steady influx from the Continent of well-differentiated varieties of Teutonic Aryans; that the fifth and sixth centuries and ninth and tenth centuries A.D. respectively were marked by very considerable invasions, in the first instance of Continental, in the second of Scandinavian Teutons. We know that since that time the population of these islands has not been subjected to any considerable modification, for we cannot regard the Norman Conquest as at all comparable in its effect upon our population to either the Danish incursions of the ninth and tenth centuries, or to Anglo-Saxon incursions of the fifth and sixth centuries. Comparing the three main streams of Continental immigration, pre-Christian Celtic, post-Christian fifth-century Low-German, and ninth-tenth century Scandinavian, we have strong grounds for believing that the Celts brought their women with them to a greater extent than was the case with the Low-Germans, and certainly to a far greater extent than was the case with the Danes. So far then as race be taken in a purely physical sense, the post-Christian German invasions are likely to have had a more mixed outcome than the pre-Christian Celtic; more men of German blood would have to seek alien wives, Celtic or pre-Celtic, than did the first Celtic immigrants. On the other hand, even in the invasion least marked by the presence of women, that of the Scandinavians, they were present in quite sufficient number to allow for the continuance of the invading community with comparatively

little admixture. As a matter of historical fact, in the case of the Teutonic invasions, of which alone we know anything in detail, we do know that the admixture was greater than it need have been; there was more marrying between Saxons, Welsh, Gaels, and Danes than was actually necessary.

In the early days of our study the question of the origin of our folklore resolved itself into a trial of strength between Teutons and Celts; and as the facts of folklore were first co-ordinated and interpreted by German scholars, it was natural that items of British folklore found to be parallel to that of Germany should be referred to the Teutonic element in our community. It is now seen that this does not necessarily follow. In so far as the practical-philosophical side of the folklore is concerned, the two invading communities stood on much the same plane of culture, and there is little ground for asserting that their beliefs and practices differed sensibly. They were Teutonic if found among Teutons, Celtic if found among Celts, but in themselves of almost the same nature. The moment the two communities came into contact there was nothing to prevent interchange and commingling. All that can be said is that the Teutonic invasion of the fifth-sixth centuries largely reinforced the bulk of folklore conceptions which in certain portions of England had doubtless given way before, or at least had been considerably modified by Pagan classic and Christian classic culture. The Scandinavian invasion of the ninth-tenth centuries stands on a somewhat different footing. I have already suggested that communities in which warfare and conquest had become the practical business of life would be likely to develop a philosophy differing more from that of the peasant or the hunter than did either of those two classes among themselves. And if ever a community seems at first sight wholly devoted to warfare as a means of livelihood, it is that of the Vikings who harried the remainder

of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. There is, moreover, abundant evidence that the warlike character of their social organisations did profoundly affect the mythic system they possessed in common with other Teutonic people, and that Eddaic mythology presents the beliefs not of Teutondom generally, but of those portions to which were due the Viking raids. It is therefore possible, not to say probable, that the Scandinavians did introduce new and sharply-defined elements into the folklore of these islands. The possibility remains purely conjectural until it is verified by an examination of the facts of folklore, but it justifies their investigation from this special point of view.

Confining ourselves for the moment to those Aryan-speaking communities known to have settled in these islands, and, when they did so, belonging substantially to similar stages of culture, it is, I would urge, almost impossible to assign large portions of the philosophical, the business element of our folklore exclusively to one or other of them, excepting always the possibility I have just indicated of specific Scandinavian features. As an illustration of the extraordinary similarity which obtains among rites and beliefs possessing a practical object and sanction, I may mention those connected with rude stone monuments. In Mr. Borlase's admirable work on the Dolmens of Ireland, a magnificent storehouse of material which I am glad to have the opportunity of publicly commending to members of this Society, there are figured and described monuments covering a vast range of country, lands like Ireland and the two Britains, mainly Celtic for over 2,000 years; lands like Central Europe, largely Celtic 2,500 years ago, Teutonic later; lands like Southern Scandinavia, Teutonic as far back as we can trace; lands like East Central Europe, the battle-ground of Teuton and Slav; or again like the great southern peninsulas of Europe, but slightly touched by Celt or Teuton. In all these lands the rude

stone monuments, similar in design and construction as they largely are, have given rise to similar beliefs and practices.[1]

It is purposely that I have mentioned this particular set of beliefs and practices. A little while back I said that the earlier students who essayed to distinguish varying elements in British folklore referred them either to a Teutonic or a Celtic source. The point of view has changed. We now seek not for the Aryan-Teutonic or Aryan-Celtic, but for the Aryan and the non-Aryan, and the very instances I have cited would be urged in support of the contention that Aryan and non-Aryan can be separated. The rude stone monuments are, it is argued, non-Aryan. and so are the beliefs and rites connected with them. These latter have persisted, partly because the non-Aryan element in the general European population is far more considerable than was at one time supposed, partly because there was little to prevent the Aryans themselves appropriating the ideas of the peoples they subjugated. The wide spread alike of monuments and beliefs indicates a common non-Aryan substratum underlying the Aryan top-dressing. Here is, it is said, a telling instance of the truth that folklore does contain specifically differentiated racial elements.

I shall return to this point later on. For the present I will confine myself to the historically known, *i.e.* to the Aryan-speaking peoples that have inhabited Britain.

Up to now I have restricted myself to the philosophical side of folklore, to that which has definite objects in view, the attainment of food, the gratification of desire. And my conclusion is agnostic. This or that feature may be due to a specific Scandinavian or Low-German modification of the common stock, But in the main it is impossible to say that our folklore on this side is specifically Celtic or Low-Teutonic or Scandinavian-Teutonic; nor does it really

[1] See the review of Mr. Borlase's work in the present number, *infra*, p. 53.

matter, because the three sets of beliefs and practices were substantially identical. Who can say that this or that drop of the water flowing under London Bridge comes from Thames-head or from any one of Thames' affluents?

But man does not live by bread alone. He has a fancy to be fed as well as a body, imagination to be gratified as well as passion, a foe to be combated as deadly as fellow-man or the wild-beast—boredom. Hence, everywhere, a form of artistry in words and ideas that only awaits the discovery of the written sign to become literature. And as communities outgrow in part the beliefs and practices that once directed and dominated their every act, so they outgrow in part the fancies that amused or thrilled them. There is, however, this difference: the philosophy of early man, logical and coherent as it is, once its starting point is granted, is to us not only foolish but frequently atrocious. With his artistry, on the other hand, we remain perennially in touch through our children, and it still constitutes the most profound and permanent source of literary achievement. The legends that humanity tells in its childhood not only survive, but are a living inspiration, whilst the beliefs dwindle down to mere museum-specimens.

It is for many reasons likely that the artistic products of the folk-fancy should betray racial influence more readily than the products, designed for severely practical purposes, of folk-speculation. Differ as unwritten, collective, traditional folk-literature does from the individual conscious literature of advanced communities, yet both are children of man's imagination, both share certain essential characteristics. A community will accept the outcome of a train of speculative reasoning if it thinks it has a practical interest in so doing, although the reasoning be alien to its average feeling, and never wholly taken to its heart; but literature, especially in the traditional stage, must make as wide and as sympathetic an appeal as possible if it is to subsist and

transmit itself. If there is such a thing as racial expression, as a mode of conceiving and representing the thoughts and imaginings which arise from the contact of man's mind with the outer world, common to bodies of men linked together by ties of kinship and polity, it should surely make itself felt in their artistic creations, designed as these are to please, and dependent upon their success in this respect for their power to reach a wide circle and a later posterity.

Again, both early speculation and early artistry involve and require the establishment of a professional class—the magician-priest in the one case, the bard-historian in the other. But the invariable tendency of the priestly class is to stereotype teaching and practice, and thereby to remove them as much as possible from the new influences to which the ever-changing conditions of humanity subject them. This tendency is condoned, nay, even commended, on account of the practical issues at stake. Sensible men—and man in the folklore stage is infinitely more common-sensible than his civilised descendant—will not allow even such a master-passion as the love of change to interfere with rites upon which depends, as they believe, the welfare of the community. But no such imperative sanction restrains the creations of artistry from obeying the universal law of change. Conservative as may be the singer story-teller class, it is bound to answer to new impulses, alien influences, far more readily than does the priestly class. The latter as a rule resist change to the last, and either perish or suffer degradation, the former adapt themselves and their conventions to altered conditions; the mythico-heroic romance of the primitive races lives on, transfigured and enriched, whereas its mythology and ritual disappear at the approach of a new and higher type of creed.

Now one of the readiest means for diagnosing the mental and moral consciousness of a race is supplied by its attitude towards an alien and higher culture, and it is in the

phase of its intellectual and artistic activity, most promptly and permanently affected by the new influence, that we can best discern its essential nature. The history of modern (*i.e.* post-classic) Europe affords an admirable illustration in the reception of Christian and antique culture by the barbarian races of the north and north-west. The differences in their attitude towards the new faith and the (to them) new learning are marked, and throw a most vivid light upon their collective psychology.

Again, we can control any deductions drawn from the study of folk literature by an examination of written conscious literature. We can trace the latter back for many centuries, and we find, to confine myself to England, France, and Germany, an extraordinary permanence of certain characteristics, an immediately recognisable national mode of conception and expression. The instrument of comparison between tradition and conscious literature is almost the first that offers itself in any quest after racial characteristics; and comparison is fruitful because in literature, even in its highest and most complex manifestations, there is a continuity, lacking in modern Europe at all events, in such departments of creative thought as religion, philosophy, or law.

Such are the reasons which seem to promise the analyst of British folklore a larger measure of success if he attack the imaginative rather than the practical side of folklore in the endeavour to isolate racial elements. On the other hand, there are certain conditions, failing the existence of which the most careful analysis is likely to prove fruitless. Chief among them is the existence of a vigorous professional literary craft, with the inevitable accompaniment of rigid literary conventions. Thus alone can the collective fancy and wit of the community assume definite shape and form, thus alone are they assured of permanency. Traditional literature, collective in its appeal to the sympathies of the community, reflecting, as it must, collective emotion and

judgment, is even more dependent than conscious, individual, deliberately artistic literature upon the strong organisation of its professors.

In applying these general considerations to the traditional literature of the three historically known communities represented in our population, Celtic, as the oldest, claims the first place. Two sections can be clearly distinguished: Goidelic, now represented, linguistically at all events, by Ireland, Northern Scotland, and Man, and Brythonic, represented by Wales and the extreme south-west of England; of these Goidelic or Gaelic is the older in these islands.

The conditions under which Gaelic traditional literature has come into being are precisely those I have previously indicated. The professional literary class was strong, and very well organised; it elaborated and handed down extremely rigid literary conventions; it effected a compromise with the representatives of Christian classic culture which enabled the preservation in large measure of the traditional romantic material, and it remained for some fifteen hundred years, at least, in close touch with every section of the community whose emotions and imaginings it faithfully interpreted. The resultant literature, if meagre and lacking in variety when compared with the great literatures of modern Europe, is extraordinarily homogeneous, and is represented by a still living folklore which has preserved its conventions, alike of conception and expression, with amazing tenacity.

If there be such a thing as a distinctive racial representation of life through the medium of words, we may seek it with confidence in the recorded twelve centuries of Gaelic literature, marked, as is no literature known to me, by unity of subject-matter and treatment.

We cannot speak as clearly with regard to Wales. Here, too, the literary class was strong, highly organised, thoroughly representative of the community; here, too, it elaborated rigid literary conventions. But it seems to have

been less successful in making a compromise with the new faith, and, fatal defect from our point of view, its energies were largely directed to practical contemporary national aims, and were diverted from the preservation of the traditional romance. There exists too considerable doubt respecting the exact nature of what, for us folklorists, is the most valuable part of Welsh literature, the romantic legends known as the Mabinogion, with their accompanying prose and poetic scholia in the Triads and in some of the Bardic poems. These present the most remarkable analogies, alike in matter and style, to Irish mythic romance, and it is questionable how far they should be regarded as truly Welsh. The homogeneity which is so marked a feature of Gaelic is lacking in Welsh literature, and whilst the one community has preserved the traditional romance with marvellous fulness and accuracy, the other has allowed it to perish almost utterly.

If we turn from Celt to Teuton, there can be little doubt but that the Low-German invaders of the fifth-sixth centuries brought with them a great mass of mythic and heroic legend. One considerable poem, Beowulf, some smaller fragments, and a number of scattered references which involve nearly all the chief Teutonic legend-cycles, have come down to us. But taking Anglo-Saxon literature as a whole, it is vastly less archaic, less dominated by earlier mythic and heroic fancies, than is its contemporary Gaelic. In part this may be due to the weaker organisation of the literary class—the scôp never seems to have had the same standing and guild-spirit as the Irish *file* or *ollamh,* or the Welsh bard; in part due to the fact that the most capable artists in words embraced Christianity more exclusively, if not more zealously, than their Irish fellows. The redactor to whom we owe Beowulf stands almost alone, so far as extant literature is concerned, in his attempt to perpetuate the pre-Christian whilst conciliating the Christian elements of Anglo-Saxon culture. As a source then of modern folk-

lore, Anglo-Saxon literature, even had its development been unchecked, could not be compared for one moment with Gaelic literature. The stress of the one is on the Christian and modern, of the other on the pre-Christian and archaic, elements. But, as we all know, its development was checked in the eleventh century by the Norman Conquest; and when English literature emerges two and a half centuries later, its connections, such as they are, with mythical romance are with Celtdom rather than with Teutondom.

It would, however, be unfair to measure Anglo-Saxon influence upon English traditional romance solely by its extant literature. The local tradition, noted in Berkshire within the last 200 years, concerning Wayland's smithy most certainly goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, is equally certainly independent of anything in extant Anglo-Saxon literature, and testifies to a considerable mass of legend centering round the primeval smith whose fame was great in all Teutonic lands. It would, in my estimation, be absurd to suppose that Wieland was the only semi-mythical German hero about whom the Anglo-Saxon folk told tales or sang ballads. Despite the meagre space given by Anglo-Saxon literature to the sagas brought from Germany, this one instance of Wayland's smithy amply suffices to show that they flourished, struck root in the new land, and exhibited that strongest mark of legendary vitality—tendency to re-localisation.

The Scandinavian element in our traditional romantic literature remains to be considered. Among the Vikings of the ninth and tenth centuries, both Norsemen and Danes, but especially among the Norsemen, the literary class was powerful, well organised, and had elaborated a rigid and complicated literary convention. Moreover, the subject matter was either entirely traditional or depended for its literary effect upon the intimate knowledge of the tradition among hearers as well as among singers. Skaldic poetry implies not only the Norse mythical and heroic Sagas which have come

down to us from a later period, but much of a similar character which has perished, and it implies the closest familiarity of the community with their contents. Again, the Scandinavian attitude towards the new faith seems to have differed alike from that of Gael and Anglo-Saxon. The Skald did not, like the former, accept the new, but continue to tell the old with a minimum of change; nor, like the latter, practically abandon the old for the new. He clung with increased fervour to his own faith, but he re-shaped and enriched it in competition and conflict with the alien creed. In the world of European literature as of European polity, the Viking of the ninth-tenth centuries acts as a potent ferment. Cycles of tradition crystallise around the famous leaders, as duchies and kingdoms take shape under their mighty hands; older, outworn cycles have new blood infused into them, suffer transformation, and acquire a fresh lease of life, as did so many political organisations when the Norman with his combination of strong practical sense and daring imagination mastered them for his use.

As far as Britain is concerned, we can substantiate the hypothesis of Scandinavian influence on romance by the testimony of figured monuments. The men who carved on stone the legends of Sigurd and Völundr most certainly retold them in verse and prose. It may also, I think, be taken for certain that the Conquest of the eleventh century affected Danish Britain less than it did Anglo-Saxon Britain; there was less wrench of social life, more chance for tradition to flow in unbroken line.

On the other hand, there is in the Teutonic-Scandinavian contribution to our folklore a disturbing factor lacking in the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon. The latter, whether scanty or rich, whether brilliant or monotonous, is Teutonic alike in form and content; it is an open question whether the former did not borrow much of its form and still more of its tone and spirit from the Celts. By the time the Danish

element becomes a really potent factor in the normal life of Britain, it is certain that contact, mingling of blood, mutual influence in romance and saga had taken place between Celts and Scandinavians.

It may, I think, be assumed that such traces of the specifically Eddaic versions of Teutonic mythology and heroic saga as have been detected in Britain are due to the Scandinavian settlements of the ninth and tenth centuries, though even here the Wayland smithy instance forbids hard and fast dogmatism. Finally, just as delicate questions arise with regard to possible influences of Celtic romance upon Scandinavian story-telling, so the reflex action of Scandinavia upon Celtdom has to be taken into account.

If we pass from general consideration of the three main streams of Aryan folk-literature which have fertilised these islands to the actual distribution of our folklore, we are confronted by curious anomalies, to explain which upon any theory of specific racial influence is extremely difficult. Taking the Gaelic-speaking area first, we find throughout its present extent (with one remarkable exception to be noted presently), from Kerry to Sutherland, and from Perth to Donegal, the closest community of subject-matter and treatment. But this community cannot be laid to the account of common race. Pict and Brython, both of whom are known historically to have held large portions of this area, of however near kin they may be to the Gael, whose tongue they now speak, cannot be identified with him without so perilously widening the conception of race as to make it meaningless. Again, the Scandinavian element in certain portions of this area which are now purely Gaelic in speech is considerable. Yet, as I have said, the folk-literature of this entire area is remarkably homogeneous, and, so far at least as present research goes, is not affected by variations of race within its limits. Here the influence exerted by a common language and a common literature (for until 300 years ago there was practical identity between

the mythical and heroic literature of the two main divisions of Gaeldom—Ireland and Scotland) would seem to have overridden any influences of race. The exception to which I alluded just now confirms, if rightly considered, this view. Of all the Gaelic-speaking districts the Isle of Man has probably the largest admixture of Scandinavian blood. The commingling of the two most imaginative and romantic strains of our mixed population would, one must think, have produced a specially rich folk-literature, yet as a matter of fact if such ever existed it would seem to have utterly died out. Man has retained customs and superstitions in fair abundance and vitality; stories of the saga type, anecdotes that is about supernatural and half-supernatural beings, are fairly numerous, but romantic tales and ballads have disappeared. The only cause I can detect is severance from the main streams of Gaelic traditional literature.

In the Brythonic-speaking area—Wales and South-west England—still more puzzling problems present themselves. Devon and Cornwall have certainly yielded more than their fair share of English folktales and legends, a fact which may fairly be ascribed to the existence within comparatively recent times of a Celtic-speaking population. The bulk of the people in these counties, it may be said, although English-speaking, is really Celtic, and their race colours their folklore. But in Wales, where the people has retained its Celtic speech, where it is certainly more homogeneous than in South-west Britain, where it has preserved its national literary class, in Wales, which possessed in the Middle Ages a romantic literature second only to that of Gaelic Ireland, romance has almost wholly vanished. Is there some underlying racial influence at work; is the Brython less tenacious than the Gael of his traditional romance? He has shown himself possessed of the rarest tenacity in other respects. Why should it have failed him here? The blighting influence of extreme Protestantism has been urged in explanation, but that has been at work equally

in the Highlands of Scotland, which are still homes of living traditions. I can only conjecture that diversion of the national literary class, in consequence of the English wars and English conquest, from its proper task of fostering the traditional romance is the main cause of this strange phenomenon.

If the folk-literature of the Celtic-speaking area seems to afford scant warrant for the theory of racial as distinguished from linguistic and literary influence, that of the English-speaking area is more favourable to it. Where within that area the presence of a strong Scandinavian or Celtic element is apparent, there also story, legend and ballad are alike more numerous and more romantic in tone. That the most genuinely Low-German portions of the English-speaking area, East Anglia for instance, have not entirely lost the gift of racy popular humour so characteristic of Continental German folklore, is sufficiently proved by the admirable tale of Tom Tit Tot, collected in Suffolk by Mrs. Thomas, but first made known to the world at large by our last President. But as a whole the more unmixedly Low-German our English people is, the more it would seem to have forgotten the old traditional romance, the less capacity it would seem to have shown for transforming and endowing it with fresh life. As a matter of fact, the traditional romantic element which enters so largely into modern English literature is Celtic and not Germanic in origin.[1]

One of the most fascinating problems in English popular literature is presented by the admirable body of ballad poetry recorded during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, partly in the southern but mainly in the northern portion of the English-speaking area of Britain. The language is English, the population among which the ballads were chiefly developed even if it did not originate

[1] See on this point my Presidential Address, 1897.

them, partly Low-German, partly Scandinavian, superimposed upon a Celtic basis, Gaelic in parts, but mainly Brythonic, with a substratum of Pictish and other unknown elements. The country in which the ballads were chiefly found offered, in its material and social conditions, a soil admirably suited for their germination and growth. A wild, trackless March-land, a fierce, passionate, daring breed of men, with tenacious national and family feuds, with undiminished energy of primitive passion—the very conditions, in fact, we could postulate from the ballads themselves, had they come down to us without note of their locality and surroundings. In how far are the conflicting racial, in how far the conflicting political and social elements responsible for the ballads? The problem is not lessened in complexity by the fact that much of our English ballad literature is made up of incidents to which close parallels can be found in the romantic ballads of the Scandinavians (Danes and Faroese islanders), of the Slaves (Wends), and of neo-Latin peoples (French, Italians, North Spaniards), and that in all these various bodies of folk-poetry there occur not only similar themes, but marked similarity in their literary treatment. The ballads extant in English are, as a rule, greatly superior to their Continental similars, and there exist a considerable number certainly peculiar to and having their undoubted origin in the English-speaking area, which exhibit the same merits of conception and style.

In the northern portion of the English-speaking area of Britain, roughly speaking between Humber and Clyde, the presence of a considerable Celtic and Scandinavian element is, I would urge, a dominant factor in the production of our corpus of ballad poetry. Either element would supply a number of folk-singers rigidly trained and schooled, familiar with traditional romance, full of conventional formulas belonging to an archaic stage of literature. Stories of love and hate, of faerie and wizardry, would appeal to them, and their surroundings would foster the

tone and spirit requisite to give the ballad full effect. But if, as I believe, mingling of racial elements is an important factor in the evolution of our ballads, unity of language was necessary to their inception and production. The Welsh Marches, like the Border, were a wild mountain tract, full of feuds and forays, offering the same raw material, the same favourable conditions, for working it up into ballad form as the Northern Border. One of the conflicting races possessed a rich traditional romance, a highly organised literary class. Nothing comparable to the Northern ballad poetry was the result. Why? I can only conjecture that the explanation lies in the absence of a language common to friend and foe, to victim and oppressor, to Romeo and Juliet. The difference of language served as a bar to the communication of artistic conventions and formulas, the sagas remained local and provincial, and, on the English side of the Marches at least, died out because there were no folk-singers qualified to present them in a form truly popular and yet artistic because exactly suited to their nature.

I have now briefly indicated the problems that confront the discriminator of racial elements in our folklore, in so far as these elements are known to us historically, and belong, linguistically at all events, to the Aryan-speaking group. I may be held to have over-emphasised the complexities, to have minimised the possibilities of successful solution. I do not think so. In any case it will be agreed that, great as are the difficulties of discrimination when dealing with Aryan-speaking communities, they increase tenfold when we essay to determine the share of our pre-Aryan forefathers. In the former case we are guided and controlled by recorded history, by recorded literature; in the latter we are working almost entirely in the dark, with, at the best, the dubious, scanty, and conflicting evidence provided by the archæologists. The very method by which such an inquiry must be prosecuted

seems to me questionable in the extreme; a standard of Aryan belief, practice, and fancy is set up, and what conflicts with or departs widely from that standard is assumed to be pre-Aryan. I dispute the existence of such a standard common to the Aryan-speaking world at any known period of its history, and even could it be established I should still dispute the necessity of referring an item of belief or fancy that conflicted with it to the influence of a different race. To talk, for instance, of the pre-Aryan matriarchalism of the Picts, of the pre-Aryan druidism of the Gael, is to confound hypothesis of a highly questionable nature with fact. It is very probable that the Celts found non-Aryan-speaking peoples in these islands, though after all the fact is not absolutely certain. It is highly probable that these peoples possessed both a folk-philosophy and a folk-literature, fragments of which have possibly, very probably, survived. But how are we to distinguish them? Is it really likely that the philosophy differed so markedly from that of the Celts that we can detect traces of it after 2,500 years? whilst of the literature, if aught has survived, it must by the necessities of the case have passed through the minds of Celtic bards and story-tellers. The Celtic record, sociological and literary, teems with examples of the enigmatic, the savagely archaic, the apparently misinterpreted. It greatly simplifies matters if in each case we can invoke the pre-Aryan hypothesis, but does our present knowledge of Celtic and Aryan antiquity justify our doing so? I do not think so.

I here touch upon what I ought perhaps to have started with, the significance of the term "race." Outside the record of history, of literature (oral or written), of art, of systematised thought, it is for me, in the present connection, void of meaning. When I speak of the Celtic or Teutonic race I have in view a community which for a definite number of centuries has manifested itself in clearly defined products of the mind, has set upon the universal human material of

speculation and fancy its special stamp and impress. Such a manifestation is by no means necessarily conditioned by blood-kinship, by descent from a common ancestor; in modern Europe it results from community of speech and culture-traditions, it may be found, as in France and England, in countries inhabited by peoples of demonstrably different origin. In the discussion of racial elements in folklore and literature, we must first possess material which we can clearly refer to the various elements, and upon the basis of which we can sharply define them. In the case of the Aryan elements of our population, this indispensable requisite is present in however imperfect and confused a form; in the case of the assumed non-Aryan element it is altogether lacking.

Research should then, in my opinion, be directed in the first place to the analysis of folklore, which, if Aryan in no other respect, is at all events Aryan in virtue of the medium in which it has been handed down to us. Difficult as the task, insoluble as are many of the problems presented, yet much of interest and value for the true history of our people can be discovered by care and ingenuity. An excellent instrument of research is comparison between the folklore common to two sections of the same group separated sociologically from each other for an ascertained lapse of time. This is the case with the Gael of Ireland and Scotland, which have been separated for nearly three centuries. The ensuing variation in speech has been recorded and studied. The nature of folklore forbids as accurate a determination of the changes which it has suffered, but they can be noted with sufficient fulness to throw valuable light upon the development of folklore generally. In the same way, comparison between the recorded folklore of South-west Britain and of Wales may throw much needed light upon the latter. Close examination from a folklore point of view of such masses of the population as are known to have changed their speech within

historic times is especially needed, as the process of shifting folklore from one language to another often affords valuable hints as to its true nature. Areas of ascertained and definitely dated admixture of population deserve especial attention. In this respect the country lying between Humber and Clyde, or the West-Midland district will probably repay the inquirer's labour best.

Such, all too briefly sketched, are the principles which should govern the inquiry, the lines along which it should move. This Society has already initiated such an inquiry by its scheme of collecting, in *County Folk-Lore*, the scattered references to the subject in printed sources, grouped according to areas which are so largely determined by racial and sociological factors as are our counties. As a rule these references are taken from sources, county histories, the elder antiquaries and the like, compiled before those vast industrial and economic changes which within the last hundred years have utterly transformed so many districts, have rooted up and carried away, as might a devastating torrent, vast masses of belief and custom and fancy which had come down substantially unaltered from a very early period. If the series were complete, instead of comprising, as it does, only three counties, it would be easy to verify many of the suggestions I have thrown out this evening. I am not without hopes that I may be able to work out during the ensuing year some special section of the general problem which I have stated this evening. In any case, I trust that students who are engaged in studying the question of racial elements in British folklore may find my survey not unhelpful.

REVIEWS.

THE DOLMENS OF IRELAND: THEIR DISTRIBUTION, STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS, AND AFFINITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES; TOGETHER WITH THE FOLKLORE ATTACHING TO THEM; SUPPLEMENTED BY CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND TRADITIONS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE. With four Maps and eight hundred Illustrations, including two coloured Plates. By W. C. BORLASE, M.A. 3 volumes, 4to. 1897. Chapman and Hall.

THE descriptive title which I have transcribed in full indicates at once the importance of this great work to all engaged in our studies. The archæologist will find here by far the most complete and most accurate account of the rude stone monuments of Ireland, and not alone of Ireland, but of Britain, and of Northern, Central, and Western Europe. The folklorist will find far more: the legends which have gathered around these monuments, the rites and practices connected with them, are carefully noted. As far as Ireland is concerned, this information has not only been laboriously excerpted from extant literature, it is also derived in a large measure from the author's persevering researches among the enormous mass of material accumulated by O'Donovan and his fellow-workers on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, still lying in MS. at Dublin, as well as from minute and lengthened personal exploration of the chief monuments and the districts in which they are situated. As far as the Continent is concerned, Mr. Borlase has not only examined much himself, but he opens up sources of information, *e.g.* Spanish local archæological research, and German antiquarian literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, of which even well-informed students in this country have been completely ignorant. Thus, viewed as a simple collection of facts, and as a guide to a vast, scattered, and, save for the *habitué* of the British Museum or corresponding continental libraries, inaccessible literature, this work is, and must always remain, one of first-rate importance.

Regarding the work in this aspect, and solely from the folk-

lorist's standpoint, one salient result stands forth with the utmost distinction—the substantial identity of the folklore of rude stone monuments throughout Central and Western Europe. The self-same stories are told, the self-same practices obtain in Ireland and in Spain, in Southern France and in Northern Germany. Now this identity can, in my opinion, only be explained by reference to an identical folk-psychology throughout the district. All classes at one time shared the same beliefs respecting man's relation to his fellow-men and the outside world of nature, shared, too, the practices in which these beliefs found expression. Throughout Europe the cultivated classes, under the influence of Christianity and of antique civilisation, have almost wholly abandoned the practices, and only retain the beliefs and superstition ; to the peasant classes, on the other hand, the beliefs are still, largely, a potent reality, the practices are still, largely, a necessary factor in the perpetual combat which man has to wage with his fellows and with the hostile or indifferent forces of nature. The psychological root of the creed is identical, hence the story and the rite in which that creed is embodied are identical. And if kinship of aetiological myth among different peoples be held to imply necessary borrowing on one side or the other, so too the kinship of rite or custom should, logically, convey the same implication. Let the reader of the work under review carefully remark the amazing similarity of the ideas which cling around dolmen and menhir in three such far separated districts as Connaught, the Western Pyrenees, and North Central Germany, and say if the borrowing theory, the validity of which would be triumphantly proclaimed in the case of equal similarity of stories, can possibly be held a sufficient cause?

Before passing from what may be called the evidential value of Mr. Borlase's work, a word must be said concerning the illustrations. These are largely, both sketches and plans, due to the author himself, and where this is not the case are the work of the best Irish antiquaries, or are facsimilied from earlier drawings, many of the utmost rarity. No such mass of figured representation of these monuments has ever been brought together in one work, and in this respect the author's labours may be taken as final, to be supplemented slightly, if at all, by later investigators.

I do not propose to discuss Mr. Borlase's views respecting the nature, origin, date, and lines of distribution of these monuments

—matters belonging to the archæologist rather than to the folk-lorist. It is only necessary to say that he may legitimately claim to be the greatest living authority on the subject, and that every opinion he expresses deserves the most respectful consideration. It is otherwise with the historical and ethnological deductions which he draws from his admirably arrayed evidence. Here the outsider is as favourably placed as the author for judging the hypotheses of the latter; nay, more so, for the collector and investigator of a vast series of facts can hardly fail to become dominated by one or two leading conceptions, confirmation of which invariably becomes his main preoccupation. I note, then, what seems to me a common failing on the part of monumental archæologists, the tendency to draw far too sweeping historical and ethnological deductions from evidence which cannot really sustain their weight. When, therefore, Mr. Borlase sketches the dispersion from Central France, before brachycephalic invaders, of a primitive dolichocephalic, short, swarthy race, to Northern Africa on one side and along the coasts of North-western Europe to the Gulf of Finland on the other, carrying with them the practice of burial in artificial caves (the mound-covered dolmen), derived from yet earlier practices of natural cavern dwelling and interment, together with the rites and beliefs which the practice originated, I can but urge the purely hypothetical nature of the theory, and plead that the fact of its being based upon examinations of monuments and skulls in nowise makes it less hypothetical. The evidence upon which the archæologist relies is in itself, it is true, far more definite than that which the folklorist can adduce, but it is also less pregnant and is dead, whereas our evidence, distorted and corrupted as it may be, has yet retained a spark of life.

In the latter portion of his work Mr. Borlase abandons the consideration of the monuments and essays an interpretation of certain Irish legendary traditions. I believe him to be wholly mistaken, and I am anxious to state somewhat fully the ground of my dissent. His views are founded upon research of the widest description, and are marked by extreme ingenuity; and although they at once excite suspicion by their paradoxical character, it would be unfair to him not to discuss them as seriously as he has elaborated them.

The traditions in question are chiefly those referring to the so-called *gabhala*, or immigrations into Ireland in pre-Christian times,

They were systematised during a period which may have begun as early as the seventh century, and which had practically ended at the close of the tenth century, into a pseudo-historical account of some half a dozen races which occupied Ireland between the Deluge and the Christian era. Until this century this pseudo-history was accepted in Ireland as accurate in its main outlines, although corrupted by bardic exaggerations, and this view has by no means entirely died away yet. During the present century scholars have come to regard these legends either as a romantic version of the tribal traditions concerning races which may actually have occupied Ireland in pre-historic times, or as the euhemerised mythology of the pre-Christian Irish. The former view has found more favour among physical anthropologists who have essayed to find in these traditions confirmation of theories built up upon the occurrence in Ireland of differently shaped skulls, associated, apparently, with different stages of culture; the latter view has recommended itself more to folklorists or comparative mythologists. Mr. Borlase's view is briefly this: these traditions are the reflex of great tribal movements which took place between the middle of the third and the middle of the fifth century of our era, movements of which the scene was the Continent of Europe, and more especially the east central portion, lying between the south-eastern corner of the Baltic and the north-western corner of the Black Sea; they were brought to Ireland by oversea raiders who effected settlements in that country, as their contemporaries the Saxons and Angles did in Britain, or as the Danes and Norsemen did in the ninth century. To quote his own words: "The conclusion, then, at which I have arrived with regard to the subject matter of the *sagas* and fragments of *sagas* contained in the ancient Irish books, is that for the most part it is referable neither to pristine ages of Aryan mythology nor to traditions which occurred in Ireland itself, but that it is largely made up of genuine traditions of events which occurred on the Continent from the third to the sixth century A.D., with some more distant lights, perhaps reaching back to the first and second centuries. . . . . Such traditions would have been carried to Ireland partly by contingents of Gaedhelic-speaking people crossing and recrossing the Ictian sea, who, in conjunction with not unrelated tribes on either side the Elbe, were participating in the barbarian raids upon the Roman Empire, and partly by Teutonic.

speaking immigrants, to be translated on arrival into the Gaedhelic tongue."

Before discussing Mr. Borlase's evidence and method of proof, the one of which I find inadequate, the other faulty, I may say that, even if both satisfied me, I should still feel constrained to reject the theory upon grounds drawn from consideration of Irish mythic romance as a whole. The chronology of this, although so uncertain as to deprive it of historical character, is yet, as far as it goes, consistent and in accord with facts. To a dim past are relegated traditions which I cannot but regard as mythology, but mythology anxiously doctored to bring it into line with biblical and classic records. The topography of these legends, so far as Ireland is concerned, is precise and definite; but the admixture of biblical and classic matter has produced a fantastic historico-geography of the wildest description. I hold that all this portion of the tradition has as little origin in actual facts (whether of the fifth century B.C. or the fifth century A.D.) as might have the attempt of some Spanish Mexican to remodel the emigration legend of the Aztecs upon the Trojan story as found in Virgil and later writers. Later than these mythical events Irish tradition places a group of heroic legends, the so-called Ultonian cycle. Here the topography is entirely Irish, with, save in the latest and most worked-over texts, no traces of contact with any country but the neighbouring Britain. Following the traditional chronology, we meet a number of historical legends in which the historic horizon of the Irish peoples gradually enlarges, as we know in fact it did, until in the fourth and fifth centuries we have accounts of Irish chiefs not only harrying the coasts of Britain, but crossing the sea to the French and German coasts, and penetrating inland in one case as far as the Alps. Irish historic legend gives us in fact in its proper chronological sequence the counterpart of the Roman and Romano-British accounts of the incursions of Picts and Scots. Now, save as regards the mythological traditions, there is no hint of any foreign settlement being effected in Ireland during the entire period covered by the traditional annals. Once the immigration period is over, topography, genealogy, sociology, are all purely Irish, with simply such evolution as corresponds to known historic facts. I insist in particular upon the sociological correctness of the traditional chronology; the Ulster heroes, assigned to the beginning of the Christian era, are described as possessing modes of fighting, &c., which we know from the

almost contemporary Cæsar were in vogue among the British Celts of the time. In view of this substantial coincidence of the strata of legend and historic fact in Ireland (save that what should be the earliest stratum, the mythologic, was "salted" with biblical and classic gems that mislead as to its true character), let us turn back to Mr. Borlase's theory. He postulates a tremendous disturbing influence during a period roughly corresponding to the second stage of what the Germans call the *Völkerwanderung*, the Barbarian Invasions. Assume for one moment that he is right, that this mass of alien story was poured into Ireland some time between 300 and 600 A.D. What wonderfully clever fellows the bards of the sixth and seventh centuries must have been to refit the whole to Irish circumstances, to Hibernicise the topography, and to marshal the sequence of the sagas so as to correspond with historic facts. For, be it noted, Mr. Borlase draws his conclusions from legends which the traditional Irish chronology places long before the events glorified in the Ulster cycle, and also from legends assigned to a period two, three, and even four hundred years later. But, *ex hypothesi*, these legends must have come into the hands of the sixth-seventh century bards from the same source and at much the same date. What reason induced them to throw some back into the remotest past, whilst others were dated only a few centuries before their own time, and associated with Irish chiefs of whose historical existence there is practically no doubt? In especial, how comes it that this *artificial* saga-chronology corresponds substantially to what the *natural* saga-chronology would have been, that the traditions assigned to the earliest period wear that vague, impersonal, unindividualised aspect which everywhere distinguishes mythical from heroic legend, that the earliest heroic legends are in circumstances of place, custom, setting, &c., exactly what they should be, whilst the later legends fall precisely into place in a chronological sequence which we know from unimpeachable historic testimony (that of Roman and Romano-British records) to be in the main accurate?

It may be urged that this is *a priori* reasoning, and cannot prevail against Mr. Borlase's facts. Against *facts* undoubtedly not; but, as we shall see presently, what the author relies upon are inferences from facts, and from facts of an extremely uncertain and disputed character. Here, again, I note that the evil communications of the physical anthropologist and the monumental

archæologist have corrupted the author's good manners. These gentlemen are continually confounding fact and inference from fact. Thus it may be a fact that a skull found in Ireland corresponds to a skull found in Germany, it is not a *fact* that the same race inhabited both countries; it may be a fact that the ornament on a Mycenæ vase corresponds to that on an Irish menhir, it is not a *fact* that Mycenæan civilisation influenced Ireland or that both lands passed through similar stages of culture. In these instances we have inferences from facts, inferences which may or may not be valid, but the validity of which cannot be judged solely by their relation to their parent fact. Yet anyone familiar with the literature of modern pre-historic archæology must have noticed a standing tendency to treat inference and fact as equivalent, a tendency far more marked, I make bold to say, than in folklore research, which is commonly supposed to be peculiarly subject to this failing.

What then is the general character of the proof adduced by Mr. Borlase? In the first place he cites a number of interesting parallels between the traditions of the Celtic-speaking Irish or British, and German or Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Central and North Central Europeans. But this is entirely beside the mark. Even if Central Europe had always been Germanic, there is no reason why the kindred Aryan peoples of Celtic and Germanic speech should not possess kindred traditions; but as a matter of fact Central Europe from the Rhine to the Don, and from the Elbe to the Po, was dominated centuries long by Celtic tribes which must have been closely allied to those which settled in Britain and Ireland. If the prejudice (in itself utterly unscientific) against the possession by kindred races of kindred traditions is too strong to admit common pre-historic origin, historic contact between Celt and German in pre-Christian times amply suffices to account for the similarity in question. Mr. Borlase then instances numerous resemblances of nomenclature, whether place or personal, between Ireland and the mainland of Europe. Here again, community of race, kinship of speech, must inevitably have produced many resemblances. Apart from this, the author's comparisons are of the most fantastic kind. Irish tradition mentions a people called the Gaileoin. Ptolemy mentions a people called the Galindæ on the southern Baltic coast. Near neighbours of the Galindæ were the Aiste or Esthones, the just or good

people, as Müllenhoff explains the name. But the Irish peasant styles the fairies the "good people;" and the fairies of modern Ireland correspond to the Tuatha de Danann of Irish mythical tradition. The inference is obvious. The Baltic peoples, mentioned by Ptolemy, or traditions concerning them, passed westward across Europe into Ireland.

A still more striking instance of the author's rashness in comparison may be found in the statement (p. 1051 n.) that the name Loegaire is "the Irish form of Lothair." The German name, which in ninth-century France became Lothaire, still retained its initial guttural aspirate in eighth-century France, as witness the form Clotaire, the same change having taken place as transformed the German Hlodwiet first into Clovis and then into Louis. But the Irish Loegaire, minus the initial guttural aspirate, is vouched for in mid-fifth-century Ireland, a fact in itself sufficient to prove that the two names have absolutely nothing in common.

These are perhaps extreme instances of the author's method, but this is marked all through by the same characteristics; similarity of sound is held to denote identity, and identity is treated as explicable by one cause only, namely, the transference of Continental legend to Ireland. The amazing thing is that Mr, Borlase himself cites, with perfect loyalty, facts which completely ruin his theory. Thus he notes that in the time of Augustus the German Langobardi dwelt on the left bank of the Elbis (Elbe) next to the Chauci, and east of the Catti and Menapii. He also notes "that this district bore the name Lainga or Lainca in the Middle Ages, derived as may be supposed from the River Lagina, now the Lein." But Ptolemy places a people called the Cauci on the west coast of Southern Ireland, and south of them the town of Menapia. Obviously the same names as in Central Germany, concludes Mr. Borlase. Further, the Irish Cauci were not far from the province of Laighin (modern Leinster), whilst the Germanic Chauci, as we saw, were not far from a district styled Lainga in the Middle Ages. Well, let us assume for one moment with the author that this parallel, such as it is, is not due to a simple coincidence, but that it proves Irish topographical nomenclature to have been modelled upon that of Central Europe; how does this particular instance support his general thesis? Ptolemy wrote in the middle of the second century, and the Irish names must be at least fifty if not

one hundred years older than his time, so that the process of reduplicating Germanic topography in Ireland must have begun in the first century. If so, what warrant have we that the influence ascribed to Continental events of the third and following centuries is not really at least two hundred years older?

A yet more striking example of that of the Cotriguri-Cotraigi. The sixth-century Greek historian Procopius mentions a Hunnish people, the Cuturguri, dwelling on the further side of the Palus Maeotis (*i.e.* the modern Sea of Azov). His continuator, Agathias, styles them Cotriguri. Leo Diaconus in the tenth century has the form Cotragi, and associates them with the Bulgares. But in Irish legend we have a people called the Cothraighe, who are sometimes associated with the Firbolgs. Obviously, says Mr. Borlase, the Cotriguri and Bulgares of the fifth century and later Greek historians. Now mark; the Irish Cothraighe left their name to, among other places, the *Cathrigia regio* in Northern Ireland, mentioned in one of the oldest lives of St. Patrick. A later form is Catherich, which seems to be connected with Ptolemy's Caturactonion, in which case the name is as old as the first century. But even if this connection be put aside, we have the more important fact that a tribal name, Caturiges, was well known in Gaul, where it is vouched for by Cæsar and Strabo. Surely it is infinitely simpler and more scientific to connect the Cothraighe of Celtic-speaking Ireland with the Caturiges of Celtic-speaking Gaul than with the Hunnish Cuturguri. Mr. Borlase cites all these facts; but they induce no suspicion of his main thesis, they merely lead him to elaborate a scheme of the wanderings of his Caturiges between Gaul and Southern Russia in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, in order to account for their presence in the Black Sea, whence they started forth again in the sixth century to sprinkle their name over a large part of Ireland.

The author's main reliance is upon the likeness between certain Irish sagas and events which took place on the Continent, and his chief instance is the parallel between Procopius' account of the Heruli and the Irish story of the revolting Aithech Tuatha. The Greek historian relates how at the end of the fifth century the Herulian King Rodolf attacked the Langobardi, was defeated, slain, and his tribes utterly dispersed. One section settled among the Gepidæ, to whom they paid rent, but later submitted themselves

to the Greek Emperor Anastasius. In the reign of Justinian they revolted under the following circumstances: they slew their king Ochon, but repented shortly afterwards and sent to Thule for a prince of the old royal stock, which had taken refuge there with another section of the dispersed Heruli; the first prince that accompanied the messengers died before reaching the end of the journey, whereupon they returned for a second king, named Datius. Meanwhile the Heruli, tired of waiting, had accepted a king from Justinian; but on learning the approach of their own king, they abandoned the emperor's nominee and threw off the Greek overlordship. These events took place in the first quarter of the sixth century. Now, Irish legend relates how, after the death of Crimhthann, A.D. 9, the kingship was seized by Cairbre Cinncait, heading a revolt of the Aithech Tuatha (a name which has been interpreted as the subject or rent-paying folk) against the Milesian rulers. These were treacherously slain at a banquet, save three, one of whom, Feradach, was, after Cairbre's death, invited back from his oversea refuge to take up the rightful sovereignty of Ireland. According to Mr. Borlase, the story of the Heruli related by Procopius found its way to Ireland sometime in the late sixth or seventh century, was completely Hibernicised by the Irish story-tellers, was thrown back into the first century of our era, and worked into a series of annals which assumed their present shape, in outline at least, as early as the eighth century. It would be almost impossible to imagine an hypothesis more insecurely founded, more unconvincingly worked out.

I would not be supposed to condemn this part of Mr. Borlase's work as worthless. Far from it. In his endeavour to support his thesis he has ransacked the obscure and confused records of barbarian Europe in the Invasion period. The byeways of history into which he leads his readers are full of interest and fascination. I have trodden them gladly and thankfully at his bidding; but gratitude cannot prevent me from declaring that they do not, and cannot, lead to the goal aimed at by the author. My conviction on this point is all the stronger because, as a matter of principle, I see no reason to object to possible Continental influence on Irish legend, whether exercised during the pre-historic times when the kinsmen of the Irish Celts were overrunning all Europe, or during the historic period when the Irish were taking their part in the demolition of the Roman Empire. In the first case, this

influence would be likely to make itself felt in the oldest, the mythological section of the national tradition, whilst in the second case, as the alien matter would clash with the tribal heroic sagas which had by that time assumed definite form, it would naturally gravitate towards the more plastic mythological legends. I thus by no means put Mr. Borlase's theory out of court absolutely, I simply hold that his evidence is altogether insufficient to support it. In the main, Irish legend is the outcome of Irish mythic fancy and Irish heroic reality.

Be this as it may, the section of Mr. Borlase's work to which I have devoted the most attention is the least in extent; and whatever opinions may be held concerning its value, there can be but one regarding the magnificent industry, the loving and skilful care, with which he has brought together every scrap of information about the dolmens of Ireland.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE IDEA OF GOD: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGINS OF RELIGIONS. By GRANT ALLEN. London: Grant Richards. 1897.

IF Mr. Grant Allen's object was to call down theological thunders, he will have been thoroughly satisfied with the result. The pages of *Folklore*, however, are not fenced about with ecclesiastical sanctions. In the theological or anti-theological consequences of the author's doctrines, therefore, we have no concern; nor have we space to discuss the doctrines themselves as they deserve. Indeed, in the absence of the detailed proofs, which are yet to come, it would hardly be fair to attempt this if we had space. We shall therefore limit ourselves to a short, and necessarily imperfect, account of the contents of the book.

It is a preliminary and popular statement of a theory Mr. Allen proposes to work out at length in a series of volumes, each of them devoted to one aspect or stage of the history of religion. There is a sense in which Professor Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion*, reviewed by us last year, and *The Evolution of the Idea of God* are complementary. In both the same sub-

ject is dealt with, in the former case from an aministic, in the latter from an euhemeristic, point of view. And, let us add, whatever may be thought of the main thesis of either, both of them comprise valuable suggestions toward the solution of many of the problems that occupy the attention of anthropological students. Mr. Allen here, like Dr. Jevons, attempts to answer "the psychological question: 'By what successive steps did men come to frame for themselves the conception of a deity?'—or, if the reader so prefers it, 'How did we arrive at our knowledge of God?'" His answer is based chiefly upon Herbert Spencer's Ghost Theory: that is, that throughout the world there is but one religion under divers masks, namely, the Worship of the Dead. He points to Christianity as an example of the avowed worship, among historic peoples and in the midst of civilisation, of a deified man. Taking Christianity, then, as the standard of the highest religion, he proposes to trace from its very beginnings the evolution of the conception which it embodies.

At the outset he defines a God as "a supernatural being to be revered and worshipped;" and he distinguishes this being from one who is merely feared and not worshipped. Religion he defines as "Custom or Practice"—not theory, not theology, not ethics, not spiritual aspirations, but—"a certain set of more or less similar Observances: propitiation, prayer, praise, offerings; the request for divine favours, the deprecation of divine anger or other misfortunes;" in short, Ritual. Now, be it observed, we may disagree with this definition; we may prefer to define religion for theological or philosophical purposes in a different manner; but we cannot profitably argue with a scientific writer unless we are agreed upon the use of terms. Some of Mr. Allen's critics have hardly recognised this, and have consequently failed to grasp the limitation which this definition sets upon his conclusions, have failed to observe that while he may not have succeeded in accounting for the inner essence of religion as they conceive it, he may have accurately traced the evolution of ritual. Between religion on the one side and mythology and theology on the other, then, Mr. Allen draws a line, holding "that the union between them is in great part adventitious; and that, therefore, to account for or explain the one is by no means equivalent to accounting for and explaining the other."

Religion, as thus defined, commences with observances which

have for their object the recently deceased corpse. For life and death are conceptions very doubtfully marked off from one another in savage thought. Death is unnatural; and the savage has great difficulty in believing any one to be really dead. The dead man is therefore treated as living, though seeming dead. If living, he has still the needs of a living man—food, clothing, shelter, service, weapons. Even if dead, he may rise again, since men who have been to all appearance dead have returned to life and (but at a later stage) have detailed their adventures in the Other World. By the time that point is reached, the idea of the soul has been developed, and the rites are no longer performed to the corpse, but to the ghost of the departed. Naturally it is the kin of the deceased who by affection as well as interest desire to retain communion with him; and if in life he has been powerful, they think of him as still possessed of might, and do all they can to enlist his might on their side. Hence arises Ancestor-Worship; and when the ancestor has been a man of renown, or when prosperity attends his worshippers, he rises by degrees to the dimensions of a god. His burial-place becomes a temple; his kinsmen become his priests; a stone or a piece of wood replaces the corpse, and the ghost is conjured into it; and thus we get full-blown idolatry. The great gods of heathenism, however, are probably not the ghosts of individuals. Zeus and Athene and Dionysos never were living persons. They are severally a synthesis of a whole class of deities, having similar attributes, and receiving a similar cultus.

A large portion of the work is devoted to human sacrifices, considered as the deliberate manufacture of gods to gratify the need of humanity for constantly new and powerful protectors. In connection with this, the sacrifice of the Meriah, the legend and rites of Attis, Adonis, and other divinities in east and west undergo examination; and the connection between sacrifice and sacrament is discussed. The author then turns to sacrifice as expiation, piacular sacrifice, and the scapegoat. At this point his argument reaches Christianity. In two chapters on the spread of Christianity he draws a picture of the Roman world when the new religion appeared, and of the classes among whom it appeared, their superstitions and conditions of thought; and he traces with the vigour we always expect from him, whatever we may think of his theories, the influences which made not merely for the local extension of

Christianity, but also for its evolution. It is here, of course, and in the following chapter on survivals in Christendom, that his theological offence is rankest. If, looking at the matter from a purely scientific point of view, we are indifferent to the theological offence, we are by no means unconcerned on the question whether the explanation of religion (as above defined) be accurate. Mr. Allen does not pretend in any one instance to have proved his points. He only claims to have made out a *primâ facie* case for inquiry; and the further volumes with which he proposes to follow up this work will contain his reasonings and proofs in detail. On the importance of the issues raised, on the novelty and ingenuity of some of the author's hypotheses, and on the ability with which they are set forth, no unprejudiced reader can have any doubt. The cause of truth has much to gain by the exposition of every new theory, whether ultimately established or not. We welcome the book, therefore, and commend it to students, as the first instalment of a serious attempt at a solution of problems that have hitherto baffled all efforts, without, for the present, following the example of critics in pronouncing upon evidence as yet only indicated.[1]

Two things we regret. First, that even in this preliminary survey the reader has not been assisted by reference to chapter and verse of the authorities cited, an omission which the author engages to rectify in the detailed volumes to follow. Secondly, that "the science of comparative mythology and folklore" is spoken of as if comparative mythology comprised no more than the doctrines of Professor Max Müller and Sir G. W. Cox, and as if folklore were simply an appendage of it. Whether defined as the science of tradition, or as the science of survivals of savagery into civilisation, folklore supplies Mr. Allen with a very large part of his material; and we feel sure this has only to be pointed out to ensure a more generous and accurate recognition at his hands.

[1] It may be noted that some detached portions of the argument have been previously published in periodicals, and that the substance of the chapter on Sacred Trees is treated more fully in the author's excursus appended to his dainty translation of the *Attis* of Catullus. But to appreciate the real force of these detached portions, they should be read in their place in the general argument. The excursus to the *Attis*, however, will well repay perusal *in extenso*, and for the student it has the invaluable recommendation of giving the authorities.

MODERN MYTHOLOGY. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., LL.D. Longman, Green, & Co., 1897.

THE literature of controversy is often amusing, but, as Mr. Lang himself remarks, it seldom serves any useful purpose. It is, however, obviously convenient to have the principles of the two rival schools of Folklore interpretation—the Philological and the Anthropological—clearly stated.

In the business of controversy Mr. Lang is much more skilful than his opponent, Professor Max Müller. The latter, as we complained in a notice of his "Contributions to the Science of Mythology" (*Folklore*, vol. viii. p. 152), seldom takes the trouble to make his position and that of his adversaries distinct; he usually gives no references, and his assault is more in the nature of an irregular skirmish than an orderly, well-considered attack on the position. This error Mr. Lang has carefully avoided. His reply gains additional force from its preciseness; he quotes chapter and verse for the arguments of his opponent; he makes his own views perfectly clear, and his touch is lighter; and though he deals with the subject in a tone of easy banter, he never forgets the courtesy due to an opponent so distinguished as the Professor. At the same time, we are inclined to think that if the book had been shorter the attack would have been more effective. For instance, his third chapter, "The Question of Allies," only very indirectly affects the main issue. From the point of view of literary history it may be interesting to the folklore student of the future to know which side in the controversy was taken by Professor Tiele or Mannhardt. But here it is mere surplusage. Consistency is a very doubtful virtue; and the interpreter of myth, like other men of wisdom, need not be ashamed to admit that his views change as his knowledge widens. The same may be said even more strongly as to the inclusion of two essays on "The Firewalk" and the "Origin of Death," which, interesting enough in themselves, have no concern with the matter in hand.

Meanwhile there is nothing very novel in the method in which Mr. Lang conducts this his latest attack on the Philological school. In discussing the tale of Daphne, for instance, he makes short work of the Dahanâ explanation, but this is merely slaying the slain. Incidentally he shows that his opponent has much to

learn of the perilous art of controversy, and his criticism of the older interpretation of the Demeter-Erinnys myth is conducted on the old familiar lines.

Next we have a chapter on Totemism, which is mainly directed to repudiating the eccentricities of weaker brethren. The person who said that a totem was a fetish inhabited by an ancestral spirit "might as well have said that Abracadabra was gas and gaiters;" and he takes occasion to explain his own views as contrasted with those of Mr. Frazer.

Then follows a chapter on the Validity of Anthropological Evidence. Savages are not in any sense "primitive;" the "test of recurrences," that is the comparison of evidence collected by old travellers with that of their modern successors, proves the validity of the evidence itself; missionary testimony is in the main trustworthy.

Then he again proceeds to slay the slain in the matter of linguistic formulæ—Ouranos, Varuna, and the rest. This leads to a criticism of Professor Max Müller's theory of the influence of Riddles on Mythology—"Ancient riddles cannot explain the obscurity of mythological names. As soon as the name was too obscure, the riddle and the name would be forgotten, would die together."

The relevant part of the book ends with a discussion of the Artemis-Callisto myth, in which he has little difficulty in showing that the philological explanation does not meet the facts.

The book, then, while successful as a reply to a rambling and inconclusive criticism, is on the whole disappointing. The field which it professes to cover is so immense that anything like detailed treatment of it is out of the question, and this difficulty has been aggravated by the inclusion of matter not directly relevant to the question at issue. But, as in all Mr. Lang's work, there is much clever, amusing writing, and many flashes of luminous suggestion. No one who desires to keep himself abreast with the latest phase of a notable controversy can afford to ignore it.

DEUTSCHE VOLKSKUNDE. Von ELARD HUGO MEYER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1898.

THIS work has grown out of academic lectures delivered by Professor Meyer at Freiburg im Breisgau. Its keynote is sounded in the preface, namely, an increasing sense of the profound importance of the study of folklore, not merely for the complete understanding of the history of civilisation in general and the development of national life in particular, but for the more directly practical purposes of good government and neighbourly help. As the author wisely says: Folklore has a scientific and also a social mission.

Comprising, as Germany does, a vast area, peopled by inhabitants of various descent and various history, a detailed account of its folklore within the limits of a single volume would be impossible. The book is therefore intended rather as a guide-book, a book of examples, a book of notes and queries. Its sources are, in the first place, the author's own inquiries and those of his fellow-workers, Professor Kluge and Dr. Pfaff, chiefly in the north-west of Germany and in Baden. Many of his helpers have been teachers in the elementary schools—a class, be it remarked, who might render valuable assistance in this country. Besides these, Professor Meyer has drawn upon manuscript sources, among which he assigns the first place to his master Mannhardt's unpublished materials, now in the library at Berlin, and by the authorities there generously put at his disposal. The harvest of Mannhardt's materials is to be found in the section on agriculture; but we gather it is by no means exhausted, and a good deal is held over for another work. The important section dealing with the dwelling-house is illustrated with capital figures in the text, some of which are taken from the published works of Henning and Meitzen. And a very clear dialect-map is borrowed from that made by Maurmann for Meyer's *Konversationslexikon*, dropping, however, or modifying several of the boundary lines there indicated.

It will thus be seen that, though Professor Meyer goes over, as he must, much of the country already traversed by others, his work is original, and must be regarded as the fruit of independent inquiry. The section most fully treated is that of manners and

customs. It is here that Mannhardt's researches are included; and the whole division is of much value. The weakest part of the book is the chapter on Sagas and *Märchen*, which are very scantily dealt with, no tales being given textually, and hardly anything more being attempted than an enumeration of subjects and a rudimentary classification. The distinction between the saga and the *märchen* is well laid down; but we regret to observe that the author is so far behind the times as to assert that "it is established that the majority of *märchen* have found their way [to Germany] by different routes from India," if he mean by this that Germany is indebted for them to India.

DAS MOTIV VON DER UNTERSCHOBENEN BRAUT IN DER INTERNATIONALEN ERZÄHLUNGSLITTERATUR, MIT EINEM ANHANG UEBER DEN URSPRUNG UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER BERTASAGE. Inaugural Dissertation der hohen philosophischen Facultät der Universität Rostock zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde vorgelegt von P. ARFERT aus Schwerin. Schwerin, 1897. Druck der Bärensprungschen Hofbuchdruckerei.

DR. ARFERT has here brought together a number of examples of the cycle of the Substituted Bride, and of the analogous type of the King's Godson. The tale proper of the Substituted Bride is grouped under four heads: (1) where the false bride is substituted on the way to the marriage; (2) where the true bride is set aside on the occasion of childbirth; (3) where the true bride left for a short time at a fountain is supplanted by a Moor or gipsy-woman, who transforms her by enchantment; and (4) where the true bride has a task to perform in order to win her husband, and, being exhausted, commits the completion of it to a slave, who thus supplants her. In addition, examples are given of the *Brangänemärchen*, where the bride, as in the romance of *Tristan*, has reasons of her own for inducing a slave-maiden to occupy her place at the wedding, intending to resume her rights afterwards. Convinced of the futility of seeking an origin for a tale so widespread, the author does not attempt it. This is perhaps a pity; but he makes up for it to some extent by endeavouring, in a very interesting

appendix, to ascertain the origin and earliest form of the Bertha-saga. For such an inquiry he has certain literary data. He points to the unquestionable fact that Pepin the Little had dissensions with his wife Bertha, and was minded to put her away, from which he was only prevented by the persuasion or command of Pope Stephen III., and to the probability that he was unfaithful to her, since he had other children than those ascribed to her. Moreover, Eginhard, the friend and biographer of Charles the Great, hints at some mystery overhanging the emperor's birth. On these materials popular fancy seems to have wrought, fashioning the story in two forms. According to one of these, the true bride is set aside on the way to the court; according to the other, she is supplanted on the wedding-night. After an examination of the tales, Dr. Arfert comes to the conclusion that the former, the German legend, is the earlier. On the very insufficient ground that the German superstitions connected with the names of Bertha and Holle are not traceable further back than the fourteenth century, he decides that the Bertha-saga has nothing to do with the old Norse Hulda-saga. And he rightly insists that the whole cycle finds its motive, not in myth, but in the relations of social life.

STUDIES ON BIBLICAL SUBJECTS. NO. I. BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE ON THE BIBLE AND POPULAR BELIEFS: 'TĚHÔM AND TIÂMAT," "HADES AND SATAN." A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF GENESIS i. 2. By A. SMYTHE PALMER. London: David Nutt, 1897.

THIS is a charming little book, brimful of learning and folklore. The author displays a wide but discriminating knowledge of folklore, Oriental as well as European, and the foot of every page is rich in references. The details, however, are never allowed to obscure the main purpose of the volume, and in spite of its learning the book is a model of clear and orderly arrangement. The style is attractive, and is sure to interest other readers besides folklorists and Assyriologists.

Taking the second verse of the book of Genesis as his text,

Dr. Smythe Palmer traces the Biblical account of the Creation to its origin in Babylonia. It is Babylonian alike in matter and form, though both have passed through a Hebrew medium and been modified and coloured on their way. It presupposes that conception of the origin of the present order of the world which is set forth in the Chaldæan epic of the Creation discovered by George Smith. The obscurities of the Hebrew text have been explained and supplemented by the Babylonian beliefs which modern research has brought to light. The watery chaos of Genesis was derived from Babylonia, like the "deep" over which "the breath of Elohim" is said to have brooded.

Long ago it was pointed out that the chaos described in Genesis i. 2 was not the primitive condition of the earth. "The earth," it is stated, "had been waste and void"; "in the beginning," when first created by Elohim, it must have been "good." Kurtz and others accordingly conjectured that the cause of this degeneration has been omitted, and that between the first and second verses of the chapter we must supply a history of the fall of Satan and his rebel angels. The Chaldean epic of the Creation has brilliantly confirmed the conjecture. The epic is really a pæan of praise to Merodach, the Sun-god of Babylon, commemorating his triumph over the powers of chaos and darkness, and his consequent establishment of the universe as it exists to-day. Between the "beginning," which corresponds with the first verse of Genesis, and the creation of the existing order of things comes a long description of the struggle of the god with Tiâmat, the dragon of darkness, and the rebel hosts of anarchy whom she led.

Tiâmat is the *tĕhom* or "deep" of the Old Testament, personified as a goddess, or rather as a female principle of nature. She represented the sea, as yet unreduced to order or discipline, a sea which, when stirred up by demoniac storms and raging winds, overwhelms the land and destroys all that is on it. The idea is the same as that which underlies the story of the Deluge, and takes us back to those primæval days of Babylonian history when the larger part of the plain of Babylonia was still covered by the waters of the Persian Gulf, and the rivers which flowed through it had not been confined within embankments or drawn away into canals. That Tiâmat should have been conceived of as a dragon or serpent is illustrated by comparative folklore. In other parts of the world besides Babylonia the serpentine forms

of the storm-cloud have been likened to snakes, the lightning-flashes have been held to be serpents, and the waterspout has been imagined to be a huge dragon. Dr. Smythe Palmer quotes numerous examples of such beliefs or comparisons, and refers to various passages in the Old Testament, more especially the book of Job, where allusion is made to them. In Babylonia itself, moreover, the ocean which was said to encircle the earth was called a serpent.[1]

Tiâmat and her demoniac allies were reproduced in the rebellious angels of Jewish belief and the Satan of the Middle Ages. The figure of Tiâmat flying from Merodach, as the Dragon flies from the Archangel Michael, which is sculptured on one of the Assyrian bas-reliefs now in the British Museum, might almost stand for a picture of the mediæval devil. Claws, horns, wings, and tail are all there. Indeed, we can now trace historically the successive steps by which the Babylonian impersonation of Chaos passed into the Satan of European legend; and those who wish to study them can do so in Dr. Smythe Palmer's volume. Apocryphal and canonical books, Church Fathers, and popular imagination have all helped in the process.

Dr. Smythe Palmer is content to begin with Tiâmat, and therefore leaves untouched a problem of which a satisfactory solution has not yet been found. Babylonian mythology, as we have seen, makes Tiâmat, "the deep," the representative of chaos and evil, both physical and moral. But "the deep" was also the dwelling-place of Ea, the god of wisdom and culture, who first taught men to be civilised and instilled into them the principles of order and

[1] Dr. Smythe Palmer seems to think that by the word *tannin* the Hebrew writers understood a serpent only. When used of Egypt, however, as in Is. li. 9, Ezek. xxix. 3, Ps. lxxiv. 13, it must denote a crocodile, and it is curious that the confusion between the crocodile and the dragon survived into mediæval Europe. This was probably due to the fact that the prototype of St. George and the Dragon, as has been shown by Clermont-Ganneau, was the late Egyptian representations of Horus overcoming the crocodile. At all events, the "dragon" slain by St. Bertrand, whose skin is still preserved in the cathedral of St. Bertrand de Comminges, is a small crocodile; so too was the "dragon" destroyed by the Rhodian knight Dieudonné, which was hung up over one of the gates of Amboise until the walls were pulled down in the early part of the present century. In Rhodes itself the "dragon" slain by the knight is often carved on the screens of the churches, and it always has the form of a crocodile.

morality. The official religion of Babylonia endeavoured to harmonise the two conceptions by laying down that the deep had been handed over to Ea after the conquest of Tiâmat and the victory of law; it was the deep as confined within limits which were never to be overpassed which was the habitation of the god of wisdom, not the deep of primæval time. It is clear, however, that at the outset the two conceptions were exclusive of one another: that the one regarded the sea as the agent of culture, while according to the other it was the evil element in nature, tolerable only when kept within bounds, and inconsistent with that newer world of light and order in which, as we are told in the Apocalypse, there shall be "no more sea." In my Hibbert Lectures I have suggested that the difference between the two conceptions is of local origin; that the idea of the sea as the domain of Ea arose at Eridu, the seaport of early Chaldæa, whereas the idea of it as the embodiment of Tiâmat goes back to the days when the first settlers in Babylonia were carrying on a precarious struggle with the waves for the possession of the land.

This, however, has little to do with the main object of the little volume I have been reviewing. It is, it seems, the first of a series of "Studies on Biblical Subjects;" and if the other volumes of the series are written with as much skill and knowledge, they are certain to receive an appreciative welcome.

A. H. S.

DIE RESTE DER GERMANEN AM SCHWARZEN MEERE. Eine Ethnologische Untersuchung von Dr. RICHARD LOEWE. HALLE: Max Niemeyer, 1896.

THIS book collects the evidence, ancient and modern, for the existence of Germanic tribes on the coast of the Black Sea. The author first discusses the scanty information available on the Germans in Asia Minor, Gothograeci, Dagottheni, and others, and then passes to the Eudusiani, the Tetraxitæ, and the Germanic tribes about the Caucasus, whom he derives from these latter. Evidence is adduced to show the continued existence of the last-named through the Middle Ages and on to the fifteenth century in the Crimean district; in which century they seem to have been

still formidable, and were not subdued by Sultan Mahomet, who conquered the Crim Goths (p. 43). Melanchthon in 1558 mentions a district in Taurica called Gottia, and states that in his day the people still used their Germanic tongue. A "heathen tribe," on the Black Sea, speaking some Germanic dialect, is vouched for in 1766 (p. 52); this tribe worshipped a tree of immemorial antiquity (p. 59). In the pages following a good deal more is said of sacred trees and groves among the Circassians and other folk, which neither Islam nor Christianity has uprooted. We need not linger over the fortunes of these tribes, nor over the discussion of the scanty allusions to their language which fill the next section. A similar method is used in dealing with the regions about the Caspian Sea.

Nearly all the rest of the book is taken up with the Crim Goths and their language. Of this language there are some records of the sixteenth century, which show it to have been Germanic beyond a doubt. An elaborate discussion of its sound-changes is given on pp. 136-179. One section (210 ff.) is devoted to the history of the Crim Goths, another (227 ff.) to their bodily peculiarities, and a few pages (245 ff.) to their character and customs, which deal, however, with their way of eating and behaviour.

It will be seen that there is hardly anything in this book which bears on folklore, tradition, or religion. For the ethnologist it collects a mass of useful evidence, and for the linguist also it has its value; but for the student of folklore all it can do will be to give him a bibliography and a discussion of the worth of some of the evidence.

LIFE IN EARLY BRITAIN: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF THIS ISLAND AND THE MEMORIALS WHICH THEY HAVE LEFT BEHIND THEM. By BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, D.Sc., M.D., M.A., F.S.A. London: D. Nutt, 1897.

NOTHING is more difficult than to write an introduction to any scientific subject And this is emphatically true of an introduction to the prehistoric archæology of Britain, since it involves

an accurate knowledge of so many branches of scientific inquiry, to say nothing of the varied gifts which go to make up an ideal expositor. That Dr. Windle should in this little book have attained so large a measure of success is due to his wide interests and versatile intellect. He has contrived to pack into the short space of some 200 pages a remarkable amount of information respecting the early inhabitants of these islands, and has illustrated it both pictorially and by reference to analogous superstitions, practices, and material remains in other parts of the world. The volume thus forms an attractive and useful handbook for those who want to acquire merely a general notion of the subject. To them it is particularly addressed; but it is to be hoped that its pleasant style and the intrinsic interest of its subject will lead not a few to pursue the study in detail.

To the pioneers of scientific folklore it has a special interest; for, as might be anticipated, the author has made use of their speculations and discoveries to complete the account of the life and culture of our remote predecessors. If we cannot appeal to folklore for this purpose we can learn but little of the social organisation, the customs and beliefs of those who were presumably our forefathers. And the justice of the appeal is becoming increasingly recognised by archæological students; so that we may hope ere long that such references "*even* (!) to folklore" as a means of investigating the past, as that of Dr. Seebohm in his *Tribal System in Wales*, will themselves very speedily become archæological curiosities.

Dr. Windle has done much of the work so well that we feel at a loss to account for some of its shortcomings. If we refer to these, it is not for want of appreciation of the positive merits of the book. We venture to hope that its popularity may be such as to afford its writer an opportunity of considering improvements and corrections, and feel sure he will welcome any suggestions for that purpose. Why, for instance, is there no mention of the Celtic Iron Age? It may have been short in comparison with the Ages of Stone and Bronze that preceded it; but it is an important epoch; its evidences are scattered over the whole south-east of England; and its productions, comprising many of the most beautiful objects of Celtic workmanship, raise most interesting problems concerning British intercourse with the Continent. We doubt, moreover, that Druidism, which was a species of Shamanism

was originally the exclusive possession of the Neolithic occupants of the soil. Shamanism is a note, not of race, but of the stage of culture; and it is quite improbable that the Celts had risen above that stage at the time of their invasion, or that they degraded to it while in all other respects they were advancing. To say, therefore, as Dr. Windle does, that "the Celt seems to have in some measure adopted the Druidism of the Neolithic peoples," implies an imperfect apprehension of the position, though he may perhaps plead that he has authority upon his side. Nor is the author's account (short though it be) of the Christian Church in Roman times susceptible of historical proof. He has not quite got rid of the fables of mediæval chroniclers. We know nothing of the organization and spread of the British Church, save the solitary fact that three bishops attended the Synod of Arles, one of them coming from York, one from London, and the third from a place not yet identified with certainty. But what was the position or authority of those bishops, what place they had in the Church, or whether they had sees at all in the mediæval and modern sense, we do not know; and nothing is clearer than that Christianity, if widespread, was sporadic and had but little hold of the people.

In any future edition opportunity should be taken also to add to the bibliographical list and to give real bibliographical details, and to correct obvious oversights like those on page 32 of *metres* for *millimetres*, and on page 143, where there is some confusion in the account of the basilica. The proper name of the dolmen in Gower is "Arthur's Stone"; "Arthur's Quoit" is quite unknown locally, and seems to owe its existence to the imagination of some antiquary.[1] The inquiries of the Ethnographical Survey Committee appointed by the British Association might also be appropriately referred to in the final chapter.

UEBER WORTABERGLAUBEN. VON FERD. FREIHERR VON ANDRIAN. SONDERABDRUCK AUSDEM CORRESP.—BL. DER DEUTSCHEN ANTHROP. GESELLSCHAFT. No. 10, 1896 (Bericht der xxvii. allgemeinen Versammlung in Speier). München: F. Straub, 1896.

THIS little treatise ought to be very useful, bringing together as

[1] The traditional Welsh name is *Maen Cetti* = Cetti's Stone. See *Owen's Pembrokeshire* (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 1), p. 423.

it does a variety of facts in a small compass. Among the subjects discussed are the value of sounds in blessings and incantations, the value of words and of the exact order and repetition of words, the value and importance of alphabetical and other characters, and of sacred texts spoken and written. The larger part of the discussion is reserved for the magical use of names and the various superstitions annexed to them. The learned author is cautious in generalisation, and his work may be heartily commended to students as a storehouse of authorities.

It may be mentioned that a similar subject is treated of by Professor Dr. Singer in an article entitled "Die Wirksamkeit der Besegnungen" in a recent number of the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*. Starting from the earlier chapters on "The Life-Token" in Mr. Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., he insists on the name as an integral part of the individual person or thing, and passes on to consider the shadow or reflection as the soul, and the development thence of mimetic magic. The Swiss Folk-lore Society bids fair to render good service to the study of traditional lore.

PETITE LÉGENDE DORÉE DE LA HAUTE BRETAGNE. Paul Sébillot. Nantes, Société des Bibliophiles Bretons, 1897.

M. PAUL SÉBILLOT has in this volume gathered from various printed and oral sources, and annotated with care, the popular stories of Upper Brittany relating to saints and sacred places and objects. The book thus affords a view of the general attitude of the French-speaking Bretons towards religious superstitions which have not received the final seal of ecclesiastical approval. Rocks and megaliths bearing the impress of a holy foot, wonder-working springs, images credited with miraculous powers, and other commonplaces of tradition, of course abound. And these are illustrated by notices of pilgrimages and other practices now or recently observed. Many of the legends, however, are of special interest, such as those of Saint Bridget's Ducks (a modern Daphne-legend) and of the local boy-saint Jugon. It is interesting to find the incident of Brer Rabbit nibbling up the butter attributed to Breton saints, with Saint Fiacre playing the part of the unfortunate Brer Possum, and the workmen whom the three saints employed to build their chapel playing Brer Rabbit. As M. Sébillot points out, the episode was one of the tricks of Reynard the Fox.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BELLS.

I am informed by a friend who has spent some time in Florida, U.S.A., that the negresses there embroider the corners of their pillow-shams and bed-spreads with hand-bells. The embroidery is done in red cotton on a white cotton, or linen, foundation. Sometimes feathers are also introduced into the design. Is this use of bells merely ornamental, or is it connected with an old negro belief? Bells were not infrequently embroidered on bed-curtains and other hangings, as also on ecclesiastical vestments, in the Middle Ages.

M. P.

CHILD-BIRTH CUSTOM.

In a Hampshire village until a recent date, if not at the present time, a piece of red tape was tied round one of the thighs of a woman in child-bed, as it was supposed to mitigate the labour-pains and to prevent any mishap. Is the custom known elsewhere?

The girdles of saints, and other holy or magical belts, were formerly placed round women's waists to facilitate delivery (*Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. p. 467; *The Antiquary*, October, 1894, p. 160); but do other instances occur of girding such a band round the thigh?

Is it not probable that the tape used was red, because that colour is powerful against the evil-eye, and witchcraft in general? Were parturient animals ever assisted by means of a sacred or lucky band of this kind?

M. P.

DIVINING ROD.

I am writing to ascertain whether the divining rod is still used in the Mendips for finding mineral veins (it was as late as 1872),

and I should be very glad of a reference to any member of your Society who may be able to help me to meet with a living representative of the art, which has been practised there since 1660, and probably from a century earlier.

W. F. BARRETT.

6, *De Vesci Terrace, Kingstown,*
Co. Dublin.

[Mr. Barrett might write to *F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Foxdown, Wellington, Somerset*, or to *W. Bidgood, Esq., Curator, Museum, Taunton.* Either of these gentlemen would probably be able to help him.—ED.]

THE ORIGIN OF AMAZONIAN MATRIARCHY.

(Vol. viii. p. 272.)

The utter misrepresentations of my theories of the origins of Civilisation, of Matriarchy, &c., in the review of *Greek Folk-Poesy* in your September issue could have been duly exposed only in such a recapitulation of these theories as you have declined to insert, though it would have run to but four pages. I shall, therefore, only note with reference to my theory of the origin of Amazonian Matriarchy that the line of remark is followed which, with the single exception of a brief notice by Mr. Nutt, has for years past been taken in *Folk-Lore*—and really now *ad nauseam*—since Mr. Gomme, with reference to that theory and myself personally, asserted (*Folk-Lore*, December, 1891) that "he bases his researches on brilliant suggestions coupled with an intense belief in the validity of his arguments, without the necessity of providing proofs." And I think that I am entitled to be allowed at least to point to the facts which contradict the latest of such statements in my reviewer's various observations on "the scantiness of the facts on which I rely," &c. It was in a paper read in April, 1887, before the Royal Historical Society, that I first made my suggestion as to the possible ethnological explanation of Matriarchy. In order to verify it, I took up the special problem of Amazonian Matriarchy. First, I urged Miss Garnett to do what had not yet been done, namely, to make a representatively complete collection of the folklore of all the various races now under Turkish sway in the old Amazonian

lands. To this I prefixed an Introduction on the Ethnography of Turkey, which proved that in these lands there had, from time immemorial, been such a difference of races as is required by my Matriarchal theory. And then, having carefully analysed all the vast mass of facts collected, at my instance, by Miss Garnett, I pointed out, in a conclusion, that an extraordinarily large proportion could be no otherwise interpreted than as survivals of matriarchal marriage customs. This varied collection and classification both of ethnographical and of folklore facts occupies two large volumes and 1,000 pages. And though many more equally large collections of facts may be required in order to an assured solution of the general problem, I leave it to the readers of *Folk-Lore* to judge of the fairness of such remarks as those above quoted with respect to the suggested origin of Amazonian Matriarchy. And further, as, in your review of *Greek Folk-Poesy*, neither the problem, nor the solution of the problem, for the sake of which this great classified collection of folk-documents was made—the problem as to the primitive folk-conception of Nature—is even mentioned, permit me also to point to these other two volumes and their 1,000 pages as a further illustration of my asserted indifference to the verification of my suggestions.

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE.

Haslemere,
3rd February, 1898.

[Mr. Stuart-Glennie might prove conclusively that the "Amazonian Matriarchy" was ethnological in its origin, and yet leave the general problem of the Matriarchate unsolved. On the other hand, a reasonable explanation of the problem as a whole will probably be true of the "Amazonian Matriarchy." There is a simple and reasonable explanation to hand, in the fact that a child's mother cannot be doubtful, but his father may be, and often is. This does not explain everything, of course; but it does make it easier to understand why kinship and inheritance should be reckoned through the mother, and why the mother has an important status in the household. We therefore hold to this. If Mr. Stuart-Glennie wishes to convert us, he must collect and analyse evidence from all parts of the world, not from Turkey only. Nor can we admit for a moment that all the facts analysed in his 1000 pages (if this be the book we reviewed), or in *The*

Women of Turkey, bear out his theory, or indeed touch upon it. If Mr. Stuart-Glennie will reflect, he will see that there is probably good cause for the objections to his theories, or they would not be felt by every one.

The "primitive folk-conception of Nature," so far from being passed over, is stated and italicised in the review, on p. 272; but it was certainly not first discovered by Mr. Stuart-Glennie. We think there is a great deal in his suggestions as to the interaction of higher and lower races (see 277-8); but we again protest against assuming universally conditions which are not universally shown to exist. If the evidence exists in MS. volumes, let it be produced; what is given in the book before us is, we repeat, wholly insufficient to prove the theories for the whole world.

Mr. Stuart-Glennie, in another place (*Literary Guide*, February 1, 1898), denies that he has postulated the existence of primary civilisations. A few references will settle the matter. Mr. Stuart-Glennie holds that civilisation arose from the conflict of Higher and Lower races (vol. i. p. xxvii.). The Secondary Civilisations came from a conflict of Primary Civilisations with Lower races; but how these Primary Civilisations arose we are not shown. Mr. Stuart-Glennie denies that civilisation has a "supernatural origin" (i. 4), also that it is a "spontaneous development from savagery" (xxvii.); and of the "Higher Element in the conflict in which the Ancient American civilisations originated there is hardly, perhaps, evidence as yet to justify any decided opinion" (i. 9). Of the other "Primary Civilisations" we can find no inquiry, but merely mention. Call them Higher Races, or Civilisations, or what you will, they either were always so, or they became so. He tells us they were not always so, and does not explain how they became so. We therefore repeat, he postulates certain Primary Civilisations (or Higher races), without inquiring into their origin.

THE REVIEWER.]

FERTILISATION OF BIRDS.

(Vol. viii. p. 375.)

Mr. P. H. Emerson writes that while in Anglesea he met with the curious belief, mentioned at the reference above, in regard to the pea-hen; and in the village of Oulton Broad, Norfolk, where

he resides, he heard the same thing the other day as to the hen-turkey.

I don't know whether you would consider it worth recording in connection with the above that some men (foreigners) are credited with the power of causing conception in girls: first, by a fixed gaze, or glare of the eyes; and when this has caused the girl to feel helpless and motionless, the man sends his hot breath over her face, and if she possesses no power of resistance the harm is done. This was told me by a woman who believed that her own sister had been seduced in this manner when a girl. She said the man was a stranger to her sister, a foreigner, "an Italian, or something like that," very dark, with black eyes and hair. She told me the story as a reason for not letting girls, especially *fair* girls, have any acquaintance with foreigners. She said she believed her sister never saw the man but on the one occasion.

A. B. Gomme.

[The belief in the power of visual intercourse, at all events on the part of mythical beings, is found in the sagas of many peoples. See *Legend of Perseus*, vol. i. p. 142. A curious Bulgarian legend is given from the *Sbornik*, the great national collection of folklore, by Madame Schischmanoff in *Légendes Religieuses Bulgares* (Paris, Leroux, 1896), p. 127. It runs that when God had created the world, all the saints assembled in council to decide how mankind was to multiply; and it was agreed that this should be done by means of a glance. The saints then went to dinner, Saint John Chrysostom being their cook and waiter. When they had tasted the soup, they said: "John, the soup is not salt enough; put some salt in it." Then John took a handful of salt, and pretended to sprinkle it in the soup, but without letting a grain fall. The saints tasted it again, but still found it not salt enough. The process was repeated, with the same result. Then Saint John put the salt into the soup, and the saints were at last satisfied. Saint John improved the occasion to persuade them to rescind their resolution, and to make the present arrangement. His fellow-saints acclaimed his wisdom, crying: "John, thy mouth is golden!" Thereupon his mouth actually became gilded, and he acquired the surname of Chrysostom.—Ed.]

MISCELLANEA.

Giants in Pageants.

Mr. C. B. Luffmann says, at p. 64 in *A Vagabond in Spain*, that scores of colossal effigies with highly-painted faces and wicker-work bodies are ranged along one side of the town-hall at Zaragoza. "These are the property of the city, and are used to delight and terrify the children at feast-time. They are dressed in the costume of all ages, and men get inside the wicker bodies and run up and down the streets after the children, carrying gifts in one hand and weapons of castigation in the other, so that the pursued child never knows whether he is going to get a handful of sweetmeats or a whipping."

Folklore from the Hebrides.—III.

I.—"*Greim Cubhaig*" (*i.e.* Cuckoo's Morsel).

One of the most popular superstitions of the past was, that if one heard the cuckoo for the first time, in its season, fasting, this was considered as a presage of ill-luck for the rest of that year.

The most credulous took great pains to prevent such an event taking place, by taking a morsel of bread with them when they retired for the night, that they might partake of it in the early morning before the cuckoo began to sing. This morsel was called "Greim Cubhaig," *i.e.* cuckoo's morsel. I heard of a poor old woman in Kintyre (who is reported to have been dull of hearing) who had spent a large portion of the cuckoo's season at this exercise before she had the pleasure of hearing it. Such was her belief in this superstition, in common with many of her contemporaries. Hence the origin of the common Gaelic proverb:

> "Chuala mi cubhag gun bhiadh am bhròin
> 'Sdh' aithnich mi nach rachadh a' bhliadhna so leam."

> "I heard the cuckoo while fasting,
> And I knew the year would be unlucky for me."

II.—Fish bewitching Milk.

If milk was accidentally spilt on the brink of a river, or at the border of a loch, while milking, and flowed into the water, it was believed that the "Macha dhubh," *i.e.* Trout-mother, would bewitch it, if it even got a taste of it in the water. I distinctly remember to have seen, in my young days, great care taken to prevent milk so split getting into the water by speedily mixing it up with earth. The "Macha dhubh" is an abnormally large trout, darker than the ordinary trout.

"Both men and women in those islands, and in the neighbouring mainland, affirm that the increase of milk is likewise taken away by trouts; and the way to recover this damage is by taking a live trout and pouring milk into its mouth, which they say doth perfectly curdle if it was taken away by trouts, but otherwise they say it is not."—*Vide* Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 121.

III.—Killing a Serpent, a good Omen.

It was an old superstition which many people firmly believed, that if one on setting out on a journey happened to meet a serpent in his path, and succeeded in killing it, his expedition was to be a prosperous one. He was to be equally successful in surmounting every difficulty that might meet him, and conquer every enemy that he might have to encounter till he returned home. In one word, he might now go on his way with a light heart, for he was sure of good luck.

IV.—Charm against a Serpent's Bite.

The charm consisted in remembering to repeat on St. Bride's day: "Là Fhèill Brighde thig an *rìbhinn* (serpent) as an toll; na beanamsa ris an *rìbhinn* agus na beanadh an *rìbhinn* rium." ("On St. Bride's day the nymph (serpent) comes out of the hole; let me not touch the nymph, and let not the nymph touch me.") In olden times it was believed that if one repeated the words of the above rhyme on St. Bride's day, it would act as a charm against serpents' bites till next St. Bride's day. "*Rìbhinn*" signifies a nymph or princess-like young female. It was an ancient custom, on special occasions, to employ a euphemism of this sort, as an olive-branch, to get into the good graces of the object desired to be conciliated and to charm the *Genii* who

presided over places and shrines. For example, the fire taken to the kiln was called *angel;* "Maighister," *i.e.* master, was employed on special occasions for the common word "mùn," *i.e.* urine.

On this subject *vide* Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 18.

V.—A Serpent's Head, a Cure for a Serpent's Bite.

I have a definite recollection of hearing, in my young days, that a cured serpent's head was a remedy for a serpent's bite. The person whose cattle were believed to be suffering from serpents' poison obtained the *cured head* from the party who, he knew, kept it for the purpose. He placed it in a dish of water, and poured the water from the dish down the cow's throat, or if the wound was external it was washed with it. Times have so changed since, that one now scarcely hears a word of this method of cure.

Since writing the above I have been informed by a clergyman friend, a native of Lewis, that an old woman, an acquaintance of his, has still a serpent's head in her possession for cure as indicated above.

"Clach-nathrach" (serpent's stone) was also considered equally efficacious. The "Clach-nathrach" was a circular, smooth slab, about two inches in diameter, of a brownish—Welsh-slate—colour, with a round hole—size of a thimble—in the centre. The stone was believed to be carefully guarded by the serpents coiling themselves round it in their hibernal state. The hole in the centre was supposed to be the passage through which they emerged from their winter seclusion.

My friend, in his young days, had a "Clach-nathrach" in his possession, but unfortunately lost it.

VI.—" Ghabh sùil air." (Lit. He is being Eye-smitten. The English equivalent is "The Evil Eye.")

The Evil Eye might affect disadvantageously either man, or beast, or goods. It was believed to do so sometimes when its possessor did not intend it.

The general cure (the only cure I ever knew for it) was to give the patient "*Uisge air airgiod*"—*i.e.* water on silver—water from a dish in which a silver coin was placed.[1] I have a distinct re-

[1] In other parts of the Highlands it was named "Uisge airgiod," *i.e.* Silver-water.

collection of seeing people with whom I was well acquainted pouring water down a cow's throat for a cure for that malady. This custom, so far as I know, has quite fallen into desuetude. The expressions, however, to which the custom gave currency are still in use; such as "*Ghabh sùil ort,*" *i.e.* "you are eye-smitten," applied to a person who has fallen into decay in health or means; and "*Cha ghabh mo shuil ort,*" *i.e.* "my eye will not smite thee," used still when a person speaks admiringly of one's person, or goods, or anything belonging to him.

VII.—The Druid of Ach a' bheannaich (*i.e.* The Druid of the Mound of Blessing or Salutation).

At a short distance to the east of the "Druidical" stones at Acha'bheannaich, parish of Latheron, Caithness, there is a cairn overgrown with heather. In the middle of this cairn there is a small enclosure that closely resembles one of the "Druidical" altars that one may see in various parts of the Highlands. I visited this "Druidical" fane in the winter of 1874. The following legend associated with this tumulus was related to me by one of the Caithness ministers, an intimate friend, now deceased:

When the principal Druid of that district had become so old and infirm that he could no longer perform the functions of his office, he was burnt alive on this altar as a sacrifice. While he was being offered, the young Druid who had been appointed his successor in office kept going round in the altar-smoke—*ex fumo dare lucem*—that he might catch the spirit of his predecessor as it took its flight.

VIII.—The Meal-mill Ghost Story.

The following ghost story is one among many familiar to the writer from childhood:

One of two brothers, at Bragar, while grinding at the mill, slept late in the evening. The other brother took his turn watching the mill. The brother who was watching saw the form and likeness of another brother, who was lately deceased, enter the mill, and stoop over the sleeping brother, as if in the act of kissing him. The brother who was watching did not feel in the least frightened or alarmed. In a short while the deceased brother disappeared. When his brother awoke, he said: "Chunnaic mi

o'chadail mi mo bhrathair caomh a' tighinn a steach do'n mhuillinn, agus g'am phògadh." "Mata," ars an brathair, "a bha ri faire chunnaic mi féin e ged bha mi'm dhuisg" ("I have seen my dear brother entering the mill since I slept, and kissing me." "Well," said his brother, "you dreamed that while you slept; I saw it at the same time while I was perfectly awake.") The story goes on to say that the brother who had dreamed died very shortly thereafter.

IX.—A Haunted Old Chapel.

In my young days it was a regular custom with youngsters, as they met "*air chéilidh*," to recite tales in turn, legends being their only literature: "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." The following legend was a special favourite, and as such did duty on several occasions, and never failed to rivet the attention of the audience:

A clever tailor wagered that he would sew a coat's sleeve at the dead of night (alone) in an old chapel which was haunted, according to popular belief, by a dreadful ghost. At the appointed hour he was left alone in the old haunted enclosure. To make the best of his unenviable position, he sat close to the door and began to sew (by candle light) with might and main. He was not long at work when he heard an unearthly voice addressing him from a corner of the chapel as follows: "Am faic thu mo cheann mòr liath gun fhuil, gun fheòil, gun fheithean, a thaileir? Chi mi sin 'us fuaigheam so," ars an taileir. ("Dost thou see my big gray head without blood, or flesh, or sinews, oh tailor?" "I see that, but let me sew this," replied the tailor.) The spectre again cried in louder tones: "Am faic thu mo sgòrnan fada riabhach gun fhuil, gun fhoil, gun fheithean, a thaleir? Chi me sin ach fuaigheam so," ars am taileir. ("Dost thou see my long swarthy throat without blood, or flesh, or sinews, oh tailor?" "I see that, but let me sew this," replied the tailor.) Drawing nearer, and in louder and hoarser tones, the ghost cried: "Am faic thu mo chas mhòr riabhach gun fhuil, gun fheòil, gun fheithean, a thaleir? Chi mi sin 'us fuaigheam so," ars an taileir. ("Dost thou see my big swarthy foot without blood, or flesh, or sinews, oh tailor?" "I see that, but let me sew this," replied the tailor), and went on sewing "tooth and nail." Again the spectre, coming nearer and nearer, cried in louder and hoarser tones: "Am faic thu mo

chròg mhòr liath gun fhuil," &c. ("Seest thou my big swarthy paw," &c.) The tailor replied as before, and was just finishing his last stitch and preparing to decamp with his work finished, when he heard the spectre's voice, as if coming from the depths of his chest, and as if stooping over him and stretching his arms to seize him, he cried: "Thugaid me fhein mar a tà mi a thaileir." ("At you myself as I am, oh tailor.") The tailor made no response to this threat, but made for the door with all possible speed. Just as he had got out at the door, he heard the ghost's hand rattling violently against ("ursann an doruis") the door-post. Such was its force that it left the print of its fingers on the door-post, which may be seen to this day, to testify to the truth of the legend of the haunted old chapel, and of the story of the tailor who tried his luck and won the day.[1]

The above legend is associated with Chanonry, Ross-shire. It is also told in connection with Kil-Christ, Beauly, and in connection with Kil-Neuer Chapel, at the south end of Lochawe, Argyleshire. The veritable finger-marks of the spectre are most assuredly to be seen on the door-post of the Kil-Neuer Church, even at the present day. The marks, however, are believed to be the result of an afterthought, and to have been made on purpose to substantiate the legend told in connection with the old chapel.

The writer (twenty-five years ago) composed an essay on the Gaelic verb, when attending a Gaelic class in Edinburgh, and endeavoured to show, from a phrase of this legend ("Chi mi sin," "I see that"), that the Gaelic verb "chi," being used here in the present tense, and a few other Gaelic verbs had a present tense.

X.—Seven Times Buried.

The following legend indicates the great importance that was of old attached to munificent funerals in the Highlands, and the gratification and benefit it was supposed to impart to the dead and gone in their long home.

The story is about two brothers, one of whom was a smith. After their mother's death, the smith, by an underhand manœuvre,

[1] This is a variant of a well-known story. It is given in Mr. Jacobs' *Celtic Fairy Tales* (Nutt, 1892) from *Notes and Queries* for 21 December, 1861. Miss Dempster found it in Sutherlandshire; and Mr. J. F. Campbell says it is common in Argyllshire and the Isle of Man.—Ed.

got violent possession of all his mother's means, and kept them. The other brother determined that he would make him disgorge it all. He hit upon the following device.

After his mother had been consigned to her kindred dust, he opened the grave at the dead of night, and placed the coffin, standing on end, leaning hard against his brother's door. When the door was opened in the morning, the coffin fell with a thud flat into the house. Her rising from the grave was believed to have been owing to her dissatisfaction and grief at the illiberality of the smith in connection with her funeral.

Another funeral ceremony on a much grander scale, and more expressive of admiration and gratitude, was gone through, and she was laid a second time in her long home; the smith, congratulating himself that he had acted handsomely by his mother's remains, and that she would now rest and be at peace. But to his dismay it was not to be so. However, to make a long story short, the same thing was repeated by the two brothers, the one taking her out of her grave, at intervals, seven times in seven years, and the other brother making each successive funeral more munificent, until he became poorer than his brother whom he had defrauded.

This legend is supposed to be the origin of the Lewis proverb: "Cho sgìth 'sa bha'n gotha de Mhàthair." ("As tired as the smith was of his mother.")

XI.—"*Eolas-Cronnachaidh.*" (The Science of Checking.)

The story is related of a Kintyre man of a bygone generation, who happened to be ploughing one day, when one who was strongly possessed of the Evil Eye crossed the field quite close to the horses. He looked hard at them as he passed along; the result was that they were so smitten by his Evil Eye, that they at once fell quite helpless into the furrow. They lay wallowing there, but could not rise. He, however, knew a man in the neighbourhood noted for the "*Eolas-Cronnachaidh*" (the checking science). He went at once for him. The exorcist came and sprinkled them with water in which salt was dissolved, and poured some of it into their ears. This cure had the effect of restoring them as speedily as they had been disabled.

What accompaniments in the shape of "Eora" may have been gone through my informant did not happen to know.

"*Eora*" were words uttered while performing a cure of the

above sort, that were supposed to have some occult power to subdue the evil for which relief was sought.

XII.—The Lowing of a Cow, an Unlucky Omen.

Though it is a rare thing to find an infidel among the fisher-class, yet superstitious customs prevail among them perhaps more than among any other class of the community. In some parts of the Highlands there were many occurrences they observed as indicative of good or ill-luck, as the following curious superstition shows:—If the lowing of a cow was heard immediately after the nets were set for the evening, this coincidence was considered an omen so unlucky that they at once hauled them in again, changed their ground, and reset them. My informant, a clergyman, was told by a friend of his of an old fisherman, a neighbour, who was an observer of the above-mentioned custom.

This custom was observed in some parts of Argyleshire.

XIII.—" A' bhean nighe." (The Washerwoman.)

" Cò as luaithe a mhothaich ? " ars a' bhean nighe, ri fear a rug oirre. (" Who observed first ? " said the washerwoman to a person who had caught her.) " As luaithe mhothaich mise," ars easan. (" I observed first," he replied.) " As maith a' chur sin ruit," ars ise. (" It is well for you it is so," she replied.) It was believed, so says our legend, that if she had seen him before he had seen her, and that he caught her afterwards, she could inflict bodily injury.

" Leig as mi an diugh, agus thig a' màireach agus gheibh thu naidheachd." " Cha tig," ars easan, " a dhèoin Dhé no'n air-raoir." (" Let me go to-day and come to-morrow, and I'll give you news." " No, God willing, nor the day after," he replied.)

This legend is philologically interesting on account of the classical phrase which it has rescued from oblivion—" *Dheòin Dhé*," the exact equivalent of *Deo volente*. I have nowhere seen it in any Gaelic I have ever read, nor have I ever heard it in any colloquial dialect, neither have I yet met with any Gaelic scholar who knew of its existence in Gaelic.

The Islay name for the *Bean nighe* is *Caoineachag*.

If one observed the washerwoman at work before she observed him, she could not move till she was caught and spoken to.

Another legend says that a John Smith, South Shawbost, Island of Lewis, saw her washing at Lochandubh na beinne, *i.e.* The

Black Pool of the Hill. "Guidheam ort le laimh chlìth," ars easan, agus e breith oirre. ("Let me beseech with a left hand," said he, while taking hold of her.) "Is cairreagach a rug thu orm?" ars ise. ("How left-handed you have caught me?" said she.) "A làmh a thàchair," ars easan. ("The hand that happened," said he.) "Is math a fhreagair," ars ise. ("Well answered!" said she).

He. "What were you doing here?"

She. "I was washing the clothes of those who are to be drowned this year in the island. There is a boat's crew from North Tolsta to be drowned this year, and I was washing their clothes here; but, as I have been caught, I shall not be seen any more here." "Leig as mi," ars ise, "agus bheir mi dhuit buaidh 'sam bith de thri a dh'iarreas tu. ("Let me go, and I shall give you any of three gifts you may choose to ask.")

He. "Thoir dhomh," ars easan, "buaidh codach." ("Give me," said he, "the gift of wealth.")

She. "Is bochd a bhuaidh a dh'iarr thu. Carson nach do dh'iarr thu buidh nan daoine." ("It is a poor gift you have asked. Why did you not ask the gift of a family?")

He. "Give me both."

She. "No, I cannot, but you shall have what you have asked, but no son shall ever sit in his father's place in your house."[1] So it happened, our legend says. He got what he wanted. He was wealthy up to the level of his social position. The writer, in his young days, was acquainted with his three daughters. He had no sons. This incident was supposed to verify the authenticity of the legend.

XIV.—"*Eolas Smùirnean*." (The Mote Science.)

This (*Eolas*) science was used in extracting a mote from one's eye. It was done in the following curious manner. The exorcist put something into his own mouth, and looked straight into the eye affected. What it was he put into his mouth, or whether he used

[1] A variant obtained from another district of Lewis inserts here: "'But how shall I know that what you have promised shall come to pass?' said he. 'You will get home,' said she, 'all right; but after opening your door, and before you reach your fireside, the blood of your brow shall be on your shoes.' And so it happened. A child, who had been playing with a piece of hard wood, had left it hanging above the door on the inside, so that when he was passing through the doorway, his brow struck violently against it, and bled profusely."

an "*Eora*," as he looked on the patient, my informant (a native of Kintyre, Argylshire) could not say, but indicated that it was effective in extracting the mote from the eye.

"They say there be women who have an art of taking a mote out of one's eye, though at some miles' distance from the party grieved; and this the only charm these women will avouch themselves to understand, as some of them told me, and several of these men, out of whose eyes motes were taken, confirmed the truth of it to me."—*Vide* Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 122.

MALCOLM MACPHAIL.

STAKES AT GAMES.

In the account of the diversions of Montezuma of Mexico given by Herrera, it is stated that ball-games were much delighted in, played in a walled court. The height of dexterity was sending the ball through certain holes in the wall just as big as the ball. This rarely happened, and he who succeeded in doing so won the game, and, moreover, by ancient custom and law among gamesters, had a right to the cloaks of the lookers-on. "It was very pleasant to see, that as soon as the ball was in the hole the standers-by took to their heels, running away with all their might to save their cloaks; others scouring after them to secure their cloaks for the winner." (See *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, by J. L. STEPHENS, vol. ii.)

As a contribution to the vexed question of connected civilisations the following from a daily paper may be used in comparison :—

"The Japanese show their appreciation of an actor's playing in a more substantial manner than by freely applauding. They throw various portions of their dress on the stage, and at the end of their performance the favoured person claims the money that the donors repurchase them with, the prices for the various articles being at fixed rates."

Concord, Mass. LOUISE KENNEDY.

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THE WOOING OF PENELOPE.

BY W. CROOKE, B.A.

(*Read at Meeting of 21st December*, 1897.)

THERE are some folktales, and these usually the greatest in the world, which are so familiar to us that we read them over and over again without pausing to consider their structure or peculiarities. They are like a London street, the Strand, for instance, down which some of us pass daily, without stopping to think of the successive stages of architecture which it exhibits, or of the historical associations which cluster round every corner.

We are also too prone to think of these great productions of the imaginative genius of our race as mere inventions of the poet and nothing else. It seems almost an act of impiety to attempt to dissect such a work of art as the tale of the Wooing of Penelope; but by treating such Sagas as mere romance we miss, I venture to think, most of their force and beauty. The Homeric poems did not spring to light all at once from chaos; they did not appear to delight the world as Athene leaped from the brow of Zeus. Like all the other imaginative literature of the world, they were produced by a slow process of evolution and assimilation in the brain of the artist. He very seldom, perhaps never,

invents a plot; he merely works up old materials, as Shakespeare did when he combined old folktales and scraps of some ancient chronicle into a Hamlet, or a Lear. To assert this is not to detract in any way from the genius of the poet. In nothing is the supreme skill of Homer more apparent than in the deftness with which he has woven one tale into the structure of another; he has thus given us not a crude mosaic, but a well-connected product of sheer poetic art. Equally noteworthy is his eclecticism, by which he drops what is coarse or ridiculous in the tradition with which he deals, and concentrates attention on all that is pure and artistic.

The Homeric poems, like the Vedas and the Indian Epics, are in no sense primitive. The state of society which they depict is far removed from that crude savagery of which the natives of Tasmania and Australia are familiar types. There are even indications, such as the frank detestation of war, the naïve unconsciousness of disgrace in retreating before the foe in battle, the exaltation of cunning and wordly wisdom in the case of Odysseus, which point to the probability that the lays were sung to a people in a state of decadence from the heroic ideal.

But with all this we have many survivals of early custom scattered through the poems. These we may regard either as cases of pseudo-archaism, where the poet of a polished age strives to reproduce the colour of an earlier time; or with more probability we may consider them fragments of the more ancient folk tradition which the poet used; sometimes, perhaps, without striving to realise their real meaning, or with that contempt for detail which is characteristic of the higher art. Some of these survivals, like the fossils and scraps of older rock which the geologist digs out of the newer conglomerate, we may find, I venture to think, in the poems, particularly in connection with the law of land and marriage, without some examination of which it seems to me impossible to understand the Saga of the Wooing; and

occasionally too, I venture to think, we meet with cases in which it would seem that the poet imperfectly realised the conditions of the age with which he was dealing. In other words, the gulf was so great between the poet and his materials that he becomes obscure when he attempts to adjust the archaic elements of the tradition to the time in which he lived.

But we must not expect too much from this method of treating the poems from the point of view of anthropology and folklore. It would be a result of no little importance if by this mode of enquiry we found an additional test for ascertaining the original structure of the Epics, and for fixing their relative age and the sources from which the materials of them were collected. That such a stratification of custom and folk-tradition will some day be traced in them I am quite certain. But our danger at present is lest we should read too much between the lines of the poems from the results of comparative anthropology. Some of us are perhaps too fond of trying to see a totem in every bush; and we must be cautious lest we try to discover more survivals of savagery in the Iliad and Odyssey than can fairly be shown to exist.

I need hardly say that the folktales included in the Epics fall into two well-marked divisions—one that of native growth, or of the Aryan cycle, if we choose to adopt a title not very clearly defined, which appears generally in the Iliad and in the Odyssey in the tale of the Return and the Wooing; the other meeting us in the poems outside the Hellenic area, which is probably of Phœnician origin, such as the Sagas of the Phæacians, the Sirens, Minos and so on, of which the Odyssey is full. At the same time, this geographical distribution of the Sagas must not be pressed too closely. One tale, for instance, that of the Cyclops, or the Baffled Giant, has numerous analogues in what we usually call Aryan tradition. These latter we need not consider now, but proceed to the Saga of the Wooing.

The tale is simple enough: but there is some evidence that even it has undergone a process of gradual development and reconstruction. It would seem that in one of the very early versions, Odysseus was the son of Sisyphus, who belongs to the Master Thief cycle; and that his affiliation to Laertes was a later development of the myth. Odysseus marries Penelope, the daughter of Icarius of Sparta; and she by one form of the legend was, like so many children of the folk-tales, exposed when a child and fed by the sea-birds, whence by a later folk-etymology her name was said to be derived. Another Saga, again, told how Odysseus won her as his bride in a foot-race contest, an incident which appears later on in the Homeric story. She, while her son Telemachus was still an infant, was left by Odysseus, who is said to have unwillingly joined the expedition to Troy. Some time before his return, after an absence of twenty years, Penelope was beset by a crowd of insolent Suitors, who insisted that she should marry one of their number, occupied the palace, consumed the flocks and herds, and intrigued with the maid-servants of the absent prince. Penelope for a time evades their unwelcome proposals by making a web to serve as a shroud for the aged hero Laertes; this she unravels every night. The Suitors discover the trick and renew their wooing. Telemachus, then a youth, sets out to seek his father, and the Suitors contrive an ambush to destroy him, which he escapes by the aid of the gods. Finally, Odysseus returns, and, assisted by his son and some faithful dependants, wreaks an ample vengeance on the insolent Suitors, and is restored to his faithful wife.[1]

Such is a bald summary of this entrancing Saga. A little consideration will show that it swarms with difficulties. To understand it we must, I think, try to answer the following questions:—What is the position of Laertes, and how did

[1] A curious variant occurs in the Mantinean tradition that Odysseus turned Penelope out of doors because she brought danglers about the house. *Pausanias*, viii., 12, 3.

he come to be deposed? What is the status of Telemachus on the assumed death of his father away from home? Who are the Suitors, and how were they enabled to put pressure on Penelope to marry one of their number? Can their proceedings at Ithaca he accounted for on any principles of early tribal law? Lastly, how are we to explain the perplexing device by which Penelope evaded their wooing?

Before we can attempt to answer these questions we must, I think, briefly consider the position of the Homeric King, the Homeric landed system, and the Homeric marriage law.

To begin with the Homeric King: even when, like Agamemnon, he is commander-in-chief of the army, he is not a despotic monarch; he is assisted and usually guided by the advice of a council. Even in a petty state like Ithaca there was such a council (Ἀγορή). Athene proposes that Telemachus should convene it, and lay before its members his charge against the Suitors: we learn incidentally that until this meeting it had not been convened since the departure of Odysseus.[1]

Again, the scanty references to the tenure of land in Homer enable us, by the aid of Professor Ridgeway's admirable commentary,[2] to conclude that in the main the communal system prevailed, and we find various references which imply the existence of the Common Mark. But, as we can understand from the analogy of similar cases in other lands, this variety of tenure was beginning to decay. As usual, the first step in that direction was the apportionment of a separate garth or demesne for the king; this in Homer is peculiar to him and to the temples of the gods. Thus among the gods, Demeter, Zeus, Aphrodite, and the river-god Spercheios have garths. Among heroes and chiefs

[1] *Odyssey*, i., 90, *seqq.*, ii., 26, 27.

[2] *Journal Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi., p. 319, *seqq.* For the Common Mark, see *Iliad*, x., 351, *seqq.*; xii., 421, *seqq.*; xv., 498; xviii., 541, *seqq.*; xxii., 421; *Odyssey*, viii., 124, *seqq.*

the same right is exercised by Bellerophon, Meleagros, Sarpedon, Glaukos, the chief depicted on the shield of Achilles, Otrynteus, Alkinoos, Telemachus, and Odysseus himself.[1] The wealth of the king, then, depended on the produce of this domain, on the gifts offered by his subjects, the extra shares of the slaves and other plunder allotted to him after a victory, not on any form of direct taxation. Compare this with the state of the old Scotch chieftain. "In the military days," says Pennant,[2] "the chieftain drew little or no rent from his people; he had some of the best farms in his own hands, to which there was a casual accession by forfeitures; he had his proportion of the fines laid upon the trespassers of the law; he had the herezield horse when any of his farmers died;[3] he had a benevolence or voluntary contribution sent him according to the power and good intentions of every man; he and his *coshir* or retinue could lodge on whom he pleased."

But it would be a mistake to suppose that his control over this landed property was unrestricted. On the contrary, the Homeric King seems to have been more in the position of a trustee, and the chiefs *per contra* were entitled to mess at his table and be fed on the produce of the demesne. Thus, to confine ourselves to the Odyssey, we find that the Phæacian chiefs habitually dine at the palace of Alkinoos, as their dependent nobles mess with Nestor and Menelaus.[4] So it is with most savage kings, as in the case of the Basutos, where "the chiefs are the great providers for the community. They must, with the produce of their fields, feed the poor, furnish the warriors with arms, supply the troops in the field, and promote and strengthen the alliances which are to

[1] *Iliad*, ii., 696; viii., 48; *Odyssey*, viii., 362; *Iliad*, xxiii., 148; vi., 194; ix., 574; xii., 313; xviii., 550; xx., 391; *Odyssey*, vi., 293; xi., 184; xvii., 299.

[2] Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. iii., p. 548.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 611.

[4] *Odyssey*, vi., 98, 99; viii., 40-42; xiii., 8, 9; iii., 30, *seqq.*; iv., 621, *seqq.*

be contracted with neighbouring nations."[1] So with the Kâfir chiefs of the Hindu Kush, who are bound to give feasts to the leading men of the tribe.[2] And Sir Hugh Willoughby tells us of the dukes of Moscovy that "he gave to every one of his gentlemen waiters meat with his own hand, and so likewise drink. His intent thereby is, as I have heard, that every man shall know perfectly his servants." And again, "before the coming in of the meat, the emperor himself, according to an ancient custom of the kings of Moscovy, doth bestow a piece of bread upon every one of his guests with a loud pronunciation of his title and honour in this manner: 'The Great Duke of Moscovy, and Chief Emperor of Russia, John Basiliwich (and then the officer nameth the guest) doth give them bread.'"[3]

Again, each of these chiefs in Homeric times, according to the well-known savage etiquette, was entitled to the portion of honour according to his rank; just as in former days in Scotland the chief's armour-bearer had a double portion of meat assigned to him at every meal.[4] We have the same custom in the mess of Benjamin;[5] the distribution of the Kava cup in Tonga;[6] the joints of the sacrifice in Egypt;[7] and among the Australians,[8] Fijians,[9] Namaquas,[10] Bechuanas,[11] Niam-Niams,[12] and Samoans.[13]

Postponing for the present the application of these facts,

[1] Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 216.
[2] Robertson, *Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, p. 446, *seq.*
[3] Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i., pp. 18, 32.
[4] Martin, *Western Isles*; Pinkerton, *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 608.
[5] *Genesis*, xliii., 34.
[6] Featherman, *Oceano-Melanesians*, p. 116.
[7] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (ed. 1878), vol. ii., pp. 27, 458.
[8] Fison, Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 261, *seqq.*
[9] Williams, *Fiji*, vol. i., p. 149.
[10] Featherman, *Negritos*, p. 543.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 624.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[13] Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 114, 175.

let us turn to the marriage question, and in particular to the rights and responsibilities of the widow.

We need not be surprised if in connection with her, we meet with survivals of primitive marriage law, because instances of this are not infrequent in Homer. Thus, we have constant references to the appropriation of captured girls as concubines, as, for instance, the familar case of Briseis. We have, again, marriage by *Confarreatio* in the bridal of the daughters of Menelaus, where we also mark the very primitive custom of celebrating several marriages simultaneously, which has been considered to imply a primitive pairing time.[1] Further, we have instances of what anthropologists call Beena marriage, where the bridegroom serves for and lives with the bride in the house of her father; connected with this we have cases of brides bestowed without dowry in return for special services rendered.[2] More primitive still is the secret co-habitation of Zeus and Hera.[3] We hear of no law of exogamy; in fact, Hector seems to taunt Paris with bringing a wife from abroad;[4] and the neglect of the usual prohibited degrees is shown in the cases of brother and sister, and nephew and aunt marriage.[5]

This will prepare us for finding traces of primitive law in the case of the widow, with whom we are here more immediately concerned. It may be said that in regard to her, there are at least three stages in the evolution of early

[1] *Odyssey*, iv., 4; *Iliad.* xviii., 491 *seqq*; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 27. There is a good instance of this, a natural accompaniment of polygamy, in the case of Timour, who celebrated the marriage of six of his grandsons on one occasion. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (ed. W. Smith), vol. viii., p. 62.

[2] *Iliad*, vi., 246 *seqq*; xiv., 121; xiii., 366; *Odyssey*, xv., 241.

[3] *Iliad*, xiv., 295; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22, 61, 151; Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, p. 195.

[4] *Iliad*, iii., 46.

[5] *Iliad*, xvi., 432; xi., 226, *Odyssey*, vii., 54, *seqq*, x., 7. For instances, *see* Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., pp. 84, *seqq*.

custom. There is, first, the case where on the death of her husband the temporary right of exclusive possession vested in him ceases, and she again comes to be at the disposal of the clan. A familiar development of this appears in the Hindu custom of the Nyoga. Next we have the institution of the Levirate, and lastly, as the outcome of this, the disposal of the widow's hand by the decree of the associated clansmen.

What here specially concerns us is the Levirate and its development. In this case, the widow is usually made over to the younger brother of her late husband, or, if that arrangement be impracticable, to some more distant relation or kinsman. But as this is of primary importance for our present purpose, there is ample evidence that in many cases the Levirate is compulsory, and that the necessary pressure on the widow is exercised either by her parents or by the kinsfolk of her late husband.[1] Thus, at the present day in Northern India, among most of the menial castes who preserve the primitive custom with most care, the bride, who is always purchased, generally out of the common stock of the family, is regarded as a chattel of the family. If her late husband's younger brother be of suitable age and unmarried, she is, as a matter of course, made over to him by a decree of the Panchâyat or tribal council; if this be found impossible, she is taken over by some other clansman, usually a widower. But in this case the rule of the Levirate is so far recognised that in some cases the new husband is compelled to repay to the Levir the bride-price, and other expenses incurred at the first marriage.[2]

We meet a later development of the same rule in Scot-

[1] Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, pp. 191, 195, 251.

[2] For these variations of custom, *see* Crooke, *Tribes and Castes, North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. i., Intro., pp. clxxxix., *seqq.*; 42, 193, 203, 209, 224; vol. ii., pp. 7, 74, *seqq.*, 89, 99, 109, 131, 177, 267, 273, 281, 339, 363, 413, 445; vol. iii., pp. 3, 97, 218, 243, 259, 300, 325, 352, 390, 426, *seqq.*, 464.

land, where the functions of the tribal council were imposed on the Laird. The old laws lay down—"Na widow sould be compelled to marie gif sche please to live without ane husband; but sche sould give securitie that sche sall not marie without consent of her lord, gif sche holds of ane other than the king." And in Benbecula, we are told, when a tenant dies, MacNeill provides the widow with a husband.[1]

I would, however, lay special stress on the fact that the widow is not allowed to select her second husband. In most cases the disposal of her hand rests with the kinsfolk of her late husband. Even in historical times in Greece, the second marriage of the widow was arranged according to the will and testament of her first husband; her own wishes being consulted as little as in the case of virgins[2]; and, as it will be remembered that Penelope is represented to have been a Spartan maiden, it is even more to the present purpose to point out that the Levirate prevailed at Sparta.[3]

We are now, I venture to think, in a position to examine the case of Penelope in the light of the foregoing facts. The Homeric Greeks, as we know, usually purchased their brides, or, what amounts to much the same thing, the bride was given by her father in return for services rendered, without demand of the bride-price; or, again, as a prize for some special skill or valour, as Odysseus by one form of the legend won his wife in a foot-race.[4] However he may have acquired her, she would be considered as a chattel, and her fate after the death of her husband would rest with her

[1] Pennant, *Second Tour in Scotland*; Pinkerton, *Voyages*, vol. iii., pp. 325, 606.

[2] Becker, *Charicles* (ed. 1895), pp. 167, 478.

[3] Müller, *Dorians*, vol. ii., p. 205.

[4] Apollodorus, iii., 10, 9; Pausanias, iii., 12, 2. "We must hold with Aristotle that in the heroic age the purchase of wives was a reality, not, as Schömann thinks, a mere ceremonial survival." Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (3rd ed.), vol. i., p. 691.

parents or with the kinsmen of her deceased lord. Greek law in fact never recognised the independence of the woman. "A woman, whether maiden, wife, or widow, was always under guardianship, always at the disposal of another. Her own sons, if two years past the age of manhood, would be her guardians, supposing she were left a widow without any other Κύριος."[1] We know from the poem that her parents proposed to exercise their authority over her. She herself tells her disguised husband that her parents were instant with her to marry.[2] That the same kind of compulsion on the part of her kinsfolk may have been the basis of the story, in its current form, I think there are strong reasons for suspecting.

This much, however, is noticeable, that though Penelope represents that her parents were pressing her to choose a husband, Homer nowhere tells us that Odysseus was planning or executed any vengeance upon them, though, of course, he might fairly have blamed them as he did blame the Suitors. It is possible, on the one hand, that Homer used only so much of the primitive tradition as suited his artistic purpose; or, on the other hand, that in his time the parental control had taken the place of that hitherto exercised by the kinsfolk. The one being familiar and the other archaic, the latter was more easily modified to suit the exigencies of the plot.

Who, then, were the Suitors? We are told that they were "all the noblest that are princes in the Isles, in Dulichium and Same and wooded Zakynthus, and as many as lord it in rocky Ithaca." From Dulichium came fifty-two; from Same twenty-four; from Zakynthus twenty; and twelve were lords in Ithaca.[3] The information in the Odyssey is not sufficient to fix exactly the limits of the realm of Odysseus or the dominions of his immediate kinsfolk.

[1] G. E. Marindin, Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (3rd ed.), vol. ii., p. 135.
[2] *Odyssey*, xix., 158, 159.
[3] *Odyssey*, i., 245-248; xvi., 122-125, 247; xix., 130-134.

Dulichium, at any rate was not in his kingdom.[1] It is improbable that the question was ever seriously considered by the poet, and he does not trouble himself to state distinctly in what degree of relationship they may have stood to Odysseus or Penelope. If we may follow the analogy of Hindu law, their connection with the family would not be carefully scrutinised. They would attend such a meeting if they belonged to the Birâdari, "brotherhood," or Phatria of wife or husband. But, I venture to think that what we are told about the Suitors is not inconsistent with the theory that in the more primitive version of the tale they may have been regarded as the family or tribal council, like the Hindu Panchâyat, and that their presence in Ithaca, after the assumed death of Odysseus, may have been based on the generally recognised right inherent in the kinsfolk of arranging and enforcing the marriage of Penelope with one or other of their number according to the current tribal law of the age. Their assemblage in the palace of the absent prince would then be the meeting described in the Mahâbhârata of the Kshatriya nobles at the Svayamvara of Draupadi, or the family council of a sept of modern Râjputs to settle a moot question of tribal usage.

This conception of their position, startling as it may appear at first, seems to be borne out by at least two facts. To begin with, there is evidence in the poem that they were, or claimed to be, acting under a show of authority. This, which I hold to be the primitive type of the legend, is naturally disguised in the Epic, where their position as lawless intruders is the basis of the plot as we have it. But Antinous, for instance, clearly asserts their right to interfere in the future settlement of Penelope, and Eurymachus claims that they are entitled to sit there, as a Hindu sits in Dharna, until she obeys their mandate;[2] and he also asserts the corporate right of the Suitors to impose a fine on

[1] *Iliad*, ii., 625; *Odyssey*, xiv., 336.
[2] *Odyssey*, ii., 85-110, 192, 208.

Halitherses.[1] In this connection, then, it is important to note that it would seem that the people of Ithaca, even the Boulê or Agora of the island, were on the side of the Suitors. Among them were twelve princes of the island, whose massacre nearly led to a general attack on Odysseus and his party, which was repelled only by direct divine interposition. Nestor, again, the impersonation of worldly wisdom, suggests that the people of the land may hate Telemachus.[2] The poet, it is true, may have heard a legend that the dynasty of Odysseus were themselves interlopers. But of this there is no clear evidence in the poems. Here it is enough to point out that public opinion, instead of being enlisted in defence of a helpless princess exposed to the unwelcome attentions of a body of insolent brawlers, was obviously on the other side. This, it appears to me, lends strong support to the suggestion that in the original form of the Saga the Suitors were kinsmen, not impudent intruders.

Secondly, the suggestion which I have made as to the status of the Suitors seems to be supported by the claim which they distinctly make to divide among themselves the property of the prince who was assumed to be dead. Thus Antinous proposes that after slaying Telemachus they should "keep his livelihood and his possessions," but leave the palace to Penelope and to whomsoever she might be induced or compelled to marry.[3] "They are eager even now," says Philoetius, "to divide among themselves the possessions of our lord who is long afar."[4] And at the crisis of his fate Eurymachus reminds Odysseus that Antinous aimed at being King of Ithaca.[5] All this seems to me,

[1] *Odyssey*, ii., 192, *seqq.*
[2] *Odyssey*, iii., 214, 215.
[3] *Odyssey*, xvi., 353-356.
[4] *Odyssey*, xx., 215, 216.
[5] *Odyssey*, xxii., 45 *seqq.* Antinous is regarded as the leader of the wooers. Noemon appeals to him for information about the fate of Telemachus (iv. 630,

from the point of view of old tribal law, inconsistent with their assumed position as insolent intruders, but quite regular according to the customs regulating the constitu- [illegible] ancient sept or corporate family. Assuming [illegible] and his heir Telemachus out of the [illegible] that the associated brethren [illegible] that one of them should [illegible] and become ruler of the

[illegible] suggests [illegible] ready to hand [illegible] being enforced on [illegible] whom everyone, even his [illegible] dead. To add point to the [illegible] adapt it to a changed con- [illegible] audience would be familiar, [illegible] tribal councillors into a gang of

[illegible] I think, to show that the plot was [illegible] purposes. Thus, for instance, [illegible] charges against the Suitors is that they [illegible] assumed the death of Odysseus. But [illegible] our present version, was only what his [illegible] relatives and friends believed. Telemachus [illegible] that his father had lost the day of his re- [illegible] his bones lie wasting in the rain on land, or [illegible] them in the brine. Penelope says more than [illegible] lord will never return, and the faithful Eumæus [illegible] confident of this as was Eurymachus himself.[2]

[illegible] plans an ambush against Telemachus (xvi., 371, *seqq.*). It is [illegible] the crowning insult on Odysseus, and hence is the first of the [illegible] (xviii., 42, *seqq.*; xxii., 8, *seqq.*).

[illegible] Homeric law for kinsmen to divide the substance of the dead [illegible] case of Phainops (*Iliad*, v., 152, *seqq.*). Hesiod (*Theog*, 606) [illegible] same rule in the case of the man who dies unmarried. For later [illegible] Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (3rd ed.), vol. i., p. 945.

[illegible] 101, 102, 241, 354, 355; ii., 46, 152; iii., 88; xiv., 133, 134; [illegible]

This modification of the plot, again, seems to be established by instances of what may be called stratification of custom, which appear obscurely in the Saga as we have it. Thus, in Homer the wives are purchased; but when Antinous proposes to Telemachus to send his mother away and let her father marry her to whom he will, Telemachus objects that it is hard for him to make restitution to her father Icarius, "as needs I must if of my own will I send my mother away."[1] This may reasonably be taken to mean that Telemachus would be forced to refund the dowry if his widowed mother returned to her parents' home. The only other possible explanation is that the *ἕδνα* or bride-gifts were applied by the bride's friends, wholly or in part to furnish her outfit and provide the wedding feast, "and they were thus indirectly returned to the bridegroom's side."[2] In support of this, it is a custom among many Hindu castes that the bride-price is understood to be spent on providing the wedding feast, and the bride's outfit of clothes, brass vessels, and so on. And it is also true that in India, and elsewhere, we find a custom of providing a dowry side by side with a rule of bride-purchase. But on the whole it seems not improbable that we have in the poems instances of successive stages of marriage law in this respect—bride-purchase, refund of the bride-price after marriage, and, as in the present case, marriage by dowry. It is improbable that all these successive stages existed together in heroic times; it seems more likely that the poet used the old tradition as far as it suited his pur-

[1] *Odyssey*, ii., 113, 114, 132, 133.

[2] Merry-Riddell, *ad loc.* "If on the death of the husband, the widow was not permitted by the heirs to remain in the house, the money she brought with her had to be refunded (*Odyssey*, ii., 132). On the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that proved adultery on the part of the wife involved the return of the ἕδνα or purchase-money to her husband, though curiously enough the only authority for this is the mythical case of Hephaestos and Aphrodite (*Odyssey*, viii., 318)." Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (3rd ed.), vol. i., p. 691.

pose, and was not careful to distinguish what was common in his own times from what was archaic. Or, as Mr. E. S. Hartland suggests, it is perhaps more probable that the older customs which had not quite disappeared would cease to be understood. They would be used for artistic purposes without adequate knowledge of their meaning; and new explanations would have been invented, and these theories would, if not fully accepted by the poet, at least add to the general vagueness and uncertainty as to the old customs.

So, again, it is not clear from the narrative as we have it how far Penelope was to be compelled to marry any particular man against her will. Antinous proposes that she should marry "whomsoever her father commands and whoso is pleasing to her."[1] Antinous and Eurymachus say that they will not depart till she marries him of the Achaians whom she will.[2] Apparently, then, she is to be compelled to marry someone, but she is allowed a certain choice in selecting the man whom she is to marry: a state of things which can hardly be primitive, the conception halting between two opinions. The earlier rule would probably be that the brethren of her late lord decided her fate without consulting her wishes in the matter. Later on, the custom arose that she married whomsoever her husband selected by his will and testament. In Homeric custom it was good law that the father, at least in the case of the first marriage, selected a bride for his son: this we see to have been the case from the speech of Achilles to the envoys.[3] But I suspect that the possibility of Penelope being allowed a

[1] *Odyssey*, ii., 113, 114.

[2] *Odyssey*, ii., 127, 128, 195-200.

[3] *Iliad*, ix., 394. With this we may compare the case of the Basutos, where the father chooses the "great wife" for his son; the others are articles of luxury with which the family has no concern (Cassalis, *The Basutos*, pp. 186, *seqq*.). Among the Sinhalese the father provides a wife for his son when he is grown up; among the Kalmucks the parents choose, but the youth has power to refuse the wife selected for him. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 138, 224.

voice in the matter is a later idea which was interwoven in the primitive Saga to add dignity to the heroine, or because in the process of evolution, some liberty of choice was actually allowed to the widow within the prescribed limits of her husband's kin. By the time of Euripides, at any rate, the feeling seems to have been opposed to second marriage of the widow, and necessarily against any compulsion on her to choose a particular man.[1] And this is quite consistent with the manner of the poet of the Odyssey, who, as in the case of Nausikaa, Arete of Phaeacia, and the women heroines of the Nekuia or Descent into the Underworld, is habitually given to exalt the female sex.

At the same time too much stress must not be laid on facts like these, because indications are not wanting in Homer of what we may call pseudo-archaism. Thus the Homeric Achaians are represented as unacquainted with writing; they do not ride horses; they do not eat boiled meat. When we consider the character of Achaian culture as represented by the excavations of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ or Tiryns, and the indications which the epics present of a high standard of artistic taste, it is most improbable that the Greeks of the ninth or tenth century B.C. should have not attained to the knowledge of writing, horsemanship, and the finer culinary arts. It is perhaps more likely that the poet, to give an air of antiquity to his work, deliberately represented their civilisation as in some respects more archaic than it really was. As Dr. Percy Gardner remarks, such advances in culture were probably kept out of the epics on the same principle that a writer of pastoral idylls in our day would avoid mention of the telegraph or the telephone.[2]

We have thus in the Odyssey in its present form a certain stratification of marriage law and other social custom which

[1] *Troades*, 656-671.
[2] Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 142.

would lead to the conclusion that the Saga was made up from various sources of tradition. The same result, I suggest, follows from a consideration of the rule of succession to the throne of Ithaca.

The position of Laertes, to begin with, is not free from difficulty. Tradition, as we have seen, appears to have varied as to whether Odysseus was really his son or the son of Sisyphus, the Master Thief. The latter view of the case obviously agrees better with the conception of his character as the impersonation of craft and worldly wisdom. Laertes, then, by one theory, represents an earlier, legitimate dynasty to which the family of Odysseus, who are assumed to be usurpers, naturally would desire to affiliate themselves. But of this there seems to be no good evidence in the poem. How he came to be deposed we are not told, and the tradition regarding him was apparently in an uncertain state, because what has been called his Aristeia or rehabilitation in the last book is generally regarded as a later addition to the original poem. We may perhaps see in him a reminiscence of one of those divine kings who are deposed when their strength declines, and they are no longer able to perform the priestly functions which were the business of all primitive kings, and which can be pleasing to the gods only when done by one in the fullest vigour of life. The old plan was to kill them off, and their successors feasted on them, and thus imbibed their valour and other virtues.[1] In England we have the same tradition in the case of the Holy Mawle. As instances of this custom within the Hellenic area, it may be noted that it was a tradition in the island of Syra, that in ancient times people used to live so long, that it was necessary to fling them from a cliff; in Keos old people were forced to drink hemlock when a certain limit of age was reached.[2]

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol i., pp. 217, 233; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 232; *Denham Tracts*, vol. i., p 170; Aubrey, *Remaines*, p. 19 and suppl.

[2] Bent, *Cyclades*, p. 324; *Strabo*, viii., p. 486; *Aelian, V. H.*, iii., 37.

Odysseus, it is true, reigns in the room of his father; but it is not clear that primogeniture, as regards succession to the throne, is fully recognised.[1] Thus, Antinous says that it was necessary that Kronion should appoint Telemachus as ruler, which points to some special custom of divine nomination even of the eldest and only son. Telemachus himself admits the possibility of the chiefs of the Achaians at Ithaca selecting one of their own number to succeed to the crown, while he himself retained the possessions of his father.[2]

Meanwhile (and this I think is of primary importance in dealing with the Saga of the Wooing) there was what we should call an interregnum. Even the Agora is not convoked, and the Suitors, or rather, as we have seen grounds for suspecting, the associated brethren, to use a phrase familiar to Hindu lawyers, administer the kingdom and estate of the prince whom every one supposes to be dead.

We have sufficient knowledge of the results of such an interregnum in savage life; it is made the occasion for all sorts of outrage, disorder, and debauchery. Thus, after describing the usual mourning customs, hair-cutting, mutilation, and so on, Mr. Jarvis[3] writes: "But these usages, however shocking they may appear, were innocent compared with the horrid saturnalia which immediately followed the death of a chief of the highest rank. The most unbounded license prevailed. All law and restraint were cast aside, and the whole people appeared more like demons than human beings. Every vice and crime was allowed. Property was destroyed, houses fired, and old feuds revived and revenged. Gambling, thefts, and murder were as open as

[1] Agamemnon possesses "the sceptre of his sires, imperishable for ever" (*Iliad*, ii., 186), and at any rate in the time of Thucydides (i., 13) and Aristotle (*Pol.*, iii., 14) the heroic kingship was believed to be hereditary.

[2] *Odyssey*, i., 386, 394-396, 397, 398.

[3] *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, p. 66, and compare Stewart, *Residence in the Sandwich Islands*, p. 216.

the day. Clothing was cast aside as a useless incumbrance. Drunkenness and promiscuous prostitution prevailed throughout the land; no women, excepting the widows of the deceased, being exempt from the grossest violation. There was no passion however lewd, or desire however wicked, but could be gratified with impunity during the continuance of this period, which happily, from its own violence, soon spent itself. No other nation was ever witness to a custom which so entirely threw off all moral and legal restraints, and incited the evil passions of man to unresisted riot and wanton debauchery." Further, I may note among some races the rule that the claimant to the throne appropriated the harem of his predecessor. Absalom did this when he rebelled against his father David; and apparently with the intention of claiming royal rights Adonijah sought the hand of Abishag, his father's concubine.[1] Smerdis, the Magian, appropriated the wives of Cambyses.[2] We have historical instances of the disorder at an interregnum when Justinian was dying; "the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen with hope or terror prepared for the impending tumult."[3]

In India, at Gwâlior, and even in the times of Mughal emperors so ruthless as Bâbar was, and determined to suppress any popular disturbance, it was the custom on the death of the monarch to allow a few shops to be plundered.[4] All this, of course, simply means that in the case of the sovereignties of ruder races, particularly when polygamy prevails, the succession is as a matter of course disputed, and disturbance and license prevails. It is, I think, possible that acts such as these may have become normal and customary, and might be adopted by the poet as ordinary accom-

[1] 2 *Samuel*, xvi., 21, *seqq.*; xii., 11; iii., 7; 1 *Kings*, ii., 13, *seqq.*

[2] Herodotus, iii., 68.

[3] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. W. Smith), vol v., p. 245.

[4] Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections* (ed. V. A. Smith), vol. i., p. 357.

paniments to an interregnum. There are, again, various English customs which may be noticed in this connection—such as those where the new mayor on his election is dipped into the sea, or, as at Kidderminster, where "the town is for one hour in the hands of the populace, who meet and throw cabbage-stalks at one another, and who afterwards gather together in order to pelt the newly-elected bailiff and his official predecessors with apples."[1] But these are probably rather instances of some form of sacrifice of a divine person.[2] The record of such customs in ancient Greece is scanty; but it was possibly on this principle that the Spartan market-place, when a king died, was shut up and the ground sprinkled with chaff. The meetings of the Agora were also suspended for ten days after the king's death.[3]

In connection, again, with the plunder of goods at the death of a king we have the case of the burning or destroying the goods of the deceased, in order that in an etherealised form they may accompany him to the other world. Of this we have an instance in the *Iliad*, where Andromache says of Hector: "Thou liest naked; yet in thine halls lieth raiment of thine, delicate and fair, wrought by the hands of women. But verily all this will I consume with burning fire, to thee no profit since thou wilt never lie therein, yet that this be honour to thee from the men and women of Troy."[4] Now this has obviously nothing to do with the plunder or destruction of the goods of the absent Odysseus by the Suitors, but it is important as exemplifying the method with which Homer treats these scraps of primitive custom. With him the burning of the goods of the dead man has become merely a honorific tribute, a testimony to his worth from his subjects.

[1] Gomme, *Village Community*, p. 109, quoting Couch, *History of Polperro*, p. 159; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790, p. 1191; also see Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 379.

[2] Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, p. 295.

[3] Müller, *Dorians* (English Translation), vol. ii. p. 120; Herodotus, vi., 50.

[4] *Iliad*, xxii., 510 *seqq.*

The real motive of the rite was to convey the goods of the deceased for his use in the other world.[1]

In the case of the Wooers, then, I venture to suggest that there may have been some old tribal custom, which, as we have seen in the case of the subordinate chiefs with a right of free messing at the table of the Homeric king, entitled them to entertainment when they assembled for tribal business, such as disposing of the hand of Penelope, that in some cases this right of free entertainment may have been used as a mode of pressure on a family indisposed to accept at once the ruling of the tribal council. We have the same custom in India, where, when a family refuse to accept the decree of the Panchâyat, the meeting is adjourned time after time. The parties concerned have on each occasion to provide a dinner for the councillors, and the pressure of this tax sooner or later forces them to accept the verdict or arrange the matter by compromise. Coupled with this, there may have been a vague tradition of the prevalence of loot and outrage on the occasion of an interregnum, and of the custom of appropriation, by the claimant to the throne, of the harem of his predecessor. Much of this may have been only half-realised, or only imperfectly understood, by the poet of a refined age dealing with a mass of primitive floating tradition. He moulded freely all this material to suit the exigencies of his subject, and the result was summed up in the charge made by Odysseus against the wooers: "The unseemly deeds, strangers shamefully entreated, the

[1] For instances see J. G. Frazer, *J. A. I.*, vol. xv., p. 75, *seqq.*, to which may be added *A Year in Azimbu and Chipitaland. J. A. I.*, vol. xxvii., p. 322; Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 19; Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 9, 21, 34, 134, 203; Macpherson, *Khonds*, p. 56; Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii., p. 68; Gray, *China*, vol. i., p. 261, *seqq.*; Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 230. For the connection between a person and his clothing: Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, voi. ii., p. 95, *seqq.;* Featherman, *Oceano-Melanesiaus*, p. 131; Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 72; Jones-Kropf, *Magyar Folk-Tales*, Introduction, p. lxvi.

men haling the handmaids in foul wise through the fair house, and wine drawn wastefully, and the wooers devouring food all recklessly." "Ye wasted my house, and lay with the maidservants by force, and treacherously wooed my wife while I was yet alive."[1]

And so with the supreme indignity inflicted on the disguised prince, when Ctesippus flings an ox-foot at him.[2] We know that this was but an old rude sport of our forefathers, which must have seemed coarse and unseemly to the refined Greeks who listened to the lay. In one of the Highland tales, for instance, a man is flung under the table "and there was not one of the company but cast bone upon him as he lay."[3] The habit was familiar to the Norsemen, and it was in the course of a rough revel like this that Archbishop Elphege was slain.[4]

But what is particularly noticeable is that with all this stress laid on early custom, of which the real significance had been forgotten in Homeric times, the really serious crime imputed to the Suitors, the conspiracy against the life of Telemachus (though Penelope lays stress upon it), does not form a count of the final indictment which Odysseus lays against them. This alone seems to me clearly to show the mode in which the poet strengthened the situation, and how, on the whole, the ancient folk-tradition overmastered him.

I suggest, then, that there is some reason for concluding, mainly on the basis of stratification of custom, that the original nucleus of the Saga may have been that of a tribal council sitting to dispose of the widow. The kinsmen for the purpose of dramatic effect are turned into a body of audacious ruffians, and the right of entertainment at the

[1] *Odyssey*, xvi., 107, *seqq.*; xxii., 45, *seqq.*
[2] *Odyssey*, xx., 299.
[3] Campbell, *Popular Tales of the Highlands*, vol. ii., p. 490, *seqq.*
[4] Elton-Powell, *Saxo Grammaticus*, ii., 56, intro., p. lvii.; Osburn, *Vita S. Elphegi*, p. 641.

table of the prince and the habitual licence during an interregnum converted into those scenes of insolent revelry. while the attempt on the life of Telemachus was an afterthought added to enhance the tragedy of the situation, but not fully worked into the denouement.

The same conclusion as to the composite nature of the Saga seems to me to be borne out by an analysis of the folktale cycles out of which it was probably composed.

We have already encountered a trace of the great cycle of the Master Thief, which was probably more conspicuous in the original form of the legend.

We have again, in Penelope, an instance of the familiar Forgotten Bride of the folktales. She is left with an infant in her arms in the early days of her married life, while her husband is enthralled by the witch Calypso or Circe. "In the ordinary version," says Professor Crane,[1] "the hero, in consequence of some imprecation, sets out in search of the heroine, who is either the daughter or in the custody of ogre or ogress. The hero by the help of the heroine performs difficult tasks imposed upon him by her father or mother, &c., and finally elopes with her. The pursuit of father or mother, &c., is avoided by magic obstacles raised in their way, or by transformations of the fugitives. The hero leaves his bride to prepare his parents to receive her, but at a kiss, usually from his mother, he entirely forgets his bride, until she recalls herself to his memory and they are both united." But in the Odyssey we have the mere husk of the story, and in particular it omits the Kiss of

[1] *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 71, *seqq.*, 343, *seqq.* In the references which follow I have to thank Miss M. R. Cox and Mr. E. Sidney Hartland for much valuable assistance. For other examples of the Forgotten Bride, *see* Grimm's "Sweetheart Roland" (*Household Tales*, Mrs. Hunt's translation, vol. i., p. 224, *seqq.*); Thorpe's "King's Son and Messeria" (*Yuletide Stories*, pp. 192, *seqq.*); "King's Son and Princess Singorra" (*ibid.*, pp. 205, *seqq.*); "Goldmaria and Goldfeather" (*ibid.*, pp. 441, *seqq.*). The Zulu Version is in Callaway, *Nursery Tales*, p. 120.

Oblivion which is the motive of so many tales of this kind,[1] though in another connection in Homer we have the Drink of Forgetfulness, as we find it, for instance, in the Master Maid and Panch Phul Ranee.[2]

Next comes the cycle of the Unwilling Bride, of whom, irrespective of cases like that of Atalanta, which simply imply bride-winning, we have at least three leading types, the Unnatural Father, as in Catskin;[3] secondly, the Underworld type, as in the case of Andromeda;[4] and, thirdly, the Master Maid. Akin to these is the tale of the Wright's Chaste Wife, who makes her wooers spin flax.[5] Such tales very often end in a Chastity Test, and this, admirably adapted as it is to the plot of the wooing, it is curious we do not find in the Odyssey.

The device of the weaving and unravelling of the web by which Penelope baffles her lovers is a much more difficult matter, though instances of devices of somewhat the same class are not wanting in the cycles of tales which I have already quoted. Thus, in a widely-spread group of Indian tales akin to the Wright's Chaste Wife, we have what may be termed the incident of the Abhorred Marriage Deferred.[6] But here we have no evasion trick, as in the

[1] Miss Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 512.

[2] Dasent, *Tales from the Fjeld*, p. 71; Miss Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 143.

[3] Miss Cox, *Cinderella*, pp. 53, *seqq.*

[4] Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii., pp. 22, *seqq.*

[5] Clouston, *Popular Tales*, vol. ii., pp. 289, *seqq.*; *Book of Sindibad*, pp. 311, *seqq.* The oriental version is to be found in "How the Soldier's Wife foiled her Lovers," *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iii., pp. 105, 119; Temple, *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 407. The original is probably the tale of Devasmita; Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, vol. i., pp. 85, *seqq.* Also see Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, vol. ii., pp. 24, *seqq.*; for the trick played on the lovers, Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, vol. i., p. 359; for the love-gift or covenant-token, *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. ii., pp. 114, *seqq.*

[6] Temple, *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 429; quoting *ibid*, 64, 146, 204; Day, *Folktales of Bengal*, pp. 29, 90, 217; Miss Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 10, 44; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i., p. 119; vol. iv., p. 263. To which may be

case of Penelope, only a promise which the abhorred lover is induced to make, that the marriage shall be postponed for a season in view of the possible rescue of the lady by her true husband.

Putting aside the solution of the comparative mythologists that the web is the Aurora, weft by day and unravelled at night,[1] or Mr. O'Neill's cosmic speculations,[2] neither of which seem very hopeful, we my find a solution of the riddle in a suggestion for which I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Hartland. He has not, I think, worked out the problem in detail; but I understand him to suggest that in our Odyssey the weaving of the web as a shroud for the hero Laertes is a comparatively late and clumsy addition to the Saga, and that the web in its earlier form was really the wedding dress which the bride has to prepare herself, and without which she cannot be married.

As regards this provision of a shroud in anticipation of death, the usual feeling is naturally that such an arrangement is ill-omened, and likely to hasten the death of the person for whom it is intended. This, for instance, is the case in India. In the Kashmir tale, "The Story of the Weaver," the weaver offers the king a piece of cloth to be used as his shroud. On this the king was wroth: "He thought that the man was wishing for his death. 'Keep it for my own funeral pall!' he repeated. 'The man is evidently plotting my death. Take the fellow and behead him.'"[3] In China, however, Professor De Groot tells us:[4]

added, *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. v., p. 87; Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, vol. i., p. 501; Knowles, *Folktales of Kashmir*, pp. 24, 156, 171, 184. With these compare "The Shipwrecked Woman and her Child;" Burton (ed. Smithers), *Arabian Nights*, vol. xi., p. 122 (orig. ed., vol. v., p. 260); Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, p. 39.

[1] Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, vol. ii., p. 163.

[2] O'Neill, *Night of the Gods*, vol. ii., pp. 872, *seqq.*

[3] Knowles, *Folktales of Kashmir*, p. 266.

[4] *Religious System of China*, vol. i., p. 60; Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii., p. 263; Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, vol. i., p. 102.

"Old age being a benefit the Chinese prefer above all things, most people have the grave-clothes cut out and sewed by an unmarried girl or a very young woman, wisely calculating that, whereas such a person is likely to live still a great number of years, a part of her capacity to live still long must surely pass into the clothes, and thus put off for many years the moment when they shall be required for use." We have a somewhat similar idea in the Muhammadan world. In his sixth voyage, Sindbad the Seaman digs his grave for himself in anticipation of death,[1] so do the Egyptian Musalmâns.[2] The pilgrim to Mecca wears the Ihrâm or shroud prepared in the event of his decease.[3] The Calvinistic ideas prevailing in Scotland led to the adoption of the same custom. At her marriage every farmer's wife prepared her shroud, which she kept in her chest of drawers, and aired by spreading it out of doors once a year.[4] There is, so far as I am aware, no evidence of a similar custom within the Hellenic area. That much importance was paid to the shrouding of the dead is certain. In later Greece it was the special duty of the nearest female relatives of the dead man.[5] In Homer it was the special prerogative of his parents; the corpse of Patroklos is covered with soft cloth from head to foot, and thereover a white robe.[6] The dead man, according to Lucian, was shrouded in as handsome a garment as the family could afford, that he might not be cold on the passage to Hades, and that Cerberus might not behold him naked.[7] It seems to have been a general rule

[1] Burton, *Arabian Nights* (ed. 1893), vol. iv., p. 400 (orig. ed. vol. vi., p. 61).

[2] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii., p. 251.

[3] Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Mecca* (ed. 1893), vol. i., p. 139; *Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley*, vol. ii., p. 200.

[4] Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 246.

[5] Becker, *Charicles* (English Translation), p. 385.

[6] *Odyssey*, xxiv., 293; *Iliad*, xviii., 352; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 903; Euripides, *Medea*, 1023.

[7] Lucian, *De Luctu*, 10.

that the corpse should be shrouded in white.[1] This custom of dressing the corpse in his best clothes is very general, and probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave, and not to come plaguing the living for food and raiment.[2] On the same principle Muhammadans dip their winding sheets in the well Zemzem to secure the peace of the dead.[3] In Homer, again, we find mention of the custom of shrouding with soft purple robes the bones, or rather, perhaps, the urn, in which they were contained, since instances have been found of Greek coffins wrapped in finely woven woollen cloth.[4] While then the Homeric Greeks undoubtedly laid considerable stress on the due shrouding of the dead, there does not appear to be any direct evidence that it would be the duty of the nearest female relative of an old man to prepare his winding-sheet in anticipation of his decease, and the inference from the example I have given from Indian folklore would imply that the preparation of the shroud during a man's life would be considered to be an evil omen.

It may be worth while, then, as it is an interesting chapter in folklore, to consider whether in its original form the weaving may have been not that of the shroud of Laertes, but the wedding dress of Penelope. In connection with the secret weaving of the web by Penelope, it may be added that in early Greek folk-belief there seems to have been some idea that weaving was a mystic art. Before they set about weaving the dress for the image of Hera at Olympia, the women had to purify themselves with pig's blood and water;[5] and the same feeling seems to have existed in regard to a kindred art in ancient Ireland, where no male was allowed to be present when dyeing was going on.[6]

[1] Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii., p. 413.
[2] Frazer, *J. A. I.*, vol. xv., pp. 74 *seqq.*
[3] Burchardt, *Arabia*, p. 277.
[4] *Iliad*, xxiv., 796, with Dr. Leaf's note *in loc.*
[5] Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii., p. 575.
[6] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. i., p. 404.

In order, then, to support the interpretation thus suggested of the web of Penelope being really a wedding dress, it is necessary to show from the evidence of custom that there is a distinctive wedding dress, and that the bride is supposed to make it herself or assist in making it.

The subject of a distinctive wedding dress does not as yet seem to have attracted the attention of any member of this society. There is ample evidence to show that a special dress for the bride is used by all races which have risen from the actual barbaric stage.[1] Thus, a Japanese bride wears a bright coloured crêpe dress and a gold brocade girdle.[2] The Chinese bride wears a special paper hat.[3] Among the Mordvins she has a special wedding dress; and her legs are enveloped with bandages till she can scarcely walk, and her head is covered with a red silken kerchief.[4] The Manchu bride wears an embroidered silk cloth over her head;[5] in fact, all through the accounts of these races we find that particular regard is paid to the covering of the head, which is a sacred part of the body, and much exposed to demoniac influence during a crisis in life so serious as that of marriage. The same idea has come down to us in the bridal veil. In Northern India the bride's dress is usually either yellow or red, colours which are supposed to be useful to repell demons.[6] Among the Majhwârs up to the time of the home-bringing of the bride both she and the

[1] On the subject of the wedding dress, Mr. Joseph Jacobs kindly refers me to De Gubernatis, *Usi Nuziali in Italia e presso gli altri popoli Indo-Europei*: Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs of all Nations*; Schröder, *Die Hochzeitsbraüche der Esten*; Ploss, *Das Weib*; Uzanne, *The Veil*; authorities which I have not been able to consult.

[2] *Folklore Record*, vol. i., p. 133.

[3] *Folk-Lore*, vol. i., p. 365.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 439, 447.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 487.

[6] See, for instance, among Doms. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, vol. i., p. 243; and see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii., pp. 28, *seqq*. The Syrian bride wears a pink veil over the izâr, and a black face-veil. Conder, *Tent Life in Syria*, vo ii., p. 251.

bridegroom wear white; after the ceremonial anointing they put on coloured clothes.[1] Our brides, as we all know, wear white, and the veil is a very important part of the costume. In old times the Yorkshire bride used to wear large true-blue bows across her breast, lessening in number and size till they reached her waist. White, red, and every other colour were conspicuous about her gown and hat, except green, which none of the party were allowed to wear.[2] The robes of the Jewish bride were white, sometimes embroidered with gold thread and covered with perfumes.[3] The displaying of the bride to the bridegroom in different dresses to the number of seven is an important part of the Musalmân ritual.[4] The Negro girl in West Africa announces that she is marriageable by parading in the finest clothes she possesses or can borrow.[5] It would not be difficult to add largely to these instances; in fact, the use of some kind of distinctive marriage dress seems to extend all over the world.

As for Greek brides, we have the Homeric case of Nausikaa, who is busied about garments for her wedding: "Thy marriage day is near at hand when thou thyself must needs go beautifully clad, and have garments to give to them who shall lead thee to the house of the bridegroom."[6] We have the fatal robe which Medea in her jealousy sent when Jason was about to wed Glauce.[7] The literary evidence

[1] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, vol. iii., p. 425.

[2] Gomme, *Gentleman's Magazine Library—Manners and Customs*, pp. 61, *seqq*.

[3] Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii., p. 251.

[4] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 217. And see the account of the wedding of Shahrazad and Dunyazad, Burton, *Arabian Nights* (ed. 1893), vol. viii., p. 54 (orig. ed., vol. x., p. 58).

[5] Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 235; *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, p. 155.

[6] *Odyssey*, vi., 486.

[7] Euripides, *Medea*, 1136, *seqq*. With this fatal robe, compare Grimm, "Faithful John," *Household Tales* (Mrs. Hunt's trans.), vol. i., p. 28.

as to the dress of the Greek bride is not very clear; it was probably coloured, and much importance was laid on the veil and hair-net which she wore.[1] The Roman bride wore what was called the *Tunica recta* or *Regilla*, and it is significant that this was specially woven in one piece in the old-fashioned way by an upright loom.[2] This probably means that in early times it was made at home, and by the bride herself, or assisted by her friends.

We are thus led to the obligation imposed on the bride to provide her own wedding dress, or part of it. This is said to be the explanation of the term "spinster," applied even in the present day to unmarried girls. Pennant tells us that fair spinsters in South Scotland give much of their leisure to the spinning of blankets for their wedding portion.[3] On the same principle, in many places at the present time the bride is understood to provide a certain quantity of house linen. This is a general rule in Norway. In Scotland, according to Mr. Gregor,[4] "in the interval between the final contract of marriage and its celebration, the young woman was busy getting in order all her *providan* for her future home. One or more days were given to the *thiggin* of wool from her friends and neighbours. If she had been thrifty, her feather-bed, bolster, blankets, sheets, &c., had been for some time ready in anticipation of the coming event. Besides the *providan* the young woman brought a chest of drawers, or, if that was too costly, a kist. All the *providan* was sent to the future home a few days before the marriage."

The same rule prevails in India. The rough cloth out of which the wedding robe is prepared is usually provided by the friends of the bridegroom, who also presents the bride's

[1] Becker, *Charicles*, pp. 486, *seqq*.

[2] Smith, *Dictionary of Antiquities* (3rd ed.), vol. ii., p. 142; Becker, *Gallus*, pp. 160, 164.

[3] *Second Tour in Scotland*, Pinkerton, *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 479.

[4] *Folklore of North-East Scotland*, p. 88.

mother with a complimentary sheet. But among the Jâts of Northern India every girl is supposed to embroider her own *Châdar,* the sheet or shawl which she wears. These are what are known to English ladies as *Phûlkâris,* or "flowered embroidery," and are used by them as curtains or hangings. It is naturally difficult to procure a genuine specimen, as few Jât women care to sell their wedding robes, and most of those sold to Europeans are made up for sale.

The regard paid to the wedding dress is in some measure due to the common savage belief in the close connection between the dress and the person who wears it. This may be illustrated by the Greek belief that sitting on a girl's clothes-box keeps match-makers away from the house.[1] In this country an old couplet directs that the bride shall wear:—

> "Something old, something new,
> Something borrowed, something blue."

"The something blue" takes, I am given to understand, usually the form of a garter, an article of dress which plays an important part in some wedding rites, as, for instance, in the old custom of plucking off the garter of the bride.[2] "The something old" and "something blue" are devices to baffle the Evil Eye. The usual effect on the bride of the Evil Eye is to render her barren, and this is obviated by wearing "something borrowed," which should properly be the under-garment of some woman who has been blessed with children: the clothes communicate fertility to the bride. Mr. Henderson records the fact of the bride wearing "something borrowed," but curiously enough is unable to explain the principle on which the usage is based.[3]

Much more might be said on the subject of the wedding

[1] *Folk-Lore Journal,* vol. i., p. 219.
[2] Brand, *Observations* (ed. 1877), pp. 371, 390.
[3] *Folklore of the Northern Countries*, p. 35. For some of these facts I have to thank Mrs. G. L. Gomme.

dress; but these facts are sufficient to show the feeling attached to it, and the obligation on the bride to make it or assist in its making, and these are the points which enable us to associate it with the device of Penelope.

In this connection it is important to note that in many tales of the Abhorred Marriage class, particularly in those of the Unnatural Father type of which Catskin is the best example, we have numerous instances where the daughter makes the provision of magic robes a condition on which she promises to consider her father's offer at a later time. Thus, in a Mecklenburgh tale, she demands a dress of silver, a robe stiff with gold, a coat made of crow's feathers.[1] In a Naples story it is a dress of golden bells, and another with the sun in front and the moon behind.[2] In a Calabrian tale she wants a dress of gold lined with rabbit skin.[3] In Peau D'Ane one dress must be like the sky, another like the moon, a third like the sun, and so on.[4]

But in all or most of these stories the dress is provided by the unnatural father, not by the bride. The only exception is in the Finnish tale of the "Three Dresses," in which the father promises to release the girl from the Abhorred Marriage "if she can procure clothes like gold."[5] In another tale of the same collection from Vienne, the girl finds men and women who have been working for seven years at her wedding dress and lace for her,[6] and Miss M. R. Cox kindly refers me in the same connection to the tale of the "Sprig of Rosemary."[7]

[1] Miss Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 156.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 170; also see, for these wedding dresses, *ibid.*, pp. 181, 184, 189, 190, 194, 202, 217, 232, 241, 246, 247, 253, 281, 284, 303, 304, 309, 313, 334, 339, 350, 353, 354, 358, 359, 365, 369, 376, 392, 428; Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales*, pp. 30, 78.

[5] *Cinderella*, p. 391.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

[7] Maspons y Labrós, *Cuentos populars Catalans*, reproduced in Mr. A. Lang's *Pink Fairy Book*.

All this, I admit, does not quite coincide with the device of Penelope, but I think it specially important to note the significant connection of the provision of a special wedding dress with tales of the Abhorred Marriage type, which enters largely into the Homeric Saga. At any rate it gives us, I think, a hint as to the direction in which a solution of this puzzle may be found.

Another important cycle of tales connected with the Wooing of Penelope is that which may be called, The Absent Husband and the Faithful Wife. We find a good instance of this in Thorpe's tale of the King of Spain and his Queen, where the test is a shirt of snowy whiteness which she gives her husband, telling him that it would turn black when she was dead.[1]

The absence of a Chastity Test of the Saga of the Wooing has been already noticed, and it is the more curious, because such an incident was well known in Greek folk-traditions. Thus, Pausanias tells us that the priestesses of Mother Earth at Crathis were tested by a draught of bull's blood,[2] and in a second but doubtful passage he mentions a similar ordeal by making girls dive into the sea.[3] With this we may compare the ordeal at Lanuvium, where girls were taken into a sacred grove, and if the holy serpent accepted food from their hands their chastity was established.[4] In European folklore the test is often a cup which the unfaithful lover spills when he tries to drink it, or a shirt which never needs mending as long as the person who wears it remains true.[5] In oriental folk-

[1] *Yuletide Stories*, pp. 452, *seqq.* Thorpe notes that his tale agrees in substance with the ballad of "Graf von Rom," in *Uhland*, ii., 784, and with the Flemish story of "Ritter Alexander aus Metz und Seiner Frau Florentina"; see Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 531.

[2] vii. 25, 13, with Frazer's note. *Pausanias*, vol. iv., p. 175.

[3] x. 19, 2.

[4] Aelian, *De Nat. An.*, xi., 16; Propertius, *Eleg.*, iv., 8.

[5] Clouston, *Book of Sindibad*, pp. 318, *seqq.*

lore we find it in the garland which does not fade while the owner remains true.[1]

While, however, we miss the Chastity Test in the Odyssey, we have the Test of Recognition. In the Saga of the Return it appears in the familiar form of the wound by the boar's tusk through which the old nurse recognises her lord.[2] We have a good parallel to this in the lay of the Recognition in the French ballad of Germaine, where the situation very closely resembles our version, if it be not derived from it.[3] In the Saga of the Wooing it appears in a much more puzzling and less appropriate form in the incident of the secret bed-chamber of the long-parted pair, in which the knowledge of Odysseus that he had made their marriage-bed round an olive tree in the courtyard of the palace is taken by Penelope to prove his identity. I may, perhaps, hazard the suggestion that in the earlier form of the tale this olive tree was the marriage tree of the lovers, and that a very primitive and obsolete incident of wedding ritual assumed this rather clumsy form in the later recension. At any rate this is not the usual shape in which the Test of Recognition appears in folklore. In the Indian tales, for instance, the tests are a ring, the power of reciting the tale of the heroine or the hero's early life, a wound in the leg inflicted by the heroine, which last comes very close to the simpler Odyssey version.[4]

[1] Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, vol. i., pp. 86, 573; vol. ii., p. 601; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. v., p. 86; Clouston, *Popular Tales*, vol. i., p. 173; Jacobs, *Transactions Folklore Congress*, p. 89. For the negro chastity ordeal see Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 138.

[2] *Odyssey*, xix., 467, *seqq.*

[3] *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. i., p. 109.

[4] Temple, *Wide Awake Stories*, p. 416. At the same time it should be said that there is a parallel in modern Greece to the bed as described by Homer. Mr. Bent came across a bed formed by some boards fixed into the wall on two sides, and supported at the outer angle by the rough trunk of a tree, with one branch left as a step to help the owner to climb the four feet that it was raised from the ground. *Cyclades*, p. 22.

Lastly, among the folklore incidents of the Saga of the Wooing, we have the awarding of the bride to the hero who succeeds in performing some feat of skill. Penelope offers her hand to "whosoever shall most easily string the bow and shoot through the twelve axes."[1] But the test is arranged in such a confused way that the commentators have much difficulty in explaining it, and it would seem here, too, that Homer was using old materials and did not exactly realise the conditions of the contest. The whole conception is nothing but that of the ancient Aryan Svayamvara, the contest in public for the hand of the bride, which appears in so many of the Indian tales,[2] and is perhaps as old as or older than most of the folk tradition which is utilised in our Saga. It is hardly necessary to say that the bow-bending feat appears all through folklore. In Greece we have the case of Timanthes, who, as Pausanias tells us, had himself cremated when he could no longer bend his bow.[3] In the Indian epic of the Râmâyana, Râma breaks the bow of Siva;[4] and by the same feat in the Mahâbhârata Arjuna wins the hand of Draupadi. The rule of fighting for the bride, of which the bow contest is a modified form, is common to all early marriage ritual.[5] We have it in England in the cases of racing for the bride, as for instance in the Rowhope wedding on the Scotch border.[6]

I have thus endeavoured, however imperfectly, to analyse some of the primitive customs and folklore which seem to

[1] *Odyssey*, xxi., 74, *seqq*. Mr. W. H. D. Rouse tells me that an axe lately found explains the matter It has a hole through the blade. He adds that the so-called hammers on the Mycenae warrior vase are possibly axes of the same kind.

[2] Temple, *loc. cit.*, p. 430; Tawney, *Katha Sarit Sâgara*, vol. ii., pp. 126, 432.

[3] vi. 8, 4.

[4] Growse, *Râmâyana of Tulsi Dâs*, p. 128.

[5] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 162; Clouston, *Popular Tales*, vol. ii., p. 216.

[6] *Denham Tracts*, vol. ii., p. 356.

underlie the Saga of the Wooing of Penelope. I do not fear that any member of this Society will accuse me of impiety in thus attempting to dissect one of the noblest pieces of romantic literature. This method does, I believe, enable us in a useful way to realise the place which the poems of Homer occupy in the development of folk-tradition. It tends to corroborate the conclusion which can be reached by other roads that they mark a comparatively recent stage, and that a vast space of time lies between them and the beginnings of the great folktale cycles, to which, as I conceive, they were so largely indebted. This is exactly what is suggested by the archæological evidence. Homer habitually and wisely utilises old material. Sometimes, if we may venture to say so, he almost deliberately modifies the old stories and rites to adapt them to the taste or knowledge of his age, or to enhance the dramatic interest of his narrative. In the process some of them have become so changed as to be almost unrecognisable, but the gain is ours in the dignity, interest, and pathos which his treatment of them adds to his subject.

Folklore has thus, I conceive, its place, though it may be an humble one, beside philology, archæology, and literary criticism in contributing to the discussion of the tangled problem of the origin and development of this great body of poetic imagination. If in some cases it may be said that we are tempted to overstate the evidence, and to read between the lines of the poems more than they really contain, this is only to say that a method of enquiry may, in the main, be sound, though some of the incidental suggestions with which it is accompanied may not stand the test of criticism.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15th, 1898.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Ordinary Meeting, held on the 21st December, 1897, were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new Members was announced, viz.: Miss Sophy G. Edmonds, Mr. T. Rudmose Brown, Mr. F. Edwards, and the Chicago University Library.

The resignations of Mr. T. E. M. Dick, Mr. F. P. Franklen Evans, Mr. W. Rowley, Mr. G. McCorkell, Mr. J. Cooke, Mr. J. P. Lewis, and Miss Marian Green were also announced.

The Secretary, on behalf of Miss Florence Peacock, exhibited a bone (the last vertebra of a rabbit) known locally in Lincolnshire as "the Fox's Face," and rèad a short explanatory note, in which Miss Peacock stated that the belief was that foxes would never eat the joint in question in a hare or a rabbit, "although they will swallow all the rest, 'even the hair,' my informant said, by which I suppose she meant the fur. I only heard this story lately; and it was from a Lincolnshire peasant, who spoke of it as being a generally received belief. She gave me this bone from a rabbit, which I send you, and also another taken from a hare."

Dr. Gaster, on behalf of Mrs. Gaster, exhibited a head-dress worn by persons inviting guests to a marriage in German Silesia, which he stated was probably of oriental origin.

Both exhibits were presented to the Museum.

The Secretary read a note, communicated by Mr. W. B. Gerish, on "The Spectral Rider and Hounds at Randworth

Norfolk;" and some notes from Cyprus, by Mr. F. O. Harvey, of Larnaca, kindly communicated by Mr. G. W. Speth (see *post*, p. 188).

Mr. Raynbird read a paper entitled, "On Original Work in Folklore;" and a short discussion followed, in which the President and Dr. Gaster took part.

Mr. Crooke read a paper by Major McNair and Mr. T. L. Barlow, entitled, "Customs and Ceremonies observed at a Betrothal and Wedding by Mohammedans of the Farmer Class in the district near Ghazi, in the Punjab;" and in the discussion which followed Mr. Crooke, Mr. Gomme, Dr. Gaster, the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson, Mr. Raynbird, and the President took part.

A paper "On a Rain Ceremony from the District of Morshidabad, Bengal," by Sarat Chandra Mitra, was also read.

The following books, presented by their several authors to the Society since the last Meeting, were laid on the table, viz.: *Origines Judaicæ*, by Rev. Dr. Cobb; *Recuerdo al Siglo XIX.*, by A. Guichot; *Sobre el Premio Caballero adjudicado al Libro La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, by A. Guichot; *On the Destruction of Vermin in Rural Parishes*, by Dr. Brushfield.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed for the various gifts to the Society.

CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES OBSERVED AT BETROTHAL, OR "MANGAVAH," AND AT A WEDDING, OR "VIAH" (ALSO CALLED "SHADHEE"), BY MODERATELY WELL-OFF MOHAMMEDANS OF THE FARMER CLASS, IN AND ABOUT THE DISTRICT NEAR GHAZI, IN THE PUNJAB.

By Major McNair, C.M.G., and T. L. Barlow.

Where there is a son in a family of a suitable age to be betrothed, the father, if he have one, or failing him, the nearest male relative, and a friend or two, proceed to the house where there is known to be an eligible girl, and make the formal enquiry whether her parents or guardians are willing that she should be betrothed. Sometimes the question is at once answered in the affirmative; or it may be deferred, pending futher negotiations, for a month or more, or even for a year. Anyway, those on the son's side are expected to return at once and give a full account of the interview to the members of the family, and to express their views on the probable result. When the consent has been really given, and ratified on both sides, the relatives and friends of the youth take a "seer" and a quarter of sugar (about two pounds) and one rupee, which they give to the relatives of the girl in the presence of two or more witnesses. This done, they all repeat together the prayer of peace and biessing, called the "Dhuâh Khyr," and then partake, each and all of them, of some of the sugar. This is done to signify that as their mouths are sweetened by the sugar, so should all matters connected with the betrothal go off pleasantly. They then wish one another salaam, and part, expressing the hope that the betrothal may be a happy one. Upon this occasion neither the youth nor the girl is present, though of course they each form a very good idea of what is taking place.

After the "Dhuâh Khyr" is pronounced, the betrothal is considered solemnly binding; and the parties, though they have not seen one another, are by the acts of their relatives brought thus into a mutual compact, by which they bind themselves to marry when the proper time shall come round. When this formality is over, and the parties have in so many words pledged their troth to one another through the negotiation of their relatives, they are permitted to see one another, but only at distant intervals of time, and are never to be seen together in public.

Should either of the Mohammedan festivals, or "Eedh," come round about this time, it is usual for the family of the youth to present to the girl a whole suit of clothes and a pair of shoes. At the same time she is given a stout rope, or cord, for the purpose of making a swing, or "Peegh." The girls of this part of the country are passionately fond of a swing, and adorn it very prettily. With these gifts there is also added a purse of twenty-one rupees. This presentation is made with a good deal of form, after an old.established practice, and is called in one district the "Thraiwar," in another the "Gudh," in another the "Dindh," and in another the "Pyr Gylah." It is customary out of the twenty-one rupees to give two to the near relatives of the girl, one to the village barber, or "Naie," who acts as a sort of messenger between the families, and one to the "Meerasie," or bard of the village, who is also the genealogist. The youth does not accompany the party which makes this presentation; but he goes to the house of the girl some days afterwards, though on this occasion it is arranged that he shall not see her, indeed she is purposely kept secluded. He is, however, met and received by a few of her girl-friends and relatives who oblige him to swing with them by turns, On this visit he brings with him some rings ("Challas"). These are made of silver or zinc, and even sometimes of brass or iron. He playfully puts them on the fingers of the girls, who are made very happy in consequence,

and become greatly pleased and animated. The next thing he does is to give them some small pieces of wood, of about five inches in length, neatly turned and painted. These are called "Theelleeanh," and are much in the shape of a spool or bobbin, and are used by the women of the country to wind the cotton from which they spin their thread. The cotton, when wound upon them and prepared for spinning, is called "Poonee," from the Hindustani, meaning rolls of cotton prepared for spinning. He reserves two or three of these "Theelleeanh" to be given by the girls to his sweetheart.

When the youth is about to return home after having swung with the girls all round, he is given to eat a rather toothsome piece of confectionery, made from parched Indian corn, or wheat, and mixed with sugar. This is called "Murranday." He is also regaled with some other sweet, made of flour, sugar, and ghee, and termed "Kahar." He is, moreover, made the possessor of a whole suit of clothes from the girl's parents or guardians, with a pair of neatly embroidered shoes.

Should another "Eedh" come round before the marriage, the same process of presentation of sweets and clothes to one another is carried out, but the youth does not accompany those who present them to the girl.

It is usual to betroth girls at a very early age indeed, sometimes when they are little more than mere children. It is a reproach to allow them to grow up to be young women before this ceremony is gone through. In like manner, it is considered the duty of all parents and guardians to see that their sons are married when they are capable of entering into that state. Marriages of course occur between parties of all ages; but it is the general custom of the country for children to be betrothed at an early age, and in accordance with the forms and ceremonies here detailed.

Matters having now reached a stage when it is considered fitting that the engaged couple shall be united in marriage,

the relatives of the youth pay a formal visit to the girl's parents or guardians to ask them to allow the wedding-day to be fixed. If they plead that their finances are too low to admit of their yet entertaining the idea, this is got over by the gift to the girl of a further suit of clothes, in addition to that given during the betrothal, together with any other help that may be required.

A few days later, the relatives of the youth pay another visit to the house; and a propitious day for the marriage being duly appointed and agreed to on both sides, it is arranged that it shall take place on that very day. At this second visit some leaves of "Mendhee," or Henna (Lawsonia inermis) are brought, which are to be used in dyeing the hands, feet, and finger-nails, according to custom. It yields an orange-red dye, and is applied on the nuptial day by both the bride and bridegroom and their companions. Upon this visit sugar is also given, together with a singular string, made of yellow and red thread. This string is called a "Moullee," or "Gudhee," and is intended to register by a series of knots, or "Guddeeanh," the number of days between the day of the arrangement and the day when the wedding is actually fixed. This is done, not only to prevent a mistake, but also to give a pleasing daily interest in the approaching happy event.

After this visit is concluded, the relatives of the youth return to his house, and busy themselves with others in preparing and making up more "Moullees" for the guests who are to be invited to the wedding. As many knots are tied on the strings as there are days before the guests are expected to attend. They are afterwards sent round by special messengers to each of the guests invited.

Early on the day of the wedding, there is of course a great stir at the houses of both the bride and bridegroom, and some of the near neighbours soon make their appearance. A singular custom is now carried out at the bridegroom's house. This consists in placing him on an inverted

basket, or "Kharrah;" and when seated thereon a twisted coloured thread, attached to which is a small ring made of iron, is tied on his wrist. This is called a "Gannah." When thus seated and adorned with the ring-thread, four men appear with a red sheet which they hold over his head as a sort of canopy. This being duly adjusted, the best man, or "Saballah," holds over it a drawn sword or large knife as a symbol of protection, iron being considered the most important defence against all demoniacal influences by both Mohammedans and Hindus.

The next person who appears on the scene is the village potter, or "Kubhâr," who brings with him a perfectly new earthen pitcher, called a "Ghurrolee" (a Sanscrit word). This "Ghurrolee" is then handed to one of a group of gaily dressed village damsels, friends of the bridegroom, who proceed with it to the village well or spring, and fill it with water. As they carry it to and fro, they sing in unison the well known "Ghurrolee" song, the principal words of the melody being, "Vah! Vah! Ghurrolee bhurneanh" which in English would be "Bravo! Bravo! we have filled the Ghurrolee." The pitcher is handed by the girls to the village barber, or "Naie," and then they all disperse.

The barber now takes a "Katora," or brass vessel, in which there is some "Dahee," or curds, and asks the surrounding relatives and friends to put into it what they may feel disposed to give, usually copper coins, or even cowrie shells. This is held to be his perquisite, though he often gives a share to the village bard, or "Meerasie." The coins and shells being removed from the cup, the barber proceeds to anoint the head of the youth with the curds, and then lifting the "Ghurrolee," he pours its contents over both his head and body. After this he takes a paste made from a seed called "Mainh," of a fragrant property, and laves the skin of the youth with it. The bridegroom then retires to change his clothes which become the property of the bard, or "Meerasie." On his return he takes

the red sheet which was held over him, and, wrapping it round his body, he sits again on the "Kharrah."

At this juncture his sister or some near female relative brings in the "Seyrah," which is a head-dress made up of wire and gold-tinsel paper, with coloured tassels suspended about it. The one who adorns the bridegroom with it receives a fee from the house. Another "Seyrah" is then brought in by the gardener of the village, or "Mallear," in the shape of a garland of roses, or jasmine if in season. The gardener also receives his fee. After the bridegroom has been duly adorned by these "Seyrahs," he still remains seated on the "Kharrah" until his father and near relations come forward and announce to him the marriage-gifts that they intend to bestow. These may take the form of a plot of land, or a camel, or cow, and often of a horse. After this announcement the bridegroom rises off the "Kharrah," which is looked upon as a distinct part of the ceremonies, and is termed the "Kharrah lahavee," or "Descent from the Basket." As he gets off he tramples on the cover of the "Ghurrolee" and smashes it into atoms, and by so doing is supposed to indicate that he will thus overcome all difficulties that may come across his path in life.

The youth now takes a seat on a mat or carpet which is spread upon the ground; and the best man, or "Saballah," places himself beside him, having in his right hand either a sword or large knife. Then a brass plate, or "Thallee," and a bracelet of silver, or "Kurrah," are brought in and placed immediately in front of the bridegroom. In the "Thallee" is some sugar.

When things are thus prepared, the friends and guests, who have by this time arrived, advance and place sums of money in the "Thallee," the amounts averaging from one up to ten rupees, or more. This is called "Naindrah;" and the money so given is looked upon as a debt which the family will have to make good at the weddings of others in the village. A register of those who give, and the amount,

is recorded at the time. If the family of the bridegroom should be very poor, they would probably use this money for their own benefit; otherwise they would return it all to the parties after the wedding was over. While the register of these nominal gifts is being made, the bard, or "Meerasie," calls out audibly the names of the donors and the amount given, and he will say: "Is there no turban for me, or any other thing?" So it is customary at this time to make him presents. Should the family or others neglect this fee to the bard, they must expect to have rhymes and verses made up by him to their dispraise, and sung about the village. It is, therefore, thought better by all to keep friends with the bard. The only class of people who are under no fear of these bards are the potters, or "Kumhars," who turn these bards into ridicule on all occasions, and if they meet them at weddings they push them aside and indulge in all sorts of personalities towards them. These bards in consequence are never to be seen at a potter's wedding. It has been known that where a farmer has expected at a wedding in his house to have many of these bards, he has invited some "Kumhars" to keep them off; but when his neighbours hear of it they generally look askance at him for a time, so the practice is rarely resorted to.

We must now return to the wedding party at the bridegroom's house. They are all now preparing for a start to the house of the bride. Some of the women-friends proceed early and alone; others unite in a group, and one of the party beats a small drum, or tambourine, to give notice to the villagers. Shortly after these have left the house, the horse which the bridegroom has to mount, in accordance with old custom, is brought round, decorated with showy trappings and other ornamental accessories. While he waits at the door, the sister of the bridegroom, or nearest female relative, gives him a mouthful of corn, from her lap, and receives the accustomed gift. All eyes are now upon

the bridegroom, who makes his appearance clad in the gayest costume, and with his face full of smiles. He mounts his horse, and the procession is then duly formed. This is termed the "Janj."

Many of the village girls, prettily dressed, accompany the procession for some little distance, singing as they go little love-ditties suited to the occasion. The bards then take up the tune, playing on instruments and pipes, which are accompanied by a drum. This is continued until the procession nears the house of the bride, when the noise of the drum is increased, to give early notice of its approach. Upon this, there issue from the bride's house several of the girls of her neighbourhood, also gaily dressed, and they go a little way to greet the bridegroom, and return in the procession to the house, singing, like the others, little odes and poems in his praise.

Before he dismounts, these girls have some sport with him, and taking each of them a bough of a tree, proceed to excite the horse with them, in order to test the bridegroom's mettle, and find out if he is a good horseman or otherwise. When this little frolic of theirs is over, he dismounts, and proceeds with a few of the party to the door of the house. This he finds closed by a stout bar, held by the sweeper, or "Churrah," of the village, who demands his fee before the barrier is removed. This part of the ceremonies is called the "Horah," or stoppage. The bridegroom and his party now enter the house, and one of the bards of the bride's family offers him a cup of milk, of which he partakes a little, and gives the remainder to his best man, or "Saballah." The bard asks for his fee of seven rupees, but is contented with about one half that amount. Now the barber, or "Naie," brings in "Hulwah," a sort of sweet pudding, of which the bridegroom partakes sparingly, and he then hands the barber his fee. This asking and giving of fees in the bride's house is called the "Lâg."

The time has now arrived for all to take their seats for the

wedding banquet, which had been duly prepared. If the wedding be in the winter, it is held in the house; but if in summer seats and charpais are arranged outside. These charpais are called "Munjee," or "Munjah," in Punjabi. The first dish to be handed round is "Hulwah," which is placed in an earthenware plate called a "Sanuk." Generally four people seat themselves on a charpai, and one dish is common to them all. Another plate, containing cake, is also brought in, and they place some "Hulwah" on the cake, and eat them together. Four people eating together is called "Chokie." As the guests are eating, attendants are going round with "Koozas," or goblets of water, to fill the brass drinking-cups which are placed near them. Other attendants are busy in seeing that every guest is well supplied. The next relay of dishes are curries and "Pillau" with pickles. As the attendants go round, they choose a fitting time, and ask the guests to give them "Dhraddee," which means a piece of "Hulwah" put on a piece of cake; and this they do, that even the servants may feel happy on so joyful an occasion. While the male guests are being feasted, the female guests are looked after in the bride's apartments.

The wedding banquet over, water is brought round for the guests to wash their hands, a basin being held by one man, and water being poured over the hands by another. Then the guests rise from their seats, and what remains upon the dishes is considered to be the perquisite of the village barber, or "Naie." Hookahs are then provided, and all the guests sit round and chat. After a litttle time has elapsed, the village maidens go and call the bridegroom aside, and propose a stroll in the village. This he at once agrees to, and they escort him through the village and back again, beating at the same time a little drum, "Dholkee," and a "Tublah," or "Dhuph," which is not unlike a tambourine. He then rejoins the guests.

Now a very important part of the ceremonies is to take place; for the father of the bride, or her nearest male relative,

addresses himself to the bridegroom's father, or his nearest male relative, and bids that he will bring his son to the "Nikah," or marriage, and to prayers. The little party is then made up, and is generally limited to the bridegroom and his father, the best man, the Kazi, or priest, and two or three immediate friends of the bridegroom. These go into the bride's apartments, where seats are duly prepared for them, and every token of joy and affection is shown to the bridegroom in order to give him encouragement.

The "Lumberdar," or head-man of the village, sometimes called "Malak," or "Mustajur," then comes in and joins the party, when due respect is shown to him, and he receives his accustomed fees from the bride's relations. Adjoining the room where this party is sitting is another room, where the bride and her relatives and friends are collected; the two rooms being divided off from one another by a screen, or "Purdah." Each can hear the buzz of voices on either side, but cannot see one another.

At a signal, two of the most elderly friends of the bridegroom rise from their seats, and place themselves near to the screen, and in solemn and subdued tones they ask the momentous question of the day, viz., whether the bride is willing that the "Nikah," or marriage, shall be solemnised. She is presumed to say "Yes!" but as her voice is not at first heard, the old friends, or "Vakeels," or agents, again address themselves to her bridesmaid, or "Saballee," and girl-friends, saying: "Oh, girls! tell us if the bride says the Nikah shall be or not." To this the bride is heard to say in a feeble voice, "Let it be!" These words are then repeated by the Saballee and all the girls in chorus. Whereupon the old friends return to their seats, saying to all the company that the girl is willing. To avoid, however, any risk of mistake, the question is asked thrice, and on each occasion the old friends repeat the words, "Yes, she is willing." The Kazi, or priest, now turns to the bridegroom, and asks for a confession of his faith, saying, "Are you a

Mussulman? and if so, let me hear you repeat the 'Kalmah,' or creed, and other rules and prayers which a true Mohammedan ought to know."

The bridegroom then replies to the first question in the words: "Shukur, Allah, thanks be to Allah," and to the next: "La Illaha illilla Mahomed ur Rossool ullah," which is to say, "Allah is the only deity, and Mohammed is his prophet." This affirmation all Mohammedans are acquainted with; but as the rules and prayers are not so generally known, they are said by the priest, and the bridegroom repeats them after him word for word. The priest then turns to the father or near relative of the bride, and asks if he is willing on his part to give his daughter in marriage to the youth now present. To this he replies in the affirmative, and adds that "you, as conducting the service, may now proceed with the 'Nikah.'" The priest then addresses the bridegroom by name, and giving the name of the bride, her father's name, and that also of her grandfather, he solemnly asks him if he is willing to marry her according to the rites of the Mohammedan faith, to which he replies: "I am so willing." The next step is for the priest to ask what arrangements have been made about the marriage portion, or "Huk Mâhur." This has to be definitely stated at the time, in the presence of witnesses; for it is an understood thing, that should the man ever divorce his wife, he must return to her the sum fixed as her dowry, and if she should wish, on her part, to get quit of him, and find that he is only waiting for time to put together the amount of her dowry, which by law he has to make good to her, she will say: "I will present, or 'buksho,' that to you, and give you a written document to that effect." The dowry is generally fixed so high that it becomes almost prohibitory on the husband's part to collect such a sum; and hence a divorce rarely takes place. These important civil and religious rites being over, the Kazi offers the customary prayers at the solemni[illegible]riage, and at the conclusion of these,

the whole company repeat together the "Dhua Khyr," or prayer for peace and blessing. The Kazi then has presented to him the usual fee, and sometimes, in addition to this, a whole suit of clothes.

The couple, being now united in marriage according to Mohammedan law, are at length permitted to see one another; and accordingly the girl-friends of the bride ask the bridegroom and his best man, or "Saballah," to come behind the "purdah," or screen. He has then a good look at the bride in her gay attire, and she at him in all his array, and crowned with his mitre-shaped tinsel hat or "Seyrah." She then rises from her seat, having a piece of crude sugar in her clasped hand, and places herself on one side of the door, and he goes to the other side. She offers him the clasped hand, and it is for the bridegroom to try and open her hand and secure the sugar, using only one hand in the attempt; should he venture to bring forward the other hand, all the girls playfully would strike him; and so the fun goes on for some time, and he at last is successful in his endeavours. This part of the ceremonies is called the "Goorvach," or "Sugar-getting and giving." After this they all sit down, and the barber's wife is then called and receives a fee. Then banter and playfulness is carried on between the best man and the bridesmaid, and the young girls of the party; this over, the bridegroom and his best man retire from the bride's apartment to give time and opportunity for further fun and frolic. When they return, being called back by the girls, they find the bride seated on a basket, or "Kharrah," and he is told to lift his bride off the "Kharrah," and endeavouring to do so finds a great difficulty, for the girls have tied up in her lap several heavy weights. In the end he succeeds in raising her off the seat, and placing her on one of two stools, or "Peeree," that have been arranged before. She sits on the stool facing east, and he on the other facing west. The barber's wife, or "Neeanee," then brings some small pieces of cotton and

begins to put them in the bride's hair, which the bridegroom brushes off as fast as she puts them on. The bride then hands to the bridegroom, and to the "Neeanee," a little sweetmeat made from sugar and cardamums, called "Allachi," which they are told to chew and breathe out to one another, which they, however, do not do.

The next part of the ceremonies is for the bridegroom to place his hand on the bride's head and walk round her seven times. This is called "Lahwanh Phairra." After this, he and his best man, or Saballah, go again outside and wait for more surprises.

In a very short time the girl friends of the bride bring to the bridegroom a curious little structure called a "Bairree Ghora" (literally, boat and horse). The base of it is a small four-legged stool called a "Peeree," to each leg of which is affixed a light reed about three feet long, and termed a "Kannah." Round the points of these reeds is tied a string to which flowers are rather prettily hung, while here and there amongst the flowers are attached pieces of dry bread-paste-like dough. The girls carry this in a graceful *chic* sort of way, and present it to the bridegroom, who duly receives it, and then places upon it the usual "Lâg," or recompense, which is given in rupees at the option of the bridegroom, and generally amounts at the weddings of these small farmers to about five or six rupees. This "Bairree Ghora" is then taken to the bride's mother, together with the fees upon it. She takes herself one rupee, gives to the sister of the bride, if she has one, another rupee, and the remainder is handed over to the bride when she is on the point of leaving her own home for that of her husband. The sweeper who has collected the Kannahs, or reeds, receives a gift of five copper pice, which is called "Punj Punjeah."

The next variety in the way of amusement is for the girls to bring in a Thallee, or brass plate, on which is an inverted brass cup, or "Kuttorah," which has been previously well

greased. The bridegroom is asked to lift the cup with one hand by his fingers, and to make three trials. It is of course next to impossible to lift the cup, and there is great fun and and merriment over his vain and fruitless attempts to grasp it. It can only be done by the stratagem of waxing the tips of the fingers beforehand.

Now the time has come for the father of the bridegroom to take his part in the ceremonies, which consists in his handing to the barber's wife, or Neeanee, for presentation to the bride's mother, a small basket called the "Vurree Surree." This basket contains some "Moullee," or red and yellow skeins of silk, and some combs dyed to a brilliant red colour. Then there are also in it sweetmeats of several kinds, the Allachi, or cardamums, the Loung, or clove, the Badam, or almond, the Kishmish, or raisin, the Gurree, or cocoanut kernel, also called Narril, the Misri, or sugar-candy, and so on, of a variety of flavours. The barber's wife then takes one of the combs from the basket, and some of the skeins of silk, and proceeds to comb the bride's hair, and to plait into it some of the silk. After this there is a slight pause, and all thoughts are fixed on the bride.

Now come in the friends and villagers to inspect in another place the bride's trousseau, or "Dhâj," which has been previously arranged upon bedsteads, or "Manjas," on which coverlets are spread. This is the time when the villagers form and express their opinions as to whether the parents of the bride have done their duty by her or not. The "Meerasie," or village bard, stands near the "Manjas," and calls out in an audible voice the articles given as presents to the bride, viz. so many jewels, and their probable value, so many dresses or suits of clothes, and other articles of attire, so many cooking utensils, or "Bhandah," or "Dekhcheeanh," and whether a cow, a buffalo, a camel, or horse has been added or not. This is called the "Dahj Hoke." The "Meerasie" is rewarded for this duty by a rupee or so, a turban, or "Pagree." It is thought advisable to fee the

bard well, for in proportion as he is paid will he compose verses in praise of the bride and her parents; and this is well understood by all the community. The " Dhurzee," or tailor, and the "Mochee," or shoemaker, then come in for their customary fees.

It is now getting to be about time when the ceremonies at the bride's house are drawing near to an end; so the bride retires, and adorns herself with one of the best of her bridal dresses and a pair of shoes worked in silver and gold. The bridegroom also changes his suit and puts on embroidered shoes, and they are now prepared for a start to their new home. It is customary sometimes for the ceremonies to be carried on for two or three days; but this entails a great deal of expense, and as a rule they are completed in one day.

The news is very quickly conveyed to those outside the house that the bride and bridegroom are about to appear, and the procession begins to be formed in its due order. The bridegroom takes his leave of the bride's parents, relatives, and friends; and his father does so also, asking at the same time if there are any village-dues that he ought to pay. He is told that the "Musjid," or mosque, has to be remembered, the water-carriers, and others; and he leaves as much as he can well afford to one and all. During this interval the "Doolee," or sedan chair, which is to convey the bride to her new home, is taken into her apartment by her near relatives; and she is duly placed in it, and the framework of which it is composed is covered over with a red curtain, worked neatly in silk. She is now " Goshah," or hidden from view—literally, veiled.

As soon as the " Doolee " with the bride is carried out, there is great crying and lamentation amongst the women of the household, which does not cease until the " Dolee " takes its place in the train, borne on the shoulders of four men of the " Machee " caste. The procession is not materially different in its arrangement of musicians and followers from that which escorted the bridegroom from his home in

the morning, except that it is now accompanied by the bride and some of her attendants.

The musicians head the procession as usual, and are made up of players on the "Dhole," or drum, the "Dufalee," or tambourine, the "Tuthnee," or flageolet, followed by a player on a large horn of brass, called the "Thurree." Next follows the bridegroom, or "Dulha," on horseback, having on his head the Seyrah, or high tinsel hat, and a sort of Shahanah attire. Around and about him are his friends and followers, and immediately in his rear the best man, or Saballah, carrying now in his right hand a small staff of lacquer-work in various colours, the baton, or official badge of his office. The best man is often one of great physical strength, and he defies the world to wrench the baton from his grasp, and walks and gesticulates to that effect. As soon as the "Doolee" takes its place in the procession, a number of copper pice are then held over that part of it where the bride's head is, and the pice are thrown amongst the poor villagers who have congregated round, and a general scramble for them is kept up for some little time. The "Meerasies," or bards, then sing the praises of the bridegroom, his personal virtues, and his worthy actions, and he hands them another fee. Then a cry is raised from mouth to mouth, and is taken up by all the "Meerasies:" "Shâh bânh! Shân bânh! Sâth kullee Shâh bânh! Bravo! Bravo! to your seven generations!"

In the fever of this excitement the musicians commence to play, and the procession moves off, accompanied for a short distance as before by the girls from the village, singing their little love-songs. When nearing the home of the bridegroom, the drums are beaten louder to give timely notice to the villagers, who turn out on all sides to welcome the return of the bridegroom with his bride; and the girls as before go out a little distance to greet its arrival, and accompany it to the house with every sign of rejoicing.

The Shadi festivities are now nearly at an end; the bride-

groom enters the house, and the bride in her "Doolee" is put down at the door, surrounded by her female attendants. Then the carriers, or "Machees," with the musicians, move off, and the crowd begins to disperse.

We will pause here for a moment to examine the dress of these female attendants. This consists of cotton paijamas, or "Suthun," of various colours and textures, a loose jacket reaching to the knees, called a "Choli;" and covering the head, and hanging in folds at the back of the figure, and falling almost to the ground, is a white or coloured scarf, or sheet, called a "Chadur;" while on the feet are embroidered shoes. In the way of ornament to the person they have gold nose-rings, or "Natts," and some wear nose-rings in the shape of cloves, called "Loungs." In the hair on the forehead are flat gold ornaments containing verses from the Koran and termed Dawaeen, or Blessings. On their right thumbs are worn gold rings with mirrors inserted in them, which are called "Arsee," while on both arms are several silver bangles, or "Vanganh," graduated from the wrist upwards.

Returning to the bride, she is now helped out of her "Doolee" by these attendants, and awaits at the threshold the coming of her mother-in-law, who as a rule rarely graces the marriage ceremonies with her presence. While she waits she stands holding the door-frame, or "Mohât." Presently the mother-in-law appears, bearing in one hand a small cup full of water; advancing to greet the bride, she holds the cup over her head and makes a move round it, and then drinks off the water, saying: "I welcome you to my house, and promise you my love." After this, members of her husband's family come forward and give their signs of recognition in the way of presents, and the promise of other gifts to come. In some cases a cow or buffalo is given, or a camel or a horse, as in the case of the bridegroom. The bride still stands at the door-frame; and this standing prior to entrance is called, "Mohât nappâee."

Attendants now bring in small bundles of loose cotton, which they lay down on the ground at the threshold, and there is then a general cry from the relatives: "Come in! Come in!" The bride now steps on the cotton, and from that moment is considered to be an integral part of the family; and the idea conveyed by the cotton is that as it is soft and smooth, so shall her path in life be. The family "Mullah," or priest, then comes forward with his Koran and bespeaks a blessing; and then he, and all others to whom fees are owing, receive their due payment. A garland of flowers is then placed over the bride's neck by the gardener's wife, and the mother-in-law now brings in the "Churree," a sort of sweetmeat like "Hulwah." She hands it to the bride, who partakes a little, and then puts a small portion into her mother-in-law's mouth, saying as she does so: "I shall be dutiful to you, and we shall feed together in love and happiness." The bridegroom then advances to receive his bride, and the last ceremony is over.

Farmers' houses in the district are generally built rather low and with flat roofs. There are frequently three or four huts in an enclosure called a "Vairrah," and one of these is given to the newly married couple.

What a Bridegroom of the Punjab should be, from a native point of view.

Oochâh our siddhâh burchâ hâr
  Nuzzur baz hâr
Vaal thay Akheeânh kallee kahânh hâr
  Dhundh Dhundkund hâr
Maththâ khullâh thay chourrâh
  Banh lummânh thay thugra
Châthee our morrainh bhur poor thay chourray
  Lukh lummânh thay chottâ
    Châl Ghorâh dhee
  Mooch chânh thay awâz sherânh hâr
    Thaiz Hurrun hâr.
      Thay bay Darr.

Tall and upright as a lance,
With a hawk-like glance,
Nose both arched and aquiline,
Hair and eyes as black as a crow;
Teeth of the whiteness of ivory,
Forehead both broad and wide.
Neck prolonged,
Arms lengthy and powerful,
Chest and shoulders broad and full,
His step that of a well-bred horse,
His voice and moustache as those of a tiger.
In swiftness of foot like a deer,
And his whole character without fear.

What a Bride of the Panjâb should be, from a native point of view.

Oochâh hour siddhâh burchâ hâr
Akheeânh Hurrun hâr
Nâkh thay bhurvuthay kammân hâr
Pual rung kahânh dhee
Pipleeânh theerânh hâr
Dhundh chumbbâh hâr
Matthâ khullâh thay chourrâh
Dhoun kunj ânh hâr
Buth dhi dâar hâr
Châl mornee hâr
Awâz sithar hâr
Shurm saar kacchorn hâr.

Tall and straight as a spear,
With lustrous eyes like a deer,
Nose and eyebrows delicately arched;
Hair the colour of the crow.
The eyelashes pointed as an arrow,
The teeth white and delicious as the jasmine
The forehead prominent and assuring,
Her neck like that of the kunj crane
Her figure tapering as a wasp's;
Her walk stately and beautiful as a pea-fowl,
Her voice sonorous and melting as the harp,
And her manner bashful as the turtle which withdraws its head.

Glossary.

[*Thanks are due to Mr. William Crooke for kindly preparing this Glossary of the Principal Native Words in the foregoing Paper.*—Ed.]

allachi (*ilâchi*), cardamom.
arsee (*ârsi*), a thumb-ring.
chadur (*châdar*), a woman's sheet.
chokie (*chauki*), four persons dining together.
chulla (*chhalla*), a ring.
churrah (*chuhra*), a man of the sweeper caste.
dahee (*dahi*), curds, curdled milk.
dhâj (*dahez*), a woman's dowry.
dhole (*dholki*), a little drum.
dhuah khyr (*dua khair*), a prayer for blessing.
dhuph (*daf*), a tambourine.
doolee (*dol*), a sedan chair.
dufalee (*dafâli*), a player on a tambourine
eedh (*'îd*), a Muhammadan festival.
ghurroli (*gharoli*), a little pot.
goorvach (*gurvach*), eating of sugar.
gudhee (*gadhi*), a string.
huk mâhur (*haqq mahr*), dowry.
hulwah (*halwa*), a sweetmeat.
janj (*jhânjh*), a procession.
kalmah (*kalima*), the Musalman creed.
kharrah (*khâra*), a net for chaff.
kubhâr (*kumhâr*), a potter.
lahwanh phairra (*lawa pherna*), to cast rice on the wedded pair as as they revolve.
LaIllaha illiha Mahomedur Rossool ullah (*La Ilâha illâ 'llâhu : Muhammadun Rasûlu 'llâh*), the Musalman creed—"God is one God and Muhammad is his Prophet."
loung (*laung*), a clove.
machee (*machhi*), one of the fisherman caste.

mallear (*mâli*, *mâlakâra*), a gardener.
mangavah (*mangaua*), the asking, betrothal.
meerasie (*mîrâsi*), a village bard.
mendhee (*mendhi*), henna, *Lawsonia inermis.*
mochee (*mochi*), a shoemaker, cobbler.
moullee (*mauli*), a hair-string.
murranday (*murandi*), a sweetmeat.
musjid (*masjid*), a mosque.
mustajar (*mustâjir*), the lessee of a village.
naie (*nâi*), a barber.
nurril (*nâryal*), a cocoanut.
peegh (*pîgh*), a swing.
peeree (*pîrhi*), a stool.
pillau (*palau*), rice boiled with spice, &c
poonee (*pûni*), a ball of cotton.
saballuh (*shâhbâla*), the "best man."
sanuk (*sahnak*), a plate.
seer (*ser*), a weight, 2¼ lbs.
seyrah (*sehra*), a marriage veil.
shadhee (*shâdi*), rejoicing, marriage.
suthun (*suthan*), a pair of drawers.
thallee (*thâli*), a plate.
theeleeanh (*tîliân*), spools for spinning.
thraiwar (*taharâwar*), settling, arrangement.
thuree (*tarri*), a horn.
tublah (*tabla*), a drum.
tuthnee (*tathni*), a flageolet
vakeel (*wakîl*), an agent.
viah (*vyâh*, *byâh*), marriage

TUESDAY, MARCH 16th, 1898.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The admission to membership of the Free Public Library New Jersey, U.S.A., was announced, also the resignation of Mr. G. W. Speth.

The following books presented to the Society were laid on the table, viz.: *The Quarterly Review of the Polish Folklore Society*, presented by the Society; *Transactions of the Shropshire Archæological Society* (Series II., vol. x., pt. i.), presented by the Society; *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, by W. E. Roth, presented by the Queensland Government.

Mrs. Gomme read a paper entitled "The Anthropological Value of Traditional Children's Games," and exhibited a number of lantern slides illustrative of her subject. In the discussion which followed Miss Lily Grove, Mr. W. Crooke, Mr. Brabrook, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Kirby, Mr. F. Green, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Higgens, and the President took part; and the Meeting concluded with a very hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Gomme for her paper.

REVIEWS.

Aplech de Rondayes Mallorquines d'en Jordi des Reco (Antoni Ma. Alcover, Pre.). 2 vols. Palma: D. Juan Bta. Palou. Vol. i., 1896; vol. ii., 1897.

It is not much more than two years since the Archduke Ludwig Salvator of Austria published, in the Majorcan dialect and in German, a dainty and interesting collection of Majorcan folktales. And now we have from Señor Alcover, a priest of the island, a further harvest. Señor Alcover several years ago gave the world, first in local periodicals and afterwards in a volume of sketches, some seven tales. Since then the happy idea of forming a collection of folktales has occurred to him; and we have in these two volumes the first instalment. Unlike the Archduke Ludwig Salvator's collection, which consisted partly of sagas and partly of *märchen*, Señor Alcover has given only *märchen*, with one or two drolls. They are well selected and well told, comprising variants of many of the European stock, and are worth the attention of students of folktales. The example of the best collectors has been followed in noting the names and residences of the original narrators, and generally the places and dates of the telling. It affords us much pleasure to bid God-speed to the author in this pious work of preserving the traditional lore of the islanders. If we may make one suggestion, a glossary appended to any further volumes would assist foreign readers to whom the dialect is unfamiliar, but who may be able to read ordinary Spanish.

Religions of Primitive Peoples. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897.

The most fascinating of all subjects to the anthropologist is that which traces the primitive religious ideas of the human race.

Here the psychologist and the student of institutions meet on common ground, and neither of them can afford to dispense with the help of the other. Among savage peoples religion and social organisation and medicine have not yet evolved distinct functions. Hence their manifestations cannot be studied apart: to understand one, we must understand them all. This is a truth too often neglected by writers on what is called the Science of Religion, a term justly criticised by Dr. Brinton in the opening pages of the book before us, and rejected as "a little presumptuous—or, at least, premature."

It is no wonder, therefore, that Dr. Brinton, in accepting the task of delivering the second of a series of courses of lectures, planned on similar lines to those of the Hibbert Lectures, decided upon discussing the Religions of Primitive Peoples. And it is hardly necessary to say that the six lectures here published contain many of the fruits of his long devotion to anthropological inquiry, and are most suggestive and stimulating. The subject is vast, and could only be treated in outline; but of that outline every stroke and almost every dot will repay attentive consideration.

On the threshold the author expounds his methods and definitions. But there is one definition, and that the most important of all, which we have not been able to discover in any explicit form. True, by putting together a number of his remarks we may succeed in obtaining a fairly correct notion of his idea of what religion is. Religions are indistinguishable from superstitions: "the principle at the basis of all religions and all superstitions is the same." Religion does not consist of a belief or set of beliefs; "yet a common source, a common end in view, and the closest analogy of means to that end, bind all in one, representing an indefeasible element of human nature." Religion is, therefore, universal, and always has been, in humanity. Further, it is founded upon the postulate "that conscious volition is the ultimate source of all Force"—in other words, that Mind, Will, Intelligence, is behind the sensuous, phenomenal world, and the corollary that man is in communication with this Mind. Religion arises from the subconscious or unconscious intelligence; and therefore, lastly, it is in irreconcilable conflict with science, the offspring of the conscious intelligence. From these scattered indications we shall not presume to frame a definition of religion,

which Dr. Brinton might probably and properly reject, although we may think we have nearly enough grasped his meaning. But it would certainly have been convenient had he given us a concise definition, or said why he preferred not to do so.

Passing on to the origin and contents of primitive religions, Dr. Brinton, as will have been gathered from the preceding paragraph, is in accord with most anthropologists in finding the recognition of the supernatural spontaneous, and in rejecting Herbert Spencer's euhemerism. Animism, "the belief that inanimate objects are animated and possess souls or spirits," he ranks only as a secondary phenomenon, holding that "the idea of the world-soul, manifesting itself individually in every form of matter from the star to the clod, is as truly the belief of the Sioux Indian or the Fijian cannibal, as it was of Spinoza or Giordano Bruno." We have no space to discuss this view of the origin of religion, a view which, in a certain sense and within limitations, we should be much inclined to defend. After some important pages on the special stimuli of the religious emotions the author considers in three weighty chapters the three forms of primitive religious expression, in the word, in the object, and in the rite. He attaches more value to the myth—or the word concerning the gods—as a primitive religious expression, than most recent writers. He believes it to be an error to suppose with Professor Robertson Smith that the myth was derived from the ritual, pointing to such peoples as the Bushmen and the Andamanese, peoples in a very low plane of civilisation, who have no ritual, but many myths. Cases where the myth is derived from the ritual he holds to be secondary, the original myths having been forgotten. Here it is probable that the conclusions attacked have been too sweeping, having regard to the universal tale-telling propensities of humanity; and Dr. Brinton's observations may well lead to a reconsideration of the whole subject of the relations of myth and ritual. He believes that "many myths arose directly from words"—Professor Max Müller's theory; and that it is "an error to suppose that myths were at first mere stories and received their religious character later. The true myth," he tells us, "has a religious aim from the outset, and is not the product of an idle fancy. . . . . The savage understands perfectly the difference between a sacred and a secular story, between a narrative of the doings of the gods handed down from his ancestors, and the creation of the idle fancy brought

forth to amuse a circle of listeners." That some myths may have arisen from words, the perennial tendency to indulge in folk-etymologies may well induce us to believe: the question is, how many, and which? The danger of speculations of this kind is that they are apt to be mere guesses, of no more value than folk-etymologies themselves. Nor does Professor Brinton's division of stories, as here given, exhaust the distinctions. Beside sacred sagas and *märchen* (including drolls) there are what we may term secular sagas—stories told in good faith as true, but in their origin neither cosmical speculations nor relating to the doings of divine personages—many of which may ultimately become sacred. All three classes of tales are probably derived from a single kind of narrative believed to be true, from narratives in which there was no dividing line between natural and supernatural, between human and extra-human. The savage may now recognise the difference between sacred sagas and *märchen*; but the want of differentiation even yet between the religious and other aspects of savage life points to a difficulty in the theory of the original distinction between stories with a directly religious intent and other narratives, which we think the learned author has not fully considered.

Dr. Brinton's criticism of the terms *fetish* and *fetishism* follows similar lines to that of Dr. Jevons; and it were much to be wished that the result might be to drive these terms from scientific writing, or at least to confine them to savage amulets and the use of savage amulets, particularly Negro and Bantu. The observation on totemic animals or eponymous ancestors, as "not to be taken literally," is more doubtful. "They were not understood," we are told, "as animals of the sort we see to-day, but as mythical, ancient beings, of supernatural attributes, who clothed themselves in those forms for their own purposes." It is impossible to read either savage tales or descriptions of savage rites without being led to the conclusion that impermanence of form is a cardinal belief in the lower culture. Not merely does the savage find it impossible to draw a line between the brute creation and humanity, but he seems to go further, and to hold that the same personage, now equally as in former ages, may appear sometimes and in some circumstances as a human being, and at other times and in other circumstances as a wolf, a snake, a tree, or even a stone. Identity of personality seems to be quite independent of shape. Hereto we may trace the survivals in comparatively civilised society of

werewolves, the legends relating to megalithic monuments, and the kind of tales familiar to us in Ovid and in modern *märchen* as well as one of the lines of thought which converged to form that curious institution, still so little understood, of totemism.

Another assertion to which we must take exception is that communal marriage is "a gratuitous hypothesis only," and that, as we gather, it has never "prevailed in a permanent community." Absolute promiscuity, it may be conceded, is merely an hypothesis. But the remains of group-marriage both in custom and in language are very widespread. And if it be not now found in full force everywhere, at all events it may safely be said that almost all over the world there are still existing, or on trustworthy record, institutions, practices, and modes of speech hardly explicable save as survivals of group-marriage. The matriarchal system, or what perhaps is better termed mother-right (since the mother was not necessarily or frequently the ruler of the family or clan), which Dr. Brinton admits to be the first discernible in early times, is probably such a relic; and it is usually found associated with ceremonies, rights, duties, and traditions pointing in the same direction.

In the final chapter the lines of development of primitive religions are indicated, and their influence on the evolution of civilisation insisted on in thoughtful and eloquent pages. We do not propose to follow the distinguished author any further. This notice, of necessity cursory and fragmentary, has already outrun the limits of our space. If we have challenged some of his opinions (and we have found ourselves at issue with him on more points than are here mentioned), it is only fair to recollect that in the present state of anthropological science nobody could write a book on the subject without enunciating many a disputable proposition. By discussion we hope eventually to arrive at conclusions acceptable to the majority of reasonable students; but we are as yet far from any such result. Dr. Brinton's lectures, by reason of their compression, bear a value quite disproportionate to their size, and should not be overlooked by any one to whom the problems of the history of religion are a matter of living interest

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RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. By ALFRED WIEDEMANN, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Bonn. London: H. Grevel & Co., 1897.

DR. WIEDEMANN'S *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* was published in Germany in 1890, and quickly won its way to esteem and popularity. It was the clearest, most comprehensive, and at the same time most scholarly account of our present knowledge upon the subject that has appeared, and its translation into English must therefore be warmly welcomed. We are beginning to realise what an influence the religious beliefs of ancient Egypt have had upon the thought of the civilised western world, and even upon dogmatic Christianity; a lucid and accurate description of what they were ought consequently to be of interest to others beside Egyptologists.

The arrangement of Dr. Wiedemann's book is admirable. In the official cult of Egypt the worship of the Sun-god held the first place; and it is accordingly with the worship of the Sun-god and the ideas which gathered round it that the volume begins. A special chapter is devoted to that passage of the solar bark through the underground world, which symbolised the passage of the soul through the realms of the dead. Next comes an account of the other chief divinities of Egypt, as well as of the deities whose cult had been imported from abroad. Amongst the latter was the Semitic Baal, who made his way into the valley of the Nile in the age of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties. Then we have chapters on that curious and puzzling feature of Egyptian religion—the worship of the sacred animals; on Osiris and the doctrines of immortality and redemption connected with him; on magic and sorcery, and on the use of amulets. Every department of Egyptian religion is thus treated in detail.

The worship of the Sun-god, and its development in historical times, have a bearing upon the so-called "Solar Theory" of mythology, which both its advocates and its opponents would do well to consider. In the official cult the solar conception of divinity tended to swallow up all else; Ra, the ancient Sun-god of Heliopolis, was identified with the other deities of Egypt, and came in time to absorb them. The king himself was from the earliest days

of the united monarchy regarded not only as the "Son of the Sun," but as an incarnation of the Sun-god himself, and in the pantheistic monotheism of Khu-n-Aten, the royal reformer of the Eighteenth dynasty, the visible symbol of the all-pervading deity was found in the solar disk. The sun, in fact, became the mask which hid the one god of abstract philosophy from the human senses. That the Sun-god, Ra, should have been thus prominent in Egyptian religion was perhaps due to the position occupied in the prehistoric age by the city of which he was the patron. Heliopolis was from the first a city of priests and religious influence; its schools were celebrated even as late as classical days.

Ra of Heliopolis had a rival in Osiris. It is still doubtful whether the original seat of the Osirian worship was at Mendes in the Delta, or at Abydos in Upper Egypt; in either case Osiris was primitively a Sun-god, and it is beginning to be probable that his name and cult had alike been brought from Babylonia. In Egypt, what we may term the legend of Osiris assumed a special shape, and crystallised into a form of religion which eventually swallowed up all the other faiths and varieties of worship or belief in the valley of the Nile. From the outset the worship of Osiris was closely connected with the doctrine of immortality; Osiris was the Sun of night, the judge of the dead, through faith in whom the soul could pass in safety through the grim horrors which guarded the entrance to the next world. Osiris had been slain and had risen again from the dead, and his faithful followers had power given them to rise again in the same way. In his son Horus, Osiris lived again in another form; for Horus was the Sun of the morning, the avenger of his father, and "the Redeemer" from evil of those who put their trust in him. In Tum, the Sun-god of the evening, the divine essence revealed itself in yet a third form, thus completing the Egyptian Trinity. The influence exercised through Alexandria by these Egyptian conceptions upon early Greek Christianity is one which still requires to be worked out.

I have spoken of the worship of the sacred animals as a puzzling feature in Egyptian religion. The explanation of it which I put forward fifteen years ago, and which has been to some extent confirmed by recent discoveries, still seems to me the only one that is at all plausible. Animal-worship, I believe, represents the religion of the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt, that part of the population which cultivated the fields and built the pyramids for

the more civilised ruling classes. We have recently learnt that the Pharaonic Egyptians were intruders into the valley of the Nile, and that they had brought their culture from the East. The tombs of the older population which have been explored by Professor Flinders Petrie and M. de Morgan belong to the Stone Age; when the Egyptians of history first entered the country of their adoption they were already acquainted with the use of metals. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, states that it was not until the reign of the second king of the Second dynasty that the worship of the sacred animals was introduced into the official cult; and the statement is probably correct. Ra and Osiris and the other gods of the Pantheon were the deities of the cultured immigrants from Asia; in the bull Apis or Mnevis we must see a survival of aboriginal fetishism.

A. H. SAYCE

GESCHICHTEN UND LIEDER AUS DEN NEU-ARAMÄISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN DER K. BIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN, VON MARK LIDZBARSKI. Weimar: Emil Felber, 1896.

IN this volume M. Lidzbarski has brought together in a German version a variety of popular stories and songs written in the Aramaic dialect, which prior to the spread of Arabic was spoken for centuries before and after Christ from the Mediterranean as far as the Tigris. Most of them were collected, and some even written down, for Professor Sachau during his travels in 1884 and 1888 in Syria and Mesopotamia. The sections B and D of the book are of special interest as containing some thirty-six folklore tales, many of which are similar to tales given in Æsop, Grimm, and in other collections of European stories. The first and longest tale in the collection, "The History of the Wise Chikar," is of peculiar interest, because the book of Tobit already implies its existence; and competent scholars, *e.g.* B. Meissner (in Z.D.M.G., 48, p. 171), have concluded that it is contemporaneous with the book of Esther.

In order to give an idea of the nature of a popular story so little known and with such a long pedigree, I append a translation of the first paragraphs of it, as it is contained in a sixteenth-century Armenian MS. (No. 2048 in the new catalogue) of the

library of Edjmiatzin, copied by me in the year 1891. The date of this version is not known, but it may be as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century. It also exists in an old Georgian version.

That the tale was very popular among the Armenians is seen by the great number of MSS. in which it occurs. In the seventeenth century the text was popularised and put into vulgar Armenian; and a Bodleian MS. of that century has it in this form. As early as 1708 it was printed along with the tale of the Brazen City—which usually accompanies it in the MSS.—at Constantinople under this title: "The story of the Brazen City and the Questions of the Damzel and the Youth. And the history of Khikar and of King Phahloul (? Pharaoh) and the rest. Which is a type of the world. In the Metropolis of Constantinople, under the Shadow [of the Church] of the Mother of God." The editor of this first edition was one Sargis. A second edition appeared at Constantinople in 1731 under the title: "The Story of the Brazen City and the instructive and helpful discourse of Khikar the Sage. With other useful discourses. Printed in the year of our era 1106, in the press of the humble Astouatsatour" (Theodotus). A third edition appeared in Constantinople at the press of R. J. Qiurqdshean, A.D. 1862.

The older MSS. give a very good text, apparently superior to the Syriac versions, and perhaps translated from a lost Greek text. A feature of special interest about the Armenian version is that in these older MSS. of it, the names of the Babylonian gods to whom Khikar prayed are added. In other versions of the tale Christian feeling has eliminated this archaic text. A critical edition by the present writer, along with an English translation, will shortly be issued by the Cambridge Press, as part of the edition now being prepared by Professor R. Harris and other scholars.

THE HISTORY AND PRECEPTS OF THE SAGE KHIKÂR.

1. In the years of the reign of Seneqarim, the king of Assyria, I, Khikâr, was chief notary in the court of king Seneqarim. Sixty palaces I builded, and sixty wives I took, and I was in my sixtieth year. But I had no offspring. Then I took secret counsel,[1] and I entered in before the gods. I lit a fire and cast on it sweet-smelling incense,[2] and I fell down before them, and I prayed and said:

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[1] Or "I celebrated a sacrament or mystery."

[2] Other MSS. add: "I offered presents and sacrificed victims."

2. "O my lords and my gods,[1] help me; and give me offspring. For behold, I am grown old. And I am come near unto the tomb. And what do men say? Lo, Khikâr is dying, and he hath no son to bury him, nor daughter to lament him; and I have no heir after my death who shall inherit my wealth, and cast dust with his hands upon me, that I may not be left unremembered amidst my kinsmen."

3. Then a voice came from the gods and said unto me: "O Khikâr, thou scribe, 'tis not ordained for thee to have offspring. But thou shalt only take Nathan, thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son. And he shall fill up the place of thy name amidst thy kindred."

4. And when I heard this answer from the gods, I forthwith took Nathan, my sister's son, of one year old. And I clothed him in Byssus and purple, and I decked him out as a king's son. And I nourished him in all good things, till he was seven years of age. Then began I to teach him the literature of the sciences and the philosophy of wisdom. The answers unto letters and the replies made in disputations [I taught him], nor did I rest from teaching him day and night. And I surfeited him with teaching and with wisdom, as with bread and water. [&c.]

F. C. CONYBEARE.

THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH. By W. CROOKE, B.A. 4 vols. Calcutta, 1898.

IF in every Indian province there were found an officer with knowledge and enthusiasm equal to those of Mr. Risley and Mr. Crooke, we should soon have a vast accumulation of information upon the natives of the great Oriental Empire under British rule. In these four volumes, comprising about 2,000 pages, Mr. Crooke has brought together the results of minute enquiries conducted by him for many years. Well may he say: "No one can undertake with a light heart such an enquiry as this connected with a population aggregating nearly forty-eight millions of souls; and, at the outset, had I been fully aware of the difficulty of the survey, I should have hesitated to undertake a work which has been carried out all through side by side with the multifarious duties of a District Officer." It must have been a toil of no ordinary kind; and it has laid the Government of India and every student of anthropology under a deep debt of gratitude to the scholar who

[1] Other MSS. add the names of the gods, viz.: "Belshim and Shimil and Shamin," probably old Assyrian deities. No other version, I believe, preserves these names here.

has had perseverance to carry it to an end, thus doing for the North-West Province what Mr. Risley has done for the adjoining province of Bengal.

Like Mr. Risley's work, it is arranged in alphabetical order, and forms an encyclopædia of the ethnology of the province. Unlike that work, however, the physical statistics are not given in separate volumes, but at the end of each article. All the information, therefore, about every tribe or caste is found collected together: a plan which undoubtedly is of advantage to the student. All the volumes are illustrated with reproductions of excellent photographs of typical individuals of the principal tribes: a proceeding which adds greatly to the interest and value of the book.

The body of the work is prefaced by a valuable introduction discussing the origin of caste, the anthropometry of the province, and some of the peculiarities of the caste system as exhibited in the information collected, such as the connection of caste and occupation, nomenclature, and various questions arising out of marriage customs. The result of the enquiries is to show that no certain data can be found for the ethnological basis of caste. Ethnological distinctions have become blurred in the course of time, and the numerous military, social, and religious revolutions that India has seen. Anthropometry, however, exhibits a certain stratification of races. The occupational origin of the castes, advocated by Mr. Nesfield, is open, at least in the extreme form in which he enunciated the theory, to grave objections. The problem is complicated by the constant rise of new religious sects out of the bosom of Brahmanism, and by social ambitions which play continually into the hands of the Brahmans by the identification of the chief god of every rising tribe with one of the great deities of the Hindu pantheon and the invention of a legend to account for it. Probably no one theory is sufficient to solve the questions of the origin of the various castes. Many influences have combined to form the existing state of things; and the accumulation of evidence must go much further before we can arrive at definite conclusions.

For students of folklore, perhaps the most interesting questions centre around the tribal nomenclature, the food-taboo, and the marriage rites and prohibitions.

Recent enquiries have given renewed importance to the study of totemism; and we naturally turn to the tribal nomenclature and

the food-taboo for evidence on the question. It is not wholly wanting. But what must strike every attentive reader is the small amount and the inconclusive character it betrays. We may take as a favourable specimen the first tribe described in the book. The Agariya, a Dravidian tribe found, few in numbers, in the hill-country of Mirzapur, is divided into seven exogamous septs, whose origin is set down by Mr. Crooke as totemistic. The septs, or clans, are those of the Markâm (tortoise), Goirâr (a kind of tree), Paraswân (the palása tree), Sanwân (said to be derived from *san*, hemp), Baragwâr (the *bar* tree, *Ficus Indica*), Banjhakwâr (said to be from *beng*, *frog*), and Gidhlê (vulture). The taboos correspond: the animals named may not be killed or eaten by the septs bearing their names, and the trees and hemp may not be cut or used. But beyond these the flesh of monkeys, horses, crocodiles, lizards, and snakes is tabooed, apparently by the entire tribe. While the only tree for which they have any active veneration is the *sâl* tree (*Shorea robusta*), a tree held sacred by more than one of the Dravidian races. No legend of descent is given. The sacrificial and festival customs have, so far as appears, no reference to the totems. The tribal occupation is that of iron-smelters, and the tribal deity consequently is Lohâsur Devi, the goddess of iron, who is worshipped with sacrifice of a she-goat. The village-godlings receive worship at their own shrines, and are obviously local or communal deities. Besides these, there are the ancestors worshipped by their families; but (though the statements on the subject are a little difficult to reconcile) none but the immediate father and mother are distinguished in any manner. Descent is in the male line. The only rule of exogamy is consistent with totemism, namely, that no one may marry within the sept. Tattooing is practised, but has no relation to descent, and the marks enumerated do not include any of the seven objects from which the clans are named.

Here either the revolutions and mixture of blood have so changed the earlier customs of the tribe as to efface the most striking elements of totemism, or totemism was never fully developed. The first alternative is not impossible. There is evidence that the tribe is being penetrated by Hinduism, as in fact almost all the aboriginal tribes are. But the other alternative cannot be excluded otherwise than by assuming the universality and complete development of totemism at an early period

of human history. If this be (as we believe it) a favourable specimen of the evidence afforded by the careful collections Mr. Crooke has made, it is clear that we cannot look to this part of India for any decisive answer to the questions put by current controversy.

Most of the tribes described in these volumes trace descent and succession to property through the father only, though the mother is recognised for the purpose of sexual prohibitions. Polyandry is tolerated in very few. A number of marriage rites, however, point to a very different state of things in former times. Among many tribes the bridegroom's father's sister's husband acts as match-maker and performs parts of the ceremony. Among others, prominent parts are taken by the bridegroom's or bride's maternal uncle or sister's husband. Mr. Crooke often points out that this interference is a relic of matriarchy. It would seem to be so wherever the maternal uncle intervenes. But in the other cases it appears to go beyond this, and to be a relic of group-marriage. The father's sister's husband, or the sister's husband of either of the principals, would have no place in any community organised on the basis of mother-right alone. But where group-marriage obtains, the father's sister's husband would be the mother's brother; the bridegroom's sister's husband would be the bride's brother; the bride's sister's husband would be the bridegroom's brother, and would be entitled, jointly with the bridegroom, to the bride. The cases in which the sister of the bride or bridegroom takes part are not, perhaps, quite so strong. Where, for instance, the bridegroom's sister bars his entrance to the marriage-chamber until satisfied with a gift, we probably have a simple survival of the transition from mother-right to father-right. This, however, can hardly apply to the custom among the Kols, by which the bride and bridegroom are anointed for five days prior to the wedding, the latter by his sister, but the former by her sister-in-law, that is to say, her brother's wife, who in group-marriage would be the same person as the bridegroom's sister.[1] The Kols have another curious custom: the men do not carry about their own babies, but "if two brothers live together they generally each carry about the child of the other." Female kinship would not account, as the author conjectures, for this

[1] Compare the birth-ceremonies of the Kharwâr, where on the sixth day the mother is bathed by her brother's wife or her husband's sister. The death-ceremonies of many tribes seem to be founded in the same relationship.

practice, without the addition of group-marriage or fraternal polyandry. The kinship names point to group-marriage. Nor can, we think, the incident found among the Dusâdh tribe be construed as Mr. Crooke suggests. The bridegroom enters the oratory of the bride's family gods and worships them. The bride's sister waits at the door, and will not let him issue until he gives her a present, "apparently a survival of marriage by capture." With submission, it seems to us it is rather a relic of marriage by purchase, where every member of the bride's family or clan had to be satisfied with a recompense for the loss of her, or, more likely still, of a stage where the bridegroom was received into the family and became entitled to all the sisters.[1] The complicated ceremonies of marriage in many of the tribes indicate the crossing of many influences, and it is very difficult to unravel them. Yet on the whole the evidence seems to us to be in favour of an early predominance of group-marriage.

The legends, though many of them are tedious and rambling enough, present many features of interest. That told to account for the burial of Kabîr in two places recalls the legend of Saint Patrick. The Julâha who took the linseed field, covered with blue flowers, for a river and tried to swim in it, has his analogues all over Europe. The story is given at length by Christian (*Behar Proverbs*, p. 137), to whom Mr. Crooke refers. M. Sébillot's Breton tale of "How the Jaguens journeyed to Paris," is an exact parallel, down even to the counting of the simpletons to make sure that none of them had been drowned. (*Contes Pop. de la Haute Bretagne*, No. 37, vol. i. p. 243.) One of the commonest tribal sagas is that which ascribes the origin of the tribe to the child of a pregnant woman saved from some massacre: a tale unquestionably founded in mother-right. In fact, when one considers the overwhelming predominance of inheritance through the father, the remains of mother-right, both in usage and story, are very numerous and striking, forming a strong contrast with the few and uncertain traces of totemism.

The foregoing samples of the importance and value of the information packed into these four volumes will give but a poor and

[1] The point, however, cannot be finally determined without statistics. It were greatly to be wished that Mr. Crooke, or someone equally competent, should give us a complete study of the marriage customs of the natives of India.

utterly inadequate notion of their wealth of detail. The care with which the enquries have been made is shown again and again by such observations as: "There is no trace of the couvade"; "There appears to be no trace of the Palamau custom" of anointing the bride with oil or *ghi;* and so forth. Mr. Crooke has not been content to record what he has actually observed. He has noted what has been recorded of tribes kindred with, or in an analogous condition to, those with which he is dealing, and has asked his correspondents and informants specifically on these heads. His own remarks are not obtruded. Where given, they are shrewd and to the point. If we cannot always assent to them in their entirety, we diverge with diffidence; for they are invariably entitled to the respect due to a clear, calm judgment and intimate knowledge of the people among whom the author administered the benefits of British rule.

The reference to Bhuînhârs on pp. 128 and 129 of vol. iv. should be to Bhuiyars.

PAUSANIAS'S DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. Translated, with a Commentary, by J. G. FRAZER, M.A., LL.D., Glasgow; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-law. In 6 volumes. London: Macmillan and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

THE long-expected edition of Pausanias by Mr. Frazer has at length appeared. It is dangerous to keep people waiting, for they either expect more and more, or grow more and more irritable; but this work will console these and satisfy even those. Pausanias taxes the editor more than most authors, because he speaks of so many different things; but Mr. Frazer is equal to the emergency. We knew that Mr. Frazer was at home in folk-lore, but now we find him a competent guide in archaeology: indeed, there is more archaeology than folk-lore in the book. Not only this; he can tell us about natural history—white blackbirds, breeds of silkworms, poultry, honey-bees; about earthquakes, topography maniacal possession, the derivation of words, and a host of other things. On subjects which he does not profess to know he gets the

best authority he can, and is nearly always successful in putting a case lucidly and well. Now and then, it must be admitted, he is rather too anxious to tell all that can be told. For instance, the explanations of some scholars are really too absurd to be maintained; it is not necessary to mention them when that is so. If they are mentioned, they should be condemned with more vigour than Mr. Frazer sees fit to use (ii. 40, &c.) One such is an explanation of Roscher's (iv. 384). We confess also to being a little bored with the washerwomen who are always washing soiled linen in ancient streams. As the grumbling fit is upon us (which Mr. Frazer will kindly put down to the delay) we will add, that much space is wasted by citing titles of books in full wherever they occur. A complete bibliography at the beginning, with abbreviations in the text, would have saved many pages and made the book easier to read. Why did not Mr. Frazer adopt the excellent plan of Darenberg and Saglio's *Dictionary* by putting them at the foot of the page? We have also to point out, that the reproductions of coins are of very little use, and none have more than a shadowy shape. Often, again, where other illustrations are given, the descriptions of them are needlessly full. The maps and plans in the work are excellent, and some of them are new, but it is a pity the source was not indicated on each.

Now we have blown our blast and feel better; and we have nothing but admiration for the work as a whole. No such work has ever been attempted hitherto since specialism came into vogue. To criticise this book in detail would be quite impossible in the space at our disposal, and all we can do is to give some idea of its chief contents, suggesting here and there an omission or, perhaps, an improvement, but with all respect and gratitude for the compiler's extraordinary completeness and accuracy. We shall consider first the Introduction and Translation, secondly the Commentary, according to subjects.

The *Introductory Essay* on Pausanias is really one of the most interesting parts of the work. Mr. Frazer, after describing the nature of the book and some points relating to its composition, gives a classified description of its contents. He groups together all the statements about (say) ancient monuments, myths, painting, sculpture. He collects all that bear on the character of the man; shows that he wrote from first-hand knowledge, mentions the authors whom he quotes, and compares his method with theirs.

But herein lies the value of the essay: it is no mere impressionalist sketch, dashed off at a white heat, but each separate statement is supported by a reference. This is by far the best account of Pausanias we ever saw or heard of. Mr. Frazer is a little hard on the style of Pausanias, and exhausts a large vocabulary of uncouth adjectives upon him; we do not admire his style, but we confess we think he does not deserve to be called a corn-crake. We may observe in passing that on page lxviii. the argument seems unsound: "If we take his word for what he tells us he did not see, we must take it for what he tells us he did see." Things need not be all true, or all lies. We do believe Pausanias; but that is because he gives the impression of being an honest man, and because he proves to be correct where we can check him.

As regards Mr. Frazer's translation, he has made his corn-crake sing quite melodiously in English. The style is simple and clear, and in many parts fresh and musical. See, for instance, viii. 2, 2 *fin.*, and x. 23, 3, where if the Greek be compared, Pausanias will be acquitted of always croaking like a corn-crake. As for accuracy, Mr. Frazer's translation may be depended upon. Hitherto Thomas Taylor's has held the field, and if we may judge from a very limited acquaintance with that work, and from an intimate knowledge of one other, he is not to be depended on. There are only a few places where we venture to say Mr. Frazer has departed from the Greek; and in none of these is the general sense misrepresented. In vii. 21, 1, the sentence about the doves and the oak tree should be "thought that there was more truth in the doves and the oracles from the oak tree than in any other;" the word "oracles" does not apply to the doves. In ix. 29, 1, "revolving year" should be "revolving seasons," as in the swallow song *καλὰς ὥρας ἄγουσα, καλοῦς ἐνιαυτούς.* The phrase *ζῷα ἄριστος γράψας* (i. 29, 15) seems to us certainly to mean a "life-painter," *i.e.* painter of animals *and men*, as *ζῴγραφος* does.

There are one or two other places where Mr. Frazer's judgement may be called in question. It is strange, for example, to read of a time when men fed on roots "of which none were edible, and some were even poisonous" (p. 374); the Greek means "some of which were not only bad to eat, but were poisonous." Mr. Frazer is also somewhat fanciful in his translation of numerals. Why should *δεκάτῳ* be translated "ninth" year (p.

375)? The idiom used in speaking of recurrent festivals does not apply here. Or would Mr. Frazer translate the first chorus of the Agamemnon, "It is now the *ninth* year since we came to Troy?" But these are trifles compared with the excellent quality of the translation as a whole. Mr. Frazer is happy, too, in his translation of divine epithets; what could be neater than Artemis, Lady of the Lake?

Appended to the translation is an *apparatus criticus*, which will be welcome to scholars; though we might have looked for some account of the manuscripts of Pausanias, and their value.

We now come to the commentary, which occupies four volumes. The archæological and typographical notes are of the highest excellence. Mr. Frazer here summarises the works of Leake, Dodwell, Lolling, and all other travellers of repute; but this is not all. He has wisely gone over the ground himself, with the result that not only are his descriptions vivid and exact, but they often supplement or correct those of earlier travellers. Mr. Frazer includes descriptions of buildings not described by Pausanias, where any such exist. If any one wishes to know what Greece is really like, we recommend him to read this Commentary. Dip in it where you will, you cannot fail to be interested. Whether it be a vivid picture of ancient life (ii. 131), a pretty description of scenery (as of the road to the Styx, iv. 248, or the Scironian Road, ii. 547, Cape Malea, iii. 386), or a minute history of excavations, Mr. Frazer is equally at home. The capture of Corinth is a vigorous piece of narration (iii. 61). It is hard to begin the romantic story of Mycenæ without finishing it; and this is only one out of many such. The notes on Mycenæ, Megalopolis, Eleusis, Olympia, Delphi, and similar sites, are, indeed, each a complete and interesting essay. We doubt if accounts so good are to be found in any other English book. Under Delphi, in particular, he has much to tell that is new. The French are an unconscionable time in publishing their results; but they have relaxed their rules so far as to allow Mr. Frazer to give a plan of their discoveries, and two splendid plates of the Siphnian sculptures.

There is no question that this is the best account of Delphi that exists. So, too, of the Heraeum at Argos, and of Lake Copais. Athens occupies a whole volume, and here, too, the results of the latest excavations are included. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Frazer did not extend his travels to Branchidæ,

where he would have seen a great deal more than M. Haussoullier has deigned to publish. We are delighted to see Mr. Frazer cros swords with Dörpfeld, and come off without a scratch. Dörpfeld's learning commands all respect, but he is no god to bow down before and worship; and many of his theories show lack of judgement.[1] Mr. Frazer, to change the metaphor, pricks those bubbles with a grace; and we hope that Englishmen will be less likely than ever to accept the ridiculous notion that the Greek theatre had no stage. We differ from Mr. Frazer in his account of Pylos, and we think that if he had been there he would never have spoken as he does about the southern entrance to the bay. To talk of stopping up an entrance three quarters of a mile wide, and open to the waves of the sea, with ships fastened together, is so absurd that the Spartans would never have dreamt of alleging this intention as an excuse for their failure. That the Spartans did intend so to close the openings they spoke of, we are convinced, and therefore believe that those openings were two, leading through the sandspit into the present lagoon of Osman Aga. And is Voidiokoilia the name of a little bay? We greatly doubt it; the name was certainly given to the flat sandy knoll close by, and though it may now include the bay, it certainly includes the knoll.

A few details may be mentioned. We do not notice a reference to Penrose's convincing explanation of the lighting of Greek temples. Surely *Potami* (ii. 423) ought not to be given as a proper name; it is simply the modern Greek word for "river." The meaning of Larissa is probably "hill" or "fort," and this might have been stated (iii. 206); also that the Lesbian Larissa still bears its old name (*Lársa*). The head of the Platæan serpent (v. 302) is now in the museum at Constantinople.

Mr. Frazer has a great deal to say about art from the commonsense point of view; and he has pricked another bubble (iv. 378) in showing how shallow are often the arguments drawn from style alone. Several plates are given of conjectural restorations of ancient pictures, and a number of good process-blocks of statuary. These contrast with the coins, which, as we said, are bad. This is the greater pity, because they are so useful in showing the type of ancient statues long since gone the way of all marble.

[1] We add a few references to Dörpfeld's theories: vol. ii. pp. 357, 374, 553; vol. iii. p. 254; vol. iv. p. 52; vol. v. pp. 512, 519, 529, 542, 583.

In matters of philology Mr. Frazer is not so successful; for though he has occasionally consulted good authorities, he is apt to regard printed matter with too great respect. For example, some one wrote to the *Classical Review* and said that νερό could could not be connected with νηρός (νᾱρός) "water;" and this is quoted (iii. 13). But this change of η to ε before an accent is well attested in modern Greek. What would the writer in the *Classical Review* say to θεριό (=θηρίον)? Again, ἡλιαία is not so "uncertain," but that it is probably akin to ἀλέες, ἀόλλεες, and such other words, "all together;" it means an "assembly." However, there are other good linguistic notes, as in ii. 71.

But for us Pausanias is valuable chiefly because he is a veritable storehouse of myth, ritual, and religion. This, too, is Mr. Frazer's especial hunting-ground, and we turn with lively anticipation to his commentary on such points. In mythology we have the advantage of comparing Mr. Farnell's excellent work, which was not available for Mr. Frazer in the earlier volumes. Mr. Farnell is generally fuller (see ii. 128), as might be expected, because he had nothing else to write about. It is a pity that Aphrodite Pandemos is translated "Vulgar," which assumes a popular error for all cases where the name is used. "Popular," or "of the people," is nearer the truth, and would apply to all ages in different senses. Does Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ really mean "in memory of" Hippolytus (ii. 195)?—rather, we think, "at" the place sacred to Hippolytus. In iii. 53 is given a most interesting account of the religious drama, Apollo slaying the Python, pieced together with much skill from various sources. Something may also be learnt of the mysterious Mysteries (see Index), but we are sorry Mr. Frazer thinks a full discussion "out of place" (ii. 504 ff.) The connection of gods and animals is a most important subject, on which we may find a great deal of information here. We have, for instance, gods associated with animals in worship: Wolf Apollo, Bull Dionysus, Goat Dionysus, Horse Demeter, Horse Poseidon; deities are represented with animal heads, riding upon an animal (as Aphrodite upon a goat) or carrying an animal. Or again, Dionysus is the averter of foxes, Zeus of flies, Apollo of mice and locusts, and the hero Hercules of locusts or worms. Two excellent notes give an account the one of the transition from animal to god (v. 87-90), the other of the way in which a creature may be worshipped as the averter of its species, and so

become a god (vi. 512). We should have been glad if all the evidence for animal gods had been collected together into an appendix, and connected with totemism. But the author of the standard work on totemism seems to have grown very cautious; the word is hardly mentioned in the whole book, and does not occur in the Index. As regards ritual, the commentary is also rich: priests don the mask of the god or of some animal; there is a good description of the *Bouphonia*, discussed more fully in *The Golden Bough*; new matter is adduced to explain the Torch Race (ii. 392); there are traditions, survivals, and substitutions in human sacrifice; ceremonial abuse; sleeping in or on sheepskins; painting of gods' faces red (iii. 20); and a host of other things. Or to take legend: parallels are given to most of the important legends mentioned, as to the creation of man out of clay, the discovery of fire, the sleep of Epimenides, Pandora's box, the bed of Procrustes, Pirene smitten out by a horse's hoof, the story of Medea.

Mr. Frazer is equally at home in restoring a folk-tale out of bits, as those of Melampus (iii. 428), and of Alcathous (ii. 528). He has much to say of taboo (though that word also is omitted from the Index, and we think never occurs in the work), rules of chastity, bean-eating, iron, special kinds of shoes, and so forth. Among ruder conceptions we have the worship of rough or conical stones, fettered gods (iii. 336), beating for fertility, scourging at puberty (iii. 341), ordeal of ducking for witchcraft, with a simple explanation (iii. 338), ordeals by drinking, with a capital explanation of the oath by the Styx (iv. 253), the worship of Hanged Helen and Strangled Artemis (iv. 279), self-mutilation an expiatory sacrifice in substitution for the life of the victim (iv. 355), talismans of cities, ancient and modern.

We have funeral games and funeral rites, the great Games being traced to a funeral origin; pouring of blood upon a grave and feeding the dead (v. 227, where Mr. Frazer might have got more evidence from the tombs near Rome, and the terra-cottas in Roman museums, which often have holes in them for this purpose); and death masks, but without mention of the paper in *Folk-Lore* (vol. vii., p. 350) on that subject. Divination, agricultural customs, disguise of sexes, all have their place. This rapid sketch will give some idea of the varied contents of these volumes.

Even the mouse may help the lion, and we venture in conclusion to offer a few suggestions. In ii. 18, Mr. Frazer gives a neat little note about the eyes on Greek ships, but he does not mention that the custom is still kept up in the *caiques* of the Levant, as the writer has often seen. The explanation suggested, that the boat may see its way, is undoubtedly correct; and Mr. Frazer might have got an interesting confirmation from a book called *Under the Dragon Flag*. The author of that most thrilling work is guiltless of all folklore; but he gives the most vivid description we have ever read of a splendid Chinese junk, that has sailed the seas for a century, and the same explanation of the eyes was given him by its owner. In ii. 160, the extraordinary ascetic priesthood of the Selli at Dodona might be mentioned; "that wash not the feet, and sleep upon the ground." The pillar under the head of Athena Parthenos (ii. 318) offends all artists, and yet undoubtedly existed in ancient times; but why should we suppose Pheidias put it there? He is most unlikely to have done such a thing; but it may well have been added after some earthquake that shook the statue. With the ghostly warriors of Marathon (ii. 443), we might compare the tramp of Nicholson's war-horse, still heard by the shivering mountaineers at night. A good instance of the persistence of local tradition (iii. 163) is the Mound of the Priests by Carmel, which appears to have been always so called, though the Arabs do not know why. The "towers" of Maina (iii. 393) recall the *κούλαις* or "towers" of the Greek islands, which may be found in every village and vineyard. The mania by which a man behaves like an animal (v. 382) is well illustrated by the story of Nebuchadnezzar. The Mountain of the Sphinx (v. 138) struck the writer as curiously resembling a couching tiger or cat-like animal, and this probably helped to localise the legend, perhaps originated it. Captain Cook's Voyages would have furnished parallels to the offerings of pigs (v. 29); the islanders threw one into the grave when one of his men was being buried. Possibly the connection of water with serpents (v. 44) is illustrated by the ægis, and by the device used by the Moqis, scales with the dependent snakes, to represent a thunderstorm (Bourke, *Snake Dance*, pl. xix.). The discussion of altars within the temple (iii. 560) is not complete without pointing out that a table of offerings always stood in the temple, and this is in principle an altar. The reason why children, for

KING ARTHUR AND THE TABLE ROUND. Tales chiefly after the French of Crestien of Troyes. With an account of Arthurian romance, and notes, by W. W. NEWELL. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1897.

THESE beautifully printed volumes comprise four retellings after Crestien: Erec and Enide (the Enid of the Idylls, the Geraint of the Mabinogion), the episode of Alexander and Soredamor from Cliges, the Knight of the Lion (the Lady of the Fountain of the Mabinogion), and Perceval (the Peredur of the Mabinogion); further, various episodes from the Merlin (in the Huth MS. version), the Lancelot, and the English metrical Morte Arthur.

It is very difficult to understand upon what principle the selection is made. Various stages and phases of the Arthurian romance are represented; but there is no attempt at a logical, a chronological, or a topographical exposition of the romance. Such merits as are possessed by Malory, and works founded on Malory, of giving an orderly summary of the entire body of Arthurian legend are lacking. It would have been better, in my opinion, for the translator to have confined himself to Crestien, but to have amplified this section so as to enable the English reader to dispense in some measure with reference to the twelfth century French poet. As it is, the summaries are neither full nor precise enough to allow of Professor Newell's work being used as a substitute for Crestien, though it must be gratefully admitted that it affords considerable assistance to students of Arthurian romance who are not professed old French scholars. Mention should also be made of the general purity and felicity of the translator's style. Without sham archaicism, he has, as a rule, succeeded admirably in rendering the delicate romantic tone of his originals.

Leaving the Cliges episode out of account, the stories taken from Crestien are already accessible to English readers in Lady Guest's Mabinogion. Reading the two versions together one thing is apparent, the immense superiority of the Welsh. If the latter is, as maintained by many, a simple prose abridgment of the French writer's diffuse verse, one can only say that the Welshman was a born story-teller, who not only knew what to select, but who is continually brightening up his original with picturesque and vivid touches. Let the unprejudiced reader compare Pro-

fessor Newell's summary of the *Chevalier au Lion* (which gives the essential incidents faithfully, so far as I have tested it) with *The Lady of the Fountain*. The length of both is about the same, equal, roughly speaking, to one-fourth of the French romance. I very much doubt if the comparison will lead any one, whose mind is not already made up, to regard Crestien as the direct and sole source of the Welsh tale. I can only say that renewed reading of the French in Professor Newell's, and of the Welsh in Lady Charlotte Guest's translation, has strengthened my conviction that the one is not the source of the other, but that both are derived from some earlier form of the story.

Professor Newell is of a directly opposite opinion. For him Crestien's and other French romances of the same date are mainly deliberate inventions, and not retellings of much older traditional material. Traits lacking in Crestien and found in works of a later date are the product of post-Crestien invention. This is the case with the story of Arthur's unknowing incest. It seems to me sufficient to point to the existence of a similar theme in the Irish Cuchulinn saga (Conchobor and Dechtire) and in the Teutonic Siegfried-saga (Siegmund and Signy), and to refuse politely, but firmly, to believe that a thirteenth century French story-teller would have had the idea of saddling with the most awful form of guilt he could conceive the king who by that time had become the exemplar of Christian knighthood.

It would lead me too far to examine in detail Professor Newell's Introduction and Notes. I have read them with interest, but there is hardly a statement respecting the nature and development of Arthurian romance that does not seem to me demonstrably erroneous. It was, perhaps, necessary to insist upon the part played by conscious literary art in the evolution of medieval romance, but Professor Newell has, in my opinion, allowed a comparatively unimportant feature to obscure and distort the real nature of this great body of romantic literature.

ALFRED NUTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Fertilisation of Birds.

(Vol. viii. p. 375; ix. p. 82).

The notes on the belief in visual intercourse given in the current number of *Folk-Lore* under the heading "Fertilisation of Birds" have recalled to my memory the following allied belief. Though the superstition is not general, there are people in Lincolnshire who believe that a man having possession of a flask containing a strong perfume can use it to obtain power over a girl—hypnotic power apparently. Hence, a young woman ought not to permit the near approach of one of the other sex with a bottle of eau de Cologne or of other scent lest she should inhale the vapour. I have heard of a domestic servant who was much disturbed when her employer's son held out a bottle of scent towards her. Seeing, however, that he was ignorant of the construction which might be put upon his behaviour, she explained the cause of her agitation. It is not quite clear whether the perfume is merely a powerful love-philtre in vaporous form, which paralyses the will of the person breathing it, or whether it acts as does the hot breath following the fixed gaze of the foreigner mentioned by Mrs. Gomme. But when once the girl is under its influence she is helpless.

M. P.

The Development of Idol-worship.

(Vol. viii. p. 325.)

Mr. Crooke's paper on "The Binding of a God" is remarkably interesting as showing the evolution of anthropomorphic idols from the earlier or neolithic form of stone-worship. He states

that in the early ritual of India the altar for the reception of the Soma was to be constructed in the form of a woman (the mother of all living ?).

The feminine element has also been perpetuated in the pre historic stones and sculptured idols of Europe. Two very rude such figures have been found in the island of Guernsey ; one of these was discovered a few years ago beneath the flooring of the Câtel Church when it was being relaid.

Near St. Renan, in North Brittany, is a monolith about 40 feet in height, which is unmistakably intended to represent a female figure. Certain mysterious rites are known to be performed around it by women at the present day. In another part of Brittany is the so-called Venus de Quinipilly, an undraped female statue of good proportions, and belonging to an advanced style of art. Scattered over the steppes of Southern Russia are a large number of stone statues, all of the female sex, and draped to a certain extent. These are known to have been worshipped in former times ; they now serve as landmarks for those who have to traverse that region. It is a problem yet to be solved whence came the stone of which they are made, since there is no stone in the whole district ; consequently there are no metalled roads. Who were the artificers of these statues is unknown also. This subject will be treated more at length in my forthcoming book, *The Symbolism of the East and West.*

The following legend is an illustration of the power of volition sometimes attributed to an Indian god. Belonging to Sultanpur, the capital of the Kulu state, is a tiny brass image, Raghunâth by name, which is said to have been stolen from Oudh more than two hundred years ago. The tale runs thus : The ruler of this small Himalayan state sent to demand money from a wealthy Brahman, who refused to comply with the demand, and on a second messenger being sent to him, the Brahman set fire to his house, whereby he and all his family were burnt to death. On this, the Raja suddenly found himself attacked with leprosy, but was informed in a dream that if he could only procure the idol Raghunâth he would be cured. He at once dispatched some trusty servants to Oudh, with the intention of carrying it off by fair means or foul ; they stole the god, were pursued and overtaken, but Raghunâth showed such a decided wish to go to Kulu, that in the end they were allowed to take the god away, and as

soon as he appeared in the valley the Raja became cured of his terrible disease.

A fair, which lasts a week, is held annually in Sultanpur early in October. Each village in Kulu has its own particular godling; on this occasion all these are bound to go to the capital to pay their respects to Raghunâth, certain lands having been granted rent free to each temple on this condition; these funds serve to support its attendants and supply food to the people of the respective villages who have accompanied their idol thither. The scene is a very gay one. All, both men and women, are dressed in their best, and wear necklaces of fresh-gathered marigold flowers, a plant extensively cultivated near their temples—orange-yellow being a sacred colour with the Hindus.

H. G. M. MURRAY-AYNSLEY.

MISCELLANEA.

Lincolnshire Superstitions.

I am a Lincolnshire man by birth and spent all my early years in the Lincolnshire marshes, where underneath a thin veneer of Christianity there still exists a solid foundation of pure paganism. It is a most remarkable fact that in the very district which was once known as the "Land of Mary," say from 1200 to 1550, there is scarce a trace left of mediævalism, but any amount of Norse paganism.

We had a great deal of ague in the marshes in those days, and my dear mother dispensed much quinine amongst the poor. I often took it to their houses for her. Going one day with a second bottle to a certain old woman, whose grandson had a bad attack, I was met with the remark: "I knows a deal better cure than yon nasty bitter stuff. See here, lad!" And with that she took me into his room, and to the foot of the old four-poster on which he lay shivering and shaking. There in the centre of the footboard were nailed three horseshoes with a hammer fixed cross-wise upon them. Taking down the hammer she smartly tapped each shoe, saying words to this effect as she did so:

"Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Nail the devil to this post.
With this mell I thrice do knock,
One for God,
And one for Wod,
And one for Lok."

'There, lad!" she said, "yon's a sure charm that will hold the old one as fast as t' church tower when next he comes to shake 'un."

When I returned home and repeated this to my mother, she at once pointed out the extraordinary mingling of Christianity and paganism—God, Woden, and Lokki.

You ask me do I know of any other like Norse or other heathen

superstitions? Plenty of them. Here is an instance that happened to come under my notice within the last ten years:

We had had some trouble with the boys of the little town of which I was the rector, in Lincolnshire, about stone-throwing in the churchyard.

One day my churchwardens called my attention to a newly-made grave on which lay a mug and jug, evidently quite freshly broken, and said: "The boys have been at it again, and what's more, have stolen the flowers that widow D. had put upon her husband's grave."

I saw at once that no stone had caused the fractures. So, putting off my officials with some excuse, I went to see the widow, and said to her: "Well, Mrs D., how came you to forget to give your old man his mug and his jug?"

"Ah, sir!" she replied, "I knew you would understand all about it. I was that moidered with crying that I clean forgot to put 'em in t' coffin. I puts the groat in his mouth to pay his footing, but blame me if I doesn't leave out t' owd mug and jug. So I goes and does t' next best. I deads 'em both over his grave, and says I to mysen: 'My old man, he set a vast of store, he did, by yon mug and jug, and when their ghoastes gets over on yon side h'll holler out: "Yon's mine, hand 'em over to me," and I'd like to see them as would stop him a having of them an' all.'"

I have not time to write more to-day; but if you care for some curious superstitions about the elder tree, I can send you some that are worth preserving. All these ideas are rapidly dying out. But what is taking their place? I fear blank materialism to a great extent, and I am not sure that the change is for the better. Being a native, I had better opportunities than most clergy of learning these things. The people knew I was one of themselves, and they would talk openly before and to me, where to a man from another county they would either keep silence or, if pressed, feign utter ignorance.

Robt. M. Heanley.

The Rectory, Weyhill, Andover, Hants.

NOTES FROM CYPRUS.

I make the following extracts from a letter lately received from Mr. F. O. Harvey, of Larnaca, Cyprus. They may possibly be of some interest:

St. George.—"We have some funny legends here. The Greek church and monastery, situated about a mile outside Larnaca, is patronised by St. George. This saint, the night before his feast-day, is supposed to ride his horse to St. George's Bay, Beyrout (110 miles over sea), and back during the night. This being a very heavy task, the saint arrives here in a huge sweat. His shrine has a large brass showing him upon his horse upon his return from his 220-miles' ride, and the perspiration dripping from him in drops the size of carrots."

Baal Fires.—"On St. John's day, in summer, the boys in all towns and villages make big bonfires in the streets, and every boy is supposed to jump through the flames. I think this has some pagan origin."

Rain Charm.—"At Kiko monastery, between Nicosia and Kyrema, they have a picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke (?). When a season of drought occurs, this painting is escorted to Nicosia by a large procession of the frères, priests, and the abbot, with the villagers and a band of music. It is met outside of Nicosia by a host of the town headed by the priests, and the picture is taken to the Church of St. Nicholas. Prayers, candles, incense, holy water, and howling are indulged in, and tradition says that rain always follows. The experiment has only been tried once or twice since I have been here, and, whether as a result of this hanky-panky or a mere coincidence, rain has certainly followed within a few hours of the grand ceremony. As the Turks at the same time pray for rain, it is difficult to award the palm, both claiming the merit of the result. The 'unspeakable' Turk does not take all this ju-ju; he writes out a prayer to Allah on a board and hangs this out from the top of the minaret, with a 'them's my sentiments' sort of air, and sits down to his coffee and nhargileh to await results."

G. W. SPETH.

Cornish Land-measure.

I do not know whether the following land-measure, which I noted down in Cornwall many years ago, has been recorded anywhere accessible to folklore students:

3 yards square	= 1 stick..
4 sticks	= 1 lease.
8 score lease	= 1 acre.

The present statute acre, however, contains only 6 score lease and some 'teens.

E. Sidney Hartland.

The Tide.

A very widely-spread belief exists all along the sea-coast of Wales as to the effect the tide has on human life. It is believed that children are born as the tide comes in, and people die as the tide goes out. The late Mr. Noott, of Cardigan, a doctor with a large practice, was firmly persuaded that this was the case, and he ushered hundreds of children into the world in his time and stood beside very many death-beds. M. E. James.

OBITUARY.

RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

It is our sorrowful duty to record the death of the most illustrious of our fellow-countrymen. Not merely those who, like the present writer, have been proud to range themselves under his political banner to the end, but his most determined opponents, and indeed the whole civilised world, mourn his departure. In his many-sided sympathies and in the varied range of his knowledge, folklore had a place. He was an original member of the Society, and, down at all events to a short time since, a reader of its publications. If his mythological theories have not commended themselves to scientific students, his works on Homer and the problems of the Homeric poems, in which those theories were mainly set forth, have been for very many a stimulus to thought and inquiry. It would be impertinent in us to do more here than express our sense of the loss we have sustained, and humbly join in the tribute of admiration and regret which has been poured out by all men at his tomb.

After a long and painful illness, borne with that lion-heart which ever characterised him, he "fared forth" (to use an expressive Old-English phrase) in the dawn of the 19th May, at the age of eighty-eight. While we mourn with his nearest and dearest for one who cannot be replaced, as Englishmen—as Britons—we rejoice in the imperishable fame of the orator, statesman, scholar, dialectician, and critic.

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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. IX.] SEPTEMBER, 1898. [No. III.

TUESDAY, APRIL 19th, 1898.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. J. Linwood Pitts as a member of the Society was announced.

The following books presented to the Society since the last meeting were laid on the table, viz.:

(1) *Aplech de Rondayes Mallorquines d'en Jordi des Recó* (3 vols.), by Antoni Ma. Alcover, presented by the Author.

(2) *Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario*, 1897, with supplement; and *Annual Archæological Report*, 1896-7, being part of Appendix to the last-mentioned Report, presented by Hon. G. W. Ross, Provincial Minister of Education.

The President read an extract from the *Daily Graphic* entitled "Kissing Day at Hungerford" (see *post*, p. 281), upon which Mr. Gomme offered some observations.

Mr. W. A. Craigie read a paper entitled "Evald Tang Kristensen, a Danish Folklorist;" and in the discussion which followed the President, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Gomme, and the Hon. J. Abercromby took part.

The meeting concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Craigie for his paper.

EVALD TANG KRISTENSEN, A DANISH FOLK-LORIST.

BY W. A. CRAIGIE, M.A.

EVERY student of folklore is well aware of the fact that the materials for his study must first be collected by some one from those who have been their unconscious custodians and preservers. But while almost any one can collect to a certain extent, it is comparatively rare to find one who can do it with perfect thoroughness and with really great results. Extensive and profitable collecting requires not only a combination of unusual qualities in the collector, but implies a field that is naturally capable of yielding a good return; and in these days this is not so easy to find. In fact, we may safely say that it does not exist in the English-speaking parts of our islands, and in the Celtic portions attention has been largely confined to two or three branches of the subject—as ballads, fairy tales, and charms. There is much to be done in other departments before our material can be regarded as satisfactory. The ideal collector would have an eye and an ear for everything, and would be able to carry off not only what people were willing to give him, but what they scarcely knew they possessed, or considered too trivial to mention.

It is just because the good collector and the productive field are so rare that I have thought it worth while to give some account of the work done in Denmark by a single man: work which not only reveals the wealth of folklore still existing in that country, but also presents us with an example of dogged perseverance and all-round interest in the subject that cannot be too highly commended. While the results of his labours as yet only lie before us in the rough state, they contain a mass of facts which are of the highest value, and the only matter for regret is that the language in which they

EVALD TANG KRISTENSEN.

(From a Photograph.)

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are written is one so seldom studied as to make the volumes sealed books to many who would find interesting material in them.

The mention of Danish folklore will probably suggest two names, those of Thiele and Grundtvig. The former published a collection in 1820, afterwards expanded into three volumes (*Danmarks Folkesagn*, 1843-60). Grundtvig, besides his monumental work, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, into which the great harvest of Danish ballads was successfully garnered, also published three collections of general folklore during the years 1854-61 (*Gamle danske Minder*), and two small collections of *Æventyr* in 1876-78. But neither Thiele nor Grundtvig could be properly described as a great collector; the work of both was almost exclusively literary. They worked, the former largely and the second almost entirely, on material already existing in either a printed or written form. Indeed, as will be seen, Grundtvig's work owed not a little to the collector who forms the subject of my paper, and the dealings between them show clearly how little progress Grundtvig ever made towards bringing himself into direct contact with the living sources for his favourite study.

In the light of some of the facts mentioned in the following pages it is not strange that Denmark has had so few real collectors of folklore. It is the peculiar merit of Evald Tang Kristensen, of whose life and work I propose to give some account, that he has not been deterred either by physical or social barriers from searching out his material in its native haunts, and that no considerations of personal comfort or advancement in his profession have weighed with him in comparison with the self-chosen task of saving the fast-dying memories of a bygone age. To bring out the peculiar conditions under which his work has been done, some amount of biographical detail will be necessary, although the variety and range of his labours would be remarkable enough under any circumstances.

I.

Although born in the neighbourhood of Kolding, in the south-east corner of Jutland, Evald Tang Kristensen belongs by descent to the western side of the peninsula, his great-grandfather having been a farmer in Raasted, to the west of Holstebro. His father was a schoolmaster, a position which he owed to the assistance given by a richer neighbour, Evald Tang, of Nörre Vosborg, who enabled him to qualify for the teaching profession, and whose name he gave to his first child, born January 24, 1843. Anders Kristensen died three years later, and his widow went back to her father in Holmsland, a small district lying between the town of Ringkjöbing and the North Sea, fertile in its eastern part, but on the side next the sea chiefly composed of shifting sand-hills. The little Evald was shortly afterwards sent to a relative's house (in Rindom), where the dough-trough had to serve him for a cradle. Later on, his mother married again, her second husband being also a schoolmaster, who obtained a post in Ö, near Viborg, in the heart of Jutland. The child's life had not been a very happy one so far, and this change did not do much to make it brighter. He began to go to school, but had also to herd cattle on the moors, whose heights and hollows formed a marked contrast to the flatness of Holmsland, where his earlier years had been spent. The high heather-clad banks, with the deep sandy roads between, made a strong impression on his boyish mind, naturally inclined to melancholy, which was further fostered by the strictness of his upbringing and by almost constant ill-health. The latter defect was never properly attended to; all that was done for him was to consult a "wise man," or wizard, and this had no beneficial result. Food was insufficient, as it too often is in Denmark; and childish games and amusements were practically unknown to him.

In spite of these adverse circumstances, the boy made

progress with his books, and was fortunate enough to attract the attention of the parish clergyman, who took charge of his education, evidently intending to prepare him for the university. To this plan, however, his step-father was quite opposed, and young Kristensen finally, in 1858, went to a training college in Lyngby. The education there does not seem to have been more inspiring than usual; none of the teachers were particularly interested in the lad; he found little to attract him in his fellow-students, and the whole course of instruction proved pretty tiresome to him.

After obtaining his teacher's certificate in 1861, Kristensen became schoolmaster in Husby, a village close to the North Sea, a little south from Nissum Fjord, and thus again came under the spell of the desolation which characterises the western coast of Jutland. Moving afterwards to the eastern side of the peninsula he was for three years in Helstrup, to the west of Randers, his salary there amounting to the magnificent sum of 180 rigsdalers, or £21. As might be supposed, he had to live alone and do all his own housework; yet he also found time to study music and botany, and to compile twelve manuscript volumes of songs, with their melodies. These were copied from books; he had not yet discovered the living sources that he afterwards found to be so rich around him. In 1866, he removed to Gjellerup, near Herning, in the district of Hammerum, a locality eminently suited to awaken that interest in folklore which for thirty years has been Kristensen's favourite occupation.

The children attending Gjellerup school knew a large number of riddles, and the noting down of these was his first step in the way of collecting. But for this there was little time at first. His home had to be set in order, the school-land cultivated in the summer, and in the autumn the conscription laid hold of him and brought to him the most unpleasant experiences of his life. However, this

passed over, and what leisure he could snatch from school-work was devoted to the gathering of folklore. In Lund-gaard, near Gjellerup, lived an old woman, Sidsel Jensdatter, an excellent singer of ballads; and in her little hut the busy schoolmaster spent many a winter evening, to the great wonderment of his neighbours. Her stock of ballads, taken down in 1867, became the real foundation of Kristensen's collections. In the following winter, he went much further afield, setting out after school-hours, trudging along flooded roads and pathless moors, seldom reaching home again before one o'clock in the morning. But his exertions were rewarded by the discovery of new and excellent stores of old song and tradition.

So rich was this part of Jutland in ballad-literature, that within three years Kristensen had collected enough to make him think of publishing. An attempt to do this, in small parts of about 50 pages each, proved a failure, and he appealed to Grundtvig for assistance. The latter was able to obtain a grant from the "Society for the Promotion of Danish Literature," and with this help a volume of nearly 400 pages, containing 133 ballads, was finally issued from the press in 1871. Of the contents of this and succeeding volumes I shall speak in a later section of this paper. Of equal value were Grundtvig's services in obtaining pecuniary assistance which enabled Kristensen to go still further afield, and prosecute his collecting on a larger scale. In the winters of 1873 and 1874 respectively his expenses were covered by grants from Government of 100 and 200 dalers.

For ten years Kristensen remained in Gjellerup, where he had two schools to attend to, entailing a walk of nearly four miles every day. During this period he published another two volumes, one of ballads in 1874, and one of general folklore in 1876. For the former of these he received support from a Jutland Society, the other was undertaken by a publisher, who lost on it, and would not repeat the experiment.

In 1876, having applied for several vacant posts and obtained the smallest of them, Kristensen removed to Faarup in Vindum parish, between Viborg and Silkeborg. As the salary was only £33, with a house of two rooms, he hesitated at first to make the change, but was warmly urged to accept the situation by the dean of the parish, and spent eight years in it. He found the school situated on the edge of a stony slope, which by his own labour he converted into a beautiful garden, scarcely equalled by any in the district. To bring about this result he had to work early and late; and being also chairman of the parish council, one might suppose he had work enough without collecting folklore. His house was so small that he had to do his evening work in the cold school-room, but in spite of every drawback he was not long in having more material ready for the press. How to get it published was, however, a serious question, as no one was likely to take the risk. He was advised to apply for a parliamentary grant, and approached the Minister of Education to see what chance there was of obtaining this. The Minister's reply was at least clear and decisive: "I must frankly tell you," he said, "that I have no interest in your undertaking, and there are so many other things we must give help to, which have superior claims upon us." Kristensen then asked whether it would be of any use to apply to Parliament for assistance. "Well," he said, "of course it may grant you the money; and if it is favourable, I shall promise you not to oppose it." In consequence of all this, Kristensen ventured only to ask for the money necessary to publish four successive volumes of his *Popular Traditions of Jutland* (*Jyske Folke-minder*), and down to 1884 had little opportunity of adding to what he had already collected. Two volumes of fairy tales, and two of general folklore made up the work of these eight years.

In 1884 a number of events took place. The school-house at Faarup had grown too small for the family, and

was, in addition, very unhealthy, so that some change was desirable. Kristensen applied for, and obtained, the charge of the school at Brandstrup, close to Faarup. The natives were not altogether delighted with this arrangement; they did not consider the collecting of folklore to be any recommendation in a teacher. As a member of a parish council said to him on one occasion: "We won't have you, you take up so much of your time with rubbish; and besides, you can't look after the school and do all that writing as well." However, he not only got the post, but in the same year, after two fruitless applications, received a fresh grant from Government, which enabled him to spend the winter of 1884-85 in collecting the folklore of Vendsyssel, South Salling, and Fjends Herred. The bulk of this appeared in the 8th volume of *Jyske Folkeminder*.

By this time Kristensen had become convinced that there was much which he could not hope to reach in person, and which yet ought to be gathered in while it still lived in the mouths of the people. To secure this end he formed a kind of Folk-Lore Society, the members of which sent their contributions to him from all parts of Denmark; these appeared in a periodical entitled *Skattegraveren* (*The Treasure-Digger*), which began its career in January, 1884, and continued to be published down to 1889. By that time the Society had so fallen off in point of membership that it was necessary to bring the publication to a close. Some of the material thus gathered also appeared in a collection of "Danish Fairy Tales," of which three parts (380 pages) were published in 1884-88. In all, the Society's work is represented by eight interesting volumes, the editing of which would have been no small labour for most men.

Meanwhile Kristensen, though with some difficulty, had obtained permission more than once to leave his school in charge of assistants, while he, with pecuniary help from Government, went on his folklore tours. The School Board, however, did not look upon this proceeding very favour-

ably, and at last refused to make any more concessions of the kind. He then appealed to the Ministry of Education and begged for one more chance, pointing out the necessity of doing the work at once if it was to be done at all. The Ministry gave its consent, though with a pretty plain hint that this time would be the last. On this point it may be best to give Kristensen's own words from the preface to the 9th volume of his *Jyske Folkeminder*, published in 1888:

"By August 1st," he wrote then, "the time allowed me will have expired, and I do not know what the future may bring to me. I cannot get further leave of absence, and I cannot well give up my collecting now. As the two occupations cannot be combined, I shall have to resign my post, and will not hesitate to do so if I can be assured of bread for myself and my large family. I ask no more for my work than my daily bread, and I have an impression that this will be given to me. There is still much that can be done in the way of collecting, but I must do it myself, and must seek out in person the possessors of what I wish to have. It is much harder to do this now than it was ten years ago, for the old people are dying out, and the younger ones as a rule regard the old folk's stories with scorn."

It would not have been in accordance with the traditions of Denmark if those in high places had been content to see the preservation of their folklore sacrificed to the requirements of a local school. In the year after the above was written, Kristensen had permission given him to employ a substitute to discharge his school duties for the space of five years, while Government allowed a considerable sum to cover the expenses of collecting and publishing. The result of this public-spirited action has been that for the past eight years this zealous collector has been able to devote most of his time to the work he has so much at heart, his headquarters being first at Hadsten Station, between Aarhus and Randers, and now at Mölholm near

Vejle, in one of the prettiest parts of East Jutland. I need not here reckon up the separate works as they have come from his hands during these eight years; it will be enough at present to say that in that space of time he has published two volumes of ballads, two large and three smaller volumes of fairy tales, five bulky collections of general folklore, two volumes of anecdotes illustrating Danish life half a century ago, a collection of some 13,000 proverbs and popular sayings, and another of children's games and rhymes. Similar works continue to appear as fast as he can prepare them for the press, for so incredible has been his diligence in collecting, that the rest of his life will scarcely suffice to copy out all his stores for the printer. If the preservation of its folklore is anything for a country to be proud of, Denmark will have no cause to be ashamed among the nations, and it will owe its proud position in this respect to the steady perseverance and industry of its Jutland schoolmaster.

II.

Scarcely less interesting than the actual traditions, which Kristensen has rescued at the eleventh hour, are the accounts he gives of his experiences as a collector, and the glimpses his narrative affords into the social and mental condition of those who have formed his richest sources. Various short passages relating to these points occur in several of his volumes, but the Appendix to vol. xi. of *Jyske Folkeminder* deals so exhaustively with the whole subject, that I could scarcely do better than follow it throughout the whole of this section, curtailing or expanding as may seem advisable.

Wonderfully rich as Jutland has proved itself to be in folklore, it is not equally so in all its parts. There is a great difference in this respect between the East and the West, corresponding to a marked difference in the character of the

natives. The East Jutlander is more prosperous, and more taken up with his material welfare, better educated, but at the same time more superficial in character than his western neighbour. His feelings are not very sensitive, his will is somewhat weak, and his personality is seldom a strongly-marked one. Society and its amusements, politics and their excitement, are the spheres in which he finds himself most at home. In short, the East Jutlander is the product of a fairly prosperous agricultural district. The western side of the peninsula, with its great lonely moors and its long sandy beaches, has produced a very different stamp of people. The West Jutlander has altogether a deeper character, accompanied by a more melancholy and meditative turn of mind. If he has troubles, he does not go to his neighbour (supposing he has one within a mile or two) and try to forget them in conversation or card-playing; he rather sits at home and broods over them. He has more of an internal world than his eastern neighbour. The creations of fancy are more real to him, in the same way as they are more real to children; and he is thus far more adapted for preserving and handing on the complex body of traditions, beliefs, and observances that we sum up under the name of folklore. This same bent of character, however, has also made him more susceptible to religious influences, and the latter tendency is a natural enemy of the former.

"Some people have been surprised," says Kristensen, "that the 'Inner Mission' made such progress in the west of Jutland; but the explanation of this lies in the distinction I have just drawn. Where there are now many pietists there were formerly many who preserved our folklore, and especially our ballads; and nothing in our own time has done so much injury to these as the religious revival, just because it appeals to similar mental interests. I look with no favourable eye on this tendency, because it distorts or destroys what I regard as the most sacred possession of our people, and tramples with iron heel on what ought to be loved and fostered."

If their natural surroundings have tended to make the Western Jutlanders more given to folklore than the Eastern, the economic conditions were no less powerful in continuing the old traditions. The horizon was so narrowed by poverty that intellectual interests could only move within a very limited sphere, which was maintained with scarcely any expansion from one generation to another.

"When the poor mothers told stories or sang ballads to their children, to keep them awake, while they sat and knitted in the dark, or at most by the light of a smoking cruisie, these oral traditions became so imprinted in their minds that they were never forgotten. . . . Such stories, well told as they were, awoke the child's fancy when out with the sheep on the dreary moors or sitting in the little hut during the dark winter night. The results were important; these traditions contained a number of pictures which, although they did not belong to the actual daily world, were yet apprehended as real; and these fantastic figures were accepted as forms that had existed in the olden times. Everything was received with a childish faith and preserved by the child's living and accurate fancy. This explains the remarkable fact that not merely a few, but very many indeed, have asked me in all seriousness whether I believed that Nisses and Bergfolk and Elves existed, and I could see that they themselves had full belief in the real existence of such creatures."

Not only during these monotonous hours in the dark or dimly lighted huts were the old stories used to pass the time; they could be of service on all occasions when children had to be kept interested. Two touching examples of this may be quoted.

"Ivar Skade's wife in Tise (Salling)," says Kristensen, "told me in a most affecting fashion, how she when a child stood till far on in the night and worked the bellows for her father, who was famous for the hay-scythes he made. During the day he fished in the Fjord, and worked as a smith in the evening and the night time. He seldom got more than four hours' sleep, as he had a large family and was extremely poor. As soon as the children

were strong enough, they took their turns of helping him in the smithy, and when it grew late he would begin to tell stories to keep their eyes open. In this way they learned the tales which they could still repeat when I visited some of them. The poor man's last days were very pitiful, and the daughter's account of them moved me to tears.

"Mette Skrædder, in Sundby, told me a great deal about her childhood, which showed how she had come to possess her large store of traditions. These came entirely from her mother, whom she spoke of with the greatest affection and deepest devotion. Her father was a poor broken-down invalid, who could earn nothing for the support of his family; the mother was thus forced to go and beg, and to make the weary journeys lighter for the child, she told her the stories she herself had learned."

These two examples are sufficient to indicate in what stratum of society the old traditions are preserved, and to what class the collector must turn for his materials. This fact alone makes his work anything but an easy one; he must have a happy combination of qualities and be prepared for a good deal of discomfort and privation. First of all, says Kristensen, he must be a good pedestrian, able to go on foot over the most outlying and thinly inhabited districts. "It would be a fatal mistake to come driving in a carriage to such people." Secondly, he must have a large stock of patience. Thirdly, he must be able to live without any of the ordinary comforts, take his food with those he goes among, and be pleased with night-quarters in the meanest hovel.

"Once," he says, "in a hut on Feldborg Heath I sat and slept all night on a bench beside the table, at another time I slept wrapt up in my waterproof-coat, on a third occasion I slept with the man of the house, while his wife made herself a shake-down on the floor. I had often to be content with getting them to boil some potatoes and fry a little bacon for me, as I could pare the potatoes myself, and so get my food clean. I carried my own tea with me, but had to take what bread I got, even though it was extremely sour and indigestible. The coffee I often had to gulp

down without tasting it. But the hospitality was great, and these poor people shared their wretched food with me as with one of themselves. One woman used one of her husband's shirts as a table-cloth to do me honour, another wiped the ceiling dry three times in one evening, so that the water which dripped from it might not destroy my paper; a third wished to give me some elder-flowers home with me, they were the only thing she could part with; a fourth would darn my stockings and mend my clothes, and so on. In return I often had to write letters and contracts, be mediator in quarrels, and the like.

"In the next place the collector must be a swift penman, so as to write down quickly whatever is told. It plainly impresses them when the pen goes so rapidly, and when their own story is read out to them word for word, it makes them willing to tell more. It is my invariable rule to write down at once anything that I want to have. I never let the reciter or singer go through his story or ballad without setting it down there and then. Experience has shown me that it loses greatly when told a second time; the whole form is poorer and the presentation of it less lively."

In another passage, Kristensen emphasises the value of this method in these words:

"It is of no use to ask the teller of an *Æventyr* to repeat it exactly as he did before, for he neither can nor will do so; the story is got by heart, it is true, but it is no mere rigmarole, and the narrator puts something of his own into it, even accompanying his recitation with a certain amount of action and facial expression. All this cannot be reproduced in print, scarcely even imitated by another reciter."

It is one great advantage for the collector that the Danish reciters and singers seem as a rule to be fairly communicative with what they do know, and to have no objection to their words being taken down; some of them in fact become all the more eager to tell their stories, being convinced that the collector is serious and is not merely desirous of passing the time.

To win their full confidence, however, it is necessary to be thoroughly at home in the various dialects. This fact

has to some extent served to narrow the range of Kristensen's collecting; the dialects in the islands are so different from those of Jutland that he has never felt sufficient confidence to try his fortune there, and even parts of Jutland he has left untouched for the same reason. Three summer vacations, moreover, he spent in acquiring some knowledge of Old Norse, which is necessary at times for the understanding of single words and phrases used by the older narrators, whose language is often very different from that of the younger generation.

It will be readily understood that a thorough knowledge of a dialect is of immense value to the collector. It is through this that he gets directly at the people, at their ways of thinking, at what is most characteristic in their natures. Only the exact tones to which they have been accustomed, have the power to call out what lies deepest in their being, and "folklore now-a-days commonly lies very deep, so deep that a great deal has to be pushed aside before one can get to it." To a great extent the materials of folklore are blended with the memories of childhood, and the latter must be called forth in order to reach the former. To bring the old people into this train of thought, is the collector's first task; and it is not every man that has the necessary patience and other qualifications for the work. It is with great satisfaction that Kristensen speaks of his success in this direction. "In many cases," he says, "I have penetrated to the innermost recesses of the heart, and made myself acquainted with all that was deepest in the spiritual life of the old folks. There are few clergymen who have gained so much confidence and enjoyed so much openness among them." To many of them it is a real source of pleasure to have old memories thus brought to light again, to find that what they learned in childhood is of interest to a perfect stranger, and is even worth recording in books. But the old folks are not always free to enjoy these delights; fear of the younger generation, dread of

being laughed at, of being called childish, is often strong upon them, and only when taken by themselves is anything of the kind to be drawn from them.

Such then is the general condition of the class of Jutlanders, among whom all this folklore has been preserved; but some of the accounts of individual sources given by Kristensen are so interesting, in some respects so touching, that I regret the limits of this paper prevent me from quoting them. The photographs which his kindness has enabled me to exhibit to the Society, will however give some idea of the appearance and surroundings of those from whom he has derived the greater portion of his best material.

III.

Before proceeding to give some detailed account of the different collections of folklore which Hr. Kristensen has published within the past thirty years, it may be well to make some general remarks on the character of his work as a whole. The first feature which calls for notice is the extraordinary quantity of material which he has brought together. Leaving out of account his mere editorial work (although this extends to about 3,500 pages), the popular traditions actually written down and published by him already reach the total of some 30 volumes, containing in all nearly 12,000 pages. Even this enormous mass of matter does not cover half of what he has collected, and one scarcely knows which to marvel at more, the wealth of Danish Folklore or the diligence of the collector.

Of course, in the very bulk of this material lies its greatest weakness. It is obviously impossible that every one of these 12,000 pages can contain new and valuable matter. From some points of view it would have been better to have the grain cleaned from the chaff, and to get what was really good presented to us within a more reasonable com-

pass. But Kristensen's view is a different one, and has also much to be said for it. In his eyes, folklore is not merely a collection of interesting legends, customs and beliefs, in which one specimen of each type is all that is wanted. Popular beliefs are to him not only a part of the history, but of the psychology of the people, and every detail which can help to secure a permanent image of what is essentially perishable is precious enough to be worth preserving. Hence he has not confined his interest to ballads, fairy-tales, ghost-stories, and whatever else folklore as ordinarily understood concerns itself with; he has also carefully noted and preserved common phrases and expressions, the common jokes of the country, and every little detail which could be gleaned from the older people as to the plain every-day life of the past generation. However little interest much of this may have for the present day, trivial and tedious as much of it may seem now, we have only to think how we should revel in such a collection relating to bygone centuries, to see that work of this kind is certain to rise in value with every decade that passes over it. Kristensen has made it possible for the future student to realize in all its details the mental and social condition of the average Jutland peasant, in a way that nothing else could have done. To do the same kind of work for our own village and country life would be no small claim on the gratitude of posterity for anyone who undertook it in the same spirit and with the same qualifications.

Even from a folklore point of view, however, this excess of material is in some ways a gain. While it may be true that one good version of a story renders a dozen poor ones of comparatively little value, yet the existence of that dozen establishes one fact, that the tale is really a popular and not an individual one. In cases where the different versions supplement each other, there can be little objection to giving all of them in full; in fact, this is much to be preferred to the formation

of a compound text, which properly represents none of the versions.

Kristensen's work, therefore, has the great merit of bringing us as close to the actual narrators as can be done by the medium of a printed page. It is not an attempt to present a digested statement or critical account of their tales and beliefs, nor to discover what lies behind them all; but for directness of method and honest adherence to the facts it leaves nothing to be desired, and, rightly understood, is of the highest value.

I have already mentioned that Kristensen's serious collecting began with ballads (*Folkeviser*). Of these he has now published four collections, forming volumes i., ii., x., and xi., of his *Popular Traditions of Jutland* (*Jyske Folkeminder*), and containing in all 475 versions of popular ballads, many of them previously unprinted in any form. For the value of his work in this department one could not wish a higher authority than that of Grundtvig, from whose appendix to the first collection a few particulars may be profitably extracted. In 1844 Grundtvig made an appeal to those interested in the matter, to note down and send to him any versions of ballads which they could discover still living in the mouths of the people. Perhaps he expected that little of the kind was to be found at that time, for even in 1814 an editor of Danish ballads had solemnly assured his readers that they were no longer a living thing. The result of Grundtvig's appeal, however, was that during the next 27 years he received oral versions of 130 old ballads. It took 170 different persons to collect these. Within three years (1868-70), and almost entirely within the limits of a single parish, Kristensen had taken down versions of 150 different ballads, 75 of which had not been found in living tradition elsewhere, and 14 of which were previously unknown in Denmark in any form. The significance of these finds is strongly emphasised by Grundtvig; "it is," he says, "a real old Danish Hercula-

neum, which the diligent and careful compiler of this volume has been so fortunate as to bring to the light of day, and that just at the last moment, when the treasure threatened to sink irrecoverably into the earth, along with the poor old folks who were its last custodians."

Besides giving the text of the ballads, Kristensen wisely insisted on printing the melodies as well. It was in vain to tell him that from a musical point of view these were mainly worthless; the fact remained that only by means of the melody had the ballad been preserved, and that in the minds of those who had preserved it, words and music were inseparably associated. To give the one without the other would have been untrue to Kristensen's first principle in collecting, for it would have given an imperfect reproduction of the actual facts. Besides, their presence in these volumes is a standing reminder of what one is sometimes apt to forget, that ballads are as much a part of popular music as of popular poetry, and that they are really more closely related to song than to forms of narrative verse.

The second collection, published in 1874, also contained a large number of ballads which were either previously unknown in Denmark or only found in single copies two or three centuries old. Grundtvig saw this volume through the press; and the material it afforded was naturally of the highest value for his great work, *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*. How much he appreciated the labours of the Jutland schoolmaster was evinced in a rather strange way in the year 1875, when he made the remarkable proposal to purchase the fairy tales which Kristensen had already collected, and utilize them as his own literary property. Of joint editing he would not hear, with the result that henceforth the two men's labours lay quite apart, although some parts of Grundtvig's collections of *Æventyr* were derived from materials previously obtained from Kristensen.

The third volume, which appeared in 1889, is less rich in new matter than the previous ones, but supplies many

interesting variants of ballads already known. Times had changed so far as the harvest of ballads was concerned. "I have now the greatest difficulty to find them," Kristensen writes in his appendix, "and have to look on it as a piece of good luck when, once or twice a year, I come upon a good source, although I go much wider afield now than I did sixteen years ago. . . . But I must nevertheless be glad. No other living man in Denmark has heard so many of the old ballads as I have, borne to us from times past by means of the ear and mouth, and no other man has written down so many of them, destined to be borne down to the future by means of paper and the eye."

The fourth volume is in some respects perhaps more interesting than the others, as nearly half of it is occupied with matter of a much later date than the usual ballads, matter too which stands in a much closer relation to the mental attitude of the people themselves, even if it does constitute a kind of descent from Parnassus. Taken together these four collections are a remarkable piece of work, and their compiler may well be allowed the satisfaction of remarking that no one will be able to do the same thing again; the ballad as a living tradition is practically no more.

While searching for ballads, Kristensen gradually accumulated a good deal of other material, part of which he published in 1876, under the title of "*Popular Legends of Jutland*" (Vol. iii. of the *Popular Traditions*). The introduction to this volume gives a very clear exposition of his own view of folklore as something which formed a real part of the mental life of the past generations. To recover the exact form of this world of fancy is his main object; and hence it is his desire to lay before others the complete materials from which such a re-construction may be made, without alteration, omission, or arbitrary combination of different versions. The stories fall into six divisions, and a similar arrangement is adopted in some of the later volumes of the series First come stories of Bergfolk and Elves, these two origin-

ally distinct species having somewhat fallen together in Danish tradition, which has further complicated matters by transferring the name of Troll to the diminutive dwellers in in the mounds. The second group is a rather motley assemblage of Giants, Brownies, Monsters and Lindorms; the brownies at least would have been more at home among the Bergfolk, especially as the names of Nisse, Troll and Bergman are not always clearly distinguished. Under the third heading, "Places and Persons," many well-known tales appear in new surroundings, an evidence of the way in which popular fancy endeavours to find a suitable locality for its material. "Ghosts and Apparitions" form the fourth group, some of them common and familiar enough, others of an unusual and powerful type. The Danish ghost is not so impressive as the Icelandic, but its doings often have an uncomfortable touch of the horrible about them. "Wizards and Exorcisms" represent a branch of popular belief which was in full bloom until quite recent times, but the real wizards and witches are gone now. The discovery of a thief, the cure of disease, and the laying of a ghost are the chief tasks which the wizard or witch successfully accomplishes in these tales. Closely related is the following section on "Witchcraft and the Devil," in which there are few features that are not the common property of all folklore. A section on "Treasures, Warnings, and Miscellaneous Legends" completes the volume.

Much the same kind of material is given in three other volumes of this series (vols. iv., vi., and viii., published in 1879, 1883, 1886), with the addition of hundreds of popular beliefs and observances relating to every incident of daily life. A most interesting item in volume vi., is a copy of a "Kunstbog" a collection of medicinal and magical remedies and practices, written so late as 1785. It is not often that one finds the beliefs and methods of witchcraft set down so deliberately and credulously as they are in this document, which contains many charms that are known probably over

the whole of Europe. One or two specimens taken at random will suffice to show their general character.

"106. To burn a witch. Take the heart and tongue of the animal that is bewitched, and put them in a fire that is made of nine kinds of wood; the wood must be laid in the fire in the order in which it is split, and everything must be done in the Devil's name.

"107. To stop blood. Place the leech-finger of your right hand on the spot, and repeat the following: 'Jesus stood by Jordan's flood and stopped blood. Now I also set myself to stop blood here by God's might, and God's power, and by the wisdom of God the Holy Ghost. Hereafter it shall neither swell nor bleed any more than that man's soul shall have mercy, who goes to the Thing and foreswears himself there. In the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.' Repeat the Lord's Prayer three times."

The condition of the original manuscript is evidence of its having been well used; and an immense number of current popular beliefs which belong to the same mental attitude are brought together in vol. ix. of this series. The same volume contains more than a hundred specimens of the dialects of Jutland, and a collection of stories relating to priests and parish-clerks, many of which are of undoubted authenticity and extremely amusing.

The publication of five volumes (nearly 2,000 pages) in one department of folklore would have exhausted the material as well as the energy of most collectors. Not so with Kristensen. Finding that his original series of *Jyske Folkeminder* was inadequate to contain the stores he still had in hand, he began in 1892 a new series of "Danish Legends" (*Danske Sagn*) taken entirely from unprinted sources, and exclusively devoted to this class of popular traditions. Five volumes of this series have already appeared, and present a mass of legend which is as varied in character as it is enormous in bulk.

The first volume (of 460 pages) is entirely occupied with stories of Bergfolk, arranged in such a fashion as to illustrate the whole life and domestic arrangements of these diminutive earth-dwellers. In each of the subordinate sections there is naturally much repetition, but it is interesting to note how often the different versions supplement each other, how an apparently meaningless incident in one is cleared up by fuller detail in another. Tedious as the process may sometimes be, it is on the whole more satisfactory to make one's own comparisons; and this is what Kristensen gives his readers the opportunity of doing.

The other volumns are arranged as far as possible in a similar fashion. Vol. ii. contains stories of Elves and Brownies, Monsters, Lindorms, Werewolves, and Death-warnings. Vol. iii. is occupied with Giants, Churches, Legends of Places, and Buried Treasures. The Legends of Persons which make up the fourth volume are of course very local in character, but contain many incidents which have a general folklore interest. To a still greater extent they are of value as illustrations of old customs and ways of living. In this connection I may here notice another work of Kristensen's, namely, "Old Folk's Stories of Peasant Life in Jutland," which is of distinct economic value even at the present day, and will be still more so in time to come. The nature of this work will be best understood from the titles of its various sections. 1. Farming in Old Times; 2. From the Days of Socage; 3. House-Life; 4. Social Meetings and Feast-Days; 5. Life out of Doors; 6. Our Fathers' Ways of Thinking and Mental Life.

How full of interest some of these old memories are, may be illustrated by a single instance. Not a few persons still living can remember occasions when the use of need-fire was resorted to for the cure of a cattle plague. The regular proceeding was that all the fires in the village were first put out. New fire was then obtained by friction, the villagers taking turns to work the necessary apparatus until

the fire was produced. From this a bonfire was lighted, stretching right across some of the lanes in the village, and through this the cattle were driven.[1] One woman who died a few years ago could remember from her girlhood how the common herdsman went through the village shouting: "The door must be shut, and the fire put out; they are going to draw fire (*drage ild*) at Hovgaard."

The latest volume of *Danish Legends* (vol. v.) is one of 600 pages on "Ghosts and Apparitions." The manner in which many of these tales are narrated, shows clearly the hold they still have upon the popular mind; and probably the belief in ghosts is in Denmark, as elsewhere, the most vigorous part of the whole cycle of folklore. In this volume there are over 2,000 versions of ghost-tales, many of them naturally bare and vague enough; but giving a very thorough picture of popular views on the existence and import of ghostly visitants. So far as one can see from these tales, the laying of a ghost is still regarded by some as part of the ordinary duties of a clergyman, although it is not every one who is learned and skilful enough to do it successfully. A very interesting section is that on various devices to prevent the dead from coming back to annoy the living; some of these are perhaps worth quoting.

"921. In my young days I have seen an open pair of scissors laid upon the stomach of a dead person; I have since been told that this is done with all common people, to prevent them from 'going again.'

"925. When my grandfather died, my grandmother bought two pounds of flax-seed, and went round the house 'withershins' and sowed it. If nothing appears on the third night after the dead

[1] The connection between this and Cormac's explanation of *Bel-tene* need scarcely be pointed out. It may be worth recording that within the past 50 or 60 years a similar practice was observed in Glen Esk, in the north of Forfarshire; fires were kindled in front of the cattle-houses, and through these the cattle were driven when first taken out to the fields in spring.

person is buried, they are sure that he or she will remain quiet in the grave.

"927. To prevent a dead person from 'going again,' the water in which the body has been washed must be poured outside the door after the corpse has been carried out; this water the dead person cannot cross.

"933. One can prevent a dead person from leaving the coffin by fixing it with pins of rowan-tree, but he cannot be prevented from coming out of the grave in the coffin. Many credible witnesses have at the hour of midnight met a coffin which came dumping along the road on one of its ends.

"935. Over that door by which a corpse has been carried out of a house, an old spinning wheel should be hung, for if the dead man walks again he cannot enter the house until he has gone round it as often as the wheel has run round on its axle."

There still remains a very important section of Kristensen's work to be dealt with, his various collections of *Æventyr*, or fairy-tales as we may call them, though many of them scarcely fall under this title. Denmark is especially rich in humourous stories, which sometimes are closely related to the fairy-tale, but often have only the mode of narration in common with these. Although Kristensen began to note down *Æventyr* in the early days of his collecting, the first three years did not supply any great stock of them. When he began to go further afield in 1871, he took up this department in earnest, and his tours during this and the following six years resulted in the accumulation of no fewer than 1,068 different versions. I have already mentioned the proposal which Grundtvig made to purchase these materials for his own use; and though Kristensen declined to part with his own property in this fashion, he left the field clear for Grundtvig until 1881, when a collection of *Æventyr* appeared as vol. v. of *Jyske Folkeminder*. The work thus begun has been continued in vols. vii., xii., and xiii. of the same series, containing in all some 260 *Æventyr*. The total number which he has actually written down is close on 1,900;

but a large proportion of these are, no doubt, inferior versions of what he has already printed.

The tales given in these volumes have the same merit as Kristensen's other work, that they faithfully represent the form in which the tradition has been preserved, without any attempt to bring it into conformity with the taste of a public for which it is not primarily intended. The result is that many of the incidents—in some cases, even the mainspring of the story—have a coarseness which, while perfectly natural and inoffensive to the circle in which the *Æventyr* is at home, makes the collections more valuable as folklore than useful for the entertainment of children. This, however, only applies to the volumes as a whole; the greater number of the individual tales are quite free from this objection; and it will be understood that Kristensen has included the others simply because, without them, the picture would be incomplete. The *Æventyr* naturally belong to a sphere of thought where plainness is not only possible but unavoidable, and to remove all traces of what does not please a more refined taste would be to falsify the facts. It is quite possible, as Kristensen suggests, that a general sinking has taken place in the tone of these stories, as the result of unfavourable physical surroundings, and that the original form of the tales was on a much higher intellectual and imaginative level than its modern representative. But even if this is the case, we cannot by omissions restore the original form; the story in its present shape is adapted to its environment, and reflects with wonderful accuracy the prevailing tone of the society that has preserved it. Different versions of the same story usually display great freedom of treatment on the part of the narrator; the plot remains the same, but the surroundings are quite new, and often imagined with great realism. Very frequently two different stories are combined in a more or less skilful fashion, supplying clear evidence that the narrator is not confined to a mechanical repetition of

what he has learned by heart, but has to some extent creative power over his materials. This fact, it seems to me, renders the task of comparing fairy-tales a more delicate operation than one might assume it to be, and perhaps deprives the conclusions drawn from such comparison of much of the weight they may seem to have. At least, the invention of each narrator is a factor which it is not safe to leave out of account.

In his earlier printed collections, Kristensen has sometimes worked together two or three closely related versions, especially where this process resulted in producing a more complete form of the *Æventyr* in question than could be got from the separate copies. This editorial method he has now quite abandoned, considering it better to give the best versions in the exact form in which he received them.

More popular in character than the volumes above named, are three small collections published in 1896 and 1897 (*Fra Bindestuen og Kölle* I., II., and *Bindestuens Saga*), the titles of which recall the old knitting-parties which once formed centres of social life in the winter evenings, and by which much of this traditional literature was kept alive and in full vigour. (The scene has been well described by another Jutlander, Steen Blicher, in his *Bindstouw*.) In these three little volumes there are some 90 versions of *Æventyr*, both serious and humorous, but for the most part of a less elaborate type than those in the larger collections.

It is of course impossible within the limits of this paper to go more closely into the contents of these *Æventyr*, which naturally to a great extent run parallel with those found in every country. If the Danish ones have any special feature, it perhaps lies in the homely colouring and the humorous tone of many of the tales. Taken as a whole, Kristensen's collections amply demonstrate what Grundtvig's had already indicated, and what H. C. Andersen's stories have somewhat obscured, that in wealth of fairy-tales Denmark can easily match itself with either Norway

or Sweden, in which good collectors were much earlier at work.

Children's rhymes and games, which are perhaps the easiest things to collect, have naturally not been neglected by Kristensen, who has within the past two years published about 800 pages of these, containing some 4,000 entries. The resemblance which some of the rhymes bear to those current in this country is very remarkable, when one considers how long it is since any direct communication was possible. The same remark might be made with regard to an amusing collection of popular humour which he has published under the title of "Stories of the people of Mols and Agger," who in Danish jests answer to our "Wise Men of Gotham." These tales, however, lie somewhat outside the province of folklore as generally understood, and need not be discussed here.

In the foregoing I have taken no account of the material which was edited by Kristensen for the members of his Folklore Society, although in this he has done far more than the united work of Thiele and Grundtvig. In detailing his independent work I trust I have given sufficient proof both of his diligence and enthusiasm for the subject, and of his rare good fortune in being situated in a district where there was so much to be done. The difficulties in the way of doing such a work are many, and one who has so successfully overcome them deserves the recognition and gratitude of all who are interested in the study of folklore. That this is the opinion of representative Scandinavian scholars is shown by the address of congratulation sent to him at the last New Year, in which such men as Professors Bugge and Moe in Christiania, Lundell in Upsala, Krohn in Helsingfors, Steenstrup, Nyrop and Axel Olrik in Copenhagen, and other well-known Danes, expressed their appreciation of his unique work, and wished him well in his future undertakings.

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12. *Æventyr fra Jylland, III.* (Fairy Tales, 68 in all). xxviii. 368 pp. 1895.
13. *Æventyr fra Jylland, IV.* (81 Fairy Tales). 400 pp. 1898.

II. Danske Sagn (Danish Legends). 5 vols.

1. *Bjergfolk* (Bergfolk). 86 sections, such as: 4. Bergfolk's Women and Children; 26. Bergfolk ask for Assistance; 58. Changelings, etc. (containing in all 1,432 items). 460 pp. Aarhus, 1892.
2. *Ellefolk, Nisser, m. m.* (Elves, Nisses, etc.) Elves, 155 items; Nisses, 228; Wandering Monsters (as "Wojens the Hunter," "The Night raven," etc.), 157; Water Sprites (Mermen, Water-Horse, etc.), 121; Lindorms and Reptiles, 217; Werewolves and Nightmares, 106; Religious Legends (Soul-Wanderings, The Service of the Dead, Sybille's Prophecies

etc.), 410; Death-Warnings (Death-Lamb, Hell-Horse, Funerals, etc.), 548; Lights and Warnings, 422 (=2,364 in all). 592 pp. Aarhus, 1893.

3. *Kjæmper, Kirker, m. m.* (Giants, Churches, etc.) Giants and their Feats, Nos. 1-356; Churches and their Erection, Monasteries, Holy Wells, etc., 357-1181; Stories of Farms and Villages, 1182-1703; Local Legends, 1704-2163; Stories of Treasures, 2164-2456. 494 pp. Silkeborg, 1895.
4. *Personsagn* (Legends of Persons.) Kings and their Feuds: Invasions, etc., Nos. 1-474; Squires, Ladies, etc., 475-898; Priests, 899-1169; Miscellaneous Persons (Parish-Clerks, Teachers, Farmers, etc.), 1170-1238; Robbers, Murderers and Thieves, 1239-1624; Wrecks, 1625-1677; Plagues and Pestilences, 1678-2349. 636 pp. Aarhus, 1896.
5. *Spögeri og Gjenfærd* (Apparitions and Ghosts): Various Apparitions and laying of Ghosts (61 sections), Nos. 1-1023; Ghosts of Females, 1024-1408; Landmark-Shifters, 1409-1602; Ghosts in Various Places, 1603-2168. 612 pp. Silkeborg, 1897.

[6. Witchcraft and Sorcery. Not yet published.
7. Miscellaneous Folklore. Not yet published.]

III. Separate Works.

1. *Danske Ordsprog og Mundheld* (Danish Proverbs and Phrases, Local Allusions, Humorous Sayings, etc., about 15,000 items; 3208 are of Kristensen's own collecting, the remainder having been sent in by over 250 contributors). xiv., 656 pp. 1890.
2. *Mikkel Skrædders Historiers* (Michael the Tailor's Stories). 72 pp. 1890.
3. *Öen Anholt i sagn og sæd* (The Island of Anholt, its Legends and Customs; collected by a native, and prepared for the press by Kristensen). 128 pp. 1891.
4. *Öen Holmsland og dens Klit* (The Island of Holmsland and its Sand-Hills). 64 pp. Viborg, 1891.

[5. *Mosekonen Brygger* (Fairy Tales for Children, retold by Börge Janssen). 152 pp. 1891.]

6. 7. *Gamle folks fortællinger om det jyske almueliv* (Old Folk's Stories of Peasant Life in Jutland). 2 vols., 1,319 pp. 1891-94.

8. *Molbo- og Aggerbohistorier* (Stories of the People of Mols and Agger). 176 pp. Viborg, 1892.
9. *Kuriose Overhöringer fra skole og Kirke* (Curious Examination-answers in School and Church). 1892.
10. 11. *Fra Bindestue og Kölle* (From Knitting-Room and Kiln: fairy-tales). 2 parts, each 168 pp. 1895-96.
12. *Bindestuens Saga* (Fairy Tales). 168 pp. 1897.
13. *Danske Dyrefabler og Kjæderemser* (Tales of Animals and Rigmaroles, of the "House that Jack built" order; 609 items, partly contributed by others). 248 pp. Aarhus, 1896.
14. *Danske Börnerim, Remser og Lege* (Children's Rhymes, Rigmaroles, and Games, 3,357 items, partly contributed). 544 pp. Aarhus, 1896-97.

IV. PUBLICATIONS FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

1-6. *Skattegraveren* (The Treasure-Digger; a fortnightly publication). 6 vols. of 480 pages each. Kolding, 1884-89.
7. *Efterslæt til Skattegraveren* (Supplement to above). 252 pp., Kolding, 1890.
8. *Danske Folkeæventyr* (Danish Fairy-Tales, 62 in number) 380 pp. Viborg, 1884-88.

TUESDAY, MAY 17th, 1898.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. E. E. Speight and the Rev. H. A. Harris as members of the Society was announced.

The death of Mr. J. T. Herbertson, and the resignation of Mrs. C. Sidgwick, were also announced.

Mr. Hartland exhibited a photograph, sent by Dr. Maclagan, of a piece of wood used in Caithness in 1810 for making sacred fire, and read an account written by the Rev. G. Sutherland of Torosay, in the Isle of Mull, of the

transactions of which the piece of wood is a relic (see *post*, p. 280).

Mr. Hartland also exhibited three miniature vases, supposed to be votive, from Lake Chapala in Mexico, presented to him for the Society by Prof. Starr of Chicago, and read extracts, explanatory of the exhibits, from a paper by Prof. Starr on "The Little Pottery Objects of Lake Chapala, Mexico," published by the University of Chicago in the Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology.

The following books, which had been presented to the Society since the last meeting, were laid on the table, viz:—

Le Folklore de l'Ile de Kythnos, by Henry Hauttecœur presented by the Author; *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1896-7, presented by the Society; and a pamphlet entitled *I Pretesi Sacrificii Humani*, by Antonio de Nino.

Dr. Winternitz read a paper entitled "Witchcraft in Ancient India;" and in the discussion which followed Messrs. Crooke, Hartland, Jacobs, and Clodd, Miss Mary Kingsley, and the President took part.

Papers entitled "Tobit and Jack the Giant Killer," by Mr. F. Hindes Gomme, and "A further instalment of Folklore from the Hebrides," by Rev. M. McPhail, and "Kitty Witches," and "Christ's Half-dole: An East Anglian Fishing Custom," by Mr. W. B. Gerish, were also read.

The meeting concluded with hearty votes of thanks being accorded to Dr. Winternitz for his paper and to Dr Maclagan and Prof. Starr for the objects so kindly presented by them respectively to the Society.

TOBIT AND JACK THE GIANT-KILLER.

BY FRANCIS HINDES GROOME.

For a long while past I have been making a large collection of Gypsy folktales gathered from many parts of Europe—Turkey, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, England, Wales, Scotland, and Spain.[1] The first on my list is the following, told by an old Gypsy woman of Adrianople to the Gypsiologist and Byzantine antiquary, Alexander G. Paspati, M.D., who died at Athens in the Christmas week of 1891. He printed it and five more more Gypsy stories, in the original Rómani with a French translation, as a supplement to his *Études sur les Tchinghianés ou Bohémiens de l'empire Ottoman*(Constantinople, 1870). My rendering is made from the original.

"A king had three sons. He gave the youngest a hundred thousand piastres; he gave the same to the eldest son and to the middle one. The youngest arose; he took the road; wherever he found poor folk he gave money; here, there, he gave it away; he spent the money. His eldest brother went, had ships built to make money. And the middle one went, had shops built. They came to their father.

"'What have you done, my son?'

"'I have built ships.'

"To the youngest, 'You, what have you done?'

"'I, every poor man I found, I gave him money, and for poor girls I paid the cost of their marriages.'

"The king said: 'My youngest son will care well for the poor. Take another hundred thousand piastres.'

"The lad departed. Here, there, he spent his money; twelve piastres remained to him. Some Jews dug up a corpse and beat it.

"'What want you of him, that you are beating him?'

[1] *Gypsy-Folk-tales* (Hurst and Blackett, 1898, 386 pp.).

"'Twelve piastres we want of him.'

"'I'll give you them if you will let him be.'

"He gave the money; they let the dead man be. He arose and departed. As the lad goes, the dead man followed him. 'Where go you?' the dead man asked.

"'I am going for a walk.'

"'I'll come too; we'll go together; we will be partners.'

"'So be it.'

"'Come, I will bring you to a certain place.'

"He took and brought him to a village. There was a girl, takes a husband, goes to bed; by dawn next day the husbands are dead.

"'I will hide you somewhere; I will get you a girl, but we shall always be partners.'

"He got the girl—a dragon came out of her mouth.

"'And this night when you go to bed, I too will lie there.'

"He took his sword, he went near them. The lad said, 'That will never do. If you want her, do you take the girl.'

"'Are we not partners? You, do you sleep with her; I also, I will sleep here.'

"At midnight he sees the girl open her mouth; the dragon came forth. He drew his sword; he cut off its three heads; he put the heads in his bosom; he lay down; he fell asleep. Next morning the girl arose, and sees the man, her husband, living by her side.

"They told the girl's father: 'To-day your daughter has seen the dawn with her husband.'

"'That will be the son-in-law,' said the father.

"The lad took the girl; he is going to his father.

"'Come,' said the dead man, 'let's divide the money.'

"They took and divided it.

"'We have divided the money; let us also divide your wife.'

"The lad said, 'How divide her? If you want her, take her.'

"'I take her not; we will divide.'

"'How divide?' said the lad.

"The dead man said: 'I, I will divide.'

"The dead man seized her; he bound her knees. 'Do you catch hold of one foot, I'll take the other.'

"He raised his sword to strike the girl. In her fright the girl opened her mouth and cried, and out of her mouth fell a dragon. The dead man said to the lad: 'I am not for a wife, I am not for

any money. These dragons' heads are what devoured the men. Take her; the girl shall be yours, the money shall be yours. You did me a kindness; I also have done you one.'

"'What kindness did I do you?' asked the lad.

"'You took me from the hands of the Jews.'

"The dead man departed to his place, and the lad took his wife, went to his father."

The story has no name, but is clearly identical with the widespread folktale of "The Grateful Dead"—"Der dankbare Todte" of German folklorists, "Le Mort reconnaissant" of French. We have upwards of forty versions and variants, reaching back to the thirteenth century, and extending from Iceland to Sicily, from Armenia and Siberia to Spain and the Hebrides. The Armenian version is thus summarised by Benfey in his Introduction to the *Panchatantra* (Leipzig, 1859), vol. i., pp. 219-221:—

"A well-to-do man, once riding through a forest, comes on some men who have hung up a corpse on a tree, and are beating it cruelly. The dead man, they tell him, owed them money. He pays the debt, and buries him.

"Years go by, and gradually our man grows poor. In his native town lives a rich man with an only daughter, whom he wishes to find a husband for; but she has already had five husbands, all of whom have died on the marriage-night. Wooers have therefore grown shy, and when her father offers her to the impoverished hero, he also hesitates, and demands time to think it over.

"Now one day there comes a man to him, and wants to enter his service.

"'How should I keep a servant, who can hardly keep myself?'

"'But I want no pay, only half your future belongings.'

"They come to terms, and the servant advises him to close with the father's offer. On the wedding-night the servant posts himself with a sword in the bridal-chamber.

"'What wilt thou?'

"'You know by our compact half your future belongings is mine. I don't want the woman just now, but I insist on remaining here.'

"When now the wedded pair have fallen asleep, a serpent creeps out of the bride's mouth to sting the bridegroom to death; but the servant cuts off its head, and draws out its body.

"After some time the servant demands the division of all his master's belongings. The division is made; next he demands also half of the woman.

"'She must be hung up, head downwards, and then I will cleave her right through.'

"Thereupon the second serpent glides out of her mouth.

"'That's the last. Henceforth you can live with your wife safely and happily. But I want nothing of you. I am the spirit of the man whose corpse you once rescued from the shame and torment of beating, and piously buried.'

"Therewith he vanished."

Benfey regarded this Armenian story as a form of the Eastern original, but he could not in 1859 know of Paspati's Gypsy version,[1] or of this from the Russian government of Riazan, cited by Reinhold Köhler in *Orient und Occident*, vol. iii., 1864, pp. 93-103:—

"There once were two brothers, one of whom died, leaving a son called Hans. Hans grew up, but his uncle never troubled himself about him. One day some relations came to Hans and asked him why he sat there so idle and didn't rather do something.

"'I haven't a kopeck.'

"'Ask your uncle to pay you your inheritance.'

[1] Among many lost opportunities there is one I must always regret. In 1872-3 I was living at Göttingen and saw a good deal of Professor Benfey, who showed me uncommon kindness. I had Paspati's book by me, and we often spoke of the Gypsies and their language, but never once of their folktales. For then I knew nothing of folklore and nothing of Benfey as one of the greatest of folklorists.

He did so. The uncle hummed and hawed, and ended by giving him three hundred roubles.

"'There are three hundred roubles; do with them what you will.'

"Hans thanks his uncle, and goes out into the world.

"When he had wandered two weeks he arrived in another government. There he sees people running, and hurries after them. They have caught an infidel and are tearing his veins out.

"'Here, sell him to me,' says Hans.

"'Right gladly.'

"'What do you want?'

"'Three hundred roubles.'

"He gave them all his money, took the infidel, brought him to the priest, and had him baptized. But the poor wretch suffers terribly with his wounds. Hans begs the priest next morning to read a mass. It was done, the infidel received the sacrament, and on the third day died. There was no money left to bury him with. When the merchants and the people heard this they collected a lot of money. The dead man was buried with all honours, and there was a good deal of money left over. But Hans departed and took not a single kopeck.

"As he wanders on he sees all of a sudden an angel come down from heaven.

"'Good man, whither goest thou?'

"'I'm looking for work,' Hans answered.

"'Let's go together.'

"'Good.'

"So they went on further.

"'Wilt thou, good man, have me for an uncle? What we get we'll divide. Hold me in reverence, and what I command thee, do.'

"'Good,' said Hans.

"They came to another country, to a king. This king had a daughter.

"'Now, nephew, go to the market-place, hire yourself out. If anyone takes you, come and tell me that I may go with you.'

"Hans went, and had long to stand idle; no one would take him. Then the king came driving by.

"'Are you a Russian?'

"'Yes, from such and such a government.'

"'Will you become my son-in-law? I like you. I have lately lost a son-in-law.'

"'I can't say,' said Hans. 'I have an uncle; I'll ask him.'

"He went to his uncle and told him the offer. The uncle gave his permission, but the people scolded him.

"'What! send your nephew to certain death. The princess has had six men already, and strangled all of them. That's why the king has picked out a Russian this time.'

"'Don't you interfere, it's God's will.'

"The nephew goes to the king, and the king comes at once to business.

"'Well, how stands it?'

"'The uncle has given me his blessing.'

"'Good,' says the king, 'good,' and forthwith fetches the princess.

"'Does the bridegroom please you?'

"'Yes.'

"'Well, God bless you.'

"The nephew fetches the uncle. The marriage takes place, and a splendid marriage feast. It was time to go to rest. The young pair retired to the bridal chamber, and Hans lies down.

"'Ah!' says he, 'we haven't summoned the uncle.'

"The uncle comes.

"'It s lucky you didn't forget me. Sleep now and take your rest; I will lie down at the threshold.'

"They fall asleep. In the night comes a flying dragon. The uncle sprang up, seized his sword, and cut off its head. But the young pair lay sound asleep. The uncle washed up the blood, swept up the dragon's head, and flung it all into the sea.

"The king sent next morning to enquire.

"'They're up and very well.'

"For two whole months it was nothing but feasting and jollity.

"Then Hans says to the king: 'Little father, let me go home, I shan't be away long.'

"'Good,' said the king.

"They went to choose horses. The uncle lays his hand upon a horse.

"'Take this one.'

"So they chose seven horses. They harnessed four to the coach, and gave the uncle a three-in-hand. Off they started.

"Presently they came to the place where the uncle first appeared to Hans. They baited the horses. Then said the uncle: 'Now, nephew, we agreed to divide everything. Now we must part, let us also divide the wife.'

"The uncle took her, sawed her in half; out of her inside came young flying dragons. The nephew fell down in a swoon; but the uncle cleansed and washed the inwards of the wife, and sprinkled her with water, whereupon she came to life again.

"'Now, nephew,' said the uncle, 'I am well pleased with thee for thy obedience. I have sheltered thee in all thy ways and paths.'

"Then they took leave of one another. But Hans came to his real uncle, and gave him all the gold and silver. In a month he built him a castle, and then returned to his kingdom."

One of our oldest versions of the story is that from the *Tredici Piacevoli Notti* of Giovanni Francesco Straparola (Venice, 1550) xi. 2, of which Grimm's summary, somewhat expanded, runs thus:

Bertuccio, a simpleton, is not to receive what he has inherited from his father, a Piedmontese notary, until his thirtieth year, but on his coming to twenty-five his mother is to give him three hundred ducats to trade with. He gets one hundred from her, goes away, and finds a thief still stabbing a dead man whom he has murdered. Out of compassion the simpleton gives the thief eighty gold pieces, rescues the corpse, and expends the remaining twenty pieces in having it honourably buried. His mother is vexed at his stupidity, but he asks for the other two hundred ducats, goes away, and redeems the daughter of the King of Navarre from two robbers. Afterwards, when she is taken away to her father's court, she tells him that she will marry none but him, and that when he comes after her he must hold his right hand on his head, by which she may know him. He sets out for Navarre on a sorry beast, and on the way meets a knight, who gives him his beautiful horse and splendid apparel, in return for which the simpleton

has to promise that on his return he will share all he has gained with the knight. Thus richly equipped, Bertuccio pleases the king and obtains his beloved. On the way home the knight again meets him and claims the half of everything. Bertuccio duly divides everything; then the stranger knight claims one-half of the bride as well.

"How divide her?" asks Bertuccio.

Says the knight, "We must cleave her in twain."

"Nay, sooner than that, take the whole of her; I love her far too dearly to consent to that."

Then the stranger knight said: "Brother, take wife, clothes, horse, and treasure; I give you all I might claim. And know that I am the spirit of him who was slain by the robbers, and to whom you gave burial."

This said, he vanished.

It is the selfsame story, if somewhat changed, a good deal rationalised, as has often befallen folktales in their westward wanderings. For example, Grimm's "Master Thief," which might quite well have happened, corresponds to the Greek story of "Beauty and the Dragon," where Beauty has to steal, first, the winged horse of the dragon, next, his bell-hung bed-cover, and lastly, the Dragon himself. And Grimm's "Robber Bridegroom," our "Mr. Fox," to which Shakespeare makes reference in *Much Ado about Nothing*, meets us in Greece as the story, not of a robber, but of a vampire. But Ey, in his *Harzmärchenbuch* (Stade, 1862), gives a German version which is more, not less, supernatural than any of the Eastern forms of our story :—

A peasant's son with his small inheritance pays the debts of a dead man, and buries him. There is a princess bewitched by a mountain demon to whom she flies by night. The spirit of the dead man furnishes the peasant's son with a feather-shirt, a rod, and a sword, without, however, any stipulation as to division; and, thus furnished, the hero flies after the princess, flogging her. The demon suggests to the princess what she shall

give the wooer to guess, if he will not lose his head, as nine wooers have lost theirs before him. The hero overhears the demon's suggestions, and answers next day to the princess's questions, "What am I thinking of?" with first "Of thy father's white horse," next "Of thy father's battle-sword," and lastly "Of this," showing her the demon's head, which he has cut off after the princess and he had parted. On the wedding night the bridegroom must dip the princess three times in water; from which she emerges first as a raven, next as a dove, and lastly, the spell quite broken, as a maiden.

This is plainly identical with Asbjörnsen's Norse "Follower" or "Companion," familiar through Dasent's translation, and with the still more familiar "Travelling Companion" of Hans Christian Andersen. These three stories, whilst all of them lacking the proposed division of property, present a number of seemingly new episodes. Not one, however, of those episodes is probably of German, Norwegian, or Danish invention; they can always be paralleled by stories current in India, Persia, or South-eastern Europe. Thus we get the riddling princess in a long Persian story cited by Benfey (*Panchatantra*, vol. i., pp. 445-448), in Hahn's No. 114, "The Princess who would not Wed,"[1] and in another of Paspati's Turkish-Gypsy stories, which matches Campbell's hitherto unmatched Gaelic story of "The Knight of Riddles." The invisible hat of Asbjörn-

[1] This Greek folktale illustrates the old adage that "There is nothing new under the sun." According to so well-informed a work as *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, "an anæsthetic was first employed to deaden the pain of a dentistry operation in 1846 by Mr. Morton, a dentist of Boston." Yet here we find a prince taking a pair of tongs and filling a basket with a soporific herb (*Schlafkraut*), then applying this herb to each of forty-one dragons, and from each extracting a front tooth. "When the dragons woke up the next morning, one dragon remarked the gap in his fellow's mouth, and cried, 'Eh! what! you've lost a front tooth!' And when they came to look, they found that each had lost one, whereupon they were dreadfully frightened, and said: 'The man who can pull out our teeth could cut our throats just as easily'" (*Griechische Märchen*, vol. ii., p. 173).

sen's version is the invisible cap of Indian folk-tales; and in the Polish-Gypsy "Tale of a Wise Young Jew and a Golden Hen," which is closely analogous to "The Grateful Dead," the Jew picks up a beautiful wand, but makes no use of it afterwards.

The division of property, lacking also in the Bohemian, Polish, and Icelandic versions, recurs in Campbell's "The Barra Widow's Son" (No. 32, vol. ii., p. 110). This Gaelic story, replete with Celtic colour, has much closer affinities to Straparola than to Asbjörnsen. Its hero, Iain Mac a Maighstir, in Turkey redeems and buries the corpse of a debtor which two Turks are thrashing with iron flails; he also redeems the King of Spain's daughter, and brings her back to England. She sends him to Spain to reveal her whereabouts to her parents, and they bid him fetch her to them. A great general, a former lover, smuggles himself on board Iain's ship, and on the voyage back from England to Spain deserts him on an island, whereupon the princess goes mad. Iain is rescued from the island by a man in a boat, who asks him if he will give him half his realm, half his wife, and half his children. He returns to Spain; the princess recovers her reason; and the general is "torn amongst horses and burned amongst fires":—

"After the death of the king and queen, Iain was king over Spain. Three sons were born to him. On a night he heard a knocking in the door.

"'The asker is come,' said he.

"Who was there but the very man that took him out of the island.

"'Art thou for keeping thy promise?' said the one who came.

"'I am,' said Iain.

"'Thine own be thy realm, and thy children, and my blessing. Dost thou remember when thou didst pay eight merks for the corpse of a man in Turkey? That was my body. Health be thine; thou wilt see me no more.'"

Older than Straparola is the English "Sir Amadas, a rhymed romaunt," 778 lines long, dating about 1420, and printed by Henry Weber in his *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh, 1810, vol. iii., pp. 243-275), and in John Robson's *Three Early English Metrical Romances* (Camden Soc., 1842, pp. 27-56). Its hero, reduced to poverty, rides forth with but forty pounds, and finds in a chapel a lady watching the unburied corpse of her husband, a merchant who for a debt of thirty pounds has been kept sixteen weeks above ground, and is to be flung to the dogs. Sir Amadas settles the debt and buries the merchant. As he rides on through the greenwood, he is joined by a white knight on a milk-white steed, who promises to procure him the hand of a neighbouring princess on condition—

> "That euyn to part be-twene vs toe
> The godus thou hase wonun and spedde.

He betakes himself to court, where, by the white knight's counsel, he gives himself out for the owner of a rich stranded ship, and wins the princess's hand. She has borne him a son, when suddenly the white knight reappears—

> "He come in als gay gere,
> Ryȝte as he an angelle were,
> Cladde he was in quite."

He demands half of wife and child. At first Sir Amadas demurs; but at last, convinced by his heroic wife's exhortations, he declares himself ready, and is preparing to divide them with his sword. Thereupon the white knight reveals himself as the spirit of that merchant, releases Sir Amadas from the compact, and vanishes away "as dew in sun."

So we come to "Jack the Giant-Killer," of which the earliest chap-book version (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1711; London, 1805; Paisley, *c.* 1814) is reprinted in J. O.

Halliwell's *Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales* (1849, pp. 67-71) and Mr. Joseph Jacobs' *English Fairy Tales* (1890, pp. 103-106, 237). As was first pointed out by Reinhold Köhler in *Orient und Occident* (vol. ii., 1864, p. 327), the "Grateful Dead" story occurs here in two disconnected episodes :—

"Now it happened in these days that King Arthur's only son asked his father to give him a large sum of money in order that he might go and seek his fortune in Wales, where lived a beautiful lady possessed with seven evil spirits. The king did his best to dissuade his son, but in vain, so at last gave way; and the prince set out off with two horses, one loaded with money, the other for himself to ride upon. Now, after several days' travel, he came to a market-town in Wales where he beheld a vast crowd of people gathered together. The prince asked the reason of it, and was told that they had arrested a corpse for several large sums of money which the deceased owed when he died. The prince replied that it was a pity creditors should be so cruel, and said: 'Go, bury the dead, and let his creditors come to my lodging, and there their debts shall be paid.'

"They came in such great numbers that before night he had only twopence left for himself. Now Jack the Giant-Killer, coming that way, was so taken with the generosity of the prince that he desired to be his servant. This being agreed upon, the next morning they set forward on their journey together, when, as they were riding out of the town, an old woman called after the prince, saying: 'He has owed me twopence these seven years; pray, pay me as well as the rest.'

"Putting his hand to his pocket the prince gave the woman all he had left, so that after their day's food, which cost what small spell Jack had by him, they were without a penny between them. [Then comes a visit to a three-headed giant—a long intermediate episode of no further concern to us than that Jack procures here a coat of darkness, a cap of knowledge, a sword of sharpness, and shoes of swiftness.] Jack soon overtook his master, and they quickly arrived at the house of the lady the prince sought, who, finding the prince to be a suitor, prepared a splendid banquet for him. After the repast was concluded she told him she had a task for

him. She wiped his mouth with a handkerchief, saying: 'You must show me that handkerchief to-morrow morning or else you will lose your head.' With that she put it in her bosom.

"The prince went to bed in great sorrow, but Jack's cap of knowledge informed him how it was to be obtained. In the middle of the night she called upon her familiar spirit to carry her to Lucifer. But Jack put on his coat of darkness and his shoes of swiftness, and was there as soon as she was. When she entered the place of the Old One she gave the handkerchief to old Lucifer, who laid it upon a shelf, whence Jack took it and brought it to his master, who showed it to the lady next day, and so saved his life. On that day she gave the prince a kiss, and told him he must show her the lips to-morrow morning that she kissed last night or lose his head.

"'Oh!' he replied, 'if you kiss none but mine, I will.'

"'That is neither here nor there,' said she. 'If you do not, death's your portion.'

"At midnight she went as before, and was angry with old Lucifer for letting the handkerchief go. 'But now,' quoth she, 'I will be too hard for the king's son, for I will kiss thee, and he is to show me thy lips.'

"Which she did, and Jack, when she was not standing by, cut off Lucifer's head, and brought it under his invisible coat to his master, who the next morning pulled it out by the horns before the lady. This broke the enchantment, and the evil spirit left her, and she appeared in all her beauty. They were married the next morning."

It must surely be evident to the "meanest intelligence" that we have here the English equivalent of the German, the Danish, and the Norse story. True there is no Grateful Dead at all; Jack has to play his part. But that is nothing to the surprising changes presented by other variants of the folktale. A Danish one wanders off into "Puss in Boots," and the Icelandic one into the "Forbidden Room;" in Kennedy's "Jack the Master and Jack the Servant" (*Fictions of the Irish Celts*, pp. 32-38) it is the dead man's brother who plays the dead man's part; and in a Gascon

version the dead man is not really dead, but merely shamming to evade his creditors. Sometimes one gets the burial of a dead debtor, but nothing comes of it, as in Cosquin's "Le Petit Bossu" (*Contes de Lorraine,* No. 19, vol. i. pp. 208-222):—

"The prince came to Pekin. When he passed in front of the hotel where his brothers were stopping, they were standing out on the steps, but were ashamed of him, so went inside. The poor little hunchback alighted at a sorry inn, where he unyoked his horse himself; then he got a porter to show him the city. As they went, he saw a dead man whom they had left without burial. 'Why,' he asked, 'haven't they buried him?'

"'Because he had too many creditors, and couldn't pay them.'

"'And by paying for him could one get him buried?'

"'Yes, certainly.'

"The prince summoned the creditors, paid the dead man's debts, and gave money to bury him with; then he continued his journey."

That is all, the dead man is never once afterwards referred to.

Sometimes, on the other hand, there is no dead debtor, no burial, yet we get the division of property, *e.g.*, in Laura Gonzenbach's Sicilian story, "Of one who with help of St. Joseph won the King's Daughter" (*Sicilianische Märchen,* No. 74, vol. ii., pp. 96-103, 248-250). In this tale which is identical with Asbjörnsen's "Boots and his Crew," the youngest of three brothers builds with St. Joseph's aid a ship that will go by land and sea, and then takes on board a cloud-compeller, a tree-bearer, a stream-drinker, a sharpshooter, and a champion walker. St. Joseph has stipulated that he is to get half of all the lad may win, so on their arrival—

"'Now,' said the saint, 'you have got safe home and must keep your promise, and give me half of all your treasures.'

"'That will I, old father,' said the youth, and divided all the

treasure into two equal shares. Only the golden crown remained, and he drew his sword, cut it through, and gave half also of it to St. Joseph.

"'Old father,' he said, 'now I've shared everything, there's nothing more left.'

"'Nothing more left? You have forgotten the best of all.'

"'The best, old father, I can see nothing that we haven't shared.'

"'And the king's daughter? Did not the compact run that we must share everything that you got?'

"The lad was sore troubled, for he loved the king's fair daughter dearly. But he thought: 'I promised, and must keep my promise;' drew his sword, and was about to cleave the king's fair daughter in twain.

"But: 'Hold,' cried St. Joseph, 'the king's fair daughter is thine, and thine also all the treasures, for I am St. Joseph and need them not. I have helped thee because I knew thy piety and humility, and if ever thou needest me afterwards, apply to me always. I will help thee.'

"Thereon he blessed them both and vanished."

In "Sir Amadas" and in the Gaelic story there is talk of dividing the child as well as the mother; in the Bukowina-Gypsy story of "The Winged Hero" (a version of the Sanskrit "Weaver as Vishnu") the child only is mentioned:—

"The prince screwed his wings, and flew to the fire, and took a brand of it, and started back; and a spark fell on one wing, and the wing caught fire. Just as he was under the mountain the wing fell off, and he flung away the other as well. And he walked round the mountain and could not ascend it. And God came to him and said: 'Why weepest thou?'

"'Ah! how should I not weep? For I cannot ascend the mountain, and my wife has brought forth a child.'

"'What will you give me if I carry you to the top?'

"'I will give you whatever you want.'

"'Will you give me what is dearest to you?'

"'I will.'

"'Let us make an agreement."

"They made one. God cast him into a deep sleep, and her as well; and God bore them to his father's, to his own bed, and left them there and departed.

". . . . The boy grew big, and was playing one day. The emperor and the empress had gone to church, and the nurse too had gone to church, God came disguised as a beggar. The prince said to the little lad: 'Take a handful of money, and give it to the beggar.'

"The beggar said: 'I don't want this money; it's bad. Tell your father to give me what he vowed he would.'

"The prince was angry, and took his sword in his hand, and went to the old man to kill him. The old man took the sword in his own hand and said: 'Give me what you vowed to me; the child, you know, when you were weeping under the mountain.'

"'I will give you money, I will not give you the child.'

"God took the child by the head, and the father took him by the feet, and they tugged, and God cut the child in half.'

"'One half for you, and one half for me.'

"'I don't want him now you've killed him. Do you take him.'

"God took him, and went outside and put him together, and he was healed and lived again.

"'Do you take him now.'

"For God cut off his sins."

One could go on almost for ever with these variants; those who would follow them further may consult the works already referred to, and also Simrock's *Der Gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Todten* (Bonn, 1856), Reinhold Köhler in Pfeiffer's *Germania* (vol. iii., pp. 199-209), W. R. S. Ralston in *Fraser's Magazine* (November, 1872), and Professor T. C. Crane's *Italian Popular Tales* (1885, pp. 131-5, 350-1). The strange thing is that none of these folklorists—Benfey, Köhler, Hahn, Ralston, Crane, Cosquin—has noticed the striking resemblance between our folktale and the Book of Tobit, a story two thousand years old, so older far than any we have cited.

Tobit, a righteous Jew, is carried captive to Nineveh. He gives many alms to his brethren, bread to the hungry, and clothes to the naked (*cf.* Gypsy version); "and if I saw any of my nation dead or cast about the walls of Nineve, I buried him." So his goods are taken from him. Yet again one day he leaves his meat to go and bury a strangled Jew. That same night he was blinded by the droppings of sparrows. He sends his son Tobias to Rages in Media to recover ten talents of silver entrusted to a friend; and Tobias finds a travelling companion, who really is "Raphael, that was an angel." On the way Tobias catches a fish (a crocodile, say the commentators, but query, rather a dragon or *râkshasa*?), and by Raphael's advice takes its heart and liver and gall. They lodge near Rages with Tobias's cousin Raguel, whose daughter, Sara, has had seven husbands. Asmodeus, the evil spirit, has killed them all before they have lain with her, and her maids reproach her with having strangled them (*cf.* the Russian version). Raguel offers Sara's hand to Tobias (*cf.* Armenian and Russian versions); and Tobias, by Raphael's advice, makes a fumigation with the heart and the liver of the fish, which drives Asmodeus into the utmost parts of Egypt. Next morning Raguel sends to inquire if Tobias is alive, and learns he is (*cf.* Gypsy and Russian versions). After recovering the ten talents Tobias returns home with Sara and Raphael (*cf.* Gypsy and Russian versions), cures his father's blindness with the fish's gall, and *offers to Raphael half of all that he has brought* (chap. 12, vv. 2, 5; *cf.* most versions).

"'But I,' is the answer, 'am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels . . . . Now therefore give God thanks, for I go up to him that sent me.'

"And when they arose they saw him no more" (*cf.* Gypsy, Armenian, Straparola's, Gaelic, Old English, and other versions).

Plainly the folktale is not derivable from the Book of Tobit;[1] no, the Book of Tobit becomes rightly intelligible only by means of the folktale. The burial of the dead

[1] Laura Gonzenbach gives as a Sicilian folktale "The History of Tobià and Tobiòla" (No. 89, vol. ii., pp. 177-181), which must be borrowed directly from the Book of Tobit. Reinhold Köhler, who annotated her stories so admirably has, rather strangely, no note upon this one. The source, perhaps, seemed too self-evident.

by Tobit has no more apparent connection with the subsequent narrative than the burial of the dead debtor has in our "Jack the Giant-Killer;" and the proposed division of property pre-demands an original compact. Then consider that in the Russian version, as also in "Sir Amadas," the Grateful Dead returns as an angel, and that in Hahn's Greek folktale, "Faith's Recompense" (No. 53, vol. i., p. 295), the old saint, relinquishing his covenanted share, stays the hero's hand as he would cleave the bride, and cries: "Hold, I am one sent by God." Is it not likely, more than likely, certain, that in the original form the angel Raphael must have been the grateful spirit of a dead man buried by Tobit? Even Tobias's unnecessary dog, which has sorely puzzled the commentators, can be matched from the Slovak-Gypsy story of "The Dragon," whose hero, the Wanderer, "had such a big dog; whatever one thought of, that dog immediately knew." That knowing dog is never once heard of afterwards; but often, as in Hahn's "Twin Brothers" (No. 22, vol. i., p. 170), a dog proves decidedly helpful.

The conclusions to be drawn from my discovery—if such it be—seem sufficiently obvious. But they lie quite beyond my *fach*; I therefore leave it for the Higher Critics to draw them.[1]

Post-scriptum.—Since writing this article, I have come

[1] The late Professor Stephens, in his edition of *Sir Amadace* (Copenhagen, 1860), was the first to point out the connection between the story of Tobit and that of *The Grateful Dead.* He gives a list of variants; but Mr. Groome's paper is welcome, as extending the list and pointing out the various changes the tale has undergone. It may be added that Cicero (*De Divin.*, l. i.) relates a story of Simonides, who, travelling, paid for the obsequies of a man whom he found dying. Shortly afterwards the dead man appeared to him in a dream and warned him not to sail in a certain ship, as he intended. Simonides complied with the advice. The ship was wrecked, and all on board were lost. The story of Tobit was very popular in the East, under the name of *Chikâr the Wise. See* Lidzbarski, *Geschichten und Lieder aus den neu-aramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 3, and Mr. Conybeare's review of it, *ante*, p. 165. Dr. Dillon, in the *Contemporary Review* for March last, has given another version.—Ed.

on the following passage in Madame Darmesteter's *Life of Renan* (1897, p. 251):—"That night he told us the story of the Babylonian Tobias. Rash and young, this Chaldæan brother of our Tobit, discouraged by the difficult approaches of prosperity, had entered into partnership with a demi-god or Demon, who made all his schemes succeed and pocketed fifty per cent. upon the profits. The remaining fifty sufficed to make Tobias as rich as Oriental fancy can imagine. The young man fell in love, married his bride, and brought her home. On the threshold stood the Demon: 'How about my fifty per cent?' The Venus d'Ille, you see, was not born yesterday. From the dimmest dawn of time sages have taught us not to trust the gods too far."

Unluckily there seems to be no authority whatever for this alleged Chaldæan version, which should obviously come closer to the folk-tale than to the Book of Tobit. At least Professor Sayce writes me:—"The passage in Madame Darmesteter's *Life of Renan* must be based on an error, for no such story—so far as I know—has ever been found on a cuneiform tablet. It may have originated in a mistranslation of one of the contract tablets; but, if so, the mistranslation must have appeared is some obscure French publication, perhaps a newspaper, which I have not seen."

Alack! and yet our folk-tale remains perhaps the oldest current folk-tale in the world.

CHRIST'S HALF-DOLE: AN EAST ANGLIAN FISHING CUSTOM.

By W. B. Gerish.

THE ancient custom of paying a tribute to the Church on the harvest of the sea comes, I think, within the domain of the folklorist. It was never a *tithe*, correctly speaking, as by law fish taken in the sea or river were not titheable, although if taken in enclosed water they were. Originally, therefore, a free-will offering—the origin of which dates from the earliest times, as old, perhaps, as Christianity itself, or in another form possibly even older, and given by the fisher-folk at Yarmouth, Gorleston, and Lowestoft, with the idea of securing a safe voyage and heavy catch of fish—it became in course of time a custom, and was afterwards assumed to be a right which the Church, both Catholic and Protestant, demanded and enforced. At one time it must have formed no inconsiderable item in the value of the livings. In the reign of Edward III., the half-dole at Yarmouth realised the large sum of 700 marks (about £466), but in the reign of Henry VIII. it had fallen as low as 60 marks.

Mr. J. W. de Caux in his book on the *Herring and Herring-Fishery* states (p. 98-9):

"From time to time efforts were made to shake off this incubus, and as late as 1845 the Rev. F. Cunningham, vicar of Lowestoft, summoned a fisherman named John Roberts 'for having refused or neglected to pay tithes for his fish.' The case was argued for the defendant by Mr. J. H. Tillett of Norwich, who contended that the 'tithe did not arise,' as was stated in the information, 'in the parish of Lowestoft, but in the sea,' and that therefore, as it was neither legal nor just, it could not be enforced.' The magistrates, however, found for the complainant, and made an order for

10*s*. 3*d*. and 10*s*. costs. Whether this order was obeyed or not, I cannot say; but since then, as far as I have been able to learn, the custom has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. I have been told that the custom was enforced at Great Yarmouth until a fisherman, happening to have a tenth child, took it to the vicarage in the vain hope that the vicar would adopt it. Whilst this custom was enforced special religious services were held during the herring season for the spiritual welfare and earthly prosperity of the fishermen; and from an old manuscript I learn that the proper Psalms and Lessons in use at such services were as follows: Psalms, the whole of the 45th, verses 19 to 41 of the 78th, from verse 24 to the end of the 104th, verses 23 to 32 of the 107th; Lessons, Genesis 1st, 20 to 24, 2 Kings 7th, 1, 2, and 20, Habbakuk 3rd, 17 and 18, Matthew 8th, 23 to 27, Luke 5th, 4 to 10, John 6th, 26 and 27. Before the Reformation it was usual for the priest to 'give a blessing to the fishing yearly.'"

It may be mentioned that the half-dole which was claimed by the *town* of Great Yarmouth (this was enforced by a bye-law dating from 1484 and assigned to the support of the haven and pier) ceased to be collected in 1824, and this evidently proved a death-blow to the Church's half-dole, as it did not long survive after this. Mr. Lupson, the parish clerk, believes a share of the catch is still called the "Vicar's share," but this share never reaches him, it is merely a survival.

The above quotation from Mr. de Caux's work was written in 1881; and some five or six years afterwards a circular was sent out by the then churchwardens of St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, which contained the following paragraph: "The vicar is (in lieu of an ancient tithe on the fishing) alone entitled to receive an Easter offering from every inhabitant of the town, whether attending divine worship at the parish church or not."

An interesting discussion on the above arose at the vestry meeting, in which Mr. de Caux took an active part. He stated that he knew that in the olden time there used to be what was called "Christ's half-dole," but that was not on fish generally but only on herring (Mr. Thomas Hammond a witness at the British Channel Fisheries Commission, specified mackerel and herring). That, however, fell into desuetude fifty years ago; but in 1858 the then mayor, Mr. Robert Steward, believing that the old custom was legal, desired to revive it. The custom was that the first-fruits of the fishing should be presented to the mayor. Mr. Steward thought there was a legal act for that, and he knew that he took legal advice in the matter. With regard to Christ's half-dole, it was simply a free-will offering which became a custom, but it was entirely dropped and there was no legal enactment for it. In the paragraph it was stated that the tithe was payable by every individual in the town. He had pointed out that if there was an ancient tithe it was only payable by the fishermen; but if the paragraph was correct then every individual in the town was liable to pay those Easter offerings, and that meant not only the ratepayers but strangers who happened to be residing there for a short time. He held that it was an improper and incorrect statement to make, and strongly objected to it.

He went on to state that while Church-rates were in existence nothing was said about "Christ's half-dole;" the first he heard of it was about fourteen years ago. After some further remarks the vicar replied, stating that his predecessors, going back as far, he thought, as Dr. Pellew (1831-1844) as vicars of Yarmouth appeared, whether legally or not, to have received something in connection with the fishing. As late as Canon Nevill's time (1859-1874) he certainly did receive something per boat, the owners of which merely by ancient custom it might be, apart from any legal claim, paid to the vicar a guinea or something of that sort. After some further discussion it

was decided to alter the wording of the paragraph in future circulars to avoid the possible misconception.

The present vicar, the Rev. J. E. Rogers, to whom I wrote, was unable to give me any information, but kindly asked the parish clerk to write me, and the latter tells me that nothing is now paid.

In *Statistics of the Fisheries of Yarmouth and Lowestoft*, by George Nall, 1866, the witness Hammond, previously mentioned, stated :

"We pay tithe on both herring and mackerel. The clergymen value the herring at so much per last, according to their number. Persons go round and ascertain the number each boat has caught, value them, and deduct a certain proportion for the boat's expense; the remainder is divided into eighty shares" (termed "doles;" the statutes and ordinances of the town regulated these from very early times) "of which he takes one. It amounts to between £2 and £3 each boat. The Yorkshire boats pay nothing."

With reference to the adjoining parish of Gorleston, Dr. J. Bately has kindly sent me a copy of a Terrier dated 1827 which says:

"Southtown is consolidated to Gorleston with Westtown where all the Tythes both great and small belong solely to the vicar of Gorleston and are constantly paid to him or his tenants in kind or compounded for. Tythe of fish taken of the sea is by custom due to the vicar, viz., for every boat occupied or employed in the herring fishery and the owners whereof live within the parish 10*s*. 6*d*., and for boats employed in the mackerel fishery a consideration likewise hath always been paid to the vicar in proportion to the quantity taken."

This customary payment has also long ceased, Dr. Bately tells me. It was probably discontinued at the same time as at Yarmouth.

The vicar of Lowestoft, the Rev. W. J. Lawrance, has

kindly sent me the following note on the custom there—communicated by F. W. Longe, Esq., of that town:

"The earliest record which we are aware of, referring to the tithe of fish, is an account of a valuation of the living in 1567 (10 Eliz.), in which it is stated that in the time of Henry VIII., before the dissolution of the monasteries, this tithe amounted to £14, being £1 received from each of the fourteen ships going to Iceland for the cod and ling fishing.

"It is stated in the same proceedings that these receipts had fallen to £1 in 1567, when the ships going to Iceland had been reduced to that number.

"In a private account of this tithe, written by the vicar (the Rev. J. Tanner) in 1785, it is stated that the fishery so declined after 1567 that no tithe of fish was claimed, and the income of the vicars was supplemented for many years by voluntary contributions, and thus when the fishing began to revive the vicars still abstained for some years from claiming the tithe from fear of checking the voluntary contributions.

"During the eighteenth century the fish-tithe was again received from the owners of ships employed in the herring and mackerel fishing. The vicar's claim, as supported by ancient custom both at Lowestoft and Yarmouth, was for a half-dole or half-share in the division of the produce of each fishing voyage; this claim as regards the herring fishery seems to have been privately compounded for by a payment of 10*s.* a year for each ship going to sea. The tithe from the mackerel fishing was still received as a half-dole, but it seems that the shipowners were in the habit of varying the number of doles or shares into which the produce was divided, so that the value of the vicar's half-dole was reduced to the three-hundredth part of the total sum divided.

"From a statement of the value of the living in 1831 by the then vicar, the amount received in that year for fish-tithe was £47 17*s.* 4½*d.* In 1845 the legality of the claim of tithe

of fish being disputed, the vicar, the Rev. Francis Cunningham, had the question tried before the local magistrates. He won his case, but the proceedings to enforce payment caused so much opposition and bad feeling that the vicar thought it his duty not to follow the matter up, and he appears to have abandoned all claim for fish-tithe, either from the herring or mackerel fishery. Since this time and then, a large fishing trade, the trawl fishing, has grown up at Lowestoft, from which no claim for a fish-tithe was ever made."

It would be interesting to learn if this custom prevailed, as I am of opinion it did, at other fishing towns in England.

REVIEWS.

L'Année Sociologique, publiée sous la direction de Émile Durkheim, Prof. de Sociologie à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Première Année (1896-7). Paris: F. Alcan. 1898.

M. Durkheim, with the collaboration of a number of scientific colleagues, has commenced the publication of an annual, of which this is the pioneer, with the object not merely of presenting from year to year a picture of the condition of literature properly called sociological, but of supplying a periodical account of the researches made in the special sciences in which sociology finds its materials, such as historical jurisprudence, various branches of folklore (including the history of religions), moral statistics, criminal anthropology, economics. Each department is supervised by a specialist; and the articles comprised in the volume are of two kinds. The larger part of the volume consists in critical analyses of books and scientific papers published from Midsummer, 1896, to Midsummer, 1897. These are preceded by original matter, in the case of the volume before us by two articles, one by M. Durkheim himself on the prohibition of incest and its origin, the other by Professor Simmel of Berlin, entitled "How Social Forms are maintained."

M. Durkheim's paper is of the greatest interest for students of folklore, especially at this moment, when the universal distribution of totemism is so strongly contested, when the origins of exogamy are under discussion, and the early forms of the family and the meaning of the clan-system are being so keenly examined. He derives the prohibition of sexual relations between near kindred from the clan-system, and finds its basis in totemism, which he assumes to be universal. Defining the clan as a group of individuals who consider themselves all akin one to another, but who recognise that kinship solely from the fact that they are the bearers of the same totem, he lays it down that we know of no

clan which does not answer to this definition, and is not exogamous, and that all societies have themselves passed through this organisation, or are sprung from others which have. Since incest consists in a sexual union between relatives of a prohibited degree, it follows that exogamy is a prohibition of incest. But exogamy alone will not prevent the union of persons who are in fact near akin. In Australia this is effected by the combination of the class-system with the clan-system. Contrary to Morgan, M. Durkheim argues that the rise of the class-system is subsequent to the development of the clan. He assumes that each clan had its territory, and contends that the class name really indicates in one word the clan of the person and the territory where he was born, that is to say, his paternity. It is difficult to explain the details without occupying more space than is at our disposal. It must suffice to say that the theory is an ingenious one, and if correct it solves a formidable difficulty. At the same time, it seems to raise others which require careful consideration. The author declares that the clan is uterine, but that there is no evidence (if we understand him aright) of any other family arrangement than that which subsists generally at present, namely, that the wife and children dwell with the husband (not he with them) and are under his power. But if so, then there could be no clan-territory; and, in fact, M. Durkheim's hypothesis as to the rise of the class-system is hardly conceivable, or at all events hardly probable, except as the concomitant of a change from a condition where the husband visited, or dwelt with, his wife among her kin, to the present arrangement, whereby he takes her to dwell with him.

So far, however, we are not brought face to face with any explanation of exogamy as a rule, nor of the horror which the idea of incest inspires in all communities. But the way has been cleared. After an excellent criticism of rival theories, the author points out that exogamy is simply a particular instance of a religious institution found at the base of all primitive religions (and, indeed, in a sense, of all religions), the taboo. He points out that women are, in savage opinion, invested with a special religious character which holds the masculine population at a distance, not merely in what concerns sexual matters, but in all the details of life. This interdiction is of course emphasised at certain periods; and M. Durkheim connects it with the horror

with which blood, and especially the blood of the totem and the totem-clan, is regarded. He contends that this horror was at first confined, so far as women were concerned, to those of the clan, and resulted in exogamy, and that in course of time, when, as the consequence of exogamy, women of various clans became intermixed in residence, the horror and the taboo were extended to them all; but, because this was only a secondary effect, it was not complete, and the total separation of the sexes only extended to those of the same clan.

The importance of this theory will be seen at a glance. It offers a simple explanation of the recoil which all nations have experienced from what they regard as incest, while it is not open to the objections urged, and urged successfully, against the rival theories of Spencer, Maclennan, and Westermarck. At present, however, it is merely a theory; it depends upon the universality of totemism, and moreover demands careful examination in connection with rites of marriage and other customs. M. Durkheim does not concern himself with these. He goes on to argue that exogamy, thus originated, has evolved with the family. Beginning with the uterine clan, when paternity, having long been admitted as a fact, obtained legal recognition, and legal relationships were transferred from the mother's side exclusively to the father's, these sexual interdictions followed them. When totemism disappeared, and with it the clan-system, exogamy attached itself to the new types of the family which began to be constituted and which rested on other bases. It was accommodated to them, extending on the one hand to relations never contemplated by the unilateral clan-system, and on the other hand becoming more circumscribed as the wider clan-relationships ceased to be recognised. Family life is dominated by the idea of duty. The domestic affections of parent and child, brother and sister, are tinged with respect incompatible with conjugal relationship. The very existence of the family rests on exogamy, understanding that term in a wide sense. Sexual relations, as we conceive them, are based upon pleasure, upon mutual attraction. They do not become permanent, the family, properly speaking, does not come into existence until the arrival of children. Sexual relations being thus founded in spontaneity, they are opposed radically to the ties of kinship. But this implies that they must first of all have been rejected from the moral atmosphere in which the family has its being. Not that

there is anything in them which necessitated this broad separation: it must have been imposed upon them from without. In other words, the moral incompatibility, in the name of which we to-day prohibit incest, is itself a consequence of this prohibition, which therefore must be due to some other cause. This cause is the totality of beliefs and rites of which exogamy was the outcome—totemism. Once the prejudices relative to blood had led men to forbid all union between kindred, the sexual instinct obliged them to seek satisfaction outside the kindred group, and hence it speedily differentiated from the kin-sentiment. Two spheres were thus opened to human activity and sensibility. The one—the clan, the family—was and remained the theatre of duty, morality. The other, the external, was that of passion, which only took-on a moral character in the measure in which it affected domestic interests. In the meantime, and in consequence of its initial freedom from the idea of duty, it has enriched humanity with emotions and ideas that but for exogamy could never have existed. To it the imagination owes many of the developments of art and poetry, and many of the aspirations which we count among the most precious inheritances of civilisation.

We have not presumed to criticise this very stimulating essay; considerations of time and space have limited us to a bare outline of its main thesis. It should be read and studied, together with the analysis and criticisms, by the same author later in the volume, of the recent works of Professor Kohler, Herr Grosse, and others. The criticisms of the former we can only accept with reserve, for we believe there is more to be said on behalf of an early prevalence of group-marriage than M. Durkheim admits. In any case, however, he has effected a masterly presentment of his view, and it deserves respectful consideration.

For anthropologists the whole volume is full of interest. We wish well to the new venture; and we gladly hail the rise of a French critical and constructive school of enquirers into savage custom.

Aberglaube und Strafrecht. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des Einflusses der Volksanschauungen auf die Verübung von Verbrechen. A. Löwenstimm. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. Jos. Kohler. Berlin, 1897, Stuhr'sche Buchhandlung.

The work of which this is the authorised German translation is written by a jurist in the Ministry of Justice at St. Petersburg It has rather a practical than a merely scientific object, namely, to urge upon the compilers of the contemplated new Criminal Code for the Russian Empire, and on other departments of the Government, the importance of the study of superstition in connection with criminal jurisprudence, and of enforcing that study upon all who are concerned with the regulation of the popular life, especially lawyers and priests. But it is by no means without interest for anthropological students, whose interests are less directly practical. And, though its arguments are immediately addressed to the circumstances of life in Russia, it contains much that may well be taken to heart by the administrators of an empire comprehending men in all grades of culture and in every quarter of the globe. The notorious Clonmel case will occur to the reader's mind at once; and a student of folklore knows that this is only the most famous of a long series of cases in which human beings have been misused, and even done to death, under the influence of superstition, in these islands and in our own day.

But unless the term "superstition" be greatly enlarged beyond its ordinary meaning, much more than superstition must be included in the subjects of study of criminal lawyers and other administrators. The entire circle of folklore contains useful lessons for them. The reports of Sir William MacGregor on British New Guinea are full of cases in which murder is not merely excusable, or even justifiable, but is imperiously demanded, by the customs and the public opinion of the tribes where it is committed. If a civilised government is to be maintained, the crime cannot go unpunished; but to reward it with the same penalty as we inflict on the burglar who shoots a policeman, or the scoundrel who is found guilty of poisoning, is to be guilty of gross injustice. And yet it is not every Colonial Governor who would

stop, like Sir William MacGregor, to inquire into the customs and superstitions of the natives with whom he had to deal, or who would think they concerned him at all.

The work before us, the interest of which is quite out of proportion to its shortness, deals chiefly with superstitions; and many of the examples given are highly curious. Human sacrifice, ploughing round a commune as a precaution against epidemics, vampyres, talismans, are only a few of the subjects touched. When, however, the author comes to deal with the restlessness which is everywhere the consequence of a serious epidemic, we can no longer classify the cause with accuracy as superstition. It is rather terror leading to the entertainment of every species of credulity, and rising to the height of fury in the determination to put an end to all possibilities of infection. Superstition proper, of course, does enter into many of these terrors; but the term by no means covers the ground. In the town in which these words are written there is a strong anti-vaccination party, and popular feeling ran very high against the medical men during a recent epidemic of small-pox. One of the chief grievances against them was that they had some secret prophylactic against the disease—not vaccination, of course. And the entire vaccination-party was charged with poisoning the water, to produce small-pox! Fear and anger gave birth to this credulity even amongst intelligent men. At Maidstone, during the epidemic of typhoid fever, the effigy of the medical officer of health was burnt, in consequence of the sanitary measures on which he insisted. These manifestations of popular excitement, though strictly analogous to many described by M. Löwenstimm, can only be reckoned as superstition by an extension of the use of that term which is beyond the bounds of anything like scientific language.

The author himself, therefore, while intending to confine his inquiries to cases of superstition, finds his subject draw him over the boundary line. Not that this detracts in any way from the value of his book: it merely gives point to the contention that it is not enough for those who govern to study one department of national psychology; the whole must be surveyed, for difficulties arise in the most unlooked-for directions, difficulties with which it requires knowledge properly to grapple. Doubtless this is a council of perfection. It is well, however, to set up a high standard. Recent deplorable occurrences in India have been

aggravated, if not caused, by the happy-go-lucky methods of our administration. And the most important lesson they convey is one of the necessity of a great change in our policy, by abandoning the carelessness and indifference with which we have been accustomed to regard other creeds and social arrangements than our own, and applying ourselves with thorough determination to a real comprehension of the prejudices and ideals of our fellow-subjects.

M. Löwenstimm's weighty words are illustrated by numerous examples of crime, in which the motive is traced in directions where our detectives rarely pry. Professor Kohler has rendered a service alike to scientific students and to persons occupied with the problem of government in translating the work into a western tongue. And the price, which is only two marks and a half, ought to put it within the reach of all to whom the subject is of interest.

FOLK-LORE CATANESE. J. ARTURO TROMBATORE. Torino: Carlo Clausen, 1896.

THIS modest little work must be regarded as a supplement to the vast encyclopedia of Sicilian folklore which we owe to the unwearied labours of Dr. Pitrè. It is limited to traditions appearing to the author to be indigenous to the province of Catania. He has of set purpose put aside all such as he believed to be common to the entire island. Catania was from early times the seat of a Greek colony; and we must expect to find, therefore, traditions of Greek origin among the folklore of Catania. Such probably is the curious tale that Saint Agatha was beloved by a proconsul, whose name is given as Quintian. Having vowed herself to God, the maiden put him off until she had completed a web she had begun to weave; but what she wove in the day she unravelled at night. This looks like a reminiscence of the wooing of Penelope. Saint Agatha is a saint highly honoured at Catania; and her festival, which used to extend from the 17th to the 22nd August, and even now is celebrated from the 18th to the 21st, is one of those municipal functions, like that of Gubbio, so common in Italy, and so well deserving of close and careful study.

The special character of the folklore here recorded does not exclude a general resemblance to that of other European countries. The sacredness of bread, for example, is a very wide-spread superstition. It is not unusual, when bread falls to the ground, to kiss it on picking it up. But in Catania the loaf is also kissed before cutting or breaking it. And, with reference to a Hebridean superstition recently noted in these pages (vol. viii. p. 380), it may be mentioned that it is regarded as unlucky to dress the hair on Friday. A local rhyme blesses the dough that is made, and curses the tresses that are bound on that day. The distinction is curious, and demands further inquiry.

Many other interesting superstitions are collected in these exquisitely printed pages. The author's analysis of the Canzoni will be useful to students of folk-poetry.

BIBLIOTECA DELLE TRADIZIONI POPOLARI SICILANE, per cura di GIUSEPPE PITRÈ. Vol. xx. INDOVINELLI, DUBBI, SCIOGLILINGUA DEL POPOLO SICILIANO, vol. unico. Torino-Palermo: Carlo Clausen, 1897.

IN this volume Signor Pitrè adds yet further to the store of Sicilian folklore which he has long been accumulating with indefatigable zeal. The collection of riddles and verbal puzzles here gathered together fills more than four hundred pages, and is preceded by an introduction of great value. The author commences by devoting his attention to the nomenclature of *indovinelli*, and subsequently undertakes to define the true character of the riddle, after which he occupies some space with an examination of the indecent folk-riddle, quoting Guastella to the effect that the nature of the popular enigma in Sicily, and in every other country of Europe, is an attempt—frequently ingenious—to describe ordinary objects with such ambiguity of phrase as to suggest obscene things and actions. This curious form of grossness is offensive enough to the cultivated mind, yet it must be allowed that the underlying idea may be no more licentious than the conception used as the groundwork of some carefully-sketched romance of the passions.

Social progress more readily changes the outward expression than the inward significance, and a fashionable novel may differ little in essence from the brutally coarse anecdotes of the Renascence, or the equivocal questions propounded to each other by modern Sicilian peasants, or English ploughboys, though at first sight the crudeness which delights in needlessly plain diction may appear the more dangerous to morals.

In a further division of the introduction Signor Pitrè describes riddle-asking in its aspect as a recognised domestic pastime during the dark hours of winter after the dusk has gathered. Throughout Sicily, Italy, France, Germany, and beyond their borders, enigmas are proposed and solved round about the hearth in the bosom of the peasant-family while its members are occupied with the monotonous employments of the eventide, which leave the thoughts idle while occupying the hands. It is easy to understand how in ages before books were to be procured all sorts and conditions of men would find recreation and instruction in trying their minds on phrases whose true meaning was purposely disguised. The popularity of the amusement is shown by the fact that riddles are connected with the carnival, and with other mirthful occasions, such as weddings, as appears from Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 353 (1872), from which it is to be judged that real importance attaches to them at a marriage. After commenting on these and on other closely related facts, Signor Pitrè next undertakes the consideration of ancient puzzles, allegories, and analogies relating to striking natural objects, such as the moon or the sunset sky, and he further dwells on the significance of questions like those propounded by the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, or the strife of wits between Odin and the giant Wafthrudnir. It is probable that riddles were once of immense consequence to all the nations which have helped to influence modern Europe. It is not to the Chaldeans and Finns alone that secret words and meanings have appeared to enshrine stupendous powers and mysteries. Egyptian and Hebrew, Greek and Roman, German and Slavonian, have all ancient riddles, traditions, or turns of phraseology, which show how mighty a thing the true knowledge of hidden names used to be. "The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth into it, and is safe," says the author of *Proverbs* (xviii. 10), and though the writer of *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* had never heard of the hidden and all-power-

ful name of the chief god of dead and forgotten Chaldea, the name before which every head must bow, he writes:

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself" (xix. 11, 12).

A comparison of the *indovinelli* from different parts of the world, shows, as was to be anticipated, that an enigma may have as wide a range as a folktale. For instance:

> "The robbers came to our house
> When we were a' in;
> The house lap out at the windows,
> And we were a' ta'en,"

is not Scotch alone. It occurs in many versions, both in Italy and France, and is known far beyond their limits, while the idea on which it is based may be traced up to the sixth century. The gruesome riddle relating to the use made of the body of a murdered lover is also wide-spread. There are several Italian forms of it, and it appears in Greek, Slavonian, and High and Low German. The English version, quoted from Henderson's *Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, may be supplemented by one from Lincolnshire:

> "I sit on my love,
> I stand on my love,
> And my love casts me a light."

The key to the riddle in this instance being that a man murdered his wife or lover, and then formed her bones into a chair, while he buried her flesh under the hearthstone, and made candles of her fat.

Signor Pitrè dwells at length on the literary and the popular origin of riddles, on the forms they assume, the formula with which they frequently commence, the metre in which they are clothed, and the frequent use of personal names, words without sense and alliteration. He also discusses the multiplication of interpretations, the use of words with two distinct meanings, and homonyms. Facetious and arithmetical enigmas come likewise within the wide sweep of the net in which he entangles the débris

floating on the forward-streaming river of men's thoughts, as do questions like the Esthonian, "Who runs without feet, pulls without hands, shrieks without a throat, and groans without pain?" (the wind), or the Lincolnshire, "Flies high, lights low, wears shoes and has none?" (a football). Popular stories, songs, and proverbs also yield him examples, and he supplies many instances of those collocations of words which are, as children say, intended "to catch one's tongue in a link." Specimens from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and Bulgaria are quoted, but the English "a lump of red leather, a red leather lump," does not appear among them, neither do the lines relating to the thickwood thatchers, nor those which speak of the brave maids who braided straw braids. Several examples of *chiapparelli*, or "catches," are given, and an essay on Italian and Sicilian riddles concludes this valuable and careful treatise, which, with the collection of riddles accompanying it, must represent a vast amount of labour and patient research.

Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines. By Walter E. Roth, B.A. Oxon. Brisbane: Government Printer. 1897.

The peculiar marsupial and other forms of animal life which characterise not only the present but the remote geological past of the Australian Continent, would lead us to suppose that the Australian savage may also have had an origin and development all his own. Not only may man have here arisen independently of the human species elsewhere, but his habits and civilisation, such as it is, have been very little or not at all modified by intermixture with men from other parts of the world. Perhaps until the white settlers arrived the Australian black had lived in isolation for tens of thousands of years, and therefore presents us with the purest form of primitive man that we can hope to find upon our earth. Hence the great importance of such a study as the book before us contains. The writer, when a student at Oxford, was known as an able, if not very industrious, student of biology; and was a pupil of Professor Ray Lancaster. Now a trained biologist, if you set him to observe primitive races, becomes at once an anthropologist and ethnologist of the best kind. His

biological studies have given him just the methods of observation which are wanted. No one but a biologist could have written so able a work as this, in which thousands of facts are collected and summarised with consummate skill and industry.

For Mr. Roth has, it is clear, lived with the natives he describes, has saturated himself with their language, both of gesture and of tongue; has doctored them by hundreds; has assisted at their *corroborees*, at their births, marriages, and deaths. Above all, he does not flinch from recording exactly what he has seen. No doubt not a few of their habits and customs are filthy from our point of view, but that is no reason for not describing them accurately in a scientific work like the present. These aborigines are rapidly disappearing before the white settlers, and it is therefore all the more important that such work as Mr. Roth's should be undertaken at once, and in an equally exhaustive manner, for the natives of other remote parts of Australia. For the Pitta-Pitta natives the work of Mr. Roth strikes us as final. The following is a list of its contents :—

CHAPTER I.—The Spoken Language of the Pitta-Pitta Aboriginals. (This contains a well-arranged and very full analysis of the grammar, copious reading lessons, and a long vocabulary.)

CHAPTER II.—Tabular Comparison between various Selected Words used in the different Ethnographical Districts of North-West-Central Queensland.

CHAPTER III.—Social and Individual Nomenclature: Class Systems.

CHAPTER IV.—The Expression of Ideas by Manual Signs: a Sign Language.

CHAPTER V.—The Search for Food. Pituri.

CHAPTER VI.—Domestic Implements and Utensils. Fire-sticks and Yam-sticks. Huts and Shelters.

CHAPTER VII.—Personal Ornamentation and Decoration. Mural Painting.

CHAPTER VIII.—Recreations: Corroborees, Sports, and Games.

CHAPTER IX.—Travel, Trade, and Barter. The so-called Letter or Message Stick.

CHAPTER X.—The Maintenance of Law and Order: Fighting, Fighting Weapons.

CHAPTER XI.—Disease, Accident, Death, Cannibalism.
CHAPTER XII.—Rain-making, Thunder and Lightning-making.
CHAPTER XIII.—Ethno-Pornography.

These chapters fill 200 pages, and are followed by as many as 436 woodcuts illustrative of the text, and often coloured.

It is difficult to prefer one chapter to another of a work so modestly written, yet so crammed with carefully observed facts. But I think the chapters on language will be most attractive to most people. Of the manual or gesture language Mr. Roth gives as many as 213 diagrams, showing the position and movement of the hands in the communication of ideas. This "sign-language," he says in his Preface, "I first accidentally hit upon at Roxburgh Downs, on the Upper Georgina. I was out on horseback one day with some blacks, when one of the 'boys' riding by my side suddenly asked me to halt, as a mate of his in front was after some emus, consisting of a hen-bird and her young progeny. As there had been, apparently to me, no communication whatever between the boy in front and the one close to me, separated as they were by a distance of quite 150 yards, I naturally concluded that my informant was uttering a falsehood, and told him so in pretty plain terms, with the result that, after certain mutual recriminations, he explained on his hands how he had received the information; the statement to be shortly after confirmed by the arrival of the lad himself with the dead bird and some of her young in question."

In his carefully prepared chapter on "Social and Individual Nomenclature," Mr. Roth makes an interesting suggestion in explanation of the class-system of the Pitta-Pitta and other natives whom he describes. The Pitta-Pittas are divided into two exogamous groups, called oótăroo and pâkootă. Every oótăroo again is either a koópooroo or a woóngkō, and every pâkootă either a koórkĭllă or a bŭnbŭri. If the blood-mother be a koópooroo, her child is a woóngko, and *vice versa;* if she be a kóorkĭllă, her child is a bŭnbŭri, and *vice versa.* What is the origin of these paedo-matronymic rules? Mr. Roth's suggestion is the following:

"I am strongly of opinion (he writes, p. 69) that, independently of all questions of consanguinity, the paedo-matronyms upon which the marriage-rules depend (and which paedo-matronyms remain constant as compared with the heteronyms) have

been devised by a process of natural selection to regulate the proper distribution of the total quantity of food available. Thus the husband, according to his paedo-matronym, lives on articles of diet different from those of his wife (or wives), both of whom again are different from those permissible to their resulting offspring, which belong to a third paedo-matronymic group. Hence, to put it shortly, whereas in a European community with a common dietary the more children there are to feed the less will become the share for the parents, in this North-West-Central Queensland aboriginal system the appearance of children will make no appreciable difference in minimising the quantity of food available for those that give them birth. Any scarcity in the total quantity of all the food is met by a change of camping ground. A further circumstance that appears to lend great plausibility to this view is that, although practically identical terms and rules are followed throughout North-West-Central Queensland, the different animals, birds, fish, &c., 'tabooed' by each paedo-matronymic group vary with each ethnographical district."

Thus the practical outcome of the taboo among these natives is to protect the wife and child against the greediness of the father; and even if the father were too lazy to hunt for them game that he could not himself eat, still the game would be left for them to pursue. It would be quite in accordance with the often rather roundabout devices of nature to secure the continuance of the species that the actual origin of the taboo should be, partly at least, the felt necessity of providing for a free supply of food. But it is at the same time an explanation of the taboo which must be considered in connection with the taboo and totem system, as this reveals itself in other races of equally low civilisation with the Queensland aborigines.

Since 1894, Mr. Roth has been surgeon to the Boulia, Cloncurry, and Normanton Hospitals, and has during that period conducted his inquiries into the language, customs, and habits of the natives of North-West-Central Queensland. Let us hope that he will have an opportunity of doing a similar bit of work for some other large district. The book is dedicated to Sir Horace Tozer, Acting Premier of Queensland, and is published by the Colonial Government. It is in the highest degree creditable to all concerned.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

THE LEGEND OF SIR GAWAIN. STUDIES UPON ITS ORIGINAL SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE. By JESSIE L. WESTON. "Grimm Library," No. 7. D. Nutt, 1897.

MISS WESTON'S book is a clear and interesting account of the part taken by Gawain in some of the romances, with a view to a possible interpretation of the facts in connection with Celtic, and especially with Irish literature. The aim of the essay is more particularly to bring out the analogies between Gawain and Cuchulinn, some of which have already been touched on in previous dissertations on this subject, *e.g.* in the note of M. Gaston Paris on the *Green Knight*, in his survey of the Arthurian romances.[1] Miss Weston's book does not pretend to be in any respect exhaustive; it indicates certain profitable ways in which the subject may be approached, it is full of suggestion, and very pleasant reading for anyone who is concerned with these matters. It is a supplement to Mr. Nutt's *Holy Grail*, working out still further the relations between Celtic and Old French romance. The argument is, mainly, that there was an "original Gawain legend" which is in some sense or other retained in the poems of Chrétien de Troyes and Wolfram von Eschenbach, and in other romances, and which may be in some measure reconstructed. The process of reconstruction brings out various points of resemblance between Gawain and Cuchulinn; a mythological equation between the heroes is intended, though by no means dogmatically or unfairly asserted, in the course of the essay. The argument is not complete, but it is well worth consideration. It would show little comprehension of the tentative and reasonable spirit of the essay to accept it all without question. Some "cavillations" may be entered here, in the hope that they may further the discussion.

What is meant by "an original Gawain legend"? There is a tendency to take rather too much for granted, in the use of this and similar phrases; *e.g.* on p. 102, "the adventure which demonstrably formed part of the primitive Gawain story." But is this primitive thing itself "demonstrable"? One may be permitted to have doubts. Not enough allowance is made for the possibi-

[1] *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxx. p. 77 (note).

lities of coincidence, for the familiar machinery of folklore. The story of Gawain may resemble the story of Cuchulinn in several points and yet be different in origin. There may be no original Gawain at all; he may be merely a name for the "first adventurer," who is necessary at a certain stage in the history of the Round Table and similar institutions. The story of Gawain need not be in its origin a coherent myth of a divine or semi-divine hero; the other alternative is possible, that it may have grown together out of various wandering stories, the common formulas of adventure. This, which was some time a paradox, is now a truism; but, "though a truism, it may nevertheless be true." It is a defect in the argument that these possibilities have been too much ignored. Miss Weston recognises that adventures may be transferred from the credit of one hero to another, from Gawain to Lancelot, from Perceval to Galahad; but that Gawain and Lancelot may both have taken over the adventures of the nameless hero of popular tales, "the Lad" or "the King's Son," is not explicitly recognised. In Arthurian romance this explanation is *vera causa*. The *Lais* of Marie and the kindred *Lais* will show this. Compare *Guingamor* and *Launfal*. Both are stories of the Fairy Bride, with some parts of their plot identical. But while the king in *Guingamor* is without a name—"a King in Britain"—Launfal has been drawn into the Court of Arthur. Arthur, it is true, is in this case merely the shadow of a name, and the Queen is not Guinevere, because here we are just at the beginning of the process; but the set of the tide has begun; it is unmistakable, the change from separate adventures to the heroic system of a king and his paladins; and who shall say what things have not been carried by that movement from the nameless ocean of stories to the port of Cardevyle?

Resemblances between Gawain and Cuchulinn do not require the hypothesis of "an original Gawain legend" to explain them. Where there is the court of a king defined in heroic literature, there will be an adventurer for outlying labours and exploits, some one to play the part of Hercules or Cuchulinn; and there will be appropriated to him the commonplaces of popular tradition which may in this way, accidentally or coincidentally, bring about the semblance of heroic myth, of "an original legend." Gawain may be nothing but a name for a group of favourite adventures united in one hero. There are strong arguments on the

other side to prove that Gawain is a solar hero with an essential mythical character of his own; but the alternative theories have not yet been disproved.

One thing is clearly brought out in Miss Weston's book: a very close relation of some sort between the story of Gawain and some parts of Gaelic tradition. It is unfortunate that so little account should have been taken of the literary varieties of French romance. Miss Weston does not discriminate. The French romancers are not quite simple or unsophisticated people, nor are they all alike. They had several aims and ambitions besides the reproduction of British fables. What they wanted to obtain was poetical novelty and brilliance; they are not to be trusted for pure folklore without a scrutiny of their literary methods. *Meraugis de Portlesguez* is not evidence for folklore. It is the work of an ingenious scholar trying for new sentimental effects and caring nothing for his story apart from these. Nor is *Rainouart* to be trusted (p. 39); the *Bataille de Loquifer* is late professional hack-work: an attempt to brighten up a worn-out epic theme with rags of finery from the romances. Chrétien de Troyes, whose *Conte du Graal* supplies the main part of the materials for Miss Weston's "Legend," is an open and manifest author of fiction; and Wolfram, who continues Chrétien's untold story, is still further removed from "the thing itself," the Celtic originals. Poetry is sometimes an inconvenient thing in a folklore inquiry; and Chrétien was a poet. His story of Gawain is full of malice; for instance, in the humorous account of the rising of the town—mayor, *échevins*, and commune—against Gawain, to defend the honour of their lord, especially in the mock-heroic reference to the famous Lombard campaign against the snail:—

> "Ains, por assailler la limace,
> N'ot en Lombardie tel noise."—(*Graal*, l. 7324.)

An author who writes like that is almost as far as Ariosto, and even further than Spenser, from the "primitive" or "original" matter of romance, whatever "primitive" or "original" may mean. Miss Weston has not been well advised in neglecting the earlier kinds of romance for the more finished romantic poems. It is not easy to understand why she has neglected the *Mule sans Frein*—a story which the references in Sir F. Madden's *Sir Gawayne* and

in M. Gaston Paris's often-quoted essay surely point out as essential for the study of this subject. This is a poem of a different sort from Chrétien's; an admirable poem of an old school (as the author seems to acknowledge in his preface), with hardly any trace of the "newe jet," the sentimental art of the more ambitious romantic authors. It is nearer to the Celtic manner, by all that it has renounced of the more modern interests of Chrétien and his followers.

The *Mule sans Frein*[1] is so little decorated that the story is left in the end a mystery unexplained. Who the damsel was, why the bridle had to be fetched from the other world, what were the virtues of the bridle, these things are not made clear. Yet the action of the story is plain enough. As the summary of Sir Frederick Madden, on which Miss Weston relies, is very short and not accurate, there may be some excuse for attempting to give the story here. It has not yet been fully considered, with reference to the genealogy of Gawain and his Highland cousins.

Paien de Maisières, the author, begins by saying that the old ways are best. The poem is dated about 1200, provisionally, but apparently the poet had a taste for an older style than was commonly in fashion about that time, and preferred to keep closely to the original fairy tale in its natural shape.

A damsel, riding on a mule without a bridle, came to Arthur's court and asked for the help of a knight to recover her bridle for her. Kay set out on the mule till he came to a forest high and great, full of beasts, lions, tigers, and leopards, and these came and knelt to him, for the knowledge they had of the lady and for the honour of the mule. Then he passed out of the forest and came to a valley full of fiery serpents and scorpions, and an evil stink and cold wind; thereafter to a pleasant plain and a clear fountain, and then to the River of Dread and the narrow bridge. And there he turned and went home again; the beasts of the forest were no longer friendly, but for the sake of the mule they let him go by.

Then Gawain took up the adventure, and passed through the same places and rode across the narrow bridge. On the other side he found a narrow path leading to a castle; there was broad water round the castle, and knights' heads on spikes all about,

[1] Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux, &c.*, vol. i. p. 1, 1823.

except on one spike. And the castle was always turning, like a mill-wheel or a top. Gawain spurred the mule and made a rush for the gate as it came round; the mule got through with the loss of half her tail.

Gawain rode through the castle but found no one, till at last a dwarf appeared who greeted him by his name, but would not answer any questions, and went away again. Then Gawain came to a deep hole under an arch, out of which there ascended a large villain with a *gisarme*, "black as one from the Morians' land or one of the sunburnt villains of Champagne."[1]

The villain entertained Gawain, waited on him at table, made his bed for him, and then proposed the beheading game (a *jeu parti*): "Cut off my head to-day and I will cut off yours to-morrow." Gawain accepted the challenge and beheaded him. The villain picked up his head and went back to his cellar. The next day Gawain stood the test and allowed the villain his stroke, but the villain let him off, because he had played fair.

Gawain then asked for the bridle. But first he had to fight with two lions, and next with a wounded knight, who was used to fight with all who came seeking the bridle, whose heads were on the spikes outside, as Gawain had seen. Then he had to face two fiery serpents. After that the sulky dwarf appeared again, this time with an invitation from his lady to Gawain to come and dine with her. Then he should have the bridle.

"You have killed my wild beasts," said the lady, who, however, seemed to bear no ill-will to Gawain. The villain and the dwarf waited at dinner. The lady was sister of the damsel of the mule, and gave Gawain the bridle. She would fain have persuaded Gawain to stay with her and be her lord, and lord of all her castles. But Gawain answered that he must go back to the court of the King. The villain stopped the whirling of the castle as Gawain rode out. Then befel a great marvel. For when Gawain had crossed the bridge he looked back and saw all the streets of the place full of multitudes of people, "caroling," singing and dancing in great joy. The villain was still standing above the gate, and Gawain asked him who they were. "Sir," said he,

[1] Not a giant, as in Sir F. Madden's summary, followed by Miss Weston. The *gisarme*, it will be remarked, is the weapon of the Green Knight, who plays this part in the English poem of *Sir Gawain*.

"these were hidden in the crypts for the cruelty and pride and rage of the beasts that you have killed. But now they say, in their language, that God has delivered them by your hand, and illumined them with all good things. The people that were in darkness have joy of this sight; greater gladness can never be." Then Gawain too was glad, and turned and left the place, and as he rode back the beasts of the forest made obeisance to him.

As he rode into the meadows under the King's castle the Queen saw him, and knights and damsels went out to welcome him home. The damsel of the bridle thanked him and kissed him; and though the King and the Queen besought her and she would gladly have stayed, yet it was beyond her power to stay, nor would she have any escort, but called for the mule to be brought, and took her leave and rode away alone.

This story has been discussed by M. Gaston Paris in connection with Chrétien's *Lancelot* (*la Charrette*) and with *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.*[1] For the present, it is enough to point out some of the coincidences with Gaelic histories. Besides the *Fled Bricrend* analogies, which are now generally familiar in connection with the Green Knight's challenge, there is the whirling castle, which seems to be specially admired in the Gaelic countries. Compare, again, *Fled Bricrend* and Mr. Rhys's note on it in his *Arthurian Legend; Maelduin*, cxxxi., "The Whirling Rampart"; Curtin, *Hero Tales* (1894), pp. 87, 250, 397, 504.

The relation of Kay and Gawain is the same as in some other romances. Kay, as the clumsy adventurer who does things in the wrong way, is hardly to be taken as an invention of the Arthurian romances; he is a stock type of popular comedy, a counterpart of Conan in the Fenian tradition. Which leads to the question why Cuchulinn should have the preference given to him rather than Diarmaid, who has at least as many of the "differences," the proper qualities, of Gawain. Diarmaid the courteous stands out against Conan the churl. Diarmaid, like Gawain, marries the Loathly Lady, who proves to be the beautiful daughter of the King Undersea (*Nighean Righ fo Thuinn*, W. H. Tales, vol. iii. p. 103). The adventures of Diarmaid in the other world are noted by Mr. Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 187), and may be compared with Gawain's.

[1] *Romania*, xii.; *Hist. Litt.* xxx.

In some particulars it is impossible to accept the logic of the essay: for instance, when it is contended that the hypothesis of a Welsh origin for the Arthurian romances is damaged, because there are certain correspondences between French and Irish which have no counterpart extant in Welsh. There are not many scholars who can speak with authority of all that is extant in Welsh literature; none of them, it may be safely said, would argue lightly from "non-extant" to "non-existent." Miss Weston herself points out in another reference the futility of the argument *ex silentio*, "so dear to some scholars." Yet because the Welsh tradition, of which we know the merest fragment, happens to fail us, Miss Weston seems inclined to prefer the Breton tradition as a source for the Arthurian romances: the Breton tradition, of which we know practically nothing at all.

These objections are stated here because they seem valid. Even so, however, they will scarcely detract from the merit of the essay as a new starting point in these investigations.

W. P. KER.

NOTE.—The *pont evage*, the bridge under water, which appears in the story of Gawain, both in the *Charrette* and in *Walewein*, may be found in Macdougall's *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 94 (*the Bare Stripping Hangman*), another of the many resemblances in modern Gaelic folklore to the old "matter of Britain."

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Tide.

(Vol. ix. p. 189.)

A similar belief prevails among the Haidahs of Queen Charlotte Islands. The dying Haidah "sees a canoe manned by some of his bygone friends, who come with the tide to bid him welcome to their domain. . . . His friends call him and bid him come. They say: 'Come with us; come into the land of light; come into the land of great things; wonderful things; come into the land of plenty, where hunger is unknown; come with us and rest for evermore. . . . Come with us now,' the spirits say, 'for the tide is about to ebb and we must depart.'" Rev. Charles Harrison, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxi. p. 17.

Is it not possible that the superstition in this country connecting the ebb-tide with death may have originally included a belief in a boat which conveyed the soul to the land of the Hereafter? Procopius' story of the ferrymen of souls from Brittany to "Brittia" suggests this.

E. Sidney Hartland.

Lincoln Minster and the Devil.

The following extract, treating of the legends which associate the devil with Lincoln Minster, is taken from the *Lindsey and Lincolnshire Star*, May 21st, 1898. Is it possible that the stories are genuine folk-tales uninfluenced either directly or remotely by book knowledge? The connection between the Prince of Evil and Lincoln has long been proverbial, but the popular saying contains no allusion to Bishop Remigius.

"An interesting article from the pen of Rambler in the *Sheffield Telegraph* of Tuesday says: A little book issued by Messrs. Keyworth and Sons, Swanpool Court, Lincoln, contains the ballad which is entitled 'The Ballad of the Wind, the Devil, and Lincoln Minster.' It is there given as a Lincolnshire legend. . . . The story of the ballad is that Remi, the Norman, began to build Lincoln Cathedral about 1074, and the church was ready for consecration in 1092. May 9th was fixed for the dedication of the cathedral, but three days before the appointed time Remi, the Norman, whose proper name was Remigies, died. It seems that the devil was wrathful at the building of this fane, and had a battle-royal with the bishop. He was getting fairly well on in the fight when we read—

> The bishop he pray'd, the Virgin sent aid,
> The wind came on,
> Full lusty and strong,
> And hustled the devil from pillar to post.

'"The ballad goes on to tell that his Satanic majesty was so roughly treated that he was glad to slip inside the church for shelter—

> Where he has been ever since, nor dare he come out,
> For well doth he know,
> The wind, his foe,
> Still awaits his return at the corner sou'-west.

"The ballad further tells us that the devil within the minster made the bishop give up the ghost, and they laid him in a marble tomb, but that the devil—

> Though turned to stone, still looks over
> Lincoln town.

According to the rhyme—

> The bishop, we know, died long ago,
> The wind still waits, nor will he go
> Till he has a chance of beating his foe;
> But the devil hopp'd up without a limp,
> And at once took shape as the Lincoln Imp;
> And there he sits a'top of the column,
> And grins at the people who gaze so solemn;
> Moreover, he mocks at the wind below,
> And says, 'You may wait till doomsday, O!

"Mr. Frost, the writer of the book referred to, in an introduction to the second edition, tells us that while the first edition was in the press he fell in with two other versions of the legend. One sets forth that the wind one day brought two new imps to view the new Minster at Lincoln. The first being over curious, slipped inside the minster to see what was going on, and was so astonished at the marvels he both saw and heard that his heart became as stone within him, and he remained rooted to the ground. The other imp, grieving for his brother and seeking for him in vain, alighted unwittingly upon the shoulders of a certain witch, and was instantly turned to stone, but the wind still haunts the minster precincts waiting his companion's return, now hopelessly disconsolate, and now raging with fury.

"According to the other version, when the Minster was nearing its completion, the devil, who had narrowly and jealously watched the good bishop's proceedings, at once took up his position as over-lord, saying with a grim smile as he looked over Lincoln, 'Ah, my good friend, all this mine!'

"In the introduction to the first edition of this little book, the writer gives a version of the old Lincolnshire legend which, up to the time, had not previously appeared in print. It was told him some five or six years ago by a North Lincolnshire man, sixty years of age, who as a boy had heard his father relate it. According to that version the devil was very angry with Bishop Remigies for coming to Lincoln, because up to that time Satan had it all his own way in the town and district. Having failed to dissuade the bishop from building the cathedral, the devil waylaid him at the south-west corner of the building and tried to kill him, but the good prelate in his extremity called for aid upon the blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the church was to be dedicated, whereupon she sent a mighty rushing wind, which, catching the devil, so hustled and buffeted him that he slipped inside the church for safety, where he has been ever since, nor dare to come out, knowing that the wind awaited his return in order to make an end of him, and is waiting there still."

So far the reviewer of Mr. Frost's book; but a different explanation of the devil's intimate connection with the Minster is printed in White's *Directory of Lincolnshire*, p. 491 (1882). Here we read as follows: "The south porch, or bishop's door, supposed to have been erected about 1256, has a rich but mutilated

display of beautiful tracery and statues. The adjoining buttress is surmounted by a witch on the back of a devil, popularly noted to represent the tradition of the devil looking over Lincoln. 'The monks supposed that the devil, who could not but take notice of such a stately structure for divine worship in his ranges, did look upon it with a sour and malicious countenance, from whence they deduced a proverb to express the ill aspect of envious and malicious men at such good things as they don't like—

'He looks as the devil over Lincoln.'

"The exposed situation of the cathedral and the rather dissolute life of some of the clergy some centuries ago gave rise to the following legend:

"The wind and the devil being on a friendly tour together arrived at Lincoln Minster, when the latter addressed his friend thus: 'Just wait outside here whilst I go in and have a chat with the dean and chapter.' 'All right,' says the wind, and he has been waiting there ever since. Most certainly the wind, on the calmest and sultriest day, may always there be felt if not seen, but what can be the inference from the devil's long stay with his friends inside, eh?"

Here the devil's intimate alliance with the wind suggests that he has taken the place of Odin, who was a heathen "Prince of the Powers of the Air," greatly honoured by the sea-rovers from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who settled in Eastern England. It, therefore, seems natural enough to find that a similar story is told in Copenhagen. In H. Marryat's *Residence in Jutland, the Danish Isles, and Copenhagen*, vol. i., p. 152, we are told: "There is wind enough in Copenhagen, Heaven knows! but at the corner of the Place by the Frue Kirke more than anywhere, and I will tell you why. The devil and the wind went out one day together, and when they came to the corner of this place, said the devil to the wind, 'Wait a little for me, for I have an errand in the bishop's palace.' He went in, but found himself so much at home he forgot to come out again; so the wind is there still waiting for him."

In Nottinghamshire a story of a different type connects the fiend with Lincoln Minster. A correspondent of mine who is greatly interested in folklore says: "There was a large stone, similar to those at Lindholme, in my native parish (Hickling,

Notts). A hole about one and a half inches in diameter and some four or five inches deep had apparently been drilled into it at some time. . . . There was another even larger stone in the next parish—Kinoulton. It lay close by the ruins of the old parish-church on the edge of the wolds, and the tradition was that the devil on Lincoln Minster (forty miles away) had flung it at the church. The new church stood in the village at the foot of the hill."

The stone lying "close by the ruins of the old parish church" gives rise to the thought that the place may possibly have been sacred to religious rites before the introduction of Christianity; for such blocks were anciently made use of in the heathen cults, as it is needless to remark. Does the association of the devil with Lincoln also point to Pagan worship? Is there any reason to think that the height now crowned by the stately towers of the cathedral was ever occupied by a heathen god-house, and that the adversary here, as in so many other instances, is in reality the dispossessed deity of some old creed? The site is certainly appropriate enough for the fane of some ruler of sky and wind.

FOSS-DYKE.

MAY-DAY IN LINCOLNSHIRE.

A friend has just described to me the "May garland" made in his part of Lincolnshire. Possibly it is quite a well-known thing among folklorists, but in case it may be unusual I think I had better send it to you.

He says the children line a clothes basket with moss and primroses and decorate it the best way they can, putting a gay canopy over it, and in it they lay the best doll they own or can borrow, and the great point is to hang a string of bird's eggs round the doll's neck. I believe the eggs are afterwards hung up in the house.

The doll seems part of May-day customs in Oxfordshire and Herts, but are not the bird's eggs something new? Can they be connected with the Easter-egg belief? or be the firstfruits of the egg season?

DOROTHEA TOWNSHEND.

MISCELLANEA.

A Rain Ceremony from the Murshidâbâd District of Bengal.

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L., Superintendent of Survey and Settlement, Hatwa, Sâran District, Bengal.

(*An Abstract of the Paper read at Meeting of* 15*th February*, 1898.)

At a place called Rudraganj, in the district of Murshidâbâd, on the banks of the Mayurâkshi river, a holy man, named Râmeswar Brahmachâri, was in charge of two idols representing the deities Rudradeva and Kâlarudradeva.[1] The reputation of these deities was much increased by a marvellous cure of an attack of colic, which was effected through them on Diwân Ganga Govind Sinh, a noted personage in the history of Bengal in the time of Warren Hastings.

At his death, the custodian of the idols made them over to his disciple, Rudrakantha Sinh, and made him promise that they should be taken annually to his grave, worshipped and bathed in Ganges water and the five sacred products of the cow. This ceremony is performed yearly in the Bengal month of Chaitra (May). The idols are kept there for a day and night; the rite is performed towards midnight, and offerings of rice, boiled with pulse, are presented. The devotees, many of whom belong to the Râjbansi or fisherman caste, tie ropes round their waists and, diving into the river, catch various kinds of fish, which they offer to the gods.[2] The fish are cooked by the Brâhman priests and laid before the idols in an unbroken plantain leaf. The leaf is then

[1] The Vedic storm-god.

[2] At Delphi, according to Hegesander (Athenæus, *Deipnos.*, vii., p. 325), they offered a mullet to Artemis at the Artemisia, because it appeared to hunt and kill the sea-hare, and thus bore some resemblance to Artemis, the huntress. For Greek fish-totems, see Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 15.

placed in the earthen pot in which the rice and pulse were cooked, and one of the worshippers dives into the water and leaves it at the bottom of the stream. When he rises to the surface he is found to be insensible; but his friends lay him before the god Rudradeva, and he revives.

On the occasion of one of these celebrations it is said that the idol disappeared;[1] but subsequently it was found in the Mayurâkshi river, and then it was taken over by the people of Uddhanpur, in the Bardwân district, who refused to give it up, and keep it to this day.

There is a remarkable rite to procure rain performed in connection with this image. When the rain fails, all the outlets of the temple are closed, and some hundred or more Brâhmans pour water over the idol till it is immersed up to the chin. When the water reaches this point, it is said that rain always falls. At a recent drought this rite was performed, and in addition some Brâhmans stood in the river and recited prayers to the god Varuna. When the idol was submerged, copious rain followed. On a more recent occasion only a slight shower followed on the performance of the rite. Though water was poured into the temple, it continued to leak out; and the failure was by some attributed to the want of piety of the officiant Brâhmans.[2]

In Vedic times, prayers for rain were made to the god Parganya, whose name being interpreted means "he who gives rain." The hymn recited on such occasions has been preserved in the Rig Veda (v. 83), and has been translated by Professor Max Müller, who quotes a similar song addressed to the Lithuanian

[1] For similar Indian legends of idols lost and miraculously found, see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. i., p. 224, *seqq.*

[2] The Brâhmans stand in the river to excite by their sufferings the compassion of the rain-god. Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 73. For the connection of sacred stones and rainfall. *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 75. According to Turkomân legends, Noah gave his son Japhet a stone inscribed with the Greatest Name, and it had the power of bringing on or driving off rain. Burton, *Arabian Nights* (ed. Smithers), vol. v., p. 242 (orig. ed., vol. vii., p. 41). In Scotland, rain could be produced by touching the Runic Cross at Brora. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times*, vol. iii., p. 227. For the Samoa stone, Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 347; *Samoa*, p. 45. In Persia, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii., 54. The stone called Chelonitis calms storms and tempests. *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 56.

sky-god, Perkunas.[1] A similar rite is performed by the Navajo Indians of North America.[2]

In the present time the Vedic Parganya is represented by Indra, Varuna, and Rudradeva. At Murshidâbâd, the deities worshipped are Rudradeva and Varuna, while Indra is neglected.[3] But Indra is worshipped for this purpose at Orissa, as will be seen from the following extract from an Indian newspaper: "The wealthy merchants of the town of Puri, in Orissa, the zemindârs (landowners) and the mahâjans (bankers), lately raised Rs. 700 among themselves, and entertained the services of twenty-one Brâhmans who enjoy the reputation of special sanctity and are versed in the Vedas, to appeal to Indra, the god of rain, to avert the impending famine and scarcity. It was a curious sight to see so many Brâhmans standing in water up to their necks, singing the Vedas and praying to Indra to give rain soon. During these days a shower or two fell in the Mofussil (country district), though no rain fell in the town."[4]

The second part of the Murshidâbâd rite is an example of what is called "mimetic magic." There is, first, the formation of a well-like reservoir of water within the temple, and, secondly, the pouring of water over the idol, or rather its immersion in the reservoir.

The conception of the well, as the supposed residence of the rain-god, has been fully illustrated by Mr. G. L. Gomme.[5] In the present case, the formation of a reservoir in the temple of Rudradeva is, perhaps, analogous to the Irish and Scotch ceremonies of the propitiation of the well-god. This instance of "mimetic magic" recalls practices (founded on similar reasoning) of "sympathetic magic" in various parts of the world, such as the performance of magical rites by means of hair-parings, clothes, and similar things. As examples from India, we have the case of the Bengali woman, who, when *enceinte*, will not allow the clippings of her hair or any part of her wearing apparel to be taken by a strange woman. Under the same belief, a Bengali

[1] *India, What it can teach us*, p. 192.
[2] *Eighth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, U.S.A.*, p. 277.
[3] For Brâhmanic prejudice against Indra, Crooke, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 66.
[4] *Statesman and Friend of India*, 20th November, 1896.
[5] *Ethnology in Folklore*, pp. 94, *seqq.*

mother will not allow any part of the bedding or clothes of her infant to be taken by any woman not belonging to the immediate circle of her relatives or acquaintances. The idea is, that any stranger taking such things may by means of them work mischief to the mother or child.

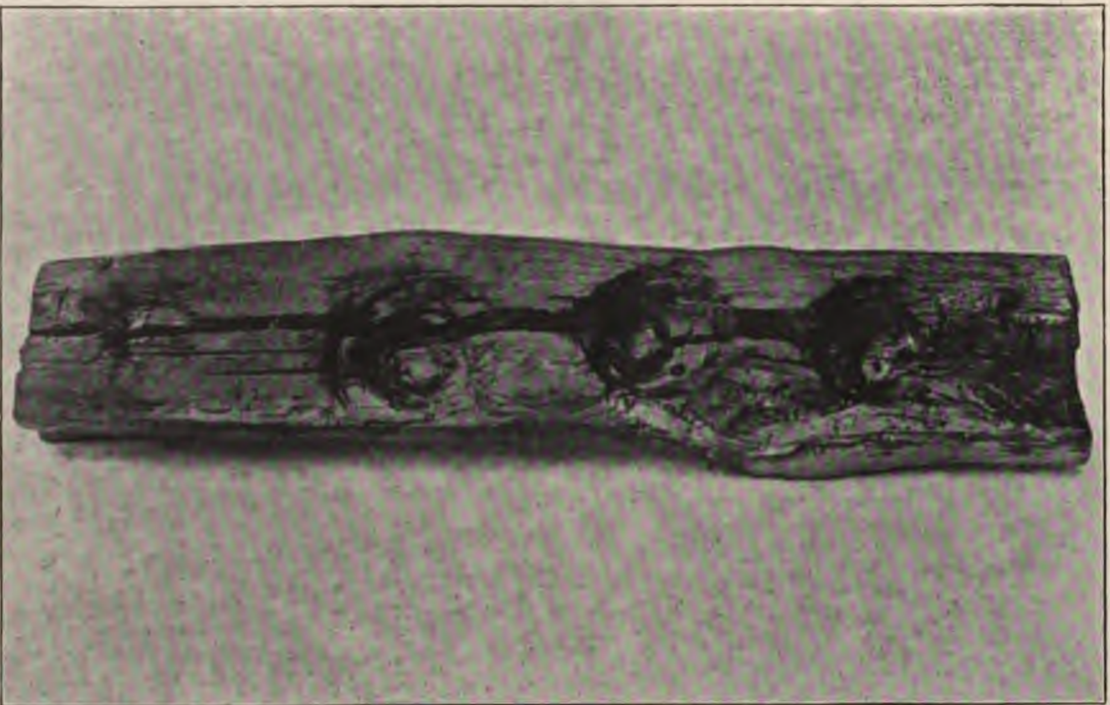
The Murshidâbâd rite thus seems to represent: first, in the formation of a temple-well, the worship of the well as an abode of the rain-god; secondly, in the drenching of the idol, a piece of the familiar mimetic magic.[1]

Sacred Fire.

I enclose a photograph which I think is of interest. It is a piece of the wood last used to raise the *Teine Eigin* in Scotland. It is at present in the possession of the Rev. Mr. George Sutherland, of the Free Church of Scotland, Torosay, Island of Mull, in whose family it has been ever since 1809 or 1810, when it was used for the purpose stated. The following is Mr. Sutherland's account of the transactions of which this is a relic:—

"In Houstry, Dunbeath, Caithness, about the year 1809 or 1810, David Gunn, a crofter, in the course of making a *kail-yaird*, interfered with one of those prehistoric ruins known as Brochs which are so numerous in that northern region. Now, it was well known that this Broch was a fairy habitation, and, in any case, it was well known that to tamper with a Broch or to carry away any of its materials was extremely uncanny. But however much the wise heads might shake, David persisted until he finished his enterprise. Shortly after, the expected happened in an unexpected way. David and his family were not to be the sole sufferers on account of his rashness, as might have been expected, but vengeance was poured out on the whole community. A plague broke out which was rapidly decimating the cattle of the district. The wise heads met, and a *Teine-Eigin* was

[1] The Society is indebted to Mr. William Crooke for his kindness in making an abstract of this interesting paper, which our space did not permit of being given in its entirety, and for the addition of some illustrative notes.—Ed.



NEED FIRE LOG.

(Used in Caithness, 1810.)

To face page 280.

resolved upon as being the most likely step to prove effectual in the salvation of the cattle. They did not know that the advent of Pasteur and Koch was written in the book of fate, and they did what they knew.

"A branch was cut off a tree in a neighbouring wood, the bark was stripped off, and it was carried to a small island, which I know well, in the Houstry Burn. The pure limpid water was flowing round it on all sides, and cut the island off from the impurities, and from all the transactions of common life. Every fire in the district was quenched, the life of the community, with all its doings and responsibilities, was symbolically quenched with it. The community repaired to the neighbourhood of the island. Fire was produced by the friction of pieces of wood, and from this sacred fire the fires of the houses were kindled, and life was entered upon anew.

"The photograph which I send along with this represents one of the pieces of wood which were used for the production of the fire on this occasion, and only the part on which the marks of the fire were to be seen is in existence now. The stick as originally used would be ten or twelve feet long. There are three burnt holes on the stick which are distinctly marked on the photograph, and the left end of the stick, as shown in the photograph, has a mark which was made by an iron tool, but which shows no mark of fire.

"Evidently this was the *modus operandi*: a slight depression was made in the big stick, with the corner of an axe, then a small stick was put standing into this depression, and turned rapidly round as one would turn an augur in holing wood. Perhaps a cross bar was put on to facilitate the production of this kind of motion, but I don't know. I am not learned in these matters. The circumference of this stick is 13½ inches, and its length now is 18¾ inches."

R. C. Maclagan.

Kissing-Day at Hungerford.

The following is a somewhat fuller account of the custom referred to on p. 193, taken from *The Daily News* of Wednesday, April 20th:—

At Hungerford, in Berkshire (writes a correspondent), one of the two remaining unreformed boroughs, kissing-day, or Hock-tide, as it is locally called, was celebrated yesterday. This custom, the origin of which is lost in obscurity, is performed every year on the occasion of the re-election of the officers of the borough. As an unreformed borough, Hungerford has still the old-time custom of appointing, in the place of mayor and corporation, a constable, portreeve, bailiff, tithing-men, keepers of the keys of the coffers, water-bailiffs, ale-tasters, and bellman.

The ceremonies began last Friday with the "macaroni supper and punchbowl," and were held at the "John of Gaunt." But the most important day was yesterday, when at an early hour the bellman went round the borough commanding all those who held land or dwelling within the confines of the town to appear at the Hockney, under pain of a poll-tax of one penny, called the "head-penny." Lest this warning should be insufficient, he again mounted to the balcony of the Town Hall, where he blew a blast upon an ancient trumpet. Those who do not obey the summons, and refuse the payment of the head-penny, are liable to lose their rights to the privileges of the borough.

By nine o'clock the jury assembled in the Town Hall for transaction of their annual business, and immediately after they were sworn in the two tithing-men started on their round of the town. It was in this part of the proceedings that most interest was taken, for the business of the tithing-men is to take a poll-tax from every male inhabitant and a kiss from the wives and daughters of the burgesses. The tithing-men are known as tuttymen, tutty being the local word for pretty. As usual, they carried as insignia of office, short poles, gaily bedecked with blue ribbon and choice flowers, known as tutty-poles; while behind them walked a man groaning under the weight of the tutty oranges, it being the custom to bestow an orange upon every person who is kissed, as well as upon the school and workhouse children. This year the tutty-men were the respective managers of the two banks, the Capital and Counties and the London and County. The rights of office having been duly invested in them by means of strange customs and exhortation, the two favoured ones started off down the High Street on their kissing mission, followed by the orange-bearers and greeted with the cheers of the assembled people. One by one the houses were entered, and the custom observed both in

spirit and letter, nor was it confined to the young and comely; for the old dames of Hungerford would deem themselves, if not insulted, at least sadly neglected, were the tuttymen to pass their houses unentered. Usually these officers found little difficulty in carrying out their pleasant duties, but now and then the excitement was increased after [*sic*, by?] some coy maiden, whose rustic simplicity prompted her to run away or hide. But as a general rule the ladies of Hungerford showed very little objection to the observation of the ancient customs, so that the labours of the tuttymen were considerably lightened.

Thus, amid laughter, merriment, and mock-seriousness, the fun continued until about half the borough had been visited, by which time the tuttymen had taken care that all the duty-kisses that should gratify the ancient inhabitants had been administered, as well as others that were more a pleasure than a duty. Certainly they deserved well of the town, for the tuttymen had gone through a good day's work by the time dinner was served. Then, in accordance with the time-honoured precedent, the chief constable was elected in the chair; the great bowl of punch was placed on the table after dinner, and the various offices were toasted and replied for. One was drunk in solemn silence—that of John of Gaunt, who, as is graven on the old summoning horn, "did give and grant the Royal fishing in Hungerford towne," the horn being a guarantee of their privileges. And all the townspeople seemed satisfied with their day's carnival, save perhaps a crooning old burgher, who was heard to extol the good old days when the punch was strong and the newly elected officers went home in wheelbarrows.

Wheel Ceremony.

I quote the following from "Mediæval Service Books in Aquitaine," by Mr. R. Twigge, F.S.A, which appears in *The Dublin Review* for October, 1897. The writer's suggestion that we have here a relic of sun-worship is probably correct. If so, it is interesting to notice that there is here a more modern tale used to explain the practice of a much older rite. Riom is near Clermont.

"In the neighbouring town of Riom, on the feast of the patron St. Amable (June 11), two men in mediæval costume follow the procession, rolling along a large wheel adorned with flowers. The local explanation of this strange ceremony is that on a visitation of the plague (date not given) the canons of St. Amable vowed a candle of wax as long as the distance from their church to the sanctuary of Mozac if the pestilence ceased. The distance being over a mile in length, the taper had to be rolled up in the form of a wheel. It seems, however, more probable that this ceremony dates from an earlier period, and that it is a relic of sun-worship at the summer solstice, which was prevalent throughout Gaul, and is still observed in the Baal-fires kindled on the eve of St. John Baptist. The rolling of a wheel down a hill would be symbolic of the gradual approach of winter, and this pre-historic observance might in course of time become Christianised and incorporated in some such ceremony of the church as an annual procession on the feast of the patron saint of the place" (p. 375).

EDWARD PEACOCK.

SPANISH EASTER CUSTOM.

An old Eastertide custom was observed at the docks yesterday on board some of the vessels trading with South America and the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. The vessels are manned to a large extent by Spanish-speaking seamen, Brazilians and Chilians principally, and of the Roman Catholic faith. These men took part in the ceremony of the Crucifixion, in effigy, of Judas Iscariot. A figure made of straw and tow, and dressed in a fantastic costume, was nailed to a wooden frame, roughly put together, in representation of a cross. Amid shouts of execration, knives and daggers were thrown at the figure, and the ceremony was closed with a dance, during which the effigy was kicked and reviled, and finally dismembered and burned.—*Standard*, April 9th, 1898.

Superstitions in Fife.

Witchcraft.—In the first half of this century a reputed witch lived in the village of Strathkinness, near St. Andrews. She was believed to have the power of invisibly transferring the butter from the churns of her neighbours to her own. They alleged that on the last night of the year she skipped in the open air, swinging a cow-tether made of hair over her head, while she repeated the words:

"Hares' milk, and mares' milk,
An' a' the beas' that bears milk
Come to me!"

Having on one occasion asked leave to examine the tail of a neighbour's cow, because there was something wrong with the tail of her own cow, she was unfortunately permitted to do so. The result was that, while the witch's cow gradually recovered, the tail of the neighbour's cow became diseased and slowly rotted away, until the owner was compelled to sell the unsightly but otherwise valuable animal to a butcher. The witch might, of course, inadvertently convey the germs of disease from the tail of one cow to that of another, and the recovery of her own cow might only be a coincidence, but it was not so regarded by the villagers. A young man who was out shooting on an adjacent muir saw a hare, and levelling his gun fired at it. The hare, though wounded, was able to elude him by running down the hill, crossing the road, and getting over the wall into the witch's garden. There it disappeared. When the young fellow went home he told his people that he had shot the witch, and next day when she appeared her head was bandaged. The sportsman was not unduly afraid, for he afterwards married the witch's daughter.

In the same parish another witch, who seems to have lived about the latter part of last century, proved very troublesome to the servants at Clermont Farm. She usually entered the kitchen when butter was being made, and when she appeared the butter would not form, no matter how strenuously or how long the servant might churn. Driven to desperation, it was at last resolved that, when she was next seen approaching the farm, one of the ploughmen should be called into the house to counteract her purpose. Accordingly, when she one day entered the kitchen, she was surprised to see a ploughman at the churn. She took her

seat by the fire as usual, and putting her pipe to her mouth bent down to the fire to light it. On observing this the ploughman, who had previously put a sixpence in the churn, stopped working, pressed the churn-staff hard down on the silver coin and kept it there. The witch ordered him to go on with his work. He stubbornly refused. She entreated; but he was inexorable. She cried out that she could not get her head up until he began; but begin he would not until she promised that he would have no difficulty with the butter. They were never troubled again by her at the Clermont.

Magpies.—In this district magpies, or pyets, as they are called, were dreaded as birds of ill-omen, even in the third decade of this century. Many people there were who, if they met, while on a journey, an unlucky number of these birds, would immediately turn back. A common rhyme ran thus:

> "Ane's joy,
> Twa's grief,
> Three's marriage,
> Four's death."

Hare-lip.—It was also believed that if a pregnant woman stepped over "a cutty's clap," that is, a place where a hare had lain, her child, when born, would have "the hare-shach," or hare-lip. A laird in the neighbourhood, some seventy years ago, married his housekeeper. In harvest-time she went out to see what the reapers were doing, and heedlessly stepped over a cutty's clap. The reapers remonstrated with her, but, to show her contempt for their superstition, she forthwith stepped over it repeatedly. The child, when born, proved to be a daughter, and had no upper-lip at all. The laird's indignation at his wife's foolishness was unrelenting.

D. Hay Fleming.

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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. IX.] DECEMBER, 1898. [No. IV.

TUESDAY, JUNE 21st, 1898.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. Alfred Nutt) in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Corry, Miss E. Hull, and the Cardiff and Salford Public Libraries, as Members of the Society, was announced.

The deaths of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and Mr. F. C. Birkbeck Terry were also announced.

Mr. Gomme exhibited a Burmese horoscope and some Burmese charms and amulets, sent by Mr. J. B. Andrews, and presented by him to the Society. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Andrews for his gift.

A paper entitled "Theories of the Origin of Religion" was read by Mr. Andrew Lang. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Clodd, Miss Dempster, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Brabrook, Miss M. Kingsley, Mr. Crooke, Mr Jacobs, and the President took part.

Papers on "The Star-Lore of the Micmacs of Nova Scotia," by Mr. Stansbury Hagar, and "Sqaktktquaclt or the Benign-faced, the Oannes of the Ntlakapamuq of British Columbia," by Mr. C. Hill-Tout, were also read.

At the conclusion of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lang for his paper.

THE "HIGH GODS" OF AUSTRALIA.

BY EDWIN SIDNEY HARTLAND.

IF anyone, accustomed to Mr. Lang's usual half-serious, half-satiric vein, have come to doubt that he can ever be in earnest (save when attacking Professor Max Müller), *The Making of Religion* (Longmans, 1898) is calculated to undeceive him. It is a counterblast in deadly earnest to current anthropological theories, or what he describes as such; and it winds up with (for him) an impassioned appeal on behalf of the rudiments of theological orthodoxy. He thus states the current anthropological theories which he attacks:

"Man derived the conception of 'spirit' or 'soul' from his reflections on the phenomena of sleep, dreams, death, shadow, and from the experience of trance and hallucination. Worshipping first the departed souls of his kindred, man later extended the doctrine of spiritual beings in many directions. Ghosts or other spiritual existences fashioned on the same lines prospered till they became gods. Finally, as the result of a variety of processes, one of these gods became supreme, and, at last, was regarded as the only God. Meanwhile man retained his belief in the existence of his own soul surviving after the death of the body, and so reached the conception of immortality. Thus the ideas of God and of the soul are the result of early fallacious reasonings about misunderstood experiences."

He combats the theories thus stated, first, by enlarging on the hallucinations, the trances, the "visions" of savages, comparing them with modern civilised spiritualistic and other phenomena, insisting on the reality of the experiences, and suggesting that, forming as they do the foundation, "at least in part," of the savage theory of the soul, they "cannot

at present be made to fit into any purely materialistic conception of the universe:" meaning, I presume, that the savage theory of the soul is, substantially and in its main outlines, a correct interpretation of facts.

Now, whether this be so or not, is not a question within the domain of the science of folklore. As students of folklore we must be content to leave the inquiry to scientific psychologists. The facts, at all events as regards the savage phenomena, have by no means been overlooked. The only debate here is on the relative importance to be attached to them as part of the foundation of the savage theory of the soul. It is well that attention should be called to them in an emphatic way, for one of the dangers attending an inquiry into a subject as complex as that of savage philosophy and religion is that of unduly neglecting one or more series of phenomena in favour of another or of others. To this extent, therefore, Mr. Lang has rendered a service to anthropology for which we must be grateful.

Incidentally also he brings into prominence unsolved questions, like that of the reason for tying up a seer, which may have an unsuspected value for the determination of larger issues. The author conjectures that the seer was tied up because corpses were tied up, so as to put him "on a level with the dead, who will then communicate with him." The range of the two customs, however, does not appear to be identical; and it may turn out, though Mr. Lang does not suggest it, that the seer was not tied up to introduce him to the society of the dead, but that the dead and the seer were alike tied up for a common reason. If so, that reason remains to be discovered. We think we know why the dead were bound, but we may not, after all, have got to the bottom of the mystery. Now that the resemblance between the binding of the dead and the binding of the seer, and the apparent connection between them, have been pointed out, students may be led to further and, let us hope, successful research.

But as matter of anthropological controversy Mr. Lang's second ground of quarrel with current theories is far the more important, for here he directly traverses the scheme as set forth in his opening paragraph. He boldly alleges not merely that gods were not developed out of "ghosts or other spiritual existences fashioned on the same lines," but that the conception of a "relatively Supreme Being" was reached by "men in very rudimentary social conditions," and that "the idea of God in its earliest known shape" had nothing to do with that of spirit. The opinions against which the polemic is here directed are chiefly those of Professor Tylor and Mr. Herbert Spencer. But there are many anthropologists who, while admitting that at a certain level of civilisation the worship of the spirits of the dead has shot up and overshadowed all other forms of religion, yet utterly decline to see in that worship the beginning of religion. They hold that, in spite of the darkness which enshrouds the primitive past of mankind, it is possible to obtain glimpses of an earlier time when man had not attained to the conception of a disembodied spirit, when, conscious himself of will and sensation and reason, he endowed everything round him with those qualities. They do not believe that the idea of God has arisen from that of a ghost or disembodied spirit of a dead man. They agree with Mr. Lang that the evidence will not warrant such a conclusion. With much of this argument, therefore, they have no quarrel. Where they differ from him is in his assertion of a moral, relatively Supreme Being, a Creator, as known to "men in very rudimentary social conditions."

It may be worth while to spend a little time, for the sake of the importance of the subject, and of the undoubted weight of Mr. Lang's authority as an anthropologist, in considering his evidence on this point. In the following pages I propose to deal in detail with so much as relates to the Australian race, leaving the rest for some future opportunity.

It is, first of all, desirable to be clear what it is he asserts. It is, as I understand, that one of the two chief sources of religion (the other being a belief in the soul, with which we have nothing to do here) was "the belief, how attained we know not, in a powerful, moral, eternal, omniscient Father and Judge of men." "From the most backward races historically known to us," we are told, "to those of our own status, all have been more or less washed by the waters of this double stream of religion." Elsewhere he speaks of a "Supreme Being," or a "relatively Supreme Being," of "the equal Father of all men," of "a universal Father and Maker," "a moral Creator," and so forth, as the earliest conception of God, or of a god known to us; or at least we are told that He "may be"—by which Mr. Lang desires to intimate his opinion that He was—"(though he cannot *historically* be shown to be) prior to the first notion of ghost and separable souls." The italics are mine.

Now, although in the passage quoted above the author professes ignorance how this conception was attained, he adds in a note: "the hypothesis of St. Paul seems not the most unsatisfactory." This hypothesis is that the belief in question arose out of the "Argument from Design" (p. 200). He holds, therefore, that "the most backward races historically known to us" had by reasoning arrived at the belief in a moral, eternal, omniscient Creator and Judge. The description applies particularly to the Australian aborigines, who seem to have been unconscious English Deists in paint and scars and feathers. On the antecedent improbability that naked savages, without any organised system of government, and incapable of counting up to seven, could have attained a philosophical conception so lofty, there is no need to argue. It is obvious that the theory demands cogent proof.

Mr. Lang begins by referring to the Fuegians and Patagonians, about whom our information is so extremely fragmentary that I will waste no words upon it. He then

passes to the Australians, who, he rightly says, "of all races now extant . . . . are probably lowest in culture, and . . . . nearest to the primitive model. They have neither metals, bows, pottery, agriculture, nor fixed habitations; and no traces of higher culture have anywhere been found above or in the soil of the continent" (p. 189). "Their best religious ideas," we learn, "are imparted in their ancient and secret mysteries," which, let me add, are celebrated with horrible cruelty and worse than beastly filthiness.[1] Before examining the teaching given to the initiate in the mysteries, Mr. Lang quotes and discusses Mr. Howitt's account of the "Supreme Spirit" of various tribes. The Murring tribes give the name of Daramulun (with certain dialectal variations) to a being who "taught the Murring all the arts they knew: he instituted the ceremonies of Initiation of Youths; he made the original Mudji (or bull-roarer), ordered the animal names to be assumed by men, and directed what rules should be observed as to the food permitted or forbidden to certain persons."

Without mixing up Daramulun with the "Supreme Spirit" of other tribes, let us first see what we know of him alone as the conception formed by the Murring of the moral, eternal, omniscient Creator and Judge. "He was not, it seems to me," writes Mr. Howitt, "everywhere thought to be a malevolent being, but he was dreaded as one who could severely punish the trespasses against those tribal ordinances and customs whose first institution is ascribed to him." He "watched the youths from the sky, prompt to punish, by sickness or death, the breach of his ordinances."[2] Upon these passages Mr. Lang remarks that "to punish transgressions of his law is not the essence

[1] Mr. Lang admits that some of them "are neither moral nor theistic" (p. 195), and, again, that some of the ceremonies are "cruel and farcical" (p. 192). This is to put it mildly.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., p. 192. These passages are quoted by Mr. Lang.

of a malevolent being" (p. 193). We should rather say that the first inference to be drawn is that Daramulun is regarded as a special tribal patron. The Murring could not be ignorant that other tribes had their own mysteries. Whether they identified Daramulun with the Being who was celebrated in the latter we know not. Probably they never thought about it. At any rate it is clear that Daramulun holds a peculiar relation to the tribes which believe in him. His name is only communicated at initiation. It is unknown to women and children. Among the Ngarego and Wolgal (two of the Murring tribes) the women only know vaguely of a great being beyond the sky, whom they call Papang (father). The name of Daramulun is avoided by the men or spoken almost in whispers, except during the ceremonies, when it is uttered as the accompaniment of a dance.[1] This apparent sacredness, be it observed, is founded on the universal superstition that a name is part and parcel of its owner, and to utter it is to summon the owner, however distant he may be. Obviously, to do so when the owner is a god and is not wanted, is to expose oneself to his vengeance for making a fool of him. It is a common, if not universal, custom for an Australian savage to have a secret name known only to members of his clan, or at least of his (territorial) tribe, and rarely or never uttered.[2] The name of Daramulun is a secret only known to the Murring tribes and their congeners. It is said to mean "leg-on-one-side," or "lame,"[3] probably from a personal peculiarity, like Tsuni‖goam among the Hottentots.

Daramulun having "in the beginning," a phrase to which we must give a very wide interpretation, "instituted these ceremonies, and constituted the aboriginal society as it exists" among these tribes, died; this eternal Creator with

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., pp. 193, 452. The Theddora women, it seems, were not kept in ignorance of the name, though they knew little more about him.

[2] See for example Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 191.

[3] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxi., p. 294.

a game-leg "died, and his spirit (Būlabong) went up to the sky, where he has since lived with the ghosts."[1] The statement is unaccountably overlooked by Mr. Lang, who indeed asserts the contrary (p. 194, note), and insists that "the essential idea of Daramulun and Baiame, and most of the high gods of Australia and of other low races, is that they never died at all" (p. 205). When a god dies, he is "a confessed ghost-god" (p. 205). Daramulun, therefore, is "a confessed ghost-god."

Perhaps Mr. Lang will tell us that this legend of Daramulun's death is a part of the folklore, of the mythology, and not of the religious belief of the Murring tribes. That lies upon him to show: Mr. Howitt is silent on the point. "The mythology of the god is a kind of joke with no sacredness about it," says Mr. Lang (p. 197). No doubt this is a very convenient way of treating awkward statements. On the previous page, however, he has been dealing with myths in all seriousness, setting against one which "*may* be interpreted as ancestor-worship," others which *may* be (and are by him) interpreted of creation; and apparently he is satisfied with the overwhelming number of these myths of creation. "The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning." If the mythology of the god be a kind of joke, then the "myth of making or creating" has "no sacredness about it," and is of no more value as an expression of the real belief of the "Narrinyeri, Boonorong, the Wolgal, Ngarego, Theddora, Coast Murring, and Wiraijuri, worshippers of Daramulun," than the myth told by the Kurnai of their "grandfather, not maker," Mungan-ngaur.

But what is the distinction between religious belief and myth? Where does the one begin and the other end? Myths are told in the mysteries as well as outside them. They are part of the rite, part of the religious belief.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., pp. 194, 446.

Men reasoned about things in a more or less disjointed fashion, and their reasonings took the shape of tales. The theories of savages regarding the origin of things are always expressed as narrative, nor do they trouble to render them consistent. The real origin of the contradictions in these narratives, even when told by the same people about the same persons and events, is not so much that some are esteemed sacred and others secular. There is no such division, or, if there be, Mr. Howitt and Mr. Matthews, who are Mr. Lang's authorities, do not know it, for they quote indiscriminately as *beliefs* stories told in the mysteries and stories told outside them; and they ought to know. The reason lies in the vagueness of the savage mind and the shifting nature of tradition.

We may illustrate this statement by a few other facts recorded (but not by Mr. Lang) about this moral, eternal, omniscient Creator and Judge. The Wiraijuri (one of the Murring tribes) hold explicitly that Daramulun is not the supreme master, but the son of Baiame, whom we shall discuss presently. Indeed, according to some versions, there are several Daramuluns, all of them sons of Baiame. This tribe holds, too, that Daramulun lives not in heaven, but in the earth. A wizard related to Mr. Howitt how he had been taken down by his totem, a tiger-snake, into the ground beneath a great tree, and up under the tree, which was hollow; and there he saw, not Daramulun, but "a number of little Daramuluns." It does not appear whether these were the offspring of Daramulun. In any case Daramulun has a wife, or two wives, for her name, Ngalalbal, is a dual form, and here again tradition seems to vary. Ngalalbal is or are invoked, equally with Daramulun, in the mysteries. She is the emu and "woman;" and hence emu-flesh is forbidden to novices, who are not allowed "so much as to look at a woman or to speak to one." The Wiraijuri also call the emu "the food of Baiame," and forbid its flesh on this account to novices. The emu seems

also to be the food of Daramulun; for in the mysteries they exhibit the moulded figure of his "tomahawk, which he threw after the emu as he was descending by the path," represented by a strip of bark, "from the sky to the earth." They also show two of the emu's footprints as it was endeavouring to escape, and its figure where it fell. Moreover, the Wiraijuri are divided into exogamous classes and sub-classes. One of these is called Yibai (Iguana); and Yibai, we are told, is a synonym of Daramulun.[1] This may be regarded as some, though slight, evidence that Daramulun is the father, or one of the fathers, of the tribe; if there be any evidence that he was the creator I have overlooked it.

The Wiradthuri, described by Mr. Matthews, appear to be the same people as the Wiraijuri of Mr. Howitt,[2] or at all events a branch of them. Here we get a further variant of the traditions relating to Daramulun, which was told to Mr. Matthews by an old wizard, and is given as intimately connected with the ceremonies of initiation. There would seem, therefore, no doubt as to its religious character. In this legend Daramulun is pictured as "a gigantic and powerful being, something between a blackfellow and a spirit." He was "one of Baiamai's people," and his voice "resembled the rumbling of distant thunder." To him the boys of the tribe were handed over, to be taken into the bush and instructed in "the laws, traditions, and customs of the community," and in short to fit them for adult life. Daramulun pretended to Baiame that his method of procedure was to kill the boys, cut them up, burn them

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., pp. 452, 450, 456; vol. xvi., pp. 49, 50. The small iguana and the young emu, it should also be noted, are totems among the Wiraijuri, but whether they are identified with Yibai and Ngalal, the iguana and the emu, does not appear. *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 437.

[2] Compare Mr. Howitt's account, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxv., p. 433, with Mr. Matthews's, *ibid.*, vol. xxv., p. 295. The sound represented by *j* or *dj* is sometimes at all events represented by *dth*. See also *ibid.*, vol. xiv., p. 345.

to ashes, and then to form the ashes into human shape and restore them to life, each with a tooth missing, the visible sign of his initiation. Or, as the story is told "in some tribes," he swallowed them and vomited them up again, possessing all the tribal knowledge, but each of them minus a tooth. Some, however, of the boys were, time after time, never returned to the camp. Baiame at length grew uneasy about them; and by dint of questioning the young men, and compelling them, in spite of their fears of Daramulun, to speak the truth, he learnt that Daramulun's account of the process of initiation was entirely untrue, that he did not swallow or kill all the boys, but that he wrenched out the missing tooth with his own, and sometimes varied the performance by biting off the boy's entire face and devouring him. A boy so treated, of course, did not return. Baiame in his rage destroyed the moral, eternal, omniscient Creator and Judge, Daramulun, and, putting his voice into all the trees of the forest, decreed that it should remain in them for ever. He furthermore instituted the Būrbŭng, as the mysteries of the Wiradthuri are called, and made the first bull-roarer, but directed that the women and uninitiated were not to be told of Daramulun's fraud; they were to be left under the impression that the boys were actually put to death and restored to life by Daramulun. It is added that this fraudulent moral being "had a wife named Moonibear, who watched over all matters relating to the women of the tribes"; and a small bull-roarer bearing her name was also used in the ceremonies.[1]

All these particulars have been judiciously omitted by Mr. Lang, though there is no evidence that they are a whit less sacred, or looked upon as a whit less true, than any he has given us; and the scientific inquirer must take them into account, and in their light interpret whatever else is told us about the Great Master, Daramulun. But we have still to

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xxv., p. 297. See also vol. xiv., p. 358.

see what can be learnt of Baiame, Bunjil, and Mungan-ngaur, other alleged Supreme Beings of the Australians.

Concerning Baiame Mr. Lang tells us that, in common with Daramulun "and most of the High Gods of Australia and of other low races," he "never died at all." Speaking generally, "they belong to the period before death came into the world," they are "magnified non-natural men, or undefined beings who were from the beginning and are eternal." "Not being ghosts they crave no food from men, and receive no sacrifice," but they are adored "by ethical conformity to their will and by solemn ceremony." They are "creators, moral guides, rewarders and punishers of conduct" (pp. 205, 207, 208). And it is specifically denied that Baiame is a deified blackfellow (p. 195).

I do not wonder that Mr. Lang shirks all details about Baiame. The legend I have just summarised is a solemn tradition connected with the ritual on which he lays so much stress; and there Baiame appears as the head of a clan or community, "Baiame's people:" in fact, the head-man of a tribe. Nor is this all. Baiame has a wife named Gunnanbuly and two sons. With these sons he went out hunting one day, caught two kangaroos, and cut their tails off. At the next Bora (mysteries) to which they went, the two sons "danced with these tails tied behind them like kangaroos, and this custom has been followed by the tribes at all Boras ever since."[1] Here, then, Baiame does not establish the mysteries, they are already practised. Not only does he hunt kangaroo, he hunts emu also. In native fashion, this Creator skulks in a tree near a water-hole, waiting for the bird to come and drink. He had a bad fall one day while running after an emu he had speared in this way, for he tripped over a log and fell flat on his face. The incident is represented in the mysteries; and the figure, made in earth, of the Supreme

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv., pp. 416, 417, 423; vol. xxv., pp. 299, 301.

Being, Baiame, is shown to the neophytes in this ridiculous attitude, with a print in the clay beside him left by the hand that he vainly spread out to save himself as he tumbled headlong.[1] But he had better luck sometimes, for the emu is his food.[2]

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the foregoing merry adventures of the Baiame family, neglected by Mr. Lang, are not "a kind of joke with no sacredness about it." They are inseparably bound up with the innermost sanctities of religion, and communicated to the adolescent Kamilaroi at the most solemn moment of their lives. When, therefore, we are told that Baiame is their creator, we must ask in what sense the word is used. Unfortunately we have no details of the creative act. But we know that the idea of creation, as we use it, is completely foreign to savage ideas. The sublime conception of the creative fiat as set forth in the book of Genesis, and interpreted by Christian dogma, is the product of ages of civilisation; and to use the word *creation* is to import into the deeds of an imaginary being, who is presented, if not as "a deified blackfellow," at least as hardly more than a very exalted savage wizard, ideas which do not belong to them, and therefore are utterly misleading to the reader. The Rev. W. Ridley, indeed, states that, among certain aborigines on the Namoi, Barwan, and other tributaries of the Darling, "the blacks who are acquainted with English," and have therefore presumably come into contact with English ideas, say that "He made earth and water and sky, animals and men; that He makes the rain come down and the grass grow; that He has delivered their fathers from evil demons; that He welcomes good people to the great 'Warrambool' (watercourse and grove) in the sky—the Milky Way—a paradise of peace and plenty; and that He destroys the bad." And his name is said to be

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xxv., pp. 300, 311.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 456.

derived from *baia*, to make, cut out, or build.[1] But this account must surely be received with very great caution. There is evidence—negative evidence, it is true, but of persons in a position to be well informed—that Baiame, if known at all by that name, was not so prominent a figure in the beliefs of the natives until about sixty years ago, and that, at all events, what Dr. Tylor justly calls the "markedly biblical characteristics" observable in Mr. Ridley's report have appeared only since the advent of the missionaries and the extended converse of the aborigines with white settlers. Dr. Tylor, whose discussion of the question Mr. Lang does not mention, sums it up in these words: "The evidence points rather, in my opinion, to Baiame being the missionary translation of the word Creator, used in Scripture lesson-books for God."[2] Mr. Lang may challenge this opinion as that of an anthropologist, however distinguished, whose theories a large part of his book is occupied with controverting. And probably it is not altogether beyond dispute. The facts, however, remain that the earliest mention of Baiame is in the year 1840, that he is then said to be living on an island in the sea and to feed on fish, that while some natives considered him "Creator," others were said to attribute that office to his son Burambin, that his biblical characteristics, as reported by missionaries, constantly expanded down to the publication of Mr. Brough Smyth's work in 1878, and that in the most recent accounts—those of Mr. Matthews, who is not a missionary—they have so far disappeared that he is now only said to have created the tribesmen themselves. It seems reasonable on the whole to infer that, whatever may be the origin of his name and his earlier position in native thought, the points of his story most resembling the Christian conception of Creator have been unconsciously evolved, first by white explorers, then by missionaries, and lastly by the natives themselves under

[1] Brough Smyth, vol. ii., p. 285.
[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxi., p. 294.

European influence.[1] That European influence has penetrated even into the mysteries we find indisputably from the fact that among the sacred figures prepared for the ceremonies by the Kamilaroi is that of a bullock, an animal unknown before the advent of the whites.[2]

Having regard to Baiame's family life, we may suspect that among the Kamilaroi, the title of "Father" is to be taken in a much more literal sense than we do with reference to God. Mr. Matthews does not report them as declaring that he created "the country and all that is in it for their use;" only that he gave it them, after which he and Gunnanbeely went away. In what manner the departure took place we are not told; but we may guess, from the examples of Daramulun and Bunjil, that it was not quite voluntary. Unless I have overlooked the passage, it does not seem that Baiame is worshipped by the Kamilaroi, even by the utterance of his name, although they sing a song called "Baiame's Song," the words of which Mr. Matthews promises to give at a future time. How far the principles of conduct laid down for the benefit of the neophytes at the Bora may be properly described as "ethical conformity to his will" we will consider hereafter. Whether they are sanctioned by threats of divine inter-

[1] It is not wholly without significance in this connection that in the legends of the Noongahburrahs, a tribe on the Narran River in New South Wales, Baiame is regarded simply as a great wizard or doctor (Wirreenun), the "mightiest and most famous of the Wirreenun." We are told that "alone in a thick scrub, on one of the Noondoo ridges, lives this old man, Byamee, the mightiest of Wirreenun." He had two wives, Birrahgnooloo and Cunnunbeillee. They were once swallowed by two alligators, but rescued and brought back to life by their husband. He retired to his present abode after certain strange events at a great Bora. (Mrs. Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales*, pp. 11, 94.) No doubt this is "folklore," and not part and parcel of the mysteries. Perhaps, therefore, Mr. Lang will seek to put it out of court, as "a kind of joke with no sacredness about it." But the odd thing is that it treats Baiame with more seriousness and respect than much of the solemn instruction of the mysteries.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxiv., p. 416.

position does not appear. The instruction is certainly given in a peculiar manner, and is mixed up with much that cannot be fairly called ethical.[1]

Among the Wiraijuri, Baiame is said to have his camp above the clouds, where he is visited by the medicine-men. They ascend astride a thread, and enter at a place which keeps "opening and shutting very quickly," like the Clashing Rocks of the Argonautic Expedition and many other mythical doors, "On the other side," says an eye-witness, "we saw Baiame sitting in his camp. He was a very great old man with a long beard. He sate with his legs under him [squatting in native fashion], and from his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals to the sky above him. There were also numbers of the boys of Baiame and of his people, who are birds and beasts."[2] It is in some such way that the Wiraijuri wizard receives his power; and the gift of this power in dreams is almost all the earthly labour now undertaken by Baiame. But evidently in his own camp he still carries on his family life, begetting boys and ruling his people, who are celestial birds and beasts. As a moral being, all we know of him is that he slew Daramulun, not for his fraud and cruelty, but because he himself lost through him so many of his young men; that he instituted the Burbung, including, of course, the moral lessons we have yet to deal with; and that he commanded the men to continue to make "the women and uninitiated" believe the fable that Daramulun actually burnt and restored to life the boys who were taken away for initiation.[3] Omniscient he certainly is not; for Daramulun deceived him, nor did he learn the truth until in an entirely human way he had got it out of the mouths of eye-witnesses.

Turning now to Bunjil, or Pundjel, the "Supreme Being" of the Kulin tribes, it is satisfactory to find that he has a

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 416, 423, 424, 426; vol. xxv., pp. 311, 334, 337.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., pp. 49, 50, 54.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xxv., pp. 297, 298.

somewhat better character than Baiame; for, says Mr. Howitt, he "seems to have been regarded much in the light in which William Beiruk described to me the Ngŭrŭngæta, or head-man of his tribe, "a man who did no one any harm, and who spoke straight."[1] In common with Baiame and Daramulun he is called "Father;"[2] and, as in the case of Daramulun, there is a disinclination to utter his name "when speaking of his supernatural powers," though not so much when repeating the "folklore" in which he plays a part.[3] This, as I have already explained, seems to arise less from the sacredness of the name than from a fear that the speaker may be taken to be summoning Bunjil to display his remarkable powers, a display that would often be highly inconvenient, not to say dangerous.

The word Bunjil is known and used over a considerable area of the south-eastern part of the Australian continent. Among many tribes of Victoria it means Eaglehawk, and is not only the name of their "Great Spirit," but also of one of their two primary class-divisions,[4] just as among the Murring tribes Yibai, or Iguana, the name of their class-divisions, is a synonym of Daramulun. In both cases it probably indicates ancestral relation to the tribe. This is confirmed by the fact that six of the totems of the Woiworung, one of the Kulin tribes, which are various animals and birds, are called "sons of Bunjil." For Bunjil, like Daramulun, is married and has two wives. At a certain period in his history he "left the earth with all his people, and went aloft in a furious wind, which tore the trees up by the roots." It must not, however, be thought that this was an exhibition of the "Supreme

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 192.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiv., p. 313.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 193.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 454; Fison and Howitt, p. 210. It is curious that one of Baiame's feats is the chasing away of an eagle-hawk whose nest was near his "first home." *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxiv., p. 417.

Being's" power, but of his weakness. For the jay, "who at that time was a man, had a great many bags full of wind, and being angry, he one day opened the bags, and made such a great wind that Bund-jel and nearly all his family were carried up into the heavens." He is now the star Fomalhaut, and his wives and six sons are established as eight other stars.[1]

Among the Kurnai, Bunjil is a common title of respect, which Mr. Howitt states may be freely rendered "Elder." In later life the Kurnai man usually receives a name from a personal peculiarity or incident, and Bunjil is part of this name. Thus Mr. Howitt himself was called Bunjil Gūyŭr-gŭn, or Elder Rapids, from his exploit in floating down a dangerous river, through a narrow pass which had never been explored.[2] A man with a deep growling voice was called Bunjil Gworŭn, or Elder Thunder. All the wizards are called Bunjil; the rain-makers are called Bunjil Willŭng; those whose business it is to aid in elopements are called Bunjil Yenjin; the wizards who cause death "by a combination of sorcery and violence" are called Bunjil Barn. Of the latter Mr. Howitt writes: "Their magic fire round which they dance, singing the name of their intended victim, is exactly the magic fire of the Murring initiation ceremonies, and the Bunjil Barn, being rubbed over with charcoal, followed the custom of the initiation."[3] Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that, in spite of Bunjil's good character, he was regarded as the source of "these fatal magical powers," as are also Brewin and Daramulun.[4]

I do not find that Bunjil is regarded as judge; though no doubt his position as a star gives him facilities of observa-

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., pp. 452, 193, 194; Brough Smyth, vol. i., p. 427. The same page contains a different account, another illustration of the vague and fluid character of tradition.

[2] Fison and Howitt, pp. 210, 211.

[3] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xvi., pp. 33, 34, 35; Fison and Howitt, p. 252.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 194.

tion, and the vague threat "he can see you and all you do down here" implies a fear of vengeance in case of offending him. There is no account, so far as I have read, of his connection, if any, with the mysteries, nor of anything in the shape of worship, even as much as the ritual utterance of his name. Of his "precepts," referred to by Mr. Lang (p. 315), I know nothing. Grotesque stories are told of Bunjil as "Creator," and of his marital relations and his brother Pal-ly-yan, or Boo-err-go-en (if these two are the same). I give one of these stories on a later page. According to another, though Bunjil had made men, it was left to Pal-ly-yan to make women, or rather to fish them out of a water-hole. The legends need not detain us; they are of the usual savage character.[1]

But the great name by which Mr. Lang conjures is Mūngan-ngaur,[2] Our Father, revealed in the secret rites of the Kurnai, "a Being not defined as spirit, but immortal, and dwelling in heaven" (p. 196). Let me pause for a moment to observe that he lays great emphasis on the distinction between spirits and these alleged Supreme Beings. And he is right, if by spirit he mean *human spirit*, the ghost or *manes* of a dead man. There is nothing to show that many heathen gods were regarded as the ghosts of once living men; and there is much to show the contrary. But if he mean *spirit* in the more general sense, then we must demur. The idea of immateriality, which we attach to *spirit*, is foreign to the savage mind. Even ghosts of the dead are not regarded as wholly immaterial. They are beings less substantial perhaps (though not always) than living men, with greater power of changing their form, and of locomotion, appearing and disappearing in a marvellous way, but not of a kind quite disparate from matter. They suffer from cold and from hunger, unless their surviving

[1] Brough Smyth, vol. i., pp. 423, *seqq*.

[2] I do not know what authority Mr. Lang has for writing Mungun-ngaur. I have followed Mr. Howitt's spelling.

relatives supply them with clothing and food; they may even die. Different animals in various parts of the world are regarded as spirits of the dead. A serpent is a common form in Africa, and was well known to the classical Greeks and Romans. About Lake Nyassa, "a great hunter generally takes the form of a lion or a leopard; and all witches seem to like the form of a hyena."[1] The dead man has in fact only undergone transformation, though there is a difference of opinion as to whether there is an end of him if the animal manifestation be slain. What is true of African belief is true of all savage belief. The entirely immaterial soul is a product of civilised philosophy. This being so, it is not surprising that gods who are not ghosts of the dead are not regarded as immaterial. The truth is, as Mr. Lang points out, that "the question of spirit or not spirit [in our sense of the word, be it understood] was not raised at all" (p. 182). But it was not raised, because our sense of the word *spirit* had never entered the heads of the savages. They implicitly assumed material qualities for all their supernatural beings, whether ghosts, or gods, or devils. The tissue may have been finer, the powers greater, but they were of one substance with themselves.

Accordingly this undefined Being, Mungan-ngaur, was sufficiently material, sufficiently carnal, to have a son, Tundun, "who was married and who is the direct ancestor—the Weintwin, or father's father—of the Kurnai."[2] Mr. Howitt tells us nothing about Mungan-ngaur's wife, but this may be because his information was imperfect; so far as the evidence goes there is no reason to suppose that his son was believed to have come into existence in other than the natural way. Tundun's wife is expressly mentioned

[1] Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. i., p. 63. What spirit (Lisoka) or pure spirit (Lisokape) may be in the metaphysics of the Blantyre tribes Mr. Macdonald does not define.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 313.

because she plays a part in the mysteries. Two bull-roarers are used, a large one and a small one, bearing the respective names of Tundun, "the man," and Rukut Tundun, the woman, or wife of Tundun. The former is also called grandfather, or Mŭkbrōgan, Arch-comrade.[1] At any rate Mungan-ngaur is father, not creator, for no myth of creation is mentioned. He is the culture-god who taught the Kurnai all the arts they know and gave them the names —the personal names apparently—they bear.[2] The giving of a name is the function of the paternal grandfather or grandmother.[3] Hence it is appropriately assigned to a being who is regarded as ancestor. Moreover, he instituted the Jeraeil or mysteries, and, says Mr. Lang with a covert reference to the Hebrew Deluge, " destroyed the earth by water when they were impiously revealed " (p. 196). But the similarity to the story in Genesis is not really so great. Mungan-ngaur lived at that time upon the earth. When the secrets were revealed to women, he became angry and " sent fire, which filled the whole space between earth and sky. Men went mad with fear and speared one another. . . . . Then the sea rushed over the land and nearly all mankind were drowned. Those who survived became the ancestors of the Kurnai. Some of them turned into animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes; and Tundun and his wife," who we are not told were guilty, " became porpoises." The transformed people are called Muk-Kurnai, Arch-Kurnai, Eminent Men. Mungan then " left the earth and ascended to the sky, where he still

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 312. The word Brogan means more than *comrade:* it amounts to *brother.* All who have been initiated at the same time are Brogan, and address each other's wives as *wife*, and each other's children as *child.* The wife of Mr. Howitt's Brogan addressed Mr. Howitt as " my husband," and he returned the compliment to her. (Fison and Howitt, 198.) Tundun seems also to be the name for a chest affection, caused by Brewin, of whom more anon. Brough Smyth, vol. i., p. 472.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 313.

[3] Fison and Howitt, p. 190.

remains."[1] "The attributes and powers of Mungan-ngaur," says Mr. Howitt elsewhere, "are precisely those of Daramulun and of Baiame, who are also called 'our Father' by the tribes believing in them." These attributes "are those of unbounded power, including of course a most potent magic, which is imparted by them to the wizards; the power of doing anything and going anywhere and of seeing all that is done by the tribesmen. Correlated with these is the power and the will to punish for breaches of the tribal laws. In all these instances the Great Father of the tribe, who was once on earth, and now lives in the sky, is rather the beneficent father, and the kindly, though severe, headman of the whole tribe—of men on earth and of ghosts [*sc.* of deceased tribesmen] in the sky—than the malevolent wizard, such as are other of the supernatural beings believed in by Australian Blacks."[2]

This is all we are told of Mungan-ngaur. Scanty as the record is, therein lies its virtue. For facts, as we have already seen, are disposed to be so bigoted, that at length we may congratulate Mr. Lang on the discovery of a name that yields a little toleration and scope to his imagination. Let us pray him, however, to moderate its flight, remembering that more may be learned hereafter which may prove as awkward for his theory as some of the other facts of Australian belief. The analogy of the gods we have previously examined may well lead us to suspect that Mungan-ngaur is not quite unknown outside the mysteries. His peculiarity is that he had no other name than Our Father. But the Kurnai have another Supreme Being—if indeed he be not the same—who is called Brewin. He, too, is in effect the headman of the tribe; but "with the attributes of malevolent magic powers." He, too, lives in the sky, though how he got thither Mr. Howitt did not learn. Like Baiame, he is married, and it is freely told how his wife

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 313.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

and son, being foiled by the crow and the swamp-hawk in stealing the fire of the Kurnai, climbed up to the sky by a thread made of the tail-sinews of the red wallaby. There was no restriction against the women's knowing about him. Mr. Howitt significantly connects this with their participation in the ceremonies of initiation, which is greater than among some tribes. The only part they do not seem to know is that in which the bull-roarer is revealed, and the name and legend of Mungan-ngaur are taught. In common with other wizards he sends disease. He travels in a whirlwind, as do European fairies; and, like the "Supreme Beings" of other Australian tribes, he gives fatal magical powers. In fact, it looks as though he were identical with Mungan-ngaur; only outside the more secret parts of the Jeraeil his more forbidding aspect is dwelt on, and his fatherhood of the tribe concealed, or kept in the background. No woman, we are told, would ever call him "Father," "for he was dreaded as being very malignant." So far as appears, neither his name nor that of Mungan-ngaur is invoked in the mysteries, but the names of the Yeerung (emu-wren), or Men's Brother, and the Djeetgun (superb warbler), or Gins' Sister—what have been called, for want of better words, the male and female totems—are among the exclamations used on these occasions.[1] To conclude, malignant as he is, himself, his wife and son "are at the most but dim and indistinct figures."[2] It is true, this last is an early statement by Mr. Howitt; but his latest statements hardly add to or modify it. And the same might be said of Mungan-ngaur.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., pp. 191, 194; vol. xvi., pp. 40, 42, 56; vol. xiv., p. 309. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i., p. 64, quoting a communication of Mr. Howitt.

[2] Fison and Howitt, p. 254. The Kurnai speak of two other beings, yet more dim and indistinct: Bŭllŭm-dŭt, and Baukan or Bŭllŭm-baukan. *Bullum* means *two*. See *ibid.*, and Brough Smyth, vol. i., p. 471, from information supplied by Mr. Howitt.

We have now gone over what Mr. Howitt and Mr. Matthews tell us of Daramulun, Bunjil, Baiame, and Mungan-ngaur, supplementing the accounts of Bunjil and Baiame from Mr. Brough Smyth. We have not found these Supreme Beings eternal. Of Daramulun, it is expressly asserted that he died; he is "a confessed ghost-god." Bunjil, whatever he was once (perhaps an eaglehawk), is now a star. Baiame "went away" (or was puffed away by the jay), and now has his camp above the clouds. Mungan-ngaur, who used to live on the earth, "ascended to the sky, where he still remains." In no case was heaven, or the sky, the god's first home. Hence it is the reverse of correct to say that "they were, naturally, from the beginning, from before the coming in of death, immortal Fathers in Heaven" (p. 206). We must be on our guard, too, against the expression "Father in Heaven," and against many other expressions rhetorically used by Mr. Lang anent gods of the lower races. They convey to our minds reminiscences of Christian teaching of which the savage mind is guiltless. Equally the words "eternal" and "immortal" are the vehicle of thoughts unknown to the lower culture. Vain will be the attempt to read the mind of the savage if we persist in putting a civilised gloss on all his ideas. Mr. Lang tells us that death is not envisaged by the savage as necessary and inevitable even for himself. He uses this fact, admitted by all anthropologists, against "the ghost theory" of the origin of religion (p. 203). But, if good for anything, it is good for more inferences than Mr. Lang cares to draw. A savage, who did not admit that he himself must die, would not think or speak of his gods as immortal; for that would be to assign them a distinctive quality, and to imply that he, on the other hand, was inevitably mortal. If they do not die, it is because their vaster power enables them to ward off dangers, magical or violent, to which all living things are liable. Still less would he conceive of them as eternal. Eternity and immortality express definite

ideas not formulated in the vague and sluggish mind of a savage. He has never thought them out. Mr. Lang finds it necessary to modify Professor Jevons' assertion that "ancestors known to be human were not worshipped as gods, and ancestors worshipped as gods were not believed to have been human" (p. 206). He unconsciously modifies it still further when he admits that Daramulun and Napi (a god of the Blackfeet of North America—here he anticipates), and Baiame are best described as "magnified non-natural men," and quotes Curr concerning the Gippsland tribes that "they believe the Creator was a gigantic black, living among the stars" (pp. 207, 203).[1] A savage indeed holds his god to be altogether such an one as himself: the god reflects his features, mental, moral, and physical, on a larger scale. The god of the savage is not "a deified blackfellow," but the savage himself raised to the *nth* power.

I traverse, therefore, the pleonastic assertion that "where the first ancestor is equivalent to the Creator, and is supreme, he is—from the first—deathless and immortal" (p. 205). According to savage philosophy there must have been a first ancestor "once upon a time." But to apply the term Creator to him is to credit the savage philosopher with the ideas of the civilised philosopher. The savage "creator" is at most

[1] The reference, given only vaguely by Mr. Lang, is to *The Australian Race*, vol. iii., p. 547. The quotation is not accurate; nor does it bear out Mr. Lang's contention in the paragraph where it is quoted, that "The savage Supreme Being, with added power, omniscience, and immortality, is the idealisation of the savage, as conceived of by himself, *minus* fleshly body (as a rule), and *minus* Death." Quoted *verbatim*, it runs: "The Creator of all that has life on earth they believe to have been a gigantic blackfellow, who lived in Gippsland many centuries ago, and dwells amongst the stars. Indeed, many of the stars are named after some of their people long since dead." The death of the "Creator" is surely implied here, as a preliminary to his translation "amongst the stars." Observe, too, the limitation of his "creative" functions. Curr's conclusions are not always to be trusted, and his knowledge of the majority of the tribes was second-hand and imperfect; but his presentation of the god in these words is to be preferred to Mr. Lang's.

a fashioner of pre-existing material, a transformer of pre-existing shapes. Very often he is regarded literally as tribal ancestor. Mr. Lang is generous enough to erect him into an "equal Father of all men;" but where are the proofs? Even supremacy is in general only to be predicated of him in a limited fashion: it does not extend beyond the government of the tribe. He may best be described as a sublimated headman. And of immortality the savage knows nothing either for his ghosts or for his gods. The sacredness of the god's name is merely the fear of summoning him on an inappropriate occasion. Mr. Lang tells us he is "far too sacred to be represented by idols" (p. 198). But the Australian has no idols. His high gods and his low gods are, save during the mysteries of some tribes, equally destitute of *simulacra*. The truth is that he has not arrived at the stage of development in art which expresses itself in idols. It is a question of art rather than religious feeling. For their secret rites the Wiradthuri make temporary figures in the earth, just as the North American Indians do on similar occasions in sand. The figures are not only that of Baiame, but of the emu he was pursuing when, like Humpty Dumpty, he had a bad fall; of the *wahwee*, a fabulous monster resembling a snake, which used to kill and eat Baiame's people; and of one of Baiame's sons, perhaps Daramulun. The sun, the moon and other objects are also represented.[1] Whatever sacredness applies to one of these objects applies to them all. They are made for a special purpose, and the prohibition to make them at other times may probably be rather with the intention of keeping inviolate the secrecy of the rites than from a feeling of awe. Moreover, the "High God" is by no means omniscient, nor can the ascription of "unbounded power" be taken literally. As reasonable would it be to ascribe omnipotence

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxiv., p. 416; vol. xxv., pp. 300, 301. *Cf.* vol. xiii., pp. 452, 453.

to a Breton saint. Neither the Breton peasant nor the Australian savage thinks of limits to the potency of saint or god. He never thinks about it. But that is not to ascribe omnipotence. Lastly, the stories told of the god, whether in or out of the sacred mysteries, are equally grotesque.

His moral qualities remain to be considered. They seem, according to Mr. Lang, to be witnessed in two ways. "He is not moved by sacrifice." Mr. Lang adds the true reason: "He has not the chance." Then it is no credit to him, for sacrifices are unknown to his worshippers: they offer them to no god. Secondly, "The God discourages sin, he does not set the example of sinning" (p. 198). The context shows what sin Mr. Lang is thinking of, for he says: "In its highest aspect that 'simplest theology' of Australia is free from the faults of popular theology in Greece." The highest aspect of the theology of Greece might perhaps compare not unfavourably with the highest aspect of Australian theology. But let that pass. The popular theology of Greece was a survival of savagery, as the author of *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* has conclusively shown; and the savage theology of Australia affords apt comparison. Take Bunjil. One of the legends concerning this "Supreme Being" runs as follows: He was the first man. He made everything, including Karween, the second man, and two wives for Karween. By a singular want of forethought he made no wife for himself; and whether his powers of making were exhausted, or whether he preferred conduct like that of "the popular Zeus or Ares," we are not told: anyhow he stole Karween's wives, both of them. Though he afterwards restored them, this led to a fight, in which Bunjil got slightly wounded. In his rage he threw a spear at Karween and pierced his thigh, so that he could walk about no more. Bunjil then changed him into a crane, took his wives for good, and became the father of many children.[1]

[1] Brough Smyth, vol. i., p. 426.

Such a story might have been taken out of Ovid. It is mere mythology; but so are the stories of naughty Zeus and Ares, with which, to their disadvantage, Mr. Lang compares Australian theology. A theorist may ignore such tales, and then claim that "the status of theology does not correspond to the status in material and intellectual culture," and that "the popular Zeus or Ares is degenerate from Daramulun." Will the claim bear a moment's inspection?

The reference to Daramulun is particularly unfortunate, for Zeus and Ares are not represented in the popular theology as eaters of human flesh. Zeus, we know, punished Tantalus for setting human flesh before him; he repudiated human sacrifices, and turned Lycaon into a wolf for offering him one. But (not to insist on the emu, at once Daramulun's wife and his food) Daramulun, as we have seen, habitually fed on adolescent youths, and that not in "the popular theology," but in the sacred revelations of the mysteries. In those revelations, too, Baiame's morals are displayed. It was for the loss to himself rather than the deceit practised by Daramulun that he slew him; he expressly commanded a continuance of the deceit towards the women and uninitiated. With such fervour "the God discourages sin, he does not set the example of sinning!"

But what about the precepts inculcated in the mysteries? Mr. Lang quotes the late Professor Huxley as affirming that theology "in its simplest condition, such as may be met with among the Australian savages," "is wholly independent of ethics" (p. 191). If by theology be meant *religion*, and not merely *mythology*, Mr. Lang is right in taking exception to it. For in a low stage of savagery evolution has not yet severed morality from law, nor law from religion. Tribal custom is religious; all social institutions are connected with religion; religion is intimately mixed up with every act of daily life. There is a stage in the evolution of civilisation when religion is little more than the practice of ritual; but it is not the earliest. Nor

even there is it quite separated from social relations. At a lower stage religion is eminently social, and cannot be distinguished from other social precepts and practices. It is not so much that there is a religious sanction for certain rules of conduct, as that religion is one aspect, and a necessary aspect, of every part of social life.

We expect, therefore, to find the tribal ethics and principles of government inculcated in ceremonies like those of the admission of the young tribesmen to the privileges and responsibilities of manhood. Henceforward the youths are to take their place in the social system as something more than mere appendages. The power of the tribe to hold its own in the struggle for life, and hence its continued existence as a tribe, will be dependent on their rigorous adherence to the customs handed down from their forefathers, customs that have made the tribe what it is, and without which its social life must have been long ago dissolved or transformed. Among the Kurnai the chief precepts laid upon the neophytes are given by Mr. Howitt under five heads.[1] Mr. Lang, in enumerating them, punctuates them with references to the Bible—a subtle rhetorical device intended to lead up to a theological conclusion, but not quite in place in a scientific work.

Let us look at these five precepts, premising that, so far as we have information, they are similar in general terms to those inculcated throughout the eastern part of the continent.

The first is: "To listen to and obey the old men." "Fifth Commandment," says Mr. Lang in parenthesis. With all respect to him, it has no more to do with the Fifth Commandment than with the Vaccination Act. "Honour thy father and thy mother," says the Fifth Commandment. The Kurnai commandment refers not to parents as such,

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 316. The passage is quoted, but not fully, by Mr. Lang, who gives no reference to it. The reference (p. 197) to pp. 423, 424, is impossible, for the volume so cited contains only 404 pages.

for the authority of parents over their sons comes to an end with the initiation ceremonies. The Kurnai commandment refers to the general body of the elders. The Australian tribes are loosely compacted organisms, where the government resides in no single individual. There is usually a headman of undefined powers, who among the Kurnai may be, and perhaps oftener than not is, a wizard; among the Murring he must be so.[1] Force of character and the superstitions connected with a sorcerer's craft are probably the chief factors in determining the extent of the headman's powers. In any case, the general body of the elderly men, whether wizards or fighters, must have great weight in all concerns of the tribe. Among the Kurnai, the women share to some extent in the respect and authority due to the men; and, alike for the women and the men, respect increases with age. The possession of exceptional qualities, mental or physical, is also, at least in the case of men, and, if I read the account correctly, of women too, regarded as a claim to authority. But, while he would be a bold man who would venture to set at naught the opinions of the elders, they appear to possess no direct sanction. One chief reason, therefore, for the existence of the mysteries of initiation is to confirm and prolong the power of the old men, and to substitute for the yoke of the father that of the general body of the elders. Mr. Howitt is emphatic on the point, and a consideration of the details of the ceremonies and the precepts attests the accuracy of his opinion.[2] So obviously is this the case, that it has been acutely conjectured that the mysteries are a relic of a primitive contest, similar to that which takes place in herds of gregarious mammalia when the young males arrive at maturity. In this view the older men, for the preservation of their position and rights, especially their rights over the females

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., pp. 42, 43.

[2] Fison and Howitt, p. 210. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., p. 457; vol. xiv., p. 320.

of the tribe, would have been accustomed to attack and slay, or drive away the younger men, when masculine instincts began to show themselves in these, or to reduce them to a state of submission; and in the course of evolution the milder alternative has prevailed.[1] Without pronouncing an opinion on the point, it is sufficient to adduce it here as showing that the precept we are considering has so little to do with the Decalogue that, to a scientific man who approaches the Australian mysteries having no theological preoccupation, they suggest something on a totally different plane from the Fifth Commandment.

The next precept is: "To share everything they have with their friends." "Do to others as you would have others do to you," observes Mr. Lang under his breath; and elsewhere he refers to "the central moral doctrine of Christianity," and "the lesson of Our Lord" (pp. 196, 195, 235). The interpretation is, however, not so easy and off-hand. The precept as given by Mr. Howitt is not—none of them is—an exact report, but a very summary statement. And in reporting it he has chosen words unfortunately ambiguous. To attain a fairly correct notion of its real meaning, we must know something of the customs of the Australian race in general, and in particular of the Kurnai. Among a race low as this in scale of civilisation very little property was owned. There is some discrepancy in the evidence as to individual ownership of land; but on the whole there can be little doubt that Mr. Brough Smyth is right in summing up against it.[2] It is possible that the cases of individual ownership referred to by Grey and Eyre were invasions of tribal or clan rights; and if so, one object of the instructions summarised in Mr. Howitt's second precept may have been to discountenance, in the general interest, any aggressions of the kind. It is more likely

[1] Ludwig Krzyurcki, in *Report of International Folklore Congress, Chicago, July*, 1893, p. 204.

[2] Brough Smyth, vol. i., p. 146.

that these early explorers misunderstood the facts, or were misled. Natives of many tribes appear to claim individual rights to collect the grubs in certain grass-trees. But the claimant would have discovered the grubs in a broken tree, or he would himself have topped the tree to induce the decay in which the grubs are found. Nor has he, so far as we can gather, any actual property in the tree. The same observation applies to the discovery of wild honey in a tree. The tree is marked by the discoverer; and he is entitled to get the honey, to the exclusion of others. Here of course we have the rude beginnings of individual ownership, but nothing more.

The chief permanent property of an Australian native is in the rug which covers him, and the tools and weapons by which he maintains himself. These he does not share with his friends. As little evidence is there that he shares the shells, the hair, the feathers, wherewith he is wont to adorn himself. The precept alludes most probably to the proceeds of the chase and other kinds of food. With regard to these, there are precise and detailed rules that specify the manner of distribution and the persons among whom the food is to be divided. The rules differ among different tribes. Those of the Kurnai, and the tribes of Maneroo, in New South Wales, have been given at length by Mr. Howitt, who says that in every case "the cooked food was divided by the procurer into certain portions, which were allotted by custom to various members of his family group." [1]

I cannot find at the reference given by Mr. Lang (p. 195) the quotation he makes from Mr. Howitt, to the effect that "the old men deemed that through intercourse with whites 'the lads had become selfish, and no longer inclined to share that which they had obtained by their own exertions, or had given them, with their friends.'" No doubt I have overlooked it. But I see no reason to suppose that it

[1] Fison and Howitt, p. 207. For details see *ibid.*, p. 261.

means more than the breach of tribal regulations as to the division of food. It is easily conceivable that young savages, not fully tutored in the ways of their ancestors, would be greatly influenced by the intensely individualistic life of the colonists with whom they had been brought into contact. An entirely new order of ideas would have been opened to them. The result would be a loosening of the old bonds, and the adoption of all such practices of the white men as might be agreeable, or might flatter their self-importance.[1] Among these, the keeping to themselves of all the food they had earned or received as gifts would be of the first importance in the eyes of the elders; for upon the food supply the continued existence of the tribe would depend. It lies, therefore, upon Mr. Lang to show that the precept means anything beyond a prohibition of violating the tribal regulations concerning the distribution of food. That it will bear a serious comparison in its intention with "the central moral doctrine of Christianity" is assumed in an airy way, but at present I wait for the evidence.

The third precept, "to live peaceably with their friends," calls forth no remark from Mr. Lang. Nor is it necessary here to do more than point out its bearing on the general government of the tribe. As in the last precept, the word *friends* is ambiguous. Surrounded by actual and potential enemies, internal quarrels are likely to lead to a weakening of the community, and consequent inability to make head against its foes. Quarrels between clans, or between associated tribes, lead to results even more serious, at all events in their immediate consequences, in the blood-feud with its attendant calamities. An act of individual aggression or treachery gives occasion for reprisals which may mean a state of war for years. And all

[1] The old men certainly did say that the youths "were now growing wild. They had been too much with the whites, so that now they paid no attention to the words of the old men, or to those of the missionaries." *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 304. The influence of the old men was distinctly at stake.

quarrels are intensified by the belief in sorcery, and the dread of its exercise without any known provocation. It is, therefore, anything but superfluous to impress on the novice the importance of politeness, and of repressing his self-assertive and quarrelsome instincts. As Mr. Palmer reports the instruction among the tribes about the Cloncurry and the Flinders in northern Australia, "he is to be silent and not given to quarrelling. . . . . He is led to consider himself responsible for good conduct to the tribe, its ancient traditions, and its elders."[1] Observe, not to the "Supreme Being." The ethics inculcated are the rudiments of social order.

On the fourth precept, "Not to interfere with girls or married women," Mr. Lang ejaculates "Seventh Commandment." Really one would suppose he had never heard of the sexual arrangements of the Australian aborigines. So complex a subject cannot be fully explained in a few lines; happily there are few anthropological students who are unacquainted with it. It is enough for our purpose to say that in earlier times the domestic condition was that of marriage, if marriage it may be called, of both man and woman to a group. From this it was everywhere passing, or had passed, before the advent of Europeans, to the individual appropriation by the stronger and older men of as many wives as they could severally manage. But even the most powerful man was not unrestricted in his choice of wives. They must be selected among women not belonging to his own clan, or to his birth-division, often called "class." This was a restriction he could not infringe without incurring the penalty of death, or becoming an outcast: a restriction, moreover, regarded with feelings akin to those with which we regard incest. The restriction had the twofold effect of limiting the possibilities of quarrelling over the women, and of preventing to some extent inbreeding. Yet it is quite

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., p. 296.

common for the older men, while observing the restriction, practically to engross among them all the women of the tribe. This obtains "especially where group-marriage is still in the ascendant," or, more accurately, where it has not yet been effaced by individual marriage. "But this monopoly is not exclusive; at certain times and on certain occasions the old communal right revives in favour of the younger men, or of friendly strangers visiting the tribe." Mr. Howitt, whom I am quoting, adds significantly: "It may be even more correct to say that the old communal rights have never ceased to exist, but that the older men claim the right of withholding them from the younger ones, and granting them at intervals." [1] The observation throws a flood of light upon the meaning of the precept against interfering with girls and women. Like the rest of the exhortations, it is intended to uphold and increase the authority of the elders, and to conserve the institutions of the tribe. Beyond that, its object is to maintain the grip of the elders upon the women.

Owing probably to their isolation the Kurnai differed somewhat in their marital institutions from other tribes. They had evolved them further in the direction of monogamy. For the number of wives a man might have, though in theory unlimited, was in practice usually confined to one, except where, as often happened, his wife's sister had been given to him by their father, or where, by the operation of the Levirate, his brother's widow fell to him. Corresponding with this limitation, the husband expected strict fidelity on the part of his wives, the Kurnai being much more jealous than most natives. The precept in some form seems universal. Its exact form among the Kurnai is left by Mr. Howitt to be guessed at. Among the northern tribes of whom Mr. Palmer writes, it is evident that wife-stealing,

[1] Fison and Howitt, p. 354. The entire chapter should be read; also the chapter on Marriage in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria.*

though an offence, is a comparatively venial one. In their ceremonies the youth "is told to conduct himself discreetly towards women, to restrict himself to the class which his name confines him to, and not to look after another's *gin*; that if he does take another *gin* when young who belongs to another, he is to give her up without any fighting; not to take advantage of a *gin* if he finds her alone."[1]

While referring to the form in which the precept is communicated, I may mention that the tribes of southern New South Wales (the Murring, Wiraijuri, Kamilaroi, and others) present their moral lessons during the initiation ceremonies "in pantomimic dances," the old men threatening the youths: "If you do anything like that when you go back you will be killed"—that is, says Mr. Howitt, "either by magic or by violence:" apparently not by divine interference. The pantomimic dances corresponding to the precept we are considering are grossly obscene,[2] though, as Mr. Lang reminds us (p. 194), "divinely sanctioned." We have already taken the moral measure of Daramulun, the game-legged, and by no means eternal, "Creator and Judge," in whose name they are performed.

Even where, as among the Kurnai, the elders are comparatively unselfish in the matter of wives, the difficulties and suspicions attaching to an unmarried man are such as to render life a burden to himself and to the elders, who, even if they have not wives or daughters of their own to watch, are always anxious lest he provoke a quarrel within the camp, or a war with a neighbouring tribe. If he have a kinswoman—a sister, say, or a daughter—to exchange for a bride, the affair is often susceptible of arrangement. If not, his only alternative, as a rule, is an elopement. A necessary preliminary to elopement is the capture and forcible violation of the bride on the part of four confederate

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., p. 296. *Cf.* W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 181.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiii., p. 450. *Cf.* vol. xxiv., p. 424.

brogans: doubtless a relic of group-marriage. The elopement renders the bride's family furious. A hue and cry follows; and, if caught, the bridegroom has to fight the bride's male relatives, while she, on the other hand, is speared or beaten. A second or third elopement must be accomplished before the couple are forgiven. Elopement with a woman already appropriated entails, of course, much more serious consequences.[1]

It is difficult to seize the exact meaning of the precept reported thus concisely. Addressed to the youthful Kurnai, and reinforced by another precept I shall mention presently, it may amount to a total (though perhaps temporary) prohibition of all female intercourse. This is not within the scope of the Seventh Commandment. Or it may be merely a prohibition of violence. If so, with the crude and cruel Australian fashions of courting, it is hardly going too far to assert that in a large number of cases a young man cannot appropriate any woman, even in a legitimate manner, without breach of it. Naturally, the elders desire to postpone such appropriation as long as possible, both because it infringes their monopoly, and because of the quarrels, not to say feuds, it risks. Failing either of these explanations, we must fill in the details in some such way as Mr. Palmer has done. On the whole, it is clear that the precept in question is directed to produce neither the moral quality of chastity, nor chivalry towards women; it is firstly and chiefly an engine of government. Its ethics are not one inch in advance of the general state of savagery of the Kurnai.

The last of the five precepts is: "To obey the food-restrictions *until they are released from them by the old men.*" Mr. Lang curtails it of the qualifying clause, and appends the words "Leviticus, *passim.*" The forbidden food is the

[1] Fison and Howitt, p. 200, *seqq.* In other tribes the capture, &c., of the bride by four confederates is the ordinary wedding ceremony. *See*, for example, *Report of the Horn Expedition*, pt. iv., p. 165.

emu, the porcupine, and the female of any animal. The prohibition is only temporary, intended, so far as we can judge, to test the obedience and the awe of the neophyte. By degrees he is made free of the flesh of all the animals. "This freedom is given him by one of the old men suddenly and unexpectedly smearing some of the cooked fat over his face." One who can see Leviticus in this horseplay may be congratulated on his powers of vision. Mr. Howitt does not pretend to do so. What he does see is that the novice is schooled in self-restraint and self-reliance, by being placed in temporary artificial want while surrounded with plenty, and that his superstitions are the means of compelling him to learn the required lesson.[1]

In his account of the ceremonies practised by the Murring and allied tribes in southern New South Wales, Mr. Howitt goes more into detail in reference to the limitations of food, and supplies the reasons. The prohibited animals are: "(1) Any animal that burrows in the ground, for it recalls to mind the foot-holes where the tooth was knocked out; *e.g.*, the wombat. (2) Such creatures as have very prominent teeth, for these recall the tooth itself. (3) Any animal that climbs to the tree-tops, for they are then near to Daramulun; *e.g.*, the native bear. (4) Any bird that swims, for it recalls the final washing. (5) Nor, above all, the emu, for this is Ngalalbal, the wife of Daramulun, and at the same time "the woman," for the novice during his probation is not permitted even so much as to look at a woman or to speak to one; and even for some time after he must cover his mouth with a rug when one is present." These prohibitions are relaxed in the same way as among the Kurnai.[2] The Kamilaroi forbid "the codfish, the porcupine, the yellow iguana, the black iguana, &c.," all of which Mr. Matthews

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., pp. 316, 321.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 455. It will be remembered that, among the Wiraijuri, the emu is "the food of Baiame," and it is for that reason forbidden to the novices.

suggests are totems. Here again the taboo is only temporary, though it is not taken off until the youths have attended a second *Bora*, or sacred initiation ceremony.[1]

The real origin and meaning of the food prohibitions in Leviticus are still a puzzle to scholars. Perhaps Mr. Lang has an explanation up his sleeve that will apply equally to the Hebrew permanent prohibitions, resting ostensibly on the distinction between clean and unclean animals, and these Australian temporary prohibitions, intended for a probationary purpose, and resting ostensibly on ceremonial or mythic reasons. Otherwise, in the name of science what meaning have the words "Leviticus, *passim*"?

There were further rules, not recounted by Mr. Lang, imposed by the same divine authority of Mungan-ngaur. They are not, indeed, quite so redolent of the Decalogue or Leviticus, *passim*, even to a sensitive nostril, as some of the foregoing. But they are of quite as much value to inquirers who really desire to know the meaning of the initiation ceremonies, and to estimate aright the relation of the ceremonies and the ideas expressed thereby to the civilisation, or rather to the savagery, of the Kurnai. Two are set forth by Mr. Howitt. The novice was "not to use the right hand for anything, unless told to do so by the Bullawang," an adult kinsman in charge of him during the rites. The penalty threatened for breach of this rule was that some magical substance would enter the offending member, and would require the doctor to extract it. It is hard with our present knowledge to understand this taboo. It may have had some object beyond that of further impressing the youths with unreasoning terror and submission; that object it certainly had. The other prohibition has parallels among most savage nations: "They were cautioned not to go near an *enceinte* woman, nor to let a woman's shadow fall across them, nor to permit a woman to make bread for them, under

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xxiv., p. 426.

the certainty that such acts would cause them to become 'thin, lazy, and stupid.'" The separation of women, and the horror of them, especially at certain times, need not be discussed. It is universal in the lower culture, nor has it wholly disappeared among the more ignorant classes of civilised nations. A close inspection might even detect it in "Leviticus, *passim*." Mr. Howitt's observations here must also be read in connection with the fourth precept. "I doubt," he says, "if there is any rule of conduct under which the novice is placed, which is not directly intended to some end beneficial to the community, or believed to be so. The rule as to keeping far from even the shadow of a woman is clearly intended to prevent, by supernatural terrors, any interference with woman, which, as 'Love laughs at locksmiths,' the old men knew well not even the dread of the spear or waddy would suffice to prevent." And he affixes this shrewd note: "An additional motive for these rules is evidently the advantage which the old men reap from them."[1]

As little, therefore, as the Australian theology do the precepts taught in the Australian mysteries, when carefully examined, yield evidence of anything higher than the state of savagery in which the natives are found. If it be doubtful how far in every case the god undertakes the superintendence of the neophyte's conduct, there is at least no doubt that what Mr. Lang calls "ethical conformity to his will" is simply conformity to existing savage institutions, and has no observable tendency to elevate the individual beyond them. The facts alleged to prove "that much of the Decalogue and a large element of Christian ethics are divinely sanctioned in savage religion" (p. 327), turn out, so far as the Blackfellows are concerned, to be misinterpreted. Neglecting the true canon of inquiry, Mr. Lang has attempted to explain the moral code of the Kurnai, not

[1] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xiv., p. 321. Compare the prohibitions among the Murring and allied tribes, quoted a little above.

by reference to the tribal customs and environment, but by a far loftier religion and an alien civilisation. The result is to add one more to the long list of warnings that Science is a jealous mistress, who must be wooed for her own sake, and not because she is presumed to be the latest favourite of a rich old aunt, Theology.

Something might well be added on Mr. Lang's presentation of the ceremonies themselves. But I have already occupied too much space; and what has been said is enough —perhaps more than enough—to tire the most patient reader. We have as yet information about the religious faith and ceremonies of very few of the Australian natives. The unity of the race and its isolation through unknown periods of time afford ground for the hope that when, if ever, we are able to study it as a whole, the process of comparison will yield results of special value to the anthropologist, results not the least of which will be gotten in the region of its religious belief. But our efforts to this end will be foredoomed to failure, unless we anxiously put aside all Christian and highly civilised conceptions, and endeavour, first of all, to view the religion and ethics of the Blackfellows as part of, and in connection with, their general condition, mental, social, and material. When we have exhausted every available fact, and failed to correlate the faith and moral code of the race with the rest of its culture, then and only then shall we be justified in admitting the incongruity which Mr. Lang asserts between them. Even so much as we now know, however, affords a strong presumption that the more we learn about them, the more intimate and indissoluble will be seen to be the bond between these two sets of phenomena. No wonder the author distrusts his own theory. I am greatly mistaken if the evidence I have imperfectly brought together here do not lead us to share his distrust, and beckon us to something more than a superficial examination of his account of the beliefs of other savages.

THE SHREW ASH IN RICHMOND PARK.

BY MARGARET C. FFENNELL.

[The photographs, of which the following paper is an explanation, were (with some others referred to in the footnote) presented to the Society by Miss Ffennell, and exhibited on her behalf at the meeting of February 20th, 1895. As it seemed desirable to preserve a record of the facts relating to the Richmond ash, so far as they are known, she has added to the Society's debt to her by acceding to the Editor's request to set them down here.]

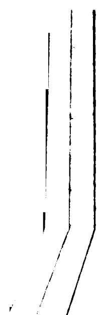
IN offering the following note to accompany the three illustrations of this interesting relic of folk-belief, I would like to start by saying that the Shrew Ash in Richmond Park is not a "mere sucker" springing from the old roots, but a living fragment of the ancient tree itself. The "Sheen Tree," as it is sometimes called, does not only mark the spot where once the famous ash grew, but preserves to this day a still growing portion of the actual part of the trunk where the ritual was performed while the ash remained entire.[1] I wish to emphasise this, as it has been denied once at a meeting of our Society and frequently elsewhere. The identity of the present fragment will, I think, be clearly demonstrated to anyone who compares the old illustrations of 1856 and the sketch of 1860, referred to in the note at foot of the page, either with the tree itself, the most satisfactory mode of comparison, or with the illustrations of 1891. A glance at the latter will show how unmistakably the form of the lower branches in their modern condition agrees with

[1] See Plate IV., on left-hand side, the "witch-bar" as it appeared in 1856, and Plates V. and VI. (taken 1891), on left-hand side, showing where one end of the bar was attached to the tree now standing; the place of attachment is indicated by the rounded projection something less than half-way up the old trunk. The complete series of illustrations, including one giving a full view of the tree, with top branches and "witch-bar," taken from a sketch of an engraving made in 1859 or 1860, and four other views of the tree in 1891, may be seen in the Society's Museum collection of various photographs connected with folklore subjects.

PLATE IV.

THE SHREW ASH IN 1856.

[*To face page* 330.



the photograph of 1856 and the sketch of 1860. The late Sir Richard Owen, who was my informant about all that concerns the folklore connected with the Richmond tree, at once perceived this, and pointed it out to me when I showed him the series of photographs of the tree from six different points of view. These photographs, two of which are given in Plates V. and VI., were taken by me in September, 1891, for the purpose of exhibiting some of them at the Folklore Congress of that year. The learned Professor told me it had more than once been said to him that the tree was a sucker or offshoot from the roots and not a part of the original ash. He could not, he said, be dogmatic upon the subject himself, as he was ignorant about vegetable growth, so had to bow to superior knowledge; but the tree—"my dear old tree," as he always called it—had certainly never been from under his eyes since 1852, when he came into residence at Sheen Lodge. At first, and for many years after, it was entire, supporting a few good branches on a noble base. The larger part of it fell or was blown down in 1875, leaving what still remains, which to his personal knowledge had stood there ever since. These are, as nearly as I can recall them from memory, Sir Richard Owen's own words. How completely he had the tree under his daily observation will be seen by Plate V., which gives the ash in front and Sheen Lodge in the background.

A few days before writing these notes I called on Mr. Sawyer, the superintendent of Richmond Park, who has always lived in the park, his father having held the post he now holds. Naturally Mr. Sawyer knows a great deal about the trees under his care. He remembers the Shrew Ash when it was entire as in Plate IV., and has a lively recollection of one occasion when a cow somehow thrust her head into the fissure, and in her struggles to remove it caught her horns over the bar, and by it was firmly held until he happened to come up and with some difficulty released her. Mr. Sawyer confirms all that has been said

above with regard to the identity of the tree still living, as undoubtedly no mere offshoot or sucker, but a part of the trunk of the old ash.

The ash has benefited physically by the storm that destroyed the largest part of it, and is now in a condition of comparative rejuvenescence. By a natural process known to every student of tree-life and to anyone conversant with practical forestry, the removal of the greater part—in this case more than two-thirds of its bulk—causes a greater amount of food to be available, frequently resulting in the throwing up of many suckers, which, clustering round the parent stem, more or less swiftly tend to hasten its decay. Happily in this instance the tree has utilised the larger store of nutriment, not for the growth of the more commonplace suckers, but for its own preservation. The trunk having drawn up into it the greater abundance of annually rising sap, has employed that sap by circulating it through the reduced number of branches to be fed, thus arresting decay and enabling the sturdy old fragment to support the graceful crown of leafage displayed in Plate V. In Plate VI. may be seen how this piece of vegetable economy has been accomplished. At the right-hand side is shown the conduit, or stem-like root, built up and developed by the ash out of its own tissues since 1875, and now acting as chief channel for the augmented flow of sap through the tree. Commencing at the top of the trunk where the main bough slopes off, the work while under construction by slow stages of growth, as is usual in vegetable engineering, was probably hidden away under cover; but the cover has been thrown off for years, and in its robust and forceful expansion the conduit has torn away a strip of bark from the trunk and stands out in the middle of its course, to disappear again into the body of the tree lower down. In fine, the Shrew Ash as shown in the plate presents a twofold study of remarkable interest. On the right hand, or, as I shall call it, the natural history side, it

THE SHREW ASH IN 1891, WITH SHEEN LODGE IN THE DISTANCE.

[*To face page* 332.

tells us how this patriarch among Richmond trees, with a traditional history going back more than 300 years,[1] has found it possible to renew its life by its own natural well-directed effort; while on the left hand, or folklore side, that renewed life has preserved that most interesting part of the trunk where the all-but-forgotten ritual is known to have been performed in the last half of the present century. The interest, I think, is much enhanced by the fact that the tree grows within an afternoon's walk from London. In such a position we are not likely to find another such relic of the past.

The young or sapling ash is the tree usually known as the one employed in folk-belief for the cure of infantine ailments, the shrew ash being potent for the cure of cattle, horses, sheep, &c. Possibly, if we knew more about them, there were as many modifications, or shall I say sects, among English Christian believers in the power of the ash as there are among Burmese Buddhist believers in the power of the nats. However that may be, the mothers who brought their children to the Richmond tree appear to have recognised curative powers in the combination of animal, vegetable, and sun-worship, more or less widely connected with ash-trees in general, and here evoked through the mediation of a "shrew-mother," "priestess," or "witch." The general question I am not discussing. I shall leave that to those more competent to deal with the subject.

That any definite remembrance of the old ritual contained in these notes has been preserved we owe, so far as I am aware, to the circumstance that Professor Owen, then in the zenith of his fame, took up his residence at Sheen Lodge in 1852. The Shrew Ash directly opposite his windows soon became an object of interest to him. Added to this, the Pro-

[1] "The keepers' tradition [is] that Good Queen Bess had lurked under its shade to shoot the deer as they were driven past." (Letter from Sir Richard Owen, June, 1888.)

fessor was a very early riser, often wandering out over the park before sunrise. I wrote to him about the tree in 1888. In his reply, and in subsequent conversations, he told me that either the year he came to live in the park or the year after, he could not say which, he first encountered early in the morning a young mother with a sick child accompanied by "an old dame," "a shrew-mother," or, as he generally called her, a "witch-mother." They were going straight for the tree; but when they saw him, they turned off in quite another direction till they supposed he was out of sight. He, however, struck by their sudden avoidance of him, watched them from a distance, saw them return to the tree, where they remained some little time, as if busily engaged with it; then they went away. He was too far off to hear anything said, but heard the sound of voices in unison on other occasions. He heard afterwards from the keeper of Sheen Gate named Stacey (long since dead) that mothers with "bewitched" infants, or with young children afflicted with whooping cough, decline, and other ailments, often came, sometimes from long distances, to this tree. It was necessary that they should arrive before sunrise. There is a right of way across the park from Sheen Gate to Kingston Gate; the park, therefore, was open at all hours. On some occasions on their way to the tree doggerel verses would be sung or muttered by one or both women according to the shrew-mother's directions. One line has been preserved in Sir Richard Owen's letter of 1888:

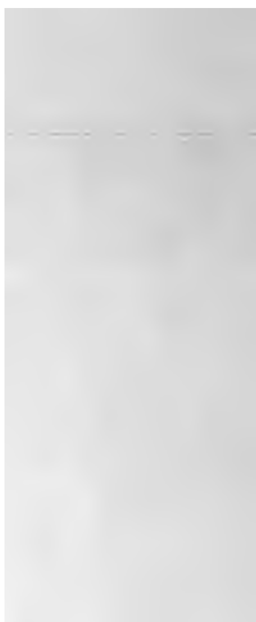
> "The babe passed nine times round that bar will never be bewitched."

The bar, generally called by Sir Richard Owen the "witch-bar," has been alluded to already. The important part of the ritual was performed at the tree. The "shrew-mother" took the child from its mother, and giving directions to the parent according to the malady under treatment, passed the child slowly under and over the bar nine times, muttering charms or singing verses as the case

PLATE VI.

THE SHREW ASH IN 1891, SHOWING THE CONDUIT.

[To face page 334.



might require. On one occasion Sir Richard Owen, who said he had learned it from the keeper, who knew them all, repeated two or three lines of doggerel used when rotating the child over the bar, but I did not write them down, and cannot remember either sense or words. The passing of the child round the bar used to be timed to meet the rising sun. Whether only one or both women uttered the charm does not appear, but the failure to use the proper word at the exact moment when the first ray of sunrise broke over the horizon was given as the cause whenever the ash, with the intervention of the "shrew-mother," did not effect a cure. Many children were said to be cured at the tree. The greatest secrecy was always observed when visiting it. This was respected by Sir Richard Owen, who, whenever he saw a group advancing towards it, moved away, and was always anxious they should not be disturbed. He could not tell me in what year he last saw a group approach the tree to seek its aid. He could only say he had seen them often, and thought they continued to come for many years.[1]

LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE IV.—The Shrew Ash, Richmond Park, from a photograph taken in 1856 by Dr. Arthur Farr, Physician to the Princess of Wales. The original photograph was lent by Sir Richard Owen, K.C.B., F.R.S., for exhibition at the Folklore Congress of 1891.

PLATE V.—Fragment of the Shrew Ash left by the Storm of 1875, from a photograph taken in September, 1891, and exhibited at the Folklore Congress

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[1] A writer in the *Mid Surrey Times* for 1874 says the ash in Richmond Park was at that time "still used and believed in." See *History and Antiquities of Richmond, Petersham, Ham, &c.*," by E. Beresford Chancellor (1894). Mrs. S. C. Hall, in *The Book of the Thames* (1859), gives in her well-known decorated manner an account of the Shrew Ash, having apparently obtained her main facts with regard to the Richmond tree from Sir Richard Owen.

of that year. Sheen Lodge is seen in the distance. Although not taken from exactly the same standing point as Plate IV., the identity of the lower projecting elbow-like bough, after thirty-five years of growth, with the left-hand side bough of the tree in 1856, is pretty well shown by this view.

Plate VI.—The Shrew Ash, from a photograph taken in September, 1891, and exhibited at the Folklore Congress of that year. This view gives pro minence to the rounded projection on the left-hand side, where one end of th "witch-bar" was attached to the tree, and also displays on the right-hand sid the contrivance or conduit set up by the ash in its old age for conveyance o sap, which has preserved the vitality of the tree to the present day.

REVIEWS.

RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. Methuen & Co., London, 1898.

THE lectures Professor Flinders Petrie has published on ancient Egyptian religion and morality are full of interest. Whether we agree with him or not, he is always original and suggestive, and, we must add, always inclined to express everything, even the conscience, in mathematical terms. By a series of figures he has endeavoured to impress upon his readers his belief that "conscience is, like all other variables, subject to the laws of averages and distribution;" and in an appendix on "Conscience Money" he has tried to drive the belief home.

The lectures do not profess to do more than give a general idea of the religion and ethical standard of the ancient Egyptians, and to sum up the chief results of the investigations that have been made into them by Egyptologists. We still know, however, but little about ancient Egyptian religion. We are far better acquainted with the moral conceptions of the people, the ethical ideals at which they aimed, and their practical success in attaining them. The fact may seem strange at first sight, when we consider how large a portion of the literature of ancient Egypt that has come down to us is occupied with religious subjects, and with what multitudes of deities and religious texts the walls of the old temples are covered. But it is always difficult to get at the real meaning of theological phrases or the actual signification that was put into them by those who used them. An archæologist two thousand years hence would have a very false idea of the Christianity of modern England if he had to depend merely on official manuals of theology and the frescoes and stained glass windows of our churches. The Egyptologist is for several reasons in an even worse position as regards the religion of Pharaonic Egypt. The official cult had been crystallised there at a very early time,

and its original meaning been lost alike for the educated and for the uneducated classes of a later day; the classical explanations of it belong to an age when it had become a mere unmeaning tradition; while from the outset the cleft between the popular and the more cultivated view of religion was greater even than it is in the modern world. When we add to this the fragmentary character of our knowledge of the official cult itself, and the uncertainty which still hangs over the exact translation of words and passages in the theological literature, it is easy to understand that our attempts to unravel the mysteries of the old Egyptian faith must in great measure be nothing else than guesswork.

Nevertheless there are certain facts which may be regarded as fairly well ascertained. The official cult was a mixture of various beliefs and theological systems which did not always harmonise with one another. It is probable that in many cases the mixture was due to a mixture of races, as Professor Petrie maintains, though there are other cases in which local differences alone were the cause of it. We still know so little about the origin and primitive history of the Egyptian population that the greatest caution must be used in making an ethnographic map of the different elements in its religion. Thus, while I agree with Professor Petrie in believing that one of the elements in the aboriginal population of Egypt was Libyan and that the Pharaonic Egyptians of the monuments and of history came from Babylonia, I must absolutely dissent from his assertion that Osiris and his worship were of Libyan origin. On the contrary, if anything is certain, it is that Osiris is of Babylonian derivation. As Mr. Ball first pointed out, Osiris (Asari) not only agrees with the old Babylonian god Asari in name, attributes, and title, but the names of the two gods are expressed in Egyptian hieroglyphics and the picture-writing of primitive Chaldæa by exactly the same ideographs, which have the same forms, the same meanings, and the same phonetic values.

It is in the various theories about the nature of the soul and its future life that the discordant and contradictory character of the beliefs amalgamated in the official creed is perhaps the most apparent. One of these theories, termed "the Earthly" by Professor Petrie, played a very important part in Egyptian religion, and influenced the whole of its conception of the nature of man. According to this theory all objects, animate and inani-

mate alike, were possessed of a *Ka* or "double," which followed them like a shadow, with the difference that whereas a shadow is inseparable from the object to which it belongs, the *Ka* had the power of maintaining an independent existence, and so continuing to live after the death of the body. Professor Petrie thinks that the theory of the *Ka* is inconsistent with the theory of mummification; here, however, I cannot follow him, as though the *Ka* was separable from its body it could not be thought of apart from the body, so that annihilation of the body brought with it annihilation also of the *Ka*. Historically, nevertheless, Professor Petrie must be right in believing that the theory of the *Ka* and the practice of mummification had different origins. Recent discoveries have shown that mummification was not practised by the Pharaohs of the First and Second Dynasties, and the practice may have been due to the accidental fact that at El-Kab, opposite the early capital of Upper Egypt, the ground is impregnated with natron, which would have preserved the bodies buried in it from decay. The Pyramid texts state that as late as the age of the Sixth Dynasty it was still customary in the case of royal interments for a little of the natron of El-Kab to be brought to Memphis and mixed with the better and more abundant natron of the north.

The Egyptian *Ka* corresponds exactly with the *Zi* of the Sumerians of primæval Babylonia. All that was believed and taught about the one was equally believed and taught about the other, and the philosophical doctrines associated with the *Ka* and the *Zi* were identical. Indeed, the identity is such that I have long been convinced of their connection with one another. Doubtless, as every folklorist knows, the conception of the *Ka* itself is common among all primitive peoples; but the philosophical system based upon it is, so far as I am aware, peculiar to ancient Egypt and the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia, though it is also found in a modified form in China.

Professor Petrie's account of Egyptian morality is excellent, and affords much opportunity for reflection. The following description of the Egyptian character sums up the evidence neatly and well:—"The family duties are very little dwelt on; and there seems no sense of the wider range of duties to relatives that carries so much with it to our notions. In dealing with equals, besides the obvious crimes of murder and theft, cheating and

falsehood are strongly repudiated; faults should be overlooked; oppression and stinginess should be avoided; and no mere mischief or needless suffering should be allowed, because it was unpleasant to see as well as to feel. Friendship was looked on as useful, but without any enthusiasm or devotion. Haughtiness was to be eschewed, and geniality cultivated in social intercourse. To superiors, ready submission was commended; and the influences of backstairs and toadying were not to be omitted. But mischief should not be made by repeating strong expressions. To inferiors, fairness and kindness were enjoined; past favours should not be harped upon. Pride, grasping, and browbeating are all condemned. Trusty servants should be respected, and not humiliated, and animals should be hunted fairly and without deception." In short, the picture given us is pretty much that of the typical Egyptian of to-day.

I cannot part from Professor Petrie's book without protesting against his definition of religion as "the act of belief in what is not provable to the senses." Surely in giving such a definition he was thinking only of intellectual assent to the theological dogmas of a particular creed; it does not apply to religion in the abstract. Religion as such has as much to do with the senses as with the mind, and the question of proof certainly never enters into it.

A. H. Sayce.

A History of China, from the Earliest Days down to the Present. By Rev. J. Macgowan, London Missionary Society. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1897.

A brief notice of this curious book may not be out of place. Although it contains few references to folklore proper, yet it is a book which students of ethnology will find useful, and which will be worth getting for all who are interested in China and the Chinese. It consists of notices, in chronological order, of all the Chinese sovereigns of whom there is legend or record, from 3,000 B.C. to the present day. Although the author has no graces of style, the narrative is simple, concise, and clear; as for the matter,

it is compiled out of the official records, and wherever possible their very words are used. It seems that these records are written by scholars specially deputed, who place them in a sealed chest, which is never opened until the dynasty changes. The new dynasty makes a point of compiling the history of its forerunner. Thus the Chinese hope to get the truth without favour. In the notes, or incidentally, information may be found of the Chinese Creation-myth, culture-heroes (of whom there are quite a number), miraculous births (*e.g.*, after conception by touching a stair, p. 5), divination, and magical rites; and the method of royal burial is well worth study.

Le Folklore de l'Ile de Kythnos. Conférence donnée á la Société Royale Belge de Géographie le 11 Novembre, 1897. Par Henri Hauttecœur. Bruxelles: Havermans, 1898.

L'Ile de Siphnos. Henri Hauttecœur. Bruxelles: Soc. Gén. d'Imprimerie, 1898.

M. Hauttecœur has sojourned for business purposes in the Greek islands, and has become interested in them and their population. In the former of the two papers above mentioned (a copy of which he has kindly presented to the Society through Mr. Milne) he traces the life of a Kythniote from birth to death, in relation to the superstitions with which every act is surrounded. Indeed, he does not end with the Kythniote's death, for he delineates the superstitions relating to the life after death, to vampires and ghosts. The lecture forms a welcome addition to the meagre information we have about the folklore of the Cyclades.

With certain insular peculiarities, the general character of the superstitions is that of all Europe Here, for instance, recurs the curious objection mentioned by the Rev. M. MacPhail as known in his youth in the Hebrides (*supra*, vol. viii., p. 381) to combing the hair on Sundays. A tradition of still wider acceptance is that of the Supernatural Wife. An anecdote given by M. Hauttecœur is, he states, guaranteed as authentic by the whole island. A member of the Bophelios family of Masseria married a Nereid

whose power resided in her veil. All went well for years, until a grand ball was to be given at Anemolylo, when she begged her husband to let her have the veil, that she might appear to the best advantage on such an occasion. He complied. She appeared marvellously beautiful, and everybody admired her grace and loveliness, and envied her husband's happiness. All at once her form dilated to a supernatural size, and she vanished for ever.

The second of the two papers is reprinted from the *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie.* It is a general account of the island of Siphnos. Incidentally the author mentions interesting superstitions relating to streams, fountains, and trees. Thus, when a haunted tree is cut down the woodcutters drop silently on their knees as the tree falls, lest the spirit strike them as it passes away. Sometimes they put a big stone on the trunk to hinder the spirit from escaping.

Bergische Sagen. Gesammelt und mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben. Von Otto Schell. Elberfeld, 1897. Baedekersche Buchdruckerei.

In this book (to which Dr. Krauss, whose reputation as a collector and interpreter of folklore, especially of the South Slavonic peoples, stands high among English students, has contributed a preface) the author has brought together about 1,000 traditions relative to the old Duchy of Berg, a district lying on the right bank of the Rhine, the chief town in which is Elberfeld, but of which the capital, when the Duchy was something more than a geographical expression, was Düsseldorf. Many of the traditions included are taken from mediæval and older modern works; and it is convenient to have them brought together thus. The majority, however, are direct from the mouths of the people. As Dr. Krauss observes, they seem chiefly to belong to the common stock. We have not, indeed, been able to test them very far, owing to the danger of the book's falling to pieces. For we regret to say that, as a material fabric, the work before us is a sample of the lingering custom of issuing books without stitching them: a custom happily now honoured by most German publishers

rather in the breach than the observance. So far as the state to which the book has been reduced in the process has permitted us to examine the collection, it seems to be useful, and the traditions collected from the people commend themselves as genuine. But it is time that German collectors adopted the modern practice of noting the name, age, residence, occupation, and other particulars concerning the teller necessary for enabling the student to judge of the provenience and value of every tradition recorded. In such cases as that of Gezelin, stated to be *mündlich* from Schlebusch, in the valley of the Dhün, this course would be particularly useful. It is a curious saga, accounting for the building of the aisles of the church. It is not traditional in form; and it is stated to have been *poetisch arbeitet* by Montanus. The question thus inevitably arises whether, and to what extent, the tradition has been affected by literary influences; and it certainly cannot be solved without full information as to the collector's immediate authority.

Some useful notes, and a bibliographical list of authorities used as sources and referred to for analogues, are appended. There are also five plates of scenes of the tales, some of them from photographs.

ANTIKER ABERGLAUBE. WILHELM KROLL. Hamburg: Richter, 1897.

To interest people at large in folklore is a worthy object, and for that object this pamphlet appears to be written. It devotes a paragraph or so to each of the most familiar terms of our study: fetichism, rain-making, sympathetic magic, substitution, sacrifice, scapegoat, and so forth. For each a classical example is found if possible. The pamphlet can hardly be of use to the serious student, as it gives no references and brings forward nothing new. It is, in fact, a mere sketch. The one thing worthy of note is that Mr. Kroll actually gives credit to English scholars as pioneers and experts in the study of savage races.

ZUR ALBANESISCHEN VOLKSKUNDE. Von Dr. HOLGER PEDERSEN. Kopenhagen: Siegfried Michaelsen's Nachfolger, 1898.

THIS is not an account of Albanian folklore, but a translation of a dozen *märchen* and a few riddles, superstitions, and songs. The original text of the tales was published more than three years ago. They were obtained by Dr. Pedersen from an Albanian cattle-dealer, who had had frequent opportunities of hearing tales in the course of his business, "for every herdsmen knows some tale." Besides that, the cattle-dealer was thrown into prison some time ago on a charge of manslaughter, and there too he had opportunities of hearing tales. He seems to have been, as Dr. Pedersen says, an excellent tale-teller, for the tales are all well told. Among them may be noted good versions of the story known to English readers as "Hudden and Dudden," of the *Arabian Nights'* story of "The Language of Animals," and of "Cinderella."

The section of superstitions is interesting. It also includes a few tales. One curious superstition is mentioned, namely, that a woman when she eats must wear her headkerchief, otherwise her husband will die, the only way to prevent such a catastrophe being to put some of the bread-crumbs on her head. What is the meaning of this?

The songs include a touching lament of a childless widow, and an Albanian "Marseillaise," obviously modern.

WEATHER LORE: A COLLECTION OF PROVERBS, SAYINGS, AND RULES CONCERNING THE WEATHER, compiled and arranged by RICHARD INWARDS, F.R.A.S. 3rd. ed., revised and augmented. London: Elliot Stock, 1898.

THIS book is neither meteorology nor folklore. Mr. Inwards is a distinguished meteorologist, and might have written a valuable scientific book on a subject which necessarily interests every one in the British Isles. Or he might have written a scientific book on the folklore of the weather. He has done neither. He has

simply given a number of sayings, some of traditional, some of literary, origin, roughly classified under their subjects. He admits that they are of little meteorological value. Their sources are sometimes indicated, more usually not. In very few instances is the exact reference to the authority given. Such a book may amuse; it cannot be of real use to anyone. The best things in the book are the frontispiece from Colonel Saunders' photographs of clouds (many of these, though small, are of great beauty) and the bibliographical appendix. But, owing to the meagreness of the references, the latter is a very poor guide to the quotations.

DEUTSCHE KINDERREIME UND VERWANDTES. GESAMMELT VON FRIEDRICH DROSIHN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1897.

THIS little book contains a collection of children's rhymes, popular jingles and proverbs taken down from the mouths of the people. As they have been chiefly noted in Pomerania many of them are given in a form of dialect showing the close relationship between the vocabularies of English and Plattdeutsch. One or two of the verses appear to be variants of our own ancestral nursery rhymes; but some of them are manifestly modern, for instance, the one commemorating Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. In the preface of the collector it is pointed out that in the neighbourhood of Guetersloh, in Westphalia, St. Michael took the place of Wodan on the introduction of Christianity, and that till the present day, even, children sing in honour of the conquering archangel at Michaelmas, the season when a three days' harvest and conquest-festival used to be held to Wodan. In other districts it is St. Martin for whom songs are chanted, St. Martin being, like the great sky-god whom he superseded, famous for his cloak.

DIE SAGE VOM HEILIGEN GRAL, IN IHRER ENTWICKLUNG BIS AUF RICHARD WAGNER'S PARSIFAL. Von EDUARD WECHSSLER, Privat-dozent der Romanischen Philologie an der Univ. Halle-Wittenburg. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1898.

IN this little book of upwards of two hundred pages we have again an attempt, careful and elaborate, backed up by wide reading and abundant reference, to solve the enigma of the origin and growth of the Grail cycle. The distinctive feature of this, the latest essay in a much debated field, is that Herr Wechssler professes to adhere neither to the party of those who see in the Grail a distinctively Christian symbol nor to that of those who are advocates of a pagan (= Celtic) origin, but claims to have found a *via media*, which shall reconcile both views. Now if this claim were grounded on fact, and the writer could indeed show us that more excellent way by which two apparently contradictory theses, each advocated by scholars of weight and standing, could be shown capable of agreement, all students of the Grail literature would unfeignedly rejoice; but has Herr Wechssler really done what he sets out with the professed intention of doing? Honestly, I do not think he has; rather do I believe he has imported fresh and unnecessary confusion into a question already more than sufficiently obscure. His views lack the definiteness which frank adherence to one side or the other would give, and are supported by a method open to the very gravest objections. As a matter of fact the *via media* only exists in the writer's imagination; so far as the origin of the Grail cycle is concerned he is really an adherent of the school represented by Birch-Hirschfeld, though he differs from that scholar on the question of the relationship between Chrétien and Wolfram. In other words, for Herr Wechssler the Grail is *ab initio* a Christian talisman, and the germ of the whole cycle the legend of Joseph of Arimathea.

True, Herr Wechssler endeavours to "hedge" by saying that the first suggestion of the sustaining power of the Grail was due to the reminiscence of a heathen talisman, a "Wunsch-ding—Ein märchen-kundiger Bearbeiter der Legende dachte an ein Wunsch-gefäss, an die allgemein geläufige Vorstellung von einem Gefäss, das nach Wunsch Speise und Trank spendet." But it is not quite

clear what Herr Wechssler really means by this attempted concession to the Celtic school. Does he mean us to believe that such a heathen talisman ever played a part in the Joseph legend? If not, why drag it in at all? The legend of Joseph of Arimathea is throughout a Christian and ecclesiastical legend, without a trace of pre-Christian heathendom about it. Either we find that Joseph was miraculously released from prison (*Gospel of Nicodemus*), or that during an imprisonment of forty years he was miraculously sustained and comforted by God (*Vindicta Salvatoris*); that is all the *genuine* early legend tells us. The amplified legend introduces the vessel of the Last Supper as the means thus divinely employed. Where in this story is there room or occasion for a *heathen* talisman, a *Wunsch-ding*? The step from the *im*-mediate action of the Deity to the employment as a medium of a vessel previously used by the Deity is a short one, and a writer conversant with Scripture could well take it without any need for help from folklore or fairy tale. Reference in this connection to Celtic legend means nothing, and only creates unnecessary confusion.

Having thus accepted the legend of Joseph of Arimathea as the kernel of the story, it is not surprising to find that the writer accepts the romances pertaining to what Mr. Nutt has called the *Early History* of the Grail as representing the primitive form of the story, though he admits that they only exist now in comparatively late redactions—*i.e.*, for him the original Grail-winner is Galahad, not Perceval.

Here the radical unsoundness of Herr Wechssler's new "combination" method comes out in sharp relief. The scholars who adhere to the belief that the Perceval quest represents the older version have drawn attention to the many archaic features in that hero's story, features paralleled in the pre-Christian literature of many lands. This is an argument which has never yet been satisfactorily met and answered. How does Herr Wechssler meet it? He calmly selects certain features, undeniably archaic, of the Perceval story, attributes them to Galahad, and then presents us with the resultant as being the original Grail story! The method is very simple—admirably so; it requires nothing but a certain amount of ingenuity—and a large amount of audacity.

But, lest it be thought I am doing injustice to the writer, he shall speak for himself.

On p. 18 we read how the Grail appeared at Arthur's court, and all the knights went forth to seek it. "Aber nur Galaad gelangte ans Ziel. Er fand auf einer einsamen Burg seinen Grossvater Bron. Beim Essen erschien der Gral, das Gefäss mit dem Blute des Herrn, und alle vom Hause verneigten sich vor der heiligen Reliquie, aber Galaad verstand das alles nicht, und wagte nicht nach dem Geheimniss des Grals zu fragen. Und am Morgen fand er die Burg öd und leer. Nach langem Umherirren führte ihn Gott zum zweiten Male dahin, und jetzt that er die Frage." u. s. w. On p. 28: "Galaad, der Jüngling welcher seine göttliche Sendung erst verfehlt und spät den echten Glauben gewinnt." On the same page: "den thörichten Knaben Galaad und seine innere Entwicklung."

On p. 29 we have a long account drawn indiscriminately from Chrétien and his continuators, only with Galahad instead of Perceval for hero. Finally, we read (p. 32) that out of the original story only two features survived—the double visit to the Grail castle and Galahad's appearance at Arthur's court, entering Christ-like through closed doors (rather an unwarrantable deduction from the text); that the first became the *Mitte und Kern* of the Perceval story, the latter developed into the final scene of Wagner's *Parsifal.*

These extracts will doubtless fill all students of the Grail romances with keen admiration for the capabilities of this new combination theory.

It must be admitted that Herr Wechssler apparently has latent misgivings that his methods may be somewhat too drastic; he therefore endeavours to shelter himself behind no less an authority than M. Gaston Paris. In note 60 (p. 144) he quotes the following remark of that scholar: "L'attribution d'un récit à un nom auquel il ne se rattachait d'abord aucunement doit être considérée comme le fait le plus fréquent de la mythologie; il faut le regarder comme toujours possible et ne jamais le perdre de vue." This is of course perfectly true, and I imagine we could all of us without difficulty lay our finger on instances in which a feat performed by one hero has been transferred to another; but we must have the requisite proof that any particular feat or feature was attributed to more than one hero before we decide which of the two or more claimants was the original owner. We are not justified in arbitrarily assigning the characteristics of one hero to

another because such an assignment will suit our pet theories; still less are we justified in giving this creation of our imagination to the world as a fact. The application of M. Paris' note is logically quite otherwise than Herr Wechssler perceives; *e.g.* we find the winning of the Grail attributed both to Galahad and to Perceval. It is quite possible, nay probable, that the story was only told of one and then transferred to the other. Which, then, shall we say was the original hero? The circumstances under which the quest is achieved are entirely different in the two cases. How shall we judge? We find one story marked by certain features, archaic in themselves, finding widespread parallels in Aryan pre-Christian literature; we find the other marked by a distinctively Christian, and that not primitive but medieval Christian, tendency. If we see, as Herr Wechssler does, that the one story is so demonstrably older than the other that the balance of probability inclines to that side, and yet on other grounds our sympathies are with the distinctively Christian hero, may we assume that, because the ultimate result of the quest was the same in both instances, we may redress the balance by transferring certain characteristics from one story to another? Herr Wechssler is logically bound to believe in the priority of the Perceval quest; he does believe it, but prefers to call the hero Galahad.

Now I firmly believe that the original hero of the *Charrette* adventure was Gawain and not Lancelot; shall I be therefore justified in publishing a translation of Chrétien's poem in which I have substituted the name of the one hero for the other? Would not German scholars be the first to condemn me if I did? They would say, and justly, that such a method was misleading, unfair, and entirely unworthy of the traditions of serious scholarship. And when Herr Wechssler endeavours to shelter himself behind the high authority of a scholar who would be the first to disavow such an interpretation of his words, he only aggravates his offence. He has quoted M. Gaston Paris; I will quote him too: "Il faut avant tout aimer la vérité, vouloir la connaître, croire en elle, travailler, si on le peut, à la découvrir. Il faut savoir la regarder en face, et se jurer de ne jamais la fausser, l'atténuer, ou l'exagérer, même en vue d'un intérêt qui semblerait plus haut qu 'elle, car il ne saurait y en avoir de plus haut" (*Discours de Réception*). All of us who work in fields where there is a real danger of being led away by prepossessions, blinded by

attachment to preconceived theories, would do well to lay these words to heart.

But to return to our subject. Granting that the germ of the story was the legend of Joseph, and the original hero this transformed Galahad, where did the romance first take shape? Here we again meet the combination method. To the advocates of the Celtic origin of the Grail Herr Wechssler concedes that the story first took literary form in Wales, both branches alike, the *Early History* and the *Quest* being at root Welsh stories; while the advocates of the Christian theory are reassured by the assertion that it was written in ecclesiastical language—in Latin. The choice of Galahad was determined by the fact that he was already a popular hero. But was he? That is the question. Apart from the Grail quest, what do we know of Galahad? What part does he play in genuine Welsh tradition and popular literature? What individuality has he, taken out of the setting which the quest provides? Absolutely none. Even when Herr Wechssler has borrowed with both hands from the Perceval legend to endow this shadowy figure, he is obliged to admit that he has so little substance, so poor a vitality, that the folk would have none of him, but put Perceval in his place.

And if the romances dealing with the origin of the Grail were composed in Wales, how is it that they are only represented now by translations from demonstrable French originals? While the *un*original Peredur = Perceval reigns triumphant in genuine Welsh heroic tradition?

As to the language of the first Grail romances, this is of course a debatable point. There is very slight evidence that a Latin Grail story ever existed, none that it was the first ever composed. The two distinct statements are, as is well known, that of the chronicle of Helinandus, who says such a book existed, though he had been unable to obtain a sight of it, and that of the colophon to the French MSS. of the *Queste*, which states that the romance was translated from the Latin by Walter Map. Of the Latin original no trace has ever been discovered.

The argument which seems to have most weight with Herr Wechssler is that derived from the word Grail itself. He says: "Jener erste Urheber der Grallegende nahm aus dem Lateinischen das Wort Gradal, um damit das von ihm in die Josephslegende eingeführte Wunsch-gefäss in seiner Eigenart [illegible] ien: nun

verstehen wir die Wahl eines lateinischen Wortes" (p. 22). In a note to this passage, note 34 (p. 123), he sums up his arguments as follows :

a. The above notices of Helinandus and the writer of the *Queste*. Here Herr Wechssler begs the question by saying, "Die ältesten französischen Grallegenden berufen sich auf eine lateinische Quelle." This is just the point. Are these the oldest Grail legends? The writer himself admits they are not the oldest MSS.

b. That legends in general were first written in church-language, later translated into the vernacular. This again begs the question ; the statement is true of ecclesiastical legends, but we are asking for proof that the original Grail legend was of this character.

c. That the writer of the *Peredur*, which Herr Wechssler considers to be a translation of Chrétien's poem, does not understand the Grail part of the story, and substitutes a dish with a bleeding head for Chrétien's Grail. But Herr Wechssler himself admits (*a*) that the Perceval story was Welsh in origin ; (*b*) that it was independent of the Grail legend. For this argument to have any force he must prove to us that the dish with the head was not a part of the original tale. If the Dish = Grail, and was introduced under the influence of the Grail legends, one would expect it to play a similar part in the story, to be a motive power of Peredur's achievements, which it is not. I often wonder whether the scholars who talk so glibly of the Welsh translations from Chrétien have ever more than superficially read the *Peredur*, to say nothing of comparing the two stories. That the hero of the two is identical is manifest ; but the stories, save for certain incidents, differ widely, and the *motif* is radically opposed.

d. That the Welsh romancers altogether did not understand the word. Their own Latin versions had been so completely forgotten by them that when they met with the word in its French dress they did not recognise it.

Now this last argument is simply absurd, and carries its own refutation with it. We must remember first of all the character of these first romances, as Herr Wechssler represents them. They were distinctively Christian, the vessel was the vessel of the Last Supper. Now, supposing the existence not merely of *one* romance but of a body of romance in which the word *Gradale* was closely and distinctively connected with this sacred vessel, be it dish or

cup, can we possibly believe that name and thing alike had been so completely forgotten in the very land where these stories had been written, that when the tale returned to them in its French dress, and they found a sacred, wonder-working, life-bestowing vessel, called by the not very dissimilar name of *Grail*, no lurking hint of a connection, no faint reminiscence of their own national story dawned on their minds? On the other hand, if the name were first given in the French form, inasmuch as it was a word rather of local and provincial than of universal use, we can well understand that writers, even French writers, might be somewhat hazy and uncertain as to its exact meaning, and the explanation given by Helinandus, who was by way of being a learned man for his day and conversant with Latin, would not be uncalled for. We must not forget that it is the *French* writers who suggest the punning explanation of the word (*cf.* Nutt, *Studies on the Holy Grail*, p. 76); if they had been conversant with a Latin version they would hardly have made the mistake. But as a matter of fact, before we argue about the existence or non-existence of a Latin original, we should settle the question of the priority of the romances. If the Perceval romances are the older, there may have been a Latin *version*, but there can have been no Latin *original*. The initial possibility stands or falls with the priority of the Christian or *Early History* versions.

And here I would make a suggestion that may or may not have some bearing on the matter. It is pretty generally admitted that the allusion of Helinandus is to the *Grand S. Graal;* the other mention and only direct claim of a Latin original is in the *Queste*. Now, both these versions are based on Latin originals, *i.e.* on the spurious Gospels, *Vindicta Salvatoris* and *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The root of both is in the story of Joseph of Arimathea. Is it quite impossible that at a time when strict accuracy of statement was not insisted upon, or indeed desired, an assertion true of part of the romance was, knowingly or unknowingly, extended to the whole?—that we are vexing our souls with arguments for and against documents which, so far as they ever existed, are within the reach and knowledge of every one of us?

So far we have followed Herr Wechssler in his sketch of the origin and growth of the Grail legend proper; the next question is: How did this body of tradition and romance become connected with the Arthurian legend? This is perhaps the most ingenious

feature of the whole ingenious scheme. I will let Herr Wechssler speak for himself.

"An Arturs Tafelrunde erscheint eines Tags, am Pfingstfest, ein wunderbares freischwebendes Gefäss, das Speise und Trank spendet. Alle Genossen des Tisches, Gauvain voran, geloben zu einer Suche auszuziehen. Aber nur ein fremder junger Mann gelangt ans Ziel der sich zuvor durch die Besitznahme eines bisher von niemand ungestraft eingenommenen Sitzes als der Erwählte erwiesen hat. Wer der Held dieser Erzählung war wissen wir nicht." (This is really too modest of Herr Wechssler; his imagination would surely have been equal to this small effort. Or was it exhausted by its previous labours?) "Drei wesentliche Motive, Tafelrunde, Wunsch-gefäss und der verbotene Sitz, erinnerten den Legendendichter an verwandte Züge in der Legende von Joseph und dem Gral. So kam er dazu, beides zu combiniren." (*Cf.* note 24, p. 119.)

But where in all the mass of Arthurian romance have we the faintest hint or trace of such an adventure, saving and excepting in the *Queste?* Outside the *Grail* as distinguished from the *Arthurian* story there is nothing that can be twisted by any ingenuity into such an adventure. If the suggestion were correct, we should have to conclude that when the Grail legend touched the Arthurian it was already in so complete and finished a stage that it did not merely mingle with, but completely swallowed up, a part of the latter story, doing its work so thoroughly that no trace of the origina legend has survived.

No, this theory is again pure guess-work on the part of the writer. When we have proof that such a story was ever told of Arthur's court, then, and not till then, will it be worth while examining it.

But now what part did Perceval play in this gradual evolution —how and where did he first come into the story? According to Herr Wechssler, Galahad (even when endowed with Perceval's essential characteristics and a good share of his story) was still too shadowy and unsubstantial a creation (though he was previously a popular Welsh hero) to be fully satisfactory as the central figure of a romance which was becoming widely popular. Welsh tradition, richly endowed, was, however, ready with another hero. This time it was the rough untutored son of a fairy (Wald-fee), the human side of whose nature, inherited from his

human father, drives him out from the solitudes in which his mother has reared him to seek the companionship of his fellow-men. (There is a point here to which I will return later.) In the genuine humanity of Perceval the world at large, not the cloister, found a congenial hero.

Seriously, is not all this trouble and ingenuity thrown away? Is it not much more simple, much more natural, to believe that this story of Perceval, instinct with primitive life and vigour, brimful of archaic traits which find analogies all over the world, is a far older story than that of the shadowy ascetic mediæval Galahad, the creature of a certain phase of thought and belief, knowing no existence outside the very limited range of certain romances? The number of romances in which Galahad figures is infinitesimal compared with those in which he is not even mentioned. Is not the idea of *celibacy*, as identical with and inseparable from *chastity*, an idea which is the very *fons et origo* of Galahad's character, of later date, as it is of more complex character, than the simple, natural conception of love and marriage, the central note of the Perceval story?

And in this very element of celibacy, so insisted upon in the *Early History* romances, I see the refutation of Wechssler's argument that the first Grail romances were written by knights turned hermit, rather than by monks. The hermits of mediæval times were not the hermits of the primitive church and the Egyptian desert. A great number, probably the majority, had lived in the world, had loved, and lost the loved one by death or hopeless separation. These were not the men who would treat the natural wholesome love of man and woman, youth and maiden, with the contempt, and worse, of the writer of the *Queste*. Nor does it appear to me that there is any lack of theological dogma and tradition—rather a superabundance of these features; childish, perhaps, in expression, but then mediæval monks were not all learned men; and did not even the school-men of a later date argue seriously as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle? The one is the natural, the other the non-natural, way of viewing the question; and I believe the natural came first.

It has been objected before now, and with good reason, that if Galahad were the original hero of the quest, it is difficult to understand his entire disappearance from the Perceval romances,

whereas the position of Perceval in the *Queste* is quite consistent with his having been deposed from the leading position in favour of Galahad. As I have pointed out in my *Legend of Sir Gawain*, the writer of the *Queste* certainly knew the original Perceval story.

Again, if the Grail legend had been originally and essentially Christian, if the vessel had been from the first connected with the Passion, either as the vessel of the Last Supper or as the first receptacle of the Holy Blood, it is difficult to understand how in the three principal Perceval romances, Chrétien's poem, the *Parzival*, and the *Peredur*, we should find such divergent views, such obvious confusion, as to the nature of the Grail. Wechssler's attempt to bring Wolfram's poem into line by making his *stone = monstrance* is ingenious, but not convincing. Wolfram distinctly says the *oblât* was laid *ûf dem stein*; to replace *ûf* by *in*, as Wechssler does, is disingenuous. No one reading Wolfram's account of the stone can have any doubt as to his meaning—there is no vessel wrought from a precious stone here.

I prefer to believe that the history of the Grail is that of a folk-tale, containing originally a wondrous talisman, becoming gradually christianised, not by any violent wrenching of the story or introduction of foreign element, but by a natural process of evolution and adjustment to the mind of a christianised folk. When the story had become generally accepted and widely popular, a demand for the previous history of this talisman gave the opportunity for constructing a more directly Christian and edifying *legend*, as distinct from the Perceval *Saga*. (With Hertz I think we may well make a distinction between these two elements.) Thus to my mind the three romances named above represent the earliest stage, when the Grail was still hovering on the borderland between heathendom and Christianity, the tellers of the story inclining now to one side, now to the other, or as in the *Parzival* trying to combine the two ideas.

The second stage is reached in the prose romances of *Perceval*, and *Perceval li Gallois*, where there is no doubt as to the nature of the talisman, and Perceval still remains the hero, shreds and fragments of his old story clinging to him, as they do throughout. When Galahad comes on the scene the final stage is reached, heathendom has practically vanished, and medieval Christianity reigns triumphant.

That a legend, Christian in inception and development, lost

itself completely in a folk-tale of prehistoric origin I cannot believe, any more than I can believe the primitive figures of the *Mabinogion* with their yellow satin robes, gold-clasped sandals, ivory bows and gold-headed arrows—the warriors who during their king's slumber solace themselves with goblets of mead and lumps of flesh on skewers—to be the descendants, instead of the ancestors, of Chrétien's courtly, self-communing knights.

On this point Herr Wechssler's position is eminently unsatisfactory. He believes in the existence of an insular (Welsh) as well as a Continental (Breton-French) tradition; he even goes so far as to assert that the first romances were written in Wales; yet at the same time he would have us believe that all the Arthurian romances now extant in that country are not survivals of national tradition, but directly derived from French sources. There seems no necessity for postulating the insular tradition, if we are to consider it as having so completely disappeared that it can play no practical part in the critical examination of the extant romances. That there were two such streams of tradition, both rising in Wales, I quite believe. Further, I am ready to grant the disappearance, in some cases, in the insular versions of certain features which were preserved in the continental. The Gawain legend is a case in type. There are leading traits in his story, demonstrably Celtic in origin, which we find in the French romances and not in the Welsh tradition. But though Wales lost and forgot much, she did not lose all. That the two streams have long ago mingled may be freely admitted, that one stream (and that at an early date) completely swallowed up and effaced the other I do not believe.

One feature in the sketch given above of the Perceval story deserves note. It will be remembered that Herr Wechssler believes the hero's mother to have been a *Wald-fee*, thus closely connecting the story with the *Libeaus Desconus* group. Dr. Schofield has already contended (*Harvard Studies*, vol. iv.) that the original source of these last was the Perceval story. In my *Legend of Sir Gawain* I carried the identification a step further, suggesting the possibility that these two heroes at one time occupied the position of father and son, a relationship which would help to account for the close connection of their stories. If Perceval's mother really was a fairy, it would of course much strengthen the supposition, Gawain's amours with a lady

of supernatural birth (fairy or magician's daughter) being a leading feature in his story. But I do not think there is any evidence to point to such a conclusion. The only romance which hints at fairy descent is the *Parzival*, and there the connection is on the father's side. A glance at the formula of the Aryan expulsion and return group (*cf.* Nutt, *Folklore Record*, vol. iv.) will show that this represents the more primitive form. In my chapter on the subject I have given reasons for thinking that the fairy element was a later introduction into the group, due to contamination by the Gawain legend, and did not affect the Perceval story proper.

With Herr Wechssler's treatment of the Chrétien-Wolfram question I am much more in accord; but I think he is mistaken in considering Kiot's poem to have been simply an enlargement of Chrétien's unfinished work. The most natural interpretation of Wolfram's words is surely that Kiot's poem having been written first and containing the true story, he might well be angry with Chrétien for having told it wrong. I still think, as when I wrote my excursus to the English translation of the *Parzival*, that the most probable theory, and that which meets alike the agreements and divergences of the poems, is that both were derived ultimately from the same source, a source from which Chrétien drew at first, Wolfram at second hand, the intervening element in Wolfram's case being the poem of Kiot.

Herr Wechssler does not see that his own argument does not work out satisfactorily. His suggestion that the object of Chrétien's poem was to compliment the widowed queen Alix of France and her son Philip Augustus, between whose history and that of Perceval and his widowed mother an analogy might be found, is ingenious and does not appear improbable; but, as he clearly sees, there was another mother and son of whom this was even more true, *i.e.* Matilda, widow of Geoffrey of Anjou and mother of Henry Fitz-Empress. If Kiot's poem, with its Angevin allusions, was written to compliment these two, it would hardly have been when the mother had been dead almost twenty years (Matilda died in 1165), and the son was nearing the end of his reign, an end shadowed by heavy sorrows and family dissension. Nor would the suggestion (brought forward by me four years ago) that such a poem would find ready welcome in Germany out of compliment to Matilda be of equal force, supposing her connection with that country had ceased so many years previously. Judging from ex-

ternal evidence, the later we place Chrétien's poem the less probability is there of its being the source of such a version as Wolfram has preserved.

I may note here that it is somewhat strange that though Herr Wechssler admits the force of the Angevin allusions in the *Parzival* as reflections of real facts of Angevin history and tradition, even going so far as to note the part played by the two brothers Theobald and Stephen of Blois as opponents of the Empress Matilda and her son, he gives no hint that all this is not new, but was carefully and fully worked out by me in the appendices to my translation of the *Parzival* published in 1894. He knows the book, for he refers to it elsewhere, and includes it in the bibliography at the end; also he refers over and over again to *Hertz* on pages where that writer quotes the English *Parzival*. It would have been more courteous if he had acknowledged what had already been done in this field.

With regard to the relation between Chrétien and Wolfram, there is one point which I touched upon in the *Legend of Sir Gawain*, and which appears to me to be of wider interest in the criticism of the cycle as a whole than even in its special connection with these two writers—the existence in the Perceval romances of a female recluse relative of the hero. Chrétien knows nothing of such a character. Wolfram gives him a cousin, Sigune, who seeks the religious life from grief at the death of her lover. The *Queste* gives him an aunt who is undoubtedly originally the same as the cousin (*cf.* the interview in the *Queste*, and that in Book ix. of the *Parzival*), and a sister of devout life. The prose *Perceval li Gallois*, the Didot *Perceval*, and two of Chrétien's continuators, Gautier and Gerbert, know of a sister. *Peredur* has no sister, but the maiden with the slain knight, elsewhere his cousin, is here his foster-sister.

Now, certainly, judging from Aryan parallels, Perceval should have neither brother nor sister, but be an only child; and it is noticeable that it is the stories in which he alone is the hero, Galahad unknown, and the Grail of uncertain character, which conform most closely to this primitive type. In *Parzival* he is the only child; in Chrétien and the *Peredur* the only surviving—and those dead were all brothers. Whereas, the romances in which the Christian character of the talisman is most fully developed, *i.e.* the prose romances, whether Perceval be still the

hero, as in *Perceval li Gallois*, or Galahad, as in the *Queste*, all give him a sister; and the *Queste* two brothers, Agloval and Lamorak.

I believe myself that in the foster-sister of the *Peredur* we have the germ of all the later developments of the character. Chrétien and Wolfram alike, while calling the maiden Perceval's cousin, yet insist on the point that she had been brought up in close connection with him. She knows his name, though he himself is ignorant of it. Either Kiot or his sources (very probably Kiot, as Chrétien makes very little of the character) saw the tragic possibilities of the maiden's story, and made her retire to a hermitage with her beloved dead. The idea was seized upon by later modellers of the story, but with a reminiscence of the original relationship they made the recluse maiden Perceval's sister. The writer of the *Queste*, or his source, conversant as he certainly was with Kiot's version, retained the incident of the hero's visit to the hermitage, but made the dweller in it aunt instead of cousin; while at the same time, ignorant of the fact that both characters were originally one and the same, he kept the sister he knew of from other sources. Thus in the one line of tradition the foster-sister of the lonely lad became first his cousin, then his aunt, in the other line his sister, while the *Queste* preserves the double tradition. Wolfram's dweller in the woodland hermitage is really the first step in the evolution of the cloistered maiden of Malory and Tennyson.

This at least appears to me a probable and logical explanation of a feature in the story which has not hitherto attracted the attention it deserves. While important in its bearing on the relationship between Chrétien and Wolfram, as showing that a character absolutely unknown to the French poet was a part of the tradition handed down both to Wolfram and the writer of the *Queste*, it is not less important as a clue to the relative order of the Grail romances as a whole.

Another point raised by Wechssler, which to my mind operates in a direction contrary to that intended by the writer, is his remark (on p. 24) that it is curious, during the Crusades, in view of the widespread passion for relics, to find no one claiming to have found the Grail itself, though the Lance of Longinus was found. This is certainly rather an awkward problem for those who claim priority for the *Early History* romances. Herr

Wechssler seems rather divided between two theories (which do not fit very well with each other): (*a*) distrust of the sources of the legend; (*b*) ultra-reverence for the Grail itself, for which writers had claimed such miraculous powers. Here the writer has completely overshot his mark and supplied us with his own refutation. Was the vessel which contained the Holy Blood more sacred than the Blood Itself? Did not, in fact, its sanctity depend on the use to which it had been put? *Yet drops of that Holy Blood were brought to Europe.* (Or, to speak more accurately, Crusaders believed they had brought such.) Has Herr Wechssler never been to Bruges? Nor is Bruges the only city to boast such a relic.

Is not the real reason to be found in the fact that at the period of the general outburst of zeal and enthusiasm which led to the first Crusades there was no such story in existence? That the legend of the Grail as a purely Christian talisman only took shape at the end of the twelfth century, when political jealousies and personal ambition had already obscured the fervour of Christian zeal and love? The Crusaders found the Lance, because the canonical gospels (not the spurious, which Herr Wechssler apparently confuses with them, p. 12) had made all minds familiar with such a weapon, and prepared the way for its "Invention." They did not find the Grail, because neither history nor tradition had told them anything about it.

The table appended to the end of the book, setting forth the six-fold character of the Grail as a Christian relic, is interesting, and will be useful; but it will need caution in using, for certainly in the case of Wolfram the text does not support Herr Wechssler's interpretation.

The latter part of the book, the discussion of Wagner's *Parsifal*, stands outside the range of criticism of the Grail cycle. It is both interesting and suggestive. Whether it be quite in accordance with the fact is another thing; but the "inner meaning" of the poet-musician is a field in which we can all air our pet theories and interpretations without the fear of transgressing the rules and bounds of serious scholarship. On one point at least I am glad to be in hearty accord with Herr Wechssler—in unstinted admiration of the great composer's last, and greatest, work.

For the rest, I wish I could have welcomed the book as a valuable and solid contribution to the criticism of an obscure and

much debated subject. We need all the light we can get; but in spite of much reading, much ingenuity, and many suggestive hints, Herr Wechssler has not given us a work of enduring value. It is not so much that I dissent from the conclusions reached—they have been reached before and by other paths—as that I believe the methods employed to be radically unsound and entirely incompatible with scientific scholarship, that I have felt impelled to write thus strongly in opposition.[1]

JESSIE L. WESTON.

[1] Whilst thoroughly concurring in Miss Weston's criticism, I may be allowed to point out that as regards the most perplexing incident of the Grail legend, the question omitted by Perceval at his first visit to the Fisher King, an incident unexplained by every other student of the legend, Dr. Wechssler approves my suggestion. His words are: "Nutt schlägt eine Erklärung vor, die ich überaus wahrscheinlich finde." What was my suggestion? That the incident is traceable back to the *geasa* or taboos of early Irish saga; that it survived on into the mediaeval Arthurian romance, that it was completely misunderstood by the French adapters of the earlier Celtic stories, and that to this misunderstanding is due the obscure and inconsistent way in which it is presented by them. The suggestion involves, of course, the existence of a Perceval story innocent of all Christian admixture, based upon themes and conventions familiar in Irish romantic legends of the pre-eleventh century; yet although Dr. Wechssler approves the suggestion, he, as I understand him, rejects what it logically involves, and without which it has no claim to consideration. This is an even more striking instance than those adduced by Miss Weston of the author's inability to see the drift of his own statements and to follow up an argument to its logical conclusion.

ALFRED NUTT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOLY WEEK OBSERVANCE IN THE ABRUZZI.

(Vol. vi. p. 57; vol. viii. p. 374.)

The Month for October contains an article headed "The alleged Human Sacrifices in Italy," by Mr. James Britten, formerly a member of the Council of the Folk-Lore Society. The objects of his attack are Mr. Clodd, Mr. Grant Allen, the Folk-Lore Society (which he qualifies as "a quasi-learned Society"), and many students of folklore who hold different opinions from those which he has adopted. His apparent object is to defend the Roman Catholic Church from a charge that no one had thought of making. The story to which allusion is made was related by Mr. Clodd in his Presidential Address of 1895, on the authority, ultimately, of Canon Pullen, as an illustration of the persistence among the illiterate peasants of modern Europe of superstitions leading sometimes even to the sacrifice of human lives, and was accompanied by two other examples, one from Russia and the other from Roumania. The Roman Catholic Church was not even hinted at in this connection, either by Mr. Clodd or, so far as I know, by anyone who has since alluded to the story, beside Mr. Britten himself. Signor De Nino's letter to Mr. Clodd, denying the statement, was translated and printed in *Folk-Lore* for last December, and probably everyone who read it regarded it as satisfactory. An offprint of the letter was immediately sent by Mr. Nutt to Signor De Nino. That gentleman afterwards published an article on the subject in the *Nuova Antologia*, from which it appeared that by some accident this offprint had not reached him. On reading it, I at once sent him two more copies, and, not knowing what the explanation was, I apologised for the delay. The following are extracts from his reply, which I communicated to the Society in May last. Mr. Britten may be invited to note its terms, and will moreover see

that Signor De Nino's estimate of the Society is a very different one from his own.

"Pregiatissimo Signore Hartland. Ho ricevuto finalmente i due estratte del *Folk-Lore* di decembre. La mia lettera fu resa bene da Lei. Grazie delle gentili expressioni à mio riguardo. Mi ricorderò sempre del *Folk-Lore* di Londra, così operoso e così sapiente. Mi duole di non potermi associare . . . Ma, per mio conto, non mancherò di fare omaggio allo nobile istituzione, d' ogni mia successiva stampa folkloristica. . . . In quanto al Rev. Pullen, egli non può dispiacersi se ho creduto di scagionare il mio paese da un' accusa di barbarie, e se ho fatto di tutto per dire la verità anche da gentiluomo. Faccia le mie riverenze ai membri della Società; e, con sinceri augurii di salute prosperose, mi protesto

"Suo dev^{mo}, Antonio de Nino.

"11 Maggio 1898. Sulmona."

After this I do not think it necessary to defend the Society from Mr. Britten's complaint that, beyond publishing Signor de Nino's letter, it took "no steps in the matter." Mr. Britten will no doubt hasten to withdraw his further assertion: "Nor did any official of the Society even communicate to Signor de Nino the fact that 'the substance' of his communication had been printed;" and perhaps he will tell us how he came to publish it without that previous verification, the want of which he makes (whether rightly or wrongly) such a grievance against Mr. Clodd. As a member of the Society from its commencement, he will, I think, regret having written of it in the way he has done.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

I should wish to add that when there appeared, last spring, in the *Daily Chronicle* a paragraph reflecting in this connection both upon Mr. Clodd and upon the Society, I at once wrote, as President, to defend the Society and its responsible officers from the charge made against them. The *Daily Chronicle* did not insert my letter, as the editor doubtless judged that Mr. Clodd was more specially aimed at by the paragraph, and that sufficient reparation had been made by inserting an answer from him. I regretted this action of the *Daily Chronicle* at the time, and I regret it still more now, as I must needs believe that had Mr. Britten seen my letter he would not have made the charge he has done against the Society.

ALFRED NUTT.

Lincoln Minster and the Devil.

(Vol. ix. p. 272.)

I have heard a similar story told in Italy. In the pleasant town of San Remo, close to the eastern end of the principal street, there is a convent. Probably because of the positions of the neighbouring houses and of the mountains at the back of them, there is always a cold little wind stirring up and down in front of this convent; even when all around the air is still. The people say: "That is the wind waiting for the devil." On asking my Italian friends what this meant, I was told that the story was that the devil and the little wind were one day taking a friendly stroll through the town. When they arrived at the convent door the devil said: "Just wait a little here, whilst I go in and see some of my friends." "All right," answered the wind; and he has been waiting ever since.

I have a vague recollection of a somewhat similar story told elsewhere, but cannot for the moment fix it.

H. Courthope Bowen.

[It is told of Strasburg Cathedral.—Ed.]

May-Day in Lincolnshire.

(Vol. ix. p. 276.)

In answer to the interesting note on a Lincolnshire May-Day custom, published in the last number of *Folk-Lore*, I am able to state that the Lincolnshire Christmas-bough, or kissing-bush, has eggs among its ornaments: not the eggs of little birds, indeed, but the shells of the hens' eggs used for the Christmas pudding, or other dishes prepared for the Yule festival. Though they have no such signification now, it is not improbable that they were once used as types of fertility. The mid-winter festival is in origin a rejoicing in honour of the sun, which will encourage growth and increase with its waxing strength.

Some years after the beginning of the nineteenth century, a

woman from Harpswell, or Hemswell, used to carry round a "crib" at Christmas-time. This crib contained dolls representing the Infant Saviour, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Joseph. In the north-east of the county the practice is still sometimes observed, but there the small chest, or basket, in which the doll or dolls lie, is mis-named the *vessel-cup;* no doubt, because a wassail-bowl filled with spiced ale was also borne from door to door, fifty years since, or even later.

An old woman from the extreme north of Lincolnshire, who died a few years since at more than eighty years of age, once gave the following description of May-Day, as it was kept when she was a girl, at Winteringham :

"We always dressed the lugs (ears or handles) of our milk-kits with leaves on May-morning, and in the evening we danced and played kiss-in-the-ring, and such-like games, round a May-garland set up in the cattle-pasture. The garland was first dressed with a piece of mistletoe, royal oak, and ribbons, and then fixed up on an old stump there was in the open field. It was fixed flat-way on, not standing on its rim."

I have often wondered how many times the "old stump" had been thus decorated. Perhaps every spring-tide for centuries. Where the mistletoe was procured is a mystery, for I know of none which is truly indigenous in the north of the shire. Sometimes "royal-oak" would be unprocurable. In a late season oak-leaves are not to be had on "old May-Day." It is just possible (though I think unlikely) that the day celebrated really fell at a later date, for a milking festival seems to have been connected with "Royal-Oak Day."

Is it known how the 29th of May and the 5th of November, or the days they now represent, were observed before they acquired their present historical associations?

M. P.

Mrs. Townshend suggests a connection with the Easter eggs and first-fruit customs. May I suggest that in all likelihood the doll represents our goddess Freya, the beflowered basket her wain, and the string of eggs her necklace, "Brosinga mene"? It would be interesting to know if the cat is in any way connected with the procession, if procession there be.

OLIVER W. F. LODGE [JUN.].

Kitty-Witches.

These were, I assume, simply loose women. The East Anglian Glossary (Nall) gives derivation from (*Sc.*) *Kiddy*, wanton, and *Witch*. Nearly every work dealing with Great Yarmouth gives a similar account of these. I quote from Forby (*Vocab. of East Anglia*, 1830), who says:

"It was customary, many years ago, at Yarmouth, for women of the lowest order to go in troops from house to house to levy contributions at some season of the year, and on some pretence which nobody now seems to recollect, having men's shirts over their own apparel, and their faces smeared with blood."

Is anything known of a similar custom which prevailed in other seaport towns? This species of Saturnalia might not be confined to Yarmouth. The ceremony doubtless had at some remote period an especial significance. Can it be that it alludes to some medieval attack on the town wherein the women, in the absence of the men, fought with and beat off the invaders? The wearing of men's shirts might simply be symbolical, or have been actually worn on the walls to deceive the enemy. The account of any such invasion is unfortunately not forthcoming, I fear; the only semblance of such which I have been able to trace was the attack by the followers of Kett in 1549, but the story is probably very much older than this.

W. B. Gerish.

Hoddesdon, Herts.

The Jus Primæ Noctis.

Antiquaries well versed in the social habits of medieval Europe have lately seen reason to deny that the seignorial right of *jus primæ noctis* ever really existed in any country under Christian rule, and have begun to ask where the slightest proof of the custom is to be discovered.

What I desire to learn is, how the tradition concerning the practice originated.

In writing on the subject in his *Evolution of Marriage*,

Letourneau shows that several varieties of the rite have flourished in various parts of the globe; and he evidently holds the opinion that it has been actually observed among Christians, for he says:

"Under the feudal system in Europe this right of prelibation, or marquette (designated in old French by the expressive term *droit du culage*), has been in use in many fiefs, and until a very recent epoch. Almost in our own days certain lords of the Netherlands, of Prussia, and of Germany still claimed it. In a French title-deed of 1507 we read that the Count d'Eu has the right of prelibation in the said place when anyone marries.[1] More than this, ecclesiastics, and even bishops, have been known to claim this right in their quality of feudal lords. 'I have seen,' says Boetius, 'in the court at Bourges, before the metropolitan, an appeal by a certain priest, who pretended to claim the first night of young brides, according to the received usage. The demand was rejected with indignation, the custom unanimously proscribed, and the scandalous priest condemned to pay a fine.'"

It is obviously unlikely that "the received usage" was ever put into force after Christianity gained a real hold. No doubt, the legal right would be bought off by a money payment. But is it not possible that the custom did survive for a short time subsequent to the nominal conversion of Europe, and that the memory of it lingered in men's minds long after it became morally impossible to make good any such claim?

Another well-known belief: that which relates to the walling-up alive of erring nuns, and other sinners, seems to be based on the faint recollection of a time when the pagan practice of enclosing living creatures in the structure of a building still survived.

Such a habit would, it is to be imagined, soon die out after the spread of Christianity; but there is some reason to believe that the immuring of human beings while alive may have been modified into placing the corpse of a person who had died at a convenient season in any erection which appeared to need the presence of a protecting spirit. In the blood-stained days of feudal government dead bodies would be easily procurable if the purpose to which they were to be applied was deemed meritorious. In some very old churches unmistakable traces of wall-burial have been found. Yet it would be unreasonable to assume that the bones

[1] Laurière, *Glose du droit Français*, at the word Culage ou Culiage.

discovered were the remains of victims who had been thrust alive into a hollow in the masonry. It is more probable that a corpse was substituted for the living sacrifice of paganism, with the idea that the deceased might benefit from resting in the structure of a sacred edifice, while the building itself would have received the offering prescribed by immemorial custom.

P. K.

PINS AND METAL IN WELLS.

In Lafcadio Hearn's delightful book on Japan, *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*, there are many passages of interest to the folklorist.

On p. 168 I lately met with a suggestive account, which I quote here:—

"At Sakai there is the Buddhist temple of Myōkokuji, in the garden of which are some very old palm-trees; one of them, removed by Nobunaga in the sixteenth century, is said to have cried out and lamented until it was taken back to the temple. You see the ground under these palms covered with what looks like a thick, shiny, disordered mass of fur—half reddish and half silvery grey. It is not fur. It is a heaping of millions of needles thrown there by the pilgrims '*to feed* the palms,' because these trees are said to love iron, and to be strengthened by absorbing its rust."

Metal, more especially iron, has been put in water of course for ages, with a view to giving it a tonic property. Was the custom of throwing pins, needles, and other metal things into Holy or Wishing Wells originally started with the idea of strengthening the drinker?

LUCY E. BROADWOOD.

ROPES OF SAND; ASSES; AND THE DANAIDES.

The occurrence of a single incident in ancient Egyptian custom, on Greek and Roman monuments, in an Arabian story, and in English folklore, provokes suspicion that some one idea, worth finding out, may lie behind the scattered facts. Such an incident

is the weaving of a futile rope; twisted and untwisted in festival custom in Egypt, in Greek and Roman art eaten by an ass, made of sand in Arabic story and in English legend.

Further, in more than one ancient monument the futile rope is associated with those futile water-carriers, the Danaides, whose condemnation it was to carry water in sieves; and in Cornwall the spirit set to weave ropes of sand had also to empty a lake by the aid of a shell with a hole in it.

What do these coincidences mean?

In the hope of gaining further facts I quote, but make no attempt to value, the following ropemakers, ass, and water-carriers.

"In the city of Acanthus, towards Libya beyond the Nile, about 120 furlongs from Memphis, there is a perforated pithos,[1] into which they say 360 of the priests carry water every day from the Nile. And the fable of Ocnus is represented near at hand, on the occasion of a certain public festival. One man is twisting a long rope, and many behind him keep untwisting what he has plaited."[2]

In the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, Pausanias describes, among other dwellers in Hades,

"a man seated: an inscription sets forth that the man is Indolence (Oknos). He is represented plaiting a rope, and beside him stands a she-ass furtively eating the rope as fast as he plaits it. They say that this Indolence was an industrious man who had a spendthrift wife, and as fast as he earned money she spent it. Hence, people hold that in this picture Polygnotus alluded to the wife of Indolence. I know, too, that when the Ionians see a man toiling at a fruitless task they say he is splicing the cord of Indolence."[3]

In the mediæval Arabic story, one of the tasks imposed by Pharaoh on Haykar the Sage is to make two ropes of sand; Haykar says: "'Do thou prescribe that they bring me a cord from thy stores that I twist one like it.' So when they had done as he bade, Haykar fared forth arear of the palace and dug two

[1] Pithos, a vessel of large size, used for stores, sometimes sunk in the ground as a cellar.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, i. 97.

[3] *Pausanias*, x. 29, 2. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. p. 376; *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1897, p. 458; *Journal Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv. p. 81.

round borings equal to the thickness of the cord; then he co lected sand from the river bed and placed it therein, so that whe the sun arose and entered into the cylinder the sand appeared i the sunlight like unto ropes."[1]

Of Michael Scott, a note to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* says

"Michael Scott was, once upon a time, much embarrassed b a spirit for whom he was under the necessity of finding constar employment." Two tasks were accomplished in two nights b the spirit. "At length the enchanter conquered this indefatigabl demon, by employing him in the hopeless and endless task o making ropes out of sea-sand."[2]

A passage in the *Denham Tracts* speaks of Michael Scott a famed

"for having beat the devil and his myrmidons by the well known device of employing them to spin ropes of sand, denying them even the aid of chaff to supply some degree of tenacity . . . ."

The wild Cornish spirit, Tregeagle, brings life into these somewhat tame accounts of futile industry. The wandering soul of a tyrannical magistrate, Tregeagle was bound to fruitless labour on coast or moor; his toil prevented and his work destroyed by storm and tide. His cries sounded above the roar of winter tempests; his moanings were heard in the soughing of the wind; when the sea lay calm his low wailing crept along the coast. More than one task was laid upon this tormented soul. On the proposal of a churchman and a lawyer it was agreed that he should be set to empty a dark tarn on desolate moors, known as Dosmery (or Dozmare) Pool, using a limpet-shell with a hole in it. Driven thence by a terrific storm, Tregeagle, hotly pursued by demons, sought sanctuary in the chapel of Roach Rock. From Roach he was removed by powerful spell to the sandy shores of the Padstow district, there to make trusses of sand and ropes of sand with which to bind them.[4]

[1] *Arabian Nights.* Burton. Lib. Ed., vol. xii. p. 24. [Orig. Ed., *Suppl. Nights*, vol. vi. p. 32. Ed.]

[2] *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.* Ed. 1869. Note 15.

[3] *Denham Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 116.

[4] Taken from Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England.* 3rd edition, pp. 131 ff.

Again we find him tasked

"to make and carry away a truss of sand, bound with a rope of sand, from Gwenvor (the cove at Whitsand Bay), near the Land's End."[1]

The Cornish pool which Tregeagle had to empty with a perforated shell is said to be the scene of a tradition of making bundles and bands of sand:

"A tradition . . . . . says that on the shores of this lonely mere (Dosmery Pool) the ghosts of bad men are ever employed in binding the sand in bundles with 'beams' (bands) of the same. These ghosts, or some of them, were driven out (they say horsewhipped out) by the parson from Launceston."[2]

I place these roughly gathered facts together in the hope of gaining further instances; especially instances of—

(1) Ritual use of ropes, or of perforated water-vessels.

(2) Futile rope-making in custom or story.

(3) Futile water-carrying in custom or story.

(4) Asses in connection with any of the above acts; and in connection with (a) water in any form, (b) death and the underworld.

G. M. Godden.

Ridgfield, Wimbledon, near London.

[1] Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 73.

[2] Courtney, *Cornish Feasts and Folklore*, p. 73, quoting *Notes and Queries*, December, 1850.

MISCELLANEA.

THE NIBELUNG TREASURE IN ENGLISH.

References to the Nibelung story are not frequent in earl English literature, and they are all old (*Beowulf*, *Widsith*) excep possibly a reference in *Sir Degrevant*, which has apparently no yet been noticed :

> Y hade leve she were myne
> Thane alle the gold in the Reyne
> ffausoned one florene,
> She is myne so dere.

—*Sir Degrevant*, l. 525 sq. (*Thornton Romances* ed. J. O. Halliwell, *Camden Society*, 1844.)

The gold of Rhine can hardly be anything but the hoard o the Nibelungs. How it came down to a fifteenth-century English scribe, whether by continuous tradition from the old times or by later communication with Germany, may be left as a problem.

W. P. KER.

SOME HIGHLAND FOLKLORE.

In the spring of 1896 I received from a native of Farr, Sutherlandshire, a few notes on some traditions of the district, "told by most respectable and trustworthy people—stories which they said came under their own observation." Finding that two or three of these were fairly interesting, I afterwards got him to tell them over in Gaelic, which I took down at the time, retaining as far as possible the peculiarities of his dialect. As so little has been done in the way of printing local Gaelic, I append some of the originals to the English translations.[1]

[1] Those acquainted with Gaelic will notice considerable uncertainty with regard to the forms of some words ; this is due to the speaker himself, who may have been trying at times to conform his dialect to the usual literary standard. It will also be noticed that a principle akin to eclipsis in Irish,

Dreams, ghosts, and second-sight are the subjects chiefly illustrated in these notes. I do not know that there is much that is new in them, but they have the merit of being quite genuine, and from an out-of-the-way district.

I.—The Labourer's Dream.

A labourer (navvy) was working on the road between Rhi-conich and Durness, in Sutherlandshire, about fifty years ago, and dreamed on a Saturday night that if he rose early on Monday morning, so as to be at Carn Glas at sunrise, he would see a crow sitting on a stone. Under that stone he would find the gold which was hid after the murder of a Norwegian prince.

The labourer was in so great a hurry to get the gold that he could not wait till Monday, but set off on Sunday evening, as he had a long way to go. When he reached Carn Glas, there *was* a crow sitting on a stone, but he did not know which was the right one, for there was a crow on every stone!

People who could interpret dreams said that this happened because he broke the Sabbath; he ought to have waited till the Lord's Day had gone past, and he would have been certain to get the gold.[1]

quite ignored by Scottish grammarians, appears in a number of cases. This is a feature of many Scottish dialects, but the cases in which it occurs are not quite the same as in Irish: it is found, for example, in the nominative singular (as *an d-tarbh*, the bull). Some dialects go further than this, and make the eclipsis stand for the article itself (as *fear*, a man; *bh-fear*, the man).

[1] *Bruadar fear-obrach.*

Bha fear-obrach 'g oibear air an rothad eadar Ruidh Chonaich agus Diurinis anns Cataobh, mu leth-cheud blian' air ais, agus bhruadraich e air eidhch' Di Sathuirn', na'n eirich e tráth air muchthra' Di Luain, chum as gum biog e aig Carn Glas mu's eirich a' ghrian gum faiceag e rócais 'n a suidh air clach. Fo 'na chlach sin gheibh e an d-ór 'bha air 'fhalach an deigh bpriu(nn)s Lochlannach 'bhi air a mhort.

Bha leud do chabhaig air an fhear-obrach air son an d-ór fhaotainn 's nach b' urrainn e fanuidh gu Di Luain 's dh'fhalbh e feasgar na Sabaid, oir bha astar fhad aig' ri dhol. Air ruigsinn Carn Glas, bha rócais 'n a suidh air a clach, ach cha robh fhios aig' dé 'chloch cheart, oir bha rocais air a h-uile clach.

Thuirt muinntir b' urrainn bruadair 'leughadh gun do thachair so a chionn gun do bhris e an t- Sabaid; bu chóir da bhi air fantainn gus an deach la an d-Tighearn seachad, agus bhiodh e cinnteach as an d-ór fhaotainn.

II.—The Sailor's Ghost.

A few years ago there was a certain man living in the parish of Durness, in Sutherland, close to the sea, where ships were very often lost. This man found some things belonging to a ship that went to pieces on the rocks, and took them home with him. A night or two after this, what came but a ghost in the dress of a sailor, which walked back and forward through the house, and after a long time disappeared from sight. Next night the ghost returned, and kept throwing the furniture here and there. Each night it stayed longer than on the night before, and was always growing bolder.

The poor man was in great fear; he thought that it came after the things he had taken from the beach, but he had so many of these that he did not know which of them the ghost wanted. He went to the minister, who advised him to rise when the ghost came again, and to ask of it what it wanted. This was a difficult matter, for people believed that if any man spoke to a ghost he would not live long after it. Finally, the man had to summon up courage and ask the ghost for what reason it kept coming to his house. The ghost answered by pointing with its finger to the door, and asking the man to walk with it towards the beach. He did so, and they talked together all the time until they came within view of the sea, when the ghost disappeared and caused no more trouble to the house.

The man returned home and went to bed, after reading his Bible. He refused to tell what had happened between himself and the ghost, but if they asked him on his death-bed he would tell them all that had taken place. Those who were round his death-bed had not the courage to ask him, and never got to know what had happened between them. This man was alive many years after talking with the ghost, and when he died he was an old man, which showed that there was no truth at all in what people think, that a man would die if he spoke with a spirit.[1]

[1] *Táisg an d-seól'dair.*

Teirc' do bhlianachan air ais bha duine araidh beó anns sgire Dhiurinis anns Cataobh fagas air a' mhŏir, far an robh saoitheachan gu minic air an g-call. Fhuair an duin' so nichean a bhunuidh do shéathach cha' na smurach air na cragan, agus thug e leis dhachaidh iad. Eidhch' no dha an deigh so, gu d'é thainig ach táisg ann an aodudh seól'dair; agus bha e dol air ais agus air

III.—The Corpse on the Man's Back.

There is a man, still alive, in the parish of Durness, who has the second-sight. He has seen and heard many wonderful things—lights, coffins, funerals, knocks, and the cries of people drowning. One night he and a neighbour were coming home very late. They took a short cut and came along by the side of a small bay. While they were passing this, the man gave a great pant, as if a heavy burden was being thrown on his back. His companion asked what was the matter with him. He replied: "Man, did you not see that body rising upon my back?" The other man ran away, crying: "I shall never go with you again after nightfall."

A short time after this, a vessel was lost on the beach and all hands were drowned. One of the bodies came ashore in this same bay, and in order to get it to a place until a coffin could be made for it, the corpse was lifted upon this man's back at the very spot where he felt it coming on his back before. When the body

aodhart troimh an d-taigh, agus an deigh úin' fhad, cha' e as an d-sealladh. Thainig an d-táisg air ais an ath-eidhch', agus bha e tuilgeil an fhú(r)naist fiar agus a fiar. Bha e fanaig na h-uile h-eidhch' na b' fheid' no 'n eidhch' roimh', agus fás na 's láda(r)n'.

Bha eagail ro-mhor air an duine bhochd: smaointich e gur ann a tóir na nichean a shlaod e o 'na chladach, ach bha uiread 'ig' agus nach robh fios aig' go d'é ni a bha an d-tásg ag iarraidh. Chaidh e dh' iunns' a' mhinisteir, agus cho'irlich esan dha, eireadh nuair thigudh an d-tásg 'rithist, agus fheighneachd dhe gu d'é bha é 'g iarraidh. Bha so ro-dhuilich, oir bha an sluagh creidsinn nam bruighnuidh fear sam bith ri tásg nach biodh e fad beó an diaigh sin. Fadheóidh bha aig an duin' ri aghaidh chuir air, agus fheigneachd ris an d-tásg gu d'é 'n aobhar bh'aig, esan tighinn dh' iunnsaidh an taigh aig. Fhreagair an d-tasg agus chumasaich e 'mheur a dhiunnsai' an doruis, agus dh' fheorraidh e an duin' coisidheachd maille ris a dh' iunnsaidh a' chladaich. Rinn an duine so, agus bha iad labhai(r)st ri cheile fad na h-úin, gus an d-tainig iad am fraodhraig na mara, nuair cha' an d-tásg as an d-sealladh, agus cha do chuir e trioblaid tuille air an d-taigh.

Phill 'n duine dhachaidh, agus an deigh dha a' Bhiobull 'leughag, cha' e a laidh. Dhiult e inniseag gu d'é thachair eadar eis' agus an d-tásg, ach na feóraicheadh iad e air léabaidh bháis, dh' inniseag e na h-uile ni 'thachair. Cha robh misneach aig a mhuinntir, 'bha timchioll air leabaidh bhais, 'fheighneachd dhe, agus cha robh riamh fios ac' gu d'é thachair eadar 'ad. Bha 'n duine so beo moran bhlianachan an deigh 'bhi labhairt ris an d-tásg, agus nuair chaochail e bha e 'na sheann-duine, agus bha sin 'fiachainn nach e ni air bith do dh' fhirinn anns an ni tha muinntir a smuaineachag gum faigheag duin' bais nam bruidhneamh e ri spiorad.

was lifted on his back, the man gave the same sort of pant as before. His neighbour, who was present, remembered what had happened when they were coming home late.[1]

Some other illustrations of second-sight come from the same source, and I give them, as far as possible, in the narrator's own words.

IV. "In one parish in the North, two men were out fishing when the boat capsized and both were drowned. One of the bodies was recovered, the other not. Several days after, a man in the parish dreamed that the body was to be got in a certain creek. In the morning he went off to search for it, and on his way met two men, to whom he told his dream. They followed him, and found the body at the place which he had spoken of."

V. "In the West Highlands, where I was last summer, the people of the district have been advocating for a railway for many years. I remarked to one of them, that it looked as if they were not to get it. 'It looks doubtful,' said he, 'but we will get it yet: I am sure of that.' 'How are you so sure?' I asked. He said, that he and and another man were walking along the road in the dark, when they both saw, quite distinctly, a train passing them, and even observed it puffing."

VI. "A man from our parish was working near Bonar Bridge before the railway went north. He and a friend were returning

[1] *An g-corp air druim duine.*

Tha duine beo fathast an sgir' Dhiúrinis aig am beil fiosaidheachd. Chunnaic agus chuala e iomudh ni io(ng)antach—solasan, cistean-laidh', tiodhlacan, grogadaich, agus eibheachd muinntir air am bathag. Bha e fhein agus nábuidh tighinn dhachaidh gle anamoch aon eidhch'. Ghabh iad rothad goirid, agus thainig iad seachad a taobh baghach beag. Air dhaibh bhi dul seachad air so, thug an duine ialt mhór, mar gum biog eallach trom air a thilgeil air a dhruim. Dh' fheighneach a chompanach dhe gu d'é bha cur air. Fhreagair eis': "Dhuine, nach fhac' thu an g-corp sin aig eireadh air mo dhruim?" Ruith an duine eile air falbh ag eibheachd: "Cha d-teid mis' gu brath tuille maille ruits' an deigh 'n eidhch' tuitim."

Uine bheag an deigh so, cha' séathach 'chall air a chladach, agus cha' na lamhan uile a bhathag. Thainig aon do na chorpan air tir anns a' bhaghach so, agus chum as gu feigheag iad e gu ait gus an de'ag a chist laidh a dhéanaig, cha' an g-corp a thogail air druim an duine so, direach anns an áit far an d' fhŏireach e corp tighinn air a mhuin roimhe. Nuair cha' an g-corp thogail air a dhruim, thug an duine an ionn' séors' ialt agus a thug e roimhe. Chuimhnich a nábuidh, 'bha ann an sin, an ni a thachair nuair bha iad tighinn dachaidh anamoch.

home one night when they distinctly saw a train proceeding along the present route; they could hear the noise and see the smoke. This happened many years before the train came to Inverness."

The following is perhaps noticeable among dream-stories, from the fact that it led to nothing, notwithstanding the recurrence of the dream at regular intervals.

VII. "There lived an old woman at Durness, who dreamed one night that under a certain stone at Inshore, near Cape Wrath, there was a pot of gold concealed, which she would find by digging under the stone. She went to the place, but found no treasure.

"Exactly twelve months after, she had the same dream, and again went to the place, accompanied by a shepherd. They removed the stone, but found nothing.

"Another twelve months went past, and again she had the same dream. She returned to the spot, and searched all round the stone, but could find no trace of the gold. This woman was well known in the place by the name of 'Iúraidh óir' (Gold Dorothy). She dreamed no more about the treasure."

The next tale is a fairly common one in Scotland, but it may not be amiss to give it in its Sutherland form:

VIII. "One time a corpse was laid out in a room, and the watchers had retired to another apartment to partake of some refreshment, shutting the door of that in which the body lay. While they were eating they heard a great noise in the room where the body was; no one would venture in to see the cause of this, and they finally sent for the minister. He went in, Bible in hand, and closed the door after him. The noise then ceased, and in about ten minutes he came out, lifted the tongs, and went back to the room. On his return he held in the tongs a glove, which was seen to be bloody, and put it into the fire. He would not tell them what he had seen and heard."

To these Sutherland legends I may add a few scraps from other quarters of the Highlands. The following was told me by a native of Glenlyon, who admitted that he was no lover of folklore, and professed to have forgotten all the stories that the old people used to tell.

"There is a pool in Glen Dochart in which people who had gone out of their mind were dipped, and it was believed that this was a

means of restoring them to their senses. Near this pool lived a farmer who had a bull that went mad: he put it into the pool, but after this the water lost the effect that it previously had."[1]

The same informant spoke of a method of curing illness in horses by means of water taken "from under a bridge where the dead and the living cross." He either did not know or did not care to give the full particulars; a silver coin was put into the pail, and if this stuck to the bottom when the water was poured out, the horse's illness was at once ascribed to witchcraft (compare *Folk-Lore*, 1897, p. 92). An old Highlander, resident in Stirling, told my brother how his daughter's child was cured from the effects of the Evil Eye by giving it warm water to drink, into which nine pointed iron instruments had been dipped. After the cure had been effected the old man asked his daughter where she got the water. "Did you go down to the bridge for it?" "No, indeed," said she, "I just took it out of the pipe; aren't the dead and the living going down the street every day?" This is how folklore is adapted to modern conditions.

From a native of Skye I have two stories, which are perhaps worth recording as a contrast to the more serious side of popular belief. The one is of a man who was passing a churchyard by night, when a ghost came out and blocked his way. Thinking that it was likely to attack him, he gave it a word of warning: "You had better not lay hands on me," he said; "I have as many friends in there as you have." The other represents the triumph of the sceptic over the believer. A young fellow told his companions how he had looked over a rock into the waters of a lake, and had seen the river-horse lying asleep. "What was it like?" they asked. "Well, it was just like a big ass." "Oh," said one, "it had been your own shadow, man."

It is very much to be desired that persons possessing a thorough knowledge of the Gaelic dialects in the various localities would devote some time to recording the folklore of their districts. While the fairy-tales have received a good deal of attention since Campbell's day, very little has been done to preserve the many

[1] Tha linn ann an gleann Dochairt anns an robh muinntir bha air dol thar a chéill 'gan tuma', agus bha iad creidsinn gun robh so 'n a mheadhon (*vĕn*) air an toirt gu 'm béachd. Bha tuathanach fagus air an linn sin aig an robh tarbh 'chaidh air chaothach; chuir e 'n d-tarbh anns an linn, ach an deigh sin chaill an d-uisg' an eibheachd 'bha ann (*éaun*) roimhe so.

stories of ghosts, witches, fairies, &c., exactly as they exist in popular tradition. We have many essays and articles on "Highland Superstition," but most of them have the fault of being too general, or of giving their illustrations in a form that is hardly original. The tales ought always to be taken down in the exact words of the speaker, especially as many Highlanders are excellent narrators of such stories. Not only would such collections be of great service to Celtic students, by giving genuine specimens of various dialects, but they would in time form a body of Highland folklore which might stand favourably in comparison with that of other countries, with Jón Árnason's two volumes of Icelandic tales, for instance, or E. T. Kristensen's many publications in Danish. Gaelic folklore cannot but suffer if it is only given in English forms, and half-a-dozen willing workers would not be long in covering the greater part of the ground. It is well, too, that the work should be done very soon, before printed sources have vitiated local tradition, as they have done in several districts already.

W. A. Craigie.

The Black Lad of Ashton-under-Lyne.

[Dr. Tylor has been good enough to forward the following letter addressed to him by Mrs. F. H. Griffith, of Riversvale, Ashton-under-Lyne, together with the notes appended.]

Dear Dr. Tylor,

Herewith are what I promised you: all the facts relating to the immemorial custom of "Riding the Black Lad" in Ashton-under-Lyne on the afternoon of Easter Monday, which I was able to gather in 1895 from old people, upwards of eighty years of age, who could tell me something of the practices prevailing before the outrageous proceedings connected with this rite were suppressed about 1830 or 1832. Each assured me that everybody connected with the rites was "very low," that the whole thing had been "a disgrace to the place," and some added that "the sooner such things were forgotten the better." So my informants, being all "decent folk," had never been allowed by their parents and guardians to take part in the performances.

All the answers which I could get to all my questions I have in writing; in the notes I send you the data are sifted and classified.

At the present day several Black Lads are ridden round the

town on the afternoon of Easter Monday, escorted by noisy men who rattle money boxes and invite passers-by to contribute to the "Blake Lad," *i.e.* to give them money for drink. The effigies generally have black-gloved hands, and hold the reins; but still the black suit is in favour. There is always one Black Lad with some claim to legitimacy, for whom the annual ten shillings is duly paid from the estate office.

I might also mention that in Ashton and district the custom of "lifting"—especially women—was another Easter terror to all "decent folk" abroad on that day.

If you can lay your hands on Butterworth's *History of Ashton-under-Lyne* you will be interested by the allusions to old local customs contained in "The Custom Roll and Rental of the Manor of Assheton-under-Lyne." This first recites "The Covenant made between John of Assheton, Knight, and tenants of the town of Assheton, of their swine, the year of the reign of King Richard the Second after the Conquest, the third, that the aforesaid tenants shall have their swine going in the demesnes of the aforesaid town etc." Then follows an agreement about corn-grinding, 1st year Henry IV., and finally the Rent Roll of John de Assheton—anno Regni Regis Henrici Sexti primo: "At the feast of Martin in winter etc. All the tenants of the Lordship of Assheton-under-Lyne, taking their tenements to ffarm for twenty winter term, at John of Assheton, Knight, the which came out of Normandy. At the same Feast, with all the services, customs, and usages, as after is in this book written and rehearsed, and as it has been used and customed of old time, &c., &c."

Happily some sort of copy or translation was made of this document last century, for now the trustees of the estate will not allow any of the muniments to be examined by any one. With regard to the Black Lad, for instance, one thing wanted is to trace the payments for the rite in the old Manor Court Rolls as far back as may be. This is not permitted.

Before reading the notes will you see in *Hone's Every Day Book*, vol. ii., March 27, "Riding the Black Lad. An account of an ancient usage still maintained under this name at Ashton-under-Lyne will be found in the annexed letter"? The letter is dated Ashton-under-Lyne, March, 1826.

Yours sincerely,

KATE GRIFFITH.

The Effigy.

All agree that the body was made of sacking stuffed with hay or straw, among which gunpowder was sometimes put. It was clothed in a black suit—generally velvet.

On the back were put the initials of the last couple married in the parish church in the Old Year. (As the year drew to a close there was great competition to avoid this distinction.)

The "arms" were sticks stretched out at right angles to the sides, and the "hands" were bunches of daffodils, or holly, or "besoms"—*i.e.* ling.

The head was wooden, and on it was placed a helmet. Some say its face was florid, some bronzed, some black. (The head was kept from year to year; see below.)

The figure was always carried round on horseback.

The Ceremonies.

The Black Lad was always taken first to the Hall, and afterwards through all the oldest—which were generally also the roughest—parts of the town, his noisy escort everywhere asking for money and drink. At the end of his rounds his head was detached and thrown to be scrambled for; the man who secured it receiving money in exchange for the head where it was kept for use at the following Easter. It used to be kept at the Hall, afterwards it was simply exhibited there, or at the estate office, and lodged at some public-house until next wanted. Some say that the body was stripped of its velvet suit, which was divided among old women to make bonnets for themselves.

The body was then taken (some say dragged by the legs) to the Old Cross; there it was hung up and shot at until set on fire (some say it was also shot at while being carried through the town, but this seems to have been a comparatively modern innovation, in no way part of the old rites). It was then torn to pieces, and the fragments flung among the crowd. At this point, or thereabouts, the water in the marl-pit (then known as "Garther's Reservoir") was let out by the cutting of a sluice, and ran down the narrow street now known as Cricket's Lane or Cricketty —a dirty stream flowing the whole width of the way—into the place of the Old Cross. Here, not only the burning fragments of the Black Lad, but any rags, sackings, or mops which could be obtained were dipped in the slutch and used for clouting and

bemiring more especially women, but also any strangers or respectable-looking people. The surrounding shops, and indeed most of the shops in the town, were closed for the afternoon and evening, and all decent folk, rich or poor, kept out of the way.

Popular Tradition as to Origin of the Black Lad.

Throughout this century, at any rate, it has been universally believed that the Black Lad represents "the wicked Knight of Assheton," Sir Ralph de Assheton. He has, however, never yet been successfully identified. The tradition has been that he was a great oppressor of the tenantry—in this all agree. Some give details: he kept his prisoners in dungeons beneath the two old round towers (pulled down only a few years ago), with serpents and toads; he used to put people—sometimes women—in barrels spiked inside, and roll them from the top of the steep hill on which the Hall stood overlooking the river, down the ascent to it known as Ann's Brow. "Ann's Brow"—*i.e.* the path or ascent to the Hall—lay between the Hall and "Spring Pasture," which was on the east (?) slope of the hill. Some say that he was chiefly hated because of his stern dealings with farmers who allowed a certain yellow weed to grow on their land.

The main idea that the Black Lad represented someone to be well hated led to his being made in the likeness of the Czar in the Crimean year; that, however, was an exception and a very late one.

Connection with the Estate.

The steward of the estate, who has been in the office between 60 and 70 years, says that during the whole of that time to his knowledge ten shillings have always been given on the afternoon of Easter Monday to the men who bring the head in proof that the rites have been properly celebrated.

Some say that the head used to be always kept at the Hall.

The older people remember the tradition being current that a field was set apart for the keep of the horse that carried the Black Lad. Some of them say it was "Gallow's Field;" down near the River Tame, others that it was "Spring Pasture." Both fields were close to the Hall.

The Black Lad was always taken first to the Hall.

The water let out was from the marl-pit belonging to the estate.

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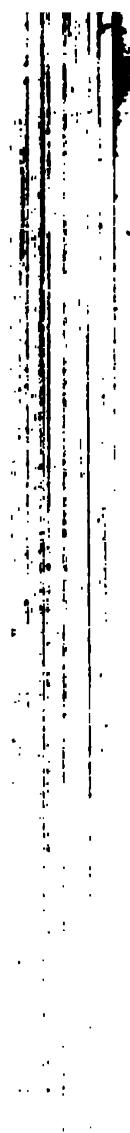

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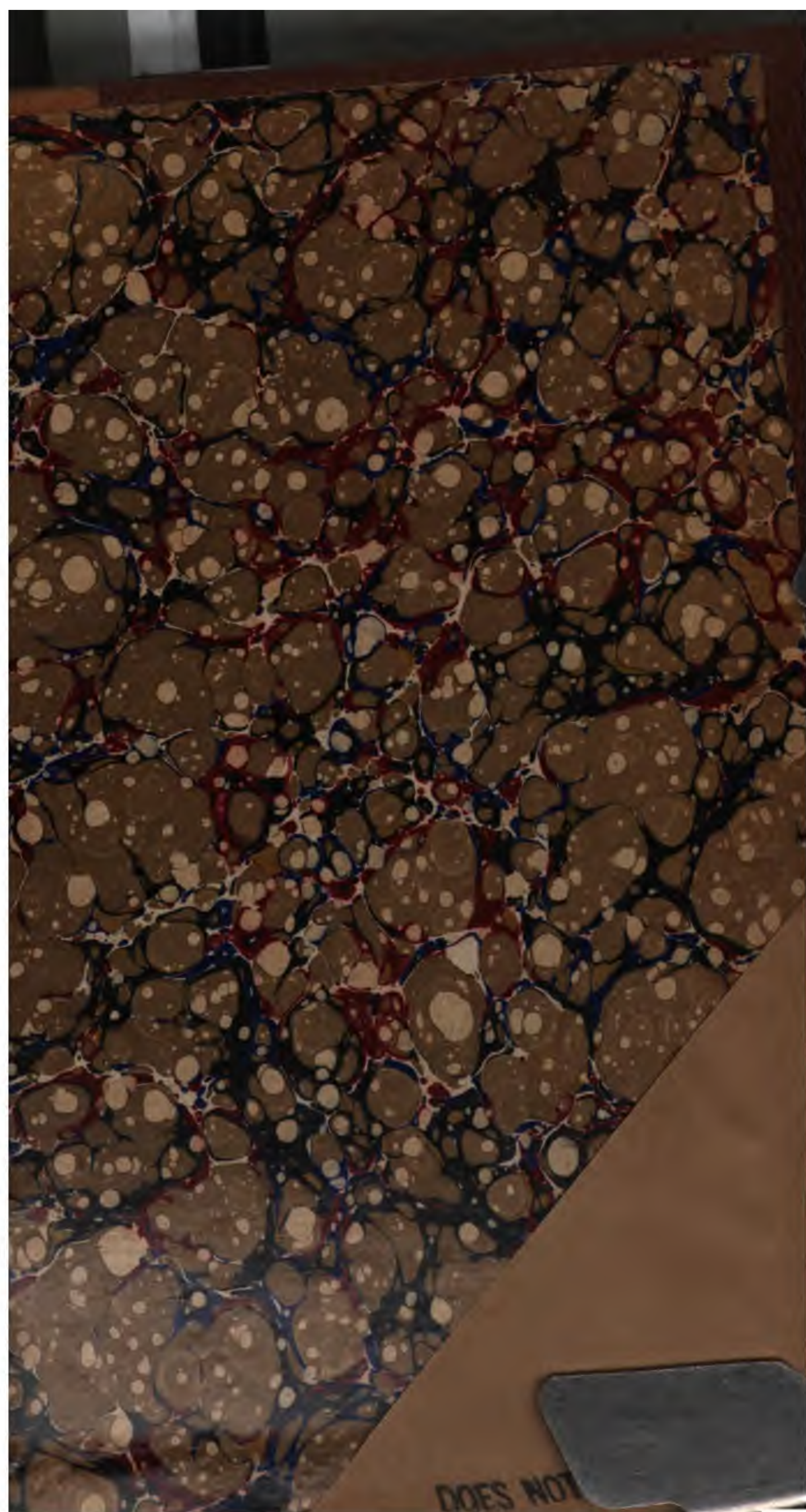
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