

FOLK-LORE

A QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF

MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

*And incorporating THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW and
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL*

VOL. XIV.—1903.



Alter et Idem

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Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XIV.]

MARCH, 1903.

[No. I.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12th, 1902.

Mr. A. Nutt (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The deaths of Col. J. Davis and Dr. J. H. Gladstone, and the resignations of Mr. Edwards, the Rev. E. W. Clarke, Mr. W. Hensman, and Mr. R. Greeven were announced.

The election of Mrs. M. E. Milroy, Mr. J. Kosminsky, Mr. J. E. Solomon, Dr. W. H. Furness, and Capt. A. J. O'Brien as members of the Society was also announced.

Mr. E. S. Hartland exhibited a votive offering, supposed to represent a tiger, from the Charyong Pass, Korea; and afterwards read a paper entitled, "The Voice of the Stone of Destiny, an Enquiry into the Choice of Kings by Augury" [p. 28].

In the discussion which followed, the Chairman and Dr. Gaster took part. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Hartland for his paper.

The Chairman referred in feeling terms to the death of the President's daughter, and on his motion it was unanimously agreed that the Secretary should write to the President expressing the sincere sympathy of the Society with him in his bereavement.

The following books and pamphlets, which had been presented to the Society since June, were laid on the table, viz.:

The American Antiquarian, vol. xxiv., No. 4, presented by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; *The Real Origin of Religion*, by Jabelon, presented by the Author; *Archivio della R. Societa Romana*, vol. xxv., parts 1 and 2, presented by the Society; *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. xv., presented by the Cymmrodorion Society; *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico* and *Physical Characteristics of the Indians of Southern Mexico*, presented by Professor Starr; *Report of the Connemara Public Library*, 1901, 1902, presented by the Government of Madras; and *Census of India Report*, 1901, vol. xvii. (*Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*), by H. A. Rose, presented by the Government of India.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10th, 1902.

Mr. G. Laurence Gomme (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The elections of the Meadville Theological School, Pennsylvania, and of Mr. G. M. Bishop as members of the Society, were announced.

The resignations of Mr. C. N. Nicholson, Mr. W. H. P. Gibson, Mrs. Fuller Maitland, and Mr. F. W. Bourdillon, and the withdrawal of the resignation of Mr. W. M. Hensman were also announced.

Mr. E. Lovett exhibited a fetish of the Achewa Tribe, Angoniland, in Central Africa [Plate I., fig. 1], and read an explanatory note thereon [p. 61 and Plate I.].

Mr. F. T. Elworthy read a paper entitled "The Solution of the Gorgon Myth"; and a discussion followed, in which

Dr. Gaster, Mr. Sloper, Mr. Lovett, Miss Burne, Mr. Tabor, Mr. Kirby, Mr. Ordish, and the Chairman took part. The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Elworthy for his paper.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28th, 1903.

THE 25TH ANNUAL MEETING.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. E. W. Brabrook) 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 1902 were duly presented, and upon the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Gaster, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers for the election of President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers having been distributed, Mr. Eagleston and Mr. Walhouse were nominated by the Chairman as Scrutineers for the Ballot.

The Chairman then delivered his Presidential Address, the subject being "The Origin and Development of the Faculty of Imagination" [p. 12]. At the conclusion of his address a hearty vote of thanks for his services in the chair during the past two years was accorded to him on the motion of Mr. Gomme, seconded by Mr. Nutt, and supported by Mr. Freer, Miss Eyre, and Dr. Haddon.

The result of the ballot was then announced by the Chairman, and the following ladies and gentlemen who had been nominated by the Council were declared to have been duly elected, viz. :—

As *President* : Professor York Powell.

As *Vice-Presidents* : The Hon. John Abercromby, Lord Avebury, Mr. Brabrook, Miss Burne, Mr. Clodd, Mr. Gomme,

Dr. Haddon, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Lang, Mr. Nutt, Professor Rhys, Professor Sayce, and Professor Tylor.

As Members of Council: Miss L. Broadwood, Mr. W. Crooke, Mr. Longworth Dames, Miss M. C. Ffennell, Mr. J. G. Frazer, Dr. Gaster, Miss Hull, Mr. E. im Thurn, Professor W. P. Ker, Mr. E. Lovett, Mr. R. R. Marett, Mr. J. L. Myres, Mr. S. E. Bouverie Pusey, Mr. T. Fairman Ordish, Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, Mr. C. G. Seligmann, Mr. Walter W. Skeat, Mr. C. J. Tabor, Mr. H. B. Wheatley, and Mr. A. R. Wright.

As Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Edward Clodd.

As Hon. Auditors: Mr. F. G. Green and Mr. N. W. Thomas.

As Secretary: Mr. F. A. Milne.

Upon the declaration of the result of the ballot Mr. Bra-brook vacated the chair, which was thereupon taken by Professor York Powell, who briefly returned thanks for his election as President.

On the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Tabor, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Chambers and Mr. Elworthy, the outgoing Members of Council, for their services.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF
THE COUNCIL.

28th JANUARY, 1903.

IN laying before the Society their twenty-fifth Annual Report, the Council are unable to chronicle any increase in membership. The number of members now on the roll is 391, as compared with 393 a year ago. As foreshadowed in the last Report, the calls upon the public purse have still further increased during the past year, and it is therefore perhaps a matter for congratulation that the shrinkage in the roll of members has been so insignificant. The Council cannot help feeling, however, that there must still be a large number of people interested in Folklore who have not yet so much as heard of the existence of the Society; and they would therefore very earnestly appeal to all members to make the aims and objects of the Society as widely known as possible, and to do their best to enlist recruits.

The only deaths which have been recorded are those of Colonel John Davis and Dr. J. H. Gladstone, F.R.S., both old and valued members of the Society. But the number of resignations has been rather larger than usual.

The following meetings were held in the course of the year 1902, at which papers were read before the Society, viz. :—

- Jan. 22.* The President's Address.
Feb. 26. "Notes on Harvest Customs." Mrs. Gomme, Mr. E. A. Binney,
and Mrs. Jewitt.
"The Letter of Toledo." Dr. Gaster.
March 26. "Some Stray Notes on Oxfordshire Folklore." Mr. P. Manning.
"Folklore Notes from St. Briavel's." Miss L. M. Eyre.
"Malay Spiritualism." Mr. W. W. Skeat.
April 23. "The Lifting of the Bride." Mr. W. Crooke.

- May 28.* "Balochi Folklore." Mr. M. Longworth Dames.
 "The Experience of a Collector of English Folklore." Mr. S. O. Addy.
- June 20.* "The Folklore of the Kennet Valley." Miss L. Salmon.
 "The Modern Commercial Aspect of an Ancient Superstition."
 Mr. E. Lovett.
- July 16.* "The Origin of Totemism." Mr. A. Lang.
- Nov. 12.* "The Voice of the Stone of Destiny: an Enquiry into the
 Choice of Kings by Augury." Mr. E. S. Hartland.
- Dec. 10.* "The Solution of the Gorgon Myth." Mr. F. T. Elworthy.

Mr. Skeat's paper on Malay Spiritualism was illustrated by some excellent lantern slides.

The following objects have been exhibited at the meetings, viz. :—

- (1) A charm against the Evil Eye from Syria. By Miss Burne.
- (2) "The gift," consisting of an apple supported on three sticks stuck into it underneath so as to form a tripod, with a sprig of box inserted at the top, the leaves being ornamented with nuts, from St. Briavel's Gloucestershire. By Miss L. M. Eyre.
- (3) A collection of recently made amulets and charms. Mr. E. Lovett.
- (4) A votive offering from the Charyong Pass, Korea. By Mr. E. S. Hartland.
- (5) A Fetish of the Achewa Tribe, Angoniland, Central Africa. By Mr. Lovett.

Mr. Lovett has very kindly presented a selection of the amulets and charms exhibited by him to the Society, and they will in due course be placed in the Society's case at the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

It is many years since there have been so few objects exhibited at the meetings of the Society. The Council take this opportunity of calling attention to the notice on the Programmes for the Session requesting that objects of interest illustrative of Folklore may be exhibited, and of urging all members and friends of the Society to make use of any opportunity they may have of contributing in this way to the interest of the meetings.

The attendance at the meetings has been irregular. This irregularity may have been due in some measure to the many counter-attractions in connection with the coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII.; but the Council cannot help

feeling that it would be not unreasonable to expect a larger attendance of London members at the ordinary meetings of the Society, and especially at the annual meeting in January.

Some thirty or forty books and pamphlets have been presented to the Society's library during the year, and these will in due course be added to the Society's collection at the Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square.

On the 25th October the Society paid a visit to Oxford. The programme for the day was arranged by Mr. R. R. Marett. It included a visit to the Pitt-Rivers Museum in the afternoon under the direction of Mr. H. Balfour ; and a meeting in the Hall of Exeter College, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by the Rector and Fellows in the evening, when a paper on "Exogamy and the Australian System" was read by Mr. Andrew Lang. The meeting was a thoroughly successful one, and the hall was full to overflowing. Among those present were the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the Rector of Exeter College and many other members of the University. In the unavoidable absence of the President owing to a family bereavement, the chair was taken by Professor Tylor ; and in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Hartland, Mr. Marett, and the Chairman took part. The heartiest thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Marett, who not only secured the use of the hall, but also made the meeting known throughout the University. In fact, without his assistance the Society's visit to Oxford would never have been accomplished.

The Council regret to announce that Mrs. Kate Lee, who so kindly undertook to act as the secretary of the Lecture Committee a year ago, has been obliged to resign the position owing to ill health. Her place has not yet been filled, and under these circumstances the work of the Committee is at a standstill. It is hoped, however, that some member of the Society may come forward and actively undertake the task of organising some courses of lectures in the suburbs during the winter months.

The Society has issued during the year the 13th volume of its new transactions, *Folklore*, and the Council desire once more to place on record the sense of their indebtedness to Miss Burne for the great assistance she has rendered the Society by editing the volume. This volume is smaller by four sheets than that for 1901, partly owing to the omission of the Bibliography, for which on the other hand it will probably be necessary to provide more space next year. The Council have again to thank Mr. A. R. Wright for the Index, but they have not received any gifts of plates during the year, and the illustrations have consequently been fewer. The pages of *Collectanea* continue to attract an increasing number of contributors, but it is to be regretted that more papers in the nature of theses or short studies are not submitted to the Society. It will be noticed that the majority of papers read at the meetings, which form the bulk of the contents of *Folklore*, have been collections, not studies. Important as is the record of carefully verified evidence, the work of discussion and consideration of evidence must go hand in hand with that of collection, in order to obtain satisfactory scientific results.

The Council have to report that no progress has been made with the work on the proposed Bibliography of Folklore during the past year. In fact the Bibliography Committee has not met owing to the difficulty in finding anyone to undertake the chairmanship. Under these circumstances the Council do not propose at present to reappoint the Committee. For the annual Bibliography a small sum has been placed at the disposal of the editor, and this Bibliography will appear in the March number of *Folklore*.

The Council have also to report that partly owing to Mr. G. F. Black's absence in the United States, and partly to the necessity for revising in his absence the MS. of his Orkney and Shetland collection of Folklore, the extra volume for 1901 has not yet been published. They trust, however, that the volume may ere long be in the hands of

members. The additional volume for 1902 will be Miss M. A. Owen's monograph on the Musquakie Indians, with a descriptive catalogue of the collection of Musquakie beadwork and other objects presented by her to the Society, and deposited for exhibition in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge. The additional volume for 1903 will be a collection of materials for the history of English Folk-Drama, edited by Mr. T. Fairman Ordish, and based to a large extent upon contributions by members of the Society.

Dr. Haddon, Mr. Brabrook, Mr. Hartland, Mr. J. L. Myres, and other members of the Society attended the meetings of the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Belfast.

The grant referred to in the report presented at the Annual Meeting in 1901 as having been made by the Council in aid of the scheme for providing lantern slides representing scenes and objects of scientific interest in co-operation with the Anthropological Institute, has not yet been drawn upon, and no meeting of the Joint Committee appointed to carry out the scheme has been held during the past year. The resignation of Mrs. Kate Lee leaves a vacancy on this Committee which it will be the duty of the Council to fill.

The Council submit herewith the annual accounts and balance sheet duly audited, and the balloting list for the Council and officers for the ensuing year.

By Order of the Council,

E. W. BRABROOK,

President.

January 7th, 1903.

Annual Report of the Council.

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.
To Balance carried forward from 1901	...	52	8	11	By Printing Account (Publications):—				
" Subscriptions, 1903 (8)	£8	8	0		Messrs. Nichols & Sons—				
" " 1902 (354) ...	371	14	0		<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xii. 4, and Vol. xiii. 1, 2,				
" " earlier years (30) ...	31	10	0		and 3				181
" Sale of Publications, per Messrs. Nutt:—				411	50 Copies Saxo Grammaticus (Messrs. Nutt) ...				7
Third and Fourth Quarters, 1901 ...	...	46	19	4	Miscellaneous Printing ...				15
	...	...	...		Engraving Blocks, &c., for Illustrations ...				0
	...	...	...		Postages, Despatch of Volumes, &c. (Messrs. Nutt), July, 1901-02 ...				36
	...	...	...		Advertising (Messrs. Nutt), July, 1901-02 ...				8
	...	...	...		Binding Account, 2 years (Messrs. Simpson & Co.)				6
	...	...	...		Hire of Meeting Room ...				4
	...	...	...		Expenses of Evening Meetings—				5
	...	...	...		Lantern and Operator (March)				2
	...	...	...		Shorthand writer (July)				4
	...	...	...		Advertising ...				0
	...	...	...		Refreshments ...				7
	...	...	...		Insurance of Stock, &c. ...				8
	...	...	...		Index of Archeological Papers (A. Constable & Co.) ...				0
	...	...	...		Subscription to Congress of Archeological Societies				4
	...	...	...		Secretary's Salary and Poundage				6
	...	...	...		Petty Cash Expenses, Editorial... £0 11 2				0
	...	...	...		ditto (Secretary) ...				0
	...	...	...		ditto Bank and other Discounts				0
	...	...	...		Balance in Bank on Current Account ...				0
	...	...	...						10
	...	...	...						10
	...	...	...						4
	...	...	...						4
	...	...	...						0
	...	...	...						3

Examined and found correct January 6th, 1903.
 N. W. THOMAS, }
 F. G. GREEN, } Auditors.

EDWARD CLODD, Treasurer.

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER, 1902.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
Printing of Publications :—				Subscriptions for 1902 and earlier years			
<i>Folk-Lore</i> , Vol. xiii., Part 4 (say) ...	...	40	0	outstanding ...	...	26	5
<i>County Folk-Lore</i> , Orkney and Shetland (say) ...	...	80	0	Less Subscriptions paid in advance ...	...	8	8
<i>The Musquakie Indians</i> , Miss Owen (say) ...	...	40	0				
Messrs. Nutt (wrapping and despatch of volumes) ...	...	15	0	Messrs. Nutt (Sale of Publications) ...	...	...	(say) 17
Secretary's Poundage ...	...	22	7	Balance in Bank ...	...	...	0
				The stock in hand, consisting of upwards of 2,000			55
				volumes, is estimated to considerably more than			96
				exceed the difference of ...	...	...	19
							4
							27
							10
							8
							£197
							7
							0

Examined and found correct January 6th, 1903.
 N. W. THOMAS, }
 F. G. GREEN, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD CLODD, *Treasurer.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

1. IN addressing the Folk-Lore Society for the last time as its President, I ask leave to offer some observations as to the light thrown by the study of folklore on the origin and development of the faculty of imagination in mankind.

2. In the first place, I propose to submit the question from the point of view of anthropology. The earliest peoples of whom we have any knowledge, are those of the Palæolithic period, and there is little or no evidence to show that they exercised the faculty of imagination at all. They possessed remarkable executive skill in art; they formed small implements of flint with which they scratched upon objects of bone or other material portraits of mammoth, horse, deer, wild goat, and of man. These implements were fashioned with great delicacy, and were well adapted to their purpose. The Palæolithic peoples also drew on the walls of the caverns they occupied other similar pictures on a larger scale; but these show the skill only of the faithful copyist. It may be that in other ways they gave play to their fancy. Dr. Haddon, indeed, thinks there is some trace of original design in their drawings; but if we may venture to conjecture from what we know of the habits of life of the primæval savage, so little raised above mere animal existence, we should be disposed to conclude that they exercised their imagination very little, if at all. Antiquity appears to have begun long after their primæval race was run.

3. When, however, we bridge over the wide gulf that (in this part of the world at least) yawns between them and the neolithic peoples, the case is greatly altered. In this later Stone Age, we find, associated with human skeletons, stone weapons and other objects, carefully polished and

worked into elegant forms. We find also the practice of trepanning the skull in operation on the living and on the dead. What is implied in these? Surely, that man's imagination has been active. He has worked out the idea that his existence continues after death, and that things useful to him in this life will be wanted by him, and will prove equally useful to him, in that other condition of continued existence. Again, if Broca is correct in his view of the purposes of trepanning—that, as used upon the living, it was for the relief of the patient from epilepsy, and as used upon the dead, it provided amulets and charms against various diseases—we have at the foundation of this, the idea that disease of the brain is the work of a foreign and invisible spirit, who has to be let out of his hiding place; and that diseases generally are the work of spirits, who are to be diverted from their purpose by means of amulets or charms. These conclusions can only have been arrived at by neolithic man through the unrestrained exercise of his faculty of imagination. One cannot but marvel at the liveliness and activity of mind displayed at so early a stage.

4. Passing on to the next period, the Bronze Age, into which, as Professor Montelius has shown, the Neolithic Age almost imperceptibly glides, we find, in connection with interments, drinking vessels, objects of personal adornment, bronze plates that may have served as armour. Evidence of this is given in detail in General Pitt-Rivers' work on his excavations of burial-places at Rushmore and in Cranborne Chase. The drinking vessel indicates a further effort of the imagination. The deceased required food in his altered condition. Some objects in these interments are burnt, as if to prepare them for his use. There are even traces of the custom of immolating wives, children, or slaves to be companions of the deceased in his other state. Whatever we may think of the morality of such a practice, we must at least admit that it could not have

been adopted by any people until they had worked out a theory of the future state which could in no way have been based upon evidence, and therefore must be the result of pure imagination. That imagination must have been powerful indeed which led willing victims to submit to be slaughtered for such a purpose. The custom could hardly have been maintained without the establishment of a class of men professionally bound to urge it upon the people, and to stimulate their imagination with the promise of future joy in reward for the present sacrifice. By this means imagination was developed into belief.

5. An example of this is afforded by what Herodotus tells of the Thracians who dwelt above the Crestonæans. 'Each man has several wives. When he dies, a great contest arises among the wives, and violent disputes among their friends, on this point—which of them was most loved by the husband. She who is adjudged to have been so, and is so honoured, having been extolled by both men and women, is slain on the tomb by her own nearest relative, and when slain is buried with her husband. The others deem this a great misfortune, for it is the utmost disgrace to them.' (*Terpsichore*, 5 ed. Cary, and see Valerius Maximus, ii. 6.)

6. The other form of this practice, the immolation of slaves, is illustrated by an extract from the Book of Ballymote, a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy (fol. 145*bb*), which is translated as follows by Professor Sullivan in his introduction to O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (vol. i., p. cccxx): "Fiachra then brought 50 hostages with him from Munster . . . and he went forth then on his way to Temar. When . . . he reached Forud . . . in Meath, Fiachra died of his wounds there. His Leacht was made, and his Fert was raised, and his Cluiche Caintechn was ignited, and his Ogam name was written, and the fifty hostages which he brought from the South were buried alive around the Fert

of Fiachra, that it might be a reproach to the Momonians for ever, and it might be a trophy over them." Upon this Sullivan observes that putting them to death in the way here described, and burying them around Fiachra, as they would have sat in fetters along the wall of his banqueting hall, consecrated them, as it were, to perpetual hostageship even among the dead.

7. In the Iron Age, the same process of imagination continued to operate. The cemetery of Nordrup, in Zealand, belonging to the earlier Iron Age, yielded (as described by Mr. Henry Petersen in *Nordiske Fortidsminder*), in connection with the burial of a female, a vase of fluted bronze, a bronze saucepan with a strainer, two goblets of coloured glass, and a beautiful chest-ornament of silver with plates of silver gilt, a silver brooch, an amber bead, twenty-five beads of coloured glass, a small bronze pendant, a box of ointment attached to a little chain, a bone comb, and other objects by which the lady might make herself as splendid in her future state as she had been accustomed to be in her former life. Not far off, in the grave of a man, were a silver brooch, a gold finger-ring, a clay vase, the useful saucepan and strainer, a glass goblet ornamented with excellently designed, painted, and vitrified figures of animals, another adorned with perfectly drawn figures of a bull, a bear, a man, a lion, and a stag, a bronze bucket, the bronze ornaments of a wooden box, and forty-one draughtsmen, eighteen of red glass, and twenty-three of variegated glass; so that he was provided not only with ornaments and food utensils, but also with means of amusement if he could find any one to play with him. Possibly he may have been also provided with a companion for that purpose.

8. In these prehistoric times, another idea attached itself to this imagination of a continued existence. It was that this existence ought to be kept within bounds, and that the dead might make themselves very disagreeable to the survivors if they came up again and mixed with them.

Why it should be thought that piling great stones over them would be an effectual way of keeping them under ground is not clear; but that is the flight of imagination to which we owe cairns and megalithic monuments, the pyramids of Egypt, and the very mausoleum itself, and which is represented to us in our own day by the strange fine art of the cemetery mason.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones,
The labour of an age in piled stones;
Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
Under a star y-pointing pyramid?

Milton's answer indicates another association of the monument than that which gave it its origin:

Thou our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving:
And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

9. In the second place, I propose to submit the question from the point of view of history. To suggest that that is a point from which even prehistoric times may be viewed is not such a contradiction in terms as it would seem at first sight to be; for by the use of the convenient method of analogy, we may guess from the records relating to the lower races of mankind at the present time what the primitive races were likely to have been. I need not repeat what I said last year as to the aborigines of Australia; that if they had dim surmises as to a Supreme Being, they also indulged in fancies as to their own origin and future condition, as to their relations with other animals, and with the spirits which they imagined to lurk in thickets and rivers and rocks, and as to the consequences that would follow any breach of their social contract. It is not a violent assumption that early races of man had some such dim fancies as these, though we should not be safe in attributing all even of these to the primitive aboriginal imagination.

10. I may, however, add to what I then said the testimony

of that most competent observer, Dr. Walter E. Roth, as to the aborigines of North-West-Central Queensland. They have imagined "a time when all the birds and quadrupeds were blackfellows," and they use that phrase for an expression of the most remote time that they can conceive of. Upon this foundation they have built fables, tales, and legends, to account for the colour and appearance of certain animals, to whom they attribute speech and cunning. They also believe in the power of a bone apparatus in the hands of a doctor or medicine man to produce sickness and death in the person against whom it is directed; and they stimulate their imagination by an elaborate system of sign language.

11. They practised cannibalism. Now my friend Mr. Morley Roberts has suggested that if we were rightly to regard the true function of cannibalism we should not feel the necessity for supposing that a very long period was needed to create the present large brain of man; and he holds that cannibalism is a factor in evolution, by which those who show the greatest capacity for combined action are the fittest to survive; that it leads to war, which brings forth the qualities that make man man; that if it is now dying out, it is because it has done its work, and that probably all flesh-eating of any kind whatever will have the same fate. I am afraid that I cannot altogether agree with him, though the arguments by which he supports his views are wonderfully ingenious. I think that cannibalism is in general only to be accounted for by the exercise of imagination, as tribes would not adopt a custom so opposed to natural instinct if they did not persuade themselves that the result would be their acquiring the good qualities of the defunct.

12. This is illustrated by a poem written in French in 1847 by M. Chev e, a naval officer, and stated by him to have been founded on an occurrence within his own experience in the Marquesas Islands. I will not attempt

to render it into English verse, but the following is a literal translation of an extract from it in English prose. "My *tayo* (or friend) was a tall man, of lofty and proud bearing; in his glancing eye there glowed a warlike fire; his exploits, his martial boldness, were the boast of his tribe, and the tribes around spoke of them with trembling. He was a chief of high lineage, cousin and favourite of the king of the tribe, who was an impotent old rascal, a sinister man-eater, foundered with leprosy, brandy, and murder. . . . I had occasion to go to a neighbouring island to succour a shipwrecked vessel; on my return to the bay at the end of a week I sought my *tayo*; the king had eaten him! The high priest had said to the king, If old age and ill-health have bowed thy noble head, feed thyself on a warrior; his vigour, his suppleness, and his valiant soul will pass into thy body; and so, to incorporate in himself youth and strength, to refresh his thin blood by a thickened lymph, the king had eaten him on a large plate of bark, well peppered to his taste, and stuffed with potatoes." Thus the highest compliment you can pay a conquered enemy is to eat him. As the subject is not an agreeable one I shall not pursue it further, but shall merely refer to the evidence as to the practice of cannibalism in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages collected by various members of the International Congress of Prehistoric Anthropology and Archæology, and recorded in the report of their meeting at Paris in 1867.

13. Among primitive peoples, representing the Stone Age, the Eskimo of North America, who call themselves Innuits, or "the men" par excellence, may surely be reckoned. Evidence of the exercise by these people of the several flights of imagination that we have attributed to the neolithic stone workers is given in the reports of Dr. Franz Boas and Mr. Hill-Tout to the British Association, and of Mr. Lucien Turner and Mr. Nelson to the Bureau of American Ethnology. The Eskimo about Bering

Strait hold annual festivals for the purpose of making offerings of food, water, and clothing to the shades of those recently deceased. The great feast to the dead, held once every ten years, occupies five days, and is attended by persons from surrounding villages for a distance of nearly 200 miles. These people imagine that the shades of the dead linger in the vicinity of their life-scenes, and will do harm to the survivors if precaution be not taken. They conjecture also that the same attributes are possessed by the shades of animals, which in their fancy are half human. Upon these conjectures and fancies they have built up a mythology and practice that give ample play to the imagination.

14. A very similar custom to the festival of the dead among the Eskimo is observed by the inhabitants of the far-distant island of Car Nicobar, in the tropics, and is described by Mr. V. Solomon in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. We have here therefore an instance of the wholly independent working of the human imagination in the same direction among peoples who can never have come into contact. Another of their feasts is described as "feeding human shadows." The excuse for another is to feed and propitiate the devils from the jungle. The Car Nicobarese appear indeed to be engaged in continual festivity, and to have to draw upon their imagination for pretexts. They have ceremonies for expelling the devils from people who are ill, and for catching devils and throwing them into the sea. Their theory of their own origin is that they are descended from the union of a dog and a human being; but they are divided into two sects, one holding the dog to have been the father, the other that it was the mother. The result is more happy than usual with such dissensions, for both agree that they ought to treat their dogs kindly and never beat them. They quiet them by simply saying "hoos, hoos!"

15. It will not be necessary to seek further evidence from

the lower races of mankind to show that the faculty of imagination is in lively exercise among them, and goes far to account for many of their practices. There is one race, very low down in the scale, the Bushmen of South Africa, which has in common with the palæolithic peoples the imitative artistic faculty highly developed. The late Sir Bartle Frere said that their arts of music and painting are far superior to the rudimentary efforts of which traces are to be found in most savage tribes. Indeed, their very stone implements are of the palæolithic type, but there is some evidence that even they possess the idea of continued existence after death. In other respects one would be disposed to look upon them as the race of all existing races most nearly approaching what man may have been in palæolithic times.

16. Where a custom or system is found in operation in many widely-separated parts of the world, it may be safely assumed that it is a custom of great antiquity. Whether it is supposed to have arisen from communication between the several races, or whether it is an instance of the uniform working of the human mind under the like circumstances, either supposition requires a long space of years—many centuries of years—to produce the effect. This observation applies to the custom or system of totemism, of which we have heard so much lately, especially in the learned address of Dr. Haddon to Section H at Belfast, the equally brilliant address of Mr. Lang to this Society, and the informing discussion that took place in this room last July. I am no more disposed now than I was then to come down into the arena where that contest of intellectual giants was fought; my concern is with the relation of totemism to the imaginative faculty, not with its origin; but I think I may venture to say this much, that when I look at the varied applications to which that system, in one or other of its forms, has lent itself, I can conceive the possibility that it has arisen from as many varied sources of origin.

17. Among the North American Indians it is a system of heraldry. A pictorial roster of the heads of families forming the following of Chief Big-Road is given by Colonel Garrick Mallery, in the fourth report of the Bureau of Ethnology, in which the object which answers to the name of each individual is depicted above his head and attached to it by a line in the same manner as a crest surmounts a helmet in an achievement of arms. Little Eagle, Spotted Elk, Pretty Weasel, Prairie Chicken, are some of these. Red Cloud, a Dakota chief, made a census of his band on the same principle, which is also reproduced in that report, though in this the crests are sometimes represented without the heads belonging to them. Mad-hearted Bull, Medicine Horse, Black Bear, Red Star, are among these tokens of honour. These are the personal distinctions of a totemic character, by which the individuals and their families were known, the totems applying to larger groups being sometimes tattooed upon the bodies of persons belonging to them.

18. Another use of the totem is as architectural decoration, as may be seen by the elaborate totem-posts to be found in many of our museums. These no doubt served other purposes, but for that of mere adornment they are quite effective.

19. A third use of the system of totemism by many peoples is in the enforcement of tabu. The animal or bird which is your totem is not to be killed or injured or eaten by you. In this point of view it may form part of an economic system for regulating the use of food, such as Dr. Roth suggests the complicated system of class-marriage in Australia was intended to be.

20. Finally, the totem is itself a method of regulating marriage, inasmuch as among some peoples you must not marry a person bearing the same totem. From all these points of view, and I daresay there are many others, I leave those who care to do so to seek for the origins of the

system. Totemism is heraldry, architecture, economics, sociology. I have only to point out that it all rests upon this bold stroke of imagination :—that there is between an animal or even an inanimate object and man a mysterious relation by which man can profit if he cares to do so.

21. Upon historic considerations, therefore, we have as yet met with nothing to disturb the inferences we drew from anthropological considerations. May I now, in the third place, turn to the literary aspect of the question? Folklore takes the literary form so long after the appearance of the material upon which it is founded that we are at some disadvantage; but at any rate we are safe in assuming that the more widely apart the peoples are among whom a folktale is spread, the more certainly it is ancient, for the same reasons as those we alleged in regard to customs. The collection of variants of Cinderella made by Miss Roalfe Cox and drawn from all four quarters of the globe is a case in point; and the masterly introduction to that work shows that we are justified in believing that that group of stories dates back to remote antiquity. One of the motives on which it turns is known as the Helpful Animal, many instances of which have been collected by Mr. Hartland in the *Legend of Perseus*, and this is precisely the same stroke of imagination to which we have referred as bearing on totemism: that man is no stranger to the rest of the creation, but has relations with them by which they can be of service to him. The variants of no other folktale have been worked out in the same manner, but in some tales the leading motive is the imagination of a continued existence after death, and there is no reason for questioning that many of these may be ancient. Take for example a few of the types described in the *Handbook of Folklore*, the Juniper-Tree type, the Snow-White type, and the Thankful Dead type, and possibly some others.

22. Thus the three strands of folklore, anthropological, historical, literary, may be twined together to form a cord

that is strong enough to bear up the theory I present to you : that the human race passed through a period of infancy, when its imaginative faculties were dormant ; that in the childhood of the race those faculties had a surprising development, and man imagined grander generalisations than any that have ever since been supposed by him ; and that as the race grows to manhood, its imagination becomes weaker, for it is more controlled by reason. We have here a complete analogy between the history of the race at large and that of every individual. After the infancy of unconsciousness is over, every man enters upon a childhood full of bright fancies.

He beholds the light and whence it flows,
He sees it in his joy ;
The youth, who daily further from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended ;
At length the man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day.

23. You will observe that I have not mentioned the scientific imagination, and may think that I have used it too freely to do so with discretion. Nor have I made any but a passing allusion to belief in a Creator, and that for three reasons—first, there are no trustworthy means of fixing a time for its origin ; second, it is rather an act of reason than of imagination, for the existence of the Deity is part of what used, when I was young, to be called Natural Theology, and as an excellent writer to whom I have already twice referred most admirably puts it, a man who himself makes things may well reason that such things as he could not make must also have had a maker ; third, and this springs from the second, our ideas of the Supreme Being are necessarily and essentially anthropomorphic, lacking the saving grace of imagination. Even Christian art can find no better image of the Creator than the seated figure of an old man. In this we are no better than our fathers ; and a

negative answer has still to be given to the question put by Zophar the Naamathite: "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?"

24. I will now, with your permission, inquire what light has been thrown upon the views I have attempted to lay before you by the many excellent papers that have been contributed to our Society's transactions during the past year. The valuable paper by Mr. Croke on "The Lifting of the Bride," which I regret to say I was prevented from hearing, but which appeared in the September part of *Folklore*, falls in well with them. He drew the conclusion that the customs to which he referred are of two classes. What may be called the Petting Stone group of rites were probably fertility charms, as may also be those connected with the threshold, which may, however, be protectives against various forms of evil influences that beset the bride at the beginning of married life. The spring and autumn lifting rites fell, he thought, within the Saturnalia class. All three, he observed, seem to be worn-down survivals of customs which, when viewed in the light of similar usages among people whom we are pleased to call savages, lead us back to a series of conceptions dating from the very infancy of humanity. As I think the expression infancy as used by Mr. Croke corresponds with the expression childhood as I have been using it, his conclusion is that the act of imagination upon which these customs are based dates back to that period, and that subsequent ages have maintained the customs while gradually forgetting the imaginative conceptions that lie at the root of them.

25. The same observation applies to nearly all survivals of early customs, as for instance the customs of harvest time, upon which we received several communications, and those recorded in the papers relating to local folklore in various parts of the world which have been obligingly laid before us. Mr. Skeat, indeed, observed, in his paper on

“Malay Spiritualism,” that there is far less of importance still remaining to be learned by those who are interested in studying the evolutionary growth and development of the human mind from the scriptures of the great religions of the world, than from the products of that more untutored imagination from which the primitive peoples have derived their incantations and their customs; and a similar observation is made by Mr. Frazer in the preface to the *Golden Bough*.

26. Perhaps, however, the paper that affords indirectly the strongest support to my views is the very learned dissertation of Dr. Gaster on “The Letter of Toledo.” We find from this that in the year 1184 the faculty of imagination had become so dormant that it had to be stimulated by a letter from the sages and astrologers of Toledo pre-saging the destruction of the world in two years’ time by wind and storm, drought and famine, pestilence and earthquake. Nothing could more strongly indicate the decadence of that power of imagination which had led the neolithic peoples to their sublime generalisations.

27. I have obtained similar indirect confirmation from personal inquiry. The other day at the Authors’ Club, I asked a brother member who is a well-known and popular novelist, “Whether the wonderful imaginative books with which he had charmed us were not less brilliant than those he would have produced if his powers of expression and composition in childhood had been equal to the powers of imagination which he then possessed?” (We are allowed to take such freedoms one with another, in that pleasant place of resort.) “No, no!” he said, “I do not agree with you at all. Wordsworth’s trailing clouds of glory are all nonsense. The fancies of children are the fancies of savages. My novels owe the success they have had to long training and culture of a disciplined imagination.” While I accepted his contradiction of the view I had suggested, I inwardly thanked him for his support to the

theory on which it is based. It is quite sufficient for my purpose to know that the spontaneous and untrained imagination is the appanage of the savage and of the child, while the civilised novelist of mature years has to submit to long labour, study, and discipline to produce the results with which he delights us.

28. Miss Bulley's valuable paper read at Belfast, and about to be read before this Society at an early meeting, which contains a study of the psychology of primitive man, denies him some faculties, but leaves open the question which I have attempted to put to you of his imaginative powers. While we shall probably agree with her as to the imperfection of his reasoning faculty, we may fairly claim for him an active and creative fancy.

29. Another paper, which has not yet been read, but which we have accepted with especial gratitude, is the description of the Musquakie Indians by Miss Owen, in illustration of her munificent gift to us of her collection of Beadwork.

30. That collection is not yet suitably displayed at Cambridge, but I must express my acknowledgments to Baron Anatole von Hugel for the admirable manner in which he has arranged our Starr collection of objects from Mexico.

31. Finally, I must offer to the officers of the Society—the Treasurer, the Editor, and the Secretary—as well as to the Council, and the members at large, my earnest thanks for their kind support and their indulgence to my many shortcomings during my two years of office. I am gratified to think that you are about to appoint as my successor so distinguished an authority on the subject of Folklore as Professor York Powell, to whom I may apply his own words, written with reference to the Swedish scholar, Rydberg, that he has commented upon Saxo with brilliancy, with minute consideration, and with success. Indeed, I may also sum up all I have been trying to say in the apt language of Professor York Powell himself, taken

from the introduction he wrote for us to Mr. Oliver Elton's translation of Saxo Grammaticus: "Man makes his gods in his own image. . . . Man is a finite animal; he has a limited number of types of legend; these legends, as long as they live and exist, are excessively prehensile; like the opossum, they can swing from tree to tree without falling; as one tree dies out of memory they pass on to another. When they are scared away by what is called exact intelligence from the tall forest of great personalities, they continue to live humbly clinging to such bare sticks and poles as enable them to find a precarious perch."

32. May we not then conclude that all the good stories were told, and all the good jokes made, while the world was very young?

E. W. BRABROOK.

THE VOICE OF THE STONE OF DESTINY :
AN ENQUIRY INTO THE CHOICE OF KINGS BY AUGURY.

BY E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A.

(*Read at the Meeting of 12th November, 1902.*)

THE famous Coronation Stone has an authentic history of six hundred years. At the time of the conquest of Scotland by Edward I., it was the stone on which the kings of the Scots were, according to immemorial custom, installed. Regarded by the Scots as sacred, it was therefore removed by Edward's order from Scone, where it stood, to Westminster, and was inclosed in what is now, and has been ever since, the Coronation Chair. Its earlier history, as distinguished from conjecture and legend, goes no farther back than the middle of the thirteenth century, or something less than half a century before its removal to Westminster, when it is recorded by Fordun that Alexander III. was solemnly placed upon it and hallowed to king by the Bishop of St. Andrews (1249). But what is wanting in authentic history has been abundantly made up in legend. The tale, of which there are two versions, is the creation of a literary age. The Irish version brings it, with the Tuatha Dé Danann, from Lochlann, or Scandinavia, to Ireland. The Scottish version traces it on the other hand from Egypt, whence it was carried by the Milesians. This was improved upon, to the extent of identifying the stone with that used by Jacob as a pillow on his journey from Beersheba to Haran. The attempt was thus made, by connecting the ruling race in Scotland with the legends of the Hebrew patriarchs, to confer upon the stone the united sanctity of religion, of antiquity, and of patriotism.

In the course of its wanderings the stone is said to have reached Tara : and it is declared to be the famous *Lia Fáil*,

or Stone of Destiny, one of the two wonders of Tara celebrated in Irish sagas. We are indebted to the *Book of Lismore*, a fifteenth-century manuscript, for an enumeration of the wonderful properties of the *Lia Fáil*. The Colloquy with the Ancients, which is comprised in this precious manuscript, records a number of Irish traditions, some of which would else in all probability have perished beyond recovery. There we learn—the account is put into the mouth of no less a personage than Ossian himself—that “Any one of all Ireland on whom an *ex parte* imputation rested was set upon that stone: then if the truth were in him he would turn pink and white; but if otherwise, it was a black spot that in some conspicuous place would appear on him. Farther, when Ireland’s monarch stepped on to it the stone would cry out under him, and her three arch-waves would boom in answer: as the wave of Cleena, the wave of Ballintoy, and the wave of Loch Rury; when a provincial king went on to it the flag would rumble under him; when a barren woman trod on it, it was a dew of dusky blood that broke out on it; when one that would bear children tried it, it was a ‘nursing drop’”—that is, says Mr. Standish O’Grady, from whose translation I quote, semblance of milk—“that it sweated.”¹ The Colloquy is imperfect, the legible portion of the manuscript ceasing a line or two further on, just as we are about to be told how it was that the stone left Ireland.² Its subsequent adventures are related by Keating, who says that it was sent to Feargus the Great, “to sit upon, for the purpose of being proclaimed king of Scotland.” However, it is not to the adventures of the stone, but to its properties that I wish now to direct attention. With regard to the former, all that I need add is that the legend has been subjected by

¹ Standish H. O’Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (two vols., London, 1892), vol. ii., p. 264.

² There are other manuscripts of the Colloquy, but none of them contain the sequel of the adventures of the *Lia Fáil*. See the preface to Stoke’s Edition, *Irische Texte*, 4th ser. (Leipzig, 1900).

Skene, and more recently by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly, to an exhaustive analysis, which renders it clear that there is no trustworthy evidence that the stone of Tara is the Coronation Stone. The antecedent improbability is great; and even if it were indisputable that the stone in question was no longer at Tara in the eleventh century, the chasm between that period and Fergus, whose very existence only rests on legend, would still have to be bridged, and the variants of the story would need to be reconciled.¹

The properties of the stone of Tara were oracular; and the stone itself was one of a large class of stones endowed in popular opinion with divining powers, and actually resorted to for the purpose of inquiry. When the reputation of an oracle is once established, it is consulted for many purposes. Not only political, but juridical and domestic purposes are enumerated by the author of the Colloquy in regard to the *Lia Fáil*. Among these functions is the recognition of the monarch. The phrase used in the Colloquy is ambiguous. It is not stated why, or on what occasion, the stone was expected to make its voice heard. In practice the only object of obtaining such a recognition would be that of determining the succession to the throne. Keating supplies the missing explanation. "It was a stone," he says, "on which were enchantments, for it used to roar under the person who had the best right to obtain the sovereignty of Ireland at the time of the men of Ireland being in assembly at Tara to choose a king over them."²

¹ Skene's paper is in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. viii., p. 68; Mr. O'Reilly's in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxii., p. 77. The stone now called the *Lia Fáil* at Tara is clearly not the stone of tradition.

² Keating, *The History of Ireland* (edited and translated by David Comyn, London, 1902), vol. i., p. 101. See also pp. 207, 209. On the latter page "a poem from a certain book of invasion" is quoted at length. It contains an enumeration of the four jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danann, among them the *Lia Fáil*, "which used to roar under the king of Ireland." In the *Baile au Scail* (The Champion's Ecstasy) Conna of the Hundred Fights steps on the stone accidentally, and is told by the druid who accompanies him, "Fál has

Whether as a matter of fact the stone ever was consulted with this object is another question. It is enough at present to know that Irish tradition asserted this use of the oracle. In a semi-civilised community a disputed succession is of frequent occurrence. To prevent a dispute, and to settle it when it arises, various means are adopted. The usual Irish plan seems to have been the custom of Tanistry. "During the lifetime of a chief," Sullivan tells us, "his successor was elected under the name of *Tanaiste*; and on the death of the former the latter succeeded him. The *Tanaiste* was not necessarily the son of the chief: he might be his brother or nephew; but he should belong to his *Fine*," or family.¹

That this mode of election was not always successful we may easily believe. That it was the gradual outcome of the experience of a long series of generations is probable. Where for one cause or another it failed, how would the succession be determined? The most obvious means would be either conflict or divination. According to the legends, divination was sometimes actually used to determine the appointment of king. On one occasion in the days of Conchobar, the famous King of Ulster, the monarchy of Ireland had been vacant for seven years. This state of things being found intolerable, a general assembly was held at Tara to choose a king. The royal houses of Connaught, South Munster, North Munster, and Leinster were there, but the Ulstermen were absent; for there was bitter feud between Ulster and the rest of Ireland, and they would

screamed under thy feet. The number of its screams is the number of kings that shall come of thy seed for ever; but I may not name them." In this passage the stone is said to have come from the Island of Foal to abide for ever in the land of Tailtin. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, vol. i. (1895), p. 187, summarising O'Curry's translation.

¹ O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (three vols., London, 1873), vol. i. (Sullivan's Introduction), p. clxxxiii. Spencer, *View of the State of Ireland*, says that the Tanist is "the eldest of the kinne." *Ancient Irish Histories* (Dublin, Hibernia Press, 1809), vol. i., p. 12.

not hold kingly counsel together. The mode of election adopted was divination by means of a dream induced by certain ceremonies. The ceremonies began with a bull-feast. A bull was killed, and a man was gorged with its flesh and broth. We are told "he slept under that meal." It is not incredible. Then "a true oration," which I understand to mean an incantation, was pronounced over him by four Druids. He dreamed, and screamed out of his sleep, and related to the assembled kings that he had seen in his dream "a soft youth, noble, and powerfully made, with two red stripes on his skin around his body, and he standing at the pillow of a man who was lying in a decline at Emain Macha," the royal palace of Ulster. Messengers were accordingly sent thither, and the description was found to correspond with that of Lugaidh Reo-derg, the pupil of Cuchulainn, who was then lying ill. Lugaidh was brought to Tara, recognised as the subject of the vision, and proclaimed as monarch of Ireland.¹

This is not the only instance in Irish legend of election to the throne by *incubatio*, or divination by means of a dream. Conaire, whose tale is filled with incidents explicable only by the comparative studies of ethnologists, was thus elected. Though really begotten by a supernatural bird-man, he was regarded as the son of his predecessor, Eterscéle. But this does not seem to have given him any title to succeed. A bull-feast was accordingly given; and the bull-feaster in his sleep at the end of the night beheld a man stark-naked, passing along the road of Tara with a stone in his sling. Warned and counselled by his bird-relatives, Conaire fulfilled these requirements. He found three kings (doubtless of the under-kings of Ireland) awaiting him, with royal raiment to clothe his nakedness, and a chariot to convey him to Tara. It was a disappoint-

¹ O'Curry, vol. ii., p. 199. From a reference in an Irish text translated by Professor Windisch from the *Lebor na hUidre*, it seems that the bull was required to be white. *Irische Texte*, ser. i., p. 200.

ment to the folk of Tara to find that their bull-feast and their spell of truth chanted over the feaster had resulted in the selection of a beardless lad. But he convinced them that he was the true successor, and was admitted to the kingship.¹

A traditional story is not a record of fact. It is a record only of what is believed. Probably both Lugaidh Reo-derg and Conaire are mythical personages, but their stories certainly embody what was thought to be possible. The description of the election by divination is substantially the same in both. It may therefore be taken, if not as approximately correct, at least as showing that election by divination was regarded among the ancient Irish as in the last resort a reasonable and proper manner of ascertaining and appointing a king. In this the Irish were by no means singular. The traditions of other nations point to the same result, and the customs in various parts of the world confirm it. The incident of election by divination is so picturesque and so suitable for the purposes of a storyteller that it is to be expected far more often in a tale than in real life. But that the story-incident is based on actual practice, I think there is sufficient ground for believing.

We will first shortly review a few stories of election by divination. The Saxons of Transylvania tell of a peasant who had three sons, of whom the youngest was despised by the others because he was weak and small while they were tall and strong. In that kingdom God himself chose the king from time to time. The mode of ascertaining the divine will was to call a general assembly of the people on the king's meadow in the largest commune of the country, and there to lay the crown at a certain hour on a hillock or mound. All the bells in the town pealed forth together; and the crown slowly raised itself in the air, floated round over the heads of the assembly, and finally alighted on that of the destined

¹ *Revue Celtique*, vol. xxii., p. 22, in the story of the Sack of *Dá Derga's Hostel*, translated by Whitley Stokes

sovereign. The two elder brothers made ready to attend the ceremony, but bade the youngest remain at home in the ashes, where his place was. However, he slipped out after them, and, for fear they would see him, crept into a pigsty that stood at the end of the town abutting on the meadow. The crown, passing over all the people present, sank down upon the pigsty. Surprised and curious to know what this strange proceeding meant, the people ran to the pigsty, there found the trembling boy, and drawing him forth bowed the knee and saluted him as the new king, called by God to occupy the throne.¹

In this Transylvanian *märchen* the crown is the instrument of divination. Going next to the dim and distant East we find other emblems of royalty thus represented. In the *Jātaka*, the great book of Buddhist Birth-stories, the supposititious child of a merchant's wife of Maghada is the hero of a similar adventure. He is, however, no ordinary child but the Bodhisatta, the future Buddha in an earlier birth. He was called Banyan, from having been found under a banyan tree, where his own mother had forsaken him at his birth. Travelling with two faithful companions who had been born on the same day as himself, he came to Benares, and entering the royal park lay down upon a slab of stone with his two companions beside it. The previous night they had slept in the city under a tree at a temple. One of the youths had awakened at dawn and heard some cocks quarrelling in the branches. He listened, and learnt that whoever killed a certain one of these birds and ate of his fat would become king that very day, he who ate the middle flesh would become commander-in-chief, and he who ate the flesh about the bones would become treasurer. He killed the bird, gave the fat to Banyan, the middle flesh to his other friend, and gnawed the bones himself. Now the king of Benares was dead, and that day the festal car was going

¹ Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, 4th edition, Vienna, 1885, p. 195.

forth with the five symbols of royalty, the sword, the parasol, the diadem, the slippers, and the fan, within it, to choose the king's successor. As the three youths lay in the royal park, the ceremonial chariot rolled up and stopped before them. The chaplain (presumably a Brahman) followed. Removing the cloth from Banyan's feet he examined the marks upon them. "Why!" he exclaimed, "he is destined to be king of all India, let alone Benares!" and he ordered the gongs and the cymbals to strike up. This awoke Banyan, who sat up. The chaplain fell down before him, saying: "Divine being, the kingdom is thine." "So be it," quietly answered the youth; the chaplain placed him upon the heap of precious jewels and sprinkled him to be king.¹

In a Calmuck tale the instrument of divination is not one of the royal insignia, but a sacrificial cake. An assembly of the people is held to choose a new khan; and it is decided to appeal to the judgement of heaven by throwing a sacrificial cake, called *Baling*, apparently a figure of dough, into the air, at the time of the sacrifice (*Streuopfer*). On whosoever head the cake fell, he should be khan.²

A tale of the Teleut Tartars tells of a father who was enraged with his son because he interpreted the cry of some birds, declaring that they foretold that he himself would become emperor, and his father would drink his urine. The father, in his anger, struck off his son's head. He then killed his horse, skinned it, rolled his son's body in the hide and flung it into the sea. The waves carried the package to a village, where an old woman found it. She opened the leather, and the youth came out alive. The prince of that land had died, leaving no son. His subjects

¹ *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births*, vol. iv., Cambridge, 1901, p. 23. Story No. 445.

² Jülg, *Die Märchen des Siddhi-kür* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 60, Story No. 2. The version in Miss Busk's *Sagas from the Far East* is, as usual, not to be depended on.

took two golden posts, and fastened on their tops two tapers. They then set up the posts in the middle of the village. Every one was required to jump through them, and the tapers would fall on him who was to be the prince. But they obstinately remained standing until the destined youth came, when they both fell on his neck and burst into flame. If he had not become an emperor, at least he was now a prince: and with that variation, the whole of the bird's prophecy was in due course fulfilled.¹ But we need not follow it further. The hero of a Balochi tale likewise falls under his father's displeasure. His father was a king, and the son took advantage of his royalty to break the crockery of his father's subjects. When the people complained, his father drove him away. In the course of his wanderings, he came to a town where the king had just died. The palace door was shut, and upon it was written: "He whose hand shall open this door, shall be king of this city." The wandering prince, reading this, said: "Bismillah." He pushed the door: it opened. He entered, seated himself on the throne, and became king.²

The *Kah-gyur*, a sacred work of Tibetan Buddhism dating back to the eleventh century or thereabouts, contains a story of king Ánanda. The name Ánanda is famous in the literature of Buddhism as that of a favourite disciple of the master; but it is here used in the indiscriminate way in which the mediæval friars used the names of Pompey, Titus, Pliny, and other famous Romans, in the *Gesta Romanorum*. This king had five sons, of whom the youngest was endowed with qualities better suited to a ruler than the others, and to whom accordingly he desired to leave the kingdom. But he feared that if he invested his youngest son with sovereign power, his kinsmen would reproach him for having passed over his elder sons. As a way of escape from the difficulty

¹ Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* (St. Petersburg, 1866), vol. i., p. 208.

² *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., p. 202.

he decreed that after his death his sons should be tested, and that he should be made king whom the jewel-shoes should fit, under whom the throne should remain steadfast, and on whose head the diadem should rest unshaken, whom the women should recognise, and who should guess six objects to be divined by insight.¹ There is a triple test here—divination by the royal insignia, the choice of the harem, and the solution of a riddle. I shall return to the two former tests. But before passing to another type of story I may note that in the *Bakhtyár-Náma*, a Persian romance translated by Sir William Ouseley, who brought it from the East in the early part of the last century, there is a story in which the succession to the throne is made to depend upon the solution of three riddles. The king having died without issue, it was resolved to go to the prison and propound three questions to the criminals confined there. He who answered best was recognised as king.² Riddles are regarded in certain stages of civilisation as a test of more than ordinary wisdom. Their position in the evolution of thought and custom is well worth investigation. It is too large a subject for discussion here.

Occasionally the instrument of divination is wholly wanting, and the first man met with is taken for king. Among a tribe in Morocco is told a tale of which the hero is made king, because he is the first man found outside the city-gate when it is opened in the morning.³ Another of these stories is that of Ali Shar and Zumurrud in the *Arabian Nights*. Ali Shar was a prodigal, and Zumurrud was his favourite female slave. By a series of diverting adventures which do not concern us, they are separated. After much suffering, Zumurrud contrives to possess herself of a man's clothes,

¹ Ralston. *Tibetan Tales from Indian Sources* (London, 1882), p. 29.

² Sir William Ouseley, *The Bakhtyár Náma* (edited by W. A. Clouston, 1883), p. 51.

³ Stumme, *Märchen der Schlut von Tüzerwalt* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 123, Story No. 15.

horse and sword. In the course of her wanderings she draws nigh to a city-gate, where she finds the emirs and nobles with the troops drawn up and waiting, as Conaire found the three kings waiting on the way to Tara. The soldiery, on seeing her, dash forward. They dismount and prostrate themselves before her, saluting her as lord and sultan. On enquiry she learns that the sultan of the city is dead; and on such occasions it is the custom that the troops sally forth to the suburbs, there to sojourn for three days. Whoever comes during that time from the quarter whence she has come is made king. Being a lady of resource, she accepts the position, administers the kingdom with efficiency, and ultimately finds means to avenge herself on her enemies and to be reunited with her master, Ali Shar.¹ An Indian folktale relates that in a certain city "it was the custom that when the rája died the nobles of the kingdom used to take their seats at the gate of the city, and the first man who appeared before them they made their rája."²

The same tale is told by the Taranchi Tartars, an agricultural people who are now settled in the valley of the Ili, a large river flowing into Lake Balkash, in Central Asia. But it is told with this difference. When the hero draws nigh to the gate of the city, all the people cry out "Cuckoo, cuckoo!" On enquiring why they do this, they reply: "Our ruler has been dead for three days. He had a magical bird, which has been let fly, and on whosoever head the bird settles, him we raise to be our prince." Here the augury is drawn from a bird.³

In another Tartar *märchen*, this time from the west of

¹ Burton, iv. *Arabian Nights*, 210, Lane, ii. *Arabian Nights* (London, 1883), 406.

² *North Indian Notes and Queries*, vol. iv., p. 66. Similarly in a story from Mirzapur, the first man met in the forest is made king. *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 81. In another story from Mirzapur a trained elephant is let loose to choose the king's bride. *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

³ Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen Stämme*, vol. vi. (St. Petersburg, 1886), p. 157.

Siberia, the ruler of the town has grown old, and is desirous of retiring. He has a bird which is let fly and chooses a woman. She is immediately accepted as prince and installed in the place of the old man.¹ In a Kurdish *märchen* a special bird called "the bird of dominion" is fetched, it is not said whence, for the purpose of the divination.²

An animal of some kind is, in fact, the agent in most of these tales. A Buddhist tale from Cambodia tells us that, the royal family having become extinct, it was the custom to ask the royal family of another kingdom to furnish a king. The council of mandarins determined to take this course. Under the advice of an old astrologer horses were harnessed to the carriage—we must understand, no doubt, the royal carriage—and then allowed to go in any direction they pleased, without a driver. This is described as consulting the horses. The first day the horses re-entered the palace. The next day they drew the carriage in the direction of a neighbouring kingdom. Twice, thrice the carriage was turned back; but the horses persisted in drawing it again in the same direction. It was accordingly decided to demand a prince from that kingdom.³

In the East, however, as might be expected, it is usually the royal animal, the elephant, which thus confers the kingdom. I have already cited one great collection of Indian tales. There is another, only second to the *Jātaka* in extent, the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, or Ocean of the Streams of Story, translated a few years ago by Dr. Tawney. It contains a *märchen*, perhaps derived from that older and more famous collection, the *Panchatantra*, of a man who retired with his wife to the forest, to practise austerities.

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. (1872), p. 143.

² Pryn and Socin, *Kürdische Sammlungen*, Erste Abteil. (St. Petersburg, 1887); übersetz., p. 143.

³ Leclère, *Cambodge, Contes et Légendes* (Paris, 1895), p. 16. "Tous ceux qui étaient présents à ce conseil . . . décidèrent qu'on consulterait immédiatement les chevaux."

While there he rescued from the river a wretch whose hands and feet had been cut off, and who had been thrown by his enemies into the stream to die. His wife, probably sick of austerities, falls in love with the cripple thus rescued, and plots her husband's death. She succeeds in precipitating him into the river; but instead of being drowned he is thrown on the bank near a city. "Now it happened that at that time the king of that city had just died, and in that country there was an immemorial custom, that an auspicious elephant was driven about by the citizens, and any man that he took up with his trunk and placed on his back, was anointed king" The hero of the story, who is "an incarnation of a portion of a Bodhisattva," is of course chosen; and when he gets the chance he inflicts condign punishment on his wife.¹ The elephant is here described as "an auspicious elephant." Sometimes he is called the "crown-elephant," the special property and symbol of royalty. So in a Tamil story we learn that the king of a certain city dying childless, on his death bed called his ministers together and directed them "to send his crown-elephant with a flower-wreath in his trunk, and to choose him on whom the elephant throws the garland, as his successor."² In a folk-tale from the far north of India it is "the sacred elephant" before whom all the inhabitants are required to pass in file, and the animal is expected to elect one of them to the vacant throne "by kneeling down and saluting the favoured individual as he passed by, for in this manner kings were elected in that country."³ In a story which appears to come from Gujerat, the king dies without an heir, and the astrologers prophesy that his heir would be

¹ *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (Calcutta, 1884), vol. ii., p. 102.

² *The Dravidian Nights Entertainments, being a translation of Madana-kāmarājankadai*. By Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri, Madras, 1886, p. 126.

³ *Wide-Awake Stories. A collection of tales told by little children, between sunset and sunrise, in the Panjab and Kashmir*. By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple, Bombay, 1884, p. 140. In other stories from Kashmir, it is "an elephant." Knowles, *Folk-tales of Kashmir* (London, 1888), pp. 169, 309.

the first who entered the gates of the city on the morrow of the king's decease, and around whose neck the sacred elephant would throw a garland of flowers.¹

At other times the elephant alone does not make the choice. With him is conjoined some other animal or symbol of royalty. A tale from Kashmir speaks of a land where, when the king died, his elephant "was driven all over the country and his hawk was made to fly here, there, and everywhere in search of a successor; and it came to pass that before whomsoever the elephant bowed and on whosoever hand the hawk alighted, he was supposed to be the divinely chosen one."² In the *Kathákoça*, a collection of stories illustrating the tenets and practice of Jainism, five ordeals, as they are expressly called, are invoked. "The mighty elephant came into the garden outside the city. There the elephant sprinkled Prince Amaradatta [we have already heard of sprinkling as a means of hallowing to kingship], and put him on its back. Then the horse neighed. The two chowries fanned the prince. An umbrella was held over his head. A divine voice was heard in the air: 'Long live King Amaradatta.'"³

In most of these cases the decision is clearly regarded as the judgement of Heaven; and in every case the judgement of Heaven may at least be inferred. The incident is hardly less a favourite in the West than in the East. In the West, too, it is an appeal to the judgement of Heaven. All the European stories, however, in which it occurs have been recorded within the last century; consequently the incident in question appears only in a very late form. Now an appeal to the judgement of Heaven in the selection of a ruler is familiar to the peasant mind of the continent in one soli-

¹ *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. iv., p. 442.

² Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 158. Other stories, *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 309; *The Bakhtyár Nāma*, p. 169 (notes by the Editor); Lal Behari Day, *Folk-tales of Bengal* (London, 1883), p. 99, Story No. 5.

³ *The Kathákoça: or Treasury of Stories*. Translated from Sanskrit manuscripts by C. H. Tawney, M.A. London, 1895, p. 155.

tary instance—that of the choice of a pope. Accordingly this is the favourite, if not the only form of the story as it is told in France, Italy, and Switzerland. The charming collection by the late M. Luzel of religious and quasi-religious tales of Lower Brittany contains one entitled ‘Pope Innocent.’ The hero is a son of the King of France cast off by his parents, who attempt to put him to death. He sets out for Rome to be present at the election of a new pope. On the way he falls in with two Capuchin monks. The elder of them is gentle to him, the other suspicious and hostile. The youth is a bit of a prig. Perhaps this is not to be wondered at, seeing that he is endowed with supernatural knowledge and power. These qualities make his conduct throughout the journey enigmatical to the point of excusing, if not justifying, the attitude of his unfriendly companion. Everyone takes him for a sorcerer; and the younger monk says in so many words to the other, that they will be lucky if he do not bring them to the gallows or the stake before reaching Rome. As they draw near the holy city, the boy hears some birds in a hedge foretell that one of the three will be made pope, just as the cocks were overheard in the story I cited a few minutes ago from the *Jātaka*. Thereupon he enquires of each of his companions what office he will give him if he (the monk) attain this dignity. The elder monk promises to make him his first cardinal, the younger contemptuously says he will make him beadle in his cathedral. Arrived at Rome, they find that the choice of a pope proceeds in this way: There are to be three days’ processions. Every pilgrim has to carry a candle, not lighted, in his hand; and he whose candle lights of itself is the person designated by God to the office of pope. The youth, however, has no money to buy candles. So he carries merely a white wand which he has cut in the hedge where the birds sang; and people, seeing him, shrug their shoulders and exclaim: “Look at that poor innocent!” It is, however, not the candle of an archbishop, or bishop, or of any great

dignitary of the church; it is not that of an abbot, or a monk, or even of a simple priest, which lights; it is the boy Innocent's white wand. The omen is refused on the first day; nor is it accepted until it has been repeated on the second and third days of the ceremony. At last the premier cardinal kneels before him, acknowledges him as pope and asks for his benediction. Thus Innocent becomes pope at Rome, by the will of God.¹

The story of Pope Innocent belongs to the cycle of the Outcast Child, a well-known group of folktales, of which the examples most familiar to us are the story of King Lear and that of Joseph and his brethren. The hero (or heroine) of these tales is cast off by his relatives for reasons at the least excusable. Sometimes, as in the Teleut tale already mentioned, his life is attempted. But in the end he attains a place and dignity which enable him to compel recognition of his wrongs, and, after the infliction of retributive humiliation, to pardon the offenders. In these *märchen* the pope is not always chosen by the burning of a taper. In the Italian variants the favourite method is by a dove which alights on the hero's head. In a Swiss story from the Upper Valais two snow-white doves settle on his shoulders. In a Basque story, as the travellers approach Rome the bells begin to ring of themselves. In a story from Upper Brittany the will of Heaven is declared by a bell, which rings of itself when the destined pope passes beneath it. In a story from Normandy the new pope is indicated by "a portion of Heaven stooping upon him whom Jesus would choose to govern his church." The collector, while faithfully recording this singular phrase, is puzzled by it, and suggests that it must mean a cloud resting on him.² In all cases it is quite clear that the falling of the lot, however it may be

¹ Luzel, *Légendes Chrétiennes de la Basse Bretagne*, Paris. 1881, vol. i. p. 282 (pt. iii., Story No. 11); a variant, *Mélusine*, vol. i., col. 300.

² *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. iv., p. 338, *sqq.*, including the references at foot of p 348.

accomplished, is regarded as a direct expression of the divine will. The sacred character of the Papacy, and the names of historical popes, as Innocent and Gregory, given to the heroes, raise the suspicion that these tales are something more than *märchen*, and lead directly to the enquiry, not whether such prodigies have in fact been the means of determining the succession to the popedom, but whether they have been believed to have occurred.

Now it happens that this very event was reported in connection with the election of the great Pope Innocent III., in the year 1198. Three doves, it was said, flew about the church during the proceedings, and at last one of them, a white one, came and perched on his right side, which was held to be a favourable omen.¹ In the atmosphere of the Middle Ages an occurrence of the kind, if it happened, could not fail to make a great impression on the popular mind. The dove would be regarded as no less than the embodiment of the Holy Spirit. Long before Innocent's day—indeed before the Middle Ages began—something like this would seem to have happened. It is recorded by Eusebius that in the reign of the Emperor Gordian, who ruled from A.D. 238 to 244, when all the brethren were assembled in the church for the purpose of electing a successor to Anteros, Bishop of Rome, suddenly a dove flew down from on high and sat on the head of Fabian. Thereupon the assembly with one voice acclaimed him bishop and seated him on the episcopal throne.²

Nor were popes alone thus honoured. Dr. Conyers Middleton, in his once famous *Letter from Rome*, records that "in the cathedral church of Ravenna I saw, in mosaic work, the pictures of those archbishops of the place who, as all their historians affirm, were chosen for several ages successively by the special designation of the Holy Ghost,

¹ Friedrich von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1824), vol. iii., p. 74.

² Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, Book. vi., c. 29.

who in a full assembly of the clergy and people, used to descend visibly on the person elect in the shape of a dove.”¹ Among the apocryphal stories in *The Book of Sir John Maundeville* we are told that in the convent on Mount Sinai are many lamps burning. The author, whoever he may have been, writes rather a muddled account of the election of “prelate of the abbey.” I gather from it that each monk has a lamp, and that when a prelate is chosen his lamp will light of itself, if he be a good man and worthy of the office; if otherwise, the lamp, though lighted, will go out. An inconsistent tradition ran that the priest who sang mass for the deceased dignitary found written upon the altar the name of him who was to be chosen in his place. But though the miracle-monger who writes under the name of Sir John Maundeville professes to have been at the monastery and questioned the monks, he admits that he could not induce them to tell him the facts.²

The marvels reported of the election of Christian bishops are told with little variation of the election of other rulers. Paulus Diaconus relates that when Liutprand, king of the Lombards, a contemporary of Charles Martel, was thought to be dying, his subjects met outside the walls of his capital, Pavia, at the church of St. Mary ad Perticas, to choose a successor. Their choice fell on the king's nephew, Hildeprand, in whose hand they formally placed the royal spear. Immediately a cuckoo flew down and settled on the point of the spear, as it will be remembered a cuckoo in the Tartar story settled on the kalender's head. This, however, was reckoned by Lombard wiseacres as an evil omen. Their augury was so far justified, that King Liutprand did not die after all, but recovered from his sickness and was not well pleased that his subjects had been in such a hurry to find a successor. Yet he did not refuse to recognise his

¹ Middleton, *Works* (2nd. ed. London, 1755), vol. v., p. 153, citing “Hist. Raven., &c. Aring [hus], Rom[a] Subt[erranea], l. vi., c. 48.”

² *Early Travels in Palestine*, Ed. by Thomas Wright (London 1848), p. 158.

nephew as co-ruler; and when he at last died, Hildebrand succeeded him.¹ Of another king of the Lombards, Desiderius, a contemporary of Charles the Great, the story is told that the Lombard nobles were meeting to choose a king at Pavia, and Desiderius, a pious man of noble lineage who dwelt at Brescia, journeyed thither to be present, accompanied by a serving man. At Leno, between Brescia and Cremona, being weary, he lay down under a tree to sleep. As he slept his servant beheld a snake crawl forth and wind itself round his head like a crown. The servant was afraid to move, lest the snake might injure his master; but after a while it uncoiled and crept away. Desiderius, meanwhile had dreamt that the crown of the Lombards was placed on his head. When he reached Pavia, the dream was fulfilled.²

Every one is familiar with the story told by Herodotus concerning the election of a successor to Smerdis the Magian, usurper of the throne of Persia, how it was agreed that the successful conspirators should meet at sunrise, and that he whose horse first neighed should be king. According to Herodotus, Darius won by a trick of his groom. That may or may not have been. What interests us in the story is that it was believed that the succession on this occasion to the throne of Persia was determined by an augury drawn from horses, and that the neighing of Darius' horse was instantly followed by the further manifestation of the will of Heaven in thunder and lightning from a clear sky.³ The elephant, the horse and the divine voice of Indian *märchen* here find their counterpart, if not in actual fact, at least in the serious belief of the venerable historian, and the people whose tradition he reports. In this connection it

¹ Paulus Diaconus, *Gesta Longobard.*, l. vi., c. 55. See also Soldan, *Sagen und Geschichten der Langobarden* (Halle-a-S., 1888), pp. 145, 148. Hildebrand did not reign long. He was deprived of the throne a few months later by Ratchis, who reigned for five years, 744-749.

² Soldan, *op cit.*, p. 150.

³ Herodotus, l. iii, cc. 84, 85.

must not be forgotten that among many peoples, horses were sacred animals. They were sacrificed to the gods; they were looked upon as in the counsels of the gods; their neighing was a favourable omen. It is therefore not at all improbable that Herodotus is here recording the mode of choice actually adopted.¹

Similarly in the annals of Keddah, a portion of the Malay Peninsula, there is a story of a rajah who was dethroned and fled. His nobles and queen sent to the King of Siam for a new ruler. He, having consulted his astrologers, was advised that the true heir to the throne could only be discovered by a supernaturally intelligent elephant, named Kamala Jauhari, which was wandering about on the confines of Kedda and Patani. When the envoys brought back the message to the Kedda chiefs, they decked the palace for a fête. "Then all the people held a fast for seven days and nights. . . . On the night of the seventh day the *dupa* and incense were burned, and all sorts of perfumes were diffused around, and at the same time the name of the super-intelligent elephant was invoked to attend upon the four *mantris* [nobles]. Immediately almost there was a sound, like the rushing of a coming tempest, from the East, with earthquakes, agitations and terrific sounds. In the midst of all this uproar the terrified spectators were delighted to see Kamala Jauhari standing at the hall, and thrusting up her trunk into it. The four *mantris* instantly rubbed her with cosmetics and sweet-smelling oils, rubbing these over its whole body. Then a meal was served up to it, and put into its mouth. The state howdah was now placed on its back, along with all its appurtenances, curtains and hanging. Then one of the *mantris* read the King of Siam's letter close to the ear of Kamala Jauhari, acquainting her that she was expected to assist in finding out a rajah for Kedda by all

¹ Grimm has collected instances, *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by Stallybrass, vol. i., p. 47, vol. ii., p. 658, vol. iv., pp. 1301, 1481. Also von Negelein, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vol. x., pp. 408, *sqq.*

means. When Jauhari heard all this, she bowed her head and played her trunk, and then set forth in the direction of the East, followed and attended by from three to four hundred men, having banners and flags streaming in the wind, and being supplied with all necessaries, and armed with various kinds of spears, held in hand." It is needless to say that the expedition thus pompously described was successful in discovering the boy. The elephant caught him up in her trunk, and placing him on her back in the howdah, carried him off in triumph to the palace, where he was forthwith clad in royal robes and crowned.¹

In Indian belief it is not only super-intelligent elephants which can discover the future occupant of a throne. The elephant is the possession and symbol of royalty. But in the stories, other royal properties are also instruments of divination for that purpose. That these stories were founded on current superstitions is shown by the fact that among the ornaments of the throne of the famous Tippoo, conquered by the British at the end of the eighteenth century, was a bird of paradise made of gold and covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and represented in the act of fluttering. Of this bird it was believed that every head it overshadowed would, in time, wear a crown. When Tippoo was defeated and slain, the Marquis Wellesley, at that time governor-general, sent it home to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.² It is now, I believe, at Windsor.

Coming back to Europe, we find the succession to the throne of one of the Scythian tribes determined by the possession of a certain stone. The author of the work on the names of rivers and mountains attributed to Plutarch relates that in the river Tanais a stone like a crystal grows. It resembles in shape a man wearing a crown. When the king dies, whosoever finds it, and can produce it in the

¹ *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii., p. 316.

² *Oriental Memoirs*, by James Forbes, F.R.S. (London, 1813), vol. iv., p. 191.

assembly held on the banks of the river to elect a new sovereign, is recognised as the rightful successor.¹ For this statement Ctesiphon on Plants and Aristobulus on Stones are cited, authors whose works are lost and who are unknown by any other citations. It is, therefore, impossible for us to judge how far they are likely to have known, or with what accuracy they may have presented, the practice of the barbarous tribe referred to. There can, however, be no doubt that election by divination has been resorted to by peoples in many parts of the world. The succession of Grand Lamas of Lhasa supplies examples of both story and custom. The custom used to be to write on slips of paper the names of all likely male children born under miraculous portents (of which anon) just after the death of the preceding Lama, to put these slips into a golden urn and thus ballot for his successor (or, as it is believed, his new incarnation) amid constant prayer. But the Chinese court, which has a considerable stake in the decision, was thought to influence the selection. The state-oracle has therefore predicted disaster by the appearance of a monster as the Dalai or Grand Lama, if the ancient practice were continued; and on the last vacancy, in 1876, he foretold the discovery, by a pious monk, of the present Grand Lama, announcing that his discovery would be accompanied by horse-neighings. He sent this monk to Chukorgye, where he dreamed that he was to look in a certain lake for the future Dalai. There, pictured in the bosom of the lake, the monk saw the child with his parents in the house where he was born, and at the same instant his horse neighed. In due course the child himself was found, and successfully encountered the usual test, by recognising the articles which had belonged to him in his previous life. Every child who is a candidate has to pass this test. He is confronted with a duplicate collection of various sacred objects, and he is required to point out among them the

¹ Plutarch, *De Fluv.*, xiv.

genuine possessions of the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama is not the only Grand Lama. The head of every lamasery, or convent of lamas, bears this title. When the Grand Lama of such a lamasery dies, his successor, or new incarnation, is sought first of all by divination. A diviner is called in, who, after consulting his books, directs the lamas where to look for the boy. When they have found him, he has to pass a similar test to that just described. In addition he has to submit to cross-examination on the name and situation of the lamasery, and how many lamas reside there, and on the habits of the deceased Grand Lama, and the manner of his death.

The portents at the birth of a Dalai Lama are magnificent. It is not irrelevant to mention them here, as they may be regarded as part of the auguries which decide the succession. An official report from the Chinese Commissioner to the Emperor, on such an occasion in the year 1839, declares among other things, that it was ascertained that on the night before the boy was born, a brilliant radiance of many colours was manifested in the air, and the water in the well of the temple courtyard changed to a milk-white colour. Seven days later a flame appeared on the rock behind the post-station. When the rock was examined, no trace of fire remained, but a sacred image and characters were found, together with the print of footsteps. Moreover, on the night when the child was born, the sound of music was heard, and milk dropped upon the pillars of the house.¹

The Buddhists are not the only sect in the Chinese Empire which has a supreme head appointed by religious divination. The arch-abbot of Taouism dwells in a princely residence on the Dragon and Tiger Mountains, in the province of Kiang-si. "The power of this dignitary," we are

¹ *Huc. Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine* (2 vols., Paris, 1850), vol. ii., p. 343; vol. i., p. 278. *The Buddhism of Tibet*, by L. Austine Waddell, M.B. (London, 1895), pp. 245, 541.

told, "is immense, and is acknowledged by all the priests of his sect throughout the empire." The office has been confined for centuries to one family or clan. When the arch-abbot dies, all the male members of his clan are cited to appear at the official residence. The name of each one is engraved on a separate piece of lead, and deposited in a large earthenware vase filled with water. Standing round this vase are priests who invoke the three persons of the Taoist Trinity to cause the piece of lead bearing the name of the person on whom the choice of the gods has fallen, to come to the surface of the water.¹

The Taoist dignitary seems to possess only spiritual power, except probably in his own monastery. The Dalai Lama, on the other hand, retains some portion of civil rule. In both cases the person of the ruler is looked upon as sacred. Among savage and barbarous nations the office of priest or medicine-man is often not clearly distinguished from that of temporal ruler. The instances in which the chief or king is looked upon as divine, in which he is responsible for the weather, in which he causes the crops to grow, and performs other superhuman functions, are too numerous, and too well-known to be mentioned here. Since the publication of *The Golden Bough* they have been among the common-places of folklore. I need only remind you that "the divinity that doth hedge a king" is not confined to savagery and barbarism. It has lasted far into civilisation, and been sedulously cultivated for political purposes by royalty in every age. A Roman Emperor was Divus Augustus. When the dignity of king becomes hereditary, the monarch is held to be at least descended from the gods. The Mikado traces his descent from the Sun-goddess. King Edward VII. traces his from Woden, the war-god of the Anglo-Saxon tribes which colonised Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is true

¹ *China, a History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People*, by John Henry Gray, M.A., LL.D. (London, 1878), vol. i., p. 103.

that this genealogy, at one time seriously credited, is now treated as fable, but even yet the coronation ceremonies of 'His Sacred Majesty,' though not directly of pagan origin, witness to the mysterious sanctity that surrounds him.

A view of kingship thus exalted renders it easy to understand why, when circumstances compelled the choice of a king, the divine will must have been most anxiously consulted. It was not merely that the qualities of a leader in battle, a wise judge and administrator, and a prudent politician were needed. Luck and the favour of the gods were more than these, to say nothing of the marks of god-head, which in many cases it was necessary to discover in his person, conduct or knowledge. Hence the choice of the people, or rather the recognition by the people, would depend upon the auguries, or upon more direct indications of the decision of heaven. When Dagara, the King of Karagué, on the western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, died, he left behind him three sons, any of whom was eligible to the throne. The officers of state put before them a small mystic drum. It was of trifling weight, but being loaded with charms, no one could lift it, save he to whom the ancestral spirits were inclined as the successor. Nor was this enough. The victor in this contest was required to undergo a further trial of his right. He was made to sit, as he himself informed Captain Speke, on the ground at a certain spot where the land would gradually rise up under him, like a telescope, until it reached the skies. The aspirant who was approved by the spirits was then gradually lowered in safety; whereas, if not approved, the elastic hill would suddenly collapse, and he would be dashed to pieces. It is needless to add, that Rumanika, Captain Speke's informant, claimed to have gone through the ordeal with success.¹

These are barbarous auguries. But all auguries and

¹ *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, by John Hanning Speke (Edinburgh, 1863), p. 221.

oracles are barbarous. We do not know how Melchizedek was appointed King of Salem. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers to him as "without father, without mother, without genealogy," as if there were something peculiar in the omission of his pedigree, though in this respect he did not differ from the other kings mentioned in the narrative. However, the discovery at Tel-el-Amarna of letters from Ebed-tob, King of Salem in the fifteenth century B.C., to his suzerain the King of Egypt, has rendered it possible to suppose that Melchizedek did not come to the throne by inheritance, and consequently that his parentage was unimportant. Ebed-tob, protesting his loyalty as an ally and a tributary of the King of Egypt, says: "Neither my father, nor my mother, (but) the oracle of the mighty king, established (me) in the house of (my) father." In other words he states, as Professor Sayce interprets the expression, "that his authority was not based on the right of inheritance; he had been called to exercise it by a divine voice."¹ We must beware of drawing too large an inference from a single phrase. Assuming that "the mighty king" is the god 'Shalim, and not the suzerain whom he is addressing, there remains the question what is meant by "the house of his father." Evidently it is the royal office; but is it not the royal office previously filled by his ancestors? The correct view would seem to be that the kingship was, like that of Karagué, descendible to any scion of the royal house, subject to the decision of the oracle. The pedigree then would be important, but not all-important. The god would decide among the candidates. Some such arrangement would seem to have been recognised in the heroic age of Greece, if we may trust the somewhat obscure expressions of the *Odyssey*. There are examples in the Homeric poems of kings who have succeeded to the inheritance of their sires. Agamemnon is one. On the other hand, the position of Ulysses is enigmatical. It is enig-

¹ *Records of the Past*, 2nd series (London, N.D.), vol. v. [1891], pp. 68, 62.

matical in regard to Laertes, his father, who was still alive; while, if Ulysses were dead, it would seem that Telemachus, his son, would only have the first, but by no means an indefeasible, claim. As Mr. Crooke has pointed out, it results from the interview between Telemachus and the wooers in the first book of the *Odyssey*, that some kind of divine nomination should appoint the king, and that the choice might fall, not on Telemachus, but on another of the Achæans in sea-girt Ithaca.¹ It is dangerous to read into the poem what is not expressed. The poet is describing an age already mythical, though no doubt he has embodied considerable fragments of actual custom in the representation. He does not detail the process of appointment of king. Consequently, all we can safely say (and that on the assumption that here we have one of the fragments of actual custom) is that the manners and whole atmosphere of the poem correspond with a stage of culture in which the will of the gods would be ascertained by augury. In this connection it may not be irrelevant to refer to the early traditions of Rome. The quarrel between Romulus and Remus concerned not merely the site of the city, but also the founder after whose name it should be called—in other words, the royal dignity. It was settled by an augury taken from the flight of vultures. Numa, the successor of Romulus, though elected, took care to assure himself by auguries that the gods approved of the choice. It must be remembered that the legends, as we have them, took shape under the republic when the ordinary human process of election had been long established. The habit thus formed probably affected them; and I think we are warranted in suspecting that if we could recover them at a prior stage, we should find the appointment of king resting on the will of the gods and ascertained by divination.

¹ *Folk-Lore*, vol. ix., p. 13. Mr. Crooke does not refer to the speech of Eurymachus immediately following that of Telemachus, which confirms what has been said on this subject by Antinous and Telemachus.

No argument is needed to show that the form of tradition is affected, even where the substance remains, by external changes. Customs referred to in a legend may become obsolete and consequently unintelligible; and the reference to them must of necessity be modified into something which is understood, or it will be dropped into oblivion. The tradition of the *Lia Fáil*, with which I started, is an example. To step on the stone was to put one's claim to sovereignty to proof. As Keating relates, doubtless from some older author, on it "were enchantments, for it used to roar under the person who had the best right to obtain the sovereignty of Ireland." But this is the latest form of the tradition. We can, however, reconstruct the earlier form by comparison with custom and tradition elsewhere. They render it clear that the stone was once held to declare the divine will as to the succession. Further back still, it may have been regarded as itself endowed with power of choice.¹ Strictly speaking, this is not augury, for augury is the ascertainment and declaration of a higher will. But some such animistic belief may have been the seedplot out of which augury grew as gods properly so called were evolved. At the stage at which the tradition reaches us the *Lia Fáil* no longer either chooses on its own account or makes known the choice of heaven. At this stage, not only is it enchanted, consequently diabolic rather than divine in the source of its power, but also it merely points out him who has "the best right." The principle of heredity is now firmly established; its application alone is uncertain. When the principle is established and the application certain, it is not necessary to consult an oracle.

¹ I am indebted to Miss Burne for suggesting that something like this is the true interpretation of the use alike of the *Lia Fáil* and of the various regal paraphernalia employed in the stories. As she puts it, they would know their rightful owner. This, however, is to assume the principle of heredity as already established. The animistic belief involved in the interpretation suggested was perhaps applied even before then.

The changes I thus venture to postulate are steps in the disintegration of the myth. A Welsh tale now to be cited has taken a further step in that it simply credits the instrument of divination with the diagnosis of blood royal, the practical purpose of determining the succession to the kingdom having disappeared. According to Giraldus Cambrensis it happened that in the time of Henry I. Gruffydd ap Rhys ap Tudor, who, although he only held of the king one commote, namely, a fourth part of the cantref of Caio, yet was reputed as lord in Deheubarth, was returning from court by way of Llangorse Lake, in Brecknockshire, with Milo, Earl of Hereford and Lord of Brecknock, and Payn FitzJohn, who then held Ewyas, two of the king's secretaries and privy councillors. It was winter, and the lake was covered with water-fowl of various kinds. Seeing them, Milo, partly in joke, said to Gruffydd: "It is an old saying in Wales that if the natural prince of Wales, coming to this lake, command the birds upon it to sing, they will all immediately sing." Gruffydd replied: "Do you, therefore, who now bear sway in this country, command them first." Both Milo and Payn having made the attempt in vain, Gruffydd dismounted from his horse, fell on his knees with his face to the East, and after devout prayers to God, stood up, and making the sign of the cross on his forehead and face, cried aloud: "Almighty and all-knowing God, Lord Jesus Christ, show forth here to-day thy power! If thou hast made me lineally to descend from the natural princes of Wales, I command these birds in thy name to declare it." Forthwith all the birds, according to their kind, beating the water with outstretched wings, began altogether to sing and proclaim it. No wonder that all who were present were amazed and confounded, and that Milo and Payn reported it to the king, who is said to have taken it philosophically enough. "By the death of Christ!" (his customary oath), he replied, "it is not so much to be wondered at. For although by our great power we

may impose injustice and violence upon those people, yet they are none the less known to have the hereditary right to the country." ¹

In the same manner, in India snakes are supposed to be specially gifted with the faculty of distinguishing persons of royal race or born to rule.² One example will be enough. The Gandharbs of Benares, a caste of singers and prostitutes, ascribe their origin to Doman Deo, the second Raghubansi Râjput king of Chandrâvati. He had a groom named Shîru, who one day went into the jungle to cut grass, and fell asleep. While he slept, a cobra raised its hood over his head, and a wagtail kept flying above him. In that condition his master saw him, and afterwards asked him what he would do for him if he became king. Shîru promised to make him his prime minister. Going subsequently to Delhi, the throne of which was vacant, Shîru was chosen emperor, in the manner with which we are already acquainted, by an elephant laying a garland on his neck; and he redeemed his word by making Doman Deo his wazîr.³ In Further India a saga of the Chams relates that Klong Garay, who plays a great part in their legendary history, was found by a companion of his wanderings, after a temporary absence, sleeping and watched by two dragons, which were licking his body. Then he knew, we are told, that Klong Garay was of royal race.⁴ The child of a King of Siam by a Naga, or divine snake, being exposed, was found and adopted by a hunter. The king's subjects were compelled by law to work in turn for the king. The hunter, when summoned, took with him his adopted child and laid it in the shadow of the palace,

¹ Girald. Cambr., *Itinerarium Kambric*, l. i., c. 2.

² W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (London, 1896), vol. ii., p. 142.

³ Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Oudh* (Calcutta, 1896), vol. ii., p. 380. Cf. the Legend of Dhatu Sena, king of Ceylon. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. i., p. 389 (London, 1859).

⁴ A. Landes, *Contes Tjames* (Saigon, 1887), p. 104.

to protect it from the rays of the sun while he performed his task. But the spire of the palace inclined before the child, and the shadow appeared to fly. This prodigy put the king upon enquiry, and he identified his son by means of the ring and mantle which he had given to the lady, and which had been found with the child.¹ In the old English metrical romance of *Havelok the Dane*, the hero is identified by means of a royal mark, "a croiz ful gent," shining brighter than gold on his right shoulder.

"It sparkede, and ful brith shon,
So doth the gode charbucler ston,
That men mouthe se by the lith
A peni chesen, so was it brith."²

The romance in which the incident is found is a literary version of the local tradition of Grimsby, still commemorated in the seal of the corporation. The poem dates from the end of the thirteenth century. There are two French versions which I have not seen. Prof. Skeat has epitomized the longer in the preface to his edition of the English romance. In it a flame issues from Havelok's mouth when he sleeps. This is a personal peculiarity, also found in the English lay. His heirship to the throne of Denmark is determined by his ability to blow a horn which none but the true heir could sound. Thus we are brought back to the succession by divination from which we started, and of which the simple diagnosis of royal descent is a corruption and a weakening. It is preserved here, we know not by what cause, after its true meaning had been forgotten. Adopted first of all into tradition from living custom, when the custom was superseded by other means of determining the succession it survived as a tradition until, its true intent being gradually lost, while the hereditary principle was strengthened and fenced about with sanctity, the incident faded into a merely picturesque pre-

¹ *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. iii., p. 571.

² *The Lay of Havelok the Dane* (E. E. T. S.), ll. 602, 597. ; 2139, 597.

sentation, in some places of prophecy, in other places of the claims of birth.

The study of folktales is often despised as mere trifling. But traditional narratives must always occupy an important place in the study of the past. Rightly used they have much to tell us of human history, of human thought and the evolution of human institutions. It may safely be said that of all the incidents that compose them there is none which is not a concrete presentation either of human institutions or of human belief. They are all thus in a sense the outcome of actual human experiences. The stories of election by augury are not wilder than the authentic facts. The telescopic mountain of Karagué, which Rumanika averred himself to have experienced, is at least as wonderful as the groaning of the *Lia Fáil*, or the lighting of a dry twig. In one of the stories we found the dying monarch laying down among the conditions to be fulfilled by his successor, that the women of the royal household should recognise him. Secret intrigues of the harem are believed to determine the devolution of many an eastern crown. But that the formal and ceremonial choice of the heir should be made by the wives of the deceased ruler seems too grotesque to be known outside a fairy tale. Yet this was the law a hundred years ago in the kingdom of Quiteve, on the south-eastern coast of Africa. When a king died the queens (that is to say, his legitimate wives) named the person who was to accompany his body to the burial-place, and the person thus named became the successor.¹ In an adjoining kingdom a similar law prevailed. It was forbidden to any prince to enter the palace where the women were, or to take possession of the kingdom without their consent, and whoever entered by violence and took posses-

¹ Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar* (2 vols., London, 1833), vol. ii., p. 418, translating a MS., of Signor Ferão, a Portuguese governor of the coast. This translation is reprinted by Theal, *Records of South-eastern Africa*, vol. vii., pp. 371, *sqq.*

sion against their will, lost his right of succession. The Portuguese friar, to whom we are indebted for the information, records a case which happened while he was in Sofala, and in which the claimant entered and formally seated himself in the royal hall with the royal widows. They, however, were unwilling to acknowledge him as their king and husband. Accordingly they secretly summoned another member of the royal family, seated him with them in the public place, and sent officers through the town to proclaim the new sovereign and call his subjects to do homage. The pretender fled. This instance is the more remarkable because the unsuccessful claimant had in his favour the nomination of the previous monarch. Though this constituted not an indefeasible title, it afforded at least a strong presumption in his favour. Yet it was defeated, in accordance with established and publicly acknowledged custom, by the choice of the harem.¹

¹ Theal, *Records*, vol. vii., pp. 191, *sqq.*

FETISH DOLL

(Acheva Tribe, Central Angoniland)



INTO WHICH THE SPIRIT OF A DECEASED ANCESTOR HAS BEEN
CONJURED.

COLLECTANEA.

FETISH WORSHIP IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

(See p. 2, and Plate I.)

“ WE have received from the Rev. T. C. Botha Vlok, of the Dutch Reformed Mission at Mkhoma, a specimen of a fetish which he has discovered in common use among the Achewa tribe of Central Angoniland. It consists of a few short pieces of wood the size of one's forefinger, bound together with a strip of calico into the figure of a child's doll. The pieces of wood form the head and body of the figure, the calico rag being fastened to them by means of a short piece of bark rope. Inside the calico there is concealed a tiny box made of the handle of a gourd-cup and shaped like a pill-box. This is wrapped in a small cloth rag and fastened under the calico garment of the doll. This tiny 'pill-box' is supposed to contain the spirit of some dead ancestor which has been captured and inserted into its present abode, and thus captivated is an object of religious regard among the Achewa tribe. Mr. Vlok tells us that these doll fetishes are in common use round his station of Mkhoma, where they are treasured as household gods, and are the objects to which sacrifice and prayer are made in the native creed.

“ Among the Achewa, as among all Bantu tribes, the spirits of the departed are the objects of supreme worship. The *Mzimu*, 'Spirit,' of the dead ancestor is the 'god' of the living, and in that great communion of saints on which the African religious faith is based is cherished as the medium of communication between the living and the dead. The great world of spirit is to these untutored races full of interest and dread, and for them possesses a reality that it has lost in great measure to our modern Christianity. These spirits of the departed linger near the bodies

which they once dwelt in, and which now are clothed in the grave in their shroud of mother earth. They have their wants, for their life is dark and unsatisfied. In their dissatisfaction they show their wants by bringing sickness, disease, and death on those whom they lived with in this world. Hence the sacrifice of flour or beer made to assuage the anger and propitiate the favour of the offended spirit.

“ So far almost all Bantu tribes believe and act in common. So far at least goes the religious faith of Yao and Mang’anja, round Blantyre. But now the Achewa parts company with our native neighbours. These Achewa believe that the spirit may wander homelessly about the village where it lived, hiding in the bush and seeking to make its presence known and its wants felt. The ‘spirit’ doctor—in this case generally a woman—is sent for, and she proceeds at once to make a captive of the disturbing spirit. Under spirit-influence she works herself into a frenzy and clutches at the air, as if striving to grasp invisible spirits, with which it is presumed to be filled. At last, after a struggle, the annoying spirit is seized and made captive in the ‘pill-box,’ and hid away in the calico garb of the fetish doll. To the imprisoned spirit of the departed relative the prayers of the survivors are now directed, and the cultus of the disembodied soul now passes into the cultus of the soul imprisoned in the fetish.

“ A household may possess several of these household gods. Mr. Vlok mentions the case of a woman who had the spirits of three of her dead children thus laid aside. Numbers of these fetishes are handed over to the missionary on the profession of Christianity by their owners.

“ Among the Angoni, or rather among the Chipeta slaves of the Angoni, we find a modification of this belief. In this case the spirit of the dead is supposed to take possession of a basket or a piece of calico. It may also enter into a goat, or sheep, or ox. The ancestors of Chikusi, the last chief of the Angoni, were supposed to be located in a bull, and on the occasion of a sacrifice this animal was always brought forward, and from its behaviour on the completion of the offering an augury was drawn as to the anger or pleasure of the deity appealed to. Such animals or articles are always considered ‘sacred’ to the spirit of the departed who has taken up his abode in them.

“ Among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Tanganyika the

fetish assumes the form of a carved image of a human being, by no means prepossessing in appearance. This is set up in or near the village, and thus becomes the village idol, to which all prayers and sacrifices are directed.

“Around Blantyre the Yaos and Mang’anjas profess no such form of fetish-worship. Among these tribes the spirit is not located in any individual object as in the above cases. The hut in which he lived, the village tree under which he worked, or sat, or rested in the heat of the day, the grave in the still forest—these are the chosen haunts of the spirit who has gone from mortal eyes into the silent land. The little child creeps past the old chief’s grave by the wayside in great fear and trembling. It is the abode of the awful unseen, the home and haunt of that dread denizen of the other world whose existence is an article in the creed of all childhoods. The spirit-reality is here as in the other case, but in a purer form. Here the spirit is not localised in such form as to inhabit a definite material object. It is still human in its associations, the ties of earth are not wholly severed. That other bourne is not so far away as we sometimes deem it to be, and thin is the veil of earthly things.”

The above communication was lately received by me from the Rev. Alexander Hetherwick, Presbyterian Mission, Blantyre, British Central Africa.

EDWD. LOVETT.

[This, like all interesting notes, suggests many questions, as to which Mr. Lovett has kindly promised to communicate further with the writer. No answer, however, can be received for many months.—ED.].

TRANSMIGRATION BELIEF IN EAST ANGLIA.

In *English Idyls* (Sampson Low), a little book of sketches of humble life on the East Anglian coast, by Mr. P. H. Emerson, formerly a member of this Society, are several items of folklore. The first sketch, “Bobjack,” describes an old waterman reputed

to be able to make his wherry sail against the wind ; “ Kitty-witch ” gives particulars of a love-spell to compel a sailor to come back and marry his sweetheart ; and “ The Silver Cloud ” introduces a fisherman seeking for his dead brother, who had foretold that he should become a gannet after death, and would be recognisable by his “ black arm-sleeves.” (The detail of colour is curious : compare M. Paul Lenormant on the persistence of colour after transformation, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, June, 1902.) On this Mr. Emerson remarks as follows (2nd ed. 1889, Note 14) :

“ I found that on certain parts of the east coast many of the old fishermen believe that they turn into gulls when they die. It was with great difficulty I first found out that this strange belief in a post-mortem transformation existed at all, but once having learned it, I found to my astonishment that the belief was common, but was spoken of with much reserve. I have never seen any mention of such a superstition existing in our day, and should feel obliged to any critic who could throw light upon it. I asked one fisherman if he did not dislike their being shot on this account. He replied philosophically, ‘ No ! they hev been dead oncet, they hev been on earth oncet, and we hev got quite enough old men now.’

“ ‘ And the children,’ I asked, ‘ what becomes of them ?’

“ ‘ I believe all the young ’uns what die are kitties (kittiwakes), they don’t come to gulls. They fare not to be so artful,’ he added sententiously.

“ ‘ And the women ?’

“ ‘ The wives,’ he replied, ‘ don’t come back no more, they hev seen trouble enough ; but the old women torturise the young ’uns.’

“ These extraordinary statements are recorded here verbatim, as they were written down in my notebook.

“ I found that all these opinions were held by many of the fishermen.”

P. J. HEATHER.

CRESCENT CHARMS



IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. E. LOVETT.

- A. From New Guinea, with heads of Frigate-bird.
- B. New Guinea. (Both of these are of shell.)
- C. New Guinea. (Two tusks and a string of shell discs.)
- D. Old Dutch Military Gorget.
- E. & F. Brass Crescent Charms common on London Cart-horses.

STRAY NOTES ON OXFORDSHIRE FOLKLORE.

(Continued from Vol. XIII., p. 295.)

III. GHOSTS.

Mrs. Hannah Wells of Bampton, now eighty-one years of age, tells the following tales: When she was a girl of fourteen a farmer, called George Andrews, was riding along the Clanfield Road past Cowleys Corner when he passed a sow with a litter of pigs. These made such a noise it frightened the horse, and in trying to stop him the farmer saw what appeared to him to be a wool-pack, which went rolling over and over along the fields from the Corner, till it at last vanished into the fish-pond near the Lady Well at Ham Court. About the same time a shepherd, called Charles Taylor, had been setting his fold. When coming along this road he turned to look for his dog and saw that he was in company of a man, quite naked. He was much frightened, but the naked man vanished. Many different "things" had been seen at Cowleys Corner, and the old folks, as Hannah Wells remembers, used to go and dig in the bank by the roadside, thinking there were money and things hidden there, but nothing was ever found within her memory.—(May, 1894.)

[Dr. J. A. Giles, writing in 1848,¹ says that Cowleas Corner was formerly the place where, "at dead of night and by torch-light," suicides used to be buried. "Apparitions" were seen there, which sometimes "vanished in the shape of a calf, sheep, or other rustic animal;" another time "an old man" appeared to a belated traveller, "dressed in a low-crowned hat and a light-coloured foul-weather great-coat, such as the shepherds of this neighbourhood are known to wear." This apparition, like the last, kept always the same distance from the observer, and at length turned into a field near the Manor House (otherwise known as Ham Court) and took the shape of a calf. Another traveller saw "something like a flash of lightning" pass "rapidly before his eyes. He had no time to observe its form, in consequence of the swiftness of its motion. A loud noise followed, and the ghost . . . glided backwards and forwards with the

¹ *History of Bampton*, 2nd ed., pp. 69-72.

speed of light and the intangibility of a vapour, through the cart of the astonished higer, as if he would cut it in pieces. It is not surprising that the horse, frightened at these doings, took to his heels. . . .”]

The Manor House at Bampton was for many years occupied by a family of the name of Whittaker. About a hundred years back it appears that one of them—a married man—was “very sweet on” a maid in the town named Roberts. Mr. Whittaker’s wife remonstrated with him in vain, and it ended in her dying of a broken heart. After her death the place was haunted by her spirit, and it was laid in a pond called Calves’ Close Pond. Later on the pond dried up and Mrs. Whittaker “came again,” and “so strong was the ghost” that they were obliged to lay her again, this time in a barrel of strong beer, which was walled up in the cellar. There the barrel is to this day.—(Mrs. Hannah Wells, July, 1894.)

[In the year 1714, Miss Ann Kendall, of Oxford, left the sum of £920 to trustees, in trust to pay from the interest of the amount £4 a year for life to each of six poor widows or single women, of the age of fifty or sixty, in St. Thomas’s parish, Oxford, and £4 a year to the preacher of a sermon on the afternoon of Christmas Day, on condition that her grave and that of her parents in St. Thomas’s Churchyard should never be removed.¹ The money arising from this bequest is still divided, but in a somewhat different way from that directed in the will. The three “Maiden Kendalls,” so the story goes, lived in an old house with latticed windows between Worcester Street and Gloucester Green, known as “Rewley House,” which was standing within these twenty-five years. Latterly it was unoccupied, and the windows were broken, and an Oxford lady of my acquaintance remembers when a child being afraid to pass it for fear of seeing the Kendalls. The sisters often used to be seen, especially on the quarter-days when the charity was distributed—Lady Day, Midsummer Day, Michaelmas, and Christmas Day. Their usual haunts were, between the corner of Worcester Street and the old bridge over the ditch at the end of George Street in Holly Bush Row, now covered over by the road, along Holly Bush Row to Oseney Lane, and at the “Nuns’ Walk,” now called the “Ox Pens,” in

¹ Charity Commissioners’ Reports, Oxon.

Hall's Close. A family named Barefoot, who lived some years back in the cottages in The Hamel (adjoining Hall's Close), where the model lodging-houses now stand, always looked for some strange sight or sound at the three months' end, and would spread the news of the appearance. The sisters "came so strong" at times that they were actually seen in broad daylight walking down Titmouse Lane. One informant says they were mostly seen separately, hardly ever together; and this agrees with the story of an eye-witness who, some thirty-three years ago, saw "Lady Ann, in evening dress, with white satin shoes," coming from the corner of Worcester Street over Hythe Bridge. The white satin shoes, by the way, seem to have been always noticed by everyone who saw the ghost. The lady before quoted, however, tells me that the sisters were generally seen together, walking one behind the other, the tallest, who was also the eldest, going first. They were generally dressed in grey silk, and my informant remembers hearing them called "the grey ladies." At last they were laid under the Castle Mill Bridge by thirteen bishops—ordinary parsons were not good enough! One of the bishops, who was chosen by lot, had to turn his back on the place of "laying" during the ceremony, and he is said to have died in the ensuing year. New channels were cut so as to insure a constant supply of water under the bridge. As long as a "tobacco-pipe full of water" runs under the bridge the sisters will remain quiet, but whenever the water runs dry, as has occasionally happened, they will come again.]

[At Stanton Harcourt there are considerable remains of the fifteenth century manor-house of the Harcourt family, including a small domestic chapel with a tower over it. This is now generally known as "Pope's Tower," owing to the fact that Pope stayed here for parts of two summers, and composed part of his *Odyssey* in one of its upper chambers. Close to the manor-house is a chain of fish-ponds, one of which is that alluded to in the following narratives. The first was told me by Joseph Goodlake of Stanton Harcourt, as follows: "A lady drowned herself in the little pond by the rookery at the back of Stanton Harcourt Manor House, and whenever the pond went dry she used to walk, and was seen driving about in a coach and four. She was at last laid in the pond by some parsons, and they take care that the pond is never allowed to dry up." There seems to

be some confusion, and I cannot say whether this is another version of Carter's, which follows, or a separate story.]

The first floor in Pope's Tower (at Stanton Harcourt) contains the room where Lady Alice was murdered. When others were at mass she was cut to pieces and thrown out of the small window. It is said her ghost was seen often, and at last the spirit was laid in one of the ponds in the grounds, and ever since it is called Lady Alice's Pond.—(February, 1894.)

Nearly two hundred years ago a family of the name of Hall lived at the Manor Farm at Stanton Harcourt. Mr. Hall was in the habit of going to the "Harcourt Arms" Inn more often than his wife liked, and at last she found out that he went to visit the landlady, Mrs. Surman. Mrs. Hall expostulated with her husband, but to no purpose, and after some time she took a strong dose of poison. She was seen to go to the pump and rinse out the glass, when she fell dead in the yard. After her burial she "came again" and walked the farmyard and garden and the inn where her rival lived. She was at last laid in a pond, which they say never runs dry. If it did run dry the ghost would walk again.—(From the Burden family of Stanton Harcourt, August, 1894.)

Some hundred years ago the first Sir Christopher Willoughby,¹ Lord of the Manor of March Baldon, died, and was buried there. After his death many people in the village were very much frightened by meeting the old gentleman taking his walks as usual, mostly at the fall of the day. He was seen most often in Dagelen Lane, leading from Nuneham Courtenay to Baldon, when he appeared to some of his old farm-labourers and others, dressed in his usual dress, a brown coat with bright shining buttons, walking with his hands in his pockets, as far as the lane gate by the church. He was also seen at the top of Muncle, at the white gates leading to Stadhampton Fields. The ghost was laid at last in the library of Baldon House.—(From Mrs. Almond, of Marsh Baldon, June, 1894.)

Some eighty years ago one of the sons of Squire Reade, of Ipsden House, fell in love with a very fine girl of the village,

¹ Sir Christopher Willoughby, descended from a cadet of the Willoughbys of Eresby, created first baronet 1794, died 5th February, 1808. (*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.*)

much against the wishes of his father and mother, and a great deal of unpleasantness followed. Seeing he could not marry the girl of his choice, he left home and joined the army, and a few years after was killed in battle. After death he returned to the old home, and was seen many times walking about the place with his head under his arm. The girl died of a broken heart, and the ghost was laid in Lane End Pond, just at the end of the village on the Wallingford Road.—(From old Mrs. Kislingbury, of Ipsden, 8th August, 1897.)¹

At Woodperry House, some eighty years ago, much commotion was felt by the people both in and out of the house by sights and sounds not to be named. The servants and others about the place were constantly upset by meeting something, they did not know what, and hearing noises like the rustling of silk, the falling of fire-irons, and the breaking of crockery. In front of the house, facing Horton, was a large lawn, with a summer-house on either side, where sometimes a man's, and at other times a woman's figure was seen. It is said that old Dr. Wilson (President of Trinity College, 1850-66) met a man in the hall, and was going to speak, but the figure vanished suddenly. Some forty years ago the ghosts were laid by Dr. Wilson and other clergymen in a well under a wood-pile.—(From T. Kinch, aged 67, February, 1898.)

Old Mrs. East, a widow aged nearly seventy, and a native of Wheatley, says that when she was a child, she was frightened by being told she must not go up Hollis Close at night, or she would see Betty Brown. This Betty Brown died about a hundred years ago, and after death she came again, and walked the Close. She was at last laid by twelve clergymen in Hollis' Ditch, after which she kept quiet. The Close was afterwards cut through by the Oxford and Wycombe Railway.—(10th February, 1898.)

One Dick Fellers, of Crowell, when a boy, kept sheep on Crowell Hill, and gave much of his time to studying herbs and flowers. After a time he took to making concoctions from them, and performed many cures of sickness. When he died, he wished to be buried in the wood where he had spent so many years, but

¹ Mr. John Reade, of Ipsden, had, by his wife, Anna Maria Scott-Waring, a son, Henry Jonathan, born 1801, who became a lieutenant in the 4th Bengal Light Cavalry, and was killed in action at Kolah, 17th October, 1821.—(Compton Reade, *Records of the Reades*, 1899, pp. 72, 84.) This seems to suit the approximate date, and the early death of the unfortunate lover.

they buried him instead in the churchyard. Here, however, he could not rest, so at last they took up the body and buried it again in Crowell Wood. A headstone, known as "Old Man's Grave," is still to be seen here, inscribed—

In Memory of Richard Fellers D^r of Phyfick.

—(27th October, 1897.)¹

Collwell Spring is in Dorchester Parish, but there is another, called Shadwell Spring, in Drayton Parish. The waters of both were formerly much used for sore or weak eyes. Between these springs there are some fields that many years ago were farmed by a man named Faulkner, who used to ride to both, and use the waters. In course of time he died, but after his death he was frequently seen riding the same black horse. A man named Hicks, of Drayton, aged seventy-six, told me that he was with his uncle many years back—and he was over eighty—and he told him he saw the man and horse coming towards the gate, and he hurried to open it; but before he could get to it, they both passed through without it being opened. Hicks said he was afraid to go that way for a long time after.—(February, 1894.)

About a hundred years ago, a woman called Nanny Martin lived at Wick Farm, near Headington. In the farmyard is a fine spring of water, covered by a stone well-house, which was much used by poor people for curing sore eyes (it has been so used within the last forty years); and Nanny Martin was very kind to those who came to use the water. One day she was murdered,

¹ On visiting the "Old Man's Grave" in September, 1902. I found the inscription to be perfectly legible, but could see no sign on the stone of the date 1724, which the people of Crowell say is cut on it. The character of the lettering is not inconsistent with that date. The grave is now surrounded by tall beech-trees, but the old sexton can remember hearing as a boy that the hill-side used to be an open sheep-walk, with clumps of bushes scattered over it. It was between three of these clumps, in "a sort of garden," that Fellers had wished to be buried, and some straggling and decayed elder-bushes that still remain probably represent them. A careful search through the parish registers of Crowell—thanks to the kindness of the rector—enables me to say that the name of Richard Fellers does not occur in them between their commencement, *c.* 1600 and 1800, the only names at all resembling his being those of Alice and Ann, daughters of Richard and Mary Fellow, buried respectively February 11, 1625, and October 2, 1633. Neither does his name occur in any book of reference that I have consulted.

no one knew how ; and after her death she often came to the spring, and was seen walking in all parts of the farm. One place where she was often seen was the footpath leading from the farm to Stow Wood. Mrs. Drewitt (widow of the late Joseph Drewitt, of Barton, Headington) says that a man called Green (of Horton, now dead), had her company several times as far as the last field on the footpath belonging to the farm, and then she disappeared. James Bannister, of Beckley, says that Green, when going late one night from Barton to Horton through the farm, found he had Nanny's company, and that being beery he tried to kiss her, but she vanished. Joseph Drewitt remembered some of his mates going to steal apples from the orchard at the farm. When they got there the orchard gate opened of its own accord, and the apple-tree shook so violently that nearly all the apples fell off the tree. They got some of these and ran off, the gate slamming loudly as it shut.

James Bannister says that one of the labourers on the farm was very fond of russet apples. One night he climbed a tree in the orchard to get a few, when there was Nanny Martin sitting in the tree by him ! He fell out of the tree and ran away. James Morris says that his father was a carter at the Wick Farm, and that often when he returned with his horses in the twilight the yard gate would open of its own accord, and he would hear the noise as of the rustling of a silk dress brush past him. An old man, called William Girl, living in Headington, says that he and a mate were coming from Stow Wood to Barton one night, and were near the brook that runs by the farm, when he said to his mate, "We shall see old Nanny to-night." Almost as soon as he had spoken, she appeared. The ghost was that of a tall woman dressed in silk, for they heard the rustling of the dress. As they got near to it, it vanished through a hedge with a deafening noise. Girl was ill for some time afterwards. The ghost is said to be laid in a pond near the farm called "Nanny Martin's Pond."—(June, 1894.)

Samuel Jeffries, of Enstone, was an eye-witness of many of the following events :—Thomas Hall, blacksmith, and Ann his wife, lived at Little Tew about fifty years ago. While there, they were troubled with supernatural visits. No ghosts were seen, but noises of different kinds were heard. Sometimes they would be sitting at meals, when there would be a sound as of a cock crow-

ing very loudly ; then the dishes, &c., in the cupboard would sound as if they were being smashed. At last Hall and his wife left Little Tew, and went to Hook Norton, where he set up in business ; but the same noises were heard here. Mrs. Bench, mother of Mrs. Hall, told Jeffries that when she went to bed there was a noise under her head in the pillow, as if some one were groaning. She actually struck the pillow with a pen-knife, and blood appeared on it. The Halls left Hook Norton and came to Enstone, where they again set up a smithy ; but here the noises were worse than ever. Jeffries says that he often went into the blacksmith's shop to help Hall, and that when he was striking the iron, it seemed as if some one took hold of the handle of the hammer and made him miss his stroke. Once, when he was talking to the Halls in their sitting-room, the fire-irons suddenly left their places and walked across the room, whereupon Jeffries bolted. Another time, when Mrs. Hall was laying the table for dinner, a voice asked for a plate as well, and Mrs. Hall said she was obliged to put one, or there would be no peace. Jeffries often heard the plates and dishes rattling as if they were all coming down together. Once he was in the house talking to Hall, when there was a bang as if a gun had been fired, and a bullet came through the door and hit the table. No hole was to be seen in the door.

Hall and his wife have been dead some years, and no noises are now heard in Enstone. Mrs. Jeffries says that Mrs. Hall was always very strange, but she liked her as a neighbour.—(July, 1894.)

There was once a large house at Northbrook, near Kirtlington, where Sir James Dashwood lived and died. After his death he "came again," and at last he came so often that they had to lay him in the pond. When this pond runs dry he will come again. After the ghost was laid the house was pulled down and the stones used to build the house in Kirtlington Park.—(February, 1894.)¹

¹ Northbrook, which lies about one-and-a-half miles north of Kirtlington village, is now only a farmhouse, but a chain of fishponds shows that there was once a more important residence here, and indeed a mansion-house is depicted in the map appended to R. Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* in 1677. The tradition is not quite correct. The present seat of the Dashwood family in Kirtlington Park was built by J. Saunderson in 1746 for Sir James Dashwood, who lived there, and died in 1779.

[The western end of St. Margaret's Road, Oxford, was formerly known as "Rackham's Lane," and at a still earlier date as "Greenditch."¹ It was here that the city gallows stood, and that executions were carried out at least from the fourteenth century.² A significant record of this custom is to be found in the name "Scape Gallows Lane," which was also applied to this part of the road. An Oxford lady tells me that when she was a child the Devil was supposed to be heard at night rattling chains opposite the site of St. Margaret's Church: and that she was once taken to the spot to listen for him, by people who had heard him themselves. Another informant tells me (1901) that it used to be said that the Devil walked at night in Cheyney Lane, on Headington Hill, just outside Oxford, and that he could be heard rattling *chains*, hence the name of the lane. A man used to be seen here walking about with his head under his arm.]

IV. TRADITIONS OF SUICIDES.

Before the enclosure of Cowley Marsh and Iffley Parish, there was a road running eastwards at the point where Donnington Lane enters the high road from Iffley to Oxford at the Mile End, thus forming a four-cross road. Some hundred years ago it is said that a harness maker living in Oxford got into disgrace for selling stirrup-irons and bits of base metal as silver. He rode out to the crossways, and, tying his horse to a tree, shot himself. He was buried in the middle of the roads opposite where the deed was done. It is said that a skeleton was found here when the drainage works were going on about 1895.—(11 November, 1897.)

The place where the road from Stonesfield to Fawler meets the road from Northleigh and Ashford Mill, which continues northwards as "The Ridgeway," is known as "Mary Hill's Grave," and it is said that one Mary Hill, a suicide, was buried here in the middle of the four roads with a stake through her body.³

¹ A. Wood, *City of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i. 345.

² H. Hurst, *Oxford Topography* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), p. 23.

³ The name "Mary Hill's Grave" occurs at least as early as 1712, for Thomas Hearne, writing in his diary at that date, says, "There are divers Barrows (Danish Barrows) in and about the Parish of Stonesfield and other places not far distant. . . . Mary Hill's Grave is between Fawler and Stonesfield." T. Hearne, *Collections*, ed. by J. Doble (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii.,

The same story is told of "Will's Grave," where the road from Kiddington to Steeple Barton crosses that from Wootton to Sandford St. Martin, and of "Jug's Grave," at the crossing of the Shipton-under-Wychwood to Leafield, and Charlbury to Burford, roads.

[Under this heading I may perhaps include the following passage from Anthony Wood's Diary¹ for Oct. 23, 1681:—"Sunday, between 10 and 11 in the morning, Mr. William Cardinall hanged himself in his bed-chamber [in Merton College] on his door, discovered by his maid after 12 of the clock. He had only his shirt and night-cap on, and there he hung till between 7 and 8 at night; and then the coroner and jury, coming and seeing him there, pronounced that he was not *compos mentis*. About 11 at night he was buried stark naked in the vestrie yard on the south side of the chancel."]

PERCY MANNING.

THE FESTIVAL OF UPHELLY A' (OR THE END OF YULE) AS
NOW CELEBRATED AT LERWICK.

(See *Orkney and Shetland Folklore*, by G. F. Black and
N. W. Thomas, p. 205.)

"The ancient festival of 'Uphelly A'' was celebrated at Lerwick on Wednesday on a most magnificent scale, and with a pomp and display that dwarfed former efforts. The following announcement was put up at the Market Cross early in the morning :

UPHELLY A'.

GRAND TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION.

HARK YE, DWELLERS IN THE BURGH.

I, the undersigned, do hereby give forth that the guizers shall assemble at the South Esplanade, at 7.30 (New School time). The Procession shall start

401-2. The fact that there was an ancient earthwork here, and the frequent connection between goblins and earthworks, makes one wonder whether "Mary Hill" may not be a corruption of "Merry Hill"—a name found elsewhere—and whether both may not be connected with the old English *mare*, a goblin.

¹ *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. by A. Clark (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i., 557.

at 8 prompt. Route—North along Commercial Street and Road, up Harbour Street, south along High Street and Hillhead, down Queen's Lane, and thence to Market Cross. War song and bonfire.

All newly-appointed elders in our procession must make forty trips to the kirk per annum, or the penny a Sunday door dues will not be reduced. All guizers who do not dance with Wesleyan dress shoes will be dippit. As the Millaria has disappeared from the New School, a Whiteman will probably exist there. To aid the merchants in giving Christmas presents the guizers will now return last year's calendars. The public have my permission to libel anybody provided the £5 donation comes into our hands. N.B.—Terms cash; no hosiery and promises. The Scotch Colony is now studying microbes under the supervision of the County Council. The coming Town Band and the Gut Factory having frightened the winter herring, a Royal Arch Chapter will be read from the deck of the new steamer to bring them back. Our Education BILL prohibits tea-drinking in the New School.

(Signed) MASSA W. A. A. TEA.

In order to encourage the shipbuilding trade the N. of S. Coy. must be maintained.

Defacers of this Bill must provide their own funeral expenses. No composition.

The Worthy Chief Guizer, his [imprint of a foot] trade mark.

“The juvenile portion of the community were first to start the fun. Early in the evening, quite a number of small ‘galleys’ (so-called) were hauled through the streets and over the roads, finally being burned in orthodox fashion, while the youngsters danced round the fires in great glee. Later in the evening two very fine specimens of finely-constructed galleys appeared, large enough to enable an embryo musician to be seated in each as it was dragged along the streets, the other members of squad carrying blazing torches. This was the work of the fourth and fifth standard children, and it was really much to their credit that they carried out so successfully their quota of the ‘Uphelly A’ rejoicings.

“The hour of assembly for the guizers was fixed for 7.30 p.m. The arrival of the huge Norse galley was the sign for loud cheering, and she was a ship worthy of such a greeting, with arched dragon head and tail—brilliantly painted in silver and gold—and her graceful curves and lines, she looked a beauty, with the warriors' shields hung over the side, and a company of musicians on board playing lively tunes on their violins. A smaller galley, but equally well got up and as elaborately decorated, also appeared on the scene. This ‘long ship’ had been the work of

what is known as 'The Market Street squad,' and clearly shows that the celebration of the festivity of 'Uphelly A' is safe with the next generation. But there was an entirely new departure this year. A modern vessel next hauled up into position. This was a finely constructed brig, full rigged, and bearing the appropriate name of 'Viking.' She measured sixteen feet eight inches over all, and was about sixteen feet from keel to truck. That she was the handiwork of a seaman was evident, as everything was complete, from the anchors and chains on the bows to the wheel and ports aft. The crew, consisting of young men from Garthspool, were seated on board, and their vessel called forth pleasant comment as she stood in the light of the torches on the Esplanade.

"The guizers were meantime marshalled on the Esplanade and torches handed out to all and sundry, and when this work had been accomplished, lights were applied to the torches, and the procession started north Commercial Street, the route as advertised being carefully adhered to. The huge galley led the van, the smaller galley occupying a place about the centre of the procession, while the rear was brought up by the brig Viking. There were upwards of two hundred torches and over three hundred guizers, and the dresses were most elaborate and effective. One squad in black flowing robes, lighted up by silver stars and crescent moon, represented Night; while another duplicated the fiery beard and careful grooming of *Captain Kettle*. One squad had struck on the novel idea of representing novels by eminent writers, such as *Queen of Night*, *In Black and White*, *The Pirate*, and the *Black Dwarf*, *The Manxman*, the *Scarlet Woman*, and *The Woman in White*. And there were monks and clowns, Turks, Malay priests, old English squires, Burgomeisters, Greeks, Jack Tars in blue, and girl sailors in white, tennis parties, besides that indescribable variety of costumes which greets the eye on every such occasion. Arriving back at the Market Cross the three ships were hauled together, and after the guizers had been lined up 'Auld Lang Syne' was sung, when the flaming torches were tossed on board the doomed craft, and the blaze of the bonfire speedily lighted up the whole scene, a considerable number of people standing in the vicinity for some time.

"The squads were then formed, and each with their 'fiddler' started on their rounds. There were a considerable number of

houses 'open,' besides both the Rechabite and Mason Halls, and the guizers spent the early hours of Thursday on their rounds of visiting, and danced 'richt merrilie' till a very advanced hour. Too much praise cannot be given to the committee who worked so very enthusiastically to make the ancient festival of 'Uphelly A' the splendid success it was."—[Abridged from the *Shetland Times*, Saturday, January 31st, 1903.—ED.]

EXTRACTS FROM SIGNOR V. BUSUTIL'S "HOLIDAY CUSTOMS
IN MALTA." (Malta, 1894.)

(Communicated by Mr. H. W. Underdown through
Mr. J. G. Frazer.)

St. John's Eve.—"Not unlike other nations, the Maltese are not indifferent in celebrating the Nativity of St. John by kindling great fires in the public streets, and giving their children dolls to carry in their arms on this day, in order to make good the prophecy respecting the Baptist, *Multi in nativitate ejus gaudebunt*. Days and even weeks before this festival groups of children are seen going out into the country fields to gather straw, twigs, and all sorts of other combustibles, which they store up for St. John's Eve.

"On the night of the 23rd of June, the day before the festival of the saint, great fires are kindled in the streets, squares, and market places of the towns and villages of the island, and as fire after fire blazes out of the darkness of that summer night, the effect is singularly striking. These fires are sometimes kept up for hours, being continually fed by the scores of bystanders, who take great delight in throwing amidst the flames some old rickety piece of furniture which they consider as lumber in their houses. Lots of happy and reckless children, and very often men, are seen merrily leaping in succession over and through the crackling flames.

"At the time of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, the Grand Master himself, soon after the *Angelus*, used to leave his palace, accompanied by the Grand Prior, the Bishop, and two bailiffs, to

set fire to some pitch barrels which were placed for the occasion in the square facing the sacred hospital.

“Great crowds used to assemble here in order to assist at this ceremony. The setting ablaze of the five casks, and later on of the eight casks,¹ by the Grand Master, was a signal for the others to kindle their fires in the different parts of the town.

. Formerly the Feast of St. John (24th of June) was very popular in Malta. It ranked with that of SS. Peter and Paul, celebrated at Notabile on the 29th of the same month.

“The number of people that flocked to Valletta from all parts of the island, on the morning of the day, was indeed very great. When the procession was over, most of the country people repaired to the upper Barracca, which was then roofed over, and consequently offered a very comfortable temporary asylum. Here they amused themselves till the evening, eating, drinking, and singing” (pp. 56-66).

May Day.—“Historians mention that there was a time in Malta, during the government of the Knights of St. John, when it was customary on the 1st of May to deck the Grand Master’s palace balcony, and the doors of those who were invested with the Grand Cross, with branches of trees” (pp. 112-113).

The Rose.—“When a woman is about to give birth to a child she sends to one of her neighbours for the loan of a withered flower called the ‘passion flower,’ which is put at once into the water, As soon as the flower opens the woman is delivered of the child.

“It is true that the rose opens after it has remained in the water for some time, although quite withered, but the fanaticism of some of our people is really excessive. A certain man relates that his wife was about to be confined and one of the neighbours brought her a passion flower. In the confusion, however, that prevailed at the moment, the withered flower was thrown into a drawer, and they forgot all about it. Shortly after, the woman was delivered of three sons. The flower, however, was not to be seen. One of the inmates then remembered that it was left in a drawer. What was his astonishment on opening that drawer to find that on the stem of the withered flower were brought forth *three* branches covered with leaves” (p. 137).

H. W. UNDERDOWN.

¹ Eight being the languages of the Order.

[The following further extracts from the same work have been kindly made by Miss Eyre.]

St. Anthony's Day.—On the 17th January (St. Anthony's Day) a number of horses, mules, and donkeys, decked out in ribbons and tassels, are driven in procession in front of the Vittoria, a little church in the St. Mezzodi, where a priest standing at the door sprinkles the animals with holy water as they pass by. At Notabile . . . the quadrupeds partake of some barley which is placed in a tray for them.

Carnival—the Parata.—On Saturday morning the “Parata” opens the carnival diversions. This consists of about thirty men of the lower classes dressed up, some in gay Turkish dresses, and others as European warriors, all armed with wooden swords. These men meet first opposite the Governor's palace, where they commence dancing and striking their wooden swords with great dexterity to the sound of music. The dance is concluded by lifting up a little girl, splendidly arrayed, and girded with a small dagger which she is taught to wave with one hand whilst with the other she throws kisses in a very graceful manner. The companies then range through the city and perform their evolutions before the doors of the wealthy, to whom the little girl, who is called *Il Gharusa tal Parata* (the Bride), is taken to receive money. The Parata is a commemoration of the Maltese victory over the Musalmans in 1565.

In the afternoon of this first day of the carnival . . . troops of boys, with their faces besmeared, and clad in all kinds of incongruous garments, parade through the streets with all sorts of instruments of noise, such as trumpets, drums, whistles, and empty petroleum tins.

Easter Eve.—On Easter Eve, just at sunset, at Valletta and Vittoriosa, two or three men, one with a big drum and the others with fifes, playing a merry tune, go about the streets followed by large crowds of men, among whom noisy bands of lads, who keep rushing and pushing wildly all the time through the spectators.

Easter Sunday.—Very early on Easter Sunday, before daylight, there is, in each town and in some of the villages of Malta, a procession with the image representing the resurrection of the Lord. That of Valletta is the most popular. At about 3 a.m. the procession—which consists of a number of young men carry-

ing lighted lamps in their hands, led by the "Papas," and followed by the image—proceeds through some of the principal streets of Valletta. . . . When the procession arrives at the small church of Vittoria the bearers of the image halt awhile: all at once the way is cleared and a general run is taken with the image as far as the walls of the city. This run is repeated three or four times at different parts of the town. Easter eggs, figolla, and round cheese cakes are given. The figolla consists of a bit of flat baked dough, cut in the shape of a woman, a turk, an eagle, a horse, a star, or a basket, with one or more eggs, having the shell stained red, or some other colour, embedded in its centre, fixed in position by cross-bands of paste.

Ascension Day.—The custom of making swings on Ascension Day is very common in Malta, especially among the country people.

On *St Martin's Day* children are given bags of hazelnuts, chestnuts, figs, sweets, &c., and a roll studded with hazelnut-kernels and covered all over with sesame. The most favourite game for children on this occasion is what they call "ta'l castell" . . . three nuts are put near each other, topped by a fourth. They each arrange two or three of these castles in rows, and keep throwing by turns—everyone wins the castle he succeeds in hitting and demolishing.

Christmas Eve.—The approaching festival of Christmas is heralded in some of the villages of Malta by the appearance of *zakk* or tambour players in the streets. The *zakk* is a wind instrument, formed of an inflated dogskin, which is held by the player under under his left arm, with the legs directed upwards, and having a mouthpiece by which the skin is filled, and a cane flute or pipe which is played with both hands. This the country people play at this time of the year, to represent the shepherds of Bethlehem.

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who for the greater part, consulted only their own interest and the suitableness of the connection, without at all consulting the inclinations of their children. The articles of the contract having been settled and the marriage portion agreed upon, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of a certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribbon, with a ring or some costly jewel in its mouth. The first interview was then

fixed to take place in the presence of the parents and their kinsfolk, best friends, and neighbours, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments. Before this meeting took place, the mothers of the two young people retired, either into an arbour in the garden or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey, with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted into the room where her future husband awaited her arrival, who presented her with a ring on which was engraved two hands united—the emblem of mutual faith—together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain; she presenting him in return with a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribbon. This ceremony is called “*il chelma*,” the engagement. On the morning of the wedding-day the most honoured personage amongst the husband's relations threw a fine white veil over the bride's head, who wore a brocade or velvet dress, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpose of affixing small golden shells. The bridal procession then proceeded to the church for the ceremony, attended by musicians playing different instruments and by singers who sang stanzas in praise of the young couple. These musicians were preceded by three men: the first bearing on his head a basin of white earth on which was placed a big cake with two figures, representing the bride and bridegroom—the man who carried this basin also wore a scarf with a round cake hanging from it. The second carried a basket filled with sugar plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations distributed among such acquaintances as he happened to meet. In the middle of the basket was a handkerchief, folded in the form of a pyramid and ornamented with images of the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the Infant Jesus. The third man was constantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding. The rest of the relations and invited friends, called the *Haddara*, closed the procession. The arrival of the bridal procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells. The officiating priest was then presented with a basin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine, the usual fee on such occasions . . . every one returned from church in the same order as before. As the newly married couple wended their way to their house, the women

and girls who crowded the balconies showered flowers upon them, also nuts and grains of wheat, and on their entering the house one of the kinsfolk threw from one of the windows or balcony a few handfuls of barley and some small coins on their heads.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards ; but the bride ate in a separate apartment. The repast being ended she was seated next to her husband and drank out of the same cup. At a village wedding the company always danced during the feast, each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers, and each guest contributing a fowl to the repast. The bride always passed a week in her father's house, after which she was received with much pomp by her husband, whose relations gave a great feast which was called "il hargia."

The *Kuccija* is an elaborate entertainment given by the parents on the first anniversary of their children's birth. The company of relations and friends having assembled the child is brought in, and if it be a boy he is presented with a basket or tray containing corn, sweetmeats, coins, an inkstand, a candle, a rosary, a book, a sword, and other toys. If the baby is a girl, needles, silk, and ribbons supply the place of the sword and inkstand. The choice the baby makes on this occasion will, according to Maltese notions, give a just idea of his future disposition and the profession which he will follow.

On the *Death* of a Maltese, two or three women called *Neuuiha*, hired for the occasion and attired in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the house, singing in a low and dismal voice some appropriate death-song. These women cut away branches of such vines as formed arbours in the courts, disturbed the furniture &c., in all the apartments, overturned the flowerpots in the windows, broke some of the ornamental furniture, and carrying the fragments to a retired spot, threw them into a cauldron of boiling water in which they mixed soot and ashes. With this liquid they stained all the doors of the house, howling and sobbing most dismally whilst performing the operation. The *Neuuiha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceased, already in his coffin and surrounded by his female relations wearing veils over their faces and black silk cloaks—the room being stripped of all its furniture and hung with black cloth. The *Neuuiha*, throwing themselves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began singing the praises of the dead, and cut off handfuls of their hair which they spread over the coffin.

On the same day cakes and boiled wheat were distributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off the tails of every horse at the stables belonging to the deceased. The funeral procession was always composed of the relations in mourning, preceded by some boys playing the fifes or trumpets. Before the corpse was interred a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days to show that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it. No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceased, and either one of the relations or an intimate friend sent a dinner to the inhabitants of the house, which they ate cross-legged on the floor. Women on this occasion remained forty days in the house, but men went out on the seventh day with their faces unshaven.

St. Paul's Tongue.—It was a popular belief among our ancestors that the teeth of fish which we find embedded in some of the rocks are St. Paul's tongue, which during his sermons penetrated even the solid rock. These fossils were pounded and the powder was held to possess a miraculous power in healing wounds. Until recently it has been known that some of our country folks used to carry one of these teeth about with them, sometimes mounted in silver and hung about their necks as an amulet against the bites of venomous serpents.

Gangan.—Many women and children believe that those who are born on Christmas Eve, just at the very time when our Lord was born, will continue until their death to be transformed to a ghost while asleep, every year just on Christmas Eve. They then go out and wander all over the island frightening people with their groanings . . . and awake in the morning quite unconscious of their nocturnal expedition. Others . . . add . . . that a person may get rid of this annual transformation by taking a sieve and spending from eleven o'clock at night until Christmas morning at dawn counting the holes.

Evil Eye.—Various charms are practised for counteracting this cruel species of witchcraft . . . One who has been influenced by the evil eye of another must procure a piece of cloth from the dress of the person by whom he has been fascinated, burn it, and expose himself to the smoke of it. Some of the chief consist in spitting, or making a big cross with the thumb on the belly, whilst saying the words "Tohrog il ghageb," or sticking some brown wax from

the candles used in the Holy Week service to the heads of children or animals. Some again hang a sort of sea-shell called *bahbuha* round the necks of the little ones or cattle . . . a pair of horns is also used by some as a charm against the evil eye.

Ghost of the House—Il Hares. Some of the country folk say that this *hares* exists in the shape of an old black serpent, which guards the house and bestows riches and good luck on the children born in that house. It is held extremely unlucky to kill the old black serpent.

[*Fortune Telling* by melted lead on St. John's Day.]

The Bath on Easter Sunday. As soon as the *Gloria* is sung in the churches mothers dip their babies into a bath in which are thrown some flowers which were used to decorate the sepulchre on Good Friday. This the mothers do to cure their littles ones of any fright they may have taken. Some mothers dip their other children in succession in the same bath when the baby is taken out; this they do that their children might not inherit the fright the one from another.

Meeting.—If two women who have been confined on the same day meet before forty days, one of them will suffer misfortune, either in her own person or that of her child.

If a person goes to pay a visit for the first time, and is not treated with a sort of drink called Zambur (of aniseed), a mouse enters the drawers and gnaws the petticoats of the mistress of the house.

If a woman wishes her husband or son to return from abroad, she is to light a lamp and leave it before the entrance door . . . and keep doing so until she sees her dear one entering the house.

Those among the Maltese who wish to possess a balsam having the property of healing all wounds, take an egg that has been laid on Lady Day, hide it . . . in a dark place, and begin to use it at the end of a year.

If the acacia were brought into the house the head thereof would die within twelve months. . . . When one kills a newt and leaves its tail wagging on the floor, that tail will be cursing the parents of its destroyer.

The throwing of coal dust or soot instead of lime before a door on *New Year's Day* betokens bad luck. He who does not dine with his family on *New Year's Day* is expected to die at the end of the same year. He who eats hotchpotch soup on *New*

Year's Day is to gnaw the ham bones all the rest of the year. Those who eat cabbages on New Year's Day groan for a whole year.

The spilling of oil is considered a very unlucky sign by the Maltese. The spilling of salt or wine, however, betokens good luck.

When one plucks up and replants a stem of parsley he may expect to lose one of his parents within the year.

When a hen crows it is at once destroyed, as it foretells the death of some member of the family.

The appearance of a white hawk-moth betokens the coming home of some one who is abroad. . . . A black hawk-moth, however, is a harbinger of sad news.

Folk Medicine.—The blood of a tortoise is an excellent remedy for jaundice caused by a fright. If the patient be a man he is to bleed a female tortoise in the leg and make the sign of the cross with its blood on the joints of his arms and legs. But if the patient be a woman she is to bleed a male tortoise.

For Fright.—Kill a puppy, boil it, give the patient to drink the water in which it is boiled, then throw the whole boiled pup on to the plate in such a way as to cause a fright to the patient.

MARGARET EYRE.

THE DOG IN FOLK-MEDICINE.

(See last paragraph of preceding article.)

The following paragraph is quoted from *Our Dogs* for May 3, 1902 :—

“The Blackburn magistrates had a gruesome case before them the other day. A youth of the name of William Heaton was caught red-handed, as it were, decoying a valuable dog from its home for the purpose of killing it and rendering it down to fat. It appears that dog-grease, as it is called, has attained considerable local notoriety as a cure for rheumatism. As a result, the killing of canine waifs and their transformation into ointment has de-

veloped into a small industry Blackburn way. It transpired in evidence that Heaton's father has carried on the calling for years. This ointment, which is popularly supposed to have extraordinary curative properties, it was stated, is sold at 1s. 6d. per pound. . . .

"The *Live Stock Journal* refers to another example of the superstition that still exists in connection with old folklore, and reports a strange story that appeared in its columns in July, 1885. In this case a woman took a newly-born puppy, skinned and boiled it, and gave the soup made therefrom to her baby of six months old. When asked the reason for so doing, she said it was the custom, as the broth of a new-born pup had a magical effect on a weakly child, and after partaking of puppy soup, its blood changed, and it would grow up healthy and strong."

P. MANNING.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FOLKLORE FROM THE HEBRIDES: A DISCLAIMER.

(Vol. xiii., p. 29.)

IN a paper entitled "More Folklore from the Hebrides," by Miss A. Goodrich-Freer, read at a meeting of 6th November, 1901, and published 25th March, 1902, occur the following words: "In the very few cases in which I have presented examples already published by Mr. Carmichael in his *Carmina Gadelica*, it is because we have both borrowed from a common fount, the Rev. Allan Macdonald, &c."

I should be guilty of an injustice to my good friend Mr. Carmichael if I were to allow the statement to pass without comment. The author of *Carmina Gadelica* borrowed nothing from me. I did put a book of notes at his disposal, as he courteously mentions in the introduction of his great work, but, as he tells us in the same paragraph, he was unable to make use of these notes, having so much material of his own. Mr. Carmichael has done more for the collection of Island folklore than any living man.

ALLAN M'DONALD.

Eriskay, South Uist, 7th January, 1903.

THE FIJIAN FIRE-WALK

(Vol. xiii., p. 29.)

Mr. Alfred Haggard has kindly sent me this most recent account of the Fire-Walk in Fiji. As we learn from Miss Teneira Henry and other writers, the Fijian ceremony used to be one of First

Fruits, and in this case cooking the fruits was practised. The time of exposure of the men to the heat was not taken by a watch, or is not here recorded ; nor is any attempt to ascertain the surface heat mentioned. But other witnesses may have taken more exact records.

A. LANG.

Extract from Letter from Lieut. Vernon H. Haggard, R.N.,
H.M.S. *Royal Arthur*, Australian Squadron.

Dated August 24th, 1902, Suva, Viti Levu.

“Yesterday was a most interesting day. Some of us landed at the invitation of the Governor to see a fire-walking ceremony which he had arranged. This fire-walking is done only by a tribe which lives in an island a few miles away, and they very seldom do it. One old inhabitant told me he had never seen it in the thirty-two years he had lived in Fiji ; so we were in luck.

“There is not much in it, but it was a picturesque sight. It was carried out in a disused quarry, shaped something like an amphitheatre, quite near Government House ; in the centre was the oven, a pit in which a large heap of rounded stones had been heated up over a wood fire since dawn. The charred and glowing logs had been removed from the top so that we could go and inspect the stones and satisfy ourselves that they were hot. They were.

“The first part of the ceremony consisted of spreading the heap of stones to the necessary flatness. This was done by about forty handsome, frizzy-headed Fijians, splendid fellows, naked from the waist up except for a necklace of flowers, and clothed with a bushy skirt of dyed leaves and flowers. They look very well with their glistening brown skins and rippling muscles, and walk with the swing of a Highlander. These men spread the stones with the help of a long pliant creeper as thick as one’s arm, which was dragged backwards and forwards across the heap. It was a long business, and took at least an hour.

“When they were at last satisfied their headman gave a shout, and out of a reed-brake on the far side of the quarry the fire-walkers came running in single file. They went on to the stones (with feet bare) and walked round the heap once, when the other men rushed up with armfuls of leaves and branches which they

flung on the stones. Bundles of yams wrapped in leaves were also thrown on to be cooked, and on top of these, almost hidden in the dense clouds of smoke, the fire-walkers stood, and it was over. They could not have been on the hot stones more than three-quarters of a minute, but it was probably quite enough for them. The explanation of how it can be done probably lies in the fact that the stones are not *very* hot, and that these men come from a place where the rocks are so uncomfortable to walk on that their feet welcome the hot brick as a pleasant change."

True copy.

ALFRED H. HAGGARD.

14 . 10 . 02.

FIFTH OF NOVEMBER CUSTOMS.

Mr. H., who is more than seventy, told me at the beginning of November, 1902, that when he was a lad all the young men of Kirton-in-Lindsey claimed the right of shooting over the whole parish on the 5th of November. "When the sport was over," he added, "they met together in the market place to fire off their guns."

The belief that the people of a parish may legally shoot "all over the lordship" on this day is not uncommon in North Lincolnshire.

Does it rest on some old folk-custom? So far as I am aware, manorial records do not speak of such a practice.

At the present time the boys of Kirton have a 5th of November bonfire on the green, but I am told by Mr. G., a septuagenarian, who has lived all his life in the little town, that according to his experience they have never made effigies of Guy Fawkes. Some of the boys of the middle class once burnt a figure representing an unpopular schoolmaster, and representations of notorious public characters are occasionally offered to the flames, but a genuine Gunpowder Plot Guy he believes to be unknown. Whether Guys are rare in Lincolnshire I cannot say, for my experience happens to be small, but in fact all the Guys I have seen were beyond the borders of the county.

A correspondent of mine writing from Hampshire says: "This is November 5th, 'bonfire night.' It always astonishes me how little Liphook and many other places know of a Guy Fawkes." The boys, it appears, let off fireworks, light a public bonfire, and for days beforehand run about in masks, but they have no Guy. "In my life I never saw one; they never had one at Wakefield (Yorkshire). On the other hand, at Southampton, and within a few miles of here, the Guy is the great feature and the fire the necessary second; though at Bosham, near Chichester, I am told, certain men are called 'bonfire boys,' and they dress up every year in fancy dresses and have a procession, and wind up with a bonfire; but there is no Guy. I suppose it shows that the bonfire is the older institution; yet when history is taught in every school it is strange that the children should so soon forget the later idea of 'Guy Fawkes Day.'" Then my friend goes on to inquire, "Which is the commoner, 'Guy Fawkes Day' with a Guy to carry round, or 'Bonfire Night' with no Guy to burn?"

It may be that originally Guy was only burnt in effigy in the parishes where the Reformation and its results were popular. No doubt, in many counties the religious sympathies of the people would prevent any great detestation of Fawkes and his fellow-plotters. For instance, we should scarcely expect to find Guys in the Roman Catholic parts of Lancashire or Yorkshire, or even in those villages of now Wesley-following Lincolnshire which furnished men to help in the rising against Henry VIII.'s innovations, for long after that king's death a grudge against the Reformation and all its promoters must have rankled.

Where can information be found on the British and the continental autumn-fires, and are November autumn-fires mentioned in manorial records, &c., before the time of the Gunpowder Plot?

In Würtemberg, some twenty years ago, I heard a great explosion of firearms, which I was told signified that the grape-harvest was over, but I do not remember whether bonfires were lighted or not.

MABEL PEACOCK.

Very little seems to have been recorded as to the details of Guy Fawkes celebrations. When I was making collections for *Shropshire Folklore* I was told that it was or had been customary at the farmhouses to have a bonfire on the 5th of November, which agreed with the impression I had derived in childhood

from servants and labourers. I only heard of carrying or burning effigies at Ludlow; and personally I have only seen them in *seaport towns* (London being one). I have a childish, but distinct, memory of parties of boys carrying effigies at Ilfracombe on 5th November, 1859. They brought them round to the houses, rang at the door, and asked for money for them; as the girls did with dolls on the 1st of May. One party, I remember, carried not an effigy, but a living man with his face blacked. What I noted on the south-east coast in 1894 will be found in *Folklore*, v., 38. A *quondam* "Bonfire Boy" of Hastings now tells me that the rhyme they sang at and about that date was as follows:

Remember, remember, the fifth of November,
 Gunpowder treason and plot;
 I see no reason why Gunpowder Treason
 Should ever be forgot.
 A stick and a stake
 For King George's sake,
 Holla, boys! holla, boys! make the town ring!
 Holla, boys! holla, boys! God save the King!
 Hip, hip, hooray!

They carried effigies and burnt them afterwards.

At Eastbourne, as he tells me from local knowledge, the festival is postponed till the 9th November ("Lord Mayor's Day"). The rhyme is practically the same as that I learnt at Ilfracombe; but in Kensington, in 1901, I heard and saw boys carrying a "Guy" and singing the following debased formula:

Please to remember
 The fifth of November
 Should never be forgot.
 Guy, Guy, Guy!
 Hit 'im in the eye!
 Stick 'im up the chimney-pots and there let 'im lie!

Others will no doubt be able to give further evidence of the local distribution of the effigy-burning. Guy Fawkes doubtless "took over" a pre-existent custom, but what? And how is he related to the torchlight processions of some of our Northern fishermen?

C. S. BURNE.

MID-LENT BONFIRE IN VENICE, 1819.

I have much pleasure in sending you the following extract referring to a sort of Guy Fawkes celebration prevalent in Italy before 1820. I believe the book from which it is taken is somewhat rare.

C. J. TABOR.

“This season of peace and penitence [*i.e.* Lent] is, however, interrupted by a very odd popular festival which takes place (according to our university slang) on the day that term divides. The origin of it seems lost; for though common in the greater part of Italy, with some variety of circumstance, I never met with a person, from the professor to the barber, who could suggest any probable explanation. There is, I believe, some sort of popular festival at this period in France, but I shall describe it as it is performed in Venice.

“A small stage, with a covering, is erected in the most spacious *campo* of the parishes which celebrate the festival. Upon this appears the effigy of an old woman, and seated before her are two men, one habited as a notary, the other as a sort of military Jack-Pudding with a drawn sabre. These two eat and drink, and dispute about her fate, one being apparently the advocate and the other the accuser of the dame. This insists on her being burnt; and that declares she shall be saved. An appeal is at length made to the people, who unanimously condemn her to the flames. At length, after some necessary games, such as running in sacks, swarming up a greased pole for fowls, flasks of wine, &c., lashed to the top, the figure is set fire to amidst a volley of squibs and burnt, much as Guy Fawkes is with us.”—*Letters from the North of Italy addressed to Henry Hallam, Esq.*, by W. P. Rose. 2 vols. London, 1819. Vol. ii., pp. 173-4.

 HARVEST BONFIRES IN THE EAST RIDING.

It was only last month that I came into contact with one who had seen and actually burnt “The Old Witch.”

He told me that they twisted together the last few standing stalks of corn, making it into a little sheaf, and then setting fire

to it. This was "burning the old witch." I will quote his letter. He says:

"The custom of 'bonnin awd witch' was often referred to during the early part of my country life, even if the custom was not observed. I have heard harvesters say, 'We ought to burn the last bit of this year's crop,' and suggest that 'we do it now,' but the ganger or master would say, 'Ah weeant hev it! Thoo'll set clooase hod mebbe!' (I won't have it! You'll set the field on fire perhaps).

"I have, however, a distinct recollection of witnessing 'bonnin t' awd witch,' and could point out the very spot in the field in Weaverthop Parish. A labourer had taken part of a field of barley to cut, tie, and stook, and [it] being the last piece to cut on the farm, his wife, who was 'gathering,' said, 'At doon dinner tahn (time) you tway (two) lads sall see t' awd witch bont, if we ger (get) all doon ti neet.'¹ When we came to the last 'swathe' (breadth) the man was about fifteen yards before his wife, who was gathering and laying into sheaves, so that before she saw he had finished he had cut the last, tied it into a sheaf, and lighted it with, I think, the first lucifer I had seen. He was a smoker, and I think his wife did not know that he'd got the new light; and, I think, partly because of his extravagance in using a lucifer, and also accomplishing the business so much more quickly than she would have done with flint and tunder [*sic*] or peter paper,² she shouted out to him, 'Thoo great cloothhead. thoo owt ti ha bont it stannin!' (while still uncut). 'Thoo's deean it wrang! That weeant flay d'witch!' (won't frighten the witch).

"This happened in September, 1850, but as to your question, Is it done now? I can't remember having heard it mentioned during my nine years here (South Cave). It was often referred to as a custom when I was at Bonwick (near Hornsea), and I remember particularly, in the wet harvest of 1880, that Willie Crozer (who was over fifty then, and is living still at Skipsea Brough) and I were cutting the last acre of barley a few days before St. Martin's Day, and when he came to the last few strokes he stopped short, and looking up, said, 'What am Ah ti deeah

¹ This is rather obscure, but I think it means that the woman promised at dinner time they should see the witch burnt at night if all were cut.

² Paper saturated in a solution of saltpetre.

wi't? Ah think we'd betther bon it, if it wad bring us betther luck next tahn.' (What am I to do with it? I think we had better burn it, &c)."

There is a Hornsea rhyme sung by men and children as they bring in the last load :

" We hev her, we hev her
A coo iv a tether," &c.

The last sheaf bound round tightly with its thick straw band is well described as "a cow in a tether."

The following Harvest Home song was supplied to me by Mrs. Gardner, School House, Bilton, East Yorkshire :

1. Here we hev her, as tite ¹ as nip,
We nivver threw ower, but yance iv a grip,²
Grip was seeah wide, hosses cudn't stride,
Hip, hip, hooray !
2. Here we hev her, at oor toon end,
A sup o' good yal, an a croon ti spend,
We rave ³ oor shets, we tare ⁴ oor skins,
Ti get oor maisters ⁵ harvest in.
Hip, hip, hooray !

This song, so far as I know, has never been in print, although I have part of it in *Folk Speech of East Yorkshire*, p. 12.

J. NICHOLSON.

50, Berkeley Street, Hull, 5th January, 1903.

ST. MARK'S EVE (APRIL 24TH).

In what districts of the British Isles is St Mark's Eve of paramount importance compared with other eves? In Lincolnshire, apparently, St. Mark's is the day of days for all divination, though St. Agnes' Eve and Hallow Eve have their adherents. Not long since I was told—not for the first time—that all cattle "bow the knee" on St. Mark's, with the addition that on the same eve the bracken shoots up, flowers, and seeds. As to the cattle, I know that in continental folklore the idea is not necessarily limited to Christmas, as most people imagine.

MABEL PEACOCK.

¹ Icel. tittr, soon.

² Ditch, drain.

³ Rent, did rive.

⁴ Tore, did tear.

⁵ No possessive case.

REVIEWS.

- THE EVIL EYE IN THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS. By R. C. MACLAGAN, M.D. pp. 232. London: David Nutt. 1902.
- WITCHCRAFT AND SECOND SIGHT IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND. By the late JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL. pp. 314. Glasgow: James MacLehose. 1902.
- OUTER ISLES. By A. GOODRICH-FREER. pp. 448. Westminster: A. Constable and Co. 1902.

IN the eddies and backwaters of civilisation, such as still exist in the Western Isles, we may well suppose that much folklore material was still current at the end of the nineteenth century. That this is so is amply borne out by these three volumes. The Folk-Lore Society may well take credit for this good work, for sufficient interest in the subject would hardly have been excited unless the way had been paved during the last twenty years by the Society's work.

Taking the Evil Eye as his text, Dr. MacLagan, who is already known to the Society by an excellent book on *The Games and Diversions of Argyleshire*, examines it carefully in all its aspects. As a belief it is very widely spread in Scotland, and quotations are given from Middle Irish stories to show that its deadly effects were fully recognised by the Goidel in ancient times. As in the south of Europe, persons endowed with the fatal gift can use it unintentionally. Children have sometimes to be protected against the glance of a parent, and a faithful farm-servant will occasionally have to shield the cows or horses under his charge from the malign influence of his master's eye by keeping them out of his sight. The people generally credited with the Evil Eye are old women and those with eyes of different colours. Such persons, and indeed all others suspected of possessing it, are avoided. But it would seem that persons are accused of this faculty on the very

faintest grounds, without a particle of real evidence. If a stranger happens to be near when a horse or cow is suddenly taken ill, he is certain to be charged with having caused the injury by "overlooking" the animal. In fact, the Western Islanders act as if they believed that a creature would never die or fall sick unless the untoward event were caused by witchcraft or the Evil Eye.

Not unnaturally it is the prettiest child and the best animal that is most likely to suffer from the envious glance of the Evil Eye. To avert this from a child, some article of dress must be at fault, such as a stocking or a coat turned inside out; or some bright article of clothing must be worn to divert the first glance of the Evil Eye. Although stones with natural holes in them are sometimes strung up over the door of a house to avert evil influences, it does not seem that the habit of wearing amulets to counteract the Evil Eye has penetrated into the Western Isles. The nearest approach to it is to wear round the neck a thread of variously coloured yarn over which an incantation has been said.

In Dr. Maclagan's opinion, belief in the power of the Evil Eye is an original tendency of the human mind and not a special development of any division of the human race. No doubt there is truth in this. But I think there is reason to believe that much of what is now attributed in Argyleshire to the effects of the Evil Eye was formerly attributed to magic operations and to witchcraft. In the south of Europe, where the belief is so prevalent, everyone that entertains it protects himself by wearing an amulet, and his horses by something gaudy on the harness. In the Western Highlands amulets seem to be unknown, and grown-up persons do not appear to protect themselves against the evil influence. Cows are sometimes protected by tying a sprig of rowan to the tail, by smearing the ears or horns with tar, by hanging a bit of rag above their heads, or by sprinkling them with urine. But none of these precautions seem specially adapted or invented to counteract the Evil Eye. They would be equally valid against any injurious influence. As Dr. Maclagan himself observes, all the remedies to remove the bad effects of the Evil Eye belong to witchcraft. For example, if a red woollen thread is tied round the tail of an "overlooked" cow it will recover. This operation is generally performed by or under the direction of a person with a knowledge of spells (*colas*), and we may believe that formerly some spell or magic song was always repeated during the opera-

tion of tying. For these and other reasons it seems probable that more is attributed to the action of the Evil Eye than was formerly the case when druids, witches, and sorcerers flourished in the land.

The second contribution is of a more general nature, and here again the author, who, unfortunately, is no longer in the land of the living, is already favourably known by his *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*.

Mr. Campbell starts with illustrations of black magic or the work of witches. A common form of it is the abstraction of the milk of a neighbour's cow. Frequently a cow is said to have been sucked by a witch in the form of a hare, and this the author found so odd that he could not understand it. It may be that the modern belief is a somewhat rationalised form of a wholly magic practice, such as one found in the south of Sweden. There the troll-woman takes sticks of firewood that are burnt at each end, and sends them out as "milk-hares" to suck the milk of other people's cows. Originally, then, the "hare" was only a magic agent, now the hare is the witch herself. Counter-charms are a ball of hair placed in the milk-pail, a cow-shackle of rowan, tar smeared on the cow's ears, &c. Another involves sympathetic magic. Some of the bewitched cow's urine is corked up in a bottle, and then the witch cannot make water till she allows the milk to come back. Witches have the power of drawing fish toward their own shores, and after muttering a few words can fill a creel with herrings. A boatman that was wooing a witch's daughter—she must have been a syren in another form—received from her a string with three knots on it, on untying which three different strengths of wind would be produced. When the last knot was undone, the wind was so strong that her lover's boat was dashed to pieces on the rocks. Shipwreck was usually caused by sympathetic magic. A small dish was floated on water, and when it upset the ship went down. Witches can cross the sea in sieves and eggshells, and can assume the form of diverse animals and birds. But in the Western Isles witches never ride on broomsticks, nor hold midnight revels with the Devil, as is the case in the Lowlands. A witch's house can always be known, as the smoke goes against the wind.

Under the heading of White Magic are given a number of interesting charms to cure sickness, caused by the Evil Eye or other-

wise, to procure love, against danger in war, in lawsuits, and so forth. In meaning, wording, and structure they often remind one of the later Finnish magic songs, made or recast under the influence of Christianity. In addition to the invocation of native saints like Columba and Bridget, reference is sometimes made to heroes of the pre-Christian period, such as Manaman mac Leth (Manannan mac Lir), Finn mac Cumhail, Cailte, and the Fianna.

The Gaelic expression for "second sight" means "the two sights," and the author regards it as synonymous with "spectre-haunted." It is not looked upon in any case as an enviable or desirable gift. In some of the stories given in illustration, men are merely haunted or visited once by the spectre of a living person. Sometimes the phantom gives the man a good threshing, but otherwise nothing untoward happens. Apparitions of the dead frighten the seer, but are not necessarily followed by any evil consequence. Thought-transference, even to a great distance, is believed to occur when a wish is very strongly felt, and to show this several anecdotes are related. Those gifted with second sight can sometimes tell the appearance of a man's future wife, and before a death can see the forms of living people coming for the coffin. Among the examples given to illustrate second sight are some that hardly belong to the subject. They are rather presages of death, and consist in hearing a hammering of nails, trampling of horses, rattling of glasses, a wailing human cry, or the howling of dogs. If a person is about to meet with a violent death his wraith is apt to be seen, sometimes long before the event occurs.

By Hobgoblins (*baucans*) we have to understand a general name for terrifying objects seen at night. Generally the apparition of a *baucan* is considered the precursor of a violent death. It may take the shape of a headless man, a one-legged man, a long grey paw, and so forth. Before a man has a tussle with a *baucan* his dirk must be partly drawn from the sheath or he will be unable to draw it. In speaking of it to the unearthly enemy he must call it "my father's sister." This prevents enchantments being laid upon it to render it useless.

The last chapter on the "Celtic Year" contains many interesting items of folklore, though many of the derivations of Gaelic words must be rejected as erroneous. Though there are several misprints, only one need be mentioned. It occurs in a charm at p. 63; for "drop of wine" read "drop of urine (*muin*)."

Miss Goodrich-Freer's volume, unlike the other two, is not specially devoted to folklore. In it she gives her experiences in the Inner and Outer Hebrides, where she spent various summers and made friends with the native inhabitants. The eleventh chapter, which is entirely concerned with the beliefs and customs of the islanders, is almost a word-for-word reproduction of her paper, "The Powers of Evil in the Outer Hebrides," printed in *Folk-Lore*, x., 259-282. A few other items will be found in her paper, "More Folklore from the Hebrides," in *Folk-Lore*, xiii., 29-62.

In one or two instances there are slight discrepancies between the two versions. In *Folk-Lore*, xiii., 39, is given "a rhyme said about the time of St. Patrick's feast day, which is sometimes quoted as a charm against serpents." It contains the line "Ivar's daughter will come out of the hole." As there are no snakes on the islands Miss Freer is inclined to accept an explanation of Father Allan, that "Ivar's daughter" is very probably the common nettle. In the new volume all hesitation is thrown aside, and we are categorically informed that "Ivar's daughter" "is the nettle-plant, which about St. Patrick's Day puts her head out of holes in the walls of the houses loosely built without lime." In this Miss Freer is, I believe, mistaken. "Ivar's daughter" is a euphuism for a "snake," not for a "nettle." The late Mr. Campbell of Tiree in his *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 225, mentions that in a popular rhyme in Argyleshire and Perthshire the serpent is called the "daughter of Edward," but in Skye simply "the damsel," *an ribhinn*. As the words "Ivar" and "Edward" have probably a common origin it can hardly be doubted but that "Ivar's daughter" refers to a "snake." In a Norse charm to neutralise snake-poison the snake is called *Aablik*, var. *Aabert*, var. *Oblich*.

Sometimes an obscure point in one of the volumes before us is explained in another volume. Miss Freer mentions a belief that perhaps partly explains a fact given by Dr. Maclagan, which he does not quite understand. The latter at p. 143 states that in using the "string charm" the skilled woman wound the three-ply yarn round the points of her thumb, middle, and ring finger, holding the thread between the thumb and middle finger of the right hand. And at p. 145 "the forefinger must not be allowed to touch the yarn throughout the performance." Miss Freer

(p. 250) tells us that when a woollen thread, over which a charm has been repeated, is brought home, it must be carried in the palm of the hand and not between the finger (forefinger?) and thumb, because with them Eve plucked the apple, and so they are not blessed. This explanation, though it cannot be very ancient, seems to cover part of Dr. Maclagan's fact. His own idea (p. 171) appears to be that the forefinger is not used because it is one of the fingers protruded in forming the *mano cornuta*, and this of course would also include the equally excluded little finger. But as, on the other hand, of the fingers employed one is the *digitus infamis* or *impudicus*, while the thumb is conspicuously used in the *mano fica*, this suggestion may not be the right one, and the real reason is yet to be discovered. Again in a story, related by Miss Freer to illustrate the belief that eating an eel drives a man mad, the man kills a horse and eats the raw flesh. No reason is given for killing the horse. But in another story given by Mr. Campbell (*op. cit.*, p. 222), which perhaps refers to the same event, the madman is found fighting a horse, and the reason alleged for his doing so is, because the eels he had eaten had grown from horse-hairs.

JOHN ABERCROMBY.

POPULAR RELIGION IN THE PANJAB. Report of the Census of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province of 1901. By H. A. ROSE. Simla. 1902.

IN his valuable report of the results of the recent Census in the Panjab Mr. Rose has wisely decided not to follow the line of investigation regarding the popular religion of the people which was so ably conducted by his predecessors, Messrs. Ibbetson and Maclagan, in their reports of the two preceding enumerations. But under the modest title of *A Few Discursive Notes on Popular Religion* he has discussed a well-worn subject in a fresh and suggestive way.

He begins by noting the suggestive fact that in India popular religion "has rather less to do with morality than with anything

else." Yet it would be wrong to say that the ordinary rustic has no standard of right and wrong, because "altruism is concentrated on the caste, the tribe, and the family, in a way that it is hardly possible for us to understand." Again, while the peasant in matters connected with litigation is unscrupulous and not averse to perjury when his material interests are at stake, the fact that so much of the business of daily life is carried on without any documentary record is proof that the parties to a contract must usually act in good faith and trust each other. What is most curious in the Panjab, as in other parts of India, is the lack of ethical perspective. One of the rules of the Bishnoi sect runs: "Bathe in the morning; commit not adultery": and the two rules seem to stand on an equal footing.

Animism, the bed-rock of the popular faith, naturally leads, as Mr. Rose points out, to the confusion of the idea of life and spirit. Hence, anything that lives, or rather displays supernatural or abnormal vitality, like trees of many kinds, comes to be worshipped.

This confusion of life and spirit leads, again, to the inference that as life is transferred from one generation to another, so the soul, and with it all the attributes and powers of the progenitor, is transferred also. Hence is explained the curious belief in the transmission of the hereditary powers of curing disease or of causing evil. Thus, several Biloch subdivisions have the power of stopping bleeding by incantations; the Pathals of Jhelum cure boils on children's heads gratis, by first filling the mouth with salt and then spitting on the sore; the head of a Gūjar sept cures disease of the skin which results in baldness by pulling out a single hair. This reminds us of the royal power of touching for "King's" Evil; and in Ireland the blood of a person of the Keogh sept is, or was, used for the cure of toothache.¹

Naturally clans gifted in this way tend to assume what is almost a priestly character, and the suggestion may be hazarded that the origin of some of the sacred tribes, the Levite and the Brāhman, may have been in some cases based on these supposed hereditary powers of healing disease, of which the Panjab supplies so many and so curious instances.

Mr. Rose then goes on to show that Magic and Religion, start-

¹ Black, *Folk Medicine*, p. 140.

ing from the same point, diverged into two distinct paths—the magician claiming to be able to manipulate the vital essence ; the priest maintaining “that the devolution of the soul could be modified or controlled by the pious or just man who observed the precepts of religion.” Hence the business of the magician is principally concerned with the control or transference of life. Thus, in the magical rites performed to obviate barrenness, on a Sunday or a Tuesday night the woman takes her seat on a stool and is lowered into a well. When she reaches the water she strips, bathes, dresses, and is finally hauled up again ; or to effect the same object, she cuts a lock of hair from the head of a child, who must be a *first-born*, and takes it to the wizard. Here the idea obviously is that in the one case she extracts the principle of life from the living water, in the other from the first-born child.

“Religion, on the other hand, deprecated any such impious interference with the laws of nature. It maintained that, while, in the ordinary course of things, life was transmitted from one generation to another, superior sanctity could secure promotion on re-birth into a higher caste ; while impiety was punished by re-birth in a lower form of life. Religion also adopted the view that life and spirit were one and the same thing ; that that principle was inherent in every living thing, and from this basis appears to have been evolved the metaphysical doctrine of the world-soul, which pervades everything in the universe, of which the individual soul is but a detached fragment, and into which it will be re-absorbed.”

Most interesting is the glimpse which is all our present knowledge gives us, of the secret religions. They were instituted either to protect an unpopular creed, like that of the Persian Bābis, from persecution, or to enhance their value in the estimation of the outside public by confining the revelation to a limited body of initiates. All the ascetic orders, like the Jogīs and Sannyāsīs, have secret initiatory rites or special pass-words to protect the mystery of the faith. The secret, such as it is, once revealed often turns out to be the most silly rubbish. But, as Mr. Rose suggests, some of these beliefs may be “the débris of old allegories.” Once, in short, such things had a meaning which is now lost. Otherwise, “it is not easy to see how men could worship a whistle, or a personified whistle, or a whistling god, but it is not so difficult to understand that they could begin by making a whistle the

emblem of an attribute, and end by converting the attribute into a god which whistles."

Tabu Mr. Rose speaks of as "an institution which plays an important part in the life of the people"; but his treatment of it is comprised in only a few lines. One sept of Jats, he tells us, will not build an upper storey to their houses. This he does not attempt to explain. Possibly the tabu is based on the principle, so fully analyzed by Dr. Frazer,¹ that a dread of personal impurity is at the root of the matter. No greater service to the investigation of folk beliefs could be done than a thorough exploration of the rules of tabu in India, where the popular code of rural belief says quite as often "thou shalt not" as "thou shalt." In many cases these precepts are due to the confusion between what is sacred and what is accursed, this confusion of thought leading the rustics to abstain from anything which, in their belief, has been exposed to supernatural influence. But this does not exhaust all the origins of Indian tabu. Some must be due to traditions dating from a time when the tribe led a nomadic life, as, for instance, the case of some people in Oudh, who regard a tiled roof to their houses as tabu, probably because in some not remote period they lived like the vagrant gypsy races under a rude shelter of reeds.

Mr. Rose ends his short survey of popular belief by the welcome announcement that "the old personal sects and old fanaticism are losing ground." This is probably true of the Panjab, but hardly of other parts of India. It is only a few years since the authorities in the Gangetic Valley were startled by a sudden revival of religious fanaticism, as shown by the curious daubing of tree stumps and the rioting connected with the anti-cow-killing agitation. India, in fact, is rather a continent than a country, and nothing is so dangerous as to apply to the whole Peninsula facts based on the experience of a single province.

The study of this fresh series of Census reports is to some extent dispiriting. They show how little we really know, or in the present condition of things can know, of the myriad currents of thought which force their way in all directions beneath the seemingly placid surface of native life. Everywhere the beliefs of the people are hedged round by a reticence which even the best informed and

¹ *Golden Bough*, 2nd edition, i., 360, *seqq.*

most sympathetic Englishman finds it almost hopeless to overcome. We may be able to watch and grasp the significance of some of the external observances, but behind these in the most secret corner of his mind every Hindu hides away a mass of beliefs which he refuses to communicate not only to the white-faced stranger, but even to his very brethren of the true faith.

W. CROOKE.

LA VIE FUTURE D'APRÈS LE MAZDÉISME À LA LUMIÈRE DES CROYANCES PARALLÈLES DANS LES AUTRES RELIGIONS. ÉTUDE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE COMPARÉE. Par NATHAN SÖDERBLOM. Paris: Leroux. 1901.

ALTHOUGH this work is primarily intended for the student of the history of religion it contains much to interest the folklorist. The author begins by discussing, in a sane and scholarly spirit, primitive beliefs concerning a prolongation or renewal of life after death as the necessary basis of all eschatological systems. It is, however, his view of the relation between the fundamental myths of Zoroastrian eschatology and similar myths of other peoples, Indo-Germanic or Semitic, as also between the completed Avestic system and that of Judaism, which chiefly concerns us. He is for the most part an opponent of the borrowing theory; he is notably adverse to admitting that Judaism owes the conception of a future life, a judgment, and a heaven to the followers of Zoroaster; he holds that these conceptions are the natural outcome of religious development among the Jews. At the same time he combats the hypothesis of Jewish or Judæo-Hellenic influence on the Avestic literature. I am perfectly content to accept his conclusion, but am all the more surprised to note that when it is a question of comparing Avestic and Eddaic myths M. Söderblom is by no means so convinced an anti-borrower. His language is vague and obscure, but if I understand him right he ascribes the similarity (first pointed out with such convincing mastery of exposition by Rydberg) between the Eddaic myths of the great winter, the destruction of mankind, and the preservation of a couple from whom a new humanity is to spring, and the Avestic myth of the *vara* of Zima, to direct borrowing on the

part of the Eddaic writers, and notably of Snorre. Why? It is surely simpler to argue, what is indeed evident on other grounds, that Germans and Iranians, both members of the Aryan unity, were in such close contact before the Iranians set forth to occupy the regions to the south-west or south of the Caspian as to bring about exceptionally close kinship of the mythic germs which each race was to develop independently. Avesta and Edda are, as regards certain myths, closer to each other than even Avesta and Veda, or than either of the three to Hellenic mythology. This fact enables us to postulate prehistoric contacts between Germans and Iranians of which we should otherwise be ignorant. To explain it by literary influence within the historic period (*i.e.* from 500 B.C. to 900 A.D.) seems to me a complete ignoring of the plainest facts of history. For probably two-thirds of this space of time the Germans were almost as much cut off from the Aryans of Iran as from the Aryans of Northern India. If Eddaic mythology is to be treated as a loan (a point on which readers of *Folk-Lore* know my opinion) let it be a loan from those Aryan peoples with whom the Germans were in historic contact, Celts, Greeks, Romans.

I cannot but think M. Söderblom has paid too little attention to the non-eschatological Elysium (as it may be called) found in Greece, in Celtdom, and in Scandinavia. Certain Avestic myths find their natural explanation in a similar conception. And I may be permitted some surprise at his referring for Irish examples not to the *Voyage of Bran*, where the whole subject is discussed, but to a chance allusion in an article by M. Beauvois on Central American mythology.

This book, translated from the Swedish, is, perhaps through the translator's fault, hard reading, but it is well worth the attention of English readers. In spite of the fact that England possesses in Dr. Mills and Mr. West two of the most eminent of living "Zoroastrianists," in spite of the fact that the official heads of the oldest existing organised religion, save Judaism, are British subjects, the civilisation and religion of the Iranian Aryans are too little known in this country. And yet for the solution of many problems connected with the development of Aryan religion and culture, more assistance is perhaps to be derived from the Avestic than from the Vedic literature.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE ORIGIN OF CIVILISATION AND THE PRIMITIVE CONDITION OF MAN. By the RIGHT HON. LORD AVEBURY, P.C., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. Sixth edition, with numerous additions. Longmans, Green, & Co. 1902. 8vo. Price 18s.

A NEW book by Lord Avebury is eagerly welcomed by the intelligent public, and folklorists hoped, when they saw the announcement of a sixth edition with numerous additions of the well-known work on *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, that Lord Avebury would present his fellow students with his ripened conclusions and generalisations on these important subjects; but the reader will be disappointed if he expects to find any difference of presentment or of interpretation from those afforded in the first edition of 1870. Probably every member of the Society has read one of the five earlier editions of the book, and consequently it is only necessary to glance through this edition in order to notice the later accretions, or it may be of bibliographical interest to some to note the omissions. On the whole the former do not alter the character of the book in any way, and it would have been advisable to have verified them before going to press. To take three examples: footnote 6, p. 273, is a wrong reference; on p. 99 "Henry group" is a misprint for Hervey group; "E. F. von Thurm" (p. 228), should be E. F. im Thurn. But after all, who among us dare throw stones?

There are very numerous instances where additions or qualifications might very well have been made so as to bring the book more into line with our present knowledge. We might have expected, for example, some notice to have been taken of the finds during recent years in French caves, which modify some of the conclusions in chapter ii. The magical object of personal mutilation and adornment is insufficiently noted, although a considerable amount of evidence of this sort has come to light. It is rather a pity to describe (p. 103) Bachofen, McLennan, and Morgan as "the most recent authors who have studied this subject," *i.e.* communal marriage. It is useless to give further instances, and we all know that Lord Avebury is a very busy man. As Lord Avebury's views have been so long before the public, and as they have been frequently discussed, there is nothing more that can be said with profit on the subject. The publishers evidently regard

the work as a "classic" that should be kept before each generation of readers, and we are pleased that there are sufficient purchasers of this class of book to encourage the publishers in supplying the demand.

A. C. HADDON.

THE MABINOGION. Translated by Lady C. GUEST, and Edited by A. NUTT. D. NUTT. 2s. 1 vol.

THE name of Mr. Nutt on the title page of a book dealing with Celtic literature is in itself a sufficient guarantee of excellence. And, though the present edition professes to be merely a reprint in popular form of Lady Charlotte Guest's translation of the Mabinogion, it yet contains enough of Mr. Nutt's sound scholarship to make the volume, if not a text-book for the student, at least a "remembrancer" in small compass of many pleasant things.

Lady Charlotte Guest's original three-volume edition, excellent though it is as literature, has, as far as the critical notes are concerned, of necessity been somewhat superseded by the results of modern Celtic researches. Besides which, the imposing tomes are rather alarming to the casual reader, to whom also Mons. Loth's French version, good though it be, does not appeal. But Mr. Nutt's delightful little volume, whilst rightly keeping to Lady Charlotte's inimitable translation, has a compact charm which should entice the veriest idler. It is convenient and reasonable both in form and price, and has just that suspicion of age in type and paper required by the text, without descending to the affectation of quaintness. Other and more important advantages are the rearrangement of the tales, and the all-too-brief notes with which Mr. Nutt has illuminated the text. His method of grouping the stories according to subject and character makes for clearness and for an easier appreciation of the various strata of culture and imagination illustrated by the Mabinogion. And his notes, short though they be, form a sufficient commentary for those who do not wish to go deeply into the subject, and afford a trustworthy clue to those who are disposed to pursue it further.

MARGARET EYRE.

THE LITERATURE OF THE CELTS, ITS HISTORY AND ROMANCE.
By MAGNUS MACLEAN, M.A., D.Sc. Svo. Blackie and Son.
London. 1902.

DR. MACLEAN does not pretend to do more than give a popular sketch of what is known as to the materials and muniments of Celtic literature. About half his book or more covers much the same ground as Dr. Hyde's *Literary History of Ireland*, but there are several chapters on Welsh and Gaelic literature and its texts that did not come within the Irish scholar's scope. There is nothing new in the book, nor is the author writing from the standpoint of the student. He is a "populariser" trying to convey to the ordinary reading public his view of things that have impressed and delighted him, things they will do well to know something of.

A few slips in the Gaelic, occasional misunderstandings and omissions, are scarce worth noting here. It seems useless to cite Moore's well-worn "Tara" and "After the Battle" as characteristically Celtic, and the "heroic Walter Scott" was, after all, a border Northumbrian, mainly of Teutonic descent, rather than a "Gael" or "Pict"; there is a little too much idle talk of "glamour" and "Celtic spirit" and the rest of those enigmatic and question-begging terms that have really done duty long enough.

One of the best bits of the book is the analysis of the Scottish Gaelic press. It is really pitiful to see the number of prints and reprints of theologic rubbish and cant and the absence of vernacular or translated classics. What a heavy and leaden pressure must have been put upon men and women who naturally delight in beautiful verse and prose when they were constrained to buy and, I suppose, read such worthless stupid stuff as makes up by far the great part of the early bibliography of Scottish Gaelic printed books. Mackenzie and Campbell of Islay, Sinclair and Carmichael, have done their best to turn the scale; but it is sad to think of the lovely poems and tales lost and the fine talents misused owing to the bigotry and false policy of those who ought to have led their people to higher things than fruitless theological brabbles and dreary sermonisings and weary absurdities. Happily in Ireland to-day the clergy are taking a wiser line, and not only working themselves at Celtic literature and linguistic,

but helping and encouraging the preservation of what remains of the Celtic heritage of the past.

M. de Villemarque's work is scarcely acknowledged (save in a note) for what it is, namely, a brilliant forgery by a man of talent who amused himself by his artificial and romantic "reconstruction" of an epoch he never knew. Breton literature indeed deserved a little more detailed treatment than is accorded it here, especially as information affecting the tongue and literary output of *La Bretagne bretonnante* is not accessible to most Englishmen. There is a more serious lacuna still in the absence of any account of modern Welsh literature. The mighty David, beloved of Borrow, is apparently unknown to Dr. Maclean; and the remarkable history of Welsh verse and Welsh prose, of Welsh versions (such as the renowned "Blind Bard") and Welsh paraphrases, and all the amazing amount of vernacular printing (and some reprinting) in Wales is wholly unmentioned. A history of Celtic literature that omits so much is obviously imperfect and inadequate. Dr. Maclean should seek further Welsh collaboration, cut down and excise much that he has written, limit himself to essentials, put his work into more methodic form, cut away all his own hypotheses and conjectures, and so get somewhat nearer his aim of writing a popular survey of Celtic literature than the present unbalanced and sadly imperfect but well-meant volume can ever come. Let Dr. Maclean read and mark such manuals as those of Dr. Mackail, Mr. Murray, or Mr. Brooke, or any good French manual of literature, and he will find models he will do well to follow as best he can in his next edition.

F. YORK POWELL.

SHORT NOTICES.

Les Influences Celtiques avant et après Columban ; Essai historique et archéologique par Ch. Rössler. Illustrations. 8vo. Paris. 1902.

IN this little essay M. Rössler tries to show his countrymen the interest of the study of Celtic antiquities. He is not himself by any means an advanced student, but he is full of enthusiasm and has read a good deal, though not always wisely. His book may

perhaps be profitable to his compatriots, but it will not replace here such practical manuals as those of Mr. J. R. Allen and Margaret Stokes and Dr. Browne. The sight of it may possibly bring home to some British scholar the desirability of a good little handbook on *Celtic Origins*, which is much needed. His task is indeed above the powers of M. Ræssler.

The English reader will not be misled by our author's theories as to præ-Christian oghams being the origin of the Morse code, &c. The two curious facts, that the top row of ogham consonants h, d, t, c, g, coincides with the initials of the first five numerals in a by-no-means proto-celtic form; and that the vowels are in the order of the vowels in *pAter nOster qVi Es In*, point distinctly to a date not anterior to Christianity; though it is quite possible that just as Celts in South Gaul used Greek letters for their own inscriptions, so heathen Celts may for a short while have used a script invented by or for their Christian fellows. The word *ogham* may easily have been applied to this late alphabet, though it may have originally been given to an earlier and wholly different set of signs.

As to the origin of "Celtic" ornament, the influence of Roman ornament upon Gaul and Britain has not yet been worked out, and we are not entitled to assume, as M. Ræssler does, that the spirals of Leicester mosaic are "Celtic." By the way, the draughtsman of plate v. that illustrates this mosaic has badly misrepresented his original by breaking the invariable law of "alternation" that governs all these interlacings. Plate vi. is also faulty in this way, and it is also wrongly referenced in the *Table des Planches*.

M. Ræssler might have made his little book of real use if he would have added a bibliography of the best books on the subject, but he has only given a purposeless list of authors cited, amongst whom we miss many of primary value.—F. YORK POWELL.

Tales from the Faerie Queene. Told by CLARA L. THOMSON.
Illustrated by HELEN STRATTON. E. E. Speight: The
Norland Press, Shaldon, South Devon.

This is a reader for children, in which the story of the Faerie Queene is told in simple language, with a few poetical extracts, and illustrated by pictures. It calls for no remark from the student; but for its purpose it is admirably well adapted.

The Edda: II. The Heroic Mythology of the North. By WINIFRED FARADAY, M.A. (*Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore.* No. 13.) D. Nutt. 6d. net.

This *brochure* completes Miss Faraday's study of the poems of the Edda begun in No. 12 of the series; and the two numbers can be heartily commended both to the casual reader who wishes to gain a general knowledge of the subject and to students wanting a handy guide to it. Beside the lays collected by the compiler of the Edda, Miss Faraday adds to the usefulness of her work by including a review of some other Scandinavian poems and legends, such as the Angantyr lays and the story of the Everlasting Fight, which escaped his net. The various lays are clearly and concisely analysed by Miss Faraday and the discrepancies between them pointed out, while her remarks on the problem of their origin and of the relationship of the various versions, Anglo-Saxon, German, Scandinavian, of which we have record, sufficiently indicate the main points and difficulties of the question. Miss Faraday's own views on the subject are indicated without bias. The bibliographical references on this head might with advantage have included Professor's Bugge's *The Home of the Eddic Poems* (Grimm Library). The note on page 55, acknowledging Münch's ingenuity in identifying with Odin the old man who received Sinfjötta's corpse into his boat, is surely a superfluous tribute, as the identity must be obvious to every one who has made any study of the subject. It may be well to warn the general reader that lovers of the old Norse mythology will not entirely agree with Miss Faraday's literary estimate, expressed in another note on the same page, of Wagner's handling of the old legends in his *Ring des Nibelungen*. In his endeavour to weld the Divine and the Heroic myths into an organic whole, Wagner has in many points degraded the former without any compensating gain to the latter.—A. F. MAJOR.

Folktales from the Indus Valley. Edited by W. CROOKE. Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*. Bombay. 1902.

These eighteen stories are edited and retold by Mr. W. Crooke, from the collections of Mr. T. L. Barlow and Major F. McNair, who gathered them in the village of Ghâzi, near Atak.

Most of them are slightly didactic, even where (as in No. vii.) the moral is obviously dragged in to excuse the shrewd Northern

love of outwitting as a fine art. These stories contain much of the universal machinery of folklore, mixed with popular wisdom and philosophy such as that shown in No. xxviii., a riddling story, or No. vii., the highly moral tale of the disappointments and death of Alexander the Great.¹ This latter story is also interesting as bringing in the Water of Life, and the Talking Birds and Trees. Helpful beasts come into No. xiv., a curious and apparently incomplete story, which begins with a holy Musalmân and his generosity, but ends in a pure fairy-tale, where the grateful snake and jackal bring the hero respectively to worldly honour and to an under-water Paradise unknown to the Qurân. The snake, as usual, gives gold and the knowledge of healing plants, the jackal a magic flower, with the usual prohibition to show it. When it is lost the hero goes in search of another, and follows the Panj Pir under water, where he remains. But his second wife is left under the spell of the magic flower. Helpful beasts and a prohibition appear in No. vi. also, monkeys in this case; and the hero is forbidden to cross his own boundaries. No ill seems to result from his doing so, however. The jackal in India often takes the place of the wise fox in Europe, and in No. viii. he appears as arbitrator in a crocodile variant of the "Tiger who returned to his cage" story, and also as the cunning wit who escapes all snares. This story reminds one of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby. Besides Alexander, whose presence was to be expected near Atak, there are stories of Akbâr and Birbal, and other local legends, such as that which accounts for the heat of Múltân.

¹ Compare the ballad of "Proud Lady Margaret," and others.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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[No. II.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28th, 1903.

MR. ALFRED NUTT (Vice-President) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the Meeting of December 10th were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz: Mrs. Banks, Dr. S. Miall, Mr. H. W. Underdown, Mr. D. Rorie, Mrs. Saxby, the Battersea Public Library, the Free Library Philadelphia, Mrs. H. F. Hall, and the Tate Library, Streatham.

The resignations of Miss Minet, Mr. G. G. Traherne, Col. H. T. Brown, Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson, Major McNair, Miss A. Debenham, Miss D. White, Mr. C. W. Empson, and Miss M. E. Marriage, were also announced.

A selection of the Musquakie beadwork and costumes, presented by Miss M. A. Owen to the Society, was exhibited by Mrs. Gomme, and the portions of Miss Owen's *catalogue raisonné* descriptive of the objects were read by Miss Burne.

A vote of thanks having been accorded to Mrs. Gomme and Miss Burne for the trouble they had taken in unpacking, arranging, and explaining the objects, the Secretary read some extracts from Miss Owen's monograph on the Musquakie Indians, describing their dances, in which the

objects selected for exhibition were used ; and a discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Ordish, Miss Burne, Miss Eyre, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Tabor took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25th, 1903.

THE PRESIDENT (Professor York Powell) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The President announced the election of the following new members : Leland Stanford Junior University College Library, and Mr. M. Vroom ; and the death of Mr. C. G. Leland, with a brief appreciation of his work as a Folklorist [p. 162]. He also announced the presence of Monsieur H. A. Junod, Missionary to the Baronga and Basuto tribes in Delagoa Bay and the Northern Transvaal, copies of whose works on the folklore of these peoples were laid on the table for inspection.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited and explained the following Chinese charms and objects of folklore interest :—

1. Book of the Fifteen Magic Blocks (with six enlargements of figures therein).
2. Diagram of the trigrams of Fuh-hi.
- 2a. *Pā-kwa* or "eight diagrams" charm.
3. Paper charms against sickness and goblins.
4. *Fung tsien* or "Dragon money."
5. *Pih-kea so* or "Hundred families cash lock."
6. *Pih-kea* or "Hundred families" charm.
7. *King keuen so* or "Neck ring lock" (Korean).
- 7a. Two *Birthday charms* (one for boy and one for girl).
8. *Nan tsien* or "male money" (worn by women to obtain male children).
9. "Warding-off-evil cash."
10. *Lung Fung* or "Dragon and Phoenix" charm."

11. "Great spreading of the Five Elements" charm.
12. Charm against Ghosts.
13. Paper money burnt in temple.
14. *Koo-tung king* or "The old brass mirror" charm.
15. "Eight felicitous words" charms (3).
16. *Tai-ping* charm.
17. *Chwang yuan* charms (2), (to be worn at triennial examination at Peking).
18. *Show taou* or "Longevity Peach" charm.
19. Ancient cash used as charms.
20. Cash sword.
21. "Poetry cash" charm.
22. Book on palmistry.
23. Book on astrology.
24. Beads used as charm.
25. *Ma tsien* or "horse money."

Mons. Junod exhibited and read notes on the following objects:—1. A *livale*, viz., a curiously-shaped pig of copper used as the Basuto standard of value, or pound-sterling; 2. An amulet used among the Basuto and Baronga to expel internal evil spirits; 3. Astragalus bones, shells, and stones, used in divination [p. 116].

A discussion followed in which Mr. Ordish, Miss Burne, Mr. Longworth-Dames, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. C. J. Tabor took part; and M. Junod asked for further notes and communications on the subject of astragali.

Mr. Longworth-Dames read a paper on the "Folklore of the Azores," by Mrs. Seemann and himself [p. 125].

Miss Burne read a paper by Mr. Andrew Lang, entitled "Notes on Ballad Origins" [p. 147].

The Meeting closed with votes of thanks to the exhibitors, authors, and readers.

SOME REMARKS ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE BA-THONGA.

BY HENRI A. JUNOD.

(*Read at Meeting, 25th March, 1903.*)

IT is to me a great pleasure, coming from the land of the primitive man, to meet with the members of the Folk-Lore Society, who take interest in the less advanced of the nations, and appreciate the charm of those children of nature who are still far away from civilised ideas. I speak of their charm ; it exists, without doubt, for the scientist who studies their sometimes queer conceptions of the world, but much more for the man who has lived amongst them, who knows their highly interesting language, and who has seen them laughing sometimes, and sometimes also weeping. If you do not content yourself with the external and often unjust impressions of the average colonist about the native, but study his soul and his habits, then you will be won by the better features of his character and of his kraal-life ; and such has been my case.

After having worked for seven years amongst the tribe of Delagoa Bay which calls itself the Ba-Ronga, I had to stay in the north of the Transvaal, where our Swiss Evangelical Mission has started its work amongst the Ma-Gwamba people, more precisely amongst the Nkuna tribe. Ba-Nkuna and Ba-Ronga are but branches of a very large native nation which we call Ama-Thonga, or rather Ba-Thonga, and which has five or six principal dialects, as I have explained in my introduction to the *Grammaire Ronga*.¹ Both are of the

¹ *Grammaire Ronga*, Lausanne, Geo. Bridel and Co. The introduction has been printed separately under the title, *La Tribu Thonga*, and contains the ethnology of the tribe.

same stock, more akin to the Zulu type than to the Suto, but bearing certainly its individual character. But at my station of Shilouvane, near Leydsdorp, I had not only Thonga people, but also a Pedi-Suto tribe called the Ba-Khaha which represents, I think, a very primitive stage of the Suto nation ; and therefore the field of study was very wide indeed.

Of course it would not be possible to me to give you the whole of my observations on those two native communities during three and a half years. But I intend to-night to go into three of the domains of this manifold science which calls itself Ethnography, and especially to show you some specimens which I have brought with me for that purpose.

Beginning with the *native industry* or handicraft, I may say that I did not find our natives very much advanced in that domain. However, interesting proofs of their manual ability are not wanting, and I exhibit before you one of the most curious, viz., what we may call a Suto pound-sterling. It is like a kind of stick, one foot and a half in length, having a protuberance at one end with short branches projecting therefrom ; but it is of splendid copper mixed with a good percentage of gold. It used to be the money of the tribe ; not the small money, but a thing of value. Ten were sufficient to buy a wife, two to buy an ox. You can estimate by this fact the value of the *lirale*. This object was indeed named the *lirale*, and was obtained in the following way. At Palaora, far away in the desert of North-Eastern Transvaal, there is a little chain of hills with very rich deposits of copper ore. The Ba-Suto natives of these parts knew how to smelt the ore ; they dug in the clay of a white-ant-hill a kind of basin which had a long narrow vertical hole at the bottom. This shaft led into a larger semi-spherical hole beneath, and in the sides of this larger cavity they made some smaller ones. Then they heated the ore in the basin by means of charcoal, till the copper melted, sank to the bottom of the basin, flowed down into the

first hole, reached the second one and its little appendages, and filled the whole; and in that way they obtained the present object. The small branches on the sides of the rounded protuberance of the *lirale* vary in shape and length, and each blacksmith had his special way of making them; it amounted to a regular trade mark. Is it not curious at this time, when everybody complains about the natives not being willing to work in Johannesburg, to note that the Basuto had been going also themselves on their own account into mining enterprises?¹ But they abandoned them long ago, twenty, thirty years perhaps; and as Hugo says, "*Ceci a tué cela.*" The English pound sterling has killed the native one.

However, this *lirale* brings to the mind many questions, especially two: Who gave the natives the idea of melting the copper ore? Did they find it out by themselves? Did they rise by their own intellectual strength to the "Bronze Age," like the inhabitants of our Swiss lacustrine villages? This idea cannot be entertained for an instant. The natives also used and manufactured iron picks, hoes, and assagaies long ago. I don't doubt for a moment that they were taught the process of extracting the metal by other men, either by the Portuguese of Delagoa Bay, who had already a considerable settlement there at the end of the eighteenth century; or perhaps by those mysterious miners of Zimbabwe—Phœnicians or Arabians, or whatever they may be—in former times. I do not think that by himself the South African native could have discovered the way of melting the copper, and the proof is that this is the only object which he has been able to manufacture, as far as I know. If he had been a born metallurgist, he would have been able to make pins, knives, &c. The only other use which they made of the copper are bracelets, wrist-rings, often very heavy; and I

¹ Let me add that those complaints are very much exaggerated as regards the natives of Northern Transvaal. In fact most of them are working in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

have heard that, sometimes, the mother who had sold her daughter for some *lirale*, had the right to keep one of them and to transform it into an immense ring, which she wore with all the pride of a woman who has had the good fortune to marry her daughter well—“*de bien caser sa fille*,” as we say.

Another question which arises in the mind is this: Whence did the idea come to the natives of using a standard object for bartering purposes? On this question I would be more willing to believe that they came to the idea by themselves and without external influence, as it is quite within the range of their capacity. They are born traders—perhaps more the Ba-Thonga than the Ba-Suto—and could easily discover the help of the use of money. Nevertheless they did not find a very practical way of preparing it, and this pound sterling of theirs, which might have pleased the old Lycurgus, would no longer answer to the needs of the Bank of England.

A second domain into which I want you to follow me now, and which belongs more properly to the folklore, is the domain of the *popular tales of the natives*.

The more I study it, the more I see that there are inexhaustible materials to be gathered here. I have published already about thirty-five of the Ba-Ronga Tales¹ and have collected a good many more lately. We have now collections from all parts of Africa, and amongst the newest contributions to our knowledge, I beg to mention the publications of my friend Mr. Jacottet, of the French Protestant Mission in Basutoland, about the Zambezi tribes. They have been edited for the *Bulletin de l'école des lettres d'Alger*, under the direction of Mr. René Basset, and contain most interesting stories. Allow me to quote this curious legend of the origin of marriage, full of fine observation, and as good as anything which we ever said on the subject.

¹ *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga*, Lausanne, Geo. Bridel, 1897.

*The Men and Women of the Old Times.*¹

“They say that the first human beings, the men and the women, did not stay together. The men had their own village, and the women also. The men had their own cattle, and the women also had their own. They were living in that way, the first men, far away from the women. They used to warm themselves by fire made with cow manure.

“Once, their fire went out. They said: ‘Where are we going to get fire to-day?’ They said: ‘One of us must go to ask for fire from the women.’ Then they sent a man. When he arrived, he saw that the village of the women was very nice indeed. The women told him: ‘Do you not want to taste the food which we, women, we eat?’ He found it excellent. Then he remained there and did not go back to his companions. He married one of the women. When the men saw that their companion did not come back, they sent another one. He too stayed there like the first one. One after the other, all the men went to the village of the women; they stayed in the same village.

“The women possessed cattle of their own. Their cattle were buffaloes. Once while the herdswomen were feeding their children the buffaloes fled away. They said to one of them: ‘Go quickly to stop them.’ But she answered: ‘I too am feeding my child.’ They answered: ‘Go quick.’ She went. The buffaloes tried to pierce her with their horns; she got afraid and came back to her companions. Then the women let their cattle go. As regards the cattle of the men, it is the cattle which is theirs even to-day; it is the true oxen.”

In this tale you have a full explanation of the matrimonial stage, of the great superiority of the ladies over the

¹ *Etudes sur les langues du Haut Zambèze*, E. Jacottet, IIde partie, Fasc. ii., p. 118.

gentlemen ; on the other hand, of their state of dependence (they have no longer any cattle of their own), which is caused by their duties as mothers of their children. I recommend the reading of this charming piece of common sense both to the enemies and the supporters of feminism.

If time allowed it I would read to you some of our pretty Ronga tales, with the charming little melodies which they sometimes contain ; but I must go on to *the third domain*, into which I intended to invite you to-night, the domain of *the superstitious beliefs* of the Kaffir tribes. I have tried in my book about *Les Ba-Ronga*¹ to give an extensive explanation of the religious system of these people. To get into it we must try to enter into the mind of these primitive men, to understand their animistic theory, that strange theory according to which man and nature are one thing ; nature in its various domains is endowed with intelligence, will, intentions, power, the man projecting into the outside world the qualities of his own mind and finding everywhere spiritual forces which he must either fight with or make favourable to him.

I have with me a very curious object, a kind of amulet, which Ba-Suto as well as Ba-Thonga seem to appreciate highly. I had often noticed, in a little box carved in wood, in a bit of horn, a red seed which they carry suspended by a string around their necks. The seed belongs to a kind of *leguminosa* of the genus *Abrus*. The *Abrus precatorius* is a shrub which bears large beans, and when they get dry, they open at once, and you see in them, appearing as fresh and highly coloured as possible, the seeds themselves like small beads of a charming coral colour with a black spot on one side. Now the natives take one or two of the beads and fasten them with wax into the horn, or into the tiny box, in such a way that the red appears half outside and the black also, to imitate a human eye. I wondered what it might

mean, and one of my best informants told me the reason. This amulet is worn by people who have got inside of them the terrible spirits which cause many diseases amongst them. When these wretched possessed ones have been subjected to a certain medical treatment, their doctor, the magician, prepares for them this amulet, in order that, as the eye of the seed is peeping outside as if it were ready to come out, in the same way the evil spirit will be encouraged to do so, and to leave the body which it is tormenting. And so the patient goes about expecting to be delivered.

The animistic ideas of the nation never appear more clear than in the all-powerful and illustrious bones of the fortune-tellers, the *tinhlolo* of the Thonga, *litaole* of the Ba-Suto. I was fortunate enough to be initiated—perhaps the first white man so favoured—into the mysteries of this divination, and I published an extensive account of this wonderful art in my book. But my initiator was a young man, and I might have entertained some doubts about the very curious explanation he gave me. Now, his statements have been confirmed by an old dice-thrower, who explained to me again the whole system much in the same words—which form a kind of special vocabulary. I have brought with me the bones, and will try to give you in a few words the essentials of the science.

The set of objects with which a *Mongoma* performs his divination is composed, first of *bones*, which are the astragalus bones of goats, bucks, and kids in the first place, then of antelopes, monkeys, wild pigs, in the second place.¹ After them come some *shells*, three of them of the genus *Oliva*, two others of the genus *Cyprea*; then two bits of the shell of a tortoise, two black stones found in the stomach of a crocodile, two abnormal seeds of a greatly revered tree, the *Nkanyi*, and one nail of the ant-eater, the animal which digs large holes in the ant-hills to eat the ants.

Now all these objects have a significance, according to the

¹ See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., pp. 280-293; especially p. 290, paragraph 2.—Ed.

laws of animism : the bones of goats represent the people of the village, because they live with them, they have something of their spirit ; the mother-goat is the mother of the kraal, the buck is the father, the kids the children. The bones of antelopes, wild pigs, monkeys, represent the spirits which dwell in the bush ; either the sorcerers who bewitch during the night or the gods which are the ancestors buried in the forest. The shells represent the powers which help or destroy, like the great waves of the sea ; either the masculine forces (*Oliva*) or the feminine (*Cypræa*). The black stones mean mourning, and the nail of the ant-eater is the grave-digger, and means death. According to the way and the side on which all these bones and other objects fall when they are thrown down, the diviner sees in them the photograph of the situation on which he must give his advice. It would be too long to initiate you into the details of this method, but everything is perfectly rational in it and agrees together to form a most wonderful system of divination. And the old Maselesele, who went all over the country in former times, throwing the dice for the chiefs, sometimes receiving as much as an ox for his reward, this fortune-teller, now almost entirely blind, told me with a strange smile : " Nothing is more powerful than these bones ! Your book which you read, your Bible, is nothing. . . . What helps is this." And he patted the bones with a wonderful love. Unhappily for him, there has been a native war lately in the country ; he had to fly during the night and left his dice in the hut. The enemies burnt down the hut, and the basket was destroyed with its precious contents. I ventured to tell him that I thought his bones, being so intelligent, might have foretold to him the danger they were running, and he might have escaped sooner and saved them. But the argument did not make the slightest impression on him. Faith is blind !

I must come to a conclusion, sending those who would like to know more about this so curious animism to Mr. Milne,

who kindly keeps some of my books at the disposal of the members of the Society.¹

Civilisation is coming on, and the folklore stage is going with rapidity to its end. True faith destroys superstition, and the living God delivers the soul from its dreadful fears of the unseen. But when animism as a doctrine passes away, it remains in the mind of man under another form; it evolves into poetry. The faculty of the human mind to see in nature the counterpart of the spirit of man, to catch the analogy of both domains—did it not inspire the best writers, the greatest poets in their dramas? Let the awful superstition die out, but let the native keep his language, his nice old tales, and his bright imagination in the midst of the beautiful scenery of his country!

HENRI A. JUNOD,

Swiss Missionary.

¹ The books can be bought by the members of the Folk-Lore Society at the Secretary's office at a reduced price, viz.: *Les Chants et les Contes de Ba-Ronga* at 3s. 6d., and *Les Ba-Ronga* at 6s.; *La tribu Thonga* at 1s., and *l'Épopée de la Rainette* 1s.—ED.

FOLKLORE OF THE AZORES.

BY M. LONGWORTH DAMES AND E. SEEMANN.

(*Read at Meeting, 25th March, 1903.*)

IF a line be drawn across the Atlantic Ocean from Lisbon to New York just south of the 40th parallel of latitude, at about one-third of the distance from Europe and two-thirds from America, will be found the oceanic and volcanic group of islands known as the Azores, in Portuguese the Açores, or Hawk Islands. This group shares with Madeira and the Canary Islands the honour of being the firstfruits of the spirit of exploration and discovery which began to animate Europe in the fifteenth century. The Azores were indeed shown, as well as Madeira, in a Genoese map of 1351; but no one knows who first discovered them, and their existence was forgotten until the time of the great Prince Henry, when Cabral, sailing under his auspices, discovered the island of Santa Maria in 1432. The whole group became known and was colonised by 1450. The colonisation was mainly from the southern part of Portugal—Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve; except in the case of the island of Terceira, which was settled from Northern Portugal, the Minho and Douro province. In the islands of Fayal, Pico, and Saõ Jorge there was a large Flemish settlement; in one part of St. Michael's, still known as Bretanha, there is said to have been a considerable Breton immigration, and the people of these villages still show a marked difference from those of the remainder of the island. As a whole, however, the population of the group must be considered Portuguese, alien elements having been absorbed and assimilated. The islands were uninhabited when discovered, so there is no aboriginal element to be considered.

The Moorish element, which is strongest in Southern Portugal, no doubt exists in the Azores, and may be expected to show itself especially in St. Michael's and Santa Maria. The folklore of these islands shows, as will be seen, a strong resemblance to that of the old Moorish province, the Algarve, with its marked Eastern affinities. The introduction of negro slavery affected the Azores as well as Continental Portugal; but in 1531 there was a general massacre of Moors and Negroes, and this perhaps has made the negro admixture less marked here than in some other Portuguese possessions. Moreover, the temperate climate, in which Europeans thrive, did not require negro labour. No doubt the white population, already established, looked on the introduction of negroes with jealousy, much as Chinese and Kanakas are now regarded in some of our Colonies. The aristocracy of the islands is still representative of the original conquerors and explorers, and Da Gamas, d'Albuquerque, Cabral, and Bethencourts, are all to be met with.

The only other point I need refer to as affecting the popular legends is the volcanic nature of the group. In the eastern part of St. Michael's lies the Valley of the Furnas or Caves (wrongly anglicized as the Furnace). The Lake of the Furnas occupies a volcanic crater; and there is another depression (formerly a lake, but filled up since 1630 with cinders and ashes) which is known as the Lagoa Secca, or Dry Lake. The Valley of the Furnas contains many hot springs and geysers, locally known as Caldeiras. In 1445, soon after the first Portuguese settlement, the most important mountain at the western end of St. Michael's was entirely blown away, leaving an enormous crater now known as the Lakes of the Seven Cities. The 'Sete Cidades' or 'Septem Civitates' figure largely in mediæval writers as a name for Pluto's Atlantis, which was frequently identified with the Azores. Hence the name of 'Seven Cities' applied to the lakes which are believed to cover the former capital of Atlantis.

The island of St. Michael's is long and narrow, stretching from east to west. The capital, Ponta Delgada, lies on the south side, and opposite it on the north is the town of Ribeira Grande. Other places alluded to in the stories are Villa Franca and Rasto de Caõ or Rosto do Caõ, which are both on the south side. The last-named place is said to be called either Dog's Face (Rosto de Caõ), from the shape of a rock, or Rasto do Caõ (the Dog's track). It is said that St. Roch's dog was tracked to this spot, where a church was built in memory of the event.

The folklore of the Azores has not been altogether neglected by Portuguese writers. Dr. Theophilo Braga, the great Portuguese writer on these subjects, is himself a native of St. Michael's, and was assisted in his collections by Dr. Ernesto do Canto and Dr. Teixeira Soares. Dr. Ernesto do Canto's collections consisted mainly of stories told by children. As these collections have not hitherto appeared in English, I have made a somewhat abridged translation of those relating to the Azores, from Dr. Theophilo Braga's *Contos tradicionais do Povo Português*, which will I hope appear in a future number of *Folk-Lore*. I also give here a shortened form of the rather diffuse version of the legend of the Sete Cidades given by the Visconde de Ervedal da Beira in his *Narrativas Insulanas*, to which Mr. W. F. Walker has kindly drawn my attention.¹

Mrs. Seemann's collections will I think be found a valuable addition to what we already know of Azorean Folklore. She is an English lady who has passed a great part of her life in St. Michael's, and is thoroughly acquainted

¹ For an excellent study of the population of St. Michael's, I may refer to Arruda Furtado's *Estudo Antropológico dos Povos Açorianos (Estudo Antropológico dos Povos Açorianos, por Arruda Furtados, Ponta Delgada, 1884)*. A large amount of interesting information on the people, their ideas, and customs, will be found in Bullar's book of sixty years ago, *A Winter in the Azores*, by J. and H. Bullar, 2 vols., Van Voorst, London 1841), and in Mr. W. F. Walker's excellent work on the Azores (*The Azores*, by W. F. Walker, 1 vol., Trübner, London, 1885), both of which contain excellent illustrations of costumes, festivals, &c.

with the people and their language. She collected these materials while resident there, but she has not in every case kept note of the name of her informant. The stories relating to the Lagoa das Furnas were told her by a muleteer named Antonio Tavares, known as Rabica, or 'Pigtail,' because his grandfather wore a pigtail. The Legends of the Virgin Mary were told by the Condessa de Praia e Monforte, a lady of St. Michael's. I have arranged Mrs. Seemann's stories under the following heads :

Local Legends.

Legends of the Virgin Mary.

Festivals, &c.

Customs and Superstitions.

Songs, dances, &c.

It will be noted that these materials are of a different character from most of those in Braga's collection, which consists mainly of *märchen* proper.¹ Braga has published another volume dealing with the metrical romances preserved in the island of Santa Maria,² the first discovered of the Azores. These well deserve translation, but I have not attempted to deal with them as yet.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

LOCAL LEGENDS.

Legends of the Furnas.

a. Centuries ago there was no lake in this place, but a valley, in which stood a convent; while the neighbouring valley of Lagoa Secca (Dry Lake) was filled with water. During some great earthquake or similar disturbance the

¹ The only collections of Portuguese Folklore hitherto available in English are that of Pedroso, translated by Miss H. Monteiro, and edited for the Folk-Lore Society in 1882 by Mr. Ralston, and a selection from F. A. Coelho's collection (*Cantos populares Portuguezes*, por F. A. Coelho, Lisbon, 1879) translated by Miss Monteiro under the title *Tales of Old Lusitania* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1888). Neither of these contain any material from the Azores.

² *Cantos populares do Archipelago Açoriano*, por T. Braga, Porto, 1869.

water from Lagoa Secca was turned into the present lake, leaving the original bed dry.

b. In the sixteenth century there was in the valley of the Furnas a convent; and near this one day the people were singing and dancing. One of the women went out to draw water from a spring, and was terrified at finding that it was so hot as to scald her hand. Rushing back to the dancers, she called to them to stop, for the day of judgment was come; but they laughed at her warning, saying, "You are not God to tell us of judgment," and continued their sports. Then she told the friars; and when one of them went with her to the spot, flames were bursting forth; but as he held a crucifix above them, the woman found that the flames did not burn her. As she could not persuade her friends to fly, she left them to their fate; and three days later a terrible eruption took place, when all the houses were swallowed up and the inhabitants destroyed. In digging many years ago for the foundations of a house, it is said that the arches and part of the convent were found deep-buried in the earth, and under them many human bones; and these arches are still visible.

c. Another version of the above story represents the good woman as having gone with her pitcher to the place now called the '*Gruta do Padre Reis.*' Finding the water hot she hastened back to warn her neighbours, but they only mocked at her. Her husband and children, however, accompanied her, and with them she climbed by a steep path to the top of the Pico de Ferro, when looking down she saw the waters roll over from the Lagoa Secca into the present lake; and the hamlet disappeared for ever.

*O Serrado da Freira (The Nun's Field), a Story of
the Seven Cities.*

In the plain by the Lake of the Seven Cities there existed in the beginning of the world a convent. No one knew how it came there or how it disappeared; but many, many

years ago, peasants in digging near the spot found a large iron bolt, some say a bell, and a rude mill-stone. These were far too sacred relics to be put to common use, and were therefore buried near the lake.

The Seven Cities.

[The above legend of the 'Nun's Field' is the only one relating to the 'Seven Cities' given by Mrs. Seemann, nor does Braga give the full legend. He simply says, under the heading 'Submersion of Cities' (vol. ii., p. 162): "In the island of S. Miguel there is a Lake of the Seven Cities. The tradition of the submersion of towns in lakes is of frequent occurrence in the Spanish peninsula, and is explained by the following formula: 'Our Lady went to the town of Valverde in poor attire, and begged for alms; as she was harshly dealt with, Valverde was drowned in the Lake of Carregal.'"]

This, however, does not apply to the Lake of the Seven Cities, the legend of which is told by the Visconde de Ervedal de Beira. His narrative is derived from the story told him by a country girl on the spot, and is evidently a genuine legend in substance. It is, however, not told in popular language, but in a rather florid literary style. I therefore give here only the outline of the story, and not a translation of the whole.—M. L. D.]

This country once formed part of a great kingdom, most of which is now covered by the sea. It was ruled over by a king named Brancopardo, whose one grief was that he had no heir. He was a very good king, but excessively proud. His queen, Brancarozza, often entreated him to moderate his pride, but in vain. One day the queen went down on her knees to the king to entreat him to yield, and he at last agreed on condition that she should obtain from her guardian genius an heir to the throne. The genius appeared to them, touched the queen's forehead with his

wings, and promised them a fair daughter ; but said that to cure the king of his pride he must not look upon his daughter until she reached the age of twenty, nor must she be seen by any man. The genius added, " I myself will look after her, and will build for her Seven Cities of marble and ivory. Each day of the week she will inhabit one of them, and she shall have palaces of gold and precious stones. Around them I shall build bronze walls, so high that no man can climb them. When the princess is twenty years old the walls will fall down, and you can then go in and kiss your daughter; but woe to you if you touch those sacred walls before the appointed time." So it happened. A beautiful princess was born, and named Verdazul (Green and Blue). The genius transported her to the Seven Cities of marble and ivory, and here she lived in great splendour, growing in beauty until she reached the age of eighteen. Meanwhile the king's pride had revived. His desires were fanned by his evil genius, and at last he was persuaded that it was insulting to his dignity that he should be prevented from seeing his daughter. So in spite of Queen Brancaroza's remonstrances he set out, not deterred by the howling of the wind or the trembling of the ground. He travelled seven days and seven nights, and at last saw before him the bronze walls. Being exhausted he fell asleep, and dreamed of the pleasant sights and sounds inside these ramparts. When he awoke he raised his sword, but the earth trembled, and he hesitated. Urged on, however, by the evil genius, he struck the wall with his sword. Instantly the wall was shattered to bits; the earth opened with flames and thunderings and the whole country went down into the ocean, leaving but a few bits of land here and there. Where the Seven Cities stoop is now this lake, and the marble and ivory palaces are under the water. On stormy nights the ghost of Verdazul is seen to glide over the water. The lake is divided by a causeway into two parts, which keep the memory of Verdazul by being one blue and one green ; or else, some say

because she carried a green umbrella and wore blue shoes, and the shoes are under the water of the blue lake and the umbrella under the green lake.

The Holy Woman of Alegria.

Very many years ago there lived in Saõ Miguel a woman named Maria Roya, noted for her evil life, who suddenly disappeared from the sight of men. For repenting of her many sins she resolved to devote her remaining days to prayer and contemplation. Wandering far among the mountains she came at length to a lonely valley, and finding there a small cave or grotto she dug away the earth with her hands until it was large enough for her to enter; and in this place she passed her life in penance and prayer. Yet that she might be present at the celebration of Mass, she never failed when Sunday came to climb the mountains and descend again to the sea-coast, where her appearance at the church of Maia, two leagues distant, was looked on as miraculous. None knew whence she came nor whither she disappeared after the service. But her attendance was so regular that the priest became accustomed to ask if she had entered the church, and did not put on his robes and begin the ceremony until the sacristan announced her arrival. She came in any weather, and however wet it was she had only to shake her large cloak, and the water would fall from it, leaving it perfectly dry. At length two curious men resolved to follow her, and keeping her in sight they climbed the hills and entered the beautiful valley of Alegria, where they saw her disappear into the cavern. Cautiously approaching, they were struck with wonder and amazement when they saw the holy woman upon her knees, while a glorious brightness filled the narrow grotto and lighted up the pictures and images of the saints with which it was adorned. She was at first startled at seeing her discoverers, but they calmed her fears, and went on, leaving her undisturbed at her devo-

tions. Others, however, soon came from far and near to see the holy woman, and thus was discovered the Valley of the Furnas.

A Senhora da Lapinha (The Lady of the Rock).

In the year 1763 some hunters were in search of game in the woods near Botelho when one of the dogs rushed suddenly forward, and the party following came upon the dead body of a woman lying on the ground in a small cave. It was thought to be that of a holy woman, who lived a hermit's life in these woods; and though she had evidently been dead for some time, her body was in a state of perfect and miraculous preservation. The body was embalmed and placed in the chapel at Botelho, but next day it disappeared, and was found again in the cave. Three times this was repeated; until at length the priests, finding their efforts vain, erected a chapel over the cave, and in it placed a statue representing the dead body. The embalmed body itself was then sent to Rome as a holy relic. The statue remains to this day, and the country people make pilgrimages to the shrine of the Lady of the Rock.

St. Peter's Chasm (O Buraco de Sao Pedro).

At Fenaes da Luz is a circular gulf or chasm communicating with the sea at the bottom known as St. Peter's Chasm. Many years ago a countryman pushed over his wife in a fit of jealousy, and in storms her voice may yet be heard calling for help.

Dom Sebastiao.

The belief is widely spread throughout Portugal, that Dom Sebastian, the heroic king of Portugal, who fell while fighting against the Moors in 1578, is not dead, but will return again to lead his people to battle; and, according to Sir Richard Burton, it has been met with in remote parts of

Brazil. In St. Michael's, it is believed in the Ilheo de Villa Franca and the Valley of the Furnas that Dom Sebastian, mounted on his white horse and followed by his army, may be seen at midnight riding over the hills. In the island of Graciosa he is also said to appear at midnight, and is seen standing by a rock into which he thrusts his sword, saying, "*Quem te poz aqui, d'aqui de hade tirar*" (He who placed thee here, from here will draw thee out).

The Haunted House of Terceira.

In the village of the Arriffes, in St. Michael's, once lived a poor but worthy couple. In order to better their circumstances they migrated to the island of Terceira, and there lived in a cottage, while the man worked in the fields. Near by was a large old house which was uninhabited, and was believed to be haunted. The old couple were not afraid, and asked the owner to let them take up their abode there, to which he agreed. When the neighbours asked them if they had seen any ghosts, they always said that they had not, but that they were much disturbed by rats. One night the old woman was kneading dough after midnight, her husband and children having gone to bed. While she was waiting for the leaven to rise, suddenly a small door she had never noticed, opened, and a man in a long black garment came in and sat down by the kneading trough, on which he fixed his eyes without saying a word. The woman feeling pity for him, when she made the loaves made one more, which she told him would be for him, and then put them in the oven. While they were baking he said, "At last I have found one kind person on earth. Now bring the lamp and your husband's hoe, and follow me." She did so, and followed him silently. When they got to the first landing on the stairs, to try her courage he turned round and blew out her lamp, but nothing daunted she went back and lit it again, and returned. He led the way

to an earthen cellar, and pointing to a corner said, "Dig there; whatever you find is yours. You have a good heart, and this is your recompense; and now I can rest in peace in my grave." Then he disappeared. The woman fetched her husband, and they dug in the spot pointed out and found an immense chest of money. They went back to St. Michael's, sold their cottage at the Arrifes, and then returned to Terceira and bought the haunted house for a small sum. They lived there for the rest of their lives and became wealthy people.

A Story from Rasto de Cao.

During the civil war between Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel, a girl lived at Rasto de Caõ, who was in love with a young man by whom her love was not returned. She consulted an old woman believed to be a witch, and by her directions prepared a love potion, of which donkey's brains were the chief ingredient. When she gave this to the young man he suspected treachery, and gave it to his horse. The horse soon died, and its body was thrown on to the seashore, where it was devoured by the sea-gulls. As soon as the gulls had finished it they too died. A band of hungry robbers came out of the woods, and finding the dead gulls ate them, and all perished. The cause of all the deaths was traced to the girl, who was tried, condemned, and banished to Africa.

"Meu Amor matou o Amor ;
E o Amor seu cavallo ;
Seu cavallo cem aves ;
Cem aves a cem ladroës ;
Adevinham coraçoës,
Quem matou tantos ladroës?"

Translation. — "My love killed her love, and her love his horse, and his horse a hundred birds, the hundred birds a hundred thieves. Guess then, my hearts, 'Who killed so many thieves?'"

LEGENDS OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

The Quail and the Wagtail.

During the Flight into Egypt, while Our Lady and St. Joseph with the Holy Child were crossing the desert, a quail saw them and cried out, "*Aqui vai, aqui vai,*" "Here they go, here they go." Our Lady thereupon cursed the quail, saying that it should never be able to rise high into the air, but must ever fly near the ground. But the wagtail followed the fugitives, and kept sweeping the sand over their foot-prints with its long tail, that they might be effaced, and that their enemies might lose their track. Our Lady then blessed the wagtail, and said that it should always be held sacred, and that no one should ever kill it. To this day no one wantonly kills a wagtail, and it is considered a good omen to see one in one's path.¹

The Lupines.

On the same occasion the Holy Family passed through a field of lupines, and the dry pods rattled as if to betray them. Our Lady cursed the lupine, and said that it should become bitter, and that when a man ate of it, his hunger should never be satisfied, and that to be eaten it should be soaked thrice three times in salt water, and so it has been ever since.²

The Mule.

The mule was also cursed, because at the time of the Nativity it pulled away from the manger the straw which covered the Holy Child, and from that time forth it has been barren.

The Dates.

On the flight into Egypt our Lady passed some fine palm trees laden with dates. As they were very tempting she looked up and said, "*O! que tamaras!*" (O! what dates!)

¹ For other versions of the legends regarding the quail and wagtail, see Braga, ii., 218, 219.

² Braga's version (ii., 225) only alludes to the unsatisfying property of the lupine, and not to the bitterness.

and from that time till now the O has remained fixed to every date-stone, and a little round mark will be found near the centre of each.

CEREMONIES AND FESTIVALS.

Santo Christo.

It is said that towards the end of the seventeenth century a large chest was washed ashore at Caloura, near the Ponta da Galera. When opened it was found to contain a wooden figure or bust, supposed to represent Christ. This was placed in the convent of the Esperança, at Ponta Delgada, then in course of construction or just finished and has been kept there ever since. It is watched by a nun, who has sole charge of it, and is known as the 'Ecce Homo,' or 'O santo Christo dos milagres' (The Holy Christ of the Miracles), as it is believed to work miracles. One of the nuns in charge of it, the Madre Theresa da Annunciada, used often to consult it, and was always answered. Anyone suffering from severe illness believes that he will be cured on sending for its cape to put on. Once every year it is paraded along the streets, and thousands flock in to see it, bringing offerings, so that it is possessed of vast riches. A lady will often vow to give it all her jewels or property if her prayer be granted. In times of drought or famine it is also carried along the streets, while the priests chant the litany. On such occasions it is not dressed in its gala robes, but in its every-day vestments, as a sign of humiliation. During their visit to St. Michael's last year the King and Queen of Portugal walked in the Santo Christo procession. The nuns of the convent mourn and weep all the time that the image is absent on the procession.

Imperios do Espirito Santo.

Among the curious customs kept up in the Azores are the Imperios do Espirito Santo, or Empires of the Holy Ghost.

They are said to have been instituted in A.D. 1300 by good Queen Isabella, wife of King Dom Diniz, but are no longer kept up on the Portuguese mainland. They take place generally after Ascension Day, on the two Sundays before Trinity Sunday. Every village has a square stone building, sometimes more than one, open in front and on the sides, generally 10 feet by 8, supported on pillars and raised three or four feet above the road. This building is called the *Theatro*, or theatre, and is where the Emperor or Empress of the festival (a child chosen the preceding year), sits after the coronation ceremony. Lots are drawn by the villagers, and the fortunate ones have the flag and crown in their house for a week each, beginning on Easter Sunday; the one who gets the Coronation Sunday keeping them the rest of the time. They are supposed to bring a blessing on the house, and it is held a great privilege to have them. While they are there, a sort of high altar is erected in one of the rooms, which is much decorated, and on it are placed the silver crown and sceptre with the dove, and on one side of it the flag, which is of crimson brocade with the dove surmounted by a crown worked on it in gold.¹

According to lots drawn, different people give bread, meat, wine, &c. This is all blessed by the parish priest on the Friday. After that ceremony ox-carts, decorated in front with a great erection of flowers, go round to the houses of the gentry who have subscribed, and present them with wine, bread, meat, cakes, and sometimes a *fugaça* (a sugar doll with curls and hair made of *rebuçados*, something like barley sugar). The remainder of the offerings is collected and placed on decorated tables in the *Dispensa*, or larder, which is illuminated and adorned with flags, flowers, and green boughs, crowds coming to visit it. The crimson flag with the dove is placed in a prominent position. The next day, Saturday, long tables are put along the decorated

¹ A sketch of one of these cottage altars is given in Bullar's *Winter in the Azores* (1841), vol. ii., p. 179.

streets and covered with white cloths, on which stand portions of meat (two pounds each) and two loaves, which are given to the poor. These portions are known as *pensoes*. In the afternoon the band plays the 'Hymn of the Holy Ghost,' and the Emperor or Empress (a child between the ages of eight and twelve), accompanied by its father and near relations and friends, walks down the road, giving the bread and meat away. On the Sunday the High Mass takes place, when in full canonicals the priest crowns the Emperor, after which he returns with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, walking between two rows of people clad in white; the band plays and rockets are let off. The procession is generally preceded by the *Fulioes*. These are four fantastically-dressed men, wearing a sort of mitre on their heads and long flowing garments made of some bright-coloured stuff or chintz, carrying the flag, a drum, a tambourine, and fiddle, and singing hymns to the Holy Ghost.¹ The feast then takes place, after which the Emperor or Empress sits for the rest of the afternoon in the theatre, with a table before him on which the crown and sceptre are displayed, and on one side the holy flag. A chosen few of the other children sit there also. The lots are then drawn for the next year, and when a Sunday is drawn, the *Fulioes* announce it by a roll of the drum and shaking the tambourine. Plenty of bunting, green boughs, and flowers are displayed.

A Pombinha (or the Dove Festival).

On one occasion, while the plague was raging in St. Michael's in the fifteenth century, the priests were celebrating Mass in the church of the Matriz, when, as they finished the service, a white dove was seen to fly in at the

¹ An illustration of this ceremony with the 'Fulioes' was drawn by the Baron de Laranjeiras, and is given by Mr. W. F. Walker in *The Azores*, 1885, p. 117.

open door. After circling round the church it settled on the high altar, where it remained. From that hour the plague was stayed, and the Festival of the Pombinha or Dove has been celebrated ever since. It begins after Easter, and lasts for seven weeks.

Alvorada (or Greeting of the Dawn) at Ribeira Secca.

This ceremony takes place at the village of Ribeira Secca, which adjoins the town of Ribeira Grande on the north coast of St. Michael's. An eruption of a volcanic peak near this village, known as Pico do Fogo, or Fire Peak, took place in 1563. The inhabitants fled to the church of St. Peter, and made a vow to keep his day as a festival for ever if he protected them. This festival takes place on June 29th, St. Peter's Day; the inhabitants of Ribeira Grande and of Ribeirinha, a village beyond it, also taking part in the rejoicings. The roads are decorated with green boughs, flowers, and bunting, and the houses adorned with large blue hydrangeas. All the horses of the country-side are collected; their manes and tails are braided with bright coloured ribbons, they are decked with garlands of flowers, and ridden by the men of the village and neighbourhood. The men are dressed in their best clothes or in white, and are decorated with ribbons, flowers, and gold. They present rather a ludicrous appearance, as they wear black silk top-hats covered with gold and jewellery sewn on to them. The women lend all their ornaments for this purpose. Chains are festooned round the hats, brooches pinned and long earrings sewn round them, locketts and bracelets placed wherever a resting-place can be found.

In the early morning they assemble in the *Adro* or church-square, and begin what is called the *Alvorada*, that is the Salutation of the Dawn. The band plays in front, and following it they ride down the streets and roads headed by the captain (a hereditary office), who carries the national flag. They halt in all open spaces or before the

houses of important persons, whom they greet. Shortly before noon the procession arrives in the open place before the town hall of Ribeira Grande, and they go through all sorts of manœuvres and figures like a military tournament. The captain salutes the mayor and the principal inhabitants, and recites an impromptu verse in honour of each. After this has gone on for about half an hour they proceed to other parts of the town, and then the pandemonium begins. Men dressed in grotesque costumes, masqueraders, wheelbarrows, donkey-carts filled with fantastically-dressed people, parade the streets, making a hideous noise with tin trumpets, reeds, drums, and instruments of every kind. This goes on till late at night or the small hours of the morning.

I was once present at this festival, which I witnessed from the balcony of the Ribeira Grande Town Hall, and heard all the doggerel verses addressed to those present.

CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

Funerals.

When a death takes place the bereaved sit all day in darkened rooms for several days or a week, and all their intimate friends come to sit with them. No fire is lighted and no cooking done till after the funeral, and friends send in trays of meat, vegetables, and sweets. The near relations sit on the sofa, and it is thought unlucky for anyone else to sit there at that time. The actual funeral takes place as a rule twenty-four hours after death.

The Banana.

The banana must not be cut with a knife, but bitten through, as the mark of the Cross will be seen if it is cut through (much as King Charles's oak is seen when the bracken-fern is cut through).

Churning Butter.

A gentleman staying near Castello Branco, in the island of Fayal, wanted a peasant to churn him some butter. The

man answered that he did not know if the tide were right, but that he would shut up his black cat and watch her eyes, and if they showed the tide to be favourable he would begin the churning.

Thunderbolts.

In Fayal there is a belief that wherever lightning strikes the thunderbolt buries itself in the earth, to rise again after seven years; and that anyone who happens to be standing over the spot at that time will be struck dead.

The Seventh Son.

A seventh son, if no girls have come between him and the others, is gifted with second sight, and can assume the appearance of a dog or wolf, becoming a 'Lobis-homen' or werwolf. He can also predict the future, cure the sick, and do many other wonders.

Sedan Chairs.

In Fayal, while sedan chairs were in use, there was a strong prejudice against their bearers, who were considered almost accursed, and were said never to rest quietly after death but to turn in their graves.

St. John's Eve.

On the night of June 23rd, St. John's Eve, St. John appears and blesses all the seas and waters, driving out the devils and evil spirits; and therefore up to that date the people are unwilling to bathe either in the sea or in the hot springs. Bathing ceases on November 2nd, when the devil enters the sea again. It is possible to see the devil on St. John's Eve by going alone at midnight into a garden. He is always found standing near a mustard-plant.

The fern only blooms at midnight on St. John's Eve, and no one ever sees the flower because the fairies instantly carry it off. But if anyone, watching till it opens, throws a cloth over it, and then, after the magic hour has passed, burns the blossom carefully, the ashes will serve as a mirror

in which the fate of distant friends can be read; if they are happy and living the ashes will resume the shape of a beautiful flower, but if they are dead or unfortunate the ashes will remain cold and lifeless.

Bonfires are lit on St. John's Eve, and boys jump over them for luck.

Divination and Lots. (Sortes.)

On St. John's Eve and St. Peter's Eve many curious customs connected with divination prevail.

Girls get slips of paper on which they write a double set of names of young men. These are folded and crinkled, one set being placed under the girls' pillows and the other in a saucer full of water. In the morning they draw one name from under the pillow and see if one in the water has opened. If the two are the same the girl knows that he will be her husband. The young men do the same with girls' names.

A new-laid egg is broken into a glass of water, and the shapes it assumes, representing various objects, show the fate of the person concerned. Thus a ship means travel, a coffin, death, and so on.

Seven saucers are placed in a row, filled with water, earth, ashes, keys, a thimble, money, and grass, meaning travel, death, widowhood, housekeeping, spinsterhood, riches, and farming. A blindfolded person touches the saucers with a little wand and thus finds out his or her fate.

Three broad beans (*favas*) are taken. One is left with the skin on, one is half peeled, and the third quite peeled, the three denoting respectively riches, competence, and poverty. These are hidden and searched for, and thus the fate of the finder is ascertained.

If a girl rises at sunrise, goes into the street, and asks the first passer-by his Christian name, this will be her husband's name.

Corn Husking.

One of the most popular Azorean pastimes is the husk-

ing of the Indian corn, called the *Esgalha de Milho*, which takes place in the autumn.

The young men and maidens, accompanied by some of the older people, meet together in the threshing-floor, or *Eira*. After the customary salutations they take their places. Imagine them seated cross-legged, in a circle, on the dry husks, with the full harvest moon shining brightly down upon them. (If the night be dark or wet they will assemble instead in a barn, where an old tin lamp, filled with fish oil is suspended from a beam in the roof, or from a hook driven into the rude unplastered wall of hewn stone, sheds a dim light upon them.)

During the meeting the party is entertained with the music of the viola (a native instrument like a guitar with twelve thin wire strings) played by one of the company. To this music they sing impromptu songs, or crack jokes, and tell stories and legends.

The cobs, or *massarocas*, are stripped of their first leafy covering and the finer leaf is left; ten or twenty cobs being then tied together with twisted strips of leaf, or *folha*. The bunch is then tossed aside and another lot proceeded with. When a red cob appears the finder is congratulated, and is considered very lucky, as they believe that that one will be the first of those present to be married. Therefore all embrace the fortunate one. When all the corn has been tied in bunches, it is stacked in a *tolda* to dry. These *toldas* are formed of three poles tied together in a pyramid form, on which the corn bunches are hung.

When some of the cobs have been husked and tied up, a large pot of steaming boiled *milho* of corn is brought in and emptied into a big dish, out of which all partake *ad libitum*, taking a handful at a time. An earthen jar of water is often brought in as well, from which any who wish to quench their thirst, as it is passed round. Sometimes even new or almost unfermented wine, the pure juice of the grape, is also supplied. These people are not paid for

their work, but are all willing to give their services for the sake of the fun they enjoy at the *Esgalha*.

SONGS.

Most of these verses are songs used in choosing partners for popular dances. They have well-known tunes attached to them and are known as *Fados*.

O Regadinho.

O cravo depois de secco
Senafica amor perdido,
Antes que queira não posso
Tirar de ti o sentido.

Agua leva o regadinho
Vai regar o almeirão,
Vira par, e troca par,
Vira-te p'ra aqui João.

O Fado Atroador.

O fado que foste fado,
O fado já não és,
O fado que te viraram,
Bravo! de cabeça p'ra os pés.

Se o Padre Santo soubeira,
A graça que o fado tem,
Viria de Roma aqui
Balhar o fado também.

Triste Viuva.

Triste viuva da banda d'alem,
Eu quero casar, não tenho com quem.
Todos me querem, não quero nin-
guem.
Queres-me tu, meu lindo bem!

The Watering-pot.

When the pink is withered,
It means that love is dead,
But though I try I cannot
Get you out of my head!

The water-pot carries the water
To the chicory-bed so bonny,
Turn your partner, change your partner,
And turn to me, my Johnny.

The Boisterous Fado.

O fado that once wast a fado,
O fado that are no more,
O fado that turned you upside down,
Bravo! from roof to floor.

The delight that is in a fado,
If the Holy Father but knew,
He would come here from Rome
To dance the fado too!

Sorrowing Widow.

Sorrowing widow from over there,
I want to marry but don't know
where.
Everyone wants me but I don't care.
Then marry me, my lady fair!

Constancia.

Constancia, O minha Constancia,
Não sei que de mim será,
São cousas da ventura,
São voltas que o mundo da.

Constancia, my Constancia,
I know not what will come of me,
These are matters of the future,
And twists which the world gives us.

Entré tantas damas bellas
 Não sei qual escolherei,
 Escolhe, meu bem, escolhe,
 Eu cá p'ra mim escolherei.

Among so many fair ladies
 I know not which to choose,
 Choose, my love, choose,
 And I will choose for myself.

*O Pezinho.**The Little Foot.*

The first words of each line are repeated twice as the foot is put out in the dance.

Põe aqui || o teu pezinho,
 Põe aqui || ao pé do meu ;
 Que ao tirar || do teu pezinho
 Cada um || fica c'ó seu.

Place here || your little foot,
 Place it here || close to mine ;
 When you take || yours away
 Each of us || will keep his own.

*O Jardim.**The Garden.*

Fui ao jardim das flores
 Colher um amor perfeito,
 Não achei senão suspiros
 Aqui os trago no peito.
 Puz me a escrever na areia
 Ao som do mar que corria,
 Veio o mar, tirou-me a penna
 Apagou-me o que eu fazia.

I went to the garden of flowers
 To pluck a perfect-love (pansy),
 I only found sighs (everlastings)
 Which I carry in my breast.
 I tried to write on the sand
 By the sound of the surging sea,
 But the sea came and took my pen
 And destroyed what I had done.¹

¹ Compare Spenser's sonnet, 'One day I wrote her name upon the sand

NOTES ON BALLAD ORIGINS.

BY A. LANG, M.A., LL.D., &c.

(*Read at Meeting, 25th March, 1903.*)

FOR some reason the problems of the origin and diffusion of Ballads (by which brief traditional romantic narrative poems are here especially meant), have not much occupied the Folk-Lore Society. I now submit some remarks, suggested by a recent publication. Even the slight amount of discussion of the theme in England is enough to show that there are two ways of accounting for the wide diffusion, in Europe, of popular narrative poems on similar romantic plots. Thus Mr. T. F. Henderson and Mr. Courthope appear to hold that such ballads are degraded versions of literary mediæval romances; cut down, *vulgarisés*, and adapted to the tastes of the less cultivated classes. On the other hand, while admitting that certain ballads are of this origin, I maintain that many others are the work of popular rhymers, often dealing with themes also current in *Märchen* of great antiquity, and not borrowing from literary sources. But my position does not seem to be clearly understood by the advocates of the other system.

In his "Prefatory Note" to his new and excellent edition of *The Border Minstrelsy*,¹ Mr. T. F. Henderson has remarks on what may be called the Folklore Theory of popular old narrative ballads, and he honours me by various references to my opinions. As the subject was first approached by me thirty years ago, my opinions have naturally varied in some degree. I do not know that I ever said that ballads were "of communal origin." Where popular poetry is the work of collaborators in improvisation, even then each

¹ *Blackwood*, 1902.

individual contributes his or her quota. Again, the recurrent formulæ must have been invented by some persons at some time, though now they are public property. Once more, in ballads with many variants (as *The Queen's Marie*), no individual author of any one existing variant is the author of the whole of any such extant version. There has, certainly, been unconscious popular collaboration, nor do we know what the first ballad on the subject was like.

That poetry, even among the Australian blacks, is by "some gifted individual" (inspired by the Mrarts or Boilyas, or spirits, or by Pundjel himself), we know from Mr. Howitt's essay on these unprofessional makers.¹ We also know that the song becomes mixed and modified, as it passes from tribe to tribe, so that, in a given piece, the "gifted individual" might at last hardly recognise his own original.

I am not aware that I myself "formerly scouted the notion that traditional ballads [in their original form] could be the work of individual balladists," as Mr. Henderson says. But, say in the case of *The Queen's Marie*, and many other ballads, the variants which we have are no longer, I repeat, the original work of any individual: they are composite. In such instances I can say, as in 1875 (*Encyc. Brit.*, "Ballads"), "no one any longer attributes them to this or that author, or to this or that date."

Even in historical ballads, as *Kinmont Willie*, we know the date of the event (1596), but the poem is a composite in which Scott has handled traditional materials as he pleased. We do not know how the original ballad ran. As to the gifted individuals who made such ballads, we have only Bishop Lesley's evidence (*circ.* 1570). "Ballads (*cantiones*) about the deeds of their ancestors, and ingenious forays they"—the Borderers—"compose themselves," that is, the Borderers were their own ballad-makers. In this sense I think we may call the origin of *these* Border ballads

¹ *J. A. I.*, vol. xvi., p. 327.

“popular,” not literary or professional. In the course of oral tradition changes of all kinds, for good or bad, were certain to be made. The Border collaborated in our extant versions. I do not here speak of political ballads, made to be printed, as many were, and still preserved in their original shape. Many ballads, many savage poems, are “popular,” are, as they stand, the composite work of many persons, on an earlier canvas. Where, in the case of savages, there are no distinctions of rank, no professional poets, the songs are certainly the work of “the people,”—not of the people all shouting at once of course! There, there is nothing but “people”—and individuals of the people make the Dirges of Corsica, and the touching songs of the Arapahoe “Ghost Dance.” Examples of these may cling to the memory of the listeners, who, in repeating them, are almost certain to modify them, in fact to collaborate. In a society like that of the South Pacific, when an individual cannot make his own verses for “the Death Talk,” he gets somebody more gifted to help him, and we know many names of old Polynesian poets. Professionalism is beginning.¹ In Australian legends, the heroes and heroines of each adventure sing words of their own in moments of excitement; they are their own poets. Professional or semi-professional poets naturally increase with the advance of society, and the division of labour; and the dirge-singers of Corsica may be as it happens, amateur or professional mourners. In savage society, the medicine-man may make his own magical chants, or may know traditional versions. If such poetry does not spring “from the heart of the people,” where there is nothing but “people,” I know not whence it springs. But this is not a denial of individual authorship by members of the people, in the first instance, before the collaboration of reciters begins. Even in deliberately collaborative verse, each man or woman, as I have said, offers a quota, from

¹ Wyatt Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, and *Scenes from Savage Life*.

memory or from fancy, and, if that fancy is not "popular," what is popular?

Mr. Henderson twits me with speaking of "a monotonous taunting song of the Scottish maidens," as "a rural ballad" on Bannockburn. It was obviously not a narrative poem: I accept the correction. But Barbour, in the fourteenth century, as Scott remarks, "thinks it unnecessary to rehearse the account of a victory gained in Eskdale over the English, because

"Whasa like, they may her
Young women, when thai will play,
Syng it amang thaim ilk day."

The Bruce. Book xvi.

This *was* a narrative ballad, certainly, for it told the story of a Border battle. Who made the ballad? *Ipsi confingunt*, "they compose their ballads themselves," says Lesley, in the sixteenth century: he speaks of no professional composers. Hume of Godscroft in the sixteenth century quotes one verse of an "old song" on the slaying (1353) of the Knight of Liddesdale. May I venture to infer that a song on such an event was probably made, originally, when the tragedy was fresh in the popular memory? But, by Godscroft's time (and he was an active conspirator in 1584), one verse ran thus:

"The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there that she did call,
'It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let all these tears down fall.'"

There was, I think, no Earl or Countess of Douglas in 1353, and the verse is not, perhaps, in the style of the fourteenth century. The "old song," by the time it reached Godscroft, had been altered by oral tradition—the original song, probably by an individual of the fourteenth century, was no longer, I imagine, to be found. What survived was composite and relatively modern.

In 1875, when Professor Child's great collection of materials was still unpublished, I wrote that "the birth of the ballad,

from the lips and the heart of the people, may be contrasted with the origin of an *artistic* poetry in the demand of an aristocracy for a separate epic literature," &c. But I conceive that, even in 1875, I did not suppose that the "people" simultaneously and automatically belled out this or that new ballad. If Mr. Henderson credits me with that opinion, I disclaim it. When I went on, in 1875, to say that "all ballad poetry sprang from the same primitive custom of dance, accompanied by improvised song, which still exists in Greece and Russia, and even in valleys of the Pyrenees," I did not discriminate, but followed the derivation of "ballad" from old French *baller*, "to dance," originally meaning a song sung to the rhythmic movement of a dancing chorus. It is a long while since I wrote the brief and insufficiently-informed article of 1875.

All our extant traditional narrative ballads were not, of course, made in this way, out of improvisations in the dance. Perhaps few, if any, were. That songs are made, and have been made in this way, in many regions, each song having its refrain, is proved beyond doubt by Professor Gummere (*The Beginnings of Poetry*, 1902). I am not certain that any of our traditional and extant ballads had this origin. But the word "ballad"—if the derivation be correct—was first applied to such improvisations, before the now remote date when the French used *ballade* for a peculiarly artificial form of literary versification. The term "ballad" in 1568, was even used to designate the irregular Casket Sonnets attributed to Mary Stuart.

In Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature* (1901), I wrote in a manner, I hope, more discreet than in 1875. Mr. Henderson does not quote this essay, at least he gives no reference to it. Mr. Henderson does say, that in my opinion "as a general rule—for a general rule he will have it to be—ballads and popular tales, between which he draws little or no distinction, are the creation of 'the folk-fancy' (regarding the exact meaning of which phrase Mr. Lang's

statements are variable), and are not only older than the mediæval romances, but must have existed, many of them that now survive, millions of years before any existing human records." Where do I say that many extant ballads arose, and descend to us, from a period " millions of years anterior," say, to cuneiform and hieroglyphic records? No reference is given for this portentous averment of mine. What I do say is what, perhaps, no folklorist denies. Many ballads are versified *Märchen*, or many *Märchen* are ballads done into prose, or both descend from popular tales partly in prose, partly in verse, and the *Märchen* are very old and widely diffused.

Mr. Leland writes, in the preface to his and Professor Dyneley Prince's *Kuloskop the Master* (1902), that, in Italy, he used to be asked whether he preferred to have " a fairy tale chanted or repeated as prose." He might take it as a ballad, or as a *Märchen*. We have ballads in alternate prose or verse, as Motherwell found, and Jameson found one in Lochaber and Ardnamurchan, Celtic districts. The Algonkin " sagas, or legends, or traditions were, in fact, all songs," says Mr. Leland. In short, romantic traditional ballads, and prose *Märchen* are closely inter-related. Prose and verse are intertwined in old Gaelic Lays, says Islay (*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, iv., 164, 165). Again, the stock situations and ideas in *Märchen*, and in the analogous ballads, are of unknown antiquity, being derived from the staple of savage thought.

That men existed, and sang ballads, " millions of years " ago, the theory attributed to me by Mr. Henderson, I do not know. Mr. E. B. Tylor places man's date " at least tens of thousands of years ago." I think it highly probable that man of the reindeer period in France had ideas much like these of extant savages. If he told or chanted *Märchen* (which I think likely), I should expect them to be much on the level of low savage *Märchen*: say Samoyed or Eskimo: if he sang tales in verse, I conceive that they may have

contained talking animals, sorcerers, elves, and so on, as many of our ballads do. But I have not, and nobody has, any evidence as to the ballads of "millions of years before any existing human records." If I ever said that many extant ballads date from millions of years ago, I said what I cannot prove, and I am anxious to be shown the exact words which I employed. It is unkind of Mr. Henderson to accuse me of delirious nonsense, and yet to offer no reference to my ravings.

The facts as to the extremely wide diffusion, in popular poetry, of the situations, and frequently of the plots, of old traditional narrative romantic ballads, were almost unknown to Scott. These facts I first found out for myself by reading foreign collections, in the early seventies, and Professor Child's later work greatly increased the range of my knowledge. Manifestly the wide diffusion of the stories in the ballads brings them into relation with the problem of the diffusion of *Märchen*, that old puzzle.

Mr. Henderson writes, "The late Professor Child's list of analogous foreign ballads is curious, and in some respects invaluable; but it is possible to overrate or misunderstand its significance. An exhaustive list of the plots of the novelists of all nations would be certain to reveal many strange coincidences; but a very large number of them could not but be accidental. The range of possible variety of plot in the ballad is much more limited, both on account of the comparative shortness of the tale and the limited variety of events in early times." The events are, of course, often such as do not occur, except in early fancy, "popular fancy." People do not really shift shapes with beasts, are not carried into fairyland, do not bear off their ladies to bed with them in the grave, do not hold conversations with birds, and so forth, as they do in ballads. Such events are, undeniably, the creations of "savage and popular fancy," however much the words may offend Mr. Henderson. The ideas are universally human, and therefore inform

all *Märchen* and *Märchen*-like ballads, where these exist.

Mr. Henderson presently cites my alleged belief about ballads millions of years old, and says that Professor Child's opinion is "exactly the opposite" of mine; that is, of the opinion which Mr. Henderson attributes to me. I can readily believe that Professor Child did not suppose many of our extant ballads to be millions of years old! No more do I. He is quoted thus: "Some have thought that to explain this phenomenon [the identity of plots] we must go back almost to the cradle of mankind, to a primeval common ancestry of all or most of the nations amongst whom it appears." I am unaware that I ever attributed a common ancestry to Greeks, Samoyeds, Magyars, Huarochiri, Celts, and so forth. I know nothing about the matter. Professor Child goes on. "But so stupendous an hypothesis is scarcely necessary." I entirely agree. "The incidents of many ballads are such as might occur anywhere and at any time." Again I agree, and add that, given similarity of custom (say husband and wife taboo), similar events (which never occurred, or could occur) might independently be invented, in tales, such as *Cupid and Psyche*, to explain or enforce the taboo. Professor Child then speaks of the opportunities of diffusion of tales, "during the Middle Ages, and the Crusades." Now I have also insisted that captured slaves, and alien wives (under exogamy), and mariners drifted to unknown coasts, and commerce in all ages, must have diffused story-plots.¹ Wherein, then, is Professor Child's opinion "exactly the opposite" of mine? As far as I see, we are of one mind.

Mr. Henderson cites Professor Child from an essay, unknown to me, in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopædia* (1893): "As there stated, his opinion is that ballads are the work of individual persons, not of communities, but that they date from a period before the people were distinguished "into

¹ See "A Far Travelled Tale," in *Custom and Myth*, and my preface to Miss Cox's *Cinderella*.

markedly distinct classes." In part I agree with Professor Child. "Ballads are the work of individual persons," but where collaboration occurs, consciously, or in course of oral tradition, the quota of each individual must now be matter of conjecture; and reciters filled gaps in memory with fragments of other ballads, or improved to their taste out of their own invention, as Monsieur de Puymaigre remarked some forty years ago. Thus no traditional version, as it stands, is likely to be the work of one individual. Some might improve on, others might spoil, the original piece from which the original author himself might frequently vary, adding or abridging. As to "markedly distinct classes," these, of course, did exist in the Border, but not much among the "simple," the "folk," the general populace.

If I understand Mr. Henderson's own theory (compare his chapter on Ballads in his *Vernacular Literature of Scotland*) he thinks that most, or many of our traditional romantic narrative ballads are versions of mediæval *literary* romances modified and degraded by vulgar versifiers and by oral tradition. That some ballads are in this case I entirely believe. For example (as I have elsewhere said) *Sir Aldingar* may be derived from a literary source in William of Malmesbury (ob. 1143), a version also found in a French metrical Life of Edward the Confessor. But, as to William of Malmesbury, Professor Child says "we cannot well doubt that he is citing a ballad—a ballad is known to have been made on a similar and equally fabulous adventure," and he traces such fables to the middle of the seventh century. Professor Child says again (i., 98): "The idea of the love-animated plants has been supposed to be derived from the romance of *Tristram*, agreeably to a general principle, somewhat hastily assumed, that when romances and popular ballads have anything in common, priority belongs to the romances."

Every folklorist knows that many such inventions are

common to the popular tales of the whole world, and that mediæval literary romances have often really borrowed the ideas from the popular tales. There is a come and go; literary romances borrow from dateless popular tales, and balladists have sometimes borrowed again from literary romances, notably in the Arthurian ballads, while Arthurian *literary* romances are, in part, thought to be derived from Breton *popular* lays.

But consider Professor Child's introductory essay on *Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight*. Hundreds of ballad variants of this piece exist all over Europe, and an analogous *Märchen* is found among the Zulus. The fundamental idea only is the same. A girl is made sport of by a false knight, or fabulous creature, who takes her to a place where he has killed many other women. After that point, the ballads introduce every conceivable variation, and every conceivable conclusion. Can they then be derived from a romance, which must have taken one definite line of its own? If so, no such romance is known to me, though Mr. Henderson may be more fortunate. Even if he is, the many variations must be due to "popular imagination," to unknown popular singers and reciters.

Take the case of "The Loving Ballad of Lord Bateman;" in its street guise, even, it contains many traditional stanzas. Professor Child remarks that the story has a close analogue in Robert of Gloucester's *Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury*. Herein the hero is Becket's father, answering to the Young Beichan or Bekie of some Scottish variants. "Becket" may have suggested "Beichan," our Scots ballad may have the *Life of Becket* for one literary source. But, says Professor Child, "the ballad, for all that, is not derived from the legend. . . . The legend lacks some of the main points of the stories' (*Märchen*), "and the ballad, in one version or another, has them." Here, as usual, I agree with Professor Child.

What is the *donnée* of this ballad? A lover has left his

lady (who has usually helped him out of her father's prison, or enabled him to escape from the wrath of her father, a giant, ogre, elephant, French king, Turk, Moor, or what not) in a far country. He reaches his home, and (by dint of magic or other constraint) forgets his love. She comes to him, revives his memory, and weds him, though he has just taken a new bride, whose wedding-feast she generally interrupts. Every folklorist knows many versions of this far-travelled tale, found in Samoa as in the Jason cycle, where the conclusion is tragical. Often the forgetfulness of the hero is absent.

Mr. Henderson replies (1): "For anything that Mr. Lang actually shows, there is nothing remarkable in different countries having this story about the return of an old true love, since the return of old true loves is quite common."

Agreed! But that their ladies had released the men from their father's prison; that the men took other brides under magical constraint, and that the old true loves returned during the bridal, and wedded their first flames, cannot be a very usual sequence of events. Even if it *were* common, what then? The ballads and stories would all the more need no source in literary romance, as on Mr. Henderson's theory; if I understand it.

(2) "If the similarities in the different versions are of such a character as cannot be accounted for by a theory of mere chance, the ballad could not have been evolved by the 'folk fancy,' whatever that may mean, for it is quite incapable of constructing a minutely detailed story."

By the folk fancy, I mean here the fancy of peoples who have no professional literary class, say the Eskimo, Zulus, Algonkin, or Samoyeds. I would add European peasantry, but it is not inconceivable that literary romances *might* reach them, and be degraded by them, though, in fact, Perrault's printed *contes*, for instance, are known to be derived from French peasant tales, which still exist, un-

affected by Perrault's printed versions. But the "folk fancy" of Zulu, Algonkin, Samoyed, and Eskimo narrators is *not* "incapable of constructing a minutely detailed story." Every folklorist knows that, unless he believes in universal borrowing from India.

(3) "Mr. Lang has never considered the possibility of exportation at a comparatively late period." I shall be happy to consider the theory if anyone will suggest the date and port of "exportation," adding his proofs.

(4) "He has assumed that the Becket legend and the ballad could not have been derived from the same old forgotten romance."

May I not ask for proof of the existence of such a romance prior to, say, 1300? I am not logically bound to prove that there never was such a romance. And, if Mr. Henderson discovers the romance, he will not necessarily prove that the ballads and the legend and the *Märchen* are derived from it. As Professor Child says, it is "somewhat hastily assumed, that when romances and popular ballads have anything in common, priority belongs to the romances."

(5) "He has not realised that the intermixture of the Becket legend with the story of the ballad might have occurred at a comparatively late period." About 1300, the date of the Becket legend, *is* comparatively late. As Professor Child says, the ballad, though in some variants "affected by" the Becket legend, "for all that is not derived from the legend." Variants, it may be remarked, occur in Norse, Spanish, and Italian.

Mr. Henderson, of course, may be right, and Professor Child may be wrong. But at present I feel safer in agreeing with the greatest of authorities rather than with the latest editor of *The Border Minstrelsy*. When Mr. Henderson adds that my opinion—"frequently the popular ballad comes down in oral tradition side by side with its educated child, the literary romance on the same theme"—

is "a mere fancy," I can, of course, point to *Sir Aldingar*, William of Malmesbury's story, the corresponding *Märchen* going back to the seventh century, and the ballad which Professor Child asserts to be the source of William's legend. But as I have only Professor Child's word for that ballad, Mr. Henderson may not care for the security.

It is not to be expected that my remarks will produce a favourable impression on my critic, but I am anxious to state my present position to the Folk-Lore Society. As far as I have succeeded in analysing Professor Child's opinions, out of his notes and introductions, I am fortunate enough to agree with that eminent specialist. This, at least, is encouraging.

Among other points, one needs particular attention. Why do the European ballads (if I am right) turn on but a few out of the many plots of European *Märchen*? To answer the question needs wide comparative study. Have we any ballad, for example, on a theme so universally diffused as that of *Cinderella*?

Not being acquainted with Celtic languages, I do not enter into the question why the Celts, as Mr. Nutt says, have no ballads, while he elsewhere applies the term "ballads" to lays of the Feinn.¹

The Celts certainly have some of the prose *Märchen* on which many European ballads are based, but, as some aver, the Celts have not made them the topics of brief traditional narrative poems. Why they have not done so I do not know, if they have not; but I fail to see how their abstention affects the general argument. My opinion, ignorant of Gaelic as I am, rests on that of Campbell of Islay, who really did know Gaelic, was in the closest relations with the peasantry, and heard numberless recitals.

He attributes abundance of "ballads" to the Celts of the West Highlands (*Popular Tales*, vol. iv., p. 123, *et seq.*). These "ballads," as Islay calls them, are not con-

¹ *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 401, 411.

fined to the saga about the Feinn. "Besides the ballads" of the Feinn, "there are numerous traditional ballads and other scraps of poetry similar to them in character, which treat of giants, enchantments, and supernatural deeds, some of which treat of fairies and fairy lovers; some of the loves of men and women" (p. 171). These things are the staple of our romantic ballads. Mr. Nutt denies that Celts have ballads, but a non-Celtic student may be allowed to rely on Islay, who, by-the-bye, gives examples of peasant collaboration in verse-making (p. 179).

Let me add that Professor Gummere goes, as I understand him, beyond me as to the "communal" origin of ballads. Mr. Henderson (p. xxiv.) misquotes Professor Gummere thus: "he is *unable to assert communal authorship, in any literal sense, for the ballad of the collections*" (p. 185). Professor Gummere, with Mr. Henderson's pardon, does not say that. He writes (pp. 184-185): "Once more be it said that the present object is not to assert communal authorship, in any literal sense, for the ballad of the collections, but to show in it elements which cannot be referred to individual art, and which are of great use in determining the probable form and origins of primitive poetry. *True, one might go further; there are strong statements made by scholars of great repute, which definitely deny individual authorship, in any modern sense, for the ballads*"—citing Bückel, Nigra, and Gaston Paris.

How erroneous is Mr. Henderson's quotation everyone can see. Islay says (iv., 127-128), "a ballad that bears the stamp of originality, *and the traces of many minds. . . . A popular tale is the oldest form. A popular ballad which can easily be sung and remembered is the next growth.*"

A ballad "is not something definite, like a printed song by a known author, but something which is continually undergoing change" (p. 125).

Islay's view is my view. M. Gaston Paris writes that early popular poetry is "improvised and extemporaneous

with its facts," and "composed under the immediate impression of the past, but *by those and for those* who have taken part in it." (Gummere, p. 185, citing *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, p. 2). This refers to ballads on events, say *Kinmont Willie*. M. Gaston Paris agrees with Lesley and with myself. But, when such a ballad comes down to us, it has been worked over and contaminated by many hands, at many dates: it is no longer the work of an individual. It seems that Mr. Henderson has the great mass of specialist opinion against him, though I am the sole object, almost, of his censures. I cannot but think, too, that (how much through my own fault I know not) he misapprehends my opinions.

A. LANG.

In Memoriam.

CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

BORN AT PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 15, 1824.

DIED AT FLORENCE, MARCH 20, 1903.

AMERICAN born, but living and dying in Europe, a graduate of Princeton, a student of Heidelberg, of Munich, and of Paris, a barrister, an educationalist, a traveller, a volunteer soldier both in the States and in Europe, a skilled handicraftsman, a fair designer, and an excellent companion, Charles Godfrey Leland would have been a man of mark even had he not been also one of the first humorous poets of his time and country, and a devoted explorer in the enchanted fields of linguistic and folklore.

His extraordinary aptness for strange tongues, and his easy and complete comprehension of the structure and thought-mode of these, are proved by his *Pidgeon-English Sing-Song*, his *Gypsy* verse, and the inimitable and delightful *Breitmann* ballads, as well as by his discovery of *Shelta* and his translation of *Algonquin* legends and *Romagnese* spell-songs. He had in his folklore studies his own way of going to work. He possessed the necessary gift of being able to collect, for his persuasive tongue, fine presence, and quiet revelation of immense and well-remembered stores of facts and legends, opened to him paths firmly closed to others. He could and did make careful and exact notes, but when he put his results before the public he liked to give them the seal of his own personality and to allow his fancy to play about the stories and poems he was publishing, so that those who were not able quickly to distinguish what was folklore and what was Leland were shocked, and grumbled (much to his astonishment and even disgust) and belittled his real achievements. He thought clearly, and many of his "guesses" have been or are being confirmed. He was a strong advocate for progress of the right kind both in learning and in life, and would fain have instituted many useful reforms. He was full of life and energy and observation, a big handsome man of engaging manners, to whom the young and the simple were magnetically drawn. His treasury of

anecdote was rich and varied, and his memory exact and trust worthy. He lived a full life. He wrote much and easily. His translations of Heine are among the most felicitous that have appeared in any tongue, and his version of Scheffel excellent. He has told part of his own life-story in his pleasant "Memoirs." The wide range of his acquaintance (for he knew the chief English men of letters, politics, and science as well as he knew the chief English gypsies) gave him a wonderful experience of human life and a quiet and convincing philosophy. People liked to talk to him as well as to hear his talk, and he was a good listener as well as a good talker.

His best verse was as good as Lowell's, his best prose a great deal better, both in substance and expression. To have created *Breitmann* and *Ping-Wing* is to have impressed his contemporaries as few of his countrymen have done.

He possessed the linguistic gifts of *Palmer*, but with finer literary instinct. He had something of *Burton* in his delight in natural human beings other than to the ordinary frock-coated, tall-hatted, and tight-waisted, high-heeled European types, and he had something of *Schuchardt's* warm instinct for the "tongues of transition" and the "life of transition" between indigenous and imported civilisation. The broken Greek of the Gospels would have interested him more than the choice Attic of *Sophokles*, a true folklorist in this, that the untouched byways were his favourite paths. He was too comprehensive in mind to become, like *Lowell*, a distinguished satirist; he saw too much of both sides to admit that there was no good at all in the adversary. He fought in the Civil War, and he spoke the truth fearlessly in politics, but these were duties, and his pleasure lay in the observation of humanity. Easy of access (but never permitting himself to be bored) and delighting in good fellowship, few of the really distinguished figures of his day but were pleased to number *Leland* among the friends they would gladly welcome.

His views on education I have not to do with here, but I may spend a line in recording my belief in the soundness of their tendency, and to notice that the opinion of experts both here and on the Continent is in their favour.

Leland is gone, *Breitmann* is left to us, an historic figure, the successor of *Plautus*, swaggering mercenary, of *Shakespeare's* pedantic *Fluellen*, of *Scott's* shrewd *Dalgetty*, with an individuality

and humour as distinct as theirs ; a curious product of his age. To create a living personality is the accepted test of the master of fiction, he has amply satisfied it. But Leland was not only a maker, he was a man of science, an observer, a recorder, and as time goes on it is probable that much of his work, personal as it is, will be none the less valued. He is always stimulating, he leaves definitely on his reader's mind the impression facts have made on his, he is not neglectful of small things. The followers of folklore are proud to have numbered him among their little band of pilgrims bound, like Piers Plowman, to seek incessantly and without pretence the far-off shrine of Truth.

F. YORK POWELL.

GASTON PARIS.

AUGUST 9TH, 1839—MARCH 5TH, 1903.

WHEN in early March the death of M. Gaston Paris was telegraphed from Cannes, such a thrill of sorrow and regret went through the world of learning as, it is safe to say, could hardly have been caused by the loss of any other scholar. Sorrow for the beloved and revered master, the friend, in the truest sense of the word, of every one of his pupils—nay, of every student, however modest, if only he worked with diligence and love of truth in any one of the many fields of study in which Gaston Paris was easily master ; regret for all that has died with him—the immense wealth of knowledge, the devotion to his studies as of a saint to his Deity, the power of bringing out what was best in other workers, the capacity for so organising and directing research, that without forfeiting one jot of its strictly scientific character, it might enter into and fertilise general culture.

M. Gaston Paris was one of the earliest members of the Folklore Society (his name appears in our first list) ; and throughout the whole of his career as a scholar, from his earliest published (and not yet superseded) history of the Charlemagne Cycle (1865) down to his latest contributions to *Romania* and the *Journal des Savants*, he was an indefatigable worker in one of the most important and fascinating branches of our study—the romantic and legendary literature of the Middle Ages. It was his life work to

lay afresh, with the thoroughness and accuracy demanded by modern criticism, the foundations for the intellectual and æsthetic history of the French mind in the period which lies between the definite break up of the Classic and the constitution of the Modern world. In the prosecution of this task he could not fail to note the variety and importance of those elements derived from more archaic cultures than that of Classic Antiquity, nor to be struck by the way in which many elements of Classic or Oriental culture were refashioned and transformed in the process of assimilation by Mediæval Christendom. He combined a familiarity with the assured results of Classic, Oriental, Germanic, and Celtic research, which enabled him to bring the facts of his own special mine of work, Romance philology, into touch or harmony with the general trend of study; a sanity of view which enabled him to lay the proper stress upon each among the many elements of the complex whole he was analysing; and a sympathetic insight which caused him to disregard no element however humble or alien it might seem. In studies such as he undertook, these qualities are of first-rate importance; and it is doubtful if any scholar has ever possessed them in happier or more fruitful combination than did M. Gaston Paris.

In addition to his work on the Charlemagne Cycle and that of Arthur (the *Matière de Bretagne*),¹ there is scarcely a general mediæval legendary or romantic cycle that he has not dealt with and the criticism of which he has not sensibly advanced. Special mention may be made of his work on the Solomon and Morolf story (*Romania*, vol. ix.), the Æsopic Fable and Reynard Cycle (chiefly in the *Journal des Savants*), the Wandering Jew (*Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*), the Infants of Lara (*Revue de Paris*, reprinted in *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age*), the Accursed Dancers (*Journal des Savants*, 1900), the Tannhäuser legend (*Revue de Paris*, reprinted in *Poèmes et Légendes*). Ballad and folk-poetry was ever a favourite subject of his; in 1875 he edited for the *Société des Anciens textes* the extant *Chansons du 15^e Siècle*; in monographs such as that on the "Chanson du

¹ Chiefly set forth as far as the second is concerned in his studies on Lancelot (*Romania*, vol. x.), in his analyses of the "biographical" romances of the cycle (*Histoire littéraire*, vol. xxx.), in his edition of the anonymous "lais" akin to those of Marie de France (*Romania*, vols. 7, 8), and in his exemplary edition of the so-called "*Huth Merlin*" (2 vols. 8vo, 1890-91).

Chevreau" (*Romania*, vol. i.), "Jean Renaud" (*Romania*, vol. xi.), in his elaborate reviews of Nigra's *Canti popolari del Piemonte* (*Journal des Savants*, 1889), and of d'Ancona's *Poemetti popolari italiani* (*Romania*, vol. xviii.), and in numerous shorter notes and notices, he made contributions to the study of European ballad poetry second only in importance to those of F. J. Child.

To many folklorists he is perhaps best known as the author of "*Le petit Poucet and la Grande Ourse*" (1875), written in the heyday of the influence exercised by the "Nature-mythological" school. I do not think he held in after years to the results of this brilliant and ingenious bit of work. For he must, on the whole, be ranked among the adherents of the "literary influence," "borrowing theory," school of students of popular tradition. He was too sane, too acute, too broad-minded, to adopt the theory in the narrow, cramping aspect under which it has been presented by other scholars; his sympathy with the essential, the hidden well-springs of poetry was too great to allow him to overlook the mythical, archaic, "folk" elements of tradition; but still if he had had to take sides he would have been with Benfey rather than with Grimm. In especial, invaluable as are his researches in ballad literature, I doubt if the hypothesis suggested, rather than definitely worked out and championed, by him, will prevail. I think he overrated the influence of Northern France. In the strife respecting the "*Matière de Bretagne*," on the other hand, he divined more truly than any other scholar the nature and import of the Celtic element, and the effect of all later research has been emphatically to vindicate the position he took up.

The scientific and methodical reconstruction and interpretation of mediæval culture has been one of the chief tasks of the second half of the nineteenth century. Of that culture France was the most brilliant exponent. It is fitting then that the most brilliant master of mediæval research should have been a true son of France; in nothing more true than in this, that he placed above everything else the claims of truth, won by unflinching and devoted labour.

ALFRED NUTT.

COLLECTANEA.

STRAY NOTES ON OXFORDSHIRE FOLKLORE.

(Continued from p. 74.)

V.—SEASONAL FESTIVALS.

Shrovetide.—At Shrovetide, on the Tuesday, the children at BALDON go round the village begging pence, and singing the following song :

Pit-a-pat, the pan's hot,
I be come a Shroving,
Catch a fish afore the net,
That's better than nothing.

Eggs, lard, and flour's dear,
This makes me come a-Shroving here.

If the singers do not get any money given them, they go on as follows :

Pit-a-pat, the pan's hot,
I be come a Shroving,
A bit of bread and a bit of cheese,
That's better than nothing.

For eggs, lard, and flour's dear,
So I be come a Shroving here. (1895.)

The following is from OAKLEY and ICKFORD, on the Buckinghamshire border of Oxfordshire :

Pit-a-pat ! the pan's hot,
I be come a-Shroving ;
A bit of bread, a bit of cheese
Or a cold apple dumpling.

Up with the kettle ! Down with the pan !
Give me a penny, and I'll be on. (Circa 1897.)

[The two following printed versions are appended for the sake of comparison :

“ At Islip in Oxfordshire, the children, on Shrove-Tuesday, go round to the various houses to collect pence, saying:

“ Pit-a-pat, the pan is hot
 We are come a-Shroving ;
 A little bit of bread and cheese
 Is better than nothing.
 The pan is hot, the pan is cold ;
 Is the fat in the pan nine days old ? ”

J. O. HALLIWELL, *Popular Rhymes* (1849), pp. 245-6.

“ In Oxfordshire the following version has been met with :

“ Knick, knock, the pan’s hot,
 And we be come a Shroving ;
 A bit of bread, a bit of cheese,
 A bit of barley dompling
 That’s better than nothing,
 Open the door and let us in,
 For we be come a-pancaking.”

BRAND, *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1870), i., 48.]

The following is from WORMINGHALL, Bucks, and the neighbouring part of Oxfordshire :

“ *Poor Jack.* ”

Shrove Tuesday, Shrove Tuesday,
 Poor Jack went to plough ;
 His mother made pancakes,
 But did not know how.

She turned them, she tossed them,
 She made them so black,
 She put in so much pepper,
 She poisoned Poor Jack.

(January, 1899.)

May Day:—On May Day at SPELSBURY, the school children go in procession with a garland carried on a stick between two of them. They choose a “ Lord ” and a “ Lady,” who are dressed in white, with coloured ribbons ; the rest carry “ inaces,” *i.e.* sticks dressed in ribbons and flowers. The following song is sung :

Hail ! all hail ! the merry month of May,
 I'm come to show my garland,
 Because it's the first of May.
 Hail ! all hail ! away to the woods ! away !
 And to the fields, and lanes so gay !
 Hail ! all hail !

At the end of the song, the "Lord" generally kisses the "Lady," and contributions in money are asked of the bystanders.
 (September, 1894.)

The following slightly different version is from STONESFIELD :

Hail, all hail, the merry month of May,
 I am come to show my garland,
 Because it is May Day.
 Hail, all hail, the merry month of May,
 Hasten now to the woods away,
 And to the fields so blythe and gay,
 Hail, all hail.

[On May Day, 1899, I took down the following mutilated song from some children at YARNTON, who carried a garland of the usual Oxfordshire type, made of two crossed hoops covered with flowers, &c. The third verse belongs to a type that I have not met elsewhere in the county, and I was in hopes that I had found a good thing ; but the children followed it up with some "milk-and-water" rubbish that they had been taught in the village school :

Good morning ladies and gentlemen,
 All in the month of May,
 I'm come to show my garland,
 Because it is May Day.

The first of May
 I have brought you,
 And at your door I stand ;
 If it's but a little
 And that we'll do
 To help us on our way.

Come, come, come,
 The summer now is in
 Come out among the flowers,
 And make some pretty bowers,
 Come, come, come,
 The summer now is in.]

At ten o'clock on May morning a procession used to start from the vicarage at CHARLTON-ON-OTMOOR, headed by two men carrying a large garland of flowers on a stick. With them went six morris dancers, a fool or "squire," who carried a bladder and a money box, and a man who played the pipe and tabour. At the end of the day, after the dancing was over, the garland was taken to the church and hung up on the rood screen in the place of the rood, where it was left till the next May Day, when it was taken down and re-dressed.¹ [Plate III.]

Old Tom Hall of Islip was the piper for many years, but latterly Frank Cummins of Marston played the fiddle. The procession and dancing has been given up since 1857, but the garland is still dressed every May Day and put upon the screen. (From J. Botteral, baker, of Charlton, aged 81, August, 1894.)

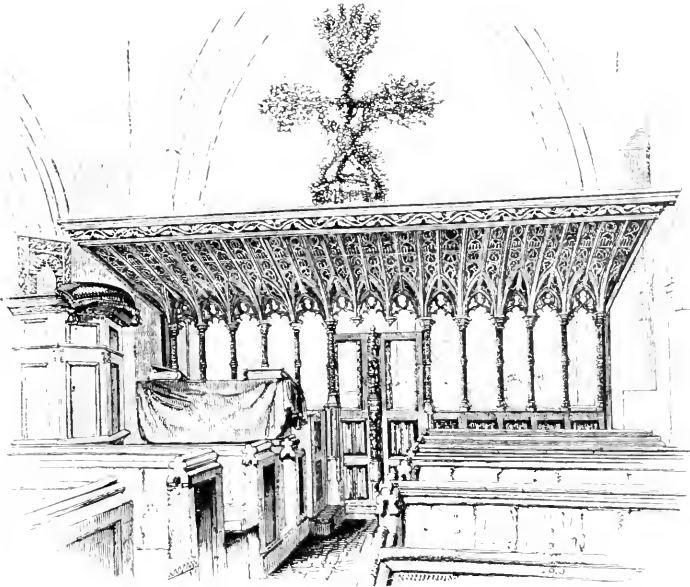
[This practice of depositing the May garland in the church finds a parallel in the Oxford custom recorded by Aubrey:² "On May Day the young maids of every parish carry about their parish Garlands of Flowers w^{ch} afterwards they hang up in their Churches." An entry which I recently came across in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's, Oxford, for 1596-7 (38 and 39 Eliz.), shows that the parish provided these garlands: "Item paid for hoopes for the Garlande, iiii^d."]]

On May Day the OXFORD sweeps still (1894) keep up a procession, which is made up of—

1. Jack-in-the-Green.
2. A "Lord" and "Lady," who are dressed in white and decorated with ribbons. The "Lady" carries a ladle and the "Lord" a frying-pan.
3. A fool, dressed as fantastically as possible, who carries a bladder on a string, wherewith to belabour the bystanders.
4. A fiddler.
5. A man with shovel and poker, as musical instruments. The whole of the party, except the Lady, have their faces blacked, and are decked out with ribbons and flowers.

¹ An illustration of the rood and garland as they appeared in 1846 occurs in the *Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, p. 11. [Messrs. Parker and Son, the publishers of the *Guide*, kindly allow us to reproduce it as Plate III.—ED.]

² *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. J. Britten, p. 18.



ROOD-SCREEN IN CHARLTON-ON-OTMOOR CHURCH
WITH MAY GARLAND, 1846.

To face page 170.

6. Two or three men who carry money-boxes.

They sing the following song :

Please to remember the chimney-sweeps,
Please, kind Sir, don't pass us by ;
We're old sweeps, and want a living,
Spare us a copper, as in olden time.

(Mrs. J. Hathaway, Oxford, August, 1894.)

[This account of the sweeps seems to record one of their last appearances, for *Jackson's Oxford Journal* of May 8, 1897, mentions that "the old-fashioned 'Jack-in-the-Green' has entirely disappeared."]

Whitsun Ales.—The WOODSTOCK Whitsun Ale was held every seven years ; it began on Holy Thursday, and was carried on the whole of Whitsun week. It was held at the entrance to Woodstock on the Oxford Road, opposite to the present railway station. The day before Holy Thursday a May Pole was set up, provided by the Duke of Marlborough, which remained up for the rest of the Feast. It was a bare pole ornamented with ribbons and flowers. Near it was a drinking booth, and opposite this a shed some fifty feet long with benches round the sides, decorated with evergreens, also provided by the Duke, known as the "Bowery."

A "Lord" and a "Lady" were chosen, who were attended by a "waiting-man" and "waiting-maid." Both "Lord" and "Lady" carried "maces,"¹ which were short sticks stuck into small squares of board ; from the four corners of which semicircular hoops crossed diagonally, the whole being covered with ribbons. The lord and lady were also attended by two men carrying a painted wooden horse, to which were fastened two stout poles that stuck out in front and behind. This was followed by a band of morris-dancers. The procession would then go round the town, the "Lord" and "Lady" carrying in the centre of their "maces," a small cake like the modern Banbury cake, called the "Whit Cake," and these were offered to people to taste in return for a small payment. A man carrying a basket of these cakes for sale also followed. In front of the "Bowery" were hung up an owl and a hawk in cages, and two threshing flails, which went by the names of "The Lady's Parrot," and "The Lady's Nut-crackers."

¹ For illustrations of some Oxfordshire "maces," v. *Folk-Lore*, viii., 314, plate v.

Any one who misnamed them (*i.e.*, called them by their real names) had to forfeit a shilling, or else be carried behind the lady, shoulder high on the wooden horse, round the May Pole. If they still refused to pay the forfeit, their hats were taken in lieu of payment. Many University men would come over from Oxford to ride the wooden horse for the fun of the thing, and frequent fights took place between them and the morrice-dancers when they would not pay forfeit.

The great day of the Feast was Whit Sunday, when crowds would come in to Woodstock from the villages round about.

It was said that if the Feast were not kept up, a turnpike could be put up across the road from Woodstock to Bladon, and this—so I am told—was done when the Feast was discontinued.

The last May Pole was put up some fifty-five years ago, and after remaining up for twelve months or more was bought by a Mr. Holloway, of Woodstock, as a relic; but the yeomanry being in the town pulled it down one night and destroyed it.

[After the above was written, I found in Mr. A. Ballard's *Chronicles of the Royal Borough of Woodstock* (Oxford, 1896), p. 80, a short account of the Whitsun Ale which agrees almost exactly with my own. Mr. Ballard adds that the wooden horse was known as "My lady's palfrey," and that the same penalty was inflicted on anyone who miscalled it as on those who miscalled the "parrot" and the "nut-crackers." He also quotes an entry from the Corporation Accounts of 1614: "given to Ellinor Collins our Whitsuntide lady, one apron cloth by the Mayor's appointment."

I take the following from *Confessions of an Oxonian*, by Thomas Little (3 vols. 8vo, 1826), vol. i., pp. 169-73. The Oxonian is walking one evening in Blenheim Park:

"I was suddenly roused from my reflections by the sound of tabors, flutes, pipes, tambourines, and fiddles, mingled with shouts of merriment and rustic songs, all indicative of glee and rural festivity; and having now passed the gates of the park, I was able to discern the quarter whence the sounds of this merrymaking proceeded. On inquiry, I learned from an honest, chubby-looking clod-pole, that the present occasion was one of no small importance in the vicinity of Woodstock, since it recurred once only in the space of seven long years; that the period of its celebration was always at Whitsuntide, and that it was denominated by the ancient appellation of an ale.

“Off I walked to be a spectator of the festivities of the Whitsun ale. On elbowing through the throng, the first fellow I met who was engaged as a party in the revels was an old man dressed up in the motley garb of a Tom Fool or clown, and I must say he looked his character to perfection.

“‘How do, master?’ cried he. ‘May I ask your honour what you call that yonder?’ pointing to a painted wooden horse, placed in the middle of a ring.

“‘A wooden horse, to be sure,’ said I. ‘What should you think it was?’

“‘A shilling, Sir, if you please,’ answered the clown; ‘a forfeit, if you please, Sir.’

“‘A forfeit! a forfeit! what for?’ I inquired. ‘I’ll give you no shilling, I assure you.’

“‘Bring out his lordship’s gelding. Here’s a gentleman who wishes for a ride! Bring out the gelding! His lordship’s groom, hey! Tell her ladyship to be mounted!’

“Here I was seized by four or five clumsy clod-poles, dressed up in coloured rags and ribbons. They were forthwith proceeding to place me on the wooden hobby just mentioned, behind an ugly, red-haired, freckled trull, who personated the lady of the revels. I bellowed out that I would pay the forfeit without more to do; and thus was I sconced of a shilling for not calling the cursed wooden hobby his lordship’s gelding. Shortly after one of her ladyship’s maids of honour came up to me, and begged me to look at the pretty bird in the cage, hanging over her ladyship’s saloon, or dirty oblong tent made of tarpaulin. This was a great ugly white owl, stuffed; and I thought I should be safe by answering that it was the very handsomest owl I had ever seen! No sooner had I uttered this, than the fair maid of honour screamed out in treble, shriller than the squeak of a Christmas porker, or a pig driver’s horn, ‘A forfeit, Sir, if you please. A shilling forfeit!’ ‘Pooh!’ said I, ‘I’ve paid forfeits enough!’ On which, continuing in the same strain, ‘Bring out her ladyship’s cook! here’s a gentleman wishes to marry her!’ On this, all the dirty baggages, which formed the group of her ladyship’s maids of honour, brought out a fat ugly wench, with a nose and cheeks reddened with brickdust, and bearing a toasting-fork in one hand and a dish-clout in the other; and were on the point of commencing a mock ceremony of marriage between myself and this fair syren of the

kitchen, in the course of which I was to have received three pricks with the toasting-fork on each buttock, and to have had my nose wiped with the dish-clout, had I not saved myself by producing a shilling as the penalty of my mistake, which consisted, as I was afterwards given to understand, in not denominating the stuffed owl her ladyship's canary-bird. . . . At short intervals tents were erected for the purpose of dancing; and all the maidens and swains of the whole country round were hoofing and clumping up and down the middle and up again, beneath their welcome canopy." The illustration accompanying this description professes to be done from an original drawing. It is reproduced in Plate IV.

In 1813, Brewer states that "the festivities termed Whitsun Ales are still in practice. The ceremony occurs every seventh year, when the inhabitants lay claim to certain portions of wood from Whichwood Forest to assist in the celebrations of the season."¹

The boundaries of Wychwood Forest proper, which at its disafforestation in 1853—and indeed in the reign of Charles I.—did not come within six miles of Woodstock, in the reign of Edward I. came right up to the river Glyme, which forms the western boundary of the old borough of Woodstock.² In 1617 the inhabitants of the surrounding hamlets were still subject to Forest Law, and were nominally so considered as late as 1704.³ Aubrey states that "At Woodstock in Oxfordshire they every May-eve goe into y^e Parke [now Blenheim Park] and fetch awa a number of Hawthorne trees w^{ch} they sett before their dores."⁴ The park was within the ancient limits of the forest.

As to a May Pole being set up the day before Holy Thursday, it must be remembered that when Whitsuntide falls early, it may come very close to May Day, and the two feasts must have often coalesced. At an earlier date, the May Pole was set up on May Day. In 1610 the Corporation of Woodstock provided "music at the bringing home of the elm from Combe on May Day."⁵

¹ *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 385.

² J. Y. Akerman, "Ancient Limits of the Forest of Wychwood," *Archæologia*, xxxvii., 424.

³ Rev. E. Marshall, *History of Woodstock Manor and its Environs*, ed. 1875, pp. 178, 258.

Gentilisme and Judaïsme, ed. J. Britten, p. 119.

⁵ Ballard, *Chronicles of Woodstock*, p. 80.



WHITSUN ALE IN BLENHEIM PARK, 1826.

The same combination of Maytide and Whitsuntide Revels is seen at Oxford in 1598, in an account of a "town-and-gown" riot on May 27th: "The inhabitants assembled on the two Sundays before Ascension Day, and on that day, with drum and shot and other weapons, and men attired in women's apparel, brought into the town a woman bedecked with garlands and flowers named by them the Queen of May. They also had Morrisbe dances and other disordered and unseemly sports, and intended the next Sunday to continue the same abuses."¹

And Anthony Wood shows how easy was the transference of May Day ceremonies to Holy Thursday, in his account of the annual visit of the Fellows of New College to the well at St. Bartholomew's Hospital outside Oxford: "Before, it was on May Day. New College men made choice of Holy Thursday, because Magdalen College men and the rabble of the towne came on May Day to their disturbance."²]

The Fifth of November.—The following words were sung at HEADINGTON, on the Fifth of November, by the boys who went about collecting fuel for their bonfires :

Remember, remember,
The fifth of November
Bonfire night
We want a faggot
To make it alight.
Hatchets and duckets.
Beetles and wedges,
If you don't give us some,
We'll pull your old hedges.
If you won't give us one,
We'll take two ;
The better for us,
And the worse for you.

From BECKLEY :

Don't you know
'Tis the fifth of November,
Gunpowder Plot ?
We're come to beg
A stick or a stake,

¹ *Calendar of the Cecil Papers*, 1899, viii., 201.

² A. Wood, *City of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ii., 513-15.

For King George's sake.
 If you won't give us one,
 We'll take two ;
 Then ricket a racket
 Your door shall go.

FROM BAMPTON :

Gunpowder Plot
 Shall never be forgot.
 A stick or a stake
 For King George's sake.
 Pray, Dame,
 Give me a faggot.
 If you don't give one,
 I'll take two ;
 The better for me
 And the worse for you.

(From Elizabeth Radbourne, of Bampton, 1895.)

[The following printed version may be compared with these :

The fifth of November,
 Since I can remember,
 Gunpowder, treason, and plot :
 This was the day the plot was contriv'd,
 To blow up the King and Parliament alive :
 But God's mercy did prevent
 To save our King and his Parliament.
 A stick and a stake
 For King James' sake ?
 If you won't give me one,
 I'll take two,
 The better for me,
 And the worse for you !

This is the Oxfordshire song chanted by the boys when collecting sticks for the bonfire, and it is considered quite lawful to appropriate any old wood they can lay their hands on after the recitation of these lines.¹ If it happen that a crusty chuff prevents them, the threatening finale is too often fulfilled. The operation is called *going a progging*, but whether this is a mere corruption of *prigging*, or whether progging means collecting sticks (brog, Scot. Bor.), I am unable to decide."

J. O. Halliwell, *Popular Rhymes*, 1849, pp. 253-4.]

¹ [Compare "Fifth of November Customs," *infra*, p. 185.—ED.]

Christmas.—About the year 1825 the children used to go round from house to house at Baldon just before Christmas, and beg for evergreens, apples, or pence, singing the following words :

Holly and ivy,
Mistletoe bough,
Give me an apple,
And I'll go now.
Give me another
For my little brother,
And I'll go home,
And tell father and mother. (Christmas, 1901).

PERCY MANNING.

“BLESSING THE GEESE.”

A lady correspondent writes me :

“Some twenty years ago I was residing about two miles from Epping, Essex. One morning while standing at my window I saw a flock of goslings come out of a lane, driven by an old woman who was dressed in the style of the pictures of ‘Old Mother Goose.’ She drove them to a piece of grass at the side of the road, and walked up and down in front of them, spreading her arms over them and bowing first one way and then the other, at the same time saying some words which I could not catch, but they evidently formed some kind of incantation. I asked my maid (a country girl) if she knew what the old woman was doing. ‘Oh, yes,’ the girl said, ‘that is old Mother Jenkins; she is blessing Farmer R—’s geese.’ I asked her what she meant, and was told that when a flock of goslings came to a certain age the owner always sends for Mother Jenkins, otherwise they would never prosper. The girl assured me all the breeders of geese patronised this old woman, who was paid a fee for her services, and that she made the principal part of her living in this way. ‘Now,’ said my maid, ‘they will grow strong and flourish.’ I ought to add that the old woman held a kind of wand in her hand, which she waved over the geese whilst muttering her incantation.”

Another lady, resident at Saffron Walden at about the time mentioned, and well acquainted with other parts of the county, says she has never heard of this practice.

CHARLES J. TABOR.

HISTORY AND TRADITION.

A few weeks ago I took down some conversations from three old people about the Civil War. These people live in a straggling hamlet between Bradford-on-Avon and Bath, called Farleigh Wick. The land stands about 500 feet above the river Avon.

I first began talking to Mr. Sumsion about the whereabouts of the old main road, traces of which are to be seen: and he pointed out a portion of it running close by his very cottage—he remembered it well.

“’Twere a different sort of road to what is made now,” he said. “It went up through Farleigh Wick just as ’tis now, crossed over to Shoots Lane, and went right down the steep valley over the ford to Bath; ’twas terrible when they drov’ the cattle down there.”

“What was Shoots Lane?” said I.

“Where they fought,” said he.

“When was the fighting?” I asked.

“Oh! ’twas when they fought to help keep the French away—I only knowed about it from my great-grandfather. He talked of it. Soldiers, hundreds of ’em, passed up here and was killed there.”

Mrs. Sumsion chimed in that “Shoots Lane ran with blood.”

Old Mrs. Deverell in the village remembered more.

“They was fighting all day,” said she; “and the king was sitting having his dinner in Claverton Manor when a cannon ball burst close to him. It was a wonder he wasn’t killed”—her grandmother knew a lot about it—“’twas common talk here,” she said.

My last informant was smoking a pipe in the immediate locality of Shoots Lane.

“Yes, this is the place,” he said, “and the walls have never been touched. You can see the holes in them made by the guns.”

We walked down Shoots Lane—a muddy narrow farm track, with ruinous walls covered with ivy and other growth. There were great gaps here and there, and thick ivy growing in between.

“They used to pick up guns and such-like when I was a lad, but there’s nothing left now.”

The lane looks right over Claverton Manor.

Mr. Sweetland said his father talked of the old war, and the soldiers marching after the battle to King's Down.

The Squire of Warleigh Manor showed me two cannon-balls found in Claverton Manor. The villagers told me these little stories as if it had all happened a few years ago.

KATE LEE.

October, 1902.

[These traditions probably refer to the skirmish of 3rd July, 1643. The Parliamentary forces under Waller held Bath, and were attacked by the Royalists under Hopton, who had marched from Chewton, north of the Mendips, eastwards to Frome, and then northwards by the valley of the Avon, on their way to join the King. On the 3rd July they "drew a small body of the enemy out of Monkton Farleigh, on the high ground to the north of the river, but Waller's main army was on the other side of the valley, under Claverton Down, and they neither dared to cross the river in the face of the enemy, nor to pursue their way to Bath, leaving him in the rear." They therefore pushed on through Monkton Farleigh and worked round to the north-west of Bath, where the indecisive battle of Lansdown was fought on July 5th. (Gardiner's *History of the Civil War*, i., 198.) It does not appear that the King was present. Collinson's *History of Somerset* (1791) says of Claverton: "The manor-house is a noble old building adjoining to the Church. . . . In the Civil Wars temp. Car. I., when Sir William Basset, Sir Edward Hungerford, and other gentlemen, were dining in this house, a cannon ball, directed from the hill opposite, pierced through the outer wall of the hall, and passing over the table at which they sat, lodged in the breast wall of the chimney without doing further mischief," (vol. i., p. 146).—ED.]

DEATH AND THE HERB THYME.

In William Thornber's *History of Blackpool*, 1837, p. 38, it is said that the "boggart" of Staining Hall, near the town, was "the wandering ghost of a Scotchman, murdered near a tree, which has since recorded the deed by perfuming the ground around with

a sweet odour of thyme." I have mentioned a similar belief in my *Household Tales and Traditional Remains*, p. 63, where it is related that "a smell of thyme may always be perceived near a footpath leading from Dronfield to Stubley, in Derbyshire. It is said that a young man murdered his sweetheart there as she was carrying a bunch of thyme." About two years ago Mrs. George Middleton, of Smalldale, near Bradwell, in Derbyshire, told me that her mother, who lived at Abney in that county, used to dress coffins with flowers. But she would never put thyme on a coffin, for she said that a dead man had "nothing to do with time." Mrs. Middleton further said that her mother was present at all births and laying out of corpses at Abney, not as a part of her duty, but because she liked to be present. It was, however, the custom at Abney to put thyme in a house both before and after a funeral, and also southernwood, otherwise "old man" or "lad's love."

The Oddfellows of Bradwell have a custom which is the exact opposite of the Abney woman's refusal to lay thyme on a coffin. When one of their members dies, the survivors accompany his body to the grave, and each of them carries a sprig of thyme in his hand, which he drops on the coffin.

Scattered all over the moors about Abney and Bradwell are the "lows" or tombs of the ancient dead, and there the wild thyme grows abundantly.

S. O. ADDY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LAND RISING SUPERNATURALLY.

(*Ante*, p. 52.)

I FIND the following passage in Brome's *Travels* (1700), p. 27. " 'Tis reported by some Historians, That while David, Bishop of this See, who was a very sharp stickler against the Pelagian Heresie, was one day very zealously disputing against those erroneous Tenets, the Earth whereon he then stood arguing, rose up by a Miracle to a certain height under his feet."

In the copy of these *Travels* in the London Library, the following MS. note in the hand of the beginning of the 18th century is added to the above in the margin: "and a white Dove descending as is supposed from heaven sate all the while he preached upon his right shoulder. Angl. Sacr. pars secunda, p. 638." (In *A Menology of England and Wales*, by Richard Stanton, 1887, p. 93, this reference is, however, given as "The Life of St. David, by Giraldus Cambrensis . . . in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol ii., p. 628.")

At p. 166 of Brome's *Travels*, he says of Darlington: "Here was also formerly a College for a Dean and six Prebendaries: In the Precincts of this place are to be seen three Pits full of water, of a wonderful depth, called by the common People *Hell-Kettles*, concerning which Sir *Richard Baker* in his Chronicle gives us this following account, That in the 24th year of King *Henry* the Second the Earth in this place lifted up it self in the manner of a high Tower, and so remained immovable from Morning until Evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise, that it afrighted all the Inhabitants thereabouts, and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep Pit, which is still to be seen to this day. That these

Pits have Passages under Ground was first experimented, they say, by Bishop *Tunstall*, who to satisfie his Curiosity herein, marked a Goose, and let her down into them, which very Goose he found afterwards in the River *Tees*, which runs along not far from this place."

MABEL PEACOCK.

BUTTERFLY CHARM.

(*Ante*, vol. xiii., p. 432.)

In Oldenburg the first butterfly seen in spring should be caught and allowed to escape through the coat sleeve, and you will find a swarm of bees (Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus Oldenburg*, i., 105). In view of the fact that in this and many other cases the *first* animal should be caught, it seems difficult to connect the custom with soul-catching; but of course the rhyme may have nothing to do with the other part of the custom.

As to the etymologies, surely there is no reason to doubt that the "lady" is the Virgin Mary. Butterfly is stated by Murray to be of uncertain origin; it is strange he does not notice the probable suggestion that refers the name to the belief that witches take the form of these insects to steal butter and milk, cf. *Milch-dieb*, *Molken-dieb*. In some parts of Germany, mothers, when they wean their children, are said to tell them the butterfly has taken the milk away.

N. W. THOMAS.

CRESCENT CHARMS (PLATE II.).

On Plate II. in the last number of *Folk-Lore* my friend Mr. E. Lovett has placed together a number of objects which have no connection with each other except that of casual form. I consider that the association of objects on this slender basis is misleading to the unwary. A is a well-known chest-pendant from the Solomon Islands, it is not from New Guinea. Dr. Codrington has enlightened us concerning the cult of the frigate-bird. We do not know the significance of the pearl-shell crescent from New



THE WELL-HOUSE AT HEADINGTON WICK FARM.

Guinea (B). According to the Rev. J. Holmes, "The wild boar's tusk, the acquisition of which is greatly desired as a mark of bravery [by the Elema tribe of the Papuan Gulf], is not so much coveted as a personal adornment, as for the courage, ferocity, and daring which it is supposed to contain, and to be capable of imparting to anyone who secures it." (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, vol. xxxii., p. 427.) The necklace shown in the figure C looks as if it came from the Louisiades, and the boars' tusks may be symbolic or magical, but I do not recall any definite statement from that part of British New Guinea. The charms D—F have a very different meaning.

A. C. HADDON.

OXFORDSHIRE FOLK-LORE.

(*Ante*, p. 65.)

May I be allowed to supplement Mr. Manning's *Notes* in one or two particulars? The Headington Wick Farm (see p. 70) was in my childhood a large square house with two wings. One of the latter is all that now remains. It was, I should think, of Restoration date, but might have been earlier. It was always reputed to be haunted. It was then occupied by a farmer of the name of Ely, and I remember hearing that Miss Ely being one night dressing for a ball, saw in the glass someone look over her shoulder, and that the shock caused rather a severe illness. I never knew who "Nanny Martin" was. The place had been the residence of the Wharton family—not a farm, it was far too large for a farmhouse. I think that the last of that name who resided there was Bryan Wharton, who left a bequest to the poor of Headington, as recorded in a notice in the ringing space, under the tower of the church. At any rate, I was told by an old woman in Headington that Mr. Wharton was obliged to leave the Wick owing to the strange noises and sights with which it was troubled. He afterwards lived in a more modern house in Headington, and the old house was left in charge of a bailiff. The said informant further stated that the bailiff's wife, if belated, would stay for the night at her father's cottage some fields off, rather than go up to the house. She also said that when they tried to paper

the walls, Nanny Martin tore the paper off. Another woman, now living at Stanton St. John, told me some years since that when she was a little child her grandfather was bailiff, and that when she has been at the house, she has seen a door on one side of the room open and close, and then one on the other side do the same, as if someone had walked across the room. She used to ask her grandfather what was the cause of it, and he replied that it was the wind—but she “knew better.” I also knew a man in Headington—George Clark—long since dead, who said he had seen Nanny Martin in the Wick Copse, but I have always found it very difficult to get any information on the subject, the people always say, “Why you know, Sir, there baant no such things as ghosts.”

The accompanying sketch (Plate V.) represents the well-house mentioned by Mr. Manning. I always understood that was a bath. My father, who removed to the neighbourhood of Oxford in 1838, always said—I do not know on what authority—that the ghost came out of this “bath,” as he called it; but some years since I mentioned the matter to a woman from the neighbourhood of Headington, and she said that was incorrect. I believe she said that she went *into* this place. She was not “laid” there, but in a pond on the other side of the house, still known as “Nanny Martin’s pond.”

I may say that in my young days there was, according to report, a “dog with saucer eyes” in Barton Lane, Headington, as also a headless lady. An aunt of mine, who was a very tall woman, was one night mistaken for the latter by a labouring man.

With regard to Woodperry House (p. 69), in the *Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, published by the Oxford Architectural Society in 1846, it is stated that there had formerly been a village and church on this site, and that about twenty years previously “a labourer, felling a tree which stood near the south-east corner of the wall of the kitchen garden . . . found beneath the root the skull and part of the bones of a man.” Further search showed that this had been the churchyard, and “very numerous interments were found . . . of bodies lying side by side, in the usual direction, at no great depth, which had apparently been buried in ordinary wooden coffins.” Some monumental slabs and pieces of tile pavement,

with other remains of the church, are engraved in the volume. The suggestion of the writer of the note is that the builder of the mansion, in the early part of the eighteenth century, finding his neighbours too numerous, pulled down the village and incorporated its site in his pleasure grounds—a not unheard-of thing—though he admits that there is a tradition that the place was destroyed by fire at an earlier period. However, the date of the discovery of the remains is about that mentioned by Mr. Manning, viz., eighty years ago. Had not this discovery some connection with the phenomena he describes?

W. HENRY JEWITT.

FIFTH OF NOVEMBER CUSTOMS.

(*Ante*, p. 89.)

To the best of my recollection “Guys” were carried round by the boys and afterwards burnt, at Headington, near Oxford, fifty to sixty years since, and the rhyme repeated on the occasion was practically that quoted by Miss Burne in your last number. The “Guy” I think often took the form of some objectionable and unpopular person, for I remember a (deservedly) obnoxious local publican being burnt in effigy in front of his house. This was on the fifth of November. My father some years since wrote me the following concerning the local custom at Duffield, in Derbyshire; the date would be somewhere between 1820 and 1838. “The ‘Wakes’ was the first Sunday in November, and the day following was celebrated as the fifth is in other places—minus the ‘Guy.’ The boys and young men, long before the time, used to get some one’s light cart, ‘by hook or by crook,’ to which perhaps twenty or thirty of them would be attached, and on moonlight nights would fetch in any rotten stumps or loose wood which was within two or three miles. They did the same thing with regard to coal, but the farmers were always ready to lend a waggon. Yoked to the waggon, as before stated, they would go to the pits about four miles off . . . and buy a couple of tons of coal for about nine or ten shillings (of course previously collected), with which early on Monday morning they made a splendid fire. The more lively ones, however, did not stop long to enjoy it, for directly

after breakfast they used to start to Kedleston Park, squirrel-hunting; they used to take horns, old tea-trays, old cans, or any mortal thing which would make a horrid noise. Perhaps a hundred young fellows thus provided would go under the trees in the park, where with their uproar some poor wretch of a squirrel would be so terrified that he would drop to the ground, when he would be secured and brought for a second edition of the sport next day in a copse near home What became of the poor wretch at last I do not know, I suppose he was killed."

Were not these November fires but a survival of the Hallow-e'en fires mentioned by Brand and others? They are said by Professor Rhys to be probably not yet extinct in North Wales, and in Moore's *Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man* to be still prevalent there, but to be lighted on the 11th, old Hallow-e'en, the people adhering to the old style. Moore also says it was formerly customary to sacrifice a calf on that occasion, and in Athlone in 1819, according to Mason's *Stat. Acc. of Ireland* (quoted in Dyer's *Popular Customs*), it was customary for every family on St. Martin's Eve—the said 11th November—to kill a cow or a sheep, a goose or a turkey, a hen or a cock, according to their means, "and to sprinkle the threshold with the blood, and to do the same to the four corners of the house." Curtin (*Fairies and Ghost World of S. W. Munster*) mentions a man who thought his "house would be disgraced for ever" by his having neglected to offer a beast as his father and grandfather had done, and Professor Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 516), quoting a Carnarvonshire rhyme recited on the occasion of the November Eve fires, says "it means that originally one of the company became a victim in real earnest."

It would seem to me that "Guy Fawkes" is the name given since the 17th century to an effigy which it had previously been customary to burn at this season in commemoration of a pre-Christian human sacrifice (commuted in some places to the sacrifice of an animal); in fact, that in the combination with the hill-top fires, of the Catholic observance of All Souls Eve as "the night of the dead," and the Protestant burning of the Popish recusant, we have but an addition to, and a survival of, ancient usage; both being but a continuance of the celebration of November Eve as the festivals of the incoming of winter.

W. HENRY JEWITT.

[The manor and castle of Duffield, situated in the Forest or Frith of Duffield, were held at the date of *Domesday Book* by Henry de Ferrers, ancestor of the Ferrers, Earls of Derby; the last of whom forfeited his estates in the Barons' Wars, 1266, after which they became part of the royal Duchy of Lancaster. Duffield was an immense Saxon parish; the church of which is mentioned in *Domesday*, and has, says Dr. J. C. Cox (*Churches of Derbyshire*, iii., 133), "the interesting and rare dedication to St. Alkmund; but certain modern directories have ascribed it to All Saints; and the mistake has unfortunately gained currency in the district." Kedleston, which "marches" with Duffield, was granted by Henry de Ferrers shortly after the Conquest to Richard de Curzon, the lineal ancestor of the present owner, Lord Scarsdale. Kedleston Church, a very small cruciform building, was probably built by the first Curzon, temp. Henry I., and is dedicated to All Saints (Cox, *op. cit.*). Kedleston Park is not mentioned in Shirley's *Deer Parks*. It is a remarkable thing that the *Duffield* men should have made Kedleston Wake-day (which the first Sunday in November would be) the occasion of hunting in *Kedleston* Park, even though only squirrels were the object of the chase. Cf. Miss Peacock on the shooting-rights annually claimed in Lincolnshire (*ante*, p. 89); and the license to take wood claimed by the Oxfordshire bonfire-builders (pp. 174, 176). The uncommon armorial bearings of the Curzons, argent, on a bend sable, *three popinjays* or, collared gules, with a popinjay as crest, may be noted. Can local correspondents add any further particulars? *a*, as to the date of the enclosure of Kedleston Park and the terms of the grants to the Curzons (N.B., the Survey of Woods and Forests in Duffield Frith, 2 Eliz., may be seen in the Record Office); *b*, as to the circumstances of any of the squirrel-hunts noted by Mr. N. W. Thomas, *Folk-Lore*, xi., 251, or of others; *c*, as to hiring-customs with reference to the dates of these hunts, which could only take place when a number of the men of the district happened to be making holiday. Mr. Jewitt's communication also seems to call for evidence as to effigy-burning in the Celtic parts of our islands.—ED.]

In South Notts when I was young we used always to have a Guy as well as a bonfire, and what is true of our village applies also I believe to most of the villages round. We used sticks, straw, and what old clothes we could get, to make and dress the Guy, and if

we could raise a few coppers for gunpowder and crackers, so much the better. I don't remember that we ever made this an occasion for a demonstration against any local "little tyrant of our fields." It was, I think, purely an historical celebration. We were, I am afraid, a terrible lot of bigots. The only Roman Catholic in the village (whom I knew afterwards to be a most estimable man) was looked upon as—and indeed was—a complete outsider. I don't think he had an intimate in the place. "Puseyites" were only one degree less abhorrent. Curiously enough, though Wesleyanism was rife, "Ranters" were almost as bad as Puseyites. The way to heaven was indeed a strait one in those days.

C. C. BELL.

Epworth, April 28th, 1903.

At Bedford Guys are very popular, as one of my own family can testify.

MABEL PEACOCK.

AN EPISCOPAL LIFE-INDEX.

The following passage relates to Chichester, and is given in *A Tour through Great Britain, by A Gentleman*, 2nd edition, MDCCLXXXVIII., p. 204 (the author, it is considered, being Defoe):

"They have a Story in this City, that whenever a Bishop of that Diocese is to die, a Heron comes and sits upon the Pinnacle of the Spire of the Cathedral: and that this accordingly happened when Dr. *Williams* was Bishop. At which Time, a Butcher standing at his Shop Door, in the South-street, seeing it, ran in for his Gun, and being a good Marks-Man shot the Heron, and kill'd it, at which his Mother was very angry, and said, He had kill'd the Bishop; and the next Day, they say, News came to the Town, that Bishop *Williams* was dead; this Story, odd as it is, was affirm'd by many of the Inhabitants."

MABEL PEACOCK.

[If we may accept Defoe, and Defoe writing anonymously at that, as a trustworthy authority on items of folk-belief, then the connection between the fisher-bird and the Bishops of Chichester may possibly be found in the story recorded by Bede, to the effect that it was St. Wilfrid, the first Bishop of the South Saxons, who taught them the fisherman's craft.—ED.]

REVIEWS.

TWO STUDIES ON THE GRAIL LEGEND.

ZUR FRAGE ÜBER DIE HEIMATH DER LEGENDE VOM HEILIGEN GRAL (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, vol. xxiii.). A. N. WESSELOFSKY.

UEBER DEN URSPRUNG DER GRALLEGENDE. Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Mythologie. Von W. STAERK. J. C. B. MOHR. Tübingen und Leipzig. 1903.

PROFESSOR WESSELOFSKY is an acknowledged master in fields of Oriental and semi-Oriental history and literature, unfamiliar to or neglected by most Western students. His present investigations form a valuable supplement to Dr. P. Hagen's discussion of the Oriental element in the Grail romances. Personally, I have read them with pleasure and profit. Yet they seem to me to bear only upon secondary and comparatively unimportant factors in the Grail problem, and if I discuss them in some detail it is rather in view of what I regard as an unsound method of investigating romantic legend, than because I think Professor Wesselofsky has done much to elucidate the origin and early development of the Grail cycle. Briefly, he regards the Christian origin of the legend as undoubted, its localisation in Britain as comparatively late; and he finds the sources of the Grail romances in legends of the Christian-Jewish *diaspora* in Palestine, Syria, and Æthiopia. The parallels he adduces illustrate chiefly Robert de Borron's *Joseph d'Armathie*, and the early portion of the *Grand St. Graal*.

At the very outset he is compelled to make an admission of which the import seems to escape him. Syriac legends are postulated, and their direct transference into French is in some cases explicitly, in others implicitly, involved in his arguments. But versions presupposing a Greek intermediary are also used. Yet, as he admits, no single trace of the Grail legend in its

assumed wanderings from East to West exists in Byzantine literature. The existence of a fully-formed Eastern Grail legend is postulated, and as it now only exists in the West, nay, only in a particular area of the West, it must have reached this area *per saltum* without in the least affecting either of the two chief mediæval intermediaries between East and West: the Græco-Christian literature of Byzantium, the Arabo-Jewish literature of Eastern and Southern Europe. Does not this fact suffice to discredit the hypothesis? Assume, for argument's sake, the validity of every parallel adduced, assume the existence of a Grail legend among populations speaking various dialects of Syriac and Hebrew, what might we reasonably expect to find? If not Syro-Jewish versions of the legend (*their* disappearance cannot excite wonder in view of the vast social and political changes that have taken place in the Syro-Palestinian area), at least mediæval Hebrew and mediæval Byzantine versions, which, in their turn, would affect primarily and most markedly those literatures with which Byzantium and mediæval Jewry stood in nearest contact, the literatures of Eastern and Southern Europe. Yet no trace of a Grail legend, as such, exists in Slavdom, and, alike in Provence, Spain, and Italy, it is a late comer obviously introduced from North France. Again, why, if originally Eastern imported into the West, should it be unknown to Germany save as an acknowledged loan from France?

In the Middle Ages transference of a legendary theme from one speech and culture area to another *per saltum* is, I venture to urge, unlikely in the last degree. The mode of transmission would be undulatory, and if, in presence of alleged influence of one body of literature upon another, we find no intermediary stages or links, then doubt as to the influence is justified. At the present date transference of this kind is, I admit, possible; we can conceive a traveller bringing back with him to Europe a romantic cycle from Japan or New Zealand which he makes known for the first time. Note, however, that *now*, when this is possible, it remains without effect. Macpherson's pseudo-Ossian, Longfellow's adaptation of Red Indian sagas, have thus been transferred from their own to alien speech and culture areas, but they have exercised absolutely no seminal influence. In any case, whether in the Middle Ages such transference be, as I hold, impossible, I can certainly recall no single instance of an imported Eastern theme affecting only one section of Western mediæval literature.

Apply these considerations to the Grail problem. In every Grail romance without exception the "British localisation," regarded by Professor Wesselofsky as "comparatively late," is a factor of more or less importance; in most of the romances, and notably in what, obviously, are the oldest existing, it is the chief factor. Surely a sound method compels us to start from this fact, to seek the origin and development of the cycle within the British "sphere of influence," remembering, however, how thanks, firstly to the Norman Conquest and later to the Angevin lordship of Britain, that sphere of influence comprised most of existing France. Professor Wesselofsky, like all other opponents of British origin, needs must recognise that the legend, allegedly non-British at first, did become localised in Britain, did become Britonised. Why and how? This is what they entirely neglect to explain, what indeed they seem to hold unworthy explanation.

What then is my position? I distinguish two main elements in the Grail cycle: the one originally non-Christian, solely British in origin; the other Christian, and so primarily non-British but, secondarily, British in its object: which is, to relate the Conversion of Britain. The fusion of these two elements, originally effected within the British area, produced the existing Grail legends which spread throughout the British "sphere of influence," and thence into the neighbouring literatures of Germany, the Scandinavian North, and the Southern Romanic area. That the Christian element is associated with Joseph of Arimathea fully explains the presence of many Eastern legendary features drawn from the rich apocryphal literature of which he is the hero. This primary source of Oriental elements is supplemented by the conditions amid which the Grail romances assumed their present shape; the cycle as it stands, is a product of that period of Crusading energy during which the social life and the literature of Western Christendom were profoundly modified. I not only recognised, I emphatically proclaimed this fact in my earliest written utterance on the subject nearly twenty years ago. But it is only of late that I have become conscious of its full import in connection with what may be called the Temple element in the Grail romances.

Thus the presence of Oriental traits and features in the Grail romances does not surprise me. I am ready to examine Professor Wesselofsky's parallels with an unbiassed mind, and to admit that many subsidiary features in the extant texts are only explicable by

reference to Eastern legend. My quarrel with the Russian scholar is that, interesting as are his parallels, they assist but slightly the interpretation of the cycle. He first deals with Borron's poem. Here, Joseph, thrown into prison by the Jews and there forgotten for forty years, is miraculously sustained by the Grail. Now this lengthened captivity without any visible means of sustenance is a prominent feature in those apocryphal texts which hitherto have been used to account for Borron's version, and has been generally regarded either as suggesting the food-producing powers of the Grail found in the French poem, or as facilitating the fusion of a Wondrous Vessel legend with that of Joseph. In Borron as in the apocryphal texts hitherto regarded as his source, Joseph becomes possessed of the holy vessel and uses it to collect Christ's blood *before* he is thrown into prison. Professor Wesselofsky gives at great length a story, interesting enough in its way, in which Joseph's captivity lasts a very short while, in which the holy blood is collected *after* the deliverance, *not* in a cup or dish but in a cloth. Further consideration of this and allied stories leads him to the conclusion that Grail was originally no cup or bowl, but a basket, the word being etymologically connected with *crates* through the forms *cratalis*, *cratala*. His parallel thus leaves out of account the most characteristic trait of the purely Christian portion of the legend (Joseph's sustenance in prison by the Grail), and his explanation assumes that the earliest Christian adapters of a wholly Christian legend so misunderstood it as to alter the central feature. This process of development is characterised as "natural."

The method of dealing with the proper names in Borron's poem is, if possible, even less convincing. A prominent figure is Joseph's brother-in-law, Brons or Hebron; both forms occur, but the latter is the rarer, and is unknown to every other romance in which Brons appears. Yet it is this isolated variant which Professor Wesselofsky equates with a Syriac *habra* = companion, friend. There is no jot of evidence for the existence of any Syriac legend in which a brother-in-law of Joseph's appears, no jot of evidence that *habra* is ever used in Syriac as a proper name. Again Borron sends the Grail hosts westwards "*ès Vaus d'Avaron.*" Here too the form is isolated; all other writers of the cycle, even the very scribes who turned Borron's verse into prose, write *Avalon*. Yet as there is a Syriac word *hevārā* =

white, pure, it is used to explain Borron's form. Nay more, the epithet white, shining, applied to Britain in some of the romances is traced back to this hypothetical Syriac designation of the land whither the Grail host proceeded. The French translators from the Syriac would seem at the same time to have *misunderstood* the force of the term, as they took it for a proper name, and to have *understood* it, as is shown by their applying it to Britain. Professor Wesselofsky seems unaware of the earlier use of the term "white" for Britain or of the natural explanation of that use.

The section devoted to the *Grand St. Graal* is of greater value and deserves careful consideration. The story of Joseph's relations to and conversion of the heathen kings of Sarras differs markedly from the remainder of that interminable romance by its precise and realistic detail; we feel in contact with a local legend. It is marked also by an extremely crude and materialistic presentment of the Eucharistic sacrament and by its pronounced heterodoxy in matters ecclesiastical and liturgical. Professor Wesselofsky places Sarras at Harran, the seat of old and powerful heathen cults of an astral nature which lived on as Ssabaism, and pseudo-Ssabaism contaminated with Judaism, in an organised form down to the middle of the eleventh century. Human sacrifice was a marked feature of these cults, and the one which especially called down upon them the wrath of the Mohammedan conquerors; elaborate descriptions survive of the sacrifice of boys in which the flesh mixed with flour was eaten sacramentally. Conceptions and practices such as these are, it is urged, reflected in the *Grand St. Graal* account of the Eucharistic sacrifice first established by Joseph by Christ's own bidding; Christ appears to the officiant in the guise of a young child, bids him dismember His body, and is partaken of under this form.

There is much that is fascinating in this hypothesis; it focusses a number of facts which, unconnected at present, have yet struck many students of the cycle as linked together by ties of genuine kinship: the curiously heterodox presentment of the Eucharist in the Grail cycle, the obscure but potent Temple element in the development of that cycle, the vague but persistent accusations brought against the Temple. I think Professor Wesselofsky has proved that this portion of the *Grand St. Graal* embodies a Conversion legend of which Joseph is the hero and the Harran district, lying between Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, the home. It

does not seem to me impossible that such a legend should have appropriated traits and conceptions derived from the very cults of which it celebrates the overthrow. Nor should I be disposed to question the possibility of a legend such as this, heterodox alike from the doctrinal and the ecclesiastical standpoint, being caught up by some adherent of the Temple and fashioned anew in more or less conscious opposition to canonical orthodoxy as embodied in and interpreted by the Church. In so far I recognise that Professor Wesselofsky has illumined an important section of the Grail legend, once that legend had definitely assimilated its Christian elements and assumed its Christian form. But that such a Harran Joseph-legend as is here postulated could originate the Grail cycle as we have it, that it can in any sense be regarded as aught but a secondary element belonging to an already advanced stage of development, are propositions which I deny, and which cannot, I think, be maintained by anyone who surveys and strives to account for the cycle as a whole.

Dr. Staerk's pamphlet, which only came into my hands after I had finished my notice of Wesselofsky's article, raises questions of the utmost delicacy and importance, affecting, as they do, not the Grail legend alone, but the nature of those portions of doctrinal Christianity with which that legend is associated. A survey of the points of agreement and disagreement between Dr. Staerk and myself will best show this. We both regard the existing Grail cycle as formed by the fusion of two originally independent strands of story, one derived from Christian writings, canonical and apocryphal, one from Celtic romance. We further distinguish two elements in the conception and presentment of the Grail itself: one, material, mythical, or pre-Christian, as it may be termed according to the stress laid upon this or that aspect; the other, spiritual, or Christian. So far we agree; here is where we differ. I trace the material or mythical element largely, if not chiefly, to that portion of the completed legend derived proximately from Celtic romance, ultimately from Celtic myth; this pre-Christian factor, so I hold, affected, modified, transformed almost the Christian factor. Not so, says Dr. Staerk, the material, mythical aspect under which the Grail, the Vessel of the Last Supper, is presented in the romances requires for its explanation no hypothetical contamination of Christian legend and Celtic pre-Christian myth; it is essentially inherent in the sacramental con-

ceptions of which the Eucharistic Vessel is the centre and expression ; the drastic materialism with which the Grail is presented in most works of the cycle is older than they, is characteristic of the Eucharistic Vessel as such, and not merely of the Eucharistic Vessel as Grail. The sacramental, Eucharistic, conceptions of Christianity are, largely he says in effect, a legacy from pre-existing mythology, of which the oldest form is preserved by the clay tablets of Babylonia ; the myth in which they have their root and from which they derive their sustenance is that ancient vision of a land of perpetual bliss and undying youth, of Paradise with its fruit and water of immortality, rejuvenation, and healing, of its inmates who enjoy, thanks to these miraculous foods, an existence which appeals to mankind at large as the summit of imaginable felicity. It is, he further urges, thanks to the essential kinship between the mythical features and conceptions thus absorbed into and persisting within the body of organised Christianity, and the Celtic myths which supplied body and spirit to the romances worked into the Grail legend, that the fusion took place as readily and completely as it did.

Dr. Staerk's knowledge of the Celtic Elysium is wholly derived from my 1888 *Studies*, as he is unacquainted with the *Voyage of Bran*, in which I set forth with far greater detail the range, depth and variety of the Elysium conceptions in Celtic romance. His insistence upon the kinship between the magic realm to which the Grail quester penetrates, and the primeval Paradise which he regards as moulding the presentment of the Christian Eucharist, is all the more noteworthy.

It was, I confess, with no little amusement that, after noting how at the outset Dr. Staerk rebuked me for shutting my eyes to the essentially Christian character of the Grail, it dawned upon me as I followed his argument that he, even less than I, regarded it as Christian in the ordinary sense of the word, and derived it equally from pre-Christian myth. I know far too little of early Christian legend to criticise his contention that Christian sacramental conceptions do contain such a large proportion of earlier mythical elements, that the Eucharistic Vessel is, by nature, a talisman producing food and material bliss. The evidence adduced strikes me as slight and unconvincing, the reasoning based upon it as loose and superficial. In any case I am more than ever impelled to put the question : Why, if the material, mythical

aspect of the Grail be an essential attribute of the Vessel of the Last Supper and not the result of contamination with the magic talisman of the Celtic gods, should the Grail legend only appear when and where it does, why has it only developed within the British sphere of influence? No explanation of the Grail problem which does not explain this fact can be considered satisfactory.

In the last pages of his pamphlet Dr. Staerk essays also to connect the Grail Quest with Babylonian mythology; he seeks in the Adapa legend an explanation of that mysterious feature, the omitted question, which has puzzled all investigators of the Grail romances. The explanation is hinted at rather than urged, and as the author does not withdraw his strongly expressed opinion in favour of the Celtic nature of the Perceval Saga (*i.e.*, of the Grail Quest) he must be assumed to attach little importance to it. I do not care to discuss it until it is put forward more seriously, but will only say that the parallel upon which Dr. Staerk relies does not strike me as close; nor, were it far closer, am I disposed at present to regard it as aught else but a curious coincidence.

ALFRED NUTT.

DIE SAGE VOM HERZOG VON LUXEMBURG UND DIE HISTORISCHE PERSÖNLICHKEIT IHRES TRÄGERS. VON DR. ANTON KIPPENBERG. Mit 2 vollbildern und 11 abbildungen im text. 8vo. Leipzig. 1901.

DR. KIPPENBERG has in a well-printed, well-illustrated, but unindexed volume given a history of the Luxemburg-legend, an offshoot of the Faust-legend. The great marshal who played so prominent a part in the political and social world of his time, became a very short time after his death, and even before it, a person of mystery endowed by the Devil with magic powers. His deformity, his luck in battles, his love adventures, his favour at Court, his cynicism and impiety, were thus explained; nor did his importance cease with his life, for he was believed to have arranged with the fiend that he should reappear in ghostly form to his royal master and to his last mistress. Defoe knew the story, which was soon spread about in French, Dutch, Danish, and German books, and lost nothing by repetition, attaining its fullest form in the numerous German editions of the story that

followed the *Avis fidelle* of 1673, the *Histoire très Véritable* of 1697, the *Maréchal de Luxembourg au lit de la mort*, 1695, and the *Volksbuch* of 1680, containing the account of the marshal's pact with the Devil.

The author's industry appears to have missed the interesting parallels of Claverse, and Dalzell (German savants are almost invariably ill-informed and poorly read in the English literature of their subject), but it is difficult to be quite sure of omissions in the absence of an index. The bibliography is excellent in plan, and seems to be complete and correct.

All such late legends of which the origin and circumstances can be traced are of importance to folklore students as illustrating the growth of folk-sagas, and there are few monographs of the kind either so full, so careful, and so valuable as the one before us.

It is certainly one of the best studies of the kind that Germany has produced of late years, and worthy of a place in every working folklore student's library.

F. YORK POWELL.

IM KAMPFE UM BABEL UND BIBEL. Ein Wort zur Verständigung und zur Abwehr von A. JEREMIAS. 3rd enlarged edition. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1903.

DR. JEREMIAS, one of the most eminent among the younger Assyriological scholars of Germany, is, as known to English readers of his *Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, a recognised authority in the field of Babylonian mythology. The present pamphlet, which discusses, for the most part in a temperate and scholarly spirit, the questions raised by Fried. Delitzsch's sensational and (in the bad sense of the word) popular exposition of the import of Assyriological research for Biblical history and theology, would not concern *Folk-Lore* save that Dr. Jeremias raises, casually and slightly though it be, two questions of the highest importance to the folklorist who strives to form a general conception of his study and to utilise its facts in determining the main lines and tracing the salient features of man's development. It is good from time to time to test those "first principles" which consciously or unconsciously influence our methods of investiga-

tion and, not unfrequently it is to be feared, predetermine our conclusions.

In defending Delitzsch from the reproach of "mythologising" (if I may coin a word) the personages of Biblical history through undue insistence upon the points of contact between the Biblical record and Babylonian mythology, Dr. Jeremias touches upon the relations between heroic or romantic legend and mythology. He pleads for the historical character of the personages of the patriarchal legends, *but*, he urges, the writers to whom we owe the extant record modelled it upon, shaped, and coloured it in accordance with a pre-existing *schema* which was purely mythological in origin and development. Whilst incorrect and uncritical to claim Abraham as a moon-god,¹ it should be recognised that similarities of name and other circumstances have led to his genuine history being decked with and moulded by incidents derived from the pre-existing Babylonian myth of the moon-god. Incidentally Dr. Jeremias expresses his belief that the mythological *schema* which he postulates was essentially astral, nay, specifically zodaical in character.

I have repeatedly insisted that heroic saga is dependent upon myth, and in so far I am ready to agree with Dr. Jeremias. I cannot, however, but think that he, and other assertors of the historical nature of heroic saga, reassure themselves too easily with their explanation. As I am never tired of urging, it really does not matter whether a particular hero actually lived and died; our concern is with what the story tells of him, and if the outlines of that story are determined by and its details mainly taken from the pre-existing mythological *schema*, he belongs to mythology rather than to history. It is all a question of degree. In the case in point, Dr. Jeremias seems to hold that the transforming process has been scarcely more profound than in the case of the late Emperor William, whose figure is, it would appear, being remoulded in Germany under the influence of the Barbarossa legend. Whether he be right or wrong in this contention I am not competent to discuss, nor is this the place to do so. I would merely urge upon him, and upon fellow-students generally, that the device favoured by him for reconciling the partisans of the

¹ As, e.g., by Dr. G. Margolioath in his *Hebrew Babylonian Affinities*, London, 1899.

historical and the mythical elements in heroic legend is in reality far less efficacious than he seems to imagine.

The effect of admitting his postulate—the pre-existence of a mythological *schema*—is of no concern to Dr. Jeremias' immediate argument, so he does not consider it. He would doubtless hold with me that it is strongly adverse to certain neo-euhemeristic theories which have of late become rather fashionable with English students of the anthropological school. The numerous and undoubted cases of actual deification, noted more particularly in India and Indo-China, now of an English general, now of a native chief, now of a notorious brigand or saint, have affected our views of the status of the mythical *dramatis personæ*. But if all that this deificatory process implies is the providing of a new tenant for a structure of immemorial antiquity, I cannot see that it accounts for the origin of that structure, or for those singular features which are alike its distinguishing characteristic and its standing puzzle. To revert to Dr. Jeremias' analogy: *we* know that the Barbarossa myth is older not only than the late Emperor William, but than his Hohenstaufen predecessor. Why should we assume that 3,000 or 4,000 years ago an actual man originated, or even greatly modified the myth, more than was the case in the twelfth or the nineteenth century of our era? Yet such an assumption is not seldom tacitly made, and is, in some mysterious way, regarded as advancing our comprehension of the myth, when in reality, were it valid, it would leave that myth more incomprehensible than ever. The nature of the mythological *schema*, the sanction of its persistent vitality, its enduring attraction, these are the vital problems of mythological study.

Their consideration leads me to the second point raised by Dr. Jeremias' argument, raised slightly also and *en passant*, but definitely and with a clear understanding of its significance and import. As he himself insists, the special mythological conceptions which, following Winckler, he favours, the special mode in which he figures the formation and persistence of the mythological *schema* involve a return to the point of view, immensely widened and deepened it is true, of the late eighteenth century, of men like Volney and Dupuis, and involve also the denial of the evolutionary hypothesis accepted by most English students of the history of religion. To put it briefly, the Early-Eastern (Dr. Jeremias prefers this term to Babylonian) conception of the Universe as expressed

in the mythological system has influenced not only Israel but all mankind which has but borrowed and transformed it. And at the back of, animating and informing this mythological system, lies an esoteric Monotheism.

Thus the religious history of mankind would, save in the case of Israel where the Monotheistic conception abandons its esoteric form and boldly appeals in its naked simplicity to all mankind, be the history of the transformation, the "degradation" of what was imagined at some remote period in the Ancient East. If Dr. Jeremias were an Englishman he might, instead of referring to Volney and Dupuis, have cited Bryant, and the citation would have been even more to the point.

What is stated by Dr. Jeremias is implied in the arguments of earlier Assyriologists. I have during the last twenty years repeatedly protested against the implication, so now I would record my dissent from the statement. The question is of course far too large and too important for discussion here. I am content to point out to English fellow-students, especially to those of the "Anthropological" school, that the fundamental conceptions of their exposition of mythical and religious evolution are challenged not only implicitly but explicitly by the latest developments of Early-Eastern research.

ALFRED NUTT.

TRADITIONAL ASPECTS OF HELL (ANCIENT AND MODERN). By
JAMES MEW. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1903.

MR. MEW has selected an interesting and unhackneyed subject, and has treated it well. He describes eleven hells: the Egyptian, Assyrian, Brahman, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Classic, Scandinavian, Hebrew, Christian, Muslim, and Barbarian. The last of these is all but negative; and this leads to the melancholy reflection that belief in hell is an accompaniment of civilisation. Many savage races have not arrived at the conception of continued existence after death, and some of those who have, like the Pawnee Indians, "fear nothing after death worse than they know now—all [the good] will live again and be happy. One who is bad dies, and that is the end of him—he goes into the ground and does not live again." (Grinnell: *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales*, 355.) Others, like the Blackfoot Indians, believe that

those who in this world lead wicked lives take the shape of ghosts, and are compelled ever after to remain near the place where they died. (Grinnell: *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 273.) The Tahitans invented a kind of purgatory, and supposed that, in the case of all but the very pure, the spirit of the dying man was scraped with a shell in the dwelling of the gods, served up at their table, and eaten and ejected three times in succession, when it was fit for the Tahitian paradise, to which the very pure are admitted without preliminary preparation. (Featherman: *Races of Mankind*, Division II., 37.) The idea of a future of eternal punishment is not derived from the beliefs of those we are pleased to call savages.

When the Egyptian mythologists formed the conception of a judging or weighing of souls, on which their religious system turned, that of the punishment of those who are condemned or found wanting was necessarily involved in it. That punishment appears to have included fiery torment, and was thus the precursor of the Christian hell, though it seems to have ended in annihilation, which in their religious ideas was itself a punishment. The evidence of an Assyrian hell is but slight. Brahman hells form a very elaborate system, both as to the offences that lead to them and the forms of torture inflicted in them. He who explains the sacred law to a low-caste person gets very severely handled, and his disciple as well. The Buddhist hell is probably that which has most directly influenced the mediæval imaginations with which we are familiar; it contains the elements of boiling in various liquids, worrying by animals, sulphurous and tormenting flame, mutilation, and the other incidents of horror which the church decorators of the Middle Ages used to think edifying. Mr. Mew quotes at some length a Chinese treatise, called "The Divine Panorama, published by the mercy of Yü Ti, that men and women may repent them of their faults and make atonement for their crimes," describing ten courts, held by infernal judges, in which offenders of various kinds are tried and condemned, with illustrations of the punishments inflicted. The Zoroastrian hell introduces some ingenious varieties of torment. The Classic hell, with its furies, its "gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire," is familiar to us from many fine passages in the classical authors, but is not so startling as that which presented itself to the imagination in the dark ages. The Scandinavian hell and the Hebrew hell probably both contributed some elements to what is described as

the Christian hell. Of this latter Mr. Mew has selected thirty examples for illustration from various sources. The work is an instructive study in the evolution of religious ideas and of religious art. We should have been better pleased if it had been a little more methodical in style. It has the unpardonable fault of lacking an index. We hope the author may soon have the opportunity of amending these defects, and correcting some misprints, by being called upon to prepare a second edition.

E. W. BRABROOK.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN MEXICO.

Physical Characters of the Indians of Southern Mexico. By Professor F. STARR. University of Chicago Press, 1902.

Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico, by the same author. Putnam Memorial Publication Fund, 1902.

PROFESSOR STARR in these two monographs continues his elaborate inquiries into the ethnography of Southern Mexico. The first paper is devoted to the physical anatomy of these people, and contains a valuable series of anthropometrical observations, accompanied, as is usual with American publications of this class, by an excellent collection of representative portraits.

The second paper will be of more interest to members of this Society, as it is devoted to an elaborate account of a peculiarly interesting group of tribes, headed by the modern Aztecs, the wretched survivors of a great conquering race. I select from this great collection of folk-beliefs the following as some of the most interesting facts.

During the Aztec funeral rites a great washing-basket, which must be new and never previously used for any ordinary service, is filled with articles provided for the dead, separate portions being allotted to each soul, and one added for those souls that have no surviving friend to make provision for them. "Flowers of the dead" are spread over it, and the corners are sprinkled with holy water, the "flowers of the dead" being used as an aspergillum. Cigarettes are also provided for the dead at San Martin, but at Tlaxcala "the souls are not supposed to smoke." This reminds us of the offering of brandy and water and cigars at

the tomb of a European in India, who in life was supposed to enjoy such luxuries.

It is a matter of common belief among Mestizos or half-castes that every pure-blooded Maya has a violet or purple spot on the back at the *vertex coccygeus*, which is called "bread"; to refer to this is deemed an insult. Recent travellers have noted that a similar belief prevails in China. Indigo has special virtues, and a cross marked with it on the forehead protects the wearer against "the air," which is held responsible for a long list of diseases. They also believe in a creature like the *Churel* of India, called the *Xtabay*, which may be either male or female, and lures wayfarers to their doom. "As a female it is usually a beautiful lady in white, with her lowered hair falling down on her shoulders. She is most likely to be seen at night under large and spreading trees. She asks the passer whither he goes; suggests a ramble; even forcibly seizes and drags him to the edge of a precipice or cavern, over which, or into which, he is hurled. The heart of the victim is then torn out." Apparently she has not her toes turned back where her heels should be, as is the case with her sister in India.

They have also the common belief that eclipses are the work of a demon. "They believe that a creature named *baboal* is devouring the luminary, and make a great din to scare it; a pregnant woman must not touch any part of her body with her hand during an eclipse, lest she injure that part of the babe which is to be born." Exactly the same belief prevails in India.

Professor Starr gives a full account of the H'men, or medicine man, who gives oracles by consulting crystals. He performs various rites at seed-time and harvest, exorcises disease, and so on. "The Indians foretell the weather for the year by observation of the days in January. The days from the first to the twelfth give the weather for the corresponding months; those from the thirteenth to the twenty-fourth, taken in inverse order, modify or verify the observations. Thus the thirteenth gives the verification for December, the fourteenth for November, and so on." But Professor Starr doubts if this system be of Indian origin.

An interesting addition to this valuable report consists of sixteen folk-songs of the Zapotec tribe, recorded with the music, native words, and an English translation. Professor Starr was assured by a musician friend that the music had been profoundly

affected by European influence. The report closes with a long series of vocabularies and some good illustrations of objects of ethnographical interest.

A perusal of this fine series of ethnographical reports, compiled by the most competent authorities and printed and illustrated in an artistic way, only tempts us once more to express wonder and regret that nothing to be compared with this American work is being done in our vast colonial empire. The time is rapidly passing away when such inquiries are possible, and it is not pleasant to forecast the verdict which a future generation of anthropologists will pass upon a government and people which deliberately declines to utilise the vast opportunities for scientific work of this kind which are open to us at present.

W. CROOKE.

BASUTOLAND : ITS LEGENDS AND CUSTOMS. By MINNIE MARTIN.
London : Nichols & Co. 1903.

MRS. MARTIN has written an unpretentious, popular account of a most interesting branch of the Southern Bantus and the country they live in. It contains a short sketch of their history, needlessly divided between Chapters I. and IV. The country is the most beautiful and one of the most fertile parts of South Africa. It is under the protectorate of the British Crown, and thus escaped the ravages of the war which lately desolated all the surrounding country. No white men are allowed to reside there except Government officials, missionaries, and a few traders. Mrs. Martin is the wife of one of the first-named class. She speedily became interested in the people, and, at the suggestion of a friend, she made herself acquainted with their life and customs for the purpose of writing this little work.

The first white men to penetrate into Basutoland and form permanent settlements there were French Protestant missionaries. Of these men, Arbousset and Casalis have left us practically the only accounts of the people hitherto written. I have not Arbousset's work at hand; but I have compared Mrs. Martin's statements with those of Casalis. Neither of these writers addresses a scientific audience. Consequently a really scientific account of the people is still wanting. Mrs. Martin, however, supplies some interesting details and variants of customs not

previously recorded, so far as I am aware. Her account of the death-customs is particularly valuable in this respect.

But that she has not gone far beneath the surface of things will, I think, be evident from the following observations. She speaks of native "schools" of girls and of boys, meaning the puberty customs. These customs are, we know, observed by the adolescent children in bands: hence, apparently, her notion that they are "schools." Her information about them is very vague, though perhaps she knows more than she cares to say, about the girls at all events, in a book intended for popular reading. At the best she seems hardly to have grasped their real significance.

"The Basuto," she says, "are the people of the crocodile (Kuenta), or as it is in Sesuto, 'Bakuenta,' the crocodile being their sacred animal." This is not quite accurate. The Basutos are, like most of the Basuto people around them, in a late stage of totemism. They are composed of six clans, one of which only is the clan of the crocodile. It is true, the crocodile clan is that to which the reigning chief belongs. It may be that in the decay of totemism the remaining clans have to a great extent abandoned their own totems and are becoming merged in the clan of the chief. Evidence to this effect would be interesting. The authoress does not supply it, because totemism is obviously a foreign subject to her.

Again, in her account of the death-customs she represents the mourners crying "Our God, hear us! . . . May the old God pray to the new God for us!" The word rendered "God" is doubtless *Molimo*, and Mrs. Martin has been misled in her translation by the fact that it is the word adopted by the missionaries to translate our word God. The idea we express by "God" is, however, unknown to the Basuto. She might have been put on her guard by the fact of having used the same word in a plural form on the same page, where she says: "The cattle are called 'Melimo a'nko e metse' (the *spirits* with the wet noses)."¹

Mrs. Martin seems also to have mistaken the motive for treating with indifference a child born shortly after the death of another child of the same parents, and for dubbing it Mose la 'ntja, "which means 'the dog's tail,' a term of the greatest contempt." M. Christol, a French Protestant missionary, in his sketches of

¹ See on this subject my Presidential Address, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xii., p. 25.

Basuto life entitled *Au Sud de l'Afrique*, is nearer the mark when he says that it is a name as disagreeable as possible for the purpose of frightening death away. He gives other instances of contemptuous names bestowed on children in similar circumstances. The custom is in fact well known to anthropologists. Its object is not so much to avoid offending the spirit of the deceased child, as to secure the life of the newly-born from evil influences of all kinds by pretending that it is of no value.

Although the book is intended for popular reading, the authoress has forgotten to explain that, while Basuto is the name of the people, a single individual is Mosuto, the country is Lesuto, and the language Sesuto. She uses, indeed, these words correctly enough; but the readers whom she addresses are likely to be puzzled.

A small collection of native stories, ten in number, concludes the work. Unfortunately for the student they are not told as the natives tell them, but are decked out in a meretricious "literary" garb—thus: "Bitter tears rolled down Siloane's cheeks. What evil thing had befallen her, that the babe she had borne, and whom she had felt in her arms, strong and straight, should have been so changed ere the eyes of his father had rested upon him? Not once did she doubt Mokete. Was she not her own sister? What reason would she have," &c., &c.? Still, they are genuine stories, and perhaps this costume is calculated to commend them to "the general public." I can only wish the authoress had taken Dr. Theal, M. Junod, or Bishop Callaway as her model. Moreover, her method and the "popular" character of her book made me a little doubtful whether some of the incidents have not been consciously or unconsciously modified in preparing the stories for publication. Several have already been published by M. Jacottet, another French missionary, in his *Contes Populaires des Bassoutos* (Paris, Jeroux, 1895). A comparison of M. Jacottet's work with Mrs. Martin's reveals a number of suggestive variations. To give only one example, in all the versions of the story of Takane known to M. Jacottet, (who declares it to be a widespread and favourite tale), Masilo is refused by the heroine because he is her brother. Mrs. Martin describes him vaguely as her cousin. Thus the question of incest,*which would account both for the secrecy of the wooing and for the heroine's refusal, does not, according to our ideas, arise.

It may be that this is to criticise the book too exclusively from a scientific point of view. That is the business of a reviewer in a scientific periodical. I believe Mrs. Martin has real gifts of observation and sympathy with the natives. If she will continue her study of them, make herself acquainted with some elementary anthropology, and take *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* in her hand, she may yet give us what is greatly needed—a detailed and accurate account of the Basuto, their civilisation and their ideas, before these are obliterated by the missionary and the trader.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

SHORT NOTICES.

- Vowel Sounds of East Yorkshire Folk Speech.* By the Rev. M. C. MORRIS, B.C.L., M.A. 1901. Henry Froude. 1s.
- Lakeland Words.* By B. KIRBY. Edited by Professor G. WRIGHT, 1898. Kendal. T. Wilson, Highgate. 2s. 6d.
- Letters and Poems.* By NATHAN HOGG. Edited by R. DYMOND, F.S.A. Exeter: Drayton and Sons. 3s.
- Wit and Wisdom of the South Lancashire Dialect.* Collected by F. E. TAYLOR. 1901. Manchester: John Heywood.
- Proverb Lore.* By F. EDWARD HULME, F.S.A. 8vo. pp. viii., 270. 1902. Elliot Stock.

The first two books noted above are careful studies in local dialects and terms of speech, valuable rather to the philologist than to the folklorist. And although there is a witch-story on p. 49 of Nathan Hogg's *Poems*, and some scattered references to folk-beliefs occur in his pages, their chief interest, apart from the language, is rather personal than popular.

But in *Wit and Wisdom* there are many things besides philology. The book is divided into comparisons and proverbs, quaint and personal sayings, with a few folk-rhymes at the end. Proverbs tell us what the folk really are, better than any other class of folklore, and in these 1,001 sayings are mirrored the homely philosophy and shrewd judgment so characteristic of the Lancashire people. There is a good-humoured cynicism running through the whole, which makes for placidity, though it may not lead to high ideals

or to much gaiety. The general impression one gets from the collection is, that man should expect little and worry less. Amongst so many kindly and good-humoured sayings it is strange that but one touch of real tenderness should be shown: namely, in the saying "a wo'ld beawt childer is like a fielt beawt flowers:" and even that is counterbalanced by the complaint that "it's not oft 'at t' kittlin brings t' old cat a meaws." As a whole the comparisons are more humorous than emphatic, though examples to the contrary might easily be found; what could be more expressive than "as mad as a squozzen rotten?" There are some allusions to superstitions—"Feaw as a corn-boggart," "Like the Clegg Ho Boggart, aw'st keep comin' again," and so on; but references to old customs are more numerous;—for instance, "Hoo're donned like a meawntibanks foo'," or, "He dainc't waur nor a drunken pace-egger." The old belief in the stars' influence still survives in the saying that one "born under a thrippenny planet 'll ne'er be worth a groat;" and many other phrases alluding to local stories and modes of thought might be quoted from this unpretending little pamphlet.

The handsome volume next on our list is far less worthy of the attention of the folklorist. What sort of people write, read, or buy such dreary compilations as *Proverb Lore* is to us an insoluble problem. It contains a miscellaneous collection of proverbs, gathered from all kinds of sources, arranged to suit the essayist's convenience, cited without references, and imbedded in platitudes such as "The part of the candid friend is a very difficult one; nothing short of transparent honesty and abounding sympathy will make it possible. 'Few there are,' says the adage, 'that will endure a true friend;' while another runs, 'I will be thy friend, but not thy vice's friend.'" The use of proverbs in literature, collections of proverbs, nationality and locality in proverbs, comparisons, proverbs about animals, occupations, ethics, are all touched upon, and all inadequately dealt with. Antiquaries have long had reason to lament the way in which archæology has been lowered in public estimation by the pointless work of second-hand scrapperists; and it is with sincere regret that we observe that the increasing study of folklore is beginning to incite these pseudo-scholars to turn their attention to our field also. Such popularisation as this can only injure us in the eyes of the intellectual world.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XIV.]

SEPTEMBER, 1903.

[No. III.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22nd, 1903.

*(Meeting held at Burlington House under the auspices
of the London Shakspeare League).*

Mr. G. Laurence Gomme (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

AFTER some introductory observations by the Chairman Mr. Israel Gollancz delivered a lecture entitled "The Fabric of the Dream;" at the conclusion of which a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer on the motion of Mr. Nutt, seconded by Mr. Ordish, and supported by Dr. Furnival.

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, proposed by Dr. Gaster, seconded by Mr. Clodd.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27th, 1903.

THE PRESIDENT (Prof. F. York Powell) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the two previous Meetings were read and confirmed.

The election of Dr. Schmetz, Mr. Clarence Seyler, and the Portsmouth Public Library as Members of the Society was announced.

A drawing of the Well House at Headington Wick, Oxfordshire, [Plate V., p. 183] presented to the Society by Mr. W. H. Jewitt, was exhibited, and a note thereon read by the Secretary.

The Secretary also exhibited the following objects which had been presented to the Society by Dr. R. C. Maclagan, viz.: (a) an Uist bone bodkin, (b) two sets of "chucks" from Applecross, Ross-shire, and (c) a photograph of (1) magical and witch-stones from Sutherlandshire, and (2) fairy arrows from Islay, and read some descriptive notes on the several objects, communicated by the donor [p. 298 and Plate IX.].

Professor W. P. Ker read a paper on a MS. Collection of *Exempla* (Mediæval Preachers' Moral Tales) in the possession of the Society, and in the discussion which followed, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Bouverie Pusey, and the President took part.

The Meeting closed with votes of thanks to Mr. Jewitt and Dr. Maclagan for their gifts to the Society, and to Professor Ker for his paper.

The following books and pamphlets which had been presented to the Society since the Meeting held on November 12th, 1902, were laid on table, viz.:—

Journal of the African Society, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, presented by the African Society; *Reports on the Archaeological Survey of Anurádhapura*, presented by the Government of Ceylon; *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1901-02, presented by the Society; *Report of the Eighth Meeting of the Australasian Association* (Melbourne, 1900) presented by the Association; *Annual Report on British New Guinea*, 1900-01, presented by the Government of Australia; *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, vol. v., part ii., presented by the Society; *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vols. iv. and v., and the *Morris K. Jesup Expedition*, by Alfred L. Kroeber, presented by the

Museum; *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, No. 43, and *Cambridge Guild Records*, by M. Bateson, by exchange; *The American Antiquarian*, vol. 24, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and vol. 25, No. 1, presented by the American Antiquarian Society; *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletins 4 and 5*, presented by the Government of Queensland; *Survivals of Paganism in Mexico*; *Pre-historic Archaeology of Europe*; *the Australian Museum*; *The Bernice Pouahi Bishop Museum*; *The Sacral Spot in Maya Indians*; *The Philippine Library*, and *The Tastaones*, by Professor Starr, presented by the Author; *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, vol. ii., part ii., by E. N. Setala and Kaarle Krohn, presented by the Authors; *Renard the Fox in Ladakh*, by the Rev. A. H. Francke, presented by the Author; *Les tas de pierres sacrés dans le sud de Maroc*, and *Les aïssäoua à Tlemcen*, by E. Doutté, presented by the Author; *Anthropology*, vol. iv., No. 3 (Madras Government Museum), and *Report of Museum for 1901-2*, presented by the Government of Madras; *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. vi., Nos. 3 and 4, presented by the Society; *Traditions Populaires relatives à la Parole*, by Dr. Chervin, presented by the Author; *The Scottish Bonesetter* and *The Obstetric Folklore of Fife*, by D. Rorie, presented by the Author; and *Kathlamet Texts*, by Franz Boas, presented by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

A SOLUTION OF THE GORGON MYTH.

(*Read before the Folk-Lore Society at their Meeting of
December 10th, 1902*).

BY F. T. ELWORTHY, F.S.A.

IS it possible that anything can be said upon this old-world subject, that has not been already considered and well thrashed out over and over again? Such will doubtless be the first thought of any cultivated man upon reading the title of this paper, and it is with much diffidence that I venture to attempt to advance anything as new, before so critical and learned an audience as the members of this Society. In justice to myself, and to disarm the charge of priggish presumption, I may say that I mentioned to more than one of our members, and especially to Mr. Hartland, who has made the Legend of Perseus his peculiar study, the main thesis I have to lay before you. Had it not been that he and others pronounced it to be quite a novel idea, I should not have been bold enough to suppose that I could have anything fresh to communicate.

Respecting the story of Perseus as told by ancient authors, I shall not pretend to interpret the many versions of his famous exploit in the long list of classic and other writers who have narrated or referred to it. It is, however, a matter of experience that of all the stories and myths of antiquity, that of the Gorgon and her fateful glance is one of the most frequently depicted, if not the most common, of all the subjects of ancient art and traditional folklore.

It has been held, and in my judgment it has been demonstrated, by Dr. Haddon¹ and Mr. Balfour,² that all

¹ *Evolution in Art*, by A. C. Haddon, 1895 (Walter Scott).

² *Evolution of Decorative Art*, by H. Balfour, 1893 (Rivingtons).



FIG. 1.
ARMS OF SICILY.

To face p. 212.



patterns and decorative ornaments had their origin in some concrete object, of which the pattern or ornament is a pictorial evolution. In the same way, I venture to assert that every myth that has taken such firm hold, and been evolved into so many phases and forms as that of the Gorgon, had originally, indeed must have had, some solid foundation in an actual occurrence with real living actors, though those actors were not necessarily human beings. For I contend that the modern fashion of calling every unexplained story, a nature or a sun-myth, has nothing substantial to be said for it, and is but a convenient way of getting over a difficulty or an inconsistency, of which the explanation is not readily at hand. Such indeed I believe to be the case with the story of the Gorgons; it is no sun-myth, but the development by imaginative people of a veritable fact.

I would first draw attention to the fact that in the more definite forms handed down to us by classic art as well as tradition, the area of the myth is circumscribed, and may be said to be almost limited to the basin of the Mediterranean. It has been well pointed out that "the localities where the myth exists are all warm areas, where also the Cephalopods are abundant, and it does not appear in cold areas, where these animals do not occur."¹ I am not aware that the story is to be found at all either among early Teutonic or Scandinavian races, nor, so far as my information goes, is there any present trace of it among the several races of the far East, though of course it appears plainly in India, and so must be considered to be distinctly Aryan. Another point to be noted is that in all the stories of the adventures of Perseus with the Gorgons, either the scene is laid by the sea, or we find that the approach to it is over sea; therefore, it may be assumed with certainty that it is in its essentials a sea-story. This contention is confirmed by the special mention of the countries where

¹ Edward Lovett (Letter to the author, dated December 15, 1902).

according to Six (*De Gorgone*, p. 3) similar species of representations are found. The remarkable part of his enumeration is that no land is named at all except islands and sea-coast places adjoining the Mediterranean.¹ I venture to suggest that some of the well-known developments with which we have to deal may be attributed to its having spread inland far from the familiar objects on the shore.

Let me now ask your attention to Fig. 2, which is from a sketch of a terra-cotta figure of the Gorgon now in the Kircherian Museum in Rome. This, and two others near it, are in rather low relief; the subject, represented slightly differing in treatment, is identical in all. They are all said to have been found in Apulia—that is, on the sea, in the neighbourhood of Taranto, the district then known as Magna Græcia. Alongside these, and belonging to the same locality, are several other reliefs, some damaged, but no two quite alike; of these Fig. 3 is a fair specimen.²



FIG. 2.

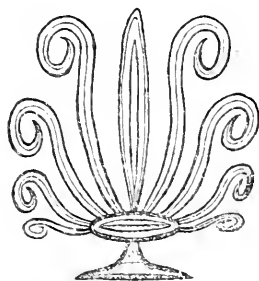


FIG. 3.

¹ It will not be overlooked that both the great exploits attributed to Perseus, the slaying of the dragon with the preservation of Andromeda, and the slaying of the Gorgon, have their scenes laid on the shore. Who can contend that both stories may not have had their origin in one and the same phenomenon?

² Here it should be remarked that Fig. 2, representing several identical reliefs, has ten arms or tentacles, five on each side of an upright spear-shaped projection. It has been suggested (Edward Lovett) that one pair of these arms is intended for horns, and that the central straight device "is an exact representation of the Belemnite, *i.e.* the 'Bone' of the fossil Cephalopods." Fig. 3 has but eight arms without horns, while the central object is like the bone of the common cuttle-fish.

Upon seeing these all grouped together, it at once occurred to me that here was the real solution of the Gorgon myth, and that in these curling objects we may recognise what must have been as familiar as they were dreadful to the ancients living on the coast; not snakes, but the writhing tentacles of the horrible Octopus, no other than the Hydra, so familiar in the story of Hercules. Those who have studied that monster, the Octopus, at close quarters, as I have, will find no difficulty in appreciating the awfully fascinating glance, in the baleful eye of that odious creature, an eye in itself conveying the most frightfully malignant expression of any living thing upon which I have ever looked. The swelling bladder-like lips of the gill-chamber opening and shutting as it breathes, with its beak-like mouth, need but little stretch of fancy among people who personified everything, to recognise in these features the hideous grinning face and protruded cleft tongue of the Gorgon. Indeed it may be suggested that this latter feature is the direct indication or outcome in ideal vision of the well-known cruel parrot-beak mandible of the Octopus. To some, looking down through the clear sea, the awful eye and distended mouth would be most in evidence, and hence, when at rest with its tentacles coiled up behind and around its body, the aspect of the hideous face thus made by the body of the creature would exercise its full influence upon an imaginative person, and so fascinate the beholder as to hold him motionless as a stone, just as serpents are said to fascinate birds. In ancient times these monsters of the deep may have claimed many a victim by thus stupefying, and, as it were, turning them to stone; at any rate, it is very probable that it was one of the greatest dangers to human life, with which dwellers by the sea were acquainted. For any fisher or swimmer round whom the fearful tentacles were coiled, was indeed beyond chance of escape. We read plenty of modern stories of the attacks of this monster even on people in boats. In the clear

waters of the Mediterranean adventures with it must have been frightfully familiar.

Those beholders who might be out of reach of the clutches of the sea-monster would see in the deep clear water only the horrible coiling, writhing, and outstretching suckers of the creature, and upon them these latter would naturally make the most vivid impression. Hence we can easily understand how a drawing or carving of the tentacles only, without the face, as in Fig. 3, would become, as an alternative with the grinning mask, a representation of the dreaded monster.

I am fully conscious of the great difficulty of conclusively proving this contention. The evidence I have been able to collect is disjointed and needs the support of chronological sequence. The fictile and pictorial representations of various ages have reflected the growth of the romance in popular fancy. Whereas in the earliest known forms the baleful visage was the very type of hideousness, and was held to work its maleficent effect upon the beholder by the fearfulness of its aspect, the original belief quickly became enlarged, and rapidly developed from time to time; so that even in early historic ages the idea had taken shape entirely in the opposite direction, and the effect of the fatal glance was thought by many to have been produced, not by fright, but by the loveliness, or, as we now express it, by the "fascination" of the facial expression. This later phase of the myth has been perpetuated and strongly emphasised in many of the later works of art; such as the famous Strozzi Medusa, the Romanini Medusa at Munich, or that in the Villa Ludovisi:¹ and yet the old belief in hideousness did not die out, but maintained itself alongside of the newer ideal beauty. In fact, the development of the representation of the Gorgon in art had to be accompanied by an enlargement of the story, so as to make it consistent. Hence arose the version that she was origin-

¹ See Dilthey, *Ann. Inst.* (1871), pp. 212, 238; Dennis, *Etruria*, ii., 439.



FIG. 96.
TERRA-COTTA FROM TARANTO.



FIG. 4.
POMPEIAN DOOR-HANDLES.

To face p. 217.

ally beautiful, but had been punished by the gods by being changed into frightful ugliness of face. Later, her hair developed into snakes. These statements can be supported by examination of a large number of Greek as well as later Roman examples to be found scattered through the museums of the world.

As a prophylactic charm against the Evil Eye, certainly no single object has ever had such a wonderful popularity as the Medusa's head. No other object has had anything like so many representations in all kinds of materials and in all kinds of places. Indeed the original myth, whence-soever its origin, brought by the immigrants to Magna Græcia, so established itself there, that in Pompeii, and even now in modern Italy, it is still the favourite and by far the commonest device upon the boss, to be seen on house-doors, round which the knocker swings. The notion is, as it has ever been, to provide an antidote to the first malignant glance; no place then could be so appropriate as the outside of the door of a house, where every visitor must inevitably first look upon it. The persistence of popular belief, even when the origin and meaning of the object preserving it have long since been forgotten, is shown by the fact that even here, in modern England, the commonest and cheapest form of door knocker sold in the ironmongers' shops is, like the Pompeian, a female face, but of cast iron, surrounded by a ring forming the knocker. How few people recognise in it the Gorgon's head! and realise that it is, like so many other familiar objects, a world wide protector against the fatal glance.

My first illustration is a photograph of four heads (Fig. 4, Plate VII.), once the ornaments of door-handles at Pompeii, of course of a late type. These are all of bronze, and now preserved at the Naples Museum. They are the undoubted prototypes of those sold to-day in our modern shops. They are no longer to be seen side by side at Naples, for the reason that the whole museum has been

rearranged. These four samples, although of the same period, are of the two different types already referred to. The outer ones are of the transition style, in which the face has passed quite out of the hideous, into the laughing, mocking kind; while at the same time it preserves traces of the archaic in the protruded tongue with indentation in the middle, indicating the split. The two faces between are fair examples of the Roman Medusa, and of that commonly seen as the product of the most modern foundries of to-day. All these heads are of course of approximately the same date, and show that at the time of Pompeii it was the fashion to give them *wings*; but it will be noticed that only the latest type shows here any sign of the conventional *snakes*, and I may state at once that very rarely have I found *snakes* upon heads retaining any remains of the grinning mouth or protruded tongue. Upon the Parthenon there is a Gorgon's head of somewhat archaic type, with snakes beneath the chin, not on the head; this remarkable exception indicates, as I think, that these snakes were an addition not found on older examples; and shows probably the very first, at any rate the earliest known, representation of what was even then a late development. It may be remarked that the representation of the hair developed into snakes can hardly be found in any early representation, say—before the time of Praxiteles. Moreover, on this exceptional example the snakes are not a development of the hair proper, but are beneath the chin. On this point we shall have more to say.

As I propose to work back from late to early examples, I have given the Pompeian heads as fair specimens of the Medusa of to-day, and I further draw attention to the modern arms of Sicily (Fig. 1, Plate VI.,) which show both wings and snakes.

One of the most exaggerated and fantastic forms of the snake development is that known as the Gnostic

Gorgon (Fig. 5). This is chiefly interesting as one of the earliest instances of the old Pagan legend appearing in a curiously Christian setting, and though an interesting fact, it has but a small place in our chain of evidence. Long before this, however, we find the snakes on the later Medusæ of the Etruscan tombs—where the Gorgoneion was by far the most frequent of decorations. Several such heads are to be seen on the sarcophagi of the



FIG. 5.

Volumni in their family tomb near Perugia, and in the Etruscan Museums of Perugia, Florence, Bologna, and the Vatican—I think also in the Louvre—but very rarely, I repeat, can snakes be found on the heads of the old Greek type. Several remarkable Medusæ are to be seen in the Museum of Perugia, showing diversities of a distinct kind. One terra-cotta upon a tomb is very curious, but divergent from both the types most commonly seen. The mouth wide open, is anything but of the grinning sort; the tongue is

not protruded, but the facial expression is fearful. The hair at the sides of the face is made to look like snakes writhing, while from the temples project wings ribbed like a dragon's. Two large locks of hair on the top of the head are twisted and arranged to look like spreading cow's horns, and are evidently so intended. A band fastened by a ring under the chin spreads out on either side. Another has a head with a knot under the chin, and wings on either side of



FIG. 6.

the pleasant looking face, suggesting the origin of modern winged cherub's heads. Moreover, although the hideous aspect had developed into the expression of expiring beauty so early as the time of Praxiteles, yet we find no more than a doubtful tendency to give a snake-like form to the head-gear until Roman and Etruscan times, at which period, as we have seen, the fashion had become fully developed, and so has remained down to our day.

On Fig. 6 I show what I call one of the *transition types* having the doubtful tendency, or beginning, to develop the

hair into snakes, while the face is anything but ugly. This is from a Greek pre-affix found at Taranto, and now in my own collection. It is one of those I had the honour of exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries in 1898. These pre-affixes are all apparently of the same age, about 350 B.C.¹ I have another from the same place and of the same period, which I also exhibited, of the other type with the wide mouth, split tongue, and hair arranged in very short curls, of a peculiar twist which is quite conventional.

The Etruscan head, (Fig. 7,) from Chiusi² fairly represents the curls and general aspect of my second Tarantine Medusa.

The existence of two original Greek heads, both of a period so long anterior to Pompeii, proves conclusively that the two distinct types of feature existed in very early ages. Here I would specially call attention to the fact that all the Greek



Fig. 7.

Medusæ of old type, as well as the older Etruscan ones, have the hair arranged in crisp little curls, very much in the style of Fig. 7. Particularly is this to be seen on the pre-affix referred to in my possession, and on the famous Gorgon guarding the tomb of the Volumni at Perugia. It is also a distinct feature on the bronze Etruscan lamp, now in the museum at Cortona, of which I give a partial sketch (Fig. 8). I have dwelt particularly on the absence of snakes on the early Gorgons, for the reason that I have to show from whence that attribute is developed. In this Cortona lamp, too, I would direct attention to the border, in which are to be seen alternate sirens, *capi di bove*, sea-gods, and fish, with

¹ See *Horns of Honour*, pp. 61, *et sq.*

² See Dennis, *Etruria*, ii., p. 221.

water indicated by a wavy line, thus making the whole conclusively into a sea-story.¹

I have already alluded to the attribute of *Wings*, such as those on the Pompeian heads (Fig. 4, Plate VII.). These are also to be found very commonly on later Medusæ: compare the arms of Sicily (Plate VI.). At Perugia, and indeed in most museums where there are Roman or Etruscan Gorgons, wings will be found to be a common feature of the



FIG. 8.

later type. Long, however, before the wings grew, that is in the Greco-Roman times of Magna Græcia, we find the head to have been conspicuously ornamented with *Horns*, and these perhaps, though common enough, not appealing much to Roman æsthetic taste, were made to take the shape of wings. Just about the Pompeian period we find Roman Mercuries sometimes with wings and sometimes with horns on their heads. Further, on one of the Pompeian frescoes at

Naples, Mars is painted with a Greek helmet having the conventional large cockade, but on each side a stiff upright feather, giving much the appearance of horns.² We thus fix the development of the wings at from about 350 B.C. to about A.D.

Figs. 9, 9a, and 9b are from original Greek pre-affixes in my possession, in each of which may be noted a very obvious

¹ On this see further *Evil Eye*, p. 161 *et seq.*

² On this see *Horns of Honour*, pp. 5-6, Figs. 1 and 2, also p. 35.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 9a.

pair of horns, but more particularly, a face wearing a painful frowning expression, which though scarcely one of expiring beauty, is very like that of the two Pompeian bronze faces of this later type shown in Fig. 4.

Another of the same group of terra-cottas (Fig. 10) is of a different style—rather happy-looking, negroid in appearance, but still with prominent horns, yet on neither of them



FIG. 10.

is there any indication of snakes. A peculiarity of these horned pre-affixes is, that each of them has distinctly pointed ears—a very uncommon feature; and on this account some authorities to whom I have shown these rare antiques, consider them to be intended for Pan, and not for the Gorgon. At the same time, these authorities admit, that if it can be shown that unquestionable Medusa's heads are horned, there is no doubt of these being intended for her

and not for Pan. Apart from that peculiarity, I would again point to the remarkable expression of distress or agony (so unlike the Jovial Pan), so evident upon three of them and on the Pompeian bronzes, upon which I have sufficiently remarked elsewhere.¹ It should be remembered that these horned terra-cottas were found at Taranto, in Apulia, and it is a remarkable coincidence that upon many ancient vases found in the same district of Magna Græcia, probably of about the same age, 350 B.C.) are to be seen heads of unmistakable Medusæ very conspicuously horned, just as these are.

One example of these I show in the sketch (Fig. 11) from a large Apulian vase No. 1204 in the Naples Museum. The heads are on both sides of the handles, and there is no sort of doubt as to their being intended for Medusæ, nor of the pains taken to make the horns stand out very prominently, white upon a black ground. More-



FIG. 11.

over, this vase is by no means a solitary exception, for there are at least six others in the same room, of apparently the same age, and all with handles like these, distinctly and intentionally horned. The features depicted upon these Greco-Roman vases are of the same type as those on the pre-affixes, though inferior as works of art, and they are, too, believed to be contemporary, though these vase heads certainly incline somewhat to the earlier wide-mouthed form. There are also several unmistakable examples of later Roman times, among which, in the Doria Palace in Rome, is a bust of one of the Emperors, having on his breast the conspicuous representation of a Gorgon's head, very dis-

¹ Upon all these pre-affixes see *Horns of Honour*, p. 61 *et seq.*

tinctly horned ; and, moreover, it is of the early protruded split-tongued kind, clearly proving that the early Greek type was still considered the potent form, or it would hardly have been placed where it is, on the breast of a late Emperor.

In the Museum at Perugia is a terra-cotta head, said to be late Etruscan, of which the facial expression is of the same type as the Greek from Taranto, but it has even more of the horror-struck, agonised look. On this Etruscan head the horns are as distinct and as prominent as upon the pre-affixes. Later still, upon Roman cinerary urns of about the late Empire period, we find the same thing. At the Uffizi

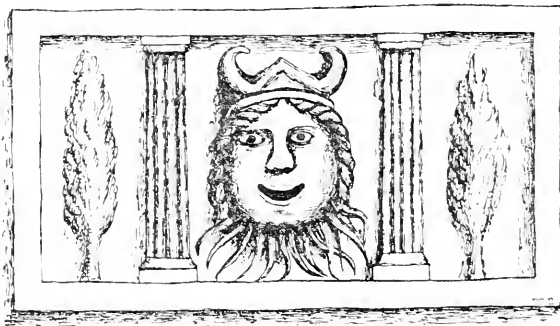


FIG. 12.

Gallery in Florence is a small marble house-like box, which has contained charred remains. I show a sketch of the front in Fig. 12 and I think every beholder will admit this head to be intended for Medusa, and that it is horned. In the Museum at Palermo are two urns (Nos. 5057 and 6995) precisely similar, though of terra-cotta and inferior work, and two others in stone—all are from Chiusi. Also at the Kircherian Museum in Rome there is another marble urn having a front identical in all respects with this, showing the type to be a common one. I might produce many more examples, but I submit that the question of horns

is sufficiently demonstrated. In each of these urns the device is the same, a column and a tree on each side of the head. As to the meaning of these horns, their survival as very powerful prophylactics justifies the assumption that they were then, as now, used to strengthen or reinforce the power supposed to belong to the head of the Medusa.

I would remark *en passant* upon the remarkable appendages beneath the chin in this example, and also in the others above referred to. These are certainly not snakes; neither are they female hair, of which there is an abundance of the ordinary sort twisted, it may be, to indicate snakes. I ask attention to this particular as bearing on



FIG. 13.



FIG. 14.

my main thesis, and I submit they are intended to indicate a beard. Many illustrations of bearded Medusæ are given by Six,¹ proving the Gorgon to have been male as well as female. Of these I will at present only reproduce one example (Fig. 13) from Six, *De Gorgone*, Tab. I. In addition to the unmistakable beard, I ask attention to the no less instructive curls, which are anything but snake-like.

My next example (Fig. 14) is from a large terracotta plaque, measuring some 16 inches in diameter, now

¹ *Specimen literarium inaugurale de Gorgone, &c.*, J. Six, 4to, Amstelodami, 1885.

in the Museum of Taranto. I possess a cast of this, from which my sketch is taken. (I possess a portion of another plaque rather smaller but very similar in character.) This terra-cotta is apparently of the same age as the pre-affixes, although the style of the mask is totally different from them. It confirms, however, what has before been reiterated — that the two distinct types of countenance co-existed at least as early as the Tarentine period. The little twirls or volutes above the brow are noticeable and peculiar, but it is not easy to decide whether they are intended to indicate curls of hair like those on Fig. 7 or something else. The row of straight projections round the chin, after allowing for the difference in material between terra-cotta and sculptured marble, are analogous to the wavy objects shown upon the urn (Fig. 12). After careful comparison we see that, although some centuries different in age, and although one is Greek and the other Roman, we must consider this similar appendage in both to represent the same idea, whatever that may have been; I think it is meant for a beard, as much as in Fig. 13.



FIG. 15.

This plaque is of especial interest from the style of the ornament surrounding the central head. The border consists of a wreath of the well-known Anthemion and Acroterion alternately disposed. These latter, however, are much more distinctly shown upon another disc now at Taranto, of which also I possess a cast (Fig. 15).

I desire particularly to draw attention to the method by which in this very beautiful ancient pattern, still surviving as a modern ornament, the conventional figures in the design are connected by a scroll of the same kind both

in the outer and inner rings, in which are repeated the same devices with slight variations. In my opinion this scroll forms a very essential part of the pattern, and I call special attention to it, inasmuch as it completes the interpretation of the entire design; for I venture to repeat what was stated at the beginning, that every pattern represents ultimately some definite object. I even believe that we have here the germ of the conventional scroll so common as an ornament upon Greek vases, in combination with other well-known devices that still hold their own as stock patterns in this twentieth



FIG. 16.

century. Of these I give a typical example from a vase in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 16).

Here we have a mere modification of the so-called Acroterion repeated over and over again as in Figs. 14 and 15, together with a modification of the scroll twining itself in all directions. It is easy to understand how the idea of the Acroterion was developed out of the twisting scroll of tentacles, as shown in those figures. We may thus readily perceive how it might become still more conventionalised as a decorative ornamental pattern, such as that I produce from Olympia (Fig. 17). But in every one of these ornaments we cannot fail to note the per-

sistence of the coiled-up scroll, as a sort of adjunct or demonstrant to the main design, as if it were intended to keep in mind the actual coiling and outstretching of the tentacles even after they had become conventionalised to the extent shown in the Olympian Acroterion. It is to this scroll, here contended to be the survival of the tentacles, that reference was made in describing Figs. 14 and 15.

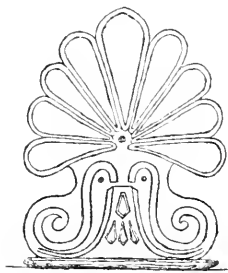


FIG. 17.

In the Museum at Palermo are portions of the frieze from the temple at Selinunte, of which I give a sketch (Fig. 18). This is of great interest and importance. Not only is the scroll retained to connect the same two devices alternately, but also in this the two remarkable eyes are reproduced in the same position in each repetition of the pattern, and above all, the Anthemion is developed into very distinct horns. One can

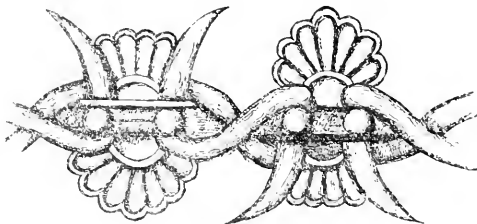


FIG. 18.

hardly fail to see that this design contains identically the same elements, with the eyes in addition, as that on the middle ring of the Tarentine plaque (Fig. 14.)¹ This pattern is also found on the contemporary temples at Girgenti.

¹ On the Acroterion and Lotus patterns at Selinunte. See Dörpfeldt *Terrakotten in Olympia und Selinunte*.

In the plates illustrating that very important work, the *De Gorgone* of Six, are abundant examples to support my conclusions, but of these I extract two or three only, while at the same time referring all who are interested to that remarkable collection and catalogue.

Fig. 19 is from Six (Tab. I.). This head he describes as having sixteen snakes, but here I venture to differ from him, and to maintain that these appendages surrounding the head are not intended for serpents of any kind, and, moreover, that they represent the same idea as the scroll. Under the chin of this Medusa we observe the same straight beard-like strokes which have been previously referred to. In very



FIG. 19.



FIG. 20.

many other heads we note the same thing, and I repeat confidently that their meaning as beards is to denote the Gorgon to be male as well as female. Besides the beard shown in a vast number of examples, like that of Fig. 12, from the Uffizi, we find in Six, on the same page as Figs. 13 and 19 (here shown), a very marked type of wide-mouthed, though beardless, Gorgon's head, winged, and mounted upon a human body and legs (Fig. 20). This form also is not uncommon. A somewhat similar figure upon human body and legs is shown in Dennis, *Etruria*, vol. ii., p. 318, upon a vase from Chiusi (Fig. 21.) Moreover, this figure of doubtful gender is conspicuously horned

and winged. A copy of this remarkable vase is in the Museum at Palermo. Upon this, called "the Anubis Vase,"



FIG. 21.

are to be noted also two other detached heads of the ordinary grinning type.

One of the panels from the great temple of Selinunte, now in the Palermo Museum, has a sculptured relief of large size—two human figures, representing the act of Perseus cutting off the Gorgon's head. Both figures are nude, and both standing. The Medusa is of the same height as Perseus, and apparently of the same sex. The face of the Medusa is of the archaic type. Moreover, we find

on many of the heads not only obvious snakes as well as beards, but also on the same heads that remarkable scroll

or volute, before noted; all these Six has grouped under his Genus I. as belonging to the early type.



FIG. 22.

Fig. 22 is also taken from Six (Tab. III.), from a terra-cotta in the Bonn Museum; it has a sort of nimbus, analogous to Fig. 19, and again it has what he calls sixteen snakes. There is nothing specially interesting in this head, which is of the later type, except

that these objects cannot be meant for snakes, as Six calls them. In this he does but follow unquestionably the received notion. It should be noticed here, that in this example, and in Fig. 19, the number of so-called snakes is exactly sixteen, precisely double of that in those first dealt with. This coincidence cannot be fortuitous, and must be considered as at least a link in the chain of evidence.

In conclusion, on comparing all these typical specimens, one can readily understand how all the various developments of the Medusa myth may have arisen in the course of ages. First, the hideous gaping face of the Octopus became personified, or took a human shape; then from an ideal ugliness it changed and grew into one of languishing beauty, the latter form being in harmony with the old-world belief in fascination. Next, the ideal hair of the original head grew from writhing tentacles into snakes, first appearing under the chin, and then upon the head; finally, the tentacles appear without the face, and as shown in the several examples from Selinunte and Taranto, they became treated as patterns of ornamental designs, until at last they grew into complete decorative objects, like the Acroterion from Olympia (Fig. 17).¹ When the origin of the entire myth had been lost or forgotten, when perhaps it had drifted away from the shore, and where no hideous sea monsters existed to keep it alive, it was natural enough that the snake-like tentacles should be represented as real snakes, and having taken that form in a firmly established convention of art, it was necessary to invent a story to account for them—a story to be found in the classic writers upon Mythology.

F. T. ELWORTHY.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the reading of this paper, and the

The Anthemion in the patterns I have shown is supposed to be a development of the lotus flower, but whatever its origin, it is no less conventional than its companion device, and is in no way a necessary part of the present subject.

setting forth of my contention respecting the Octopus, I have come upon some unexpected evidence in the special region of the Gorgon myth, that in my judgment conclusively proves my hypothesis—that the original actors on which the myth is founded were an octopus and a lobster or crayfish, both of these creatures being transformed into beings more or less human. In the ancient sculpture from Selinunte, at Palermo, both Perseus and Medusa are depicted equally in human form. Such transformations are common in romance and folktales, so that there is no improbability to be accounted for. Indeed, there is a story almost analogous among our own Arthurian Legends. In the romance of *Le Beaus Desconus*, p. 66¹, the hero becomes petrified at

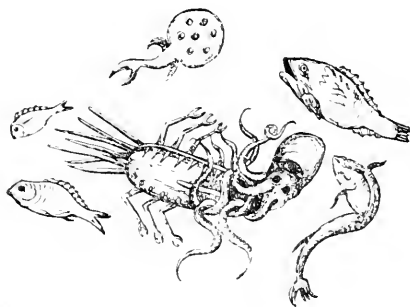


FIG. 23.

the sight of a worm with a woman's face, and thereby being compelled to submit to her embrace, the worm at once becomes disenchanted and retransformed into her woman's shape. There are variants of this story wherein the hero

usually kisses the monster, not she him. Usually also she is described as haunting a rocky coast. This romance or folk-myth is quite on all-fours with that of Perseus and the Gorgon. There is a Maori legend on the other hand of a woman being tempted by the *Manaia*.² There is also a legend of a bird in Brazil which petrified its beholders. To this I refer later.

But pursuing my method of proof by ocular demonstration rather than argument, I produce (Fig. 23) a drawing

¹ D. Nutt, 1902.

² Edge Partington, *Anthrop. Journal*, 1900, 40.

from a large mosaic from Pompeii in the Naples Museum. The combat here shown forms the centre of the picture, with fish of various kinds surrounding it, and speaks for itself. Fig. 24 is from another similar mosaic from Pompeii in the same room. This latter has been but recently exhibited, and when sketched, the room had only been re-opened to the public a very few days. It is on the whole in a much more perfect condition than the other (Fig. 23). Moreover, as this mosaic has not yet been photographed, I am able to offer this sketch as the first publication of it, and I can vouch for the general accuracy of the drawing.

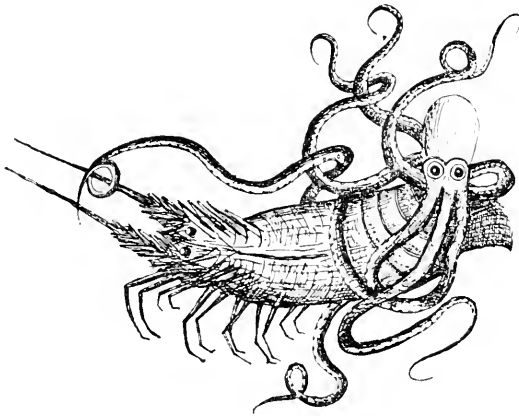


FIG. 24.

No candid reader will contest the value of this Pompeian evidence as to the then common belief in the antagonism of the crayfish family and the octopus. Indeed, this is a fact well known to naturalists of to-day. We read that "the enemy of the lobsters is the cuttle-fish, which crushes and eats it wherever it may be, even in its own holes in the rocks." (*Spectator*, July 27, 1901.)

Besides these two important scenes in mosaic there is in the room adjoining, a large fresco from Pompeii, numbered 9688, the greater part of which is in good condition. It

represents the body of a lobster, claws and all, but terminating, like a centaur, in the naked body of a man, armed with a sword and in the act of fighting. What he is fighting with is destroyed and a blank, but round the neck of the man, and coming from the destroyed portion, is the very distinct and unmistakeable tentacle of an octopus. This fresco, I submit, conclusively establishes what I have tried to prove—that Medusa was an octopus and Perseus a lobster.

There is, I believe, some evidence that "once upon a time" there was a great lobster in the Libyan Seas (the habitat, according to some classic authors, of the Gorgons) known as Perseus. Ælian associates a crustacean with Perseus (see Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii., p. 154). Lucian also records that Perseus made use of the Medusa's head to enable him to slay the dragon and to rescue Andromeda. The latter exploit is, of course, the origin of the story of St. George and the Dragon. Two reliefs representing this legend are known to myself, one in the Louvre and one in the Museum at Palermo. In both cases (of about the same date, seventeenth century), St. George is attacking a sea-monster, with a lady in the dress of the period (not nude) in a beseeching attitude upon a rock in the background. The lady in modern clothes can be no other than Andromeda, and St. George in plate-armour is Perseus. These two representations are apt object lessons in the growth and embellishment of old-world myths, and it is no part of my duty, nor is it possible, to reconcile the inconsistencies of the old story-tellers.

Although I have spoken of the Gorgon Myth as belonging to a limited area, I mentioned evidence of it as forthcoming from another hemisphere; and it is no less strange than true, that certain traits found in distant Polynesia and the West Coast of South America bear so strong a resemblance to the Old World Medusa, that with all diffidence I call attention to it, and suggest the possibility

that in the dim ages of antiquity they may have had ultimately a common origin, most likely by way of India and the Malay Archipelago. This is the deliberate opinion of General Forlong,¹ and even if evidence is wanting, the coincidence is so extraordinary as in itself to need study and explanation.

* First, in Six (Tab. III., Fig. 9), is a Medusa's head from Layard's *Nineveh*, which at once strikes one as a precise representation of the typical goggle-eyed, gaping-mouthed idol of Polynesia. So evident is this, that except for the description by Six accompanying it, one would at once have taken it to be an ordinary modern South Sea god. Again, in the pottery of Peru we find heads bearing the special characteristics of the Medusa. Fig. 25 is from Wiener's *Perou*, p. 618.²



FIG. 25.

This is but one of several examples in which, not only is the mouth of the Gorgon type, but, I venture to suggest the tentacles also may be indicated by the scrolls on each side of the head. As evidence that these heads are not merely a fortuitous coincidence in the New World, we find also in Wiener's book crude representations of animals in bronze, almost identical with those found in ancient Etruria, such as may be seen at Bologna and in the Kircherian Museum (cf. *Evil Eye*, p. 145). At the Paris Exhibition of 1889 there was more than one horned idol from the South Seas bearing a singular likeness to the Old World Gorgon. I am even bold enough to suggest that in finding traces of the Gorgon Myth in distant Polynesia we have possibly found a solution of the much discussed myth of the New Zealand *Manaia*.

¹ See *Short Studies*, p. 122.

² See also *Evil Eye*, p. 166.

Maori traditions are well known to several writers. Captain Barclay¹ testifies to the persistence of their belief that their ancestors migrated from another land, "the mysterious Hawaiki"—that they have traditions of great earthquakes and other natural disturbances in that land whence their fathers came over the sea. They have many legends relating to ancient mythological incidents belonging to that land, such as of heroes transformed to demi-gods. The traditional route and origin of the migration are lost or forgotten; possibly these details are purposely withheld, yet in other respects they are strangely complete, "even to the names of the canoes and the (names of the) crews."

As to the route, Easter Island (Rapanui), at least 4,000 miles from New Zealand, suits all descriptions of the lost Hawaiki. It is volcanic and not coralline. It affords abundant evidence of a prehistoric civilisation; especially is this to be found among the debris of red volcanic rock, of identically the same kind as that of which a prehistoric image now in the Auckland Museum is made, which image is said by tradition to have come from Hawaiki. Easter Island must have been of much greater extent than at present, and we know not how much of it has subsided like other volcanic islands; but even on that which is left are remains of Cyclopean walls, and a number of heads of statues cut from single blocks are now lying about the beach. All these seem to represent the same person, or are at least the same type. That these are now on the beach is a striking proof of submergence. What may there not be beneath the waves? On these relics General Forlong² remarks: "For the most part, Malays liked a roving piratical life with safe port on all coasts . . . and who but these clever Dravidian builders of *Ma-Māla-pura* could have reared the beautiful and massive cut stone structures of Easter Isle off the coast

¹ "A Mystery of the South Seas," *Pall Mall Magazine*, October, 1902, p. 211.

² *Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions*, 1897, p. 123.

of Peru? This they would easily reach . . . from isle to isle of the Polynesian groups; in this way also they must have reached the Californian coast, where we find the language of the Pinas to contain 15 per cent. of Malay words." The same writer traces the emigration of Indian Mālas to New Zealand, Australasia, and furthest Polynesia.

Much has been written upon the *Manaia* of New Zealand, described as a "mythical monster," and in identifying this with the frigate-bird Dr. Haddon kindly helps me with his great authority. "Assuming this identification to be correct, we have a further argument in favour of a Melanesian element in the population of New Zealand."¹

But notwithstanding the bill of the frigate-bird, I hope to show yet another explanation of the *Manaia*. It is curious that in Brazil is a belief in "a bird of evil eye which kills with a look. The ground under its nest is white with human bones. There is a myth that a hunter once killed one of these (birds) and cut off its head without the eye being turned upon him. He killed his game thereafter by turning the evil eye upon it. His wife, not dreaming of its destructive power, however, once turned it toward her husband and killed him, and then accidentally turned it toward herself and died."²

In Patagonia, on the Rio Negro, are graves which can only be Polynesian. "Maori stone implements" have been discovered at Cuzco, in Peru, and even east of the Andes in Argentina.³ Further, I have direct evidence from my relative the Bishop of Wellington as to the firm belief of the Maori people that their ancestors came from over the great sea, and of their having exterminated the people whom they found in the land. The mixture of conquering with the aboriginal race would account for all

¹ *Man*, 1901, p. 55.

² Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 284. I am indebted to Mr. W. G. Black for this story. See *Notes and Queries*, August 24, 1895, p. 146.

³ Barclay, *op. cit.*

divergences of language and physique. But I submit that the evidence here produced renders it quite reasonable to point to the scrolls and gaping mouths on Peruvian pottery (see Fig. 25) as originating in the old-world myth on which so much has been said. I do not attempt to follow the wanderings of Malay rovers, but merely call attention to the fact that they can be traced to South America and to Easter Island, both at a greater distance from home than is New Zealand, where I venture to submit the Gorgon Myth was carried and still survives.

Mr. Edge Partington¹ says: "In sending me a photograph of a very ancient slab from a *Pataka* or storehouse, in the



FIG. 26.

Auckland Museum, Mr. J. Martin suggests that this particular way of depicting the *Manaia* is the genesis of the Maori scroll." Of this slab I give a representation (Fig. 26) from Plate E, and in asking close examination of it, again quote Dr. Haddon (*op. cit.*), "but the *manaias* which he figures appear to me as if they might very well be degraded and conventionalised representations of birds." To me, they appear representations of the whole story of which the mosaics in the Museum at Naples (Figs. 23 and 24) are but another version told in a more literal fashion. On this Maori carving the subject is twice repeated. We have the somewhat "degraded" human figure of the Medusa, split

¹ "On the Genesis of the Maori Scroll Pattern," *Anthropological Miscellanies*, 1900, p. 41.

tongue and all—compare it *en passant* with Figs. 20 and 21. The quasi-human figure is being attacked by another creature having a human arm with five fingers, but whose body and head may be anything. To me the head seems much “degraded,” but it suggests a lobster’s claw more than a bird, while the body has little of the bird in it, though even if we have here the “evil bird” of Brazil, we are merely shunted off into another version, another development of the old story. On Fig. 27 the same scene is repeated from the same Plate E, and over all, and pervading each, we see the scroll as the main, indeed the only



FIG. 27.

ornamentation. Which of the figures in these remarkable carvings is the true *Manaia* does not appear. I suggest that the scroll contains the true interpretation. In the great fight, legs and tentacles become so mixed as to seem each to belong to the other, so their memory has become traditional, and just as the tentacle scroll has become a long-lived conventional pattern in Greek art, so it has taken hold of the fancy of the Maori ancestors and developed into the prevailing decorative pattern in far-off New Zealand.

Lastly, I ask attention to the carved Maori staves in Pitt Rivers' collection.¹ Here the same scrolls are combined with eyes, as prominent as those in the old Greek carving at Selinunte (Fig. 18). Moreover these staves are tongue-

¹ See for illustration Balfour, *Evolution in Decorative Art*, p. 57.

shaped, "by far the most important part in the design." It may be well suggested that in these eyes and tongue surrounded by the scrolls are again enshrined the same all-pervading myth.

We have then a curious concatenation of evidence, so remarkable that few persons will venture to contend that the growth of an idea can have developed independently into the same general coincidence of legend among such widely separated people, as we are bound to admit now to exist, whether we name it the Manaia or Medusa. I confidently therefore maintain that the Old World story of the Gorgon and the New World Manaia are both the outcome of the same early experience of the antipathy of the lobster and the octopus, personified by imaginative and fanciful people into Perseus and the Gorgon.¹

F. T. E.

¹ I must add a line to record my deep obligation to Miss Burne for the pains bestowed, and valuable hints she has given in the arrangement of this paper.

THE NATIVES OF NEW CALEDONIA.

[The following notes are selected from the papers of the late Mr. J. J. Atkinson, my cousin. Educated at Loretto School, he went, very early in life, to some stations which he had inherited in New Caledonia. He visited the New Hebrides and other groups, and, though then quite without anthropological training, made himself familiar with the habits of the natives, to whom he was always a friend. In later life he acquired such books of anthropology as were accessible, and at his regretted death, two years ago, he left a manuscript on Primitive Marriage and the Origins of Society, recently published as *Primal Law* in my *Social Origins* (Longmans, 1903). The notes which follow have the merits as well as the defects of observations untouched by knowledge of theories, and they were made before French law had entirely overcome native custom. While condensing and omitting for lack of space, I have, as far as possible, preserved Mr. Atkinson's own words, modifying nothing in his facts.

Almost the only anthropological account which I can find of the natives of New Caledonia is that by M. Léon Moncelon, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Series III., vol. ix., pp. 345-380. In many places it corroborates Mr. Atkinson's account, and his contains many facts not recorded by M. Moncelon.—A. LANG.]

New Caledonia (17°—23° lat., 163°—167° long.) is a French Colony, and a penal French colony; it is therefore little known to Englishmen, and English works of travel say little about the natives. Their island, like the elder Caledonia, is "stern and wild," being but a spine of mountains, running from north to south; the whole extent is some 300 miles in length by 30 in breadth. On the east side, the cliffs in many places fall sheer to the sea, scored

with little white cascades, "a place of falling waters." Where there is a strand, the soil is good, especially in the river valleys, and the houses of the natives cluster like collections of beehives along the coast, and stretch inland up the banks of the streams. The people are agricultural, cultivating coco-nut trees, bananas, and bread-fruit. The west coast, with much more of space between the mountains and the sea, is more thickly peopled; the rivers having larger scope, and the sandstone detritus forming soil favourable to the cultivation of yams. Where the soil is of clay, nothing flourishes but the melancholy *Naioulie*, the Australian "tea-tree," with white papery-looking bark, and light foliage. Where it grows the districts are singularly exempt from fever.

With its bare dry-looking grass hills, New Caledonia has little of a tropical aspect, in spite of the roar of the Barrier Reef, the waving coco-trees along the coast, and the hideous submerged forests of mangroves at the mouths of the rivers. The climate is delightful, much more humid than that of Australia, though the old men remember one long drought, followed by a hurricane which drove them into the shelter of caves.

In the central chain of hills natives are rare, as the amount of iron stone sterilizes the alluvial soil of the valleys. Nickel-bearing stone is plentiful, and copper mines are now worked. Thanks to an exclusively classical education, I missed potentialities of wealth. Prospecting with two friends, I camped on ground which we recognised as decidedly very peculiar; and we slept that night on millions of money. But there was no show of gold; signs of copper we did not recognise; and, a few months later, a better-informed party of explorers found and staked out claims in one of the richest copper mines in the world. These explorers had never made a Latin verse in their lives.¹

¹ In my opinion J. J. A. made very few.—A. L.

My ethnological and philological training was as limited as my geological education. But I am unable to agree with the views of a French missionary, who told me, truly, that the languages of the island are divided into two groups; but he added that one group had affinities with the Semitic, the other with the Chaldaic tongues, while the speech of the Maré islanders in the Loyalty group is curiously akin to Latin. The resemblance has never struck me, but the Marés are certainly the best fighting-men in the South Seas.

As for the natives, they are so far from reticent that the garrulity of their answers to questions has often been my despair; *sufflamini erant*, as Ben Jonson said of Shakspeare. They are about 8,000 to 10,000 in numbers, each tribe being divided into sea-folk and bush-folk. The sea-folk live so near the water that the prows of their canoes often poke into the doors of their huts. They are coco-tree planters, and great fishers. Once a week their women hold a market with those of the twin bush-folk, who are yam-growers. The ladies of each section of the tribe sit down in rows with their produce before them, and barter is transacted in dances, with a good deal of manœuvring.

Though bigger than most South Sea islanders, the natives are smaller than Europeans, but not conspicuously so, except when they wear European clothes. They vary from a very dark brown to a light complexion. Albinos are not uncommon, and are held in neither higher nor lower esteem than their neighbours. The hair is coarse and woolly, they straighten and lighten it by the use of wood-ashes. The teeth are admirable, and never diseased. Used as implements, they are worn down to the bone in the old people. The noses of some are flat, in others large and heavy; some are of the high North American Indian type.¹ Those

¹ The ethnology is very obscure: probably there is a Melanesian population with Western Polynesian elements.—A. L.

of their women who reckon among them as beauties, are the least remote from the European ideal. As I never saw them confronted with a pretty white woman, I cannot say whether they would appreciate her charms. As a rule, the natives are well made, upright as a dart, with shoulders well thrown back, the breast prominent, the backbone buried in the deep hollow of the muscles.

From two years old they are extraordinary climbers. The Kanaka method of climbing a coco-nut tree is quite impossible to white men; they go up a perfectly straight tree holding themselves upright, that is, not clasping the tree with their legs at all. Their toes simply rest on the bark, while their arms clasp it higher up; they then mount by a series of jumps, from their toes, of a foot or so each time, their arms moving up at the same time by a sliding motion on the other side. It is astonishing how quickly they can get up. I once saw a native Lifu woman do a climbing feat of this sort, that beat all I could have imagined. She had a pretty name too, Wialatha, and like most of the women of that island was very beautifully formed. As I show later, she inspired a native poet. They have in Lifu a slighter and more feminine look than New Caledonian women. I asked her for a coco-nut, and she went to a tree, and began mounting in their usual upright style with her toes on the bark, but, to my surprise, used only one arm to slide up with on the opposite side.¹ The other hand held a tomahawk. I could scarcely believe my eyes as I saw her thus clamber up to a dizzy height. The difficulty of this feat will hardly be appreciated by one who has not tried it. In their climbing and balancing they are greatly aided by their bare and nervous feet. These seem to possess some extra sense, at least I at times almost let myself believe so. In a tour I made all round the island, which of course, from the physical conformation of the

¹ In a New Caledonian *Märchen* (Moncelon) the good hero climbs a coco-tree without using his hands. The bad hero fails. The story is like Perrault's "Toads and Pearls."—A. L.

country, consisted almost entirely in a walk up one coast and down another, we arrived at a place called Taugau, on the eastern side. Here we saw what is, I must allow, not a very common sight in New Caledonia, viz., two natives staggering drunk. They were reeling about, and bothered us a good deal by persisting in embracing our guides. Now about this place, Taugau, the track we had to take was a most dangerous one; it wound along the face of a cliff that hung at a great height over the sea, and you had to step along it very cautiously from one projecting rock to another; the least false step would have been destruction. I passed it with much difficulty myself (barefooted of course, boots being out of the question), and was just saying, "Well, we are at least rid of our drunkards," when to my horror I saw one of them following. He was singing at the top of his voice, swinging his arms about, and his body swaying dreadfully. Every second I expected to see him fall, but by what seemed a special faculty in his feet, they always landed in exactly the right place. I ordered the guides to go and help him, but they refused to move, saying in a careless tone, "Very good he dies, he does not belong to our tribe." However, the fellow arrived safely to within a few feet of us. Here the cliff ceased suddenly, and there was a fall of about six feet on to the sand. Stepping gaily off this, our (new) friend toppled on to the top of his head, and there we left him.

There are many exceptions to the rule of physical excellence: the people of the Isle of Ronde being hideous, with round shoulders, pot-bellies, and hardly human faces. On the whole, however, I can imagine no better Life-School for the artist, than the naked Kanakas. They are marvellous swimmers: two little boys were picked up miles from land, by a European boat; they were swimming home to Pine Island from New Caledonia! A gentleman in the boat that found them, got them from their master and took them to their home, and there they lived happily ever afterwards.

This reminds me of another incident connected with their swimming, which gives a brighter glimpse of native character than one usually gets. A white man whom I know very well, coming once over from Lifu to New Caledonia, was swept overboard, having got entangled in some ropes. He tells me that almost as he went over the side he saw something flash after him. This was a man called Hyma, a chief of Lifu, and all honour to him. He had seen the white man go over, and with admirable presence of mind and courage had thrown out two oars, and then come himself. The position of the pair was a very perilous one. The people in the boat were no great sailors, besides that, the great heavy cutter was difficult to manage at any time; in fact it was nearly three hours before they were rescued. My friend told me he quite gave himself up for lost, but the native kept cheering him up all the time. "No fear, Mr. C., no fear. Plenty water here, and so no sharks. Suppose boat no find us, I savez take you ashore," and he would have done so too, alive or dead, I believe, though they were many miles from land. This Hyma I knew well, he was the best native in all respects whom I ever met.

As a rule, the natives are given to infanticide, and are terribly cruel to animals. To children and the old they are kind;¹ and, among themselves, of a generosity that seems to arise mainly from aversion to refuse any request. A bright-coloured shirt, given to one man, goes round the tribe like a novel from a circulating library. Twice only have I seen a child beaten. It was done in the manner and on the part of the person customary in Europe. Once the offence was rough treatment of little girls; once it was theft, the father finishing with the remark that "such boys grew up to be wife-stealers." The men, when in anger,

¹ M. Lazare Saincan says that the old are killed in New Caledonia (*L'Etat actuel des Etudes de Folk Lore*, p. 10, Leopold Cerf, Paris, 1902). Mr. Atkinson found no trace of the practice.—A. L.

are silent, they do not use the foul language of an English street-quarrel, and they are not hasty in temper over trifles. The women, in these things, are the reverse of the men; apt to thump each other, amid showers of the most obscene abuse.¹

The natives cultivate "l'indépendance du cœur" in the matter of gratitude, at least to white men. I have heard of a native who, grievously ill, had been taken into a white man's house and there cared for till convalescent. The wretch afterwards actually wanted to be paid for the time during which he was being nursed. What do you think of the following story as showing their moral qualities and characteristics? Some years ago, I hired for working a batch of Tauna men. These had been taken from different parts of their coast, and were divided into as many separate parties, and were deadly enemies enough in their own country. But I never had any trouble with them on that account. In fact they got very friendly together, and were always willing to help one another in any row with natives of any other island. There was one bright little merry lad among them, who, from his extreme youth (being but eight), I put into the kitchen as a light sort of work for him. Here he showed himself to be so very sharp, and to have such a turn for cooking, that he soon rose to be chief butler, and as such became the very esteemed friend of all the other natives, they being naturally appreciative of the tit-bits his position allowed him to procure for them. One-eyed Tom (he had lost an eye) stopped with me nearly five years, and then home-sickness came on him—he wanted to see his mother. "You see mother belong me think me dead," said Tom, and so despite my persuasions he made up his mind to go. He procured a cedar-wood box with a lock and key, the ambition of all Kanakas, bought an infinitude of clothes with rare things for his mother, and with

¹ "The women are, in general, much inferior to the men" (Moncelon).—A. L.

the musket that all these men stipulate for as part of their payment, he stepped on board. I had got quite fond of the lad. Many a weary month he had been my sole companion almost in the house, and he had grown under my eyes from a wee thing to a stout handsome young fellow; so I went to see him off—and also to recommend him specially to the captain's care. "I will come again and cook when I have seen my mother," said Tom, and so he went. And there went with him two of his mates, who had come to me at the same time, and had also been with me and with him all these five years. They were not, however, from the same place exactly as Tom, living a few miles away, and belonging to a different tribe. By a sad error the captain landed all three together at the village of these two, and when the labour-ship came back to New Caledonia two weeks after, I learned that they fallen on my poor lad during their first night on shore, and killed and eaten him. Such is intertribal morality. A battle usually ends with the fall of the first man speared. His comrades fly, and he is cooked and eaten. Quarrels generally arise from the infidelities of women, who are remote from the precise life. A duel follows, or the husband accepts "costs"—articles of value. A notorious seducer is occasionally put to death by order of the chief.

As to marriage, if a man can secure the person of a maid for twenty-four hours, she is by custom, his for ever. Next day the parents call, and receive a present. A common way is for two lovers to cohabit secretly, in Samian fashion, like Zeus and Hera. When this comes to the ears of the parents and the chief, the man makes a present to the girl's father and mother, and takes the bride to his house. If the nymph rejects him, the swain is apt to break forth into song. A famous and scornful beauty, Wialatha the tree-climber, refused the poet Wahalingen, and wedded a chief. The minstrel thus bewailed himself:

Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, daughter of Chichim, the chief upon the rocks, the darling of Wahalingen.

Then it was that I was weeping on the top of the hill :

“ Ah, that she would hear me. Ah, I wish she would listen to me, The daughter of Chichim on the top of the rocks.”

Chorus : “ Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha.”

“ This is I, Wahalingen, son of Hiniatee, She has glanced back after me often, often, many times ;
“ Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, Wialatha.”

“ I don't want to be your wife.” Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha !

“ Booseus' (Hiniawatee) child would like to eat you.

He would like to live with you on the top of the hill ;

He is waiting to court you, Wialatha. Oh be my wife.

Chorus : “ Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, daughter of Chichim &c., &c.

“ I don't want to live with you on the top of the hill :

I don't want you, you have an ugly face.”

Chorus : “ Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha,” &c., &c.

“ You must live with me or else I will die.

I wish you would glance again now and then at Wahalingen,

You must have me Wialatha—Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha.”

“ My mother won't let me leave her yet,

I am her only child, my father is dead,

I can't leave my mother, and I don't want you, Wahalingen,

Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, Wialatha.

You are also too lazy—I want someone strong to make

My mother plantations, because Chichim the chief is dead upon the rocks ;

Ah, Ah, Ah, Wialatha, Ah, Wialatha, daughter of Chichim, Wahalingen's beloved.”

This is a song of the Lifu islanders, and, when I was there, every one was chanting it, even the hard-hearted beauty sang it—and laughed! In New Caledonia itself, I never heard a love-song;¹ the Lifu people are better fighters, and better lovers. I have listened with pleasure for hours to the songs and choruses of my Lifu people.²

I have mentioned the chief; he is commonly a large landowner, and in every village his house is of unusual

¹ Moncelon knew of suicides from disappointed love.—A. L.

² Mr. Atkinson once obliged me by singing a Lifu song. Though he was not aware of it, the general effect was very like that of a Gaelic lament.—A. L.

majesty, rising sometimes to forty or fifty feet. The only house approaching to it in size is the men's council-room.¹

In some places the respect paid to a chief is extraordinary, the ordinary men and all the women never allowing themselves to come within his sight. In the old days, if a woman met a chief by chance, and could not conceal herself, she was killed. A chief's mother must merely leave the path and turn her back as he passes. The killing of women for such ceremonial offences has been mainly put down by the French, but the chief's women will beat the unlucky offender. I have heard, on the authority of an European eye-witness, of the killing of a native man for an accidental breach of decorum in the presence of a chief. (A Roman emperor is said to have been infinitely more lenient.)

There are three classes in a tribe :

1. The Chief and his family, even the women being held in respect.
2. Landowners.
3. The Landless.

But, practically, the chief is first, and the rest are nowhere.

Of cannibalism I have spoken in the sad case of my poor cook. In general I think that the introduction of pigs has helped to undermine the custom. The old men still speak with zest of the ancient practice. Even in Lifu, where the missionaries have really done good, one fine old man spoke

¹ I do not find in Mr. Atkinson's papers any exact account of what constitutes a chief, beyond hereditary real property. The sorcerers are apt to accumulate and transmit wealth. They are of more intelligent appearance, he says, than the bulk of the tribesmen, and are capable of rain-making, sun-making, and wind-making. This last feat is performed by ceremonies which involve the chewing of certain herbs, and ejecting the juice from the mouth, nose, and ears, in the desired direction. Mr. Atkinson found the son of a sorcerer, though very young, expert in these performances, and believed that sorcery was probably hereditary. But the sorcerer and the chief, at present, are certainly not identical, though magic may have been one source of the wealth of chiefs, and of their power. Moncelon found war-chiefs (*Toiseach* in Gaelic, "The *Captain* of Clanranald") subordinate to the real chief.—A. L.

out freely to me after a good meal of pork, which affected him like grog. He had no kinsfolk, and was not accustomed to a copious diet. After pious and becoming expressions as to the merits of Christianity (and of European goods), he remarked, "I say to you that neither bullocks, fowls, pig, or sheep are to be named, for excellence, with man."¹

Human flesh was always a rare delicacy.² A great victory was "a victory after which even the women eat their fill." Pieces would be sent as a present from one village to another. One day in a village in the interior, my attention was attracted by a far-off shrill cry which threw the natives into great excitement. It was the bearer of a present of this kind to a village chief. . . . I did not like to taste it. Though I have heard of inter-tribal cannibalism at *Pelew Pelew* (dances) (the community defiling and bowing before an axe-bearer, who slew the destined victim), the chief of the large tribe near me informs me that cannibalism is never practised between men of the same tribe. As in the case of eating the totem, if a man eats a tribes-fellow he will break out into sores, and die. My informant was very intelligent, and speaks English well. But I know for a fact that a criminal executed by the chief's orders may be eaten. The French have put down cannibalism, but from two cases in my own experience I am aware that veteran man-eaters, inter-tribal cannibals, have been slain by their own tribesmen, after a career of horrors.³ I saw the body of one of them on my own station.⁴

As to the ordinary *cuisine*, the natives are abandoning

¹ Mr. Atkinson here gives precise details as to the cannibal *cuisine*, which I omit.—A. L.

² The natives being exophagous, and not eating within the kin, this delicacy could seldom be acquired except in war.—A. L.

³ It will be remembered that Mr. Atkinson writes of times now separated from us by some twenty-five years.—A. L.

⁴ Moncelon had heard of such wretches, "Weendigos" in North America.—A. L.

their own pottery for the white man's iron pots; one pot serves for the men, the other for the women. Except in the case of husband and wife, the sexes never eat together. The taboos on cooking will be mentioned later. The native pots of clay are globular, and it is difficult to believe that they were fashioned, as they certainly were, without the wheel. A kind of boiling is practised with no pot at all; only a maiden may be the cook, that is, as far as squeezing the kernel of the cocoanut for the necessary milk is concerned. Saturated in this milk, and swathed in scorched banana leaves, the food is boiled, or stewed, on stones placed in the heart of a fire. The resulting dish (*Bunia* in Lifu) is delicious. The fire used in cooking must never break into flame, nor may a pipe be lit from it—it has a certain sacredness.

The taboos as to cooking and eating are numerous. Of all taboos, the most rigid dictates total avoidance between brother and sister, yet few taboos so readily break down under European contact. The boys, if they have sisters, leave their parents very early, and dwell in the common house of the men. You may not even mention to a man the name of his sister. If a man's sister is cooking, and his son or daughter draws near, their aunt cannot touch the food, although the niece or nephew may eat of it. A sister's husband may not be seen eating by her brother; this taboo may be broken by giving a present, from the husband to the brother-in-law. A brother cannot eat from a pot which his sister has used in cooking, nor from a pot placed on a fire kindled by the sister. If a man's wife's sisters lose their father, they have to come to him; to their brothers they cannot go.

There are many other taboos connected with cooking and eating. If a man comes near fire where food is cooking for his grandfather, the latter will not eat it. Father cannot eat out of the same pot as daughter, and *vice versa*. Women cannot eat out of the men's pots, though the reverse

does not hold good, nor anything that has been cooked in the men's house. If a man cooks food and his brother was not there when it was put on the fire, the latter cannot eat of it. I was also told that all who are going to partake of any food must be there when it is put on the fire. If a man comes afterwards he must eat out of the women's pot. (These two last taboos were denied by a native called Bail, who was an intelligent fellow; though it is just a chance they may hold good in some places.) Men will not touch anything women have been sitting or lying on. I remember a whole boat's crew I had once with me on a cruise, going without food for some time sooner that touch some rice I had in the hold for this reason. If a man goes to any place and, having fish given him, brings it himself to his house, his father cannot eat of it. Women cannot eat anything that has been carried on men's backs. However they do not lose much by that, as men do mighty little of that sort of work. Many other things are tabooed, except under exceptional circumstances, to the women; mostly dainties, such as turtle, dugong, or man's flesh. In the same way, when the yams come into season, the first are eaten by the chief, then the men, and a month after, when there are plenty, the women are allowed to eat. Some among these taboos are incomprehensible to me, but it is very difficult to understand any explanation a native may volunteer. I remember once for instance journeying with two Kanakas. When we halted one day, they slipped off into the bush, and one of them brought down a flying-fox with a stone. These men were both equally hungry, but the game was not divided. The one who had *not* killed it ate it, while the other looked on, and you may be sure from no sentiment of politeness or generosity on his part. However, for the life of me I could not find out the why and wherefore of this, though I tried hard and exerted my utmost ingenuity in framing questions likely to get at the truth. I guessed it had something to do with the totem of the man who killed the beast,

though in that case how was it he allowed himself to kill it? They have also many mysterious taboos and mysteries in the cultivation of their crops of yams, taros, &c.

In the case of women engaged in planting, cohabitation is not allowed for some time before and after. A white man told me the following yarn. The ship he was in touched at the Isle of Pines many years ago—it was the yam-planting season. While asleep that night ashore in a hut where there were several women, he awoke and found himself gently but firmly pinioned by several pairs of hands. At the same time he heard a commotion in the hut, and the cries of some one evidently in the death-agony. While he was being held, it turned out afterwards, by some men, others came and took out one of the women, and killed her outside, savagely picking the flesh off the bones with the ends of their spears. She was, it seems, an unhappy one who had been engaged at the yam-planting, and yet had been detected that day on board the ship. Among the strangest things in their cultivation is the belief in the power of certain magical stones to increase the crops. They have generally a rough resemblance to the thing they are supposed to benefit, and are put into the ground at the same time, and in the same bed or plantation. They are said to have the power of reproduction themselves; the young ones, however, are not visible to all eyes. The owners pretend to know, if the stones have been touched in their absence, by the appearance of these invisible ones. I saw a fellow once get into a tremendous state of excitement at someone having, as he declared, disturbed the magical stone in his plantation, of which he averred himself to be aware in that manner. These stones are to be procured in the following way. A native walking along will hear a low cooing or humming noise. He runs up, and after a hunt turns up the stone. The help of sorcerers is called in too in cultivation, they arranging favourable rains, &c., suns, and winds. I have heard of boys being seen

thrashing the ground with sticks with the idea of making it fruitful. But luckily Kanakas do not content themselves with only this sort of thing to procure crops. They cultivate with the greatest care and labour, not a weed will be seen on their yam-beds. The work they go through in preparing their plantations with their imperfect tools is very great, their only implement being a long pointed stick of some very hard wood, still further hardened by the application of fire. It is astonishing, however, what masses of earth two men will dislodge with these long levers.

As to the native religion,¹ it is, of course, difficult to distinguish it from superstition. They have a firm belief in a future life, and in a world of the dead, which is visited, in trance, by convulsionaries. They begin their trances with attacks of violent delirium, after which they profess unconsciousness as to what they have just been doing on earth, but are copious about their experiences in the Land of the Dead. A man named Pindi, who lived near me, was famous for such things. The natives declared that he used to disappear bodily before their eyes, coming up many miles away.² Pindi described the place of the dead as being under the great mountain *Mu*. Hades is a mere replica of this world, but fruits of all kinds are finer and larger. Good men are welcomed there after death: quarrelsome

¹ Moncelon says: "They have no religion of any kind; only, among the central tribes, the fear of a mischievous spirit named Baon, who lives at the earth's centre. There are "griglis" (magical practices, apparently), "but, as far as I know, no rites of religion. Baon is of a material nature, and has amours with the women." (The Incubus.) M. Moncelon heard of a Culture Hero, and, apparently, (but he is very vague), there is a myth of the Origin of Death. He admits the feeding of vague spirits, but does not reckon it as religion; nor does he allude to totemism or to the Land of the Dead.—A.L.

² The same belief used to prevail in Scotland, and a recent instance was communicated to me by a most intelligent Highland gillie in Sutherland. Cases will be found in the Rev. Robert Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth* (1690).—A. L.

and rancorous souls are beaten by the dead chiefs; there is no head chief. As in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, and in Fiji, there are ghastly monsters which devour souls. Pindi once brought back from Hades a curious spear, and the feathers of a bird unknown on earth, to his tribesmen. The dead, as in Homer, speak in low twittering tones. The most dreaded ghost (as in Malay) is the spirit of a woman dead in child-bed, *Ena*. A white man told me that a native beside him was once killed by the fall of a tree. In dying he whispered that he had seen the face of a departed friend gazing at him.¹ This element of belief is universal, and has a rather moral tendency.

I do not, myself, believe that the natives have any idea of a creative deity. A French missionary told me that they have, and gave me information which I noted down, but missionaries have greater difficulty than other inquirers in collecting facts of this kind. Before conversion the natives are shy of them, and after conversion are reluctant to speak of their old ideas. This gentleman, at all events, assured me that the Kanakas have a good God, Windone, maker of men and things. He dwells underground. There is also a bad spirit, Done, who lives in the bush. These beliefs, I think, occur only where the influence of missionaries has been felt. In my own inquiries I have only found "devil-fighting," and the worship of the dead Fathers, who, in dreams, warn them of impending dangers, and tell them where to find things lost. Or, as in the case of a servant of mine, they say that they have taken the articles themselves. By "worship" of the dead kinsmen, I here mean feeding them, a regular practice. There is a class of men who feed the dead, partly by eating on their own part, and also by leaving food inside a taboo hut. This is the kind of prayer used. "Here is food for you, dead Father! Look out for and take care of me." One old man,

¹ This, according to Mr. Fison, is a common hallucination of the dying in Fiji.—A. L.

for years, used to visit the tombs of his children, bringing yams, and weeping bitterly.

It never occurred to me, who had only heard of the Bear, Buffalo, and Tortoise totems of the Red Indians, to ask whether the natives here are Totemists. But one day, while two natives, Junoba and Jericha, were sitting with me, one of my servants killed a lizard. As soon as Junoba saw the unlucky creature, his whole manner changed. After upbraiding my servant thus, "Why did you kill it? It is my dead father," he put the creature reverently within some leaves, and hid it away in the bush. After a silence he said, "We were talking of my dead father, and he came." "How is he your dead father?" I said, seriously. "They come to us in our sleep, and tell us to look out for them in that shape," he replied. On the other hand, the totem (if it can be called a totem) of Jericha is a mouse. Some men have pigeons and other animals in this relationship to them, and it is taboo to eat the creature in each case. I was shown a woman whose face was covered with sores, in consequence of breaking this taboo.

[These facts, it will be observed, do not amount to complete evidence of totemism. Mr. Atkinson does not say, for example, that men who have the mouse, or the lizard, or the pigeon, for "father," may not marry women who have the same "father." I can find nothing in Moncelon about Exogamy in New Caledonia. As far as our very scanty information goes, the religion is rather of the Melanesian than of the Australian type. Dr. Codrington found no totems in Melanesia, and, except for the missionary's evidence, we have no hint in New Caledonia of anything like the Australian Baiame, the creative being. M. Moncelon is clearly wrong when he says that the New Caledonians "do not believe in a future life," though they are afraid of ghosts. The evidence of Pindi and of others who visited the Land of the Dead (like Montezuma's aunt, and the founder of the new Sioux religion) is decisive.—A.L.]

GREEK VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

DR. ROUSE¹ has done what in him lies to wipe out an old reproach. It used at one time to be said that in England classical archæology was at the mercy of dabblers and dilettanti. Indeed there are still many college lecturers, and some university professors, who look askance at the subject on the ground that it is commonly taken up by second-rate or even third-rate scholars. Theoretically, and in the abstract, they would doubtless admit that an adequate knowledge of antiquity cannot be gained without studying its external as well as its internal aspect. But they object that, as a matter of fact, those who do devote their attention to the outward remains of ancient life are not sufficiently familiar with Greek and Latin literature—they do not know their authors—and in consequence they often fail to appreciate the true significance of their own discoveries. Now it may be at once conceded that in the past this charge has been not altogether unfounded. One obvious proof of this is that English books on classical archæology, books, that is, of a really scholarly character, are scarce. Our dictionaries, even the latest of them, are meagre in comparison with the great work of Daremberg and Saglio, or the yet greater work of Pauly and Wissowa. And as to sectional and particular subjects, to mention three or four at random, we can quote no English equivalent for Collignon's *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, or Blümner's *Technologie*, or Furtwängler's *Steinschneidekunst*, or Babelon's *Monnaies de la République*. This inferiority, everywhere manifest, is nowhere more conspicuous than in the department of classical religion. To speak frankly, what English work can we put

¹ *Greek Votive Offerings, an Essay in the History of Greek Religion*, by W. H. D. Rouse, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1902. pp. xvi., 464. 15s. net.

on the same shelf with Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*, or Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie*, or other foreign authorities of equal calibre? What handbooks have we like those of Welcker and Preller and Gruppe? What monographs comparable with Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, or Bötticher's *Baumkultus*, or Otto Jahn's *Böser Blick*, or Maximilian Mayer's *Giganten und Titanen*? All this constitutes a very real reproach to English scholarship. But it is a reproach that the present generation of English scholars is doing its best to extinguish. The activity of the British Schools at Athens and at Rome, the increasing recognition accorded to archæology by our universities, the enthusiasm of the Hellenic Society, the publication of a whole series of antiquarian manuals by Messrs. Macmillan, these are a few out of many signs that scholars are at length awaking to the importance of classical archæology and beginning to bestir themselves in earnest. At such a juncture it is not too much to say that the credit of our national scholarship is at stake; and cordial thanks are due to those who in any department of the subject produce sound and scholarly work. That is what Dr. Rouse has done. He is indeed exceptionally well qualified to write on matters archæological. He knows his monuments and museums; he knows also his Teubner texts; and he can thus draw upon both the sources of direct evidence, the monumental and the literary. But more than this, readers of *Folk-Lore* are aware that he has at his command the indirect evidence supplied by a study of survivals and of comparative religion. It was, therefore, only to be expected that his *Greek Votive Offerings*, the result of ten years' labour, would prove to be, what in fact it is, a thorough-going treatise of permanent value.

Dr. Rouse is further to be congratulated on having settled upon an untilled and almost untouched portion of the archæological domain. Apart from a few dictionary articles and a couple of German programs, he had the field to him-

self, and could plan out his property without regard to previous occupants. "In the present essay," he tells us (p vi.), "I have attempted first to set forth the facts in some convenient order, then to deduce principles from them: the only possible plan in dealing with a subject which has never been fully investigated, and where explanations are commonly assumed as axioms without an attempt at proof. I began my work with a few of these ready-made theories, which so impressively enunciated, seemed to be no more open to suspicion than Cæsar's wife; to my surprise, as the evidence displayed itself, I saw them drop away one by one, and since the conclusions I have been led to are very different from what I expected, I may fairly claim that they are due to no prejudice. If those who prefer the old assumptions can give reasons for their faith, I am willing to learn; the true test of my own suggestions will be, whether future discoveries will fall readily into their proper place." Here speaks a lover of truth, and one who is determined to come at it by scientific methods. His words are a sufficient rejoinder to those who complain, and some do, that his book is dull reading and reaches no very startling conclusions. It is undeniably dull to wade through a lengthy enumeration of particulars before we frame our general conception. And, when we have got it, such a conception is likely enough to look commonplace. But that is the fault of science, not of Dr. Rouse or any other honest investigator.

A reviewer may be pardoned if he pursues the opposite course, and notices the results obtained before inspecting more closely the facts from which the author has started and the various lines of argument that he has followed.

Chapter xiv. contains a summary, of which a brief abstract is here given. "It was," says Dr. Rouse (p. 350), "a very simple conception of the deity which suggested the votive offering. He was a being not very different from his worshipper, and likely to be pleased with a gift." The

essence of such a gift is its voluntary character ; indeed, Dr. Rouse defines a votive offering as " whatever is given of freewill to a being conceived as superhuman " (p. 1). The gift may be customary *e.g.* the first fruits, or of fixed proportion, *e.g.* the tithe ; but it must not be compulsory, or it becomes a tax. The motive of the giver is commonly gratitude, sometimes propitiation or prayer, very rarely fear. Dr. Rouse cites one case only of this last, a relief representing the Dioscuri, which bears the inscription (Röhl *inscrr. Gr. antiq.* 62 a)—

Πλειστιάδας μ'ἀνέθηκε Διοσκούροισιν ἄγαλμα,
Τυνδαριδᾶν (*sic*) διδύμων μᾶνιν ὀπιδδόμενος.

" Pleistiadas dedicated me as an offering to the Dioscuri, because he feared the wrath of the twin sons of Tyndarus." From the fourth century B.C. onwards we can trace the growing influence of two other elements, which tend to rob the gift of its moral worth. One of these is compulsion on the part of the god ; the other is a desire for self-advertisement on the part of the worshipper. Having thus determined the nature of a votive offering, and having further insisted that no limits can be set to the occasions on which such offerings may be made or to the things that may be so offered, Dr. Rouse proceeds to classify the objects that in point of fact are known to have been offered. This classification embraces " two main divisions : I. *Material* : things which are given for their own value ; and II. *Ideal* : things which are given for what they imply." But we are warned that any object of the first division may on occasion be found in the second, and that the same object may be dedicated under both heads.

I. The dedication of material things implies a somewhat crude conception of the deity ; for they are regarded as so much payment for favours thereby secured. They include (1) such things as a god would need if he were a man. " He must, for example, have his house and grounds, with the

proper furniture for all uses, and beautiful things for his delight (*ἀγάλματα*)." This covers the temple-buildings, the precinct, votive altars, garments, etc. (2) For the maintenance and glorification of the shrine firstfruits and tithes of all sorts are required. These may be given in kind by hunters, breeders and farmers. Or they may be mineral offerings, whether ingots or manufactured articles or coins. Finally (3) "anything specially rare or precious would be an acceptable gift to a deity of like passions with the giver." Objects of this sort come under the title *ἀκροθίνα*.

II. The second and larger division stands mentally and morally on a higher level. It "may be called ideal, as meaning more than appears on the surface; and memorial, as intended to keep the god's beneficence before the mind of the man, and no less the man's piety or gratitude before the mind of the god." Thus, on the one hand, Asclepius bids an unbeliever dedicate a silver sow in memory of her stupidity (*Epidaurian Cures* 59, 39); and, on the other, Aceson in offering a relief to Asclepius says:—"You know why; if not, this tablet will remind you" (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 147). The objects presented to the god from this more advanced stand-point, where it is the thought rather than the thing that matters, are sub-divided by Dr. Rouse as follows: (1) *The image of the patron deity*, usually a simple copy of the cult-statue, e.g. the figures of Artemis with the fawn found in Corcyra (*Bull. de corr. hell.* xv. 1 ff.); rarely a copy of the statue modified by some attribute appropriate to the occasion, e.g. the colossus holding a ship's beak that was erected at Delphi after Salamis (Hdt. 8. 121). (2) *The deity in his power*, the latter being represented by some conventional attribute, e.g. Heracles with club and lionskin (Sybel, *Kat. d. Skulpt. zu Athen* 320, a relief from Ithome); or by some traditional attitude, e.g. Apollo seated on the oracular tripod (Sybel *ib.* 1389, a relief from the Athenian Pythium). (3) *The*

human act blessed by the god. In early times the artist selected some heroic precedent, which resembled as closely as might be the later human achievement. The people of Heraclea Pontica, having beaten the barbaric Mariandyni, sent to Olympia a group representing the labours of Heracles (Paus. 5. 26. 7). Next the human element begins to intrude—witness the group sent by Athens to Delphi after the Persian wars: in it along with protecting deities and eponymous heroes stood the actual commander Miltiades (Paus. 10. 10. 1). Similarly a human precedent may be added side by side with the divine prototype. "Attalus I. commemorated his Gallic victories by several groups on the Acropolis of Athens: battles of the gods and giants, of the Athenians with the Amazons, and the battle of Marathon, then held of equal importance with the great deeds of legend (Paus. 1. 25. 2, Plut. *v. Anton.* 60)." Attalus went further in the same direction, when he added a group representing his own victory over the Gauls (Paus. 1. 25. 2). Lastly, the human and contemporary battle alone is portrayed, *e.g.* a cavalry skirmish on a relief at Eleusis (*C.I.A.* iv. 1. 422, 17 p. 184). Again, the human act is often indicated by human figures so posed as to suggest it, *e.g.* the leaper holding his weights (Paus. 5. 27. 2), the dairyman milking his cow (*Museo Italico* ii. 730, a cast bronze from Crete), women in a ritual ring-dance (*Bronzen von Olympia* 263), models of sacrificial pigs (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* vii. 24, from Tarentum). The ritual acts most commonly depicted are the sacrifice or libation, the prayer, the dance, and the feast. A few monuments show the *ἱερός γάμος* or "divine marriage," *e.g.* a terra-cotta group from Samos of Zeus and Hera seated together as bridegroom and bride (Farnell, *Cults.* i. pl. v. *b*). The act blessed by the god is sometimes exhibited still more compendiously by a kind of ideograph. "So an ass sums up the story of a night-surprise forestalled by his bray (Paus. 10. 18. 4). . . . a cicala recalls

how a musician broke his string and yet won the prize (Clem. Alex. *protrept.* i. i. 1, *alib.*)” A similar system of short-hand indicates what the god has done for the patient by means of anatomical models, which then as now were regularly hung in the shrines of healing powers (p. 210 ff.). (4) *The prize won by the action blessed.* Spoils of war were offered to the god; or, in place of objects actually captured, votive models of them—*e.g.* the bronze group of horses and captive women sent to Olympia by the Tarentines after a victory over the Messapians (Paus. 10. 10. 3). Under the same category come prizes won in the games and musical contests: sometimes the real prize was presented, *e.g.* the tripod dedicated at Dodona by a rhapsode Terpsicles (Carapanos *Dodone* p. 40); sometimes a facsimile of it, *e.g.* a model tripod in stone dedicated at Tremithus by Timalcus (Collitz *D. I.* i. 122). So with the crowns of honour awarded to states or individuals: they were regularly dedicated by the recipient (p. 266 ff.). Craftsmen, too, offered choice samples of their work, *e.g.* the amphoras made by two potters of Erythrae, master and pupil, who tried to beat each other in turning out thin ware (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 46). An author might dedicate his book (Diog. Laert. 9. 6) or his poem (*Bull. de corr. hell.* xix. 562, *alib.*). Here again models were permitted: the hunter gave a bronze hare (Röhl, *I. G. A.* 385); the corn-growing town, a golden sheaf (Strab. 264, Plut. *de Pyth. or.* 16); the engineer, a picture of his bridge (Hdt. 488); Hippocrates, the model of a corpse (Paus. 10. 2. 6)! (5) *The implement or means by which success had been attained.* Aristomenes, who single-handed put to flight a whole Spartan regiment, dedicated his shield to Tropho-nius at Lebadea (Paus. 4. 16. 7); and at Olympia can still be seen the huge stone which Bybon “with one hand threw over his head” (Röhl, *I. G. A.* 370). Models served the same purpose, *e.g.* a golden anvil at Delos (*Bull. de corr. hell.* vi. 47, 168). Slightly different is the case of

objects dedicated because their work was over, *e.g.* the staves piled by Xenophon's host at the place where they had first sighted the sea (*Xen. anab.* 4. 7. 26), or the bandage of Pandarus hung up in the precinct of the god who had healed his sores (*Epidaurian Cures* 3339, 53). Different again are dedications of the clothes, etc., that have been worn at a critical time, *e.g.*, the breast-band offered by a girl to Aphrodite (*Theocr.* 27. 54), or that have been used at some religious rite, *e.g.*, the robes of the mystics at Eleusis (*Eudoc.* 656).

Dr. Rouse concludes his classification with two miscellaneous points. (1) *The offering of hair.* His view is that it "originally (to judge from analogy) implied that the worshipper placed himself in the power of the god; but" that "in the classical age it was traditional and its meaning had been long forgotten." It was the firstfruit of the worshipper, and as such offered to a river, or, at a later date, to the great divinities (p. 241), especially to Hera and Zeus (p. 370). Perhaps the most interesting example of it is the series of inscriptions found by the French excavators at Panamara (= Stratonicea) in Caria (*Bull. de corr. hell.* xi. 390, xii. 82, 249, 479, xiv. 369 ff.). Dr. Rouse describes it as follows—"The devotees enclose their hair in a small stone coffer, made in form of a stele, which is set up in the precinct. A slab covers the hole, and an inscription is placed upon it. The poorer sort are content to make a hole in the wall, or even hang up their hair with the name only attached. Even slaves are among the dedicators. It is peculiar that no women's names are found at all, though the inscriptions number more than a hundred; and that the deity honoured is Zeus, never Hera" (p. 243). Elsewhere the usual model is found: a votive relief from Thessaly shows two long plaits of hair dedicated by Philombrotos to Poseidon (*Dar.-Sagl. s.v.* "donarium" p. 376, fig. 2543).

(2) *Allegorical offerings.* This heading comprises not only statues of personified powers such as Victory, Good Luck,

Vengeance, &c., and relief-figures of Initiation, Dithyramb, Good Order, but also more recondite compositions, such as the group dedicated by the Athenians at Delphi after the battle on the Eurymedon: "a palm tree of bronze, with fruit upon it, a gilt Athena and a couple of owls being apparently perched on the branches (Paus. 10. 15. 4, Plut. *v. Nic.* 13). This," says Dr. Rouse, modestly enough in comparison with other interpreters (see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1. 144 n.), "must surely imply that Athena and her favourite city were now possessors of the east and its riches" (p. 145). In the same allegorical vein Alcibiades dedicated on the Acropolis a picture of Nemea seated with him upon her knees (Athen. 534E, cp. Paus. 1. 22. 6).

The distinction that forms the basis of the foregoing classification, viz., between material and ideal offerings, is due, as the author acknowledges, to Reisch (*Griechische Weihgeschenke*, Wien, 1890, p. 5). But the elaboration and illustration of it throughout is Dr. Rouse's own, and is a very praiseworthy piece of work. It provides us for the first time with compartments into which fresh facts can be conveniently sorted. Whether the species or even the genera recognised by Dr. Rouse can be regarded as finally settled is, of course, a different matter. The subject is one that affords endless opportunities for divergence of opinion, and that on broad questions of principle as well as on points of detail.

To speak of the principles first. Dr. Rouse sets aside as useless the distinction often drawn between public and private offerings, rightly remarking that the same feelings prompt both, and that both are meant to produce the same effects; hence the supposed difference is, after all, only one of degree, not of kind.

The system of classification adopted and applied in detail by Dr. Rouse himself, is throughout based on logical differences; differences, that is to say, existing in the mind of the dedicator rather than in the nature of the object

dedicated or in the time and place of its dedication. For this we are hardly prepared by the earlier chapters of the book, which deal successively with such topics as "War," "Games and Contests," "Disease and Calamity," "Domestic Life," "Memorials of Honour and Office," etc. In other words, Dr. Rouse first enumerates his materials under headings determined by differences of occasion, and then unexpectedly resumes them in a classification whose differentia are of quite another order. Nor is this all, for he adds by way of appendix alphabetical lists of votive offerings known from inscriptions found at various cult-centres—Athens, Eleusis, Delos, Thebes, Plataea, Samos, Branchidæ, Aegina—and in his General Index groups all dedications of the same object under one catch-word. Dr. Rouse thus presents us with classifications based on four distinct principles, viz., those of occasion, purport, provenience, and description. This to the casual reader is a little confusing, and certainly involves some tautology. But for all that it is difficult to see what else the author could have done in pioneer work of the kind. The most obvious method of classification is presumably that of place. Recent German writers on Greek religion have followed this method with conspicuous success. For example, Gruppe's admirable *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* and the excellent articles on the various divinities contained in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyclopädie* begin by making a local survey of the cults concerned, and are thus enabled to discover and turn to account the kindred and affinity of any particular worship. But this method, though most useful as a preliminary, does not of itself furnish generalisations and is consequently incomplete. If, discarding it for that reason, we prefer a classification based on differences of occasion, we can indeed generalise readily enough; but our generalisations will be such as appeal to the student of culture rather than to the student of cult, as may be seen from Schömann's *Griechische Alterthümer* or

Blümner's *Leben u. Sitten d. Griechen*. Again, classification according to description, e.g. the grouping together of all votive pigs or palm trees, or what-not. is of value to the artist, but only incidentally to the archæologist: Thiersch's book on "*Tyrrhenische Amphoren*", for instance, which collects examples of cocks and lions and palmettes from a certain class of black-figured pottery, is strictly speaking an essay in ancient art. What the historian of religion really wants to know is the inner working of men's minds, the original intention of this or that ritual practice, and its gradual growth or decay. Thus Dr. Rouse would "trace, if possible, the motives of the dedicator, and the meaning which the act had for him" (p. 1). But if, in attacking a new subject, we attempt to do this straight away, we at once fall into all manner of assumptions and preconceived notions, which merely frustrate our purpose. In the circumstances the only course open is to collect our materials according to some system of grouping intelligible and, if it may be, useful in itself; then, when we have formed our collection and considered it in detail, we can frame our generalisations on a sound basis. But this is precisely what Dr. Rouse has done. His readers, therefore, casual or otherwise, have no right to grumble.

At least, they have no right to grumble on that score. But I think that they have on another. Dr. Rouse makes little or no use of certain great principles, which, being of world-wide validity, go far to explain the whole series of Greek votive offerings.

One of these principles is that men can literally "magnify" their god. They can make a larger and more imposing statue of him, thereby bringing him more honour and at the same time increasing his power to bless. It is significant that the Greek *αὐξω*, "I increase" or "enlarge," like the Latin *augeo*, was often used as a synonym of "I honour." The precinct at Delos is still strewn with fragments of the gigantic statue of Apollo, which the Naxians set up. Zeus

at Olympia and Athena on the Acropolis were not merely huge but sublime: Pheidias their creator could fairly claim "to have added something even to the received religion; to such an extent did the majesty of his work rival the god-head" (Quint. 12. 10. 9.) The enormous Helios that Chares cast in sections for the Rhodians towered up 105 feet in height, and doubtless expressed the pride that the sun-worshippers felt in their pre-eminent deity: Lucian the wit makes Helios claim a front seat in heaven because of his bulk and cost (Luc. *Iup. trag.* 11). Other examples of Greek colossi could be quoted. But good taste imposed certain limits; and for the most part Greek artists, especially during the fine period of Greek art, eschewed extravagance in size. All the more they turned their attention to other methods of glorification. To beautify an existing statue was also a meritorious act, inasmuch as it brought fresh lustre to the deity: thus the Athenians fitted the old wooden figure of Dione at Dodona with a new and beautiful face (Hypereid. *pro Eux.*, col. xxxv., 24 ff.). But the rank and file of Greek worshippers could neither magnify nor beautify the god. They were, therefore, content to multiply him: and this was in all probability the motive underlying not merely the row of bronze *Zanes* or statues of Zeus, which stood in the Altis at Olympia (Paus. 5. 21. 2) and the score of Apollos sent to Delphi by the Liparaeans (Paus. 10. 16. 7), but also the innumerable terra-cotta figurines of different divinities that have been found in Greek precincts. For to present a god with his own likeness was *ipso facto* to increase his prestige and power. This conception would serve to explain the first two groups of "ideal" offerings recognised by Dr. Rouse, viz. "the image of the patron deity" and "the deity in his power." At least it deserves a mention; for apart from it the point and purpose of these offerings remains obscure or vague.

A second principle of yet wider application may be expressed thus. Unsophisticated man acts towards his god

as he would act towards a powerful chief. To please him, he offers a gift. And here come in the "material" things that constitute the first main division of Dr. Rouse's list. The gift may be small or it may be big. In either case we call it a votive offering. But there is one kind of gift which, from a modern point of view, merits special consideration, viz. that of a human being. For the sake of distinction it should be called *devotive* as opposed to *votive*. Obviously we have here to deal with two sub-divisions: (*a*) the devotion of others, and (*b*) the devotion of oneself. Dr. Rouse does not use this nomenclature and is nowhere very clear as to the inter-relation of the facts. In his chapter on "Later Uses of the Votive Formula" he does indeed realise that the dedication of captives to the gods, whether for service or sacrifice (p. 335, cp. p. 102 f.), the emancipation of slaves by sale to a god (p. 335 f.), and the usage of ritual imprecation (p. 337 f.), are so many developments of the votive offering: *i.e.* he recognises sub-division (*a*). But apparently he is not very sure as to its connexion with his main subject; for he oddly says that "an investigation of this topic does not lie within our scope" (p. 335).

More serious is his failure to recognise sub-division (*b*); inasmuch as that forms, or should form, the very climax of all votive offerings. What greater thing can man give to God than himself? The Greeks had no Juggernaut; but examples of self-immolation and ritual suicide are not wanting, at any rate in their mythology. Even in everyday life the existence of temple-slaves, *ἱερόδουλοι*, etc., was a visible proof that the god, like the chief, had a body of retainers; while the right of sanctuary shows that a man might voluntarily enter his service and so secure his protection. But to do this would of course be to cut himself off from ordinary civic life. Hence those who desired to honour their god by swelling the number of his retinue, and yet to escape the inconveniences attaching to a personal

devotion, dedicated a carving or painting of themselves and felt that they had combined piety with practical sense. This substitute for themselves would be set up in the god's *temenos* and would win for the donor all the rewards of a devotee. Such, if I am right, is the root idea of that large class of votive offerings, which Dr. Rouse describes as "the human act blessed by the god." The dairyman, for instance, virtually says "At your service!" by dedicating the bronze figure of a man milking a cow in the precinct of his divine patron, whilst he himself continues to sell his milk to human customers outside.

On this showing we might naturally expect to find numerous portraits among our dedications. But Dr. Rouse will have none of them. "Portraits," he exclaims rather dogmatically, "are out of the question, so is all idea of substitution by similitude" (p. 284). "It is true," he adds later (p. 371 f.), "that many of the examples which I have recorded have been taken by others to be portraits, but I have found no reason to believe that the portrait as such was ever dedicated by a Greek until the votive dedication had lost its meaning." Dr. Rouse properly excludes such a statue as that of Miltiades in the Marathonian monument: "It makes all the difference in the world that Miltiades was part of an ideal group" (p. 372). Similarly he would, I suppose, exclude the athlete-statues at Olympia, for, though Pliny expressly states that, if a man had been thrice successful in the games, his statue was a portrait (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 16), yet it might be maintained that the *τρισολυμπιονίκης* was the ideal athlete. Again, statues and pictures of priests might be ruled out of court on the ground that they "were doubtless properly characterised and . . . represented the priest's function" (p. 264), or on various other conceivable grounds. Nevertheless, that ordinary worshippers dedicated their own portraits is a supposition for which the antecedent probabilities are so strong that I cannot accept Dr. Rouse's

assertion that no such portrait exists, without asking, Why? "I take it," says Dr. Rouse, "that to dedicate a portrait as such would have seemed the height of arrogance to a Greek, as the story of Pheidias and the shield of Athena implies, and as Demosthenes implies (Dem. *Aristocr.* 686) in an age when the thing was common. . . . It was no Greek, but the Egyptian Amasis, who sent two portraits of himself to the Argive Heraeum, and one to Cyrene (Hdt. 2. 182); it was the Asiatic Chares of Teichusa who placed his own statue at Miletus (*I.G.A.* 488). These were the kind of men who would think their own image an ornament to any shrine: a peck of pride to a speck of piety" (p. 372). But why should it have been deemed the height of arrogance for a grandee to avow himself the servitor of a god? Surely the greater the grandee, the greater the honour done to the god. Had the Greeks thought otherwise, the temple officials would simply have refused to admit the portraits of Amasis and Chares. The story of Pheidias and the shield of Athena is not in point: the charge brought against the artist was not that he had dedicated a portrait of himself to the goddess, but that he had presumed to introduce his likeness into the Amazonomachia on her shield—a very different matter. The passage of Demosthenes also misses the mark: it merely proves that the custom of honouring particular generals with a bronze statue was increasing with the individualism of the age. Dr. Rouse himself cites portrait-statues of Alcibiades, Lysander and his captains, etc., dedicated in the Heraeum (Paus. 6. 18. 2, 6. 3. 15). These he explains away as due to "colossal vanity" or as "the earliest examples of honorific statues." But he admits that "under the Solonian constitution the nine archons swore [in case of perjury or negligence] to dedicate a golden statue, which from the words used (Aristot. *Const. Ath.* 7) appears to have been meant for a portrait" (p. 315), that in the fourth century

B.C. dedications of portraits sporadically occur (*e.g.* statues of Epaminondas, p. 269, of Lysimachus, p. 229 n. 10), and that "by the end of the fourth century we have honorific statues dedicated with all formality for trivial reasons" (p. 373). Personally, I incline to think that the virtual absence of portrait-dedications during the sixth century, their comparative rarity during the fifth, and their increasing frequency during the fourth, point the way to a very simple explanation. The art of portraiture demands a certain mastery over material difficulties that the early Greek sculptors and painters had not attained. Portraiture, as the handbooks tell us (*e.g.* Prof. E. Gardner, *Gk. Sculpt.* p. 450), only "came in" about the fourth century. At an earlier date realistic portraits were impossible, and at all times an ordinary worshipper would not have been able to afford the luxury of seeing his own features accurately reproduced. It was far more easy and economical to procure a male or female figure with some distinguishing attribute, or a simple group, which would make the character of the dedicator sufficiently clear to the divine intelligence. This conjecture enables us to reconcile the *à priori* probability of self-devotion with the authoritative assertion of Dr. Rouse that portraits were rarely dedicated before the Hellenistic age.

And here a suspicion crosses our mind that the distinction constantly maintained in this book between votive and honorific memorials is misleading. Dr. Rouse is sometimes at a loss to decide whether particular offerings belong to the one class or the other. Thus he says (p. 167): "When we come to the statues of athletes, we are met by a very puzzling question. The athlete, we are told, was allowed to dedicate a statue of himself for each victory; the girl runners at the Heraea, pictures of themselves painted (Paus. 5. 16. 3). The question is, whether these were really votive offerings, or nothing but an honour done to the winner." Dr. Rouse concludes "that some athlete

statues were votive and others were not" (p. 168). But is not the solution of this and kindred problems to be found in the fact that honorific statues are only an outcome or development of votive offerings? In all personal dedications there is an element of honour to the dedicator as well as of honour to the deity. This element increases *pari passu* with the importance of the gift. Any one might offer a small terra-cotta group, but a life-size portrait was quite another thing—probably a privilege reserved for the great and good. As temple-precincts became crowded, permission to dedicate portrait-statues would be more and more restricted; a vote of the people would become necessary, and so stress would be laid upon the honorific aspect of the dedication. Greater honour still would be conferred upon public benefactors, of whom portrait-statues were erected at the public cost. Finally, the honour done to the man altogether eclipses the original notion of an offering to the god, and these statues are put up in any place of public resort. In short, we trace the following evolution:—

- (a) A man dedicates his own portrait in the sacred precinct at his own expense.
- (b) A man is allowed by vote of the people to dedicate his own portrait in the sacred precinct at his own expense.
- (c) The people dedicate a man's portrait in the sacred precinct at their expense.
- (d) The people erect a man's portrait in some public place at their expense.

But how are we to distinguish the different stages of this sequence as "votive" and "honorific"? All are votive except, perhaps, the last. All are honorific except, perhaps, the first. Any line that can be drawn will be somewhat arbitrary. Even Pausanias, who (Paus. 5. 21. 1) distinguishes stage (a) from stage (b), uses of the latter the

verb (*ἀνατιθέναι*) appropriate to the former (p. 167). Perhaps we should be least open to criticism if we made the distinction depend on the question of locality, regarding as "votive" all statues erected in the sacred precinct,¹ as "honorific" those put up elsewhere. But it might be wiser to drop the distinction altogether.

Of two other principles Dr. Rouse avails himself on occasion, though he does not explicitly formulate them or give them the prominence that they deserve. One is the great canon laid down by Servius in his commentary on *Aen.* 2. 116 (cp. *ib.* 4. 512): "in sacris simulata pro veris accipi." It may for brevity's sake be called the principle of *similarity*. No form of votive offering is commoner than the dedication of a model in place of the real thing. Dr. Rouse recognises models of diseased members (p. 210 ff.), of the sacrifice whether animal (pp. 18, 296 ff.) or vegetable (p. 296), of the tithe or firstfruit (p. 66 ff.), of shrines and parts of shrines (p. 70), of tripods (pp. 145 f., 160), shields (p. 115), &c. But he ought also to have grasped the fact that the dedication of statues and statuettes involves precisely the same principle. As we have seen, to multiply figures of the god is to multiply the god himself; and to erect a votive portrait is to add to the god's retainers.

The other principle to which I allude would be described by a grammarian as *synecdoche*. It is that principle by which we allow a part to stand for the whole. Dr. Rouse is rather chary of admitting its influence. He describes it as an "idea which is found late" (p. 211 n. 1) and instances a passage of Aristeides (48. 27. 472) who tells us that the god bade him cut off a portion of his body for the salvation of the whole. "This being hard to perform he waived the matter and ordered me to draw off the ring that I was wearing and dedicate it to the god of Fulfilment. That,

¹ So Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, p. 36, "Was im heiligen Bezirke aufgestellt ist, wird dadurch von selbst als Anath m gekennzeichnet," &c.

said he, would do as well as if I were to sacrifice my finger itself." But a principle of this sort is the growth of ages, and the fact that express mention of it is late should not prevent us from using it to explain early customs. Dr. Rouse himself regards the offering of hair as the offering of a substitute for the whole person (p. 370). It is possible, therefore, that this principle enters largely into those species of dedication, which we have so far spoken of as "The prize won by the action blessed" and "the implement or means by which success had been attained." Thus the victorious *choregos*, when he dedicated his prize-tripod to Dionysus, not improbably regarded himself as thereby devoted to the service of the god; and the initiates, who hung up their garments at Eleusis, may have felt thenceforward that they were inmates of Demeter's *sekos*.

I am disposed to think that these principles, that of *similarity* and that of *synecdoche*, if so we may designate them, are only two manifestations of one and the same underlying idea, viz., the primitive conception or misconception of personality. It is difficult even for the modern psychologist to draw a clear line of demarcation between the *I* and the *not-I*. Lotze in his *Microcosmus* i. 136 confesses as much: "We can as yet hardly say what are even the local boundaries that divide the organism from its environment. When does the air in our lungs begin to belong to us, and when does it cease to be a constituent of the body?" If the German philosopher is thus at a loss, what can we expect of primitive man? He regards as part of himself not only his breath, but his clothes, his weapons, his chattels, his possessions of all sorts, even his name and his likeness. Whatever touches any of these touches him. Hence the wax model of his body, the imprint of his limbs on a bed, the reflection of his face in the water, his height measured off on a string, are so many equivalents for himself, *similia pro veris*. All these were, or are, used as such in Greek superstitious practices. And here we have the

ultimate explanation of many, if not all, votive models. Again, the personality of the early Greek included not merely his finger, but the ring upon it; not merely his head, but the wreath that he wore; not merely his limbs, but the shield that protected them. And the dedication of these things may often have been tantamount to a dedication of himself.

To pursue this far-reaching principle would be beside my purpose. But I cannot refrain from pointing out the light that it throws on the subject of magic, a subject which at more than one place overlaps that of Dr. Rouse's book. Dr. Frazer, in the second edition of his *Golden Bough*, i. 9f., draws a distinction between two kinds of magic, which he calls *mimetic* and *sympathetic* respectively. The first thinks to influence the course of nature by imitating the thing desired; the second, by operating either on some portion of the person to be affected, or at least on something that has been in contact with him. Both kinds of magic were well known to the Greeks. In the *Pharmaceutria* of Theocritus the deserted girl Simaetha recalls her lover Delphis by magical means. Among other charms she kindles a bundle of laurel boughs and speaks of them as "the bones of Delphis," whom she is fain to fire with love. She casts upon the blazing pile a shred from his cloak: this too will serve to inflame the truant's heart. Here we have both mimetic and sympathetic magic exemplified. And my point is that both depend upon the same conception of an extended personality. Semblance and clothing are alike taken to be substantial parts of the man himself. Dr. Frazer (*ib.* i. 62) explains these beliefs as due to association of ideas by similarity on the one hand, by contact on the other. That may well be the psychology of the matter: but the practical aspect of it is, I think, best expressed by the statement that early man gave a much wider meaning to the notion of "self" than we do nowadays in a more analytical age.

Before ending his book Dr. Rouse criticises two theories once much in vogue and still accepted as sound by many writers on the subject. In pp. 373-391 he investigates symbolism, or rather the application of it to votive offerings: and on p. 393 he utters a final protest against belief in any early specialisation of functions on the part of hero or god. Both points are worthy of attention; for they belong to "the old assumptions" that the author, "as the evidence displayed itself, saw drop away one by one" (p. vi.).

The symbolists assume "that the attributes of a deity were regarded in some sort as representing him, and that they were dedicated to him for that reason; that Artemis, say, was specially pleased by the offering of a deer, Athena by an owl, Zeus by an axe" (p. 373 f.). Dr. Rouse in sifting this theory distinguishes between (*a*) animate and (*b*) inanimate attributes. (*a*) He sums up the case for the former as follows (p. 382 f.): "There is no series of attendant animals dedicated to a deity on which an argument can be based. A few sporadic examples of these animals are found; but such animals dedicated to one deity generally are dedicated to one or more others. Those which can be shown to imply the idea that a deity preferred his attendant animal as a votive offering are all too late to be brought in evidence; those of which this cannot be shown are better explained on other and simpler principles. The doubtful ones cannot be proved to have been dedicated independently, and most of them are clearly parts of something else. Some few, apparently old and genuine, remain unexplained, such as the crows and the owl of Athens, which stand on independent bases (Ridder, *Cat. des Bronzes* 541-543, 434). I will grant these to the symbolists; to build up a reversed Chinese pagoda, on a point supported by three crows and one obscure bird of night." Dr. Rouse really grants rather more than this, viz. that occasionally before and more frequently after "the great dividing line of the fourth century" (p. 375) we do find the dedication of

attendant animals (pp. 374 f., 380 ff.). He denies, however, if I have understood him aright, that any animal thus dedicated was symbolic, *i.e.* "an equivalent for the deity himself" (p. 380), and explains them as models of prey or gain, toys, &c. Dr. Rouse's collection of facts, here as elsewhere, is most valuable. But it may be questioned whether the inference that he has drawn from them is the whole truth. There is a vast amount of evidence for the prevalence of animal-worship in early Greece, and hardly a Greek divinity who was not fabled to have adopted one or more animal disguises, see *e.g.* M. W. de Visser *de Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam*, 1900, pp. 129-165. The attendant animal, whose nature, as Dr. Rouse says (p. 40), was often determined by the local fauna, is merely the favourite animal disguise or animal shape of the god. Pious folk anxious to increase his prestige might well dedicate votive figures of it. For example, the Athenian Acropolis, where stood Athena's temple, was once, and indeed still is, frequented by owls; hence the owl came to be looked upon as the "attendant" of the goddess, who, as the epithet *γλαυκῶπις* goes far to prove, was at some early date thought to appear as an owl herself. Now the lists of Athena's treasure mention no less than ten owls (*C. I. A.* ii. 678 B 76, 706 B 3), besides "a little silver owl on a small column" (*ib.* 735, 33). What are these but likenesses of the divine animal—a virtual multiplication of the goddess? Dr. Rouse objects (p. 380) that "we should expect not a few, but whole series of such dedications." I do not think so. Anthropomorphism had long since set in, and Athena, even in Homeric days, was normally conceived as a goddess, not a bird. Consequently those of her worshippers who desired to do her honour would seldom repeat the old animal shape. That such repetitions become more common in and after the fourth century is probably due to that universal phenomenon, the recrudescence of primitive ideas

in an age of decadence, the second childhood of religion. (b) Inanimate attributes, according to Dr. Rouse, are with but few exceptions (thyrsus, aegis, thunderbolt) "things of every day: club, bow, and spear, or battleaxe, helmet and shield; travelling boots, hats conical or flat; fawnskin or lionskin; sheaves of corn, a bunch of grapes; torches, hunting spear or harpoon. They are, in fact, simply the properties of a character costume" (p. 376). They "do not distinguish one deity from another" (p. 377), and merely mark the fact that the god bearing them is at the moment discharging a certain definite rôle. The same rôle may be taken by a second or third god; and the first god may take a different rôle. Dedications of these objects are not, therefore, symbolic. Rather, we should recognise in them spoils of war, firstfruits, thank-offerings for healing, &c. Again one feels that Dr. Rouse has somewhat overshot the mark. After all, the trident does commonly distinguish Poseidon, the caduceus Hermes, &c., though these articles are sometimes borne by others. Nevertheless Dr. Rouse has shown that there is during the Hellenic period no clear case of the dedication of such an object in a symbolic sense. But this is hardly to be wondered at. For inanimate attributes, being in the nature of arms, tools, clothes, and the like, are not quite on the same footing with the animal form of the god. If in any case the inanimate object was thought to be the outward embodiment of the god, there we might expect to find the symbolic dedication of it. Now there are at least two such objects, the aegis or palladium and the thunderbolt. And it is precisely here that our evidence of symbolic dedication is strongest. Dr. Rouse apparently admits it in and after the fourth century B.C., citing (p. 384) the gold aegis dedicated above the theatre in Athens by Antiochus (Paus. 5. 12. 4) and (p. 379) the gilded thunderbolt of forty cubits in length that was carried in the procession of Ptolemy (Athen. 202 c). "To the thunderbolt," he says (p. 376), "were

paid divine honours in Seleucia, and in the Hellenistic age (App. bell. Syr. 58); it may be in Arcadia (Collitz i. 1197) and Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 9) at an earlier date." In the Hellenic period we should least expect to find the symbolic dedication of an attribute; because, as I have already observed, anthropomorphic conceptions of the god were then paramount. But in pre-Hellenic times we might reasonably look for the dedication of such inanimate attributes as were thought to embody a deity. And we find them. Sieveking in Roscher's *Lexikon d. Mythologie* iii. 1327, 51 ff. contends with much probability that "auch der mykenische Schild allein als Kult-symbol verehrt wurde," and the brilliant discoveries of Mr. Arthur Evans in Crete have proved that the double-axe was often dedicated as sign and symbol of the sky-god Zeus. Dr. Rouse is still incredulous¹ (see his article in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xxi. 268 ff.) and prefers to explain the miniature shields found at Olympia (*Bronzen von Olympia* nos. 1002-1005) and in Crete (*Annual of Brit. Sch. Ath.* vi. 109), and the miniature double-axes of the Dictæan Cave (*ib.* vi. 108) and of Olympia (*Bronzen von Olympia* pl. xxvi. 520, 525, 527), as units of currency. This no doubt is conceivable, and Dr. Rouse has no difficulty in adducing parallel customs. But the connexion of the Mycenaean shield with Athena is far too intimate to be thus disregarded; and to say that "the axe has no special connexion with Zeus" (p. 386 f.) is not only to misinterpret much evidence from every side of the Aegean, but to ignore Mr. Chadwick's proof that the hammer or axe is the weapon of the thunder-god throughout most of the Indo-

¹ Perhaps the persuasive words of M. Salomon Reinach will carry conviction: "Qui pourra refuser de voir des symboles dans les belles haches de jadéite, de chloromélanite, de fibrolithe? On a découvert à Troie, mais non encore publié, une merveilleuse hache double en lapis-lazuli, qui n'a jamais pu servir qu'à titre d'objet de culte" (*L'Anthropologie*, 1902, p. 24). The magnificent double-axe, or rather axe-hammer, to which M. Reinach refers, has since been published in Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, i., 375, fig. 326.

Germanic-speaking peoples of Europe (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1900, p. 22 ff.).

Much more convincing is Dr. Rouse's final paragraph. "In taking a last look backwards it is impossible not to feel with a new force how little there is in early times of the specialization of functions. The local deity or hero was looked to for help in all emergencies, and all sorts of offerings might be paid to him" (p. 393). The British public has indeed been told so often that the Greek gods were nothing but abstractions of human qualities—Athena abstract wisdom, Ares abstract courage, Aphrodite abstract love—that they have got to regard it as an axiom. Even the Germans have helped to perpetuate this notion. Zeller in his *History of Greek Philosophy* i. 54 says: "Not only is the outer form of the gods idealised as the image of the purest beauty, but their essential nature, especially in the case of the Hellenic gods proper, is formed by ideals of human activities." Nothing could be more misleading than this; and it is the logical outcome of the "specialization" theory, against which Dr. Rouse raises his voice.

I have left but little space for comment on the series of interesting chapters, in which Dr. Rouse collects and arranges his materials. They are full of happy thoughts and shrewd observations hidden away in the mass of accumulated facts. I must content myself with noting a point here and there.

The heroised pair on early Greek funeral reliefs is "distinguished by being larger in size than the human adorers": Dr. Rouse quotes an apt illustration in a marionette show that he saw in India "representing the siege of Delhi; in which the English general was twice the size of his men, and the Great Mogul within towered high over the walls of his citadel" (p. 5, n. 4). He might also have added a reference to *Iliad* 18. 519 ἀμφὶς ἀριζήλω, λαοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὀλίζονες ἦσαν.

On p. 12 f. Dr. Rouse suggests that the "deserted

chapels" or "outside chapels" of modern Greece "may often stand on the site of a hero-shrine, or some farmer's chapel sacred to Pan or Demeter." This is highly probable, and we are grateful for the list of "modern representations of ancient shrines" given on p. 37 f. There is indeed scope for much further investigation in the same direction, viz. the tracing of classical cults through Byzantine and mediæval into modern times. The efforts that have been already made by Prof. W. M. Ramsay, Prof. J. Rendel Harris, and a few others have proved very successful.

Dr. Rouse justly lays stress on the antiquity and importance of hero-worship. But, when he concludes that "we have here a system of worship which was older than the great gods" (p. 11) and suggests that the cult *e.g.* of Zeus was post-Pelasgian (p. 12), that the chthonian deities "really are deified ancestors" (p. 13), that "Hades or Pluto has more of the heroic than the divine about him" (p. 28), &c., &c., it is high time to dissent. The Zeus of Dodona, whose cult shows the clearest traces of a hoary antiquity, was invoked by Achilles as "Pelasgian" (*Iliad* 16. 233). His worship is derived by Strabo from a Pelasgian district of Thessaly (Strab. 329). It flourished, moreover, among various branches of the Pelasgian stock in North Greece, Central Greece, South Greece, the Islands, North Africa, and Asia Minor. How can it then be maintained that Zeus was a post-Pelasgian importation? It is far more probable that the Pelasgians venerated not only their deceased ancestors, whence arose hero-worship, but also the powers of nature, a sky-god Zeus, a water-god Poseidon, an earth-god Hades, not to mention the minor deities of hills and woods and springs. So, and so only, will Greek religion be brought into line with that of all other Indo-European peoples (see *e.g.* Schrader, *Real-lexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, s.v. "Religion," an article that no student of classical religion can afford to neglect). The question is too large to be argued out here :

but many will sincerely regret that Dr. Rouse has lent his support to the untenable position that in Greek religion the great gods were sometimes developed out of local heroes. In no case can that be proved; in no case is it even fairly probable.¹ Yet from Dr. Rouse's first chapter one would think that man becomes hero, and hero becomes god, much as the undergraduate becomes in turn a bachelor and a master of arts.

In his chapter on "Tithes, Firstfruits, and Kindred Offerings," Dr. Rouse truly remarks that it is Alexandrine literature which, despite its artificiality, best enables us to supplement our scanty knowledge of the Greek farmer and his ways. "There needs a reaction from city life, and the self-conscious art of a later age, to suggest that rustic merrymakings are worth describing" (p. 43.) Hence, throughout his book he has drawn largely and wisely upon such sources as the Palatine Anthology, the Bucolic Poets, the Romance-writers, &c. Equally successful are his references to modern Greek folklore—the mysterious Neraidhes (p. 49), the communion feast of the panegyris (p. 49 f.), the plaited corn-maiden (p. 50), the gilded joints of meat (p. 255), the votive models in silver (pp. 237 f., 257), the binding-spells (p. 340), and so on. Here Dr. Rouse's familiarity with modern Greece stands him in good stead. One could wish for more, *e.g.* that, when mentioning the belief in the evil eye (p. 44 n. 6), he had also recorded the belief in the good eye; Prof. P. Gardner once gave me some details about it in conversation.

It is perhaps going too far to say that "there is no meaning in dedicating the statue of one god to another, except it be dedicated as a work of art or a thing of value" (p. 64). Dr. Rouse collects examples of such dedications (pp. 391-

¹ The nearest approach to a probability is reached in the cases of Asclepius and Heracles. But other explanations are here to be preferred; and, even if they were not, these two personages can hardly be said to belong to "the great gods" of Greece.

393) and concludes that they were all offered as ἀγάλματα, beautiful and costly objects. "I can find no authority" he says, "for the dedication of one deity as a deity to another until very late times". . . . "These are an extension of the vicious idea which brought honorific statues into the temples" (p. 392). I would suggest for Dr. Rouse's consideration the possibility that the dedicator meant rather to subject, so far as he could, this, that or the other divinity to his own patron-god. Somewhat in favour of this is the fact that, although a variety of gods is devoted to Zeus, Zeus himself is apparently never devoted to another god: he was *ex hypothesi* supreme. The golden Zeus dedicated at Olympia (Dr. Rouse on p. 126 says "Delphi" by a slip of the pen) by Cypselus stood in the temple of Hera (Suid. and Phot. *s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα), presumably as a worthy mate for the goddess.

A very ingenious and probably correct explanation of an Athenian puzzle is offered at p. 75. In the list of the Chalcothece (*C. I. A.* ii. 721, 15) occurs an odd entry of twenty-one golden letters. "Could this," says Dr. Rouse, "be the old Athenian alphabet (Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Ξ Τ Υ Φ Χ), dedicated when Euclides changed the official script in 403?" On p. 354 the famous Delphic conundrum is mentioned: "When Livia dedicated the golden E at Delphi, and probably when the Athenians dedicated theirs of bronze, they simply gave what were meant as ornaments to the sanctuary. What the original wooden E was, who offered it, and why, we have no means of knowing." Some years ago I ventured to propound a view, which Dr. Rouse duly records, viz., that the Delphic E was a sacred relic, being in fact the head of Poseidon's trident. I may here be allowed to add a word or two in support of that view. The sanctuary had at one time belonged to Poseidon, whose altar still stood in it (Paus. 10. 24. 4). If, then, one relic of Poseidon-cult survived in the temple, why not another? The original E was of wood,

because an early statue of Poseidon must have been a wooden *xoanon*. And for the preservation of the trident-head without the shaft attached compare the numerous Greek coins of Corinth, Leucas, Mantinea, Troezen, &c., on which Poseidon is symbolised by his trident-head alone. A theory which Dr. Rouse does not record, but which is at least as deserving of notice, is that as Mr. A. H. Smith. He suggested once to me that the mystic E might possibly be explained by the resemblance that it bears to the Π shaped window or smoke-hole over the door of hut-urns from Etruria (*e.g.* Dar.-Sagl., ii. 349, fig. 2508). This would suit Pausanias' statement that the first temple at Delphi was a hut of laurel-boughs (Paus. 10. 5. 9), and perhaps accounts for the dedication of the E in the *pronaos*. But, as Dr. Rouse says, "we have no means of knowing."

There are two or three omissions in the chapter on "War" that might be supplied in a future edition. *À propos* of the trophy (p. 99) there is no discussion of the theory that it was an actual image of Zeus Τρόπαιος: yet there is much to be said in favour of that view (see P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* ii. 20ff.); indeed the trophy is definitely called "an image of Zeus" by Euripides (*Phoen* 1250 f. Ζηνὸς...βρέτας | τροπαίων). Again, no mention is made at p. 103 of naval trophies in the Homeric age. Yet such there certainly were. For the tail-piece, which towered over the poop of a Homeric ship (*Iliad* 9. 241 ἄκρα κόρυμβα), seems to have been regarded as inviolable (*Iliad* 15. 716f. ἄφλαστον, "not to be broken off," from ἀ + φλάω = θλίω): to lop an enemy's tail-piece was to secure a trophy (*Iliad* 9. 241). Dr. Rouse recognises the custom for a later age at p. 133. The lion of Chaeronea and similar dedications are dealt with on p. 144: they are not, however, mere symbols of courage, as the text states, but survivals of the very ancient custom of carving lions to mount guard over the entrance to tombs (see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xiv. 109 f.).

With the dedication of poems by Hesiod, Alcaeus, &c. (p. 64), should be compared Pindar's hymn dedicated in the Libyan Ammonium (Paus. 9. 16. 1.) For sacred oil given as a prize to athletes (p. 154) see also the gymnasiarch's oil-basin represented on coins of Anazarbus, Colybrassus, and Syedra (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Lycaonia &c. pp. xxxiv., xxxvi). The name on the bronze quoit from Cephallenia (p. 160) should probably be read 'Εχσοίδα, *i.e.* 'Εξοίδα(ς), not Εὐσοίδα(ς), as I have shown in the *Classical Review* xiii. 78. At p. 165 Reisch's explanation of the small votive wheels found at Argos, Dodona, Lusi, and Olympia, *viz.*, that they represent complete cars, is rightly rejected. But Dr. Rouse's own theory, *viz.* that they may have been a kind of currency (p. 390), is hardly more probable. Bertrand in his *La Religion des Gaulois* gave strong grounds for believing that the solar disc was often represented as a single wheel in gold or bronze or lead (*ib.* pl. xxii): the "rota Solis" is mentioned in the myth of Prometheus (Serv. *eccl.* 6. 42) and figured on coins of Mesembria. It is possible, therefore, that some or all of these votive wheels may be solar in character. Dr. Rouse refuses (p. 191 n. 8) to identify the inscribed basis *C.I.A.* i. 335, which still stands on the Acropolis, with that of the statue dedicated to Athena Hygieia by Pericles, on the ground that the former was set up by the Athenian people, the latter by Pericles himself. This is a point which deserves careful consideration at the hands of our topographers, who accept the identification as beyond dispute (*e.g.* Frazer, *Pausanias* ii. 277 ff.; E. Gardner, *Ancient Athens* p. 244 f; Miss J. Harrison, *Monuments and Mythology* p. 389 ff). In the chapter on "Domestic Life" Dr. Rouse, relaxing his usual caution, admits one or two far-fetched explanations, *e.g.* that the gold figure of a baker-woman dedicated at Delphi by Cræsus, whose life she had saved, was "his queen perhaps," her attitude having been misinterpreted by the local authorities (p. 255), or that the so-

called "mourning Athena" of the Acropolis "is really," as Lechat argued, "a dedication to her as nursing mother," the child's figure on the relief having been painted in and so in time obliterated (p. 256). Under the head of "Rarities and Valuables" Dr. Rouse includes a very miscellaneous assortment of relics, ranging from an odd-shaped shell found at Delphi to mammoth-tusks preserved at Tegea as those of the Calydonian boar! But it is a little misleading to include in this collection of mere curios the stone of Cronus, the pillar of Oenomaüs, and the sceptre of Agamemnon; for these were, or had been, the objects of actual worship.

Dr. Rouse spares two chapters to votive formulæ, which are carefully classified and illustrated. He tells us that "the verb ἀνατίθημι . . . and its derivative ἀνάθημα are universal for the votive offering" (p. 323), but that in ritual imprecations "the curse itself is sometimes called κατάρθεμα (*Def. tab.*, p. xxiii.), a curious opposite of ἀνάθημα, quite appropriate to the buried lead" (p. 338 f.). This suggests that the original force of ἀνατίθημι was "I hang up" or "dedicate on high," *i.e.* I offer to a deity of the upper world, whereas κατάρθεμι meant "I place down" or "dedicate below," *i.e.* I offer to a deity of the under world. Ἀνάθημα and κατάρθεμα would thus be offerings dispatched to the *di superi* and the *di inferi* respectively. The former would naturally be hung on walls and ceilings or placed high up on a pedestal (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xxii. 27 f.); the latter, cast into a pit or buried underground.

In conclusion, it may without injustice to Dr. Rouse be said that the chief, though by no means the only, value of his book lies in its admirable collection of facts. Where he generalises, he is sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful: where he particularises, he is always to the point. Finality in a work of this sort is, fortunately for posterity, unattainable. Doubtless the next writer on the subject will include the remarkable series of votive offerings just discovered by Drs.

Blinkenberg and Kinch near the temple of Athena at Lindos (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, Juli 25, 1903, col. 958 f.) and the latest instalment of Cretan terra-cottas found by Messrs Evans and Bosanquet (*Annual of Brit. Sch. Ath.*, viii. 1 ff., 271 ff.) But Dr. Rouse will have the satisfaction of knowing that his book will certainly be read with profit for many years to come. To borrow his own terminology, he has made, if not an "ideal," at least a very "material" offering to the classic Muse.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

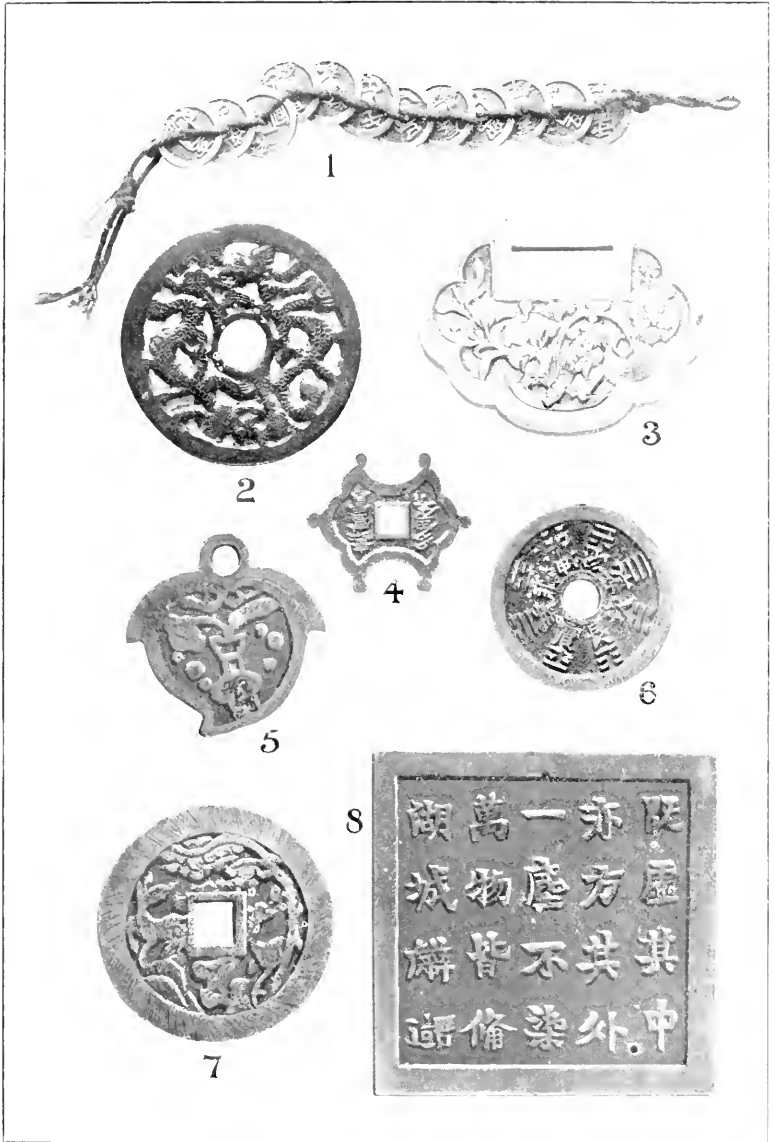
COLLECTANEA.

SOME CHINESE FOLKLORE.

(*Ante*, p. 114.)

THE folklore of China is as yet so incompletely known, and, in particular, the charms and amulets commonly worn on the person and hung in buildings are treated so briefly in the more familiar books on China, that a few notes on the objects exhibited at the Society's meeting on the 25th of March last may not be without interest. A full list of the objects will be found on pp. 114-5 of this volume, and eight of the charms are shown in the accompanying plate (VIII.). The size of the charms illustrated may be estimated from that of No. 7, which is $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter.


Many members will remember the "Anchor" puzzles, "made in Germany," which were very popular a few years ago, and the first and simplest of which consists of a square cut up into five triangles of various sizes, a small square, and a rhomboid. By arranging these seven blocks in various ways, figures resembling the ten numerals, the letters of the alphabet, and a number of geometrical shapes can be made up, using for each figure the whole of the seven blocks. The Chinese use the same seven blocks to make up a much larger number of figures of a different character, not geometrical like the German designs, but rough pictures of birds, beasts, fishes, and Chinese men and women. They have also in common use a very much more elaborate and ingenious set of fifteen blocks, cut out from a square, for use for kindergarten purposes, and known as "the Fifteen Magic Blocks." These fifteen blocks are used both to amuse children and to make pictures illustrating history and morality, and passages of poetry to be learnt by heart, and also to teach some of the more famous mythical stories. The fifteen blocks, made of cardboard or lead,



CHINESE CHARMS.

fit into a depression about three inches square in one of the covers of a kind of portfolio which holds two volumes of outline pictures to be made from the blocks. Each picture, with its explanation, is on the lower half of a page, the upper half being left blank, possibly to allow a key to the picture to be filled in if desired. The blocks are all in pairs, except one rhomboid, and include semicircles and curved pieces, and their straight sides are all exactly proportional. From them over two hundred story-pictures can be made, many of which relate to the three national religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. The Chinese boy thus learns impartially the myths of each religion, in his kindergarten, and seeks during after life to get the benefit of all of them, while at his funeral probably both Buddhist and Taoist priests will read prayers. Many of the pictures are reproduced, with explanations, in Professor I. T. Headland's *The Chinese Boy and Girl*, so that it is not necessary to say more about them here.

The first picture given to the child for making with the "Fifteen Magic Blocks" is the "dragon-horse of Fuh-hi." According to the tale told him, which is mentioned by Confucius, about 4,800 years ago, the divine rulers who had governed the world for untold years were succeeded by Fuh-hi, the ancestor of the Chinese people. Heaven helped him by sending up from the waters of the Yellow River a dragon-horse carrying on its back a scroll with fifty-five spots representing the *ying* and *yang* or male and female principles, which were used by Fuh-hi to make the *pa k'wa* or eight trigrams shown in Fig. 8 of the plate, and now in very common use as a charm. From these trigrams and the movements of the heavenly bodies Fuh-hi prepared the system of written characters by which he replaced the older method of keeping records by knotted cords (*quipus*). The eight trigrams are possibly a record of all possible throws with three divining sticks with two different sides (such as the split bamboo roots, &c., still in use). The eight trigrams, with the sixty-four further combinations possible by taking two of them together, and with certain explanations said to be given by Fuh-hi and two later sages, together with a commentary said to be by Confucius, form the *Yih-king*, the most honoured of all the Chinese classics. The *Yih-king* is constantly used, in a similar manner to the Bible in rural England, to obtain oracles by chance selection. Importance is, however, attached by the Chinese not, as in the West, to the particular sentence chanced upon,

but to the particular character touched. For instance, if this character includes the sign for "women," it is of evil significance. The *pa kwa* charm is to be seen everywhere in China, both as a personal amulet and on buildings, and especially on square boards erected on roofs. The specimen shown in Fig. 6 is intended for a roof beam. The different trigrams, reading from  to the right in Fig. 6, signify heaven, heavenly (running) water, thunder, mountains, earthly (stagnant) water, light (or fire), earth, and wind. On these trigrams and on the *Yih-king* is based the system of *fêng-shui*, or divination by the lines of streams and hills, &c., which has been such a hindrance to progress in China. *Fêng-shui* is used especially for choosing favourable sites for graves, and it is easy to understand how a new road, or a railway cutting, or a telegraph line, may alter the lines of a neighbourhood, and thus, by making uncomfortable the graves of past generations, bring down upon the neighbourhood the calamitous anger of ancestral ghosts.

Referring to the plate, Fig. 1 shows *Tung chih* or *poetry cash*, which protects wayfarers from accidents on land or sea. Twelve small cash are arranged in such an order that the names of the mints can be read as a jingle. The charm is most powerful if the cash are of the reign of the famous emperor K'ang-Hsi. Fig. 2 is bronze *fêng tsien* or *dragon money*; a protective against disease. The two dragons shown are two of the four divine beasts. Figs. 3 and 4 illustrate the Chinese estimate of woman, 3 being a *pih kea so* or *hundred families, cash lock* for a boy, and 4 a *king keuen so* or *neck ring lock* for a girl. (The latter is a Korean specimen, but, I understand, is identical with a Chinese charm.) For the former, the father of an only or dearly-loved son will collect three or four copper cash from one hundred different persons, add what more money may be wanted, and then have the silver purchased therewith made into a padlock such as that shown, which is used to lock a silver chain or ring round the boy's neck, and so lock him to life. The one hundred sureties for long life suggest the Devonshire practice by which thirty pennies are collected from as many different persons or from different parishes, changed into silver sacrament-money, and made into a charm-ring for epilepsy, etc. The silver lock shown is a real lock, the bar across the top being the bolt, and the keyhole being at the side; but the corresponding neck-ring lock for a girl or grown woman, fig. 4, is a

mere symbol of a lock, without bolt or keyhole. The inscription on the girl's lock runs "Longevity, riches, and all you wish." The inscriptions on the birthday amulets (given to children on their birthday) also exhibited were, on the boy's amulet "Long life, happiness, wealth, honours, and promotion," and on the girl's amulet, marked with sacred red paint, "Long life and happiness" only. As Professor Headland of Peking writes in *The Chinese Boy and Girl* of the coming of a baby to a Chinese home: "If the child is a boy the parents are congratulated on every hand because of the "great happiness" that has come to their home. If it is a girl, and there are more girls than boys in the family, the old nurse goes about as if she had stolen it from somewhere, and, when she is congratulated, if congratulated she happens to be, she says with a sigh and a funereal face, "Only a 'small happiness,' but that isn't bad."

The following extract from the *Nü Erh Ching* or *Classic for Girls*, one of the two principal guides to right conduct in Chinese women, as translated in the rhythm of the original by Professor Headland in the *Chinese Repository* for December, 1895, similarly enforces the subordinate position of women, and is also of interest as giving the Chinese explanation of footbinding:—

Then a woman's upper garment,
 And her skirt should teach again
 That, though living with her husband, she is on a different plane,
 She should follow and be humble, that it ne'er be said by men,
 That "the morning there is published by the crowing of the hen."

Have you ever learned the reason
 For the binding of your feet?
 'Tis from fear that 'twill be easy to go out upon the street.
 It is not that they are handsome when thus like a crooked bow,
 That ten thousand wraps and bindings are thus bound around them so !

The greater value placed upon a boy naturally leads to the use by women of charms to secure the birth of a son rather than of a daughter, and Fig. 7 shows *nan tsien* or *male money* worn for this purpose. The side not seen is inscribed "wealth and long life," while the side seen shows a fir tree and the mythical beast *kylin*, which appeared to the mother before the birth of Confucius, and has been described as like a small cow with one horn, and covered with scales.

Fig. 5 is a *shou taou* or *longevity peach*, in the shape of a conventional peach, with a representation of a peach tree and fruit. The reverse is inscribed "Heaven grant length of years." At New Year peach blossom is hung in doorways to exclude evil spirits, and the word *shou*, or *longevity*, written by the "vermillion pencil" of the emperor is one of the greatest favours he can grant to an official, and is looked upon as a certain charm for long life.

Fig. 8 shows a brass tablet to be fixed against the wall of a house as a protection against the malignant ghost of one who has met a violent death there, and especially against the ghost of a suicide. The Chinese characters are a jumble, and may be either a kind of magic square or a meaningless formula to detain and harmlessly occupy the ghost in the same way as certain English charms against witches.

Of the other charms exhibited, and not illustrated, perhaps the most interesting is a paper charm against sickness and goblins, obtained from a Taoist priest in Shantung, and a characteristic specimen of the charms folded up and worn in the girdle or in a red bag hung from the buttonhole. Such charms are also burnt, and their ashes given in liquor to the sick or to children. It consists of a piece of paper $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches broad by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches long, of which the right-hand half reads "Ch'ih ya fêng. Tzü fū yü ping jen p'ei," literally "To license inferior *fêng*" (the *fêng* of *fêng-shui*, generally "wind," but here "influence," the passage meaning "Evil influence is controlled"). "This charm give sick man to wear" (on girdle or pendant). The left hand half reads "Chen qu'ai. Jih jih jih jih t'ien. Shih jih chi k'ou t'u. Jih jih jih jih t'ien. Chu shu tzu fu," or "A charm to control goblins. Day, day, day, day, field. Ten days fortunate in mouth and earth (*i.e.*, person and land). Day, day, day, day, field. This charm to be written in vermillion."

The *pih kea* or *hundred families'* charm exhibited is made nominally from one hundred cash collected with good wishes as for the *hundred families' lock*, and is inscribed on one side "Long life and precious things," and on the other shows the seven stars of the Great Bear, two Buddhist Arhats, and the lunar hare squatting at the foot of the cassia tree in the moon and pounding drugs for the genii to prepare the elixir of life. The *warding-off-evil cash* is a favourite charm for children, and on one side has felicitous or protective characters, and on the other the twelve animals of the

Chinese duodenary time cycle, viz., the rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog, and pig. These animals are used to name successive hours, days, months, and years, which are under their influence, and they are of much importance in Chinese folklore. For example, one of the most necessary parts of the funeral rites is the burning of "treasury money," which is intended not only to provide comforts for the soul in the land of the dead, but also to enable it to repay other souls from which it has probably borrowed the heavy fine paid by it at birth to the god of the dead for permission to leave his realm and to be born into this world. The amount of this fine is fixed by the particular year of the duodenary cycle in which the soul was born, being highest for the ox year and lowest for the monkey year. The "treasury money" consists of paper stamped in imitation of the edges of regular rows of metal money, and either tinned to represent silver or coloured yellow with cassia to represent gold. The paper money exhibited, however, was in oblong pieces of coarse paper merely stamped with squares and concentric circles to represent copper cash and burnt in a temple on certain occasions. The *lung fêng* or *dragon and phoenix* charm exhibited is inscribed, "Great prosperity, promotion, and happiness" on one side, the other bearing a dragon and a phoenix. The *Great Spreading of the Five Elements* charm shows on one side a tortoise, snake, sword, and the Great Bear constellation. The *koo tung king*, or *old brass mirror*, is hung up outside a bed curtain or in a bedroom, and frightens away evil spirits by reflecting them, or heals those who have become mad through seeing an evil spirit. The older the mirror the greater its power. It may be flat, like the specimen exhibited, or convex, but must always be round. The *eight felicitous words* charms have various lucky inscriptions on one side, while the other is decorated with suitable birds, flowers, &c., one, however, being of special interest as it shows the god of the North Polar Star holding a pencil as the patron of learning and also the stars near the pole, in one of which is his home. Deities are not usually, I am told, figured on charms. The *ʼai p'ing* charm reads *ʼien p'ing tai hsia*, "peace throughout the empire," and both *ch'wang yuan* charms read "May you win the *ch'wang yuan*" (the highest place at triennial examination at Peking); the obverse in one case being engraved with two dragons. *Ancient cash* are commonly hung as charms,

by red string, from the person, or out side a bed curtain, or tied to the wrist of a baby; or a number of cash from the reigns of different emperors may be placed under a bridal bed. Some of the cash so used and exhibited are current in Pekin only.

The *cash sword* shown is too familiar to need description. It may be noted that many brought home by travellers are not genuine charms, but only copies made for sale to tourists as curios. The cash sword is specially valued as a protection for a bridal bed, outside the curtains of which it is hung with its blade parallel to the horizon. The last charm shown, *ma tsien* or *horse money*, is blank on one side, and on the other shows a horse with the inscription "shadow of the footprints" (a wish for a safe and speedy return).

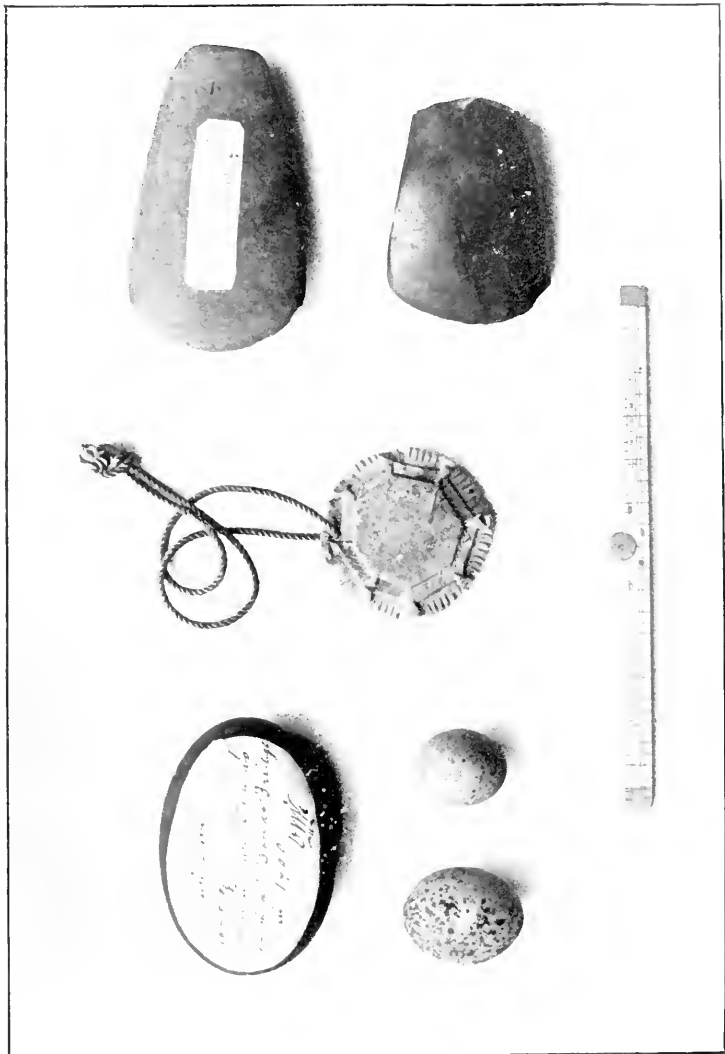
A. R. WRIGHT.

CHARMS, ETC., FIGURED ON PLATE IX.

(*Ante*, p. 210.)

I. Having been informed that a gentleman living at Bonarbridge, in Sutherlandshire, was in possession of three stones which were supposed to confer magical powers on a woman who died but three years ago, I endeavoured to get them, in order to exhibit them to the Society. Their owner, while admitting that the stones have no power of their own, attaches some value to them as curiosities. Having got them on loan for a few days, I examined them, and had them photographed. These stones are the three shown on the spectator's left. They are water-worn nodules of sandstone, the larger one of a red stone, the other two, shaped like eggs, of a light grey, spotted with dark brown, as if the spotted portion contained iron. The woman who owned them undoubtedly considered them of value as having some secret virtues. The principal fact recorded about them in the neighbourhood in which she died is that with their assistance she caused the death of the wife of a man who had jilted herself.

II. The centre of the photograph shows what was worn habitu-



WITCH-STONES, AMULET, AND FAIRY ARROWS, FROM THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.

ally by a man known personally to the owner of the witch-stones. He wore it suspended from his neck as a protection against witchcraft. The wearer, D. McL., was a native of Wester Ross, and had great confidence in the efficacy of his talisman. There is no history of how or when he procured it. It is a piece of grey steatite, and, like many pieces of steatite, has pink markings on it. These may have suggested blood-stains. To judge by its appearance and the style of carving, it seems to have come from India, but for what purpose it was originally made no guess is hazarded.

III. On the right of the photograph are two "celts." The lower one is nearly black (basalt?), the upper one is of a very light grey and in perfect condition. Both are of hard close-grained stone. The interest attaching to them is that they are "fairy arrows." They were found at Mulindry Glen, near what appears in the maps as Dun Nosebridge, locally called Nosbreac, Islay. The original owner of them, when handing them to the lady from whom they were received, said "they were in the possession of her father and her grandfather and were always called *saigheadan shith* and were *saigheadan shith*." In Eigg these seem to be called *Ceapa-Sithein*, as if they had been used for blocking something on, as a shoemaker's last is used. In Walker's *Historical Memoir* on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish, he says (p. 126): "Mr. Owens, the editor of Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, seems decidedly of opinion that the celt, an instrument so-called from our ignorance of its use, was employed as a sling-hatchet." The date of this essay is 1788. Further back still we know of the *Leacan Laoich Milidh*, "champion's hand stone," described by O'Curry (*Manners and Customs*, ii., p. 277) as "a half" or modified "flat stone"; "for *leac* means a perfectly flat stone, so that *leacan* must mean a stone partaking somewhat of the flat form." This he identifies with the so-called "celt," and details how it was kept in the boss of his shield and used as a projectile by Fergus Mac Róigh (*temp.* Cuchullin). As the Islay woman the other day having never seen such an article in use called it, traditionally, a "fairy arrow," so we may consider that the early Gaelic writer was also speaking of what he had seen, but of which the proper use was a subject of conjecture; in fact, that the story was written at a time when celts had become objects of speculation to the curious.

Uist Bodkin sent for Exhibition (see p 210).

The bone stiletto sent was used in Uist by a staymaker to make the holes for lacing, about 1820. The holes, of course, were finished by hand-stitching.

Ross-shire "Chucks" sent for Exhibition (see as before).

For playing this game in the neighbourhood of Applecross they use either five balls made of clay hardened by exposure to the sun, in size like ordinary marbles, or oblate spheroids of about the same bulk.

R. C. MACLAGAN.

HIGHLAND FISHER-FOLK AND THEIR SUPERSTITIONS.

Those who dwell in cities may shrug their shoulders at the superstitions of our fisher-people, but we who often stand under the shadow of our northern cliffs and watch the storm and the darkness gather, and listen to the sad moan of the sea as it accompanies the shrill weird cry of the sea birds overhead, are more in sympathy with them. We can understand how brave and daring seamen can still be the veritable children of nature, for there nature is so immense and we are so small.

Some of the most God-fearing and intelligent fisher-people have a strong strain of superstition, inherited from their pagan forefathers and strengthened by their own uncertain hold on life and the consequent sense of the nearness of the unseen. It is when such men are tossed among the billows, like puppets in the hands of an unknown power, that the tales told them by their forefathers take hold of their imagination, and if they have neglected prescribed observances they vow it shall be for the last time.

Even as in the days when the sea refused to be satisfied till Jonah was heaved overboard, our fishermen do not care for the presence of the clergy in their boats, nor do they even like to meet a clergyman on their way to the shore when going to fish. The Devil is said to be the Prince of the Air, and as the clergy are his enemies, there is some method and compliment in the theory that he likes to give them a good shaking when he has the chance! Meeting a red-haired woman, or a cat, is also unlucky; the cat

being the least objectionable, as it does not bode serious loss. Some years ago, a Caithness farmer used to fish at Brims with a retired fisherman who lived at the Hill of Forss. One lovely evening he waited in vain, and next day upbraided his friend for not coming when there was the prospect of such good fishing. "Good fishing! I started from home expecting that, but faith! when a hare crossed my path, I knew better, and went home again." In Caithness, a horse or a grouse is the most lucky creature to meet on the way to fish.

Mice nibbling among the nets are a sure sign of good luck.

To throw fresh water at a man on his way to his boat is a certain indication that he will be drowned. Even to ask where he is going when on his way to the sea is very improper, but it is well to throw a silver coin, an old shoe, or some salt, after him. A sure omen of good luck is for the fisherman's wife to throw, either in anger or jest, according to the temper she is in, a "besom," or broom, at her lord's head as he is leaving his home on his way to fish. If a man forgets anything, he must not return for it, and when he gets into the boat he must turn it so that the bow follows the course of the sun, never against it. A new boat must not go to sea for the first time on a Friday.

When a fisherman thinks there is too little wind to go to sea with, he whistles for more, or sticks a knife into the mast of his boat; but if he does not carefully regulate his whistling, a hurricane may come along, in which case he remains at home. At sea he must be more careful, as there he has no way of escape if he "makes" too much wind. He may sing but not whistle, when baiting his line. Probably the safest way is to buy your wind from a "wise" woman, and the most likely places for you to find her are Shetland and the Hebrides. In the introduction to the *Pirate*, Sir Walter Scott tells of an old woman, Bessie Miller, who lived in Stromness, Orkney, who was said to be a hundred years old, and who, for a fee of sixpence, sold favourable winds to mariners. At that time ladies of her profession were plentiful in the islands to the north and west of Scotland. The most notorious wind-sellers in Caithness and Sutherlandshire were Mhor Bhan of Assynt and a woman named Watt at Duncansbay; but they are long since dead. A fisherman told me the other day that Mhor Bhan was strangled by two young men who thought she had practised her art to their hurt. They

threw the noose of the rope over her head from behind, but nevertheless she caught sight of one of them for a moment, and the glance of her dying eye made him insane for the rest of his life. Even to-day it is possible to buy "wind" and "luck" in these regions, but now there is less faith on both sides, and the seller and buyer are both more ashamed of the transaction. The "wind" is tied up in a knotted handkerchief or a woollen thread, and when you untie one knot you get a gentle breeze, another brings a stiff breeze, and a third a full gale. The only danger lies in impatiently untying too many knots. Mr. Robert Stevens, fisherman, of Sandside (the port of Reay), told me the experience of a friend of his in buying wind. He and his crew were becalmed in Orkney for a week, so they went to a woman in Stromness, and gave her half-a-crown for a woollen thread with three knots. "Don't open the third for the life of you," was her parting injunction. The unfastening of the first knot caused a little wind to spring up, the second sent them merrily across the Pentland Firth; and when near the Caithness shore they grew bold, and resolved to try the effect of opening the third, whereupon they were literally blown ashore "just as if the boat was a balloon." "Never again will I buy wind," declared the hero of the story, when relating his adventures.

Another method is to leave the "wind" at home with the women, but even then there is the danger of getting becalmed owing to their tender fears for their loved ones. A thrifty wife can raise the wind very cheaply by drawing the cat through the fire; this is, however, likely to "make" dirty, stormy weather. In Lewis it is considered unlucky for a woman to blow the meal off her oat-cake bannocks, or to allow them to burn, while her husband is at sea. Neither must she burn fish-bones.¹ In Caithness you may burn fish-bones, but not sheep-bones. There is an old Caithness saying: "A sheep once spoke, and said, 'Boil me and roast me, but don't burn my bones.'"²

Various articles are carried in the boats for good luck, but a horseshoe nailed to the mast, the leg of a hare, a piece of mountain-

¹ Dr. J. G. Frazer says the Ottawa Indians of Canada have this same superstition, as they believe the souls of dead fish pass into the bodies of other fish, and if people offend the dead fish by burning their bones they are sure to warn the living not to come to the nets. (*G. B.*, ii., 119.)

² [Cf. vols. x., 262, and xiii., 35. ED.]

ash, a silver coin among the nets, or a "lucky stone" among the ballast, are the most favoured. A piece of ivy with nine joints placed in a secret part of the boat, and the usual horseshoe on the mast, were preferred by the old Sandside fishermen. In Morayshire, the men used to carefully salt the *first* herring caught in the season, and hide it in some part of the boat to bring good luck for the rest of that season. If the talismanic article is given away or lost the luck goes too. This is why the crew of one boat often refuse to sell or give fish or any other article to the crew of another, as their luck is liable to be transferred with the gift. They will give a drink of water to those in another boat, but not a drop to be carried away. Indeed, a careful man will secretly retain a small piece of the end of a match before handing it to a man in another boat.

The "luck" is not always in the boat. It may be in the fisherman's house. Before matches were so plentiful as now, one neighbour might be obliged to beg another for a burning peat to re-kindle his fire, but as a rule this was resented. Should any one be bold enough to go to a house and carry away a burning peat, those of the household immediately added a fresh peat to the fire, with the remark that "You may take it, but it won't do you any good," meaning, not that it would not kindle a fire, but that adding the fresh fuel to their own fire had broken the spell, and that the "luck" would remain with the original owners.

It is unlucky to count your fish as they are being caught; it may prevent your catching more. In Sutherlandshire you must not count the boats as they are going out, nor point to them with the fore-finger when they are at sea; but you may do so with the whole hand with impunity.

An eel in the catch is much disliked, on the ground that they believe Old Nick himself to be in it. Indeed, they seemed to dislike an eel anywhere, until they found they could get money from the *Sassenach* for it. A Scotchwoman, unless her ideas have become Anglicised, will not "dirty" her frying-pan with an eel, much less eat one. Some fine conger-eels are caught at Reay, but they have all to be sent to the English markets: they are not eaten locally. The fishermen here think it is because there are so like serpents.

Long ago,—so Mr. Robert Stevens, mentioned above, tells me,—the fish forsook the shore from Reay to Thurso; and an old

man at Brims, about half-way between the two places went down to the rocks there, threw out bait, and caught a fish, which he immediately killed, and then poured its blood on the sea. The fish came back to the shore after that, and have never gone away since !

Certain words and things are tabooed, and may not be uttered, or carried, when at sea. The words *minister*, *salmon*, *hare*, *rabbit*, *rat*, *pig*, and *porpoise* are all fraught with danger, and to mention any of them on board means failure to catch fish, or some disaster.

Many years ago they were getting splendid hauls of haddocks off the Reay coast ; and one man, John Macdonald, who used to laugh at the old sayings, repeated all the tabooed words he could think of while baiting his line. The other fishermen got the usual good luck, but not one fish did John get that day. This I was told by one of the men who were present.

The Rev. Mr. Mackay, when a boy, went out with some fishermen off the Sutherlandshire coast. Seeing some black objects in the water, he asked what they were. "Whist, whist, I'll tell you when we get ashore, whist now !" When they landed, the boy was disgusted to find they were only salmon bag-nets, instead of one of the many terrible things he had conjured up in his mind : but the explanation that if they had used the word "salmon" they would have caught no fish, helped to satisfy his Celtic imagination. At the present day, if some of the boats that come to the Wick herring-fishing come across a Reay salmon-boat, the herring-men will not speak to, nor even look at, the salmon-fishers. Banffshire men seem to be scrupulous on this point, but the Caithness fishermen do not attach much importance to it.

Should a man say a tabooed word at sea he must immediately shout "cold iron" ; or better still, touch the horse-shoe or any other piece of iron that may be in the boat.

A bridegroom on board is always unlucky ; and from the time a man is "contracted"¹ till he is married (generally a period of two weeks), he is not allowed on board ; but he shares in the profits of the crew just as if he were working. This custom I am told is still observed in Portskerra, a fishing village about twelve miles from here, and in other places on the northern coast.

A couple are said to be "contracted" after a feasting at the bride's home at which the young man and his friends are present to fix the date of the marriage.

Neither eggs nor ham must be among the food taken to sea. Many years ago, an Armadale (Sutherlandshire) woman put boiled eggs in her husband's basket, but when at lunch-time they were discovered, the eggs were hastily thrown into the sea. About the same time a local factor was removing from Reay to the west of Sutherlandshire. A pig was sent to the Sandside harbour to be shipped with his other goods, but the crew refused to go to sea if it was put on board, so it had to be left behind.

During an extra good herring-fishing season many years ago at Wick, the curers objected one night to the men going to sea, on the plea that the women had already more fish than they could handle in twenty-four hours and, besides, that their stock of salt and barrels was very low. The men insisted, and said fishing was their business and fish they would while Providence sent such shoals to their hand. One curer, who had studied his men and their ways, bought a ham, which he cut in two and placed under the uppermost net in the first two boats that went to sea. When they arrived at the fishing ground and prepared to set their nets, they saw the ham. They stared at one another in blank dismay for a moment. Then each man hastened to his post, and soon they were bowling along back again towards the harbour.

All that I have related here has been told me by Caithness or Sutherlandshire fishermen, or by crofters who have gone to the fishing during the herring season. Living as I do in a Manse, it is easy for me to get into conversation and friendship with these men. I also speak Gaelic, which is everything when you want to gain a Highlandman's confidence. The late Mr. Angus Mackay, fisherman, Strathy, Sutherlandshire, who died last Christmas at the age of eighty-four, told me that all these customs and superstitions, except the tabooing of the word "rat," were known to him and practised in his younger days, especially in Banff and on the Fife coast; and to make quite sure of the accuracy of my report, I have taken this paper down to Mr. Robert Stevens, fisherman, Sandside, Reay, to whom I was originally indebted for much of the information it contains.¹ He is not only one of the most superior and intelligent of our fishermen, but he belongs to a race of Caithness seamen who have handed down their superstitions as a legacy from father to son for generations.¹ He says I may tell the gentlemen in London that all these superstitions are quite

¹ Caithness is mainly Scandinavian: Sutherland, Celtic.

correct, and that he has heard and known of them all his life. Of course he told me there was "nothing in them"; but—"That's all very well, father," said his daughter, with a twinkle in her eye, but is there one here who would dare to ask you where you were going when you were going to fish?" "Indeed, no. I would be very angry if you did, and as for turning back if I forgot anything, I would not do it for the life of me!" Then he told me of another superstition which he had forgotten to mention. If several men go out to fish and only get one fish, or at least not one apiece, they must on no account cut or divide a fish. The fish must be taken whole, and those for whom there are none must go without.

Still, most of this article should be written in the past tense. School boards have slain the fairies; even the ceremonial usages of our seafaring men are not commonly observed, and when safe on land the young men laugh at them. At the same time, on stormy nights many brave fellows still practise the old cult, and when luck is against them, and it changes after the observance of an ancient superstition, they wisely think that after all there may be "something in it."

MORAG CAMERON.

Reay United Free Manse, Thurso, Caithness.

FISHERMEN IN THE FARÖE ISLANDS.

(*Extract from a Private Letter.*)

"One boat-load came in this morning with 275 big cod. They said it was because the pastor helped them to launch their boat yesterday. It seems that one must not wish a man good luck in fishing when he starts out, nor if he goes to the bird-cliffs. That will prevent a good catch. I fear I have erred in this respect on Myggenoes, not knowing the proper custom. If it is to be a *travel*-journey that is a different matter. Also it is bad luck to meet a woman when they *first* come to land. I must remember this and see that a small boy or a man is nearer the sea than I am, when next I want to watch the boats land.

ELIZABETH TAYLOR.

Thorshavn, Faröe Islands, 1901.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LE COMBAT DU PÈRE ET DU FILS.

Je ne veux pas revenir sur le livre de M. Potter *Sohrab and Rustem* après le compte-rendu critique que M. Crooke en a donné ici-même (xiii., 444-447) ; mais je me permets de présenter, à ce propos, une remarque et deux additions. Cette légende m'avait intéressé depuis longtemps, parcequ'elle se rencontre dans la littérature gaelique d'Irlande et d'Écosse, comme combat de Cuchulainn et de Conlaoch : mes notes me fournissent peu de chose qui n'ait été relevé et mis en œuvre par M. Potter ; mais il me semble que dans les travaux d'histoire littéraire il faut tenir compte de l'apport de ses prédécesseurs et rendre hommage à leurs découvertes, alors même que par le progrès du temps et des études on peut pousser une question beaucoup plus loin qu'ils n'ont fait. C'est d'autant plus le lieu de le faire ici qu'il s'agit de rendre hommage à deux écrivains, aujourd'hui oubliés, de la Grande-Bretagne.

Lorsqu'en 1892 M. d'Arbois de Jubainville publia l'ouvrage collectif intitulé *L'Épopée Celtique en Irlande*, il y traduisit des versions toutes modernes de notre légende, et cela d'après Keating et Macpherson. À cette occasion son collaborateur M. Ferdinand Lot lui révéla le récit du *Shah-Nameh*. Ce rapprochement était-il donc nouveau ? M. D'Arbois de Jubainville ignorait qu'en 1862 un savant écossais, M. Thomas McLauchlan, avait publié une version redigée au commencement du xvi^e siècle (donc bien antérieure aux arrangements de Macpherson !). Et McLauchlan rapprochait aussitôt ce récit de celui du *Shah-Nameh* : il disait :

This poem is the Celtic edition of the Persian tale of Sohrab and Rustum. The incidents are so similar that the two tales must have had a common origin. Whether the Persians received the tale from the Celts, or the Celts from the Persians, or both from some other and older source, it is hard to say.¹

The Dean of Lismore's Book edited by Th. McLauchlan, Edinburgh, 1862, p. 50. À ce propos, disons que la synopsis la plus complète des versions gaeliques (irlandaises et écossaises) de la légende de ce combat a été donnée par M. L. Chr. Stern dans la *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, iii., 438, en rendant compte d'une étude de M. E. Ernault, laquelle manque dans la bibliographie de M. Potter.

Thomas McLauchlan avait fait là une importante découverte d'histoire littéraire. Elle fut relevée l'année suivante par R. G. Latham dans les *Trans. of the R. Soc. of Literature of the United Kingdom*, 2nd ser. vol. vii. (1863) pp. 474-481. Latham élargissait la question en citant le poème germanique sur le combat d'Hildebrand et d'Hadubrand, et il écrivait :

“Without examining the details of this opinion [c. à d. le rapprochement fait par McLauchlan], the present writer simply compares the Gaelic poem with the well-known German (Frank or Saxon) one of *Hildebrand and Hadubrand*, making of course, *mutatis mutandis*, the same suggestion. The parts where the details are closest are in italics. No comment is added, the reader being left to form his own opinion as to both the amount of likeness and the cause of it.”

Et Latham rapprochait ensuite les deux poèmes, gaelique et germanique, en accentuant la ressemblance des détails par des italiques.

Les trois versions les plus importantes de la légende, gaelique persane, et germanique, étaient donc déjà mises en parallèle des 1863. Il faut rendre à nos prédécesseurs l'honneur de cette découverte ; ce sont les celtistes surtout qui doivent cet hommage à Th. McLauchlan et Latham, au lieu de s'imaginer, et de donner à croire au public, que le monde devait les attendre pour cette découverte d'histoire littéraire.

Je donne maintenant, d'après mon dossier devenu désormais inutile, deux additions au livre de M. Potter. Ce livre, réunissant tous les matériaux jusqu'ici connus, doit servir de point d'attache à tout nouveau document.

L'épisode se trouve dans un roman populaire chez les Turcs de l'Asie Mineure, analysé par M. I. Kúnos dans la *Ungarische Revue* de Budapest (no. de mars 1892, p. 201 et suiv.). M. Kúnos ne dit pas de quel original il s'est servi, ouvrage imprimé ou manuscrit, ou tradition orale, et il présente ce roman, mêlé de prose et de vers, comme un des récits populaires chez les Turcs d'Anatolie. Le brigand Kőrólu, au cours d'une expédition, est devenu amoureux d'une belle fille, et il l'obtient en mariage. Il quitte son épouse au bout de quelques jours parcequ'il ne veut pas s'embourgeoiser et renoncer à sa vie d'aventures : mais pour l'enfant qui peut naître, et qui devra s'appeler Hassan, il laisse deux objets de reconnaissance : l'un d'eux est un collier. Plus tard, l'enfant, devenu homme, passe en chevauchant près du repaire

de Kōrólu ; celui-ci veut le cheval du jeune homme. Avant d'en venir aux armes, les deux héros échangent des tirades orgueilleuses en vers : Kōrólu se nomme ; son fils le reconnaissant à son nom, saute de cheval et les deux hommes s'embrassent. Ceci n'est qu'un incident du roman lequel continue par d'autres aventures.

Une chanson populaire allemande de la province de Brandebourg, *An der Weichsel gegen Osten*, développe ce thème d'une façon moderne et bien prussienne. Un soldat en faction tire sur son propre père, sans le savoir, parceque celui-ci a laissé trois appels sans réponse.¹ Peut-être le motif de cette chanson est-il indépendant de la tradition ; car les combinaisons de l'invention romanesque sont en nombre limité et l'imagination est partout créatrice.

H. GAIDOZ.

FETISH-WORSHIP IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

(*Ante*, pp. 2, 61.)

I have to hand the Editor's letter, per Mr. Lovett, with inquiries regarding my note on Fetish-Worship in Central Africa, which he read before the Folk-Lore Society [10th December, 1902]. I reply to these queries in their order.

1. [Are remote ancestors worshipped, or only the recently dead?]

Worship is confined to recent ancestors almost entirely—generally to those of the generation immediately preceding. Among the Yaos and the Angoni, the chief or headman who has recently died, steps into the place occupied by his predecessor, and is worshipped in turn. The chief whose spirit hitherto was the object of worship is now for the most part neglected, and all homage is paid to the spirit of the man recently dead.

For example : there is on the top of Mount Soche, three miles from Blantyre, the grave of an old Mang'anja chief called Kan-komba. He was the chief of the country when the Yaos came into it in Livingstone's time and drove out the original Mang'anja

¹ Cité dans K. Reuschel, *Volkskundliche Streifzüge*, (Dresden, 1903), p. 161, d'après la *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, T. IV., p. 212.

owners. He died in his old village and was buried on the top of the hill where he lived. The incoming Yaos worshipped his spirit as the previous chief of the district. This they did till their own chief Kapeni died, when his successor left off making offerings to the old Kankomba and paid his worship to the recently dead Kapeni. This he will continue to do till he himself dies and becomes to his successor the next object of worship.

Occasionally, however, one finds that some old chief may be remembered for more than one generation. This is especially the case if he should belong to a family which continues to have influence in the country and whose members, instead of joining in the worship of the recently dead chief, prefer to continue their offerings to their own old ancestor. Sometimes a dead chief is believed to have influence in the spirit world, and has been successful in securing a copious supply of rain or other benefit to the country. His spirit will continue to receive offerings for a much longer period than his less influential neighbours in the spirit world.

This is the practice among the Yaos, the Angoni, the Mang'anja and the Anguru tribes who live in this part of Africa.

2. [Were "the ancestors of Chikusi, the last chief of the Angoni, supposed to be located in" a particular bull, or in bulls generally?]

When Chikusi's predecessor died, his spirit was located by Chikusi and his headmen in a bull, a particular bull, which was from that time set apart and thus considered sacred. The bull was chosen by the headmen and the spirit was by them enshrined in the animal. To this bull, or rather to the spirit that took up his abode in the bull, all the offerings of Chikusi and his headmen were made. If the bull died another was chosen and put into its place, and so on, till Chikusi himself died, when his spirit was located in an animal in the same way and the worship of his predecessor from that time forward ceased.

N.B.—The animal in whom the spirit takes up his abode is fixed on by the headmen and the chief, and the spirit of the dead man is asked to accept the animal as his abode.

3. [Are the spirits of all the members of a particular tribe or family "supposed to be located" in the same species of animal? Are the family named after it? and does the species receive any particular honour on that account?]

The chief Chikusi was honoured by being located in a bull.

But a headman or smaller chief would have to be content with a goat or a fowl. Still lesser spirits are consigned to a basket, or to a fetish doll such as the one that was exhibited by Mr. Lovett.

No respect is paid to the species of the animal in which the ancestral spirit is located, and the family never take its name. Even to the consecrated animal itself no special privileges are given, except that it is recognised as belonging to the spirits and is never killed for food.

4. [When you say that the spirits of the dead are the objects of *supreme worship*, do you mean that they are the principal objects of worship or that they form the natives' highest conception of Deity?]

Your last question I will try and answer as briefly as possible.

When I said that "among the Bantu tribes the spirits of the dead are the objects of supreme worship," I meant that offerings are made to no others save the spirits of the dead. And these offerings among the Yaos and the Angoni are never made to the spirits in general but only to *some individual spirit whose name is called during the ceremony*.

As to their belief in a Supreme Being, the subject is one for an article rather than a letter, and I fear I would only land myself and you in a mist if I tried to deal with it briefly.

But I will allow myself to say that I believe, at any rate among the Yaos, with whose system of thought I am most familiar, the *Spirit world in the aggregate* occupies the place of the Deity, and that apart from the ancestral spirits there is no Supreme Being.

But if this subject is of interest to you I may send you at another time a further note on it. For twenty years I have been trying to get inside the native mind on the matter and to see it as he sees it, and sometimes I feel I am as far from it as ever. Latterly I have set the natives themselves to fix their own original native beliefs on these points, and I think in this way there is greater chance of success.

ALEXANDER HETHERWICK.

The Blantyre Mission, British Central Africa.

March 4th. 1903.

[It is needless to say that the article Mr. Hetherwick kindly proposes to send us will be warmly welcomed.—ED.]

ORNAMENTAL PATTERNS AND REINCARNATION.

I think the following facts may be interesting to the readers of *Folk-Lore*; and I should be glad if any of them could give me further accounts of ornamental patterns connected with the doctrine of re-birth.

In J. Sibree's *Madagascar before the Conquest* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1895, p. 234) it is stated that the *dona* or *pily* (a half-mythical python) is "one of the fiercest of creatures; it is big and long, and its skin is striped, so that makers of *lamba* (a native cloth) take it as a pattern for striped cloth." This shows how mistaken are the majority of writers on Madagascar in speaking of the patterns on the Malagasy lamba as originally and exclusively geometrical. Geometrical they are, of course, just as much as the patterns on the python's skin are geometrical; if on lamba they are more, or only, geometrical, it is because both technique and the sense of symmetry led the Malagasy to geometrise the curved lines of the python's skin. Many learned authors, as Dr. Haddon, Mr. Grosse, &c., have shown how geometrical ornament is a mere degeneration from patterns taken directly from nature.

The following passage from the Père Abinal's *Vingt Ans à Madagascar* (Paris: Lecoffre, 1885, p. 243) shows the connection between the python-skin pattern and reincarnation. Among the Betsileo, he tells us, the soul of the heads of noble families goes into a *fanano* (or more correctly *fangany*), *i.e.*, a larva that becomes a large serpent (boa or python). The corpse of the dead was wrapped in a lamba ornamented with coloured woven patterns or with coloured glass beads. As the boa grows, he comes back into the village where his children and relatives are living, to seek them and ask them for food: "Et la famille le reconnaîtra aux couleurs voyantes de sa robe, reproduction fidèle des perles colorées qu'on avait intercalées dans le tissu de son suaire."

Thus we have, so to speak, a circular process. The Betsileo choose python patterns for their lamba; and these patterns (or glass-bead ornamentation) are to be seen on pythons in which the soul of the dead is reincarnated. Can we conclude from this fragmentary report that the patterns chosen had a bad or lucky influence, and a religious and magical meaning?

A. VAN GENNEP.

REVIEWS.

THE THREE DAYS' TOURNAMENT. A Study in Romance and Folklore. Being an Appendix to the Author's "Legend of Sir Lancelot." By JESSIE L. WESTON. D. Nutt. 1902.

THIS addition to Miss Weston's *Sir Lancelot* is mainly an amplified rendering of Mr. Ward's note on *Ipomedon* in his Catalogue of Romances (p. 728 *sqq.*). Hue de Rotelande, the author of *Ipomedon* (about 1185) refers to Walter Map apparently as a fellow-romancer, though the phrasing is ambiguous: "I am not the only one who knows the art of lying; Walter Map knows well his part of it." Mr. Ward draws from this the following conclusions. Walter Map, who is traditionally credited with authorship of a Lancelot romance, may very possibly have been known to Hue de Rotelande in this capacity. The prose *Lancelot* contains an adventure, the Three Days' Tournament, which is also found in *Ipomedon*, and the reference to Walter Map by the author of the latter poem can be interpreted without much difficulty as a sort of acknowledgment of debt. The *Lancelot* of Walter Map may have been a short poem, with the Three Days' Tournament as a chief part of its story, afterwards imitated by Hue de Rotelande in his *Ipomedon*, and paraphrased in the prose *Lancelot* which still bears the name of Walter Map as its author.

Mr. Ward had pointed out the resemblance between the Tournaments of *Ipomedon* and certain adventures repeated in a number of popular tales. "Thus in No. 43 of the *Contes Lorrains* of Emmanuel Cosquin . . . a shepherd boy wins a tournament for a princess, appearing on three successive days in steel, in silver, and in gold armour." Miss Weston follows in the same line, and by comparing some of the adventures of Lancelot with some incidents in fairy tales, arrives at an ingenious theory of the early stages of the Lancelot romance. The story which provides most of the resemblances is the *Sea Maiden* in the *West Highland Tales* (No. 4). Miss Weston's comparison shows not only that the chief events of this tale are found in the earlier records of Lancelot, but further, that they may possibly explain how Lancelot

in later romance became the rescuer and the lover of Queen Guinevere. The argument summarised in pp. 47-48 of the *Three Days' Tournament* is well worked out, though it ends in no more than a possibility. What Miss Weston has added to Mr. Ward's inferences from *Ipomedon* is something distinct and clear. The rise of Lancelot, and his promotion over the Arthurian knights of older established fame, may still remain a problem, but Miss Weston has succeeded at any rate in finding an hypothesis that fits the case and "saves the appearances."

Miss Weston gives some space to a discussion of *Cliges*, a poem of Chrestien de Troyes which contains the tournaments and has been thought by some historians to have introduced this "machine" into Arthurian romance. Miss Weston spends too much labour in proving that Chrestien was not original. *Cliges* (about 1165) and *Ipomedon* (twenty years later) are examples of literary romance: their authors invented as little and borrowed as freely as Chaucer or Ariosto. *Cliges* is a story of modern sentiment, with decorations from the kingdom of Arthur; *Ipomedon* a romance of Britain travestied under Greek names. It was an older school of romance that provided plots and scenery for artists like Chrestien. This older school, with proportions of narrative much the same as in simple fairy-tales, is represented in some extant stories of Lancelot: "Lancelot and the White-foot Deer" is the familiar tale of Ritter Red, the False Claimant. There is nothing unreasonable in Miss Weston's surmise that there may have been an early romance of Lancelot with a plot like that of the Gaelic *Sea Maiden*. The theory only carries a little further the acknowledged resemblance between certain old-fashioned stories of Lancelot and the plot of a fairy-tale.

If there is any want of clearness in Miss Weston's demonstration it may be set down as largely due to the nature of the subject. Miss Weston has not only to interpret the dream, but (in the case of Walter Map's hypothetical story) to discover what the dream was about. Studies of this sort cannot help being shadowy and impalpable. The arguments are not like those of Chaucer's eagle, solid creatures "that you may shake them by the bills." The conclusion is very far short of proof, but it shows one possible way in which the mysterious origin and progress of Lancelot may be understood.

W. P. KER.

POPULAR STUDIES IN MYTHOLOGY, ROMANCE, AND FOLKLORE.
 NO. 14. THE LEGENDS OF THE HOLY GRAIL. By ALFRED
 NUTT. Nutt. 1902.

THIS summary of Mr. Nutt's argument will be found of service as a guide to the intricacies of his larger book; it is not, however, merely an index or abridgement, but a fresh exposition. The value of a short statement like this can hardly be put too high; if there is any region where an effective guide-book is necessary, it is the tangled country surveyed by Mr. Nutt in his two books on the Grail. Those who follow him may possibly fail to appreciate the courage required for Mr. Nutt's investigations; few can know as fully as he the difficulties of his subject. But it takes a very slight acquaintance with the documents to make one glad to have some help in dealing with them.

Objection may be taken to the statement that "Gawain had to be degraded, and a sure test of the age of any given Arthurian text is yielded by the view it presents of Gawain's character." In many late texts there is still to be found an undegraded Gawain, "the father of nurture," known for his "olde courtesie." The "test" only tells one way: the degraded Gawain is certainly not early, but the courteous and heroic Gawain fortunately survived in many late romances; the tradition of his glory, as Chaucer's reference shows, was not broken, though it may have been partially eclipsed for a time by the promotion of Percival or Lancelot to higher honour.

W. P. KER.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D. Vol. iv. London: A. & C. Black. 1903. Price for the completed book £3 3s. net.

ON previous occasions in these pages (*Folk-Lore*, xi., 99; xii., 247; xiii., 218) I have called the attention of students of anthropology to this important Biblical Encyclopædia, which has now reached

completion. I note briefly some of the most interesting articles in the final volume. The "Queen of Heaven," with her curious offering of cakes, is identified with Astarte-Ashtoreth. The Raven is one of that class of living creatures which, having been originally worshipped, were honoured, and their presence was considered holy, but their specific "holy" character made them "taboo," and as such they were to be avoided. In the article "Ritual" we have a full review of the ideas underlying "Sacrifice," animal and human, with references to Babylonian beliefs. Under "Salt," its use in ritual is exhaustively discussed. "Satyrs," which were probably originally goat-shaped, give us an important chapter in demonology. The lore and worship of "Serpents" are fully discussed. Under "Shoes" the taboo of wearing them in a holy place is considered, as well as the belief, exemplified in the story of Ruth, that drawing off the shoe meant giving up a legal right. "Sodom" gives an opportunity for reviewing the many tales of cities destroyed as a punishment for their iniquity. The article "Stars" collects the folklore connected with the constellations, their worship, and the belief in astrology. The Adonis cult is considered under "Tammuz," and the Ahikar story is reviewed in a valuable article on "Tobit." The article "Tombs" discusses the Hebrew methods of disposal of the dead, and that on "Urim and Thummim" a remarkable method of divination. That on "Trade and Commerce" brings together much useful information, the value of which is increased by excellent maps of the ancient Trade Routes.

The book is thus almost indispensable to all students of anthropology. It is much to be regretted that Professor Cheyne still continues that reckless emendation of the text which characterised the earlier volumes, and persists in a theory, not accepted by the most sober and most qualified Biblical scholars, that early Hebrew history was mainly concerned with the Negeb, or North Arabia, and that the magic word *Jerahmeel* lies at the root of a majority of the personal and local names.

W. CROOKE.

DELHI, PAST AND PRESENT. By H. C. FANSHAWE, C.S.I.,
Bengal Civil Service Retired. London: John Murray.
1902. Price 15s. net.

MR. FANSHAWE has done good service to all archæologists by bringing together in this valuable and well illustrated book all the information available regarding the most interesting of Indian cities. His long service as chief civil officer of the division has familiarised him with the existing buildings, and he has been diligent in collecting all the historical evidence. The volume is, in fact, a glorified guide-book. As such, its present form was perhaps inevitable, but the home reader who has little chance of visiting the place would have preferred another system of arrangement, by which in a series of consecutive chapters the history and associations of this wonderful group of seven independent cities might have been connected with the architectural remains. Treated, as the author has preferred to treat it, according to the geographical position of the buildings, the result, it must be admitted, is rather bewildering, and the value of the work would have been much increased if references to the authorities had been given in foot-notes.

Mr. Fanshawe seems to have little taste for the folklore connected with the famous group of cities. But we have a good account of the great Kutub Minâr and the Iron Pillar with its curious snake legend; of the remarkable saint Nizâmuddîn, who is by tradition connected with the Thugs; and of the curious propitiation for the Emperor Muhammad Shâh: "Under the guidance of the Almighty," writes the Emperor Firoz Shâh, "I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been slain in the reign of my late lord and patron, Sultân Muhammad Shâh, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultân and be appeased with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were placed in a chest at the head of the grave of the late Sultân, in the hope that God, in His great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him" (p. 276-7). The corpse of the ruffian Ghulâm Kâdir, who blinded the unfortunate Emperor Shâh Âlam, was hung from a tree, head downwards. "A black dog with white round the eyes came and licked up the

blood as it dropped. The spectators threw clods and stones at it, but it still kept there. On the third day the corpse disappeared, and the dog also vanished" (p. 283).

It is a pity that Mr. Fanshawe did not add to his budget more stories like these. As it is, the book is of permanent value as a record of facts, and will be a valuable quarry to some writer in the future, who, with a keener eye for romance, will breathe life into the ruins of a site associated with a most tragical past.

W. CROOKE.

HESSISCHE BLÄTTER FÜR VOLKSKUNDE, herausgegeben im Auftrage der Hessischen Vereinigung für Volkskunde, von Adolf Strack. Band I. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1902, 8°, pp. 286. Price 7m. 50.

THIS is the first volume of a new series of *Blätter für Hessische Volkskunde*. A preface explains that the Society has grown considerably, that it hopes to be in a position to publish yearly a volume of this size, and will in future open its columns to papers on subjects not specifically Hessian. In the interests of folklore this decision is to be applauded; the amount of new material to be collected from a single province is after all limited; and even were it not so, it would be desirable for the collector's attention to be called to the folklore of other districts.

The longest paper is Usener's address to the Philological and Pædagogic Congress of 1893, reprinted with full references. It deals with comparative "Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte," and is mainly occupied with a discussion of religious and other societies in classical times and their German analogues. The author lays down the principle that savage parallels may be disregarded because the circumstances are different—a proposition not easy to reconcile with his dictum that the classical and Germanic customs with which he deals are survivals or revivals of really primitive types. The paper is, however, not only valuable as a collection of facts. It is of a most illuminating character, and shows once more what a large field the classical folklorist has before him. In an appendix is given the Luxemburg "Amecht," an annual dramatic performance by the guild of young men.

The Folk-Lore Society may hail it as a joyful sign of the times

that Professor Dieterich's inaugural address to the *Vereinigung* emphasises the importance of the English school of folklore, and points out to German classical scholars that they cannot afford to neglect its methods and results. Comparative mythology of the philological sort has long been dead in England: in Germany it still finds adherents. Professor Dieterich speaks with no uncertain sound on the subject, and we may hope that a society founded under such auspices will be the means of doing much good work.

Of the remaining twelve papers, two discuss the aims and sphere of *Volkskunde*, and one, dealing with fifteenth-century *Flurnamen*, is rather archæology than folklore. Of the collections, the most interesting is one from Upper Hesse, made about the middle of the last century. A second is composed of *Vierzeiler*—four-line verses in use among the peasants at dances, &c. Professor Dieterich and Herr Köhler discuss *Himmelsbriefe* in classical times—letters, for use in magic, believed to have fallen, or been sent, from heaven. There are also accounts of the village feast at Vogelsberg and Whitsuntide customs at Hugen. A long paper is devoted to the custom of “riding the stang” and the allied one of untiling the roof. The author seriously discusses whether the former custom is a piece of rustic fun, consciously devised to increase the diversions of the Carnival. A better example of the necessity of going further afield for comparative material could hardly have been given; it is to be found in Liebrecht's *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 384. Had the author known of the English parallels, he could hardly have regarded the custom as other than traditional, and of early origin. In another example of these popular courts of justice, the Cour-du-Coucou, near Theux, in Belgium (Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Calendrier belge*, ii., 115; cf. Haron, *Contributions au Folklore de la Belgique*, ix., 33), we have traces of customs apparently intended as rain charms. It seems not improbable that this popular justice was originally dispensed at annual assemblies, at which magic was also worked. Herr Wunsch discusses in a short paper why a mother pretends to blow the pain away when a child has hurt itself, and he comes to the conclusion that we must look to the popular beliefs connecting the breath with the life and the soul. A less remote principle is probably at work. Children are highly suggestible; the practice is thus on a par with wart-charming and similar so-called superstitious rites.

If we may make a suggestion to the editor, it would be to give up some space to *Collectanea*; it will do more to promote the collectors' activity than any number of appeals.

N. W. THOMAS.

SHORT NOTICES.

Les Primitifs : Études d'Ethnologie comparée. Par ÉLIE RECLUS.
Paris : Librairie C. Reinwald. 1903.

This is a new edition of a work originally issued in 1885, of which an excellent English version was published by Mr. Havelock Ellis in the *Contemporary Science* series twelve years ago. It is unchanged in any respect, and is vitiated, like the earlier edition, by the want of exact references to the authorities made use of in the compilation.—E. S. H.

Early Defensive Earthworks. By S. CHALKLEY GOULD. Bedford Press.

History of the County of Dublin. By F. ELRINGTON BALL. Part I. 1902. Dublin : A. Thom and Co.

Bi-literal Cypher of Francis Bacon : Replies. By ELIZ. GALLUP. Gay and Bird.

The first and second of these publications are of archæological interest only. *Early Defensive Earthworks* is a short specialist pamphlet, good of its kind; and though the *History of Dublin* is a well-printed prettily-illustrated book, containing much pleasant and useful information about County Dublin, yet it is the list of authorities cited more than the book itself that is likely to prove useful to students of folklore. Mrs. Gallup's *Replies* belong rather to the domain of literary controversy, and though they may provide material for future folklorists (under the heading of "Popular Delusions"), they cannot be said to come within our scope at present.—L. M. E.

Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XIV.]

DECEMBER, 1903.

[No. IV.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24th, 1903.

Mr. G. L. Gomme (VICE-PRESIDENT) in the Chair.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Sunderland Free Library as a Member of the Society was announced.

The following weapons, fire-sticks, charms, &c., from Mapoon Cape, Yorke Peninsula, North Queensland, lent by Mrs. D. C. McConnel of Crenbrook, Queensland, were exhibited by the Secretary, viz. :—

1. Necklace of pearl shell.
2. Necklace of opossum hair.
3. Shells used as charms.
4. Throwing sticks used also for defence in fighting.
5. Brush used for taking wild honey out of hollow trees (the honey made by a small black stingless bee).
6. Yam stick used for digging up roots, also used as a weapon by the women.
7. Necklace of parrot's feathers.
8. Dilly bags for men and women (the women carry their babies in dilly bags on their backs, also their food, nuts, &c.).
9. Fire stick, the point protected from damp by a cap made of berries stuck together by gum. The stick is placed point downwards on a piece of dry wood surrounded by

leaves and rubbed round and round between the palms of the hands till sparks are emitted and the leaves take fire.

10. Spear tipped with kangaroo bones.
11. A dress.
12. Charm necklace of sharks' tails.
13. Shell necklace.
14. Dilly bag carried by men.
15. Spear with bone tip.
16. Spear without tip used for practice.
17. Tool used in making spears.
18. Heavy spear used for kangaroos and big game.
19. Spear used for catching stingaree (a fish).

Professor Japp having offered some observations on the objects, Mr. C. J. Tabor read a paper entitled "Some Notes on the Habits and Folklore of the Natives of Roebuck Bay, Western Australia, communicated by Mrs. J. A. Peggs." [*infra*, p. 324.]

The following objects illustrative of the paper were exhibited, viz. :—

1. Shields from Roebuck Bay. [Plate XV., fig. 6].
2. A shield of softer wood from another district. [Fig. 15.]
3. A bark yandi, called also pingin or wandus.
4. Two wooden yandis.
5. A walkerberri.
6. A knobkerri.
7. A woomerra. [Fig. 5.]
8. Ceremonial swords. [Figs. 7 and 12.]
9. Kylies from the Great Sandy Desert.
10. A nulla-nulla, or fighting-stick.
11. A small digging-stick used by women.
12. Two fish kylies, one with white bands on red wood, the other showing the signature of King Ross. [Figs. 18, 19, 21, 22.]
13. Pieces of wood used in fire-making. [Fig. 17.]
14. Grinding stones.
15. Arrow-heads and fittings.

16. Spear-points.
17. A bull-roarer. [Fig. 23.]
18. Lauries or talking-sticks. [Figs. 20, 24, 26, 27.]
19. Chastity shells and girdles. [Figs. 8, 9, 11.]
20. Shell necklaces. [Fig. 14.]
21. A skull.
22. An initiation mask. [Fig. 10.]
23. A coral kylie. [Fig. 29.]
24. A charm against sickness. [Figs. 2 and 13.]
25. A shell letter of introduction. [Figs. 3 and 4.]
26. Charms.
27. A green tomahawk head.
28. A spindle with which hair belts are made. [Fig. 13A.]
29. Pieces of wilgy. [Fig. 16.]
30. Nose ornaments of bone. [Fig. 25.]
31. Bones used in blood ceremonies. [Fig. 30.]
32. White wood stick used at Kobba-Kobba. [Fig. 16A.]
33. Bunch of emu feathers. [Fig. 1.]
34. Lumps of native medicine.
35. Lumps of wilgy for painting the face.
36. Couries, flower seeds, and bird flowers.
37. A hair rope covered with wilgy.

A discussion followed the paper, in which Professor Japp, Miss Eyre, and the Chairman took part.

The Meeting concluded with votes of thanks to Mrs. McConnel for the loan of her Queensland objects for exhibition, to Mr. Tabor for his paper, to Mrs. Tabor for exhibiting the objects illustrating the paper, and to Mrs. Peggs for the communications from which the paper was compiled.

NOTES ON THE ABORIGINES OF ROEBUCK BAY,
WESTERN AUSTRALIA.*

BY ADA JANET PEGGS.

(Read at Meeting, 20th June, 1903).

[THE following paper consists of extracts selected from letters written by Mrs. J. A. Peggs, (*née* Tabor), to Mrs. C. J. Tabor between the years 1898 and 1901. Mrs. Peggs acquired her taste for anthropology and its kindred sciences by attending the meetings of the Folk-Lore Society, and when upon her marriage she accompanied her husband to Roebuck Bay, she began a regular series of letters home, descriptive of the manners and customs of the native races with whom she came into contact. These notes are here printed as received, without addition, alteration, arrangement, or criticism by myself. Mrs. Peggs, who is now in England, has read the manuscript and made some trifling corrections.

The plate (XV.) of the principal objects exhibited at the meeting, all of which have been in actual use, is taken from a photograph by myself of the articles which are now in my private collection. (They may be seen upon application.) The photographs of tribesmen and tribal marks were forwarded at different times with the letters (Plates X-XIV.)

C. J. TABOR.]

Roebuck Bay, W. A., December 12th, 1898. Although first impressions are not always the truest, still what strikes one as strange on first coming into a new country may by a closer association pass unnoticed, or become so familiar as to be part of one's life, and lose all significance. Therefore, just so much as I have seen since we have been here I am jotting down for you, and also some odd bits of information that I have gained. It may or may not be of

folklore interest, but I think as we are in so primitive a place with the "bush" so close—in fact one could by plunging into the bush within five minutes from the house get lost and wander for hours with nothing to guide one again to the place from which one started—we shall after a time be able to send you much information of the habits and superstitions of the aborigines who are all about and around us.

As we were walking up from the jetty on the day of our arrival we passed a woman in whose hair were an innumerable quantity of lumps of red mud. On inquiry I found that this was a sign of mourning amongst the natives. Later I heard that only the women "decorated" their heads and so went into mourning, and then they were exempt from working, with the exception of attending to the fire. Afterwards I noticed many women in mourning, and was told their tribe so intermarried (or rather were so interconnected) that the mourning might be for the remotest of connections.

The natives here are so primitive that they do not know the value of money, and instead, for a day's work, are paid with a stick of tobacco and a pannikin of either flour or rice. We have several on the station here; and while at work the men wear an old pair of pants or trousers and a vest; the women, a vest and sarong. The children go perfectly naked, but as soon as work is finished by the men, off come the clothes, excepting a string round the waist to which is attached an old bit of rag in front, or their hair belt and chastity shell.¹ Soon they disappear into the bush, the men carrying a long spear of sharpened wood, a small wooden shield, and two or three boomerangs (*kylies*). The women sometimes carry a *kylie* too, and always what are known as digging-sticks (a long thick stick shaped somewhat like a spud at one end), which they use as weapons of defence, as well as to procure for their husbands certain roots and sweet potatoes [see *sequitur*]. They do not walk

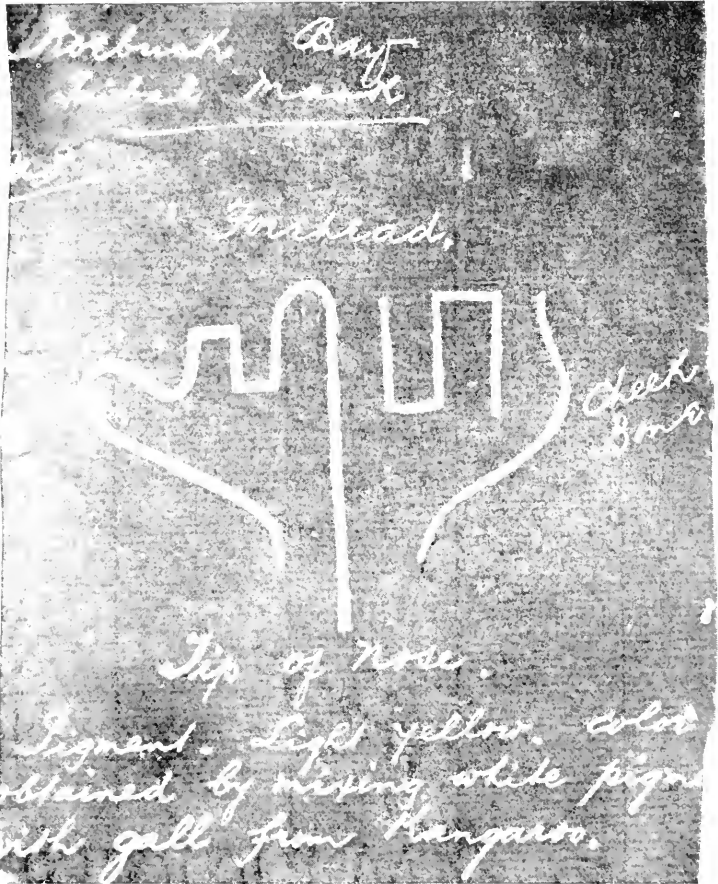
¹ See further, p. 334.

abreast, but a few paces behind each other. There is the perpetual pipe amongst them, which after one has had a whiff or two is passed along to another; men, women, and children smoking alike. They go to catch birds, animals, or food generally; or perhaps to bring the cattle or horses in for the station, for the latter are sent adrift to feed themselves, and should the horses be wanted a native is sent out to track and bring them in. As a rule the cows do not need tracking, as the calves are kept penned up and the mothers return to feed them. I can, from where I am sitting, see a civilised aboriginal home; it is made with a tree as primary support, with two props a few feet out, no sides, but a thatch of scrub bush; a wooden box placed on end, makes it an aboriginal mansion. The day before yesterday my husband came to me and took me into the nigger camp to see a man making a kylie; and with the most primitive of tools, scrape, scrape, scraping away, he had been for hours, apparently making no impression on the wood yet very gradually shaping it. Jack¹ saw it in the morning, I in the evening, and then it was far from finished. Next day we went again; it was done, and embellished with the decoration of that man's tribe and given to me, "him good pfeller boomerang." The man had been trying it. They throw them on the wind to cause them to turn again to near where they were thrown.

The boomerangs used for fishing are concave on both sides; those for catching birds, on one side only; those used in warfare are different. Yesterday I saw them making a spear, just a pointed stick, but the point is sharp; the other part of the stick was in its rough state, but has to be smoothed down, which is done by scraping with glass after it has been straightened and toughened by fire. It is subsequently finished by being polished.

The natives here when on the march rub a white pigment in circles or lines over their faces and bodies. The bodies

¹ Mr. J. A. Peggs.



TRIBAL MARK, ROEBUCK BAY.

of those too who have reached a certain age are covered with wheals. Cuts are made into the flesh of the arms, back, and breast with a bit of glass bottle, and ashes or sand is rubbed into the wound to prevent the flesh closing up.

This morning we were out for a walk before the sun was up, and passed a group of natives. In the midst of them was a man wearing what my husband told me was a girdle of chastity, in the form of a large pearl oyster shell decorated with a sort of key-pattern, the pattern scratched in with a pointed nail and *wilgy*¹ rubbed in until the shell has the appearance of being inlaid. . . .

The aborigines obtain fire by rubbing two sticks together—a very long process. I think I mentioned that they covered themselves with a decoration in red and white, black and grey. The three latter are made from the ashes of the wood fire mixed with beef fat; the red pigment by scraping the blocks of ironstone together, and making a paste in the same manner, which is streaked in all sorts of devices, according to tribe, over their faces and bodies. 'Possum fur is also used for decorative purposes, and is made to adhere by blood and spinifex gum. The whole of the soil here is of loose red sand or ironstone. Yesterday while out walking we came across a camp of aborigines on the sea-shore; the houses, or "biggars," to use the native term, look like haycocks. Round about were the fires, and children were playing at throwing the boomerang. I made inquiries about a man we recently saw whose face and body were covered with *wilgy*, and I hear that when a man becomes engaged to be married, he smears himself or is smeared entirely over from head to foot with the ironstone clay mixed as aforementioned. Then he has to sit perfectly still for three days and nights. The tribe holds a big feast meanwhile, and so that none of the clay may come off, the engaged man is fed by his friends. The clay remains on

¹ *Wilgy*, see below, p. 338.

the man as far as possible for him to keep it on until his marriage.¹

On Tuesday, Mr. Macpherson (the Superintendent) gave me over a dozen black cowrie shells,² and Mr. Kenny three glass spear-heads, which the prisoners in the prison opposite where we are living had made; one is of white glass, one green, and one dark smoke-colour. He also gave me a stone tomahawk, the head most beautifully finished, as smooth as possible, representing an infinite amount of labour; he showed me also a very fine necklace made of round shells looking like long bugles, which he says he will divide and give me part of. Old William, who does an occasional day's work here, had one on something like it, but this came from a tribe the other side of the Bay.

Our only means of getting about, unless one possesses a horse, is by walking; our only means of communicating with the outer world is by the steamers which run from Singapore to Fremantle. It takes, if one give an order for anything in way of rice, flour, potatoes, and almost everything in the way of eatables, six weeks before they are received from the town. Beef is cheap, and so is mutton when we can get it. . . .

Jan. 30th, 1899.—The weather is furiously and phenomenally hot here just now, the glass standing at 106, and more, in the shade all this week. Everyone, even the natives are feeling it; not that the glass is so high as is sometimes experienced, but that there is a peculiar something in the air which is making all suffer very badly with paroxysms of intense pain.

Just opposite our little home there is a sand-hill on which stands a Binghi camp (so the natives are called in this district), and whilst the moon has been approaching the full every night there has been a Kobba-Kobba or corroboree,

See further, p. 332.

² *From a later letter:*—"The nearly black cowrie shells Mr. M. gave me are valued at from 5s. to £5. I shall send you some of those too."



TRIBAL MARK.

To face p. 320.

which in our language means conversation or meeting to talk (a sort of social evening or night, for until long into the night the Kobba-Kobba continues). The camp stands on the top of the hill, and as there are good fires burning as well as the pure clear light of the moon, the men appear silhouetted against the sky, and advance or retire as if a wrestling match (but a very long-continued one) were on. The women sing in a peculiar way and screech occasionally, urging the men on. All the while there is a beating of sticks for music, as the dancing goes on. While I was ill a fight took place in the bush, in which one of the Cable House niggers was wounded very seriously. Our nigger, a man named Sheep (since dismissed) was out with him, and finding his friend overpowered and hurt, gave himself a very severe blow on the head, laying the bone bare, and rushed streaming with blood to tell the Cable House people, and so procure assistance: a usual practice with the niggers, who when they find their friends are on the losing side, hurt themselves and then go for help.

Our late Superintendent, Mr. Macpherson, told me if ever when out shooting he saw a snake, the natives with him would not attempt to kill it; they were afraid to go near, and he had to strike it on the head himself and tell the boys to bring it along, which they would do by coiling it all round their bodies. As you know, unless the backbone be broken, eels and also snakes still twist about: well, the snake occasionally untwisted and fell off the boys. Still they would not break its back, but picked up the carcass, wound it round them, then on again after "Ross" (as Mr. Macpherson was always called by them), until from the constant wriggling off of the reptile they were left far behind.

The niggers in our service are of a different tribe to those hereabouts. They came from Lagrange Bay. A few nights back Billie told us there would be a big Kobba-Kobba just over the other side of the plain near our house,

and invited us; the man with the mail was coming over from Lagrange, and as the moon was at first quarter this was to be held. When Billie heard we would go, away he went to the camp on the hill, and did not return until I had cooked my dinner (he helps generally), and then he was in full war paint. Round his head was what appeared a wreath of white flowers (shavings they were); and the same round the upper part of the arm, where the cord bound tightly above the elbow of the right arm is worn by initiated men.¹ Since Billie has been with us he has attained to the age when he may have that cord decoration round his arm, and painful he must have found it the first few days, for the flesh was swollen. Besides this, he has another mark across his chest. In his case the marks are not raised, but look long deep scars made by cutting with a piece of wood, and afterwards burning. Maggie too has a fresh mark made in the same way on the lower part of her neck, from the shoulder towards the right breast. To return to decoration for Kobba-Kobba. Over the trunk part of Billie's body, which appeared shiny, as if oiled, was a dotted decoration done all in white, which, on since questioning, he has told me was the decoration of his tribe, and represented a big white tree. Round his loins a red handkerchief was tightly fixed. In his hands during the dance he held two thin white sticks. When we had finished dinner, we were led by Maggie (for Billie had again disappeared) through one of the nigger-tracks to the place of meeting. On our appearance at the top of the opening leading to the small lower land, the music commenced—the said music being made by the clapping of two kylies together, either rapidly or slowly, and a singing accompaniment of the player; in this instance, one man only. I want you to see what we saw, but hardly know how to put it into words. The small opening formed a plain of sandy earth, from

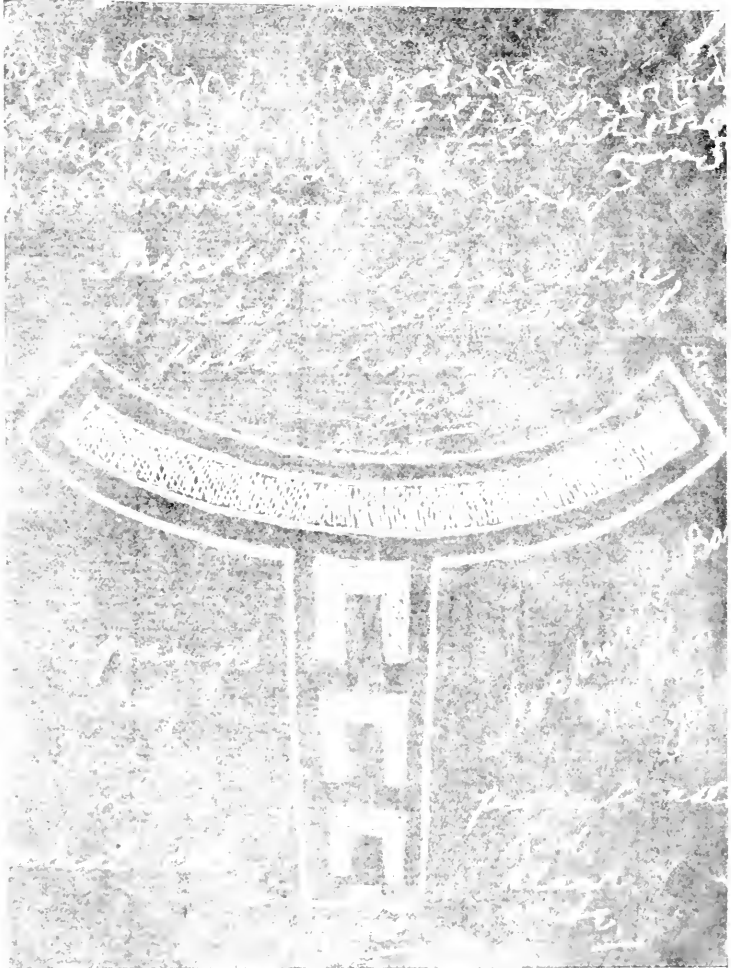
¹ The cord is used much as we use our pockets, the pipe and tobacco being often stuck into it when not in use, though the back of the ear or the matted hair often serves for the same purpose.

which practically all scrub was cleared. In the centre of this was the camp-fire of grass, which was constantly being replenished by tiny black boys, who ran backwards and forwards to the rising ground around, getting fresh fuel. In all this corroboree we saw only two black women, and they were quite outside the circle of light. The rising ground was covered with bushes, high grass, &c. Just round the fire were the musician and between twenty and thirty niggers, generally the older men and quite young boys. From the distended appearance of their stomachs they had evidently all had an enormous meal. After the music had commenced a minute or two—from his turning first to one side then to the other, I should think the musician was singing a description of the dance—there came stealing along with much hesitation and feigning to return, a long line of weird black figures out from the bushes, advancing to the light, and making as they came several sudden stoopings to earth (not bendings, but almost sitting on the heels), as if to avoid, perhaps, a flight of kylies. This movement was accompanied by shuddering sounds, and all the time their whole bodies appeared shaking all over, as first they turned to one side and then the other. Suddenly a twist, and all had disappeared again. Once more they appeared, and a second line came from the opposite direction, advancing, stooping, coming in towards the flickering firelight, turning to one side and then to the other; then suddenly they rushed away. By-and-by they circled round, looking like high-stepping horses, so high they raised their feet. Then they appeared to sing, but it required a quick ear to catch the sound, which was a mere whisper, accompanied by occasional nasal or guttural noises, the singers advancing to or retiring from the fire, beating the earth in parts with their feet to keep time. By-and-by a man rushed in among the dancers with a wisp of grass in each hand. By the laughter of the niggers round the fire and the sudden break-up and disappearance of the performers

it seemed that he formed the disturbing element in shape of the clown. Then for a little while the dancers were gone. Meanwhile the musician sang a fresh song, and a most emphatic one. We did not understand a word of course, but should fancy, from the fire he put into it, it was a war song. This was in parts accompanied by the clapping of the kylies of those round the fire. Then when this was finished the other music began again, and the dance was renewed until the old nigger came along and kicked out the fire. Then our Billie said "phinishum missus." It seemed we had only been away from home a few minutes, but we found it was nearly two hours. I must say all the dancers were not decorated as was our Billie—only about three others—the rest had various markings, some up and down the body, some across; others looked almost like skeletons. All had either wands or kylies in their hands. There were about twenty or thirty in the dance, and the same ones the whole time. The tribe or rather tribes about here (for according to their marriage laws two of a tribe may not marry) are those of whom my husband told Mr. Tabor when in England, and which is gradually exterminating itself. . . .

Concerning marriage laws. There are say four tribes, A, B, C, D. A male of A marries a female of B, the children of this marriage are C. A male of C tribe marries a female of D, and the children are A. A male of D tribe marries a female of C tribe, and the children are B. A male of B tribe marries a female of A tribe, and the children are D. If such a thing occur as a marriage into a forbidden tribe, the man is immediately speared.

I am not taking any notes of what I write to you, but have one or two corrections to make, from further information, with respect to an engaged man painting his face. I have heard on good authority that when a man is wanting a wife he plasters himself with the mud. Practically the engagement and marriage are one—it is by capture. A few days back, a very laughable incident occurred the other way



TRIBAL MARK, LAGRANGE BAY.

about just near our house. Two women wanted the same man in marriage. He had ideas of another woman, and consequently was running away from the first two. They were after him, and it ended up in having a regular fight over him. Such screeching and excitement amongst the other niggers! However, 'twas soon over; the man got off, and only returned to camp next day.

I have told you Billy belongs to Lagrange. The other day he came from his camp with his head bound round with a red handkerchief, and sticking out from the back was what I imagined to be a small kylie. However, when Jack came home, Billie in high glee presented him with the ornament, for that is what it turned out to be. He described it as a hairpin. The native name is *Laurie*. [Plate XV., figs. 20, 24.] As the language is an unwritten one, I do not know if I spell words correctly: the "a" in the word has a long, soft sound. He said, "From my country, master." A Sunday or two back Billie's father, by name Duncan, came with the mails from Lagrange Bay. (The natives by their known tracks cover the distance in three days' walking; it takes a white man five days on horseback.) His payment for bringing the mails was his food and a couple of sticks of tobacco. He remained here two days, during which time Billie gave him his *Ki-ki*¹ (very hard *i*), then went back.

Another correction to make is, that men and children go nude, but the women are different. Both Jack and I notice that however little covering they have elsewhere the breasts are always covered. I have only seen one or two women with breasts bare. They look comical with their covering, either a sarong or skirt, tied above the breasts and under the arms. The last few Saturdays and Sundays in the piece of ground near us there has been great kylie-throwing, and Jack has taken those we have for you out to be thrown; the natives immediately they touch them know if they be good—"that pfeller im no good"—"that pfeller go fishum." So

¹ *Ki-ki*, food.

we find two of yours are fishing ones, the bad ones Jack has thrown away.

As to the chastity girdle, such small bits of information as I have gained I will put down here. As I said before, it takes the form of a pearl-shell—in many cases carved—and is worn by the man or woman as a signification that they have had no sexual intercourse. After marriage the wearing of it is discontinued by the woman. This Jack got out of Billie last night. Before a male can take a wife he has to be what the niggers call “made a man of.” It appears when a “boy” is to be “made a man of,” he is taken to “bush,” where a number of buck-niggers are collected each with stick in hand; the boy is made to run through the bush until he drops with exhaustion; he is then beaten, and made to rise and run again, and so on. When he is nearly dead with fatigue a fire is made, and the operation of circumcision is very roughly performed by cutting with two bits of glass. After the wound has healed a further operation is performed.¹ Girls go through an operation too, that of being forced to sit for a certain time on various sized cones, but it often happens that both boys and women have before the operations had intercourse, and there is a child or two. The boy after the foregoing ceremony is sworn not to tell the younger ones of his acquaintance, and is then left to recover under charge of an old gin or buck native who feeds and looks after him. When recovered he may again show his face in the camp, and may choose a wife. An old hag is usually the first one; he then has to fight for the younger women. No women are admitted to the man-making ceremony. Even a wife can return to her own camp if she likes, and is not happy, and each time the man has to fight afresh to regain her.

The man I mentioned in my first letter [p. 327] was afterwards our nigger for a time, but a very surly one. He had

¹ Cf. *Report of the Horn Scientific Expedition*, iv., 169.

a most wonderful hair girdle wound round and round his body, and the mode of making is by plucking the hair out of the head and weaving it into a long rope. If some hair of a dead warrior can be woven with it, so much the more brave and successful in battle does the wearer expect to become. He wears also a piece of shell behind his ear. Jack says it is an ornament only.

When Billie came up Jack asked him to read the *laurie*, or as Billie pronounces it *lowrie*. I learned last week that was also known as a talking-stick, a means of communication between the natives. Jack at same time got him to make his marks in a book we keep for putting down the native words in, and afterwards made him read what he had written. This is the translation: "By-and-by s'pose I go along country see brother and father, see mother, see my uncle, see my sister and wife" (or as he put it, *store*). It turned out that he has another wife "along of his country," whom his mother looks after for him.¹ The same day that he read the talking-stick, he had asked permission to go to his own country, and had arranged with two other niggers to come and take his and Maggie's place while they were away, which would be for a fortnight. Jack told him the plain was impassable owing to the rain, but he said he had had message, or *Milly-Milly*—"all same wood"—and that told him "all same road other side plain could go along." However, the continued stormy weather has either flooded the road or washed it away, so he has not gone yet. He wanted to go—had had message from his father. This is how he told us: "You savey my father, my father savey you, you good pfeller, my father have catchee green farret and red farret, along a bush, him wantum box, can bring um 'long a you, and a lot of other birds too." From what we could make out, a *farret* is a parrot. He goes alone to his own country, and while he is away Maggie goes along a bush get other pfeller nigger; it's the same with them all.

¹ See further, p. 341.

A Mr. Rowe who dined with us last week has made many notes on the ways of natives, and has said he will let us see them. Amongst other things he told us, if a big Kobba-Kobba was being held the natives could always tell what friends would join by just glancing round the horizon; and by the way the smoke from the fires rose they knew whether contingents from other parts would come to the invitation sent on talking-sticks some time before, say twenty days. Niggers cannot count to such a number, but the man who presents the stick puts up his hands and points to a certain joint. If he has been one day from his starting-place then he points to the second joint of the little finger, which means one day less than what the stick says. When he goes on to another tribe he is, perhaps, two days, and then he points to the first joint of the third finger (beginning always at the root of the finger), which means three days less, and so on, until he has taken the invitation all round. Again (this both from Mr. Rowe and Mr. Murphy), supposing anyone dies:—in one case it was a baby, the father and mother (both employed *now* at the hotel here) wept and howled and finally banged their heads together until the blood ran, which blood was allowed to drip on the dead child lying on the ground. Two friends, in this case women, who had not met for a long time, both sat down by the fire facing each other, neither taking any notice of the other, until either the younger or inferior one (that is, tribally inferior) rose, banged herself on the head with a stick and made blood run, then banged her friend; and there was a mingling of blood, which is a sign of renewal of friendship. According to Brother Daly, where his mission is at Lagrange Bay, until quite recently it was a very usual thing for the mothers to bury their (superfluous) babies alive, especially if female.

Yesterday Billie brought me a lizard about the length of the whole size of this paper and half as broad—(sixteen inches by five)—which Maggie had found in bush. I asked him if he ate it. No, only old men and women ate that

sort, he had a larger sort ; and he stooped down and made marks on the kitchen floor to show me. After the dogs had worried it a bit, it was taken to camp and cooked in the ashes.

A short account of the funeral ceremonies of the aborigines may interest you. One of them died in the camp near us, March 29th, [1899]. The first intimation I received of it was a great screeching and howling. I went to the verandah to see, and after a short time a long line of black figures appeared, headed by three natives in full war paint, the centre man bearing what appeared a heavy load, as he was supported on either side by a man. I could not think what the long object tied up in sacking could be, until Billie and Maggie came along in a great hurry, Billie to fetch his kylies, spears, &c. ; then I heard "black pfeller had died," and they were taking him to bury him in bush. The long thin black line of figures passed by the side of the house, and away into bush, wailing going on all the time. and dying away in the distance. Again it grew nearer and nearer, and the long trail of howling figures appeared once more and made their way to the camp. The wife and children were the last to return, and at some distance from the rest. By this time dusk had set in. The warriors returned as they went, carrying their spears over their shoulders, their kylies and shields in their other hands. The women all brought bundles of wood, and soon the reflection from the camp fires rose above the hill. On the Saturday following the same wailing took place at midday, and the same long lines of black warriors and gins. On questioning Maggie she said they had gone to the grave. I dined that evening with the resident magistrate, and asked him what are the funeral rites? He told me the body was buried in a sitting position ; the wife and women connected with the man cut themselves on the head with broken glass and bits of tin to make blood flow, and after the ceremony of the funeral was fully over would

neither go near the place of burial nor mention the man's name, and if asked about him would say they had forgotten such a man had existed. On the Monday following the funeral there was another visit to the dead man's grave, and Maggie told me "phinishum," or that was the end; "not go again." Several women, at present attached to a Malay camp in the next compound to ours, wear *wilgy*, (that is, a mixture of red sand and fat), in their hair; and the widow, whom I passed the other day, had also a shark's tooth dangling in front of her eyes, another sign of mourning. The evening of the death, a Mr. Pilkington was with us, and as the wailing was still going on, our conversation turned on the ceremony. He had travelled for twenty years backwards and forwards on camels, in caravans, on horseback, &c., through certain tracts of Central and South Australia. He gave me a few bits of information. It appears the natives are very jealous of allowing a white man to attend their ceremonies, especially those of the man-making, and the funeral rites, but he told us that in Central Australia when a man dies a large shallow hole, eight feet by four, is scooped out, and before the body is buried it is taken up and held above the head or as high as possible, and thrown down into the hole three times; then part of the body is uncovered, generally the face, sometimes the chest, and a lump of flesh cut out, which is given to the oldest gin in the camp. He could not discover what eventually became of it. The camp was then moved away from where the man died. It is the same here with regard to camp moving. We asked Billie what became of the wife of the dead man, and in a very off-hand manner he said, "Oh! she soon get other warrior!!" I noticed that all those wearing chastity girdles had something—a handkerchief or a bit of rag—in front of them, and only when moving I noticed the glitter of the shells in the rays of the setting sun as the men walked.

Mr. Rowe¹ tells me [that when] two friends marry, two brothers may be, and each says to the other, "Suppose your wife (*loobra*) has a child and a girl, I make her my wife"—if a daughter be the first issue of the one, the other man takes her for wife, but she only occupies a subordinate position, and has to fetch water, chop wood, and becomes "maid" generally to the first wife. Supposing seven sons come to the second man, and should the eighth be a girl, then she goes to the friend for wife. I have since heard that a man can have several wives here.

I have lately become possessed of a fire-stick which made the fire for the Kobba-Kobba at last full moon—I believe a very large one which lasted four days—also a broken kangaroo-stick. The one I have is decorated. I asked Billie how it was done. He said "all same nail." Jack has a piece of pearl-shell. It formed a letter of introduction for a man coming from Beagle Bay, passing through Lagrange Bay. [Plate XV., fig 3.] He had met and known some of Billie's relations there, and the writing is asking Billie to do what he can to help the man here. It was worn round the neck by a string, with the piece of shell placed just over the shoulder. To show he received and acknowledged the same, Billie jerked the string to break it, part of which still remains in the hole. Billie brought me a bit of the red stone with which they make the paint to cover their bodies. Some ant-nests I have seen when driving through the bush have been at least six to eight feet high, irregularly built of red earth, very hard, and supposed or rather known to extend underground some distance. I hear the natives use the hard ant-hill earth for medicine in nearly all complaints, but I have not seen it, and all the gentlemen who know I am seeking for folk-history say I am not likely to see it, being a woman!! women not being accounted much amongst the natives. The native doctor is a real sight. If the natives have a man sick, whom the white doctor does

¹ *Ante*, p. 336.

not make well as soon as they think he should, then the invalid is taken into bush and the medicine-man attends him. Whatever and wherever the ache, pain, or wound be, the doctor after mumbling some words to exorcise the "debil-debil," as he is called, scoops a hole in the sand, goes to the man, mumbles something, handles the affected part, and makes a pretence of taking a double handful of pain away, and flinging it into the hole; and returning asks, "Is it better?" He does the same again, and continues casting out devils, until the hole is considered full. Suppose then the answer still remains "No," another hole is dug, and that filled until the man be relieved of his pain, or believes that he is so.

Our Billie and Maggie went, with our permission, to their own country, and have not returned yet; in their place we have a Beagle Bay man. (Until within the last twenty years the natives of that district were cannibals, eating their women-children as well as burying them alive.) On June 23rd, [1899] we witnessed a glorious eclipse of the moon (total) on a perfectly cloudless night. A couple of days before this I told Kelly, or, to use his native name, Yamadeir, what was going to happen. He pondered how I knew. When the night came he told me, while dinner was in preparation, "he belonged frightened pfeller." Jack went out and talked with him, telling him to come and sit with us on the front verandah and watch with us. That, however, would not do, and as soon as he could, he cleared to his camp. A few nights later Jack closely questioned him (as I, being a woman, can gain very little information from them), with this result. He told him that when the moon (Beagle Bay native name, *Konyook*) goes out, "all same other night," it is a prognostication of death to a man; and it happened. Suppose a child is born during an eclipse of moon, a boy is always born; that happened. In summer, wind is denoted by an eclipse; in winter, rain; the moon being hungry wants to eat someone (a man), so gets dark to do it. "The moon,

savey, does not want to eat woman ;” and although both sexes are frightened at the phenomenon, the men are more so. The sun does not count. Kelly calls the sun *Waalk*, while Billy, a Lagrange Bay boy, called it *Buddhra*. Mr. Rowe’s version of the eclipses among his natives is, they think the moon belong sick pfeller, so goes black.

You ask is marriage by capture a real or sham fight ? I should say, very real here, for when Kelly came to us he had his head very much bound about, the result of a fight for the possession of a woman whom another man fancied, and won. The victor, however, since there are police about to stop such fights, was taken and imprisoned ; nevertheless, by right of conquest the woman belongs to him. So I have no woman about the place. A fight sometimes lasts, if not to the death, to very near it. Speaking with the magistrate the other day, he said probably Billie’s other wife [see p. 335] was what is known as a *given woman*, being yet a child ; and until of marriageable age would remain in his mother’s care ; then afterwards Maggie could make her drudge for her—to carry and fetch water, and so on.

There seems to be a strain of the Mohammedan or Jew in these blacks, and I hear of it as being the same in South Australia ; they will never touch pork, however hungry they may be. Even away hundreds of miles from civilisation it is the same.

A fortnight since, a boat containing three men was overturned near here. One man succeeded in swimming ashore, the others were drowned. The water policeman wanted ten niggers to go with him to scour the beach for the bodies, the reward a bag of rice and a pound of tobacco ; but try as he would could not obtain the men, they having a fear of *dead men*. After much urging three or four were persuaded, including Kelly, and search was made, but no result. . . .

We have become possessed of another Bull-Roarer, or Whistling-Stick, the markings on it being entirely different

to anything we have, being circular instead of the pointed design. [Plate XV., fig. 23]. Another thing we have; Jack tells me it is of great value, and cannot imagine how I managed to get it out of the native as I did. It is a sort of sacred beheading-sword of very heavy wood, and has seen great service. Jack went to have a *wangie* (talk) with the native who gave it, with the weapon, to try and get him to tell him what the markings meant; but he was frightened lest some of the other natives should see we had it, and made Jack hide it under his coat. It appears now it had been stolen from a camp, and those natives from whence it came were then out hunting for it. I see no mention of such a sword in the Horn Expedition. [Plate XV., fig. 7.] It seems that our greatest treasure in the way of native things is the mask.¹ No one can believe we have such a thing until they see it; they say the natives are very particular to bury them after use. We keep that under lock and key. . . .

The other Sunday Mrs. Ellice's girl's dress caught fire. She rushed out into the breeze and was burned from head to foot in consequence. Mrs. Ellice dressed the burns and had the doctor to see her. She got on as well as could be expected, when two days ago a very long deep wound was observed. The girl declared *debil-debil* had got to her heart and was burning it up; she refused to see the white doctor, and so the native doctor was called. He has begun his incantation, and she is already better. I would greatly like to have seen the man and his work of casting out the devil. Mr. Ellice, however, told me how he proceeded when Dobbin, the man who was so badly wounded on our first arrival, was treated. He was taken to the prison, where Dr. Vines saw and stitched up the wound, but that would not do at all; *debil-debil* had got him, he must see his *loopen gullery*-man. The man came, and after stripping both himself and Dobbin to the loin-cloth commenced his

¹ Plate XV., fig. 10. See further, p. 345, 354.

incantations. First he drew out the skin of his own stomach with both hands as far as it could be stretched, then let it go back with a smack; did the same to Dobbin, then proceeded to chew an imaginary something from Dobbin, cast it away and spat out. He did the same to the elbows and other joints, and finally declared him all right now; "more better come sit down along a camp." The man, although in collapse from loss of blood, was carried along to camp, where the same proceedings were gone through night and morning. In a fortnight or three weeks the man was walking about. Here the natives are dreadfully frightened of debil-debil; and it is not a night fear, he comes in the day-time too. It appears the debil-debil is invisible also, for on inquiring what he is like I get no answer. In our old Mary's case debil-debil pulled her hair, pulled off her blanket and such-like things. Next morning she was "plenty sick along a head" (I put it down to nightmare); we could get her to do no work, and in the afternoon she got Josepha to walk up and down her chest and stomach by way of cure.

Cannibalism is supposed to be non-existent here, but is it? I asked Mary if she had eaten a baby? She said no, but told me of another woman who had. Although as much is done as possible to prevent infanticide, one sees but few girls about. . . .

Yesterday we wished you had been with us, for we went to a native fight. A short time ago there was a little upset next door to us with the natives, when Jimmy tried to kill Gilly because she would not live with him, she being his *given woman*, and preferring instead a man named Daylight. Jimmy was taken to prison, and whilst he was away Daylight took Gilly. On Jimmy's release he cleared away into bush, and Jimmy wanted Gilly to live at camp with him. She refused, and a good deal of bickering went on. Then Gilly went to a man named Morgan, remained with him, and was sent by Mrs. Ellice to Mr. Pigott, where

Morgan worked. Jimmy becoming tired of Gilly's constant refusal to live with him, got another woman, as he, being an elderly man, was not strong enough to fight Morgan. He obtained quite a child-wife, but gave Gilly to Daylight. She, however, would not go to him, so one night during last week Daylight, Duncan, and Jimmy forcibly stole Gilly. Hence the fight yesterday, when Morgan and Duncan fought for possession of the woman. It ended in the defeat of Morgan, so the woman now belongs to Duncan; Daylight and Jimmy having again fallen out over her. The fight was with kylies, at which Duncan is an adept, and such a graceful thrower, whilst Morgan, who comes from another country where spear-throwing is the mode of warfare, was no good, and was caught and cut in the leg at the third throw of the kylie. Much was said, and one could see he wanted to finish with the spear, but Duncan refused, and walked away, being declared the victor. Had they fought to the death, and had Morgan won, he being from a cannibal tribe would have taken portions of the body and eaten them. The scene was most picturesque. A clearing in the bush at the back of our house was where the fight took place. We went early, Kelly being our guide. In the distance at either side we could hear shouts, and after a little while the black forms of the natives appeared, coming through the scrub, all carrying spears, woomeras, shields, kylies, &c. The friends of Morgan, who were all in full war-paint, ranged themselves on one side, those of Duncan on the other; the women followed with spare kylies and squatted down about midway. We were directed to a place near by to watch the proceedings, where we were out of danger. By-and-by the seconds (I suppose you might call them) directed the principals to get up, and fighting commenced, the men standing about thirty yards apart. Morgan had first throw, but his kylie struck the ground three or four yards in front of Duncan, and flew over his head each time; whilst Duncan's rose within a

few inches of Morgan. He fenced it with his shield. The third one, however, struck and cut his leg, and he retired for short time. Returning, he threw two or three more. Then came the *wangie* about the spear, which was not taken on, and the fight was over. The warriors retired, and very soon the place was clear. All night the victor was feasted, whilst the vanquished one's friends condoled with him.

The wooden mask of which we have become possessed is not only difficult to obtain but very rarely possessed by a white man. We hear they are not used here, but come from the interior. It is used at the ceremony of man-making. It is placed over the face of the boy after the ceremony is over, and for fourteen days he has to wear it, not showing his face to anyone. Every line on the mask is "talking," telling why the boy is wearing it and so on. During the time the boy wears the mask, an old gin is told off to feed him by means of a tube thrust under it and into his mouth. Just inland, some thirty or forty miles from here, across the plain, the youngsters bind up the wounded organ with a piece of kangaroo hide, and the girl who marries him is entitled to that piece of hide. She would sooner part with her life than that.

The natives make glass spear arrow-heads from bits of broken bottles by simply chipping with a piece of flint. Two of the specimens we are sending were made by our boy William, and we saw him making them. They are certainly not well finished, for the simple reason that his tribe are more versed in the art of kylie (boomerangs) and wooden spears. Two specimens as marked ¹ are just begun and a third also marked in a further stage of completion. These are from Roebuck Bay. The rest were given us by Father Nicholas, head of the Catholic Mission at Beagle Bay, which is away up in King's Sound, and in the North Kimberley district. I have also sent you a specimen to show how the head is stuck on just with mud mixed with sap

¹ In our collection. C. J. T.

from the white gum-tree. The half-dozen kangaroo bones are taken from the fore-arm of the animal, and are used by the men as a decoration for the hair. The large bone is used to plug through the nose. [Plate XV., figs. 25, 30.] The pieces of pearl-shell with kangaroo teeth attached are used by the women as a charm against sickness, and are generally worn round the neck. The *wilgy*, a piece of mud suspended by a hair from the beard of a warrior, is used on state (*sic!*) occasions only. It is attached to the forelock of natives about to be engaged in combat, either for tribal or local affairs. Kelly has given us a carved kylie from his country, and also a necklace, and this is what he told me the necklace signifies. When a woman wants to annex a man she wears the necklace round her throat; and when the marriage is consummated the necklace is put on one side and is only worn on special occasions, such as Kobba-Kobba. I asked Jack to get him to tell why sometimes they wore the necklace round the neck, sometimes round either one or both arms crossing the bosom; he says it is only a fanciful decoration, and does not signify anything. [Plate XV., fig. 14]

Just lately our boy Kelly prepared for and went on his month's holiday. He had provided a substitute, who, however, did not turn up. Now I have what you would consider a most interesting pair—lame William, who is most horribly dirty over all his work, but very willing, and already I am glad to say has improved, and Fred, who is covered with *wilgy*, being an engaged man. Both work bare to the waist, and are covered with weals—tribal marks. Fred is nephew to the King "Ross," whose acquaintance we have made since Fred has been working for us, and who has invited me to a big Kobba-Kobba this moon. Ross has given us a splendid hair-belt; the king also gave me a fine necklace Pollicie his wife sent, as well as a shell charm, which was twisted by a long hair string round and round his neck, and the bit of shell stuck in his hair. [Plate XV., figs. 2, 28.]

Jack and a friend, a Mr. Baines, whom he brought in to tiffin, have just gone to a native fight; it is I believe to be a

furious one, and the natives say I must not go. Later on I was occupied in bandaging lame William, who was dreadfully cut about in the fight. Four wounds with kylie, one just under the ear, a part of the lobe of which was carried away. The blood from the wound had poured all over his body. Just at his waist was another gaping wound; others across his hand and leg fill up the sum total. I had no idea he was thinking of fighting. Jack considers it must have been a tribal fight as so many were in it. The fight at first was for the possession of a woman. We hear that after Jack left the fight was resumed, and with spears, when police and trackers rode up and stopped it.

William tells us that the old girl who was beating the ground at the last fight on the antagonist's side was doing that in hopes of taking heart out of the enemy, and to put extra courage into the warriors of her tribe. Roebuck Bay tribe fought Cygnet Bay; kylie were flying around as thick as bees amongst the warriors; everyone had to look after himself, and even the black spectators had to clear once. It was a most impressive and awe-inspiring scene. They had come out to kill and went to work with a will. As soon as a man went down, if not too much hurt, he jumped up again, and although covered with blood, struck out for his opponent furiously. Our boy, lame William, fought like a fiend, but was struck by the first kylie, and went down, and although pouring with blood he was up in a second and with double hands on his walkerberri felled his opponent. Jack had to remove the man's hair before he could dress the wound, and to-day William brought it me made up into a belt, so you will see what a shock of hair he had.

We have become possessed of a couple of kangaroo-teeth which came off a child's hair, but are usually worn by women in *wilgy* (mourning) tied to their mud-plastered locks, falling in front of the eyes or even as low as the mouth. They are, I believe, worn as charms against evil spirits or ghosts.

Ross, the King or Chief of the Roebuck natives, our boy Fred's uncle, is a fine tall man, and speaks English fairly well. On our first introduction to Ross he was wearing twisted by a long hair string round his throat, and then stuck into the side of his hair, a long narrow piece of mother-of-pearl shell; a black end hair twist was fastened on by *wilgy*. Jack wanted it, and after some demur the King gave it to "Missus." I wanted to know what it was for, but they would not tell me, except that the hair was taken from the beard entirely. Knowing how reticent they are when a white woman is present I retired, and Jack learned it was a charm against sickness. So long as it is worn the "debil-debil no come along, belong all same *loopen-gullery* (medicine man) when he prick 'em arm along a needle make 'em plenty sick pfeller" in other words it answers the same purpose as vaccination. The next day Ross came again, and brought a splendid hair belt, as well a thick shell necklace which Pollie his wife sent me. Jack told him he wanted a carved shell to "put along belt." Jack got him to write his name on a card. I enclose it for you, also a translation of the writing. The O is his distinctive mark, which is also carved on his shell, while the first two figures on the second line represent Polly. On Saturday William came up to me at dusk mysteriously, and took from his head a tuft of feathers attached to a bone, which he presented to me. I asked what it was, and he said, "Feathers along of kangaroo bone." He told Jack when I was not there that the bone was a human one, taken from the arm of a man killed. It is gruesome to me; however it is not a thing many possess. The feathers are cockatoo. David gave Jack a kangaroo-bone the day he took William to work for us; in gratitude, as William is David's brother. I have already told you they are used for drawing blood at the sacrifices, in some of their ceremonies, when they drink as well as anoint (the word I can think of nearest to what I want to express) in human blood. Yesterday our small collection

was further increased by three long wooden spears and a kylie, the woomera and glass-headed spear; also the two "nulla-nulla" sticks used in warfare, as well as a walker-berry. Monday I came across William very busy (when he should have been carrying water for the house) with a bit of glass and a nail; also a piece of stone laid on the sole of his foot, on which the nail was being sharpened, and occasionally the glass rubbed. I asked what it was. The answer, "Spear-head." It is now ours. The only other acquisition we have made is a "Yandie," the native cradle or basket made out of a piece of bark. I am hoping to get one made of wood, but the women will not readily part with them. . . .

We have questioned Kelly only so far as to black fellows' idea of a Maker of the World. His answer was, "Father Daly tell 'em me Gaud." So we said, "Before Father Daly come along, who you think?" He said, "Me no sabe." . . .

I was very puzzled the other day when William came to me with the yard-brush, and told me he wanted "plenty nails." I could not at all make out his meaning, as the brush was not broken. I found out soon after he wanted a rake to clear up the grass with—a *brush along a nail* he designated it. Before Kelly went on his spell he was wearing a ring beautifully cut from a turtle-shell. Jack tried to get it, but he was very loth to part with it. We have acquired just lately a shield [and] a fighting kylie, showing by marks of white across it how many men it has hit. William has made a fire-stick for me—"all same black fellows' match," as he described it—and made fire by it. We have it just as he gave it, but I doubt whether you, not having seen it done, will believe fire can be made by friction of two pieces of wood.¹ Then he has made and given me a whistling-stick, in shape very like a *laurie*, with a hole in one end by which it is swung, when it makes a humming noise. Here

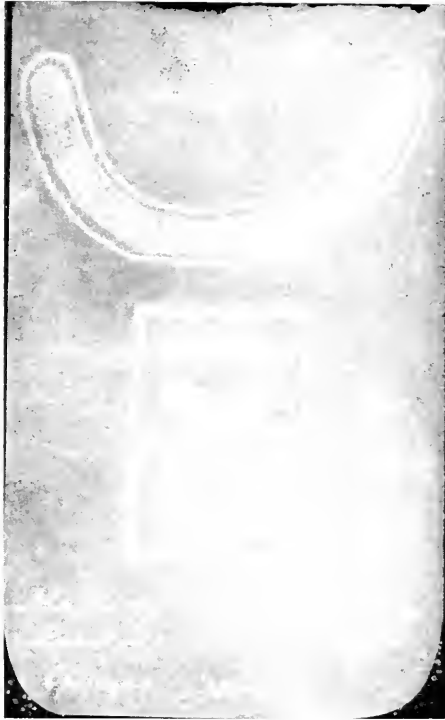
¹ Plate XV., fig. 17.

it is used to call a woman to a man, and at the man-making ceremonies (it is the same as the bull-roarer); but Jack tells me in Port Darwin it is used to call the natives together when a fight is on. William soon cut the rough shape out, but the other part, the smoothing it down, was a long process, and was done with a broken piece of glass; then came the markings.

Two days ago Father Nicholas brought me down one of the little Mission girls as a help to me in the house, and since she came I find that when she is in the kitchen William will not go in. I have been told that a gin belonging to one man would not enter a house nor appear to notice anything when another man was by; and even if told to go and fetch anything from the kitchen, would first call out to the man to make him go away before she could do as she was told. Aboriginal etiquette!

A short time ago I inspected the back of a native who had a spear nearly driven through him, and lost for some time the entire use of the lower limbs in consequence, and was not expected to live. However, now he is about again, although when I spoke to him a few days ago he told me the hurt in his back was well, "but it belong plenty sick along a inside, no can sleep, makeum plenty sore."

October 30th, 1899. We have had almost a complete collection of native weapons sent us lately by Father Nicholas, who has also sent us a Bingi skull, minus the lower jaw. The weapons are many of them stained with blood, and were actually taken by the Father from the natives when fighting. There is one of the women's fighting-sticks; that too is covered with blood. It was used in a fight here by a woman named Jenny against another of same name, and to such effect that the brain of one protruded. There is a carrying-stick for the *pingyn* (wooden cradle) when it is used for water. There are head decorations, charms, a lump of wilgy with hair attached just as cut from the head. He has also sent us two fine turtle-shells, ready



TRIBAL MARK, GORDON BAY.

polished. The laurie mentioned in a quite early letter (p. 333) is not worn by the natives until after they become men.

You ask do the women with us in any case cultivate the soil? So far as I have been able to find out, No! but they have to make long journeys into the bush to find the sweet-potato and other vegetables and fruits for their lords and masters.

The natives in Central District use the down of eagle-hawk to decorate themselves, sticking it on with human blood. Here eagle-hawks are rare, so the fur of the 'possum is substituted. It is affixed with gum of spinnifex-grass, and tinged with human blood.¹ William when going to a certain Kobba-Kobba is always so decorated, but carefully pulls off all the decoration when appearing before me. The reason, so he says, is because he thinks "missus no like 'em." William has left us lately; he was tired of work and desirous of a loaf round. In his place I have a gin, Mary by name, the woman of Ross the king. The said Mary has been sick, so she says, since she has been with me. It appears whilst in the bush catching firewood she walked over a little boy-baby's grave, and has been "sick along a foot" since. How long it is going to last I don't know. Also she was "sick along a legs," and wore bits of white rag tied tightly round the thick part of the calves of her legs. I made inquiries, and find that natives are always affected in the same way if they do walk over a grave. We were about having a new boy to keep in the house, and giving his name asked Mary if she knew him. Her answer, "belong a my boy," we understood it as her child, but found him of the same tribe as she was. Josepha, (Father Nicholas's mission-girl) who is a half-caste (her mother being a native woman here) calls boys and girls her brothers and sisters, whose parents are neither of them hers. My new boy, a Gordon Bay native, and my little Josepha

¹ See *ante* p. 327.

cannot converse with one another, even to ask Bucket to get me such small every-day things as wood or water, their language being so entirely different. . . .

You ask is female infanticide prevalent here? Owing to strict police supervision it is supposed to be suppressed, but one rarely sees a female child. Further north though, where the natives are cannibals, when the babies are not eaten they are choked with the sand (this from more than one authority). There the female children are of small account; for example, the pingins are used only for male children. . . .

Mr. Mackay, of the Eastern Telegraph Extension Company, when here showed me on both his arms the two gashes on each, which were made by the natives when he went to a man-making ceremony here. The scars, two to two and a half inches long, were made by a piece of glass by the women, who dipped bits of glass in the blood from the wounds, and then wanted to rub sand or ashes into the cut, so as to raise it above surrounding flesh. A Mr. Gaunt, who has travelled much in bush-lands of Australia, before selling out of the pearling, brought us a lot of cowries of all sorts and colours, together with some exquisite coral specimens in form of kylie, very rare I believe, and found as far as is known on only one reef in the north-west. We experienced the other day what is known as a *Willy-willy* (a dry willy-willy). I call it a six hours' sand-storm. We had everywhere closed up as tightly as possible, but the sand worked in through every crevice, and we could have shovelled it from the floor. Our water was like mud, the only drink that we had. The temperature dropped ten or twelve degrees in about an hour, so that for a few hours at least the temperature stood below 90 degrees. At 85 degrees we were shivering! Now it is hotter than ever.

I learn from Josepha amongst her little sayings that Mary tells her, that the moon eats kangaroos, the evening star 'possum.

I think Professor Skeat would consider the language and gesture of natives here unique, so many words are used twice over, and the "r" is rolled as north-country people roll it, and their pronunciation is decidedly staccato. Their gesture too is wonderful.

I have been making inquiries if there be any utensil which answers the place of a teapot amongst native domestic utensils, but am told *no*. Here the pingin seems to answer all sorts of purposes; that and an old tin which can be picked up anywhere along the roadside. I hear (this from Bucket, Billie told me the same) that suppose no white fellow come along giv'em tcherbar (tobacco) that a sort of grass is used which answers the same purpose. Josepha has been singing to her doll of a big black man, taking it away if it is not good. I cannot tell you more, as when questioned she does not know why she sings it. I have several times tried to gather from them what the Kobba-Kobba words to the singing mean, but the answer always is, "He no talk missus," only sing. There are numberless varieties of Kobba-Kobbas, and for each a different song. There has been a big one lately at a man-making ceremony; it lasted a fortnight. Mary went away for two days and returned utterly worn out and unfit for work. She had with other women been running round and round the warriors in an inner circle the whole day and night long. Here the boy is thrown up in air and caught in the warriors' arms at the initiation ceremony; only so far could I learn from her. Last week she brought us a slightly carved shell (chastity). [Plate XV., fig. 8.] Ply her as I would, I could only learn it belonged to her *goo-goo*, dead a long time (*goo-goo* is father). Jack tried alone; I tried whilst he was there, and when he was away; but no, she was too wary. Last week a native man died. Since then both Mary and Josepha have been haunted, shall I call it? They tell me each morning someone come along, rap along of roof, make noise under

house; think him dead man (die man they say) or else "debil-debil."

A gentleman who called here told us he had been out with more than one pioneer exploring-party and collectors, but our collection was in matter of variety and rarity of weapons the best he had seen. He believed we are the only white people who have a mask in the whole of West Australia. We hear the natives are looking for a lost mask, the one we possess; so now it is kept under lock and key. Mr. Clarke said he had never seen one before; also he told us that the carved shells and one or two other things we have were held in superstitious veneration, and were not obtainable. In the photograph of niggers, lame William is the second from the left-hand side, and is wearing his shell half-covered under his loin-cloth. The third man from the right-hand side is King Ross. The fourth, who has in his arm a *yande* or *pingin*, is Duncan; he has about as many tribal marks on his body as any native round about, or more. [Plate XIV.] . . .

Yesterday there was a big fight on here between the Roebuck Bay natives and Beagle Bay. It appears two Beagle Bay natives stole two Roebuck Bay women. The result was a fight. Mary went; her description, if you could but have heard it! "By Cli, (Christ), big pfeller fight—pl-eenty fight—pl-eenty man got hurt. I break 'em kylie all about;" and to judge by her demeanour and the clothes-prop stick she carried I can believe her. All last week she was at Kobba-Kobba; she left at dawn Monday morning and returned Friday afternoon. I did not hear her come, and went into the kitchen to see about the fire. "Hullo, Mary." "Hullo, Missus." Then followed a long list of wants from her, such as tobacco, tea, food, when I left her; but she wanted to tell me she and a woman named Jenny had been fighting because she had her man. There were her wounds to show. It appears she must have been beaten, for she came along before the others



NATIVES OF WEST AUSTRALIA.

(ROBERTSON BAY, 1899.)

(a *most* unusual and unheard-of thing for her). There was too much *wangie-wangie* (talking, talking). All the time went to make 'em Kobba-Kobba. She had three very bad wounds on her head, from which Jack had to cut the hair before applying vaseline. I thought at first she had a broken finger; but no, it was only badly smashed, and it had to be poulticed. She was satisfied, and seemed all right to-day.

The natives employed here at the hotel have been in an abject state of terror of Debil-Debil, and on mentioning it to other people we find their natives too have been very frightened. We had several buck niggers in to our room the other night and questioned them. Their teeth were chattering so that they could hardly speak. It appears debil-debil had visited the stables—had come sometimes early in the evening, sometimes during the night; in some cases several times in a night, preventing the natives from sleeping. He wanted to kill someone—who, they did not know—whether man, woman, or child. He had a glass-headed spear, and his only dress (?) was a pair of shoes, made not like proper shoes, but leaving no footmarks behind. He had come across the water, but on what we could not find out. Mr. Häger, to satisfy the men, took his gun out and fired a shot to shoot debil-debil. Making inquiry next morning, I was told debil-debil go away now. An old gin working for Mrs. Baldock further told me, when man along a public-house shootem debil-debil, he sing out, all same ibis. She said she had seen him, and he had a long white beard and hair. As the old woman is nearly blind, and she is the only woman who has done so, it is a query. She showed how he sing out, but it is an unpronounceable sound to write. She also showed me four or five long scratches on her upper arm, which she declared debil-debil had made, trying to catch her; and Mrs. Baldock said the woman had tied a string so tightly round the arm above the scratches that it was

swollen almost to bursting. Mrs. Baldock made her take it off. I saw old Mary, as she is called, with her head all tied up where debil-debil had pulled hold of her head, the following night; and yesterday again I saw her. She is very sick, and wanted to go about without her clothes. She certainly looked very ill, half-dead with fright. Johnnie, her man, and another of his wives, also a Mary, had other marks on them to show where debil-debil had taken hold of them. Mrs. Ellice's poor gin who was burnt died last Sunday,¹ and was buried wrapped up in her blankets; the other two native men were terribly frightened at debil-debil taking Pollie. The girl wanted the Father from the Mission to baptise her, which he did; and he with some of the Christian gins did the burying of her. Not a man could be found who would take the body to the Binghi (Christian) burying ground. One of the names here for debil-debil is *Woomba*, which also means warrior; another is *Wearown*; still a third, *Wearyomg*. To complete this history of debil-debil, I find both Mrs. Baldock's and Mrs. Ellice's natives have broken up their "pumpies," and moved them quite from where they were situated, as a final hope that debil-debil will not worry them again. I am told there has been a general removal.

Two shields were given to us the other day; one a new, the other an old one. The new one was given willingly, the other but very reluctantly. "He only old one, Master, he catchem plenty kylie cut 'em—he no good." But it was eventually obtained. Evidently the shield was held in veneration, possibly on account of the number of fights it had been in, probably for having been used during some of their ceremonies of blood, when the hollow made for the hand to go into to grasp it has been used for the blood collected, and afterwards passed round, and either drunk or their fingers dipped into it for

¹ See p. 342.

smearing over certain parts of their bodies, according to the ceremony.¹

It is surprising, with their limited means of reckoning, how they manage. Old Mary, when she wanted to go away (a moon, of course) said she wanted a spell that time. If a half-moon she would reckon it on her fingers; but each knuckle joint represented one, so that for fourteen days she only used the one hand: "Finishum that one, missus, me come back."

The bark pingins or yandi are easily procurable, but those hewn out of wood are not so. I have had two of the latter in my hands, almost thinking them mine; but no! at the last minute sentiment stepped in and I could not get them. The bark pingins are made from the bark of the tree which Mary tells me is called Mourrya; another name is the tea-tree or paper-bark.

December, 1899. You will be pleased to hear I have, besides Magdalene, my old Mary. My neighbour sent me along word that her boy Yarry had come in from Whistler Creek, Beagle Bay, and with him had come Mary, who was away in camp four miles out of town—the limit for unemployed natives now. I was only too pleased she should return. Early morning she came along, radiant, bearing her whole paraphernalia with her—a very wild woman of the woods. In turns we greeted her, and then, "Missus, bring 'em along scissors, I want cut 'um Mary's hair," and the poor creature was shorn of all her flowing locks; after which "Me wantum yat." I had not one to spare, so Jack gave her his old hard felt hat. Yesterday morning she set Magdalene, who is her daughter, to wash up; and I, going round to the kitchen by the back door, saw her busily weaving her locks into a belt. I was interested in watching her, and tried all my powers of persuasion to induce her to give me the hair twisted on the spindle; but no, she would not. She, however, gave me the empty spindle. [Plate XV.,

¹ Plate XV., fig. 6.

fig. 13A.] It is probable that had not Jack cut her hair, Mary would have put on *wilgy*, for Magdalene's baby died last week, and a woman with *wilgy* on is a filthy creature, neither of use nor ornament in a white feller's house.

We are to witness an eclipse of the sun next month. Strange! all the natives know about it; how, we can't imagine. Old Mary, when questioned, said, "Him go out all right." King Ross sent me a kylie by Mary when she went to his camp. Yesterday at six o'clock a.m. he and Pollie came along. He brought me another kylie, two nulla-nullas, and a walkerberrie, for which he wanted sixpence. I gave it him willingly, although it is the first time I have given money. He also had a drink of tea and a piece of bread and jam. Such small attentions please the natives.

My old Mary has been very ill. When "sick along a yed," she packed her head into damp sand until I wondered she could breathe, and she got Magdalene to rub her—a sort of massage—to exorcise the debil-debil. The other day I was left all alone. Mary and Magdalene were both away. In the evening I saw something moving in the compound. Mary had returned. I went out to her and wanted to know where she had been all day without telling me. All she answered was, "Woolla, missus, woolla, you go catchem woolla—spose I catchem blood he come inside." I lighted the lamp (a gust of wind had blown it out) and took it out on the verandah. Then I saw her leaning on it, her head and face streaming with blood, which was soaking her singlet back and front. She had taken her dress off. I fetched her water; she drank it thirstily. Then I asked, had she been to the fight (there had been a big one in the afternoon). She had been fighting, but not there. She had started out in the morning to call on Ross and Pollie his wife, and was set upon by some gins, who had a grudge against her. She being still weak had not taken her fighting-stick with her,

was molested unawares, and having nothing with which to defend herself was badly hurt. She had two terrible gashes on the head. I gave her warm water to bathe her head, food, and tea; but she was too sick to take anything but the tea. Next morning Jack looked at her head and had the doctor to her, who said such blows as she must have had would have killed any ordinary person. She is pretty well again now, but oh! the revenge she is going to take out of those women when she "phinish belong sick pfeller."

I heard the other day of another big Kobba-Kobba, and the blacks "suppose I liked to go all right." When Jack returned he also felt inclined, and told a Mr. and Mrs. Bauer, who had expressed a wish to attend one. Off we tramped in single file, Mary and Magdalene leading, a long way into the bush. We reached the place just as the Kobba-Kobba was commencing and before the fires were lit. There were great numbers of blacks there, men, women, and children. It appears there were two other tribes besides Roebuck Bay natives. Most of the men were in full war paint; their numbers were increasing every minute. At first they stood in a line with their backs to us, and each one held in either hand a bunch of grass or twigs. Then the singing began. It seemed as if one voice commenced a verse, gradually all the others joined, and one man did a *pas seul*, and by the end of the verse he was facing us, the grasses held in his hand covering his face; and so it went on until all were facing us. You know how high-stepping a thoroughbred horse is; well, it was an action something like that, only the man's body was bent too. As soon as all were facing us, all the women ran up and formed a crowd facing the men, as if peering to find out who each one was through the grass hiding their faces. Then the singing commenced again. And the men did *pas seuls* until all had their backs to us. When the last man had turned, all the women ran and sat

down; then the men came up again singing and beating time with their feet, making a noise as of many horses galloping. Then they started a sinuous dance, waving the grass. First one fire was lit, then another, and Mary told us to get back a little, "plenty sand fly." We moved. At one part of the song the women all ran in to the circle of men and formed a round. The men still continued dancing, holding the grass in either hand; then with their nulla-nullas held above their heads, their bodies bending and straightening. Afterwards they danced, holding sticks aloft ready to strike, and with this dance the vocal accompaniment was that of the gruff baying of dogs. By-and-by a strike, a shriek, and a woman was hit. Finally, "phinish 'em," exclaimed old Mary. "White womanee go away now, he no good." So we left; but the Kobba-Kobba lasted until morning. The next evening we went again, but they said, "No proper Kobba-Kobba, white womanee come along," so we left. The other Kobba-Kobba mentioned was at full moon; this was new moon; that was quite distinct from this.

The eclipse came off, to the fear of many of the natives. It was a glorious afternoon; I used smoked glasses, but could see with the naked eye quite distinctly. There seemed such a rosy hue surrounding the sun, at times changing to yellow. After a good deal of persuasion Jack induced old Mary to look through glasses, but she was half afraid. Then she showed us a bit of blue stuff she had been looking through! Truly the natives are very wonderful, yet we call them ignorant savages.

A Mr. Barclay has visited us, son of Sir James Barclay; he is in some way connected with the Perth Museum. He was greatly interested in all we had to show. One thing he told me I had not heard before. There had been several native fights on, and he said, supposing a man were hurt in a fight; if he wanted on his recovery to challenge the man who beat him, he put his knee up, and the victor, if he took

up the challenge, had to stick his spear into it as an earnest that he would be willing to renew the combat. If he refused he was a coward. The prospecting party, of which Mr. Barclay was one, out from here to Beagle Bay, went over ground that had not been visited by white men (so far as is known) since 1861, and in all their travels they only came across one mark of the former party cut on a tree. The natives in the parts he had visited are known to be very bad cannibals; but strangely enough they did not come across any on their travels; and only just before embarking on their return trip did they see five in a dug-out canoe, which on seeing the whites they promptly overturned and swam for one of the islets near by.

All the natives here are very alarmed just now. They are afraid of a *willy-willy*, and many have cleared away from town to the bush. They say the only way to save themselves when a willy-willy comes is to tie themselves up to a big tree to prevent being blown away. It is ten years now since one struck Broome.

ADA JANET PEGGS.

[The following are some tales which were told to Mrs. Peggs on the voyage from Roebuck Bay to Singapore by a little boy named Willie Jones, who was proceeding to Singapore for his education, and joined the boat at Derby. He had had only Binghi children for playfellows since he was four years old, and could speak their language well. The tales are written as closely as possible in the words in which they were told. They were read to him after having been written down.—C. J. T.]

THE TALE OF WILLY-WILLY-WAGTAIL.

The Willy-Willy-Wagtail is a curious bird. A long time ago he was a blackfellow; he had a sister and an uncle. The uncle used to go hunting, and when he killed

anything he used to give Willy-Willy-Wagtail's sister all the fat meat, and Willy-Willy-Wagtail all the skinny meat. Now he did not like that, so he looked around to see what he should do. He took a long sharp stick and stuck it into the ground, and covered it over with grass. Then he said to the stick, "When I tell you, you shake like a bandicoot" (a bandicoot is a kangaroo-rat). So he went and brought his uncle along with him, and told him he would show him a bandicoot's nest. As soon as he got to where the stick was the stick began to shake. His uncle was just going to throw his spear at it when Willy-Willy-Wagtail said, "No, you must not do that, you must jump on it." At last, after a lot of persuasion, the uncle jumped on it, and the stick stuck right through his foot. All the other blackfellows came along and tried to pull the stick out, but they could not move it, so they went and asked two big fellows, as big as a baobab-tree, to come and try. First they looked around for a big tree and rooted it up to show what they could do. They threw that aside and then they seized hold of the stick, which came out and shot right up into the sky, where it forms a streak of stars across the Milky Way. The blackfellows tried to kill Willy-Willy-Wagtail, but he escaped into the bush.

THE TALE OF THE EMU.

There is a constellation [Willie Jones pointed it out to Mrs. Peggs] close by the Milky Way, which the black fellows call the Emu. Now a long time ago the Emu was a black fellow. He was a *womba* (warrior), and when he died he went into the sky, where he is an Emu, a big big fellow; and he holds two strings, which are joined to the earth to keep it balanced. If the strings were to break, or be cut, the sky would fall on to the earth, and every one would die.

THE TALE OF THE EAGLE AND THE EGGS.

Once upon a time an eagle built a nest and put some eggs in it. Two white birds [bower-birds?] saw how busy the eagle was, and they thought they would play a trick on her; so one of the birds lay down in the nest under the eggs and ate them, whilst the other watched to see what the eagle would do. The eagle was very angry. Then she laid some more eggs, which the white bird ate again. Then the eagle looked around and saw them, and overcame and killed them. (The birds are all supposed to be men.)

THE EAGLE-HAWKS AND THE FIRE.

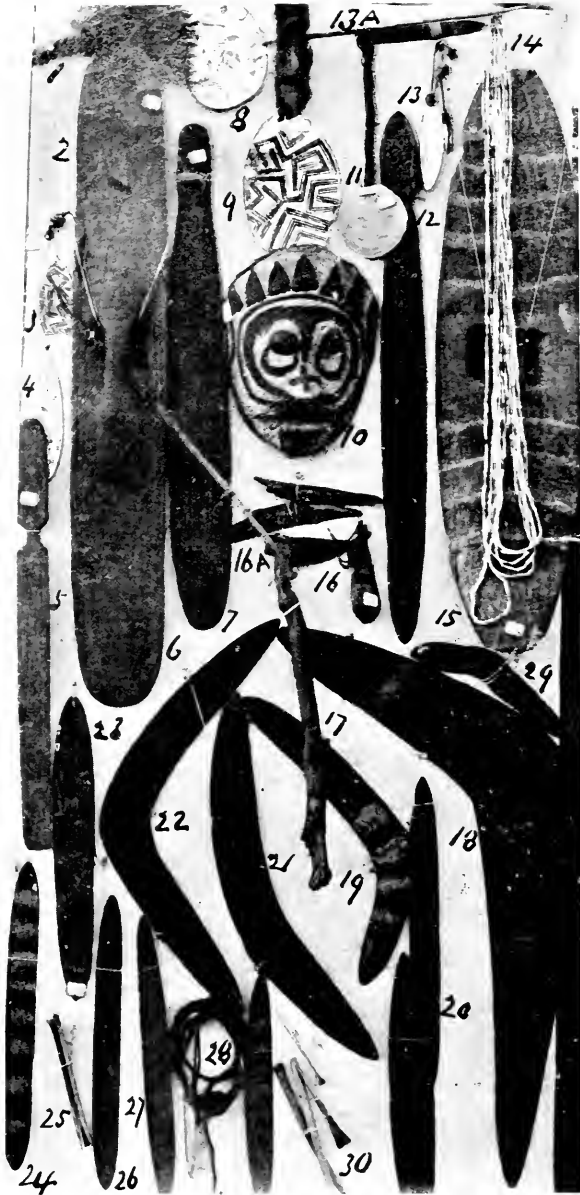
There were two eagle-hawks going along when they came across a blackfellows' camp. Now the blackfellows had been fishing and had caught a lot of fish, which they were eating raw. The eagle-hawks said, "Why do you eat your fish raw? Why don't you cook them in the fire as we do?" The blackfellows said, "What is fire?" for they did not then know how to make it. They gave the eagle-hawks some fish, which they took away with them. By-and-by they sent a *lubra* (gin) to see what the eagles were doing. So the *lubra* crept along and watched. By-and-by the eagle-hawks saw and called her; so she went along, and they gave her some cooked fish which they had taken out of the fire. The first time she ate it she was very sick. The eagle-hawks gave her some more, and she was sick. The third time she ate it she was all right. Then the eagle-hawks showed her how they made a fire by rubbing two sticks together. The *lubra* went back to the camp and told the blackfellows, and they made her show them how to produce fire by rubbing a stick quickly in her hands on another piece of wood. By-and-by she made a fire and cooked fish for the blackfellows, who were very sick the first and second time they ate of it, the third time

they were all right. After that the blackfellows knew how to make fire.

THE TALE OF THE BIG WHITE BIRD, GILLEMURRANGO.
(Bower Bird.)

There was a big white bird, and he was a very strong bird, and he could throw the spear, but he was a wicked bird. He said to some blackfellows, "I will show you how I can throw the spear." So the blackfellows came to the corroboree, but before they came he buried his long spear under the sand. When they came, and were going to sit around, he said, "No, you must not do that, you must sit in a row." After a time they sat in a row, and Gillemurrango began to dance and sing, and as he danced and sang he kept pulling the spear out of the sand, so the black fellows should not notice it. At last he got it all out, and he was just at the end of the row, then he took a good aim and drove it through all the tribe, and killed them. By-and-by he told another lot of blackfellows he would show them how he could throw the spear, and he killed them all. At last he told a third tribe he was coming to make corroboree. Now this tribe were very frightened, because they knew how Gillemurrango had killed the other tribes, so they thought they would make a big shield and try and save themselves. Then they looked around and found and cut themselves a shield out of a big tree. After they had roughly fashioned it¹ they threw three spears, nulla-nullas, and boomerangs at it, but it cracked, so they knew that wood would not do. They then got a shield of harder wood, and then tried that, but that cracked too. At last they found some very hard wood, and they formed a shield roughly of that, and threw all their weapons at it, and they all broke on it, it was so very strong. They finished it, and then they waited for Gillemurrango, first hiding the shield under some bushes so that he should not see it.

¹ Cf. the description of boomerang-making, *ante*, p. 326.



WEST AUSTRALIAN OBJECTS IN THE COLLECTION OF
MR. C. J. TABOR.

To face p. 305.

Then Gillemurrango came along and made corroboree, and hid his spear as before. He told them they must sit in a line, so they hid the shield behind them, and they watched how as he danced and sang he kept pulling the spear out of the sand. Then they passed the shield along until at last when the spear was out of the ground, the man at the end of the row held the shield. As soon as Gillemurrango took the spear up to throw, then the *womba* quickly put up the shield, and when the spear came along, instead of going all through the men, it hit the shield and broke into little pieces. That's all. [Mrs. Peggs inquired the fate of Gillemurrango—he had to hide away in the bush.]

Willie Jones said that the natives have a belief that after they are dead their next existence is to be either a devil, a bird, or "come up white pfeller."

OBJECTS DEPICTED IN PLATE XV.

1. Emu-feather decorations used by the men, worn either in hair, on upper arm, or just under knee.

2. Charms against sickness, the hair strings made entirely of hair from the beard. The latter given by King Ross. See page 346.

3-4. Pearl-shell letters of introduction (the broken one used by a man coming from Beagle Bay, passing through Lagrange Bay to Roebuck Bay). It was worn round the neck by a string with the piece of shell placed just over the shoulder. See page 339.

5. Woomerra (only a broken specimen). For aiding the throwing of spears a long distance. Not much used in Roebuck Bay district.

6. Back of narrow shield of hard wood used by the Roebuck Bay natives. The front of shield never decorated. Tribal marks on back. At blood ceremonies the blood from the wound is allowed to drip into the haft of the shield, and each native present then dips his fingers in the blood and smears it on his body. See page 356.

7. Ceremonial or sacred beheading-sword. Only second in value to the mask in whole collection. Stolen from a camp, and given secretly to Mrs. Peggs. Of very heavy wood, seen much service. See page 342.

8, 9. Chastity-shells and hair girdle. The full war dress of the warriors. When shell is worn behind it denotes that the man wants a wife. See pp. 327, 334, 353.

10. Mask used in a man-making ceremony. See pp. 342, 345, 354.

11. Smaller chastity-shell with hair girdle.

12. Ceremonial sword made by lame William. On the back may be seen his peculiar footmark. Before giving the same he had to obtain permission from King Ross.

13. Pearl-shell charms against sickness; and kangaroo teeth taken from the head of a child who was *wilgyed*. See pp. 346, 347.

13A. Mary's spindle on which she used to weave the hair into belts. See page 357.

14. Shell necklace worn by the women when in want of a husband. See page 346.

15. Back of shield in soft wood; the bands signify into how many fights the bearer has carried it. Not used by Roebuck Bay natives. Given by a Lagrange Bay native.

16. *Wilgy*; a mixture of red earth and fat, lumps of which are worn by the native women as mourning. They are left on till they drop off of themselves. Further north, in the Derby district, white clay is used in the same way.

16A. One of the decorations used at the Kobba-Kobba; white wood shaved finely. See page 330.

17. Fire-stick with which Mrs. Peggs saw fire made. A piece of hard wood is split and a wedge inserted, some shavings or dry grass put into the cleft, and the hard wood rubber applied briskly till fire is obtained. See page 349.

18-19. Fish kylie. The white bands on red wood of 19 denote Roebuck Bay manufacture. See page 326.

20, 24, 26, 27. Lauries or talking-sticks. See pp. 333, 335, 357.

21-22. Kylies; one of these bears the signature of King Ross. See pp. 326, 358.

23. Bull-Roarer; used for calling the tribes together for war, also in certain Kobba-Kobbas and in the man-making ceremony. See pp. 341, 349.

25. Bone ornaments for insertion in nose. See page 346.

28. Woven hair for belts, &c.

29. Kylies of natural formation, obtained from the coral reef in West Australia, the only known specimens from that district. See page 352.

30. Bones used in blood ceremonies for piercing the flesh. See page 348.

OLD-WORLD SURVIVALS IN ROSS-SHIRE.

BY SHEILA MACDONALD.

THAT it was a "far cry to Loch Awe" may have been true in those picturesque days of long ago, when it took days perhaps to get from one shire to another, across rugged hills and lonely glens. But it is not at all a far cry nowadays to the shores of the sea-loch in Western Ross from which I write. It is indeed only some ten hours' journey from the Scottish capital. Yet some of the quaint survivals to be found here carry one centuries back into mediævalism, and it is astonishing to what an extent superstitious customs still linger among a people who are more or less educated and intelligent.

All the things I am about to describe have come under my own observation, or have been related to me by the people principally concerned.

The district from which these stories are culled, and which is now a waste of deer forest, was once the home of a large and powerful clan; and the picturesque ruin of their ancient stronghold is a dominant feature of the landscape for miles around. The whole place is particularly rich in legend; indeed it simply teems with romance, and the *Sguelachds* (tales) I have listened to since childhood about the old gray ivy-covered castle alone would fill many a bulky volume.

But you require to have two sides to your tongue, as we say in the North, to fully appreciate the poetic character of those *Sguelachds*, with their wealth of imagery and fanciful situations. They lose much in translating them from our own poetic language into that of the Sassenach. Though, as a rule, Highlanders rather resent being asked about their old customs, and are very chary of telling about their

superstitions to strangers, I (being lucky enough to possess two sides to *my* tongue) have never had much difficulty in getting as much information as I want about old lore. To be sure, one old crony of mine once said to me, "*Nach bu tu ghliachd, ag iarraidh sgeulachdan colach ris a chloinne bhig,*" (are you not a silly asking for stories, just like the bairns!). Nevertheless, many are the interminable yarns with which we wiled away the time together; yarns of the second sight, fairy lore, ghosts and banshees, and other such sprites. For these are matters that still enter largely into our calculations in this region of magic and glamour. Here the little people with the green kirtles still hold high revel in the moonlight.¹ Here are exercised spells, incantations, and other picturesque if sometimes gruesome relics of a primitive people. In our midst, too, are yet to be found dreamers of dreams and seers of visions, whose advice is frequently sought by those who are about to take any serious step. Among the people also there linger many customs quaint and curious, or grim and gruesome, which have long ago become extinct in those places civilised out of all primitive ways.

It was a popular belief among the old people that a suicide buried within sight of the sea drove away the herrings for seven years. Any person who came by his or her death in this way was invariably buried behind the Church. I well remember as a child hearing a discussion about the burial of a woman who "put herself aside," as it is expressed in Gaelic. Her people, who were by way of being superior to such beliefs, were anxious that she should

¹ The Highlanders most certainly speak of the fairies as Little Folks (Wee People). In Niel Munro's *Sheiling Stories*, which simply teem with Gaelic idiom literally translated, he makes constant allusion to the Wee Folks, showing that in Argyleshire at any rate they are so designated. In our part, though of course the common name is *Sithichan* (the peaceful folks), I have constantly heard them described as wee folks with large heads. They are always associated with green clothes. "Kirtle" is not a Gaelic word. "Green coats" would perhaps be a better translation. I have heard them described as "a lot of lassies with green petticoats," by a man who pretended to have seen them.

be buried in the family grave; but this was not at all relished by the community, and after a good deal of wrangling she was interred in a remote corner of the churchyard, well out of sight of the sea.

More than a generation ago, a certain Englishman, who happened to be staying in our neighbourhood, committed suicide, and in spite of all protests he was buried by his relatives in full sight of the Loch. So indignant were the natives at this violation of their traditions that one night shortly afterwards, a party of them disinterred him at midnight, carried the remains away to another churchyard in an inland parish ten miles away, and there re-buried him. It must have been a very grim sort of performance; though grimmer still is another rite which to this day, is, I am told, practised *sub rosa* in connection with this self-same person. It is, I believe, a fact, that the skull of this long-dead Englishman is lying *perdu* somewhere about the churchyard, its whereabouts being known only to one or two privileged individuals, and is used by epileptics to drink out of; a common belief being that if these unfortunates drink out of the skull of a suicide, the complaint will be cured. Only last summer, a woman whose son is afflicted in this way, said to me, "Oh! we have done everything for him and tried every known cure; we had him prayed for in church, and we even sent down for so and so's skull (mentioning the Englishman) to see if it would do any good!"

Here is another curious practice in connection with epilepsy which I saw carried out many years ago, and which is, I suppose, a survival of old pagan sacrificial rites. A child belonging to a family whom I know well, was suddenly seized with convulsions, and its relatives would have it that the child had epilepsy. Accordingly, emissaries were sent through the parish to procure a black cock, without a single white feather, and without blemish of any kind. This latter is important; the finer the animal the more readily does the spell work. Well then, a cock was

found which suited the requirements ; the stone floor in the room where the child was first seized was opened up at the exact spot where the seizure took place. The unfortunate animal was sealed down and buried alive, after which an incantation was muttered over it by a "wise woman."¹

Whether the fates were propitiated, and the recovery of the child was due to this rite, or to the *Uisge Or* in which it was bathed, I am, of course, unable to state with any certainty. And *Uisge Or*, or water into which a piece of gold has been thrown, is a universal panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to, almost outrivalling another universal remedy, also an *uisge*, whose precise name it is, perhaps, superfluous to mention. Sometimes it is known as Long John. I have seen *Uisge Or* given internally as a medicine, used as a lotion ; given to cattle, dogs, and even sick chickens. And, of course, everybody knows that a new-born baby should be bathed for the first time in *Uisge Or* as a protection against the fairies. As to the gold thrown into the water (here an incantation, varying according to the complaint to be treated, is also necessary),² any-

¹ [The following extract from a letter of Mr. J. G. Frazer to the Editor may be quoted here : "This morning, 17th November [1902], I have received a letter from Bragar, in the island of Lewis, which contains some notes on the local folklore. Amongst other things, a sixpence obtained from a seventh son is supposed to be a cure for scrofula, boils, and carbuncles. 'The seventh son blesses the sixpence, dips it three times in water, this water the patient must drink ; this is repeated three days in succession, and the sixpence is suspended round the patient's neck.' Again, my correspondent writes : 'The cure for epileptic fits is more barbarous, and to my knowledge was used not three months ago in Barvas (4½ miles from here). A black cock (the barn-door variety), without a light-coloured feather, is buried alive on the spot where the patient experienced his or her first fit ; that is all, and the cure is effected by [inducing] the evil spirit causing epilepsy to leave the patient and enter into the body of the cock.'" See also *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., p. 446 (text and note 2.) Ed.]

² Mr. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* contains a number of incantations for specific complaints, which doubtless were used along with *Uisge Or*. But in my district the usual way is simply to sprinkle with the *Uisge* in the Name of the Trinity, the same as in the Baptismal rite. For new-born babies the

thing made of that metal may do; a wedding ring, for instance. I have often seen people coming to the lady known as Herself in the parish to get the loan of her wedding ring, it being supposed to be of purer gold than any other procurable. But a gold piece of money is preferable to anything else, because the Queen's picture is on it. By divine right kings and queens are, of course, possessed of peculiar virtues as regards the art of healing; and it is but natural to suppose that the real article, being somewhat un-get-at-able, a "counterfeit presentment" of the same is the next best thing. An old shepherd of ours who suffered from scrofula, or king's evil, often bewailed his inability to get within touching distance of Her late Gracious Majesty. He was convinced that by so doing his infirmity would at once be cured. "Ach, no!" he would say mournfully, "I must just be content to try and get to Lochaber instead some day, and get the *leighiche* (healer) there to cure me." The said *leighiche* is the seventh son of a seventh son, and as is well-known, such people are credited with being able to cure not only king's evil, but many other specific diseases.

I have lately read that the schoolmaster is abroad in the Highlands, and that consequently, all such old beliefs are being stamped out of the rising generation. Perhaps so; but two summers ago I paid a visit to the schoolhouse of a certain village. To my surprise, I found, although it was not vacation time, that the school was closed and the midwife used to mutter a species of blessing over the child. I have not made a note of the particular form used in our part. Indeed, the old people are rather chary of giving these things away. The incantation for the red string (see p.) I had last summer from a "skeely woman" who inherited *colas*, or occult knowledge, from her mother. Somewhat similar ones are to be found in *Carmina Gadelica*, and also in Mackenzie's *Gaelic Incantations*. [The charm used with the red string is the sprain-charm, given in Gaelic and English, as from South Uist, in *Folk-Lore*, xi., 449; used in English with a black woollen thread with nine knots in Shetland, *Choice Notes*, p. 37, and with a linen thread in Orkney, *ibid.*, p. 64; recorded with Norwegian, Swedish, Flemish, and German parallels (the last from a tenth century MS.) by Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd ed., 1181, 2.—ED.].

schoolmistress absent from home. I asked her mother why this was so, and was told that for some weeks past her daughter had suffered agonies with a bad whitlow in her hand. She had heard of a chance conveyance that was going into the Lochaber district; had asked the School Board for a few days' absence, and had gone off to Lochaber to pay a visit to the Healer.

About three months ago I was asked to come and see a child suffering from hip-joint disease. On arriving at the cottage I found there a boy of twelve or so, whom I did not remember having seen before. I was told that he was the seventh son of a seventh son, whom the child's parents had heard lived in Arisaig. Though extremely poor, these people had actually gone to the expense of bringing this boy all that way in order that he should exercise his supposed powers of healing on their child. Did space permit I could quote many more instances that I have come across, showing that so far the schoolmaster's influence is not yet felt to any appreciable extent as regards this sort of thing.

A rather gruesome relic of a barbarous age which I have heard of as happening within the last few years, is that ugly one known as the *Corp Creagh*. As its name indicates, this is a body of clay rudely shaped into the image of the person whose hurt is desired. After a tolerably correct representation is obtained, it is stuck all over with pins and thorns, and placed in a running stream. As the image is worn away by the action of the water the victim also wastes away with some mortal disease. The more pins are stuck in from time to time the more excruciating agony the unfortunate victim suffers. Should, however, any wayfarer by accident discover the *Corp* in the stream the spell is broken, and the victim duly recovers. A case of *Corp Creagh* has been known to occur in Uist within the last five years; and in a parish adjoining ours, it was whispered that the death of a certain young man

was due to a spell of this nature. He was in an official capacity of some description, and in some way came to loggerheads with an old woman over a question of rates or rents, or something of that kind. Tall, stalwart, and to all appearance physically perfect (I knew him well), he sickened and died of consumption. Another case that was told to me was concerning a young woman who set her affections upon a certain young man. But on this occasion Barkis was *not* willing, and he would have none of her. To revenge herself for his shocking want of taste, she resolved that if *she* was not fated to get him, then neither would any possible rival. In this dog-in-the-manger frame of mind she made a *corp creagh* for the luckless youth. But it so happened that one day a neighbour (who is the mother of my informant), went into the girl's father's barn to look for some eggs, and hidden among some hay she found, not eggs, but the *corp*. There is reason to believe that during the land agitation and strife which have of recent years occupied the Highlands, the rite was practised in connection with some of the land leaguers who had made themselves obnoxious to their fellows.

One day not long ago, I sat at the loch-side watching two men whom I shall call Rory Campbell and Ian Macdonald. They were engaged in tarring a herring-boat, and to improve the shining hour I asked if it was true about the burial of a suicide in sight of the sea driving away the herrings. Rory, otherwise known as the Polish (not for furniture, dear reader, but a guardian of the peace), was scornful and sceptical. For having, as his nickname indicates, been in Glasgow for nearly a year in that capacity, he is quite above beliefs of this kind. Ian, however, was inclined to think that there was something in it. "Ach, 'deed," he said, "there have been no herrings at all since that year Catriona Vohr put herself aside and was buried in front of the church." Rory snorted and jeered; the tarring operation was suspended, and the two fell a squabbling. Said

Rory, "You can hang every man in Ross-shire and bury them there in rows on the shore, and that won't keep the herrings away if they want to come." And he proceeded to explain learnedly to Ian and myself *why* the herrings had deserted the loch, which at one time had a flourishing fishing industry. And he wound up with, "It's only an ignorant Macdonald like yourself that would believe in any such old wives' tales." Up rose Ian in a fury, and I am certain that memories of Glencoe lurked in his angry eyes as he shouted, "Pig of a Campbell, would you dare to call me ignorant?" And there is no saying how the quarrel would have ended if I had not laughingly interfered and turned the discussion into other channels. And yet ignorant Sassenachs declare that the clan feeling is dead!

Though Rory was sceptical as to this particular belief, he is by no means such an unbeliever in other matters. In second sight he has a most profound belief, and to illustrate this, he told me the following story.

On one occasion one of the neighbouring farmers imported a new shepherd from the Outer Isles, and Rory was sent to show him round. While they were walking along the road, the shepherd suddenly seized Rory and dragged him off the road to one side. Rory, not unnaturally, was quite indignant at being hustled about in this peremptory fashion, and wondered if his companion had suddenly gone mad. The other man, pale as death and overcome with emotion, explained that he had just seen a funeral, and had pulled him aside in order to let the procession pass. Rory, though he had often heard of people who had second-sight, was somewhat doubtful of such a thing being possible. But the shepherd said, "Now as a sign to you that what I have told you is true, you were in that procession yourself; and moreover, you were wearing a plaid, which I saw you fling suddenly about your shoulder." Some three weeks later at that identical spot, Rory was in a funeral procession, and while changing hands as one of the coffin-bearers, his plaid

got between his feet, nearly tripping him up. He half stumbled until he flung up his plaid over his shoulder in the manner described to him by the shepherd.

It is well known that a child born on the stroke of midnight will have the second-sight. The faculty is met with more commonly among the Islanders than on the mainland. I came across a man in the Hebrides who described to me most minutely this strange hallucination, or whatever psychological state one likes to call it. His father was gifted, or afflicted, in this way, and he told me many instances of apparitions he had seen. Sometimes, as in the case of funerals, he only heard it; first, the tramping as of a great multitude, getting louder as it approached; then the murmur of many voices; and finally the tramping and the voices getting fainter as the procession receded into the distance.

While on the subject of funerals let me mention a custom to which great importance is attached in our community. It very often happens that a house is situated off the main road, with only a foot-path from the latter leading to it. When a death occurs in a house thus placed, great pains are taken to avoid having the funeral go along this foot-path if it should run in a contrary direction from the churchyard, or on a road that does not go direct there as the crow flies. In order to avoid making a detour to get at the main road, the *corp* may have to be carried over many obstacles; fences and dykes may have to be got over, rivers forded, or even lochs ferried; although by going backwards the main road could be got at quite easily. But no: a *corp* must never be carried backwards, because if it is, the spirit of the dead will haunt that neighbourhood for a year and a day. In the case of one family, I know, whose house was only a quarter of a mile off the road, and to get at it necessitated going a little way backward from the churchyard, all the funerals from their home were taken along the face of a cliff, where, in some places the bearers had to

crawl along clinging to brushwood, &c., ere the coffin could be deposited in the boat that was to convey it to the place of burial. In a place where undertakers are non-existent, and people are dependent on local aid for burying their dead, those who are above beliefs of this kind have to acquiesce and give in to local custom.

Apropos of this belief, let me relate the following story, which was told me by the principal actor in it. This man is a shoemaker, and, like most of his craft, of a reflective turn of mind. He told me that after his day's work is over, he always takes an evening stroll up the road a "bittock," just to stretch his legs, see how the crops are getting on, and what the "wurruld" generally is doing. Well, one evening, some years ago, he took his daunder as usual in the gloaming, reaching the bridge where a lately erected church is now situated. He seated himself on the stone parapet of the bridge (where indeed I have often had a crack with him and where the story was told to me) and to his surprise he saw sitting on the site of the church, at that time non-existent, the figures of three women muffled up in black shawls or cloaks. They were seated, and wailed and sobbed, wringing their hands, and rocking themselves in an abandonment of woe. He felt what he called a "dwam" coming over him, and, very much upset (for he was convinced that what he had seen was a manifestation of the supernatural), he went home and told the wife what he had seen; but she, prosaic and sensible, and well knowing his tendency to indulging in such "trances," rated him for believing that he had seen any such vision. Years passed and his children were growing up. One of the boys, the "lad o' pairts" of the village, and who was one day to be a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, went away to college, sickened and died of typhoid fever. His remains were brought home (for no Highlander will be buried away from the graves of his ancestors), and on being landed at the village quay, the question arose as to where they were to

be taken until the day of the funeral. His father's house being situated at the furthest end of the village, and in a contrary direction to the churchyard, it was of course out of the question that they should be taken there, and in any case it is unlucky to allow a dead body to be taken into anybody else's house. So it was decided that the body should for the night be deposited in the newly erected church at the bridge on the direct road to the churchyard. That same year my friend had again two family bereavements, each case happening away from home; and as on the first occasion, and for the same reasons, the remains were put in the church over-night. And thus, having three members of his family "lifted" from the new church, did this seer of wraiths interpret the meaning of his vision at the bridge.

Premonitory omens or *manadhs* are very common among us, and I have heard many strange stories concerning death warnings and presentiments, both here, and in the Hebrides, where the belief in anything savouring of the occult is more universal than even on the mainland. A carpenter's wife told me that she always knows when her husband is going to make a coffin, because the kettle with which he steams the wood for that purpose always rattles beforehand. So also do the oars in a boat which is to convey a funeral party up the loch. In Uist I was told that before a death happens, ghostly white figures are seen in the twilight flitting across the sands to the lonely little churchyard in the *Machar* near which we were staying.

"Hurry on with the griddle, and bake some fresh scones," said my hostess one morning: "I saw two strangers in my cup at breakfast, and as they are men, they are sure to be hungry." Living in an isolated place with visitors few and far between, this piece of news caused, as may be imagined quite a flutter in our feminine household, and the expected arrivals were looked for with interest. They came, and were certainly hungry; but as they turned out to be only a couple of tramps our interest in them ceased.

Among omens which you may absolutely depend on as coming true (some time) may be mentioned the following. If the soles of your feet feel itchy you are to walk on strange ground, or take a journey; the same feeling in your right hand means that you are to shake hands with a stranger; while if in your left, you are to receive a gift of money. Ringing in the ears indicates a coming death, which is doubly sure if at the same time you rub your eyes; it is a certain sign that you will weep for the dead very soon. If you rub your upper lip, you are to get a dram soon, while equally certain is it that if you stroke your chin you are to be kissed.

The belief in the Evil Eye, so universal in nearly all countries, is still very prevalent in the North; indeed, among the uneducated, incidental allusions to it are every-day occurrences. If the cows cease to give milk, it is put down to the Evil Eye, and *Uisge Or*, previously described, is administered to the animal. If your horse falls over a cliff, if you break your leg, lose your purse, your head, or your sweetheart, it can be owing to nothing else than the Evil Eye. Indeed, whatever piece of ill-luck may befall you, you may safely attribute it to the Evil Eye, and if you are wise you will accordingly take due precautions to prevent all chance of being a victim to its baneful influence. Such is the force of custom and hereditary instinct, that I have known a man who wrote D. Sc. after his name, who always carried a bit of rock-crystal among his loose change as a charm against the Evil Eye. This same friend also invariably carried three acorns in his pocket as a preventive against rheumatism. To be sure, I never could ascertain from him whether he took these things seriously or not.

It is considered correct to drive the cows with a rowan switch to prevent them getting bewitched, or influenced by the Evil Eye, and for the same reason, I have often seen the dairy maid tie a bit of scarlet string invisibly among the strands of the cow's tail. This latter is also an infal-

lible remedy against any pranks played by the fairies, such as stealing the milk when the cows are at pasture among the hills. When I was young I had a slight injury to my wrist and our old nurse, who had the most profound belief in all manner of old cures, took me to a "skeely" woman, who after mumbling an incantation over the injury tied a piece of scarlet string round the wrist, which accordingly got well in a few days. Not long ago, someone I know, sprained her ankle, and sent for the wise woman with her incantation and her red string. Strange to say, in spite of this the limb showed no signs of getting better, and the doctor had to be sent for. It is hardly to be wondered at that the dear man, on seeing the red string and the neglected state of the foot, poured out torrents of invective against old wives' superstition. Nevertheless the moment his back was turned, the red string was retied on top of the bandages and after the foot got well the cure was probably attributed to the red string rather than to the doctor's surgical skill.¹

It is a common belief that the fairies were quite often seen perhaps a generation or so ago. It is generally agreed, however, that nobody sees them in these days, because as one old woman told me, there is so much Gospel preached nowadays. Also, because we are getting wiser. Perhaps we are. My friend Rory, afore-mentioned, told me that he had once seen a fairy, or a *gruagach* as he called her, in one of the distant corries up in the hills. She was washing clothes at a burn a little distance away from him. This seems to be a favourite occupation with them "Perhaps she was an ordinary mortal," I said. "No," said Rory, "because it was at three o'clock on a summer's morning, and what mortal women would be likely to be washing clothes at that hour, miles away from anywhere?" "It must just have been a fairy," I agreed, "but what were *you* doing up in the corry at that hour of the morning?"

¹ See *ante* p. 372, note.

Rory looked at me in a knowing way he affects sometimes, and somehow the conversation drifted into reminiscent yarns of smugglers and their doings, stills, mountain dew, and gaugers. Our district is rather a favourite hunting-ground of these latter gentry, and the stories told of their exploits and how they have been outwitted are legion. But that is "another story."

To return to the fairies. Though no longer visible to our wise eyes, they are most emphatically there! If not, why does the milkmaid always spill a little drop of each milking as an offering for the little folks? Why does the housewife leave a little meal on her baking-board for the fairies? Why are all the newly-born babies bathed in *Uisge Or*, if there were no fairies to steal them and leave in their stead fairy changelings? strange, unsatisfactory little beings who never thrive, who are always wizened and elfish-looking, and who finally die. Why, even yet I have a vague uncanny feeling in passing the fairy hillock which in childhood I used to scurry past with bated breath and beating heart, if by any chance I happened to pass it at night, dreading to look lest I should see crowds of pursuing elves after me. One young fellow I know, solemnly declared to me the other day that nothing would induce him to walk past Cnoc-na-Sith (hill of the fairies) at midnight. To be precise, what he really said was, "I wouldn't take a thousand pounds to pass there at twelve o'clock at night." I hope he will never hear that I gave him away so shockingly. To be sure, the Cnoc in question is a weird eerie place, a round hillock rising abruptly out of the moorland, just the sort of place that fairies do love, miles away from anywhere. From time immemorial it has been regarded as haunted.

Perhaps one of the quaintest of old-world customs which still survives in some out-of-the-way places is the preparation of the *Struan Michael*, or cakes sacred to the celebration of Michaelmas Day. It is more peculiarly a

Hebridean custom, and, though fast dying out, it is not unknown, and last autumn I tasted some. Michaelmas Day was always observed in the Celtic Calendar, and *Struan Michaels* and Beltane Bannocks entered as much into the calculations of the Highland housewife as do Shrove-tide cakes and hot-cross-buns elsewhere. They were prepared somewhat after this fashion. The first sheaves of the harvest were taken, dried, and ground into meal with the quern. Then the housewife took some eggs, butter, and treacle, mixed them up, and into the mixture put the new meal, making a dough. On the stone slab forming her hearthstone she put some red hot peats, and when sufficiently heated swept it clean. On this the dough was placed to cook with an inverted pot over it. During the process of cooking it was often basted with beaten eggs, forming a custard-like covering. Finally, after the cake was cooked a small piece was broken off and cast into the fire. Why? you will ask. Well, as an offering to the *Donas*, or old Hornie, or whatever may be the correct designation of that presiding genius whom we are led to believe inhabits the fiery regions. The housewife did this in order to safeguard herself and her household against the Evil One. After reserving some of the *Struan* for the use of the household, she went round the neighbours in triumph and gave them a bit each, there being usually a great rivalry as to who should be the first to grind the new meal and get the *Struan* ready. The first to do so was generally understood to have the best crops through the coming year.¹

It is worthy of note how very similar are the Afghans in many of their characteristics to the Celtic race. One who knew Afghanistan well told me that in the nature of their favourite sports, their love of their native land, and in their superstitions, the Afghans and the Highlanders are almost identical. The Afghan's most common way of foretelling

¹ [*Cf.* vol. xiii., p. 44.—ED.]

the future is by examining the marks in the shoulder-blade bone of a sheep just as is done in the Highlands. In Afghanistan also, the people are divided into important tribal families or clans, each with its distinctive set of colours, corresponding to our clan tartans, with this difference however, that while in the Highlands we used the colours *checked*, in Afghanistan they have distinctive *striped* material for the various tribes. I had a piece of Afghan "tartan" sent me from Cabul; it was in the form of a cummerbund, or might be used as a turban. It was composed of red, green, yellow, and gold stripes, and represented the tribal colours of an Afghan noble.

Though tartan as a dress material has ceased to be worn among our women, it is still considered the hall-mark of respectability to possess a shawl of the clan tartan. This is almost invariably given by a bridegroom-elect as a wedding present to his intended wife, and is worn by her at her wedding. Afterwards the babies are carried in it to be christened. Though the picturesque in dress is, alas! fast dying out, and our young women appear at kirk or market bravely and wonderfully got up in parodies of the latest Paris fashions, the older women are still to be seen in tartan shawls and quaintly goffered mitches. On Coronation Day last year, our villagers, not to be behind in loyalty at the crowning of our King, resolved in common with more pretentious places to decorate the village street. Very few among us possessed flags, but every household owned at least one tartan plaid; and as the tartan peculiar to our district is of a vivid red, the street when lit up with festoons of scarlet tartan, presented a colour scheme far more unique and charming than orthodox flags and bunting would have been. Among the older women also, there is one garment which they make a point of possessing, against the day which will too surely arrive, that one in which they are to be garbed for the grave. This is of course a night-gown but so elaborately frilled and trimmed as to be sometimes quite

out of keeping with the lowly estate of the possessor. Many are the periodical bleachings to which the garment is subjected, "for it is well to have things in readiness, and nobody knows when the call will come," as one old woman told me. One day I went to visit her while she lay dying. She was very very old; her daughter who lived with her looked sixty at least. The latter was busy ironing and goffering a frilled cap, and on a chair at the fire was a newly-ironed night-dress. The old lady in the bed was looking on with the profoundest interest and impressing on the daughter that she must be more particular with the frills. "I have always been respectable," she explained to me, "and it's myself that would not like to appear before the Lord anything else than well put on. Many a time I have bleached and ironed them myself, but I expect this is the last time it will need to be done." And so a few days later when poor old Peggy lay decked out in her finery, and the neighbour women, as is customary, came in turns to sit round her until the funeral day, they doubtless all agreed that it was indeed a most respectably put-up corp. And over their *strupach* of the water of life they drank a safe journey to the dead to the Isle of Dreams and Shadows.

SHEILA MACDONALD.

COLLECTANEA.

THE STORY OF INDRA BANGSĀWAN.¹

MANY years ago, when I was in Singapore, I acquired a certain amount of knowledge of the written Malay language, which is very different from the *lingua franca* spoken in godown and bazaar. One or two manuscript volumes of the tales read by the Malays I brought home with me, and quite lately I began to translate one of them, chiefly to revive what I knew of the tongue. It then occurred to me to print my translation, as there is a considerable literature of this sort current in the Malay-speaking countries and very little known to English readers. The people, who are partly our fellow-subjects and partly under the Dutch government, read these stories to this day, tell them from house to house, transcribe them, and so hand them on, and to a certain extent they undoubtedly believe in them. It may interest scholars to trace the origins and travels of these traditions, to note the alterations that have taken place, the mistakes in transcription, and the probable piecing-together of various separate tales.

Mr. John Crawfurd in his *Malay Grammar*, dated 1852, says, "Malay literature, besides the *pantuns* or riddles already mentioned, consists of romances in prose and in verse, called by the Sanskrit name of *Charitra*, or the Arabic one of *Hakayat*. . . . In force, originality, and ingenuity, these compositions are far below the similar production of the Arabians, the Persians, or even of the Hindus. The Dutch grammarian Werndlij, the father of Malayan philology, in his most judicious grammar,² has a list of some seventy such works, and the catalogue might easily be

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² G. H. Werndlij, *Malaische Spraakhist*, 1736. Later editions 1823, 1826-7.

increased. Their subjects are taken, some from native, some from Javanese, and some from Arabian story, with usually an admixture of Hindu fable. None of them are genuine translations from foreign languages. . . . There is no date to any Malay work, and there is no known Malay author. All Malay literature down to the present day resembles, in this respect, the ancient anonymous ballads of European nations."

The particular story which I have selected for translation is evidently a favourite, and a dramatic version of it is acted in the native Malay theatre at the present time, as may be seen from the following advertisement, cut from the *Straits Times* of March 23rd, 1903.

WAYANG PUSI.

INDRA BANGSĀWAN.

THE EMPRESS VICTORIA JAWI PRANAKAN
THEATRICAL COMPANY OF PENANG.

TO-NIGHT!

TO-NIGHT!

23rd March, 1903.

"PUKKUR MAHADI."

With Grand Artistically Painted Scenes,
Extraordinary Costumes and a Grand Display
of Music, Flags, Bunting, &c.
At the New Parsee Theatre Hall,

NORTH BRIDGE ROAD.

Prices of Admission.

First Class	...	...	\$1.00
Second Class	...	...	.50
Third Class	...	...	.25

ZENANA.

First Class	...	...	.50
Second Class	...	...	.25

Children under 10 years half price only in First
and Second Class. Tickets can be obtained
at the Doors of the Theatre.

(Doors open at 8 p.m.)

Performance Commences at 9 p.m. sharp.

HADJI BRAHIM—*Manager.*

I possess two copies of *Indra Bangsāwan*; one written in the ordinary Arabic character, the other also in the Malay tongue, but in English script. This latter copy, which I picked up at an

auction in the Straits, has a note on the fly-leaf to the effect that it is the "property in common of the English and American missionaries in Batavia"; and as I have another manuscript with the same note, I imagine that this society collected these tales, transcribed them in the European character, and possibly translated them.

The story was found to be too long and redundant to publish in its entirety. I have therefore given a literal translation of the first few paragraphs, to show the style, and have made an abstract of the remainder. I fear myself that it may lose by this mode of treatment, but considerations of space have had to prevail.

There is one rather striking peculiarity of this story to which I would draw attention. At the end of the prose tale there is a rough repetition in verse. Moreover, this poetic version does not give the complete story, but stops at a certain point; and as in this particular my two copies exactly coincide, I can only conclude that the remainder of the prose version, completing and rounding-off the story, may have been added at a later date.

I must here express my grateful thanks to Mr. Walter Skeat for much kind advice and help, and for the interesting notes he has been so good as to append to my translation.

A. S. CUMMING, M.D.

18, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh.

THE STORY.

There was once a king called Indra Bungsu, who ruled with great wisdom and justice over the large kingdom of Kobat Sahrilah. Now for many years his wife had no children; at last he sent for his Vizier (*mangkobumi*), and ordered him to tell the people to pray that the queen might have a son.

In the course of time the queen bore twin sons; the elder with a bow and arrow in his hand, the younger with a sword. The king was overjoyed, and he called the elder Sahpri and the younger Indra Bangsāwan.

The twins were brought up by the queen with great care and affection. When they were seven years old, she had them taught all manner of knowledge, which they did so quickly that the king was delighted at their learning, and taught them skill in all weapons and in the art of war; also horsemanship, in which they

soon excelled. They spent all the day at these exercises, and went in the evening to present themselves before their mother.

Now the king began to ponder in his mind which of the twins ought to succeed him in his kingdom; and he became sad and perplexed, and shut himself up for seven days, seeing no one, not even the queen. His two sons and the vizier went to him and begged him to tell them the cause of his displeasure.

"My children," said the king, "I am not angry with you, but I am sad because of a dream that I have had; whoever fulfils this dream will be my successor, even if he be of mean birth."

On hearing the king's words, the princes begged him to tell them his dream, which he related in the following manner:—

"It happened one day, that whilst I slept there came a beautiful young man with a *musical reed*,¹ the sound of which was exceeding sweet; I coveted it, and begged him to give it to me, but he would not, for he said that whosoever should gain possession of the reed should succeed me on the throne. And I awoke."

"We will go and seek the musical reed," said both the princes.

"Do not go, my children," replied the king, "for the journey is very difficult."

Then Indra Bangsāwan tucked up the sleeve of his jacket, saying, "I, your servant, will go; if I do not find the musical reed, I shall not return; my dear brother, if he does not wish to accompany me, shall remain with you, and I will find the reed or die, alone."

The king, hearing his younger son speak thus, endeavoured to dissuade him, "for," he said, "the dream has been exaggerated;" but finding them both intent on going in quest of the reed, he commended them to God ever to be praised and most high.

So Sahrī and Indra Bangsāwan bade farewell to the king and queen, who wept bitterly; but the younger son said, "Do not weep, mother; trust in the Lord of Hosts of all the World."

Then the two brothers departed, and journeying towards the east, they passed through woods and great forests and over high mountains, encountering fierce beasts, but they did not find the musical reed. Now when they had journeyed some time it began to rain, and the wind blew a hurricane, and it became dark as

¹ *Buluh p̄rindu*, lit. "Yearning Bamboo." The "Æolian Harp" of the Malays.

pitch. When the storm subsided the brothers had become separated; each sought the other in the forest, but without success.

Now when it was related to the king that his sons had disappeared, he ordered prayers to be offered up five times and offerings to be made to the fakirs; he commanded that every ruined mosque should be repaired, and that prayers should be offered in them for the two princes.

¹ Now we must follow Sahpri, who still journeyed on foot eastwards, till he came to a pleasure-ground, and in the midst of the garden he beheld a palace. Entering the palace boldly, he saw a large drum hanging up, and struck it, when a voice came from within, "Who is striking the drum?" At this, presuming that there was some one inside the drum, Sahpri drew his dagger and slit up the skin, and behold there stepped out a most lovely princess. So beautiful was she that he instantly fell in love with her. In answer to his questions she said that her name was Dewi Ratnasari; that the city had been subdued by a Roc (*Garuda*)²; and that her parents had shut her up with all her belongings and her eight handmaidens inside the drum, so that the roc was unable to touch them.

In two days the roc approached, and the sky was dark with the shadow of his wings. So Sahpri shut up the princess and her maidens in the drum, and, sallying forth, shot the roc with his bow and arrow, so that he died. Then the princess came out, overjoyed to see the death of the roc, and she and Sahpri lived there in great happiness together.

Now Indra Bangsāwan, when he was parted from Sahpri in the forest, set out on his journey also. And he came to a plain in which there was a cave, and entered into the cave; and after proceeding a long distance he came to a great light, and there he saw a pleasure garden, and in the midst of it there was a house.

Indra Bangsāwan mounted up and sat down in the reception hall. Now this was the house of a powerful magician, who came out and said, "Who is this who comes and sits here so boldly?" And when Indra Bangsāwan told who he was, the magician said,

¹ From this point the story is merely an abstract, not a full translation of the original.

² *Garuda* is the mythical vulture, half man, half bird, on which Vishnu rides.

“That is true, and you are my grandson.” Then Indra Bangsāwan told him how he had set out to seek the musical reed, and the magician promised to help him, and meantime he desired him to go and refresh himself with a bath after his journey, and sent four beautiful maidens who bathed him and anointed him with sweet unguents. After dinner the magician told him that there was in the country of Anta Branta, nigh at hand, a city named Anta Permana, which was under the power of a Griffin,¹ to whom the king and queen had to pay tribute, this being that whenever they had a child it was to be given over to the griffin. “And now,” added the magician, “I hear that the king has a daughter very fair to look upon, and that according to agreement she must be given up to the griffin, and nine rajas’ sons have come to guard her, of whom one is to be betrothed to her, whoever rescues her from the griffin;” and he added that the griffin had seven snouts and seven eyes, and that whoever killed him must take them to the king, otherwise the princess would not be his.

The magician moreover counselled Indra Bangsāwan to go and help the king, for the death of the griffin was fated to be under his hand. The magician then gave him two gifts to aid him—a magic dress which could change him into any shape he desired; and a talismanic sign that he taught him, by the use of which he might be transported wherever he desired.

Thus equipped, Indra Bangsāwan took leave of his grandfather and put on the magic dress. Then he wished to be transported to the city of Anta Permana, and in an instant he was close to it. Then, changing himself into the appearance of a country lad from the woods, he made his way into the palace, where the king, liking his looks, gave him to the princess for a playfellow. And the princess grew very fond of him, and made him take charge of her goats, and in this way he took the goats to pasture during the day, and slept at night at the princess’s feet.

Now after a time the princess contracted a disease of the eyes,

¹ *Boraksa*. “*Beraksa*, or *Kuda Beraksa*, a sort of legendary Pegasus or supernatural steed.”—(Wilkinson’s *Malay Dictionary*, 1902.)

“*Burāg*, *lit.* “The Bright One,” the animal upon which Muhammad is said to have performed the nocturnal journey called *Mi’rāj*. It was a white animal, between the size of a mule and an ass, having two wings. Muhammad’s conception of the mysterious animal is not unlike the Assyrian *Gryphon*, of which Mr. Layard gives a sketch.”—(Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*.)

and lost her sight ; indeed, she became delirious, and the king in great distress called the physicians, who applied all manner of drugs, but only made the princess worse. Then the king in despair summoned the astrologers, who, after consulting her horoscope, said, " Unless you can get milk from a tiger which has newly had young, and wash the eyes of the princess with it, she will not get better."¹

Then the king made a proclamation that whosoever should get this milk and cure the Princess Ratnasari should have her to wife. Indra Bangsāwan (in the guise of a country lad) when he heard this, took his goats out to pasture and milked them, and taking some of the milk he put it into a joint² of bamboo and hung it up on a branch of a large tree, and taking off his magic dress he resumed his own shape and sat down to watch the milk.

The nine rajas' sons, each one wishing to obtain the hand of the princess, started to seek for tiger's milk, and after long and fruitless search in the jungle, they emerged into the plain where Indra Bangsāwan was, and seeing him sitting watching the bamboo containing the milk, and supposing him to be a common person, they demanded cavalierly what he had got there. He said carelessly that the bamboo contained tiger's milk. Then they, casting glances at one another, offered to buy it, but he replied that he was not at liberty to sell it, for the owner, his master, had said that the only condition on which he would part with it, was that the person who wished to acquire it, should be branded on the thigh with a red-hot iron. After anxious consultation they reluctantly consented, and being branded each one by Indra Bangsāwan, they received the joint of bamboo and limped away.

When they came to the king they presented the milk saying that it was tiger's milk which they had brought. Then the king

¹ *Susu harimau*, or " Tigress's milk." This expression also signifies the *sclerotium*, or resting-stage, of a fungus, *Lentinus* sp. (*Tuber regium*) of Rumphius—*Herb. Amboin VI.*, which is believed to have sprung from some drops of milk shed by a tigress in suckling her young. This fungus growth is greatly prized, and regarded by the Malays as a valuable medicine. It should be noted that the Malays of the Peninsula with few exceptions do not drink milk at all, either medicinally or otherwise.

² *i.e.*, the internode, or hollow part of the bamboo between the joints, frequently used as a receptacle by the Malays both for liquids and solids (water, cooked rice, tobacco, drugs, darts, &c.). These bamboos are stoppered with sections of wood, bunches of leaves, &c.

handed the milk to the physician, who at once pronounced that it was nothing but goat's milk, and the king laughed the nine rajas' sons to scorn.

Indra Bangsāwan having played this trick on the rajas' sons, used the talisman and wished himself at the magician's house, and having told the magician of the princess' sickness and that the physician had said that the cure must be tiger's milk, his grandfather begged him to sit down and rest, and at once went away and returned bringing with him true milk from a tiger which had newly had young, and he put it into a joint of bamboo and stoppered it with leaves, and gave it to Indra Bangsāwan. Then Indra Bangsāwan thanked the magician, put on his magic dress, and in an instant was conveyed back to the palace.

Now the princess had newly returned to herself, and immediately inquired for her boy of the woods, and they searched high and low, and when at last her maidens found him they soundly rated him and dragged him into the king's presence. Then the king asked what he had in the bamboo, and he said that he didn't know, but that he found it hanging on a tree. The king, seeing that it looked like milk, handed it to his physician, who was greatly amazed, and at once said that this was really tiger's milk at last, and having squeezed it into the eyes of the princess, she straightway opened her eyes, which were healed—and she loved the boy of the woods all the more that he had been the means of curing her.

Now when the time approached that the griffin should come for the princess, the king built a palace in the middle of the plain so that the griffin should not come into the city; and he placed below the stairs a large iron vessel, which was to be filled with water so that the griffin might drink when he arrived. And the king and the queen conducted the princess to the palace with great grief, and the queen wept and said, "Where is Indra Bangsāwan? for it has been foretold that he should come and slay the griffin," but the king replied, "We must trust in God and wait." And they returned home.

The nine rajas' sons encamped at a distance from the palace, and boasted that they were going to slay the griffin, but they shook in their shoes and were in mortal terror.

Then Indra Bangsāwan, using the talisman, wished himself at the magician's house, and on telling him that he desired to rescue

the princess, the magician (who had planned all that went before in order that Indra Bangsāwan might fall in love with the princess) said, "That is good, and what I have wished you to do." And he forthwith summoned his magic horse, named *Jingga Harjin*, who was of a green colour, and whose father was a jin, and the horse at once appeared ready caparisoned, with a lasso hanging from the saddle. The magician ordered him to obey the orders of Indra Bangsāwan, and the magic horse bowed and said he would do whatever he was commanded.

Then Indra Bangsāwan took off his magic dress, put on his sword, mounted the horse, and in an instant he was in front of the palace. When the princess looked out she beheld a young man beautiful to behold caracoling in front of the palace, and she called him, "Oh, young man of beautiful appearance, do you wish to be destroyed by the griffin that you come here?" But he reassured her, and having dismounted he fastened the lasso round the mouth of the iron vessel of water, and he commanded the horse that when the griffin came and put his head into the vessel to drink he was to pull the lasso round his neck and kick and bite him till he died.

Then he went up and conversed with the princess, and she not knowing who he was, told him about the griffin, and how that her cousin, Princess Dewi Ratnasari, was under the power of a roc, and it was foretold that she was to be rescued by Sahpri and none other; while she in her turn would be rescued from the griffin by Indra Bangsāwan, as had been foretold. While they were conversing in this wise the griffin came to the palace stairs, and seeing the vessel full of water put his head in, whereupon *Jingga Harjin* pulled at the lasso and snared the neck of the griffin, and set to work to kick him to pieces. When Indra Bangsāwan heard this he descended and drew his sword and killed the griffin. Then he cut off the snouts and eyes, and slung them in a string, and mounting his horse bade farewell to the princess, and disappeared from view. And the princess was dismayed and astonished, for she knew now that this must be Indra Bangsāwan himself who had killed the griffin.

Now when the nine rajas' sons saw the coming of the griffin they were terrified and shook in all their joints, but when they saw that it was dead they came forward intending to cut off its snouts and eyes in order to claim the hand of the princess. But

when they approached they saw that some one had been beforehand with them, so they each one proceeded to take a slice of some part of the body for himself; some took a bit of the scalp, one a finger, one a foot, and so on, each one taking some part of the griffin as a token. And when they came into the presence of the king they leaped and shouted, each one bragging that it was he who had killed the griffin. But the king said, "Softly, my sons, you need not quarrel about it, for he who has really killed the griffin must produce the tokens." Then they produced their tokens, upon which the king scorned them and exposed their deceit and cowardice.

Then Indra Bangsāwan, having returned to the magician to resume his magic dress again in the likeness of a wild boy, appeared before the king bringing the snouts and eyes of the griffin. On being questioned he said that he did not know what they were, but that he had found them on the road, and brought them to the king. And the king was lost in surprise, and turning to the rajas' sons he said that it was ordained that the princess should marry, not one of them, but the jungle boy. And the rajas' sons were much offended, and having warned the king that he had better put his defences in order they departed in great dudgeon without so much as taking leave of the king.

Then the king summoned his daughter and told her that she must marry the wild boy as he had promised on two occasions. And the princess, although in her heart she loved the beautiful young man who had rescued her, bowed and said that whatever the king ordered she would do. But Indra Bangsāwan evaded the subject, and while he continued to dwell in the princess's palace he herded the goats as before.

Now the rajas' sons gathered their forces together and marched towards the city of Anta Permana, and having reached within half a day's journey they encamped, and having held a council of war sent an ambassador to the king, saying that unless he delivered up the princess they would besiege the city. The king replied that he would rather fight, upon which they grew as angry as coiled-up snakes and prepared to fight. In the meantime the king repaired his walls and filled his ditches with water.

When Indra Bangsāwan saw that the rajas' sons meant to fight, and that the king could not possibly get the best of it, he conveyed himself to the magician, told him all that had occurred,

and begged for assistance. The magician highly approved of his decision and asked how he could help. "Give me my sword and the horse," said Indra Bangsāwan, and the horse instantly appeared, fully equipped. So Indra Bangsāwan mounted and in an instant was back in the plain.

In the early morning, before the sun was up, the army of the rajas' sons arrayed itself in the field, as also the king's forces, and they fought with great desperation, but the king's army had to give way at last. Seeing this, Indra Bangsāwan spurred his horse into the middle of the host and defeated them, and then touching his horse disappeared from view, and although the king inquired who that young man was, no one could tell him.

On the next day the rajas' sons beat their war drums and renewed the fight, with the same result, that the king's forces were defeated until Indra Bangsāwan spurred his magic horse into the midst of the foe and scattered them, and after having pursued them for a long distance he returned victorious, and then having touched his horse he disappeared from view. When the king heard this an idea struck him and he sent to the princess to inquire about the wild boy of the wood, and on being told that he had not been seen since the fighting began, he said to himself, "Assuredly it is the wild boy who is fighting for me." But he did not mention his idea to anyone.

Meanwhile the rajas' sons had recognised the young man who played them the trick about the tiger's milk and were anxious to capture him. On the next day the battle was renewed with great violence, and, as Indra Bangsāwan did not interfere, the king's forces were beaten and he was besieged in his castle. Then the king said, "To-morrow I shall go out to the battle myself."

Meantime Indra Bangsāwan had been for several days with his grandfather, but on this day the magician warned him that the king was to go out and fight himself, and that he must rescue him, so he mounted and went, just in time to see the king's forces defeated and the king, who scorned to run away, surrounded by the enemy. Then Indra Bangsāwan attacked and scattered the enemy, and having desired the king to retire he pursued the rajas' sons. The enemy's troops all fled, and the nine rajas' sons themselves only were left, and they being afraid for their lives, and suspecting now that they had to do with no ordinary foe, asked him who he was, and when he told them that he was Indra

Bangsāwan they threw down their arms and prostrated themselves before him, begging for forgiveness. But he raised them and said that he now accounted them as his brethren. He then ordered them to go back to their own country, and to return with their followers to Anta Permana in seven days to meet him "For," he said, "I have important business then."

But when Indra Bangsāwan had seen them safely off he mounted his horse, uttered the talismanic sign, and returned to the magician, and when he had told him all that had happened he resumed his magic dress and returned to the princess. She asked him where he had been, and he said that as he was tending his goats he saw fighting, so being afraid he got up a tree and remained there.

Now the king formed in his mind a plan by which he might find out who the boy of the wood really was, so having summoned his daughter and Indra Bangsāwan he upbraided them for having disobeyed his orders, in that they had disregarded his command that they should become man and wife, and he pronounced as sentence that a prison should be built in the palace grounds and they should both be put in it. And this was duly done.

And on the third night Indra Bangsāwan being hot, and seeing that the princess was sound asleep, got up, took off his magic dress and bathed himself with the golden vessel in the princess's bathing-place, and thus returned to rest. In the morning the princess was much amazed to find that her bathing-place had been used, and asking leave to go out, she told the king. And he told her to return, and that night to pretend to be asleep and to watch the wild boy of the woods, and if he got up and took off his dress, she was to conceal it. So that night all happened as the king had foreseen, and when Indra Bangsāwan was bathing the princess stole his dress and concealed it. When he returned she begged him to tell her who he really was, and when he told her she was much overcome, for she had loved Indra Bangsāwan since she first saw him. Then she ran out and told the king that it was indeed Indra Bangsāwan, and the king in his joy sent and begged him to come out, and great were the rejoicings.

Then the king ordered the nuptials to be performed. But Indra Bangsāwan begged for three days' grace to go and visit his grandfather, which was granted, and summoning his horse, which appeared fully caparisoned, he mounted it and disappeared.

When he came to his grandfather he told him all that had occurred, and said that he had begged for three days' grace, because he had no wedding gift for his bride and was ashamed.

Then the magician gave him a magic jewel, which he said would give him whatsoever he desired; and if he wished for a city fully equipped with houses and all its inhabitants he would forthwith get it. "Likewise," said he, "it contains two officers having a troop under them who will do your bidding, the one is called Dikar Sari and the other Dikar Dewa."¹ With this the magician handed the magic jewel to Indra Bangsāwan, who bowed and left.

When he approached the city of Anta Permana he wished upon the magic jewel and summoned the two Dikars, and said "I wish a city to be built, with all its inhabitants, warriors, and ministers, and a golden bridge to pass from it to the palace of the Princess Ratnasari." Then the Dikars bowed, summoned their followers, and set to work.

And in the morning the people in Anta Permana were surprised on looking towards the palace of the princess to see that it looked as if it were on fire, so intense was the blaze of the gold and silver and precious stones on the golden bridge, and the king himself was startled when he saw the bridge and the new city. Then Indra Bangsāwan also ordered the Dikars to go to the king and beg him to begin the marriage festivities.

Meantime the seven days being fulfilled, the rajas' sons came and made obeisance. And they begged leave to direct the festivities. Then they directed that for seven days there should be great rejoicing, much beautiful music, games of all sorts, and martial exercises. And they invested Indra Bangsāwan with the royal insignia; also they built a triumphal edifice (*Pancha-Persada*)² of seven stories, covered with jewels, and surmounted with diamonds. The princess likewise was adorned with beautiful garments, and having arranged the triumphal procession, set out—the slaves of the magic jewel in front, the nine rajas' sons and their retinue behind, and the royal couple in the midst. Seven times they marched round the new city, then they walked across the golden bridge towards Anta

¹ *Dikar* means "a master of fence" (usually *nendekar*), or champion; the "mighty men of valour" of the Old Testament. It may be used by a raja of his captains or lieutenants.

² "*Pancha-persada*: a bathing-place (usually a temporary structure), where the ceremonial washing after a royal wedding takes place." (Wilkinson.)

Permana, where the king and queen met them with great ceremony and much rejoicing. Then the rajas' sons presented presents of gold and silver to the bride. And the Kadi was called, and Indra Bangsāwan and the Princess Ratnasari were married according to the religion of Islam.

Now in seven days Indra Bangsāwan called the rajas' sons, and said that they must now go home because they had now been a long time away from their homes, and because he himself was about to start to go home to see his own father and mother once more, and to search for his brother Sahpri. Then the rajas' sons begged leave to go with him. But he told them that the way was long and very difficult; nay, more, that there was a roc which had devastated the country of King Asik-asiki, and that they had had to shut up the Princess Dewi Ratnasari in a drum to protect her. But all the more they pressed to come, and he gave way with joy in his heart.

So on the morrow Indra Bangsāwan started by himself to watch his goats, and from thence he conveyed himself to his grandfather. And he said, "I am now desirous to see my father and mother once more, also to seek my brother Sahpri; therefore I beg that you will obtain for me the musical reed." And the magician having disappeared, returned forthwith, bringing with him the musical reed, which he gave to Indra Bangsāwan.

Then Indra Bangsāwan thanked the magician, who embraced him and wept and said, "Go, my son, and may God take you in all safety to your father and mother; and now behold I am approaching my end, and my magic skill is of no further use to me, therefore I hand it all over to you." And Indra Bangsāwan thanked him and took his leave and returned to the princess. And when he returned he informed the king of his intention to seek his parents, and having obtained their approval, he and the princess returned to their palace.

Now as they were preparing for their journey, Indra Bangsāwan and the princess suddenly became sick, and gradually got worse, and the physicians could not cure them. Then the astrologers having been called, said, "This sickness cannot be cured by drugs—they have been bewitched by the sister of the griffin whom Indra Bangsāwan slew, and for this disease there is no cure." Then was there great grief, and the city became silent and desolate as if the enemy had ravaged it.

Now we return to the adventures of Sahpri and the Princess Dewi Ratnasari.

One night Sahpri dreamed that he was on the top of a high mountain with Indra Bangsāwan, and that they slept together as they used to do, and when he awoke he was sad, desiring to seek his brother. And he told the princess that he must leave her for a time to search for Indra Bangsāwan, for he said that he had dreamed about him and that he must be sick and in need of him. So she said, "If that be so take this Bezoar stone,¹ which will even bring a dead man back to life. Dip it in water, and let the sick man drink of it, and also be bathed in it."

So Sahpri started for Anta Permana and journeyed towards the east, and when he came he beheld the city as it were a city of the dead, and disguising himself as a Sheikh² he accosted an old man, and hearing of the illness of the prince, and that it was indeed Indra Bangsāwan, he sent word to the king that he could cure the disease. And having been admitted he ordered them to bring vessels of water. Then he soaked the Bezoar stone in the water, and washed the body of Indra Bangsāwan, who straightway opened his eyes and rose and embraced his brother. Then Sahpri told him to wash the princess in like manner, and she got up, and great was the rejoicing. And Sahpri told the king all his adventures with the roc and his marriage with Princess Dewi Ratnasari, and the king was much astonished.

Now, after three days' rejoicing, they prepared to start, and Indra Bangsāwan called his brother Sahpri, telling him how grateful he was to him, gave him the magic jewel which the magician had given to him, and having summoned the two Dikars he gave them over to Sahpri, and the two Dikars bowed allegiance to their new master and returned with the jewel.

Then the king and queen started to convoy them on their

¹ These Bezoar stones, which are the concretions found in the stomachs of certain animals, especially those of the monkey and the porcupine, are regarded with extraordinary veneration by the Malays, who consider them to be possessed by a spirit. When ground down or soaked in water (which is drunk by the patient, to the accompaniment of incantations), they are firmly believed to work miracles, and they possess, on this account, an extraordinary value. See Skeat, *Malay Magic*, s.v. "Bezoar stones."

² A Sheikh is a man who is descended from one of the companions of the Prophet. (Wilkinson.)

journey, and after one day returned with much weeping. And Indra Bangsāwan and Sahpri, with the nine rajas' sons, journeyed to the city of Princess Dewi Ratnasari, and when the two princesses met they rejoiced greatly.

After this the whole party set out towards the west to visit the old people, and when they came to a village on the border of the king's territory they sent notice of their approach, and the old king and queen came out to meet them, and great were the rejoicings. And the king asked which of them had found the musical reed, and when Indra Bangsāwan said that he had brought it, the king called all his subjects and informed them that he was going to abdicate, and that Indra Bangsāwan was to succeed him as king and Sahpri was to be his prime minister.

So Indra Bangsāwan and the princess reigned for many years and the three kingdoms were all united, that is the city of Anta Permana and the city of the Princess Ratnasari.

Thus was Indra Bangsāwan king, by the grace of God Who knoweth perfectly, and in Him is help and refuge.

Here endeth the tale of Indra Bangsāwan.
 The heart that was sore is filled with rapture.¹
 It is like a bouquet of flowers,
 The perfume of which endures for ever.
 He fought and slew the griffin himself,
 He showed no fear nor dread.
 The nose and eyes he gave to the king ;
 Thereafter he was betrothed to the princess.
 His brother was named Sahpri.
 He journeyed and entered into a city.
 Inside a drum he found a princess.
 He slew the roc where he stood.
 Indra Bangsāwan was powerful and valiant.
 He was adopted as grandson by a magician
 Who taught him his lore, both easy and difficult.
 In no long time he became very learned.
 One enchantment the magician gave him
 Which gave him the power to change his appearance.
 Then he took a journey into a country
 And became the servant of a princess.
 His hair was now frizzled like a Papuan,

¹ " *Tāmat lāh hīkāyāt Indra Bāngsāwān,
 Hātī yāng pīlu mēnjadi rāwan.*"

This couplet may serve to show the style of the versification.

His name he now changed into Sā-kambar.
 The princess was greatly delighted, and laughed.
 He tended her herds without losing any.
 The sons of the kings of the nine countries¹
 Came and presented themselves,
 Hoping each one to win the princess.
 They talked very boldly of slaying the griffin.
 The princess was now very ill with her eyes,
 And many doctors were called in by the king,
 Who agreed that the only cure for the princess
 Was the milk of a tigress newly with young.
 Then spake the sons of the rajas of the nine countries :
 " The servants of my lord will go and seek."
 They enter the forest full of briars and thorns,
 They meet with a tiger and forthwith they flee.
 Now when Sā-kambar hears their talk
 He milks his goats, and taking the milk,
 In the midst of the plain he hangs it up ;
 The sons of the rajas come and enquire,
 " This milk we certainly mean to buy."
 But Indra Bangsāwan would not agree.
 " I have to be very hard with my lords,
 " The price is that each one must be branded."
 They take the milk to the king.
 " This is the milk from a tigress with young."
 But when the physician has examined it,
 " Behold, this is nothing but goat's milk."
 Sā-kambar now comes, laughing the while ;
 The king asks him what he has brought.
 He replies, " It was hanging from an old tree by the wayside,
 " Thy servant took it with good intention."
 The physician having examined this time again,
 " Behold now, this of a surety is tigress' milk !"
 Into the eyes of the princess it is carefully instilled.
 From that time forth she began to recover.
 Now after very many days
 The griffin was due to come and take the princess.
 The rajas' sons talk, but yet they keep still ;
 Within their hearts they are sorely afraid.
 The king is sad and wishful to delay,
 He orders his people to build a palace.
 " Fill," said he, " a vessel with water
 " So that the griffin may drink there."
 The princess sets out, weeping the while,

¹ *Nagri Sembilan*, or the " Nine States," is the name of a small confederation of states in the Malay Peninsula.

Followed by the sons of the rajas and ministers.
 Far off as the eye can see, the rajas' sons halt.
 The princess mounts the platform herself.
 Sā-kambar now goes to the magician,
 Saying, " My grandfather, help I pray thee with speed,
 " Even now the griffin is about to take the princess
 " And I long to help to set her free."
 The grandfather calls for his horse of green colour,
 Along with riding-whip and full caparison,
 Weapons complete, sword and arrows,
 " The horse which I give you is called Harjin."
 Indra Bangsāwan now mounts the horse,
 His figure adorned with beautiful raiment.
 He whipped the horse, which ran with unheard-of speed,
 And came and stood before the platform.
 The princess was watching and gazing,
 And she said, " From whence does my lord come ?
 " Do you wish indeed to be lost ?
 " But still help me, I pray you, in no ordinary way."
 He then descends from his horse
 And ties the bridle to the mouth of the vessel.
 " If the griffin should drink of the water,
 " Strike him and kick him with your hoofs."
 Indra Bangsāwan mounts the platform,
 He salutes the princess with an embrace.
 " Let my lady be calm and have patience,"
 He begs her ; while he sings :—¹
 " Ever and again, a bird goes astray,
 " The pigeon and the turtle dove.
 " Thy servant will help with all his power.
 " Until I came here, my lot was to die.
 " The horse's bridle helps to bind,
 " And the flock of pigeons flies away.
 " Not the least fear has your slave,
 " For the sake of my lady let me die."
 A loud noise as of a tempest of wind and rain—
 The griffin approaches, this is the sign.
 He comes and stands in front,
 And seeing water he straightway drinks.
 Then the horse pulls the lasso of great length,
 The while he bites, and kicks moreover.
 Indra Bangsāwan cleaves with his sword ;
 The griffin dies and lies all his length ;
 The eyes and snouts are quickly taken.

¹ This song of Indra Bangsāwan forms two rhyming four-lined stanzas of the Malay national "pantun" or ballad type.

Then he mounts his horse with spurs,
 Saying, "Farewell, oh my sister!"
 In a moment he had disappeared.
 The rajas' sons now come to seek for tokens
 But, behold! Eyes and snouts are there no longer.
 They each cut off whatever they can get
 That they may convey [a token] to the king.
 Then the nine rajas' sons
 Leaped and ran as fast as they could,
 Each one trying to beat the other.
 "I, it was, who slew the fierce griffin."
 But the king replied, "Do not deceive,
 "The tokens of the deed bring hither to me."
 The king when he beholds cannot but laugh.
 "Not one of you all has killed the griffin."
 Sā-kambar now comes and is seen by the king;
 The eyes and snouts, even the hands, he brings.
 Then the king stands up and declares
 "He holds the tokens who has killed the griffin."
 The king declares while he stands up:
 "What now is your counsel?
 "Now behold my daughter the princess.
 "Sā-kambar is now her husband."
 The rajas' sons were exceedingly angry;
 They depart without further ceremony.
 They hasten towards their country with speed
 And straightway collect all their forces.
 To the princess, the king gives command,
 "You and Sā-kambar must be joined;
 "Firstly, you suffered disease of the eyes,
 "Then the tokens of the griffin, snouts and eyes."
 When there had passed a night and a day,
 Sā-kambar was called by the princess,
 "Hei, Kambar, approach hither, I pray,
 "Has not the king given me to you?"
 Sā-kambar sat down while he asked,
 "Who killed the griffin and took the eyes?"
 "A young man of very beautiful appearance."
 "Whose son did he appear to be?"
 "To my thought he was Indra Bangsāwan,
 "He killed the griffin, and I was astonished,
 "All the rajas' sons could not withstand him.
 "His coming again no one knows."
 We return to the rajas' sons.
 They journey from evening until morning
 Bringing soldiers and warriors,
 Their desire being for war;

Bringing their weapons, spears and blowpipes.¹
 They arrive within a day's journey,
 There they set their camp,
 Sleeping-places and food.
 The news is brought unto the king,
 Saying, "The enemy have arrived,
 "Bringing abundance of elephants and horses,
 "Weapons complete, spears and pennons."
 The king gathers his people together:
 "What is the counsel of my lords?
 "The rajas' sons come wishing for war,
 "With all our might we shall withstand."
 Three of the older rajas' sons reply,
 "Our counsel is to make war on the fort,
 "If there is no answer to our letter,
 "To-morrow shall we joust² upon the plain."
 When therefore they had thus written
 The letter, they send it to the warriors
 Within the city of Anta Permana.
 To the king it is delivered.
 When he heard the contents thereof,
 His heart within him was greatly moved.
 Greatly concerned at the letter's contents,
 He commanded all weapons to be made ready.
 "Hei! ambassador, quickly return,
 "And say to the nine rajas' sons,
 "Whenever they wish." And he ordered him back.
 Back went the ambassador without taking leave,
 And when he reached the rajas' sons
 He with reverence made known the words of the king.³
 The rajas' sons were angry as burning coals,
 "To-morrow to war we shall all of us go."
 To Indra Bangsawan, his grandsire thus spake,
 "For what reason comes my son this night?"
 "To-morrow the king intends to make war.
 "In thy servant's idea he cannot withstand,
 "And because of this am I come to you,
 "Wishing to help the king myself,
 "Because I am greatly in love with the princess."
 Many a talisman his grandfather gives him,
 "I wish for," he said. "my sword and my horse."

¹ Blowpipes (Malay, *sumfitan*), the well-known bamboo weapon (about 8-10 feet long) through which darts poisoned with upas sap are blown.

² *Bermain sinjata*; lit. "make play with our weapons."

³ *Bara*.

The magician also quickly made summons.
 The horse then came fully caparisoned,
 The sword and the arrow he quickly brought.
 Indra Bangsāwan mounted his horse,
 And forthwith bade farewell to his grandfather.
 In an instant he arrived at Anta Permana.
 The king he stood alone and beheld
 The fighting with fierceness of the rajas' sons.
 The king he looked to left and to right—
 Not one of his warriors was any more seen,
 But all had entered the fort in haste.
 When it was seen by Indra Bangsāwan
 That the king's soldiers could not prevail,
 He hurled himself into the fight,
 Moreover he slashed to left and right.
 "Hold thy hand, young man so valiant,
 "And quickly declare thy name to thy servants."
 When the name of Indra Bangsāwan they heard,
 Down their weapons they threw, and obeisance made.
 And when the battle was settled and done,
 The rajas' sons all depart ;
 For command had been given by Indra Bangsāwan,
 "In seven days you must return."
 They come, the rajas' sons, nine in number.
 Orders to receive them were given by Indra Bangsāwan.
 The two Dikars went on before
 The Dikars met them and gave them welcome.
 When three days were now past
 Indra Bangsāwan was richly adorned ;
 Drums were beaten, viols and lutes,¹
 They walked in procession round the city.²
 The betel-nut together with its dish,
 And lights and fireworks were in the front.
 Vessels and dishes were borne on high
 And spears very lovely carried aloft :
 The state umbrellas were spread out,
 With cannon and pistols to left and right ;
 And bucklers of steel were brandished.
 The betrothed descends spreading perfume.
 With turbans and crowns and carrying two krisses,³
 He is taken on to the divan,

¹ *Ganderang dipalu rebab kēchapi.*

² *Lalu berarak perkēliling negri.*

³ The "kris" is the national Malay dagger, and is one of the objects carried in procession before the bridegroom when he is escorted to the house of the bride.

His face and appearance like to Pandawa.¹
 They sit crosslegged, holding hands,
 The woman to the left, the man to the right,
 As if they had descended from heaven ;
 And at that time
 People came and offered them food.²
 They said prayers to holy men and hajis,
 That to all eternity they might be man and wife.
 First the woman partook of food,
 They chewed the food and spat it out.
 They held each other's hands and fed each other with rice.
 And when they had in turn fed each other
 It was a pleasant sight to see.
 The king came before them with tranquillity.
 Indra Bangsawan now fell ill,
 And could no longer rise from his bed ;
 Languid he was to a great degree,
 As if a mountain had fallen on him.
 The sayings of Sahpri are now to be mentioned.
 One night while he and his wife were asleep,
 He dreamt that he met his brother on a high mountain.
 He [awoke] and exclaimed to the princess
 " Alas, my sister, I must take leave of you.
 " There is something the matter with my brother,
 " For I have just this night dreamed
 " From here in which direction is his country."
 " If " (said she) " you must really go,
 " Take, I pray you, this Bezoar stone.
 " No matter how dangerously ill anyone may be
 " It can cure him by the help of God."
 Then Sahpri received the Bezoar stone,
 And forthwith he set out in haste,
 And on the way he met an old man.
 Sahpri made enquiry saying, " My father,

¹ " *Pandawa*, a name given to the heroes of the *Mahabharata*, the five sons of *Pandu*. The three most commonly known are Yudisthira (Malay: Maharaja Dermawangsa) : Arjuna (Sang Ranjuna), and Bhima (Sang Bima). Hikayat Pandawa Jaya and Hikayat Pandawa Lima : names of Malay stories borrowed from *Mahabharata*."—(Wilkinson, *Malay Dictionary*).

² The ceremonies here described are those of the Malay marriage rites, an important part of which is that the bride and bridegroom are seated in state on the marriage couch side by side, in the presence of all their friends and relations, and there go through various ceremonies, such as the feeding of each other with rice, and the painting of their foreheads and hands with henna and with a mixture of rice-flour and water, a charm being generally recited at the same time to drive away the evil spirits. See Skeat's *Malay Magic*, under " Marriage."

"What is the name of this city?"
 The old man replied, "Anta Permana.
 "The son-in-law has been long ill,
 "Indra Bangsāwan, moreover, is his name."
 Then replied Sahpri,
 "Make known to the king that a holy man
 "Says he can give medicine to cure,
 "If the king will give him a reward."
 An order is given by the king to call him.
 The holy man comes and makes obeisance.
 When he is seen by the king
 "This holy one, is not he young?"
 The king takes him into the palace.
 He sees his brother together with the princess.
 "What do you think, now you have seen him, oh, holy one?
 "Is there any medicine to cure my child?"
 Then spoke the holy man, "Certainly,
 "Let your excellency only have patience,
 "For God alone can give us health,
 "But your servant has the medicine to give."
 They bring him basins and water.
 Sahpri soaked the Bezoar stone in the water
 And bathed the face of his brother.
 Then, behold, Indra Bangsāwan opened his eyes,
 And saw his brother and greeted him.
 The two brothers wept together,
 After which the king addressed them,
 "This, then, is the elder brother."
 Further, his Excellency the king begged,
 "Cure my child, her Excellency the princess."
 The water he sprinkled on the face of his sister,
 And behold the princess opened her eyes.
 Here endeth the poem of Indra Bangsāwan.

A. S. CUMMING.

WITCHCRAFT IN NORTHERN INDIA.

The following account of a case, the basis of which is witchcraft, was sent to me by Mr. K. N. Knox, assistant magistrate of Banda, a very primitive district south of the River Jumna, and adjoining the hill country of Central India, where beliefs of this kind are very prevalent. "Muth" is the technical phrase for some magical substance, which after being the subject of sundry incantations by

a wizard, is rolled inside or thrown over the wall of an enemy with the intention of injuring him. The wizards in this case seem to have been of the Kahar, or Bearer, caste, who have a reputation for the possession of magical powers.

W. CROOKE.

Note of a Case, instituted in Banda on the 16th of March, 1903.

PARTIES :—

Jodha, son of Girdhari, Gaur Thakur, of Mirjha.

v.

Beni, son of Gadari Singh, Chauhan Thakur, of the same village.

Raja	}	Sons of above
SheoPal		
Gaia Charan		

Jodha complained that the four accused with six companions had invaded his house, beaten him, and accused him of using magic against them, and of having caused the imprisonment of Beni three years before; he further stated that after the robbery he missed a bundle containing Rs. 25. The complainant's witnesses were closely cross-examined about the *muth* and reluctantly admitted the presence in his house of two Kahars with a bundle of *junhari* (millet). When it came to accused's statement, there remained no doubt in my mind that the quarrel had arisen solely over the use, or supposed use, of witchcraft, and that the theft and beating were subsidiary, and probably additions.

The accused filed a written statement arguing that the enmity was of long standing, and arose out of a claim to land and the guardianship of certain minors, in which they had proved victorious. But the interesting part was the account they gave on examination of the actual occurrence.

Beni Singh was of course subjected to the chief examination, and told the following story:

“Jodha had long been trying to injure me in one way or another, and at last I heard that he had called in the aid of wizards to gain his revenge. I collected the *mukhya* (village headman), Sheo Bakh Singh, and Wazir, a servant of the Zamindar, and some others; we went together to the door of Jodha's house.

“The mukhya called to Jodha, ‘Is there any *muthiya* in your house?’ And Jodha replied from behind the closed doors, ‘There is none within.’

“Then my son Raja came up, and I said to him, ‘Go to the *thana* (police-station) and make a report; if possible, bring back with you some official (*hakim*) to turn the sorcerers out of Jodha’s house.’

“I sat down myself in front of the door, and sent my sons Sheo Pal and Gaia Charan to the back to keep watch. Sheo Pal stood at Ram Din Thakur’s door, and Gaia Charan climbed a banyan tree near Gajju’s house. In a few moments the boy who was in the banyan tree called loudly to me, ‘There are two men sitting in the upper room in Jodha’s house.’ I said, ‘Let them sit; the policeman is coming, and they will then come out of themselves.’

“We waited some time, and Jodha came out to Ram Din, and said, ‘Let these men go by way of your house.’ But Ram Din refused.

“Now Mahpal lives in the house next to Ram Din’s, and my son Gaia shouted that the Kahars were climbing out of his court. So Mahpal took a stick and went in and said, ‘I will beat anyone who comes into my house.’ Then Ram Din and the mukhya said to Jodha, ‘It is now plain that these two men are in your house; bring them out.’ And Jodha brought out Bihari and Bulla, Kahars. Bihari had a bundle of *juar* (millet) under his arm.

“So, leaving Jodha, we all went to the house of Sheo Baksh, mukhya, and the Kahars admitted the charge.

“Then Parwez Ali, zamindar, called us all to him and questioned the Kahars of the whole matter. Bihari said not a word, but Bulla confessed all. He said, ‘I was sent to-day to Sindhan by Jodha; he gave me eight annas and told me to buy four annas’ worth of liquor; this was for the god. Bhola Kumhar killed the goat and poured the liquor over it. Jodha also tied up Rs.26 in a turban, and gave it into Bhola’s hand, saying, “When Beni Singh’s life shall depart, this money shall be given to Bihari.”’

“Then the zamindar called Bhola. He confessed to having killed the goat, but denied all knowledge of the money, saying that ‘Bihari and Jodha know about it, I do not.’”

I came to the conclusion that Beni Singh's was a substantially true account of what had happened. I examined his three sons carefully and they corroborated his evidence, each so far as his share in the matter was concerned.

K. N. KNOX.

Assistant Magistrate, Banda District.

Banda, United Provinces, India.

31st May, 1903.

STRAY NOTES ON OXFORDSHIRE FOLKLORE.

(Continued from p. 177.)

VI. FOLK-TALES.

Lorenzo Dow and the Devil.—Lorenzo Dow, a roving American, was a very eccentric person who did some outlandish things, both in America and in England and Ireland, in the Methodist following. He appears to have been constantly in hot water, and yet he made many friends. Once he was travelling near Long Compton [on the Oxfordshire border of Warwickshire] when night came on, and it became very dark. Seeing a light he made for it, and entering the house asked leave to stay the night. The woman of the house agreed, but unwillingly, and then barred the door against further visitors. Soon her husband returned, and then a man who was in the house when Dow entered got into a large box and hid himself under some flax "hatchlings."¹ The husband, who had been drinking, was introduced to Dow, and then insisted that he should raise the Devil—"not that *he* believed in a Devil, but if there was one, he should like to see him." Dow, seeing his opportunity, said, "Well, if you are determined to see him, I suppose you can. Open the door, put out the light, and stand out of the way, or he may take you with him. When he comes he will be in a flame of fire, and I warn you of the consequences." Taking a bunch of brimstone matches dipped at both

¹ Refuse flax from spinning.

ends, Dow lit them; then, muttering some unintelligible words, he set fire to the flax under which the wife's friend was hidden, and cried, "Come forth, thou evil one, and begone for ever!" Out jumped the fellow covered in flames, and with an unearthly yell disappeared through the open door. To his dying day the sobered husband maintained that Lorenzo Dow could raise the Devil, for he had seen him do it, and had seen and smelt Satan himself.

[Lorenzo Dow was born at Coventry, Conn., U.S.A., in 1777, and died in Washington City in 1834. He joined the Methodists at an early age, and became an itinerant preacher. In 1799 he came over to Ireland on a preaching mission, returning to America in 1801. In 1805 he made a journey to England with the object of introducing the camp-meeting into this country. He made a great impression in the north of England, and visited our island again in 1818-19; but from his published journals, which are very extensive, I cannot gather that he ever visited Oxfordshire, or was even in its vicinity.¹ The practical joke above attributed to him by T. J. Carter occurs in Hans Andersen's *Big Klaus and Little Klaus*. Mr. R. L. Garner² compares the procedure of *Yassi*, the mysterious crime-detector of the Ogowe tribes, to that of "old Lorenzo Dow," and tells the following stories of him. "On one

¹ *The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil, as exemplified in the Life, Experience, and Travels of Lorenzo Dow, &c., &c.*, with portraits of Dow and his wife. (New York, 2 vols. 8vo, 1850.) From these Journals we gain a vivid picture of the man. His enthusiasm was boundless. At one meeting "my labours were equal to seven sermons, which gave me a fine sweat that was very refreshing." He describes with great gusto how an unhappy girl came to a meeting against her father's wish, and "continued shrieking for mercy for eight hours" until she "found peace." At another meeting he converted a sea-captain "whom I happened to lay hold on by the hair." For a whole night he would "wrestle with mourners." But he was no friend to conscious hypocrisy. He cared "as well to hear a dog bark" as to listen to empty "amens" and "hallelujahs." His Yankee sharpness was generally equal to a repartee. To a drunken attorney who mockingly asked if he had had a good meeting, he replied, "Yes, but thy master's servants did not like it." His appearance, with his long womanish hair, flowing patriarchal beard, and sallow emaciated face, clad in threadbare garments crowned by an old white hat, doubtless added to the impression of the singular personality which has left so many traces of itself in popular tradition.

² *Native Institutions of the Ogowe Tribes of West Central Africa*, in the *Journal of the African Society*, No. III. (April, 1902), p. 378.

occasion an axe had been stolen. On his way to church next day, Dow picked up a large round stone by the wayside, placed it in the pulpit, and after relating the theft, declared to his congregation that he was that hour called upon by God to destroy the thief unless he should confess the act, and that God had pointed out this stone as the instrument of death. He consecrated the stone, delivered a long prayer, and then raised it in the act of throwing it, at the same time assuring his hearers that God would guide the missile to smite the guilty one dead. As he essayed to hurl the stone, a certain man in the church betrayed his anxiety by trying to hide behind a pillar or post of the church. Mr. Dow withheld the weapon, and without pointing out the man, begged him for his own life's sake to rise up and confess before the wrath of God should fall upon him. The culprit promptly complied, and the preacher was believed to be the special agent of God in thus bringing him to repentance. On another occasion, when a pig had been stolen, Dow, on the Sunday following, uttered a curse against the unfortunate pig, and invoked the Divine wrath to manifest itself by causing a murrain or leprosy to afflict the household of the man who stole it unless the pig should be returned by the next day at noon, whereupon the curse would be revoked. The next morning the pig had been returned. But certain persons kept watch during the night and detected the man who returned it, and evoked from him a confession. The name of Lorenzo Dow is to this day a household word in hundreds of rustic homes, and he is yet believed by thousands to have been inspired in his marvellous works."]

A Wager Won.—At Shipton-under-Wychwood Church there is a kind of bone-house or hole, where the bones that were dug up in the churchyard have been put from time out of mind. In the village many years back there was a man that others thought to be daft, or not so sharp as he should be. He was challenged one night at the public-house that he dared not go to the bone-house at twelve o'clock at night and bring away a skull. The challenge was accepted, and on a given night he started. Two of the men were to go and see that he did the job, and they hid themselves in the bone-house. At the stroke of twelve he entered and took up a head, when a voice said, "Put that down! That's mine." He did put it down, and took up

another, when the voice again said, "Put that down! That's mine?" "What?" he replied, "did you have *two* heads? Then I'll have one of them." And so he won his wager. (June, 1894.)

A Wager Lost.—There formerly stood on Milton Common a gibbet on which a man called Price was hanged in chains. Some farmers and workmen were drinking together at the "Three Pigeons" at Tetsworth one night, when the talk turned on Price hanging on the gibbet. One of them, taking up his mug, said "Here's a health to poor old Price!" when another said, "You don't dare go and drink his health under the gibbet at twelve o'clock for a guinea." The bet was taken, but before the man started for the gibbet, the one who had made the wager slipped off and climbed to the top of the post and sat on it. Soon after the others came up, and the man who had taken the bet picked up the mug and said, "Here's to your health, Price!" The man on the top answered in a hollow voice, "Thank you, it's very cold up here," and the other was so frightened that he dropped the mug and lost the wager.

(From Wm. Barney, estate carpenter, of Tetsworth.)

It is said that when the flesh dropped from Price's bones from constant exposure to the weather, the top of the skull fell in, and some birds built their nests in it and hatched out eight young ones. The following rhyme was made about this:

Ten tongues in one head,
One went out to seek for bread
To feed the living in the dead.

Another rhyme was this:

Let the wind be where it may
His head was always towards Haseley.

(From — Latham, farmer, of Tetsworth, who had them from his grandfather. 12 September, 1897.)

[Mr. G. Goodenough, of Milton Common Farm, not far from where the gibbet stood, tells me that he heard from an old man of ninety that Price met a "packman" in Lobb's Lane (as the high road east of the "Three Pigeons' Inn" was called), got into talk with him, and then borrowed his knife, pretending that he

wanted to cut a stick in the hedge. He then threw the "packman" down, cut his throat, and left him for dead on the roadside.

Mr. T. M. Davenport, Clerk of the Peace for Oxfordshire, has kindly given me some particulars about the crime, from which it appears John Price was a lad of 18, and was tried at Oxford on March 2, 1785, for robbing and attempting to murder Thomas Knight, aged 16, on the turnpike road between Wheatley and Tetsworth. He was sentenced to be executed the following Monday, and his body to be hanged in chains on Milton Common.]

[*Stanton Harcourt Ghost* (v. F. L. vol. xiv. p. 67).—I have just come across a long letter from Pope to the Duke of Buckingham, written from Stanton Harcourt in 1718, giving an account of the old Manor House. It describes how the old steward "led us up the tower by dark winding stone steps, which landed us into several little rooms one above another. One of these was nailed up, and our guide whispered to us as a secret the occasion of it: it seems the course of this noble blood was a little interrupted about two centuries ago, by a freak of the Lady Frances, who was here taken in the fact with a neighbouring Prior, ever since which the room has been nailed up, and branded with the name of the Adultery-Chamber. The ghost of Lady Frances is supposed to walk there, and some prying maids of the family report that they have seen a lady in a farthingale through the keyhole; but this matter is hushed up, and the servants forbidden to talk of it."¹]

I have many more notes of Oxfordshire folklore, both from Carter's collections and other sources, but here for the present my selection from them must end.

PERCY MANNING.

¹ Works of Alex. Pope; ed. by Elwin and Courthope. Vol. x. p. 152.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BASUTOLAND: ITS LEGENDS AND CUSTOMS.

(*Ante*, p. 204.)

I HAVE just read in *Folk-Lore* for June 24th Mr. Hartland's review of my little book on Basutoland, and I must thank him very much for his criticisms, which have given me courage to go on, while at the same time they make me wish to offer a few words of explanation. No thought of writing a scientific book ever entered my head. While still a young girl I married and went out with my husband to South Africa, and we spent all our married life in Basutoland. From the first the Basuto interested me, and I learnt their language, not, as Mr. Hartland thinks, in order to study and write about their customs, but because my servants could hardly speak or understand a word of English. In those days I had no idea of studying the Basuto with a view to writing. It was merely a friendly interest, and my natural love of knowing the whys and wherefores of everything, that actuated me. The people soon got to know me, and explained their custom freely. They were very good to me and often showed their gratitude in very charming ways. They always give white people Sesuto names, by which they are known far better than by their English ones. My first name was "Ma rara," the mother of grapes, because I had rosy cheeks and rather a plump figure. When they knew me better they said I must have a new name, and accordingly from that time I was known as "Ma batu," or the mother of the people; the name given to Letsie's mother, Mosesheshue's chief wife. This name was given me after I had been five years in the country by the people of Thlotsi Heights; and I have been called "Ma-batu" ever since, even in the most southern parts of Basutoland. The name does not signify any special authority on native matters, but was given

me as a mark of affection and confidence, because from the commencement of my stay in the country I had gone amongst the people, listened to their tales and been interested in their lives, so that they grew to trust me, and often spoke very openly to me on almost all subjects. They also believed that I "possessed the healing hand," because on some occasions I was able to dispense medicines or cordials which relieved the sick.

It was not till four years ago that a friend of mine, Professor Logie, urged me to write down all I knew about Basutoland simply and straightforwardly just as I should tell it. I had never heard of M. Junod or Bishop Callaway, nor of M. Jacottet's books, though M. Jacottet himself I know slightly. I never had much to do with the missionaries, and never thought of going to them for information. What additional details I found I needed when I set about writing I obtained from the Basuto themselves, which was infinitely more interesting than going to one of my own race. Also I very soon learnt that as a rule the Basuto only told the missionary just as much or as little as they thought he ought to know, and sometimes altered the information to suit their hearer; for instance, the particulars of their death customs and "school-practices," which I knew they were afraid to tell the missionary in all their naked truthfulness.

As to the term "school," it is used all over Basutoland to designate these annual customs, even the natives themselves using it. All the missionaries I know speak of it as the "Heathen School," and I could think of no better term than the commonly accepted one by which to express it. I know only too well what these affairs really are, but it is impossible to write more fully than I have done; added to which I am bound by a promise not to disclose all I know.

Mr. Hartland takes exception to my statement about the crocodile. The Basuto in every part where we have been stationed have all told me that they are the "Ba-kuena." They all look upon the crocodile as their own especial sacred animal, just as the Ba-taunga are the people of the lion, the Ba-peri, they of the porcupine, &c.

Now with regard to the word *Molimo* (pronounced *Modimo*). It literally means "great one," and when used in the singular represents to the Basuto the Great Spirit who they believe is supreme over all other spirits; who, in fact, answers to our term

“God.” I might have translated the mourners’ cry thus: “Our Great Spirit hear us! May the old Great Spirit pray to the new Great Spirit for us!” But as it seemed to me that they wished to express God and our Saviour, I used the word God. They most certainly believe in an Eternal Being who will one day come from the East, and consequently they bury their people in a sitting position facing the East. They also, it seems to me, believe in a lesser spirit proceeding from the great one, and this I took to represent our Saviour. It is very difficult now to get to the bottom of their original belief, as they have forgotten or confused with other beliefs much of their former religion, but they have no fear of death. Every native I have spoken to, whether heathen or Christian, has used the word *Molimo* to express “One above,” or “the Great One,” and always with the greatest reverence. *Golimo* means “above, heaven, the sky,” *Melimo*, “those above.” From what I could gather, the heathen Basuto seemed to look upon their departed ancestors as *Melimo*, who were endowed with eternal life, and had the power of entering the living bodies of certain animals or reptiles, such as cattle, snakes, &c., but that greater even than these *Melimo*, there exists *Molimo*, the Father of all.

As to the name “Mose la ’ntja,” there may be in parts of Basutoland the idea which Mr. Hartland quotes from M. Christol (whom my husband knew very well and I slightly), but every native I have asked about it has always told me it is given as a sign of contempt, lest the dead child should be jealous of the newcomer and harm it, or should be hurt by his or her place being so easily filled by another. My own youngest child bears the name, and over and over again I have been warned not to show my love for her too openly lest the dead child should suffer and resent my apparent forgetfulness of herself.

Lastly, let me say that I have never seen any of my native stories in print. They were told me by the natives themselves in different parts of the country, and I have translated them as exactly as I could. They are often very poetically expressed, and I felt that I did not do them justice, but I was afraid to alter the wording at all. I have not read *any* translations of Basuto stories, nor did I know that any had been written; but if they are less picturesque than those I have given, I can only suggest that perhaps the French missionary failed to

understand the poetic wording, or that perhaps the natives who told the tales adapted them to what seemed to themselves the standard of literature suitable to a missionary. Surely the Basuto proverbs ought to convince anyone of the quaintness and poetic nature of their expressions. Here, for example, is a comparison frequently used by a lover: "Mathlo ea hai a jualeka linaledi," "the eyes of her are like the stars." Again, an old heathen woman once said to me, after I had helped to pull her daughter through a serious illness, "May your feet go softly all your life, and may they carry gladness as they go." Surely that is a beautifully expressed sentiment.

MINNIE CARTWRIGHT (*née* MARTIN).

TOTEMISM IN NEW CALEDONIA.

(*Ante*, p. 259.)

May I draw Mr. Lang's attention to some sources of information which appear to have escaped his notice, and which throw some light on the point he raises? These are a little work by Rochas; a series of articles in *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1879, 1880, and 1898; and *Mœurs et Superstitions des Néo-Caledoniens*, by Père Lambert, published at Nouméa, 1900.

As regards exogamy, it appears that it does exist, but in some places is regulated by locality¹ as in Australia (*Brit. Ass. Rep.*, 1899, p. 585), Torres Straits (*Journ. Anth. Inst.*, xxx., 78), New Guinea (*Folk-Lore*, xii., 233), and possibly on the Zambesi (*Les Missions Catholiques*, 1886, p. 294). Elsewhere, clan-exogamy seems to be the rule; the Belep tribe is stated to be divided into clans named after ancestors and to be exogamous.² Possibly, therefore, the custom of local exogamy may have taken the place of the more usual form.

Among the Belep again different families (? clans) are reputed to have different powers: one can make rain fall, others influence the growth of plants; the power of making the sugar-cane grow

¹ *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1898, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 17.

is a secret; its possessor may not eat sugar-cane.¹ In the absence of information as to what is meant by "family," we can hardly regard this as decisive evidence in favour of totemism. So far as it goes (animals not being mentioned), it rather weighs against the supposition that the "animal-father" is a clan-totem, and until we know how the animal is acquired, the question seems insoluble, but it is probably safer to see in it the analogue of the *tamaniu*.

N. W. THOMAS.

THE VESSEL-CUP.

(Vol. xiii., p. 94.)

"In the young days of the writer's father, some seventy years ago, what was known as a wassail-singer went from house to house among the villages of Derbyshire. It was a woman bearing a box about 2 feet 6 inches long, by 1 foot wide and 6 inches deep, without a lid. In this box lay a doll surrounded with holly, apples, oranges, &c., and decorated with cut paper and ribbons. The whole was covered with a clean white cloth. If you wished to see it, it was uncovered, and the woman sang the following carol, which is that known as the 'Holy Well'"—W. Henry Jewitt, *The Nativity in Art and Song* (1898), p. 185.

Christmas is the festival thus celebrated. The above adds another note of locality to those recorded in *Folk-Lore*, as above.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

JUS PRIMÆ NOCTIS.

It has long been disputed whether the so-called *jus primæ noctis* was ever exercised in Western Europe. The following extract states that it is known in the eastern half of the Continent at the present day.

¹ *Ibid.*, 1879, p. 30; 1880, p. 273.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, writing on "The Macedonian Revolt," in the *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1903, pp. 431, 432, says: "For a certain sum paid annually, an Albanian chief will undertake to protect a tributary village; or if the village is outside the Albanian sphere of influence, it is generally obliged to have its own resident brigands, who may or may not be Albanians. If the village belongs to a Turkish landlord, these men are generally chosen from among his retainers. They are known under the name of *bekchi*, or rural guards. They are necessary because the Christian population is absolutely unarmed and defenceless. To a certain extent they guarantee the village against robbers from outside, and in return they carry on a licensed and modified robbery of their own. . . . There are of course honourable men among them who retain the old Albanian traditions of loyalty and chivalry. But, in general, their conduct is what the conduct of armed men among an unarmed subject race will always be. . . . The rural guard exacts a substantial ransom in cash for his services. He levies certain traditional dues, *e.g.* blackmail upon every maid who marries. The sum varies with the ability of her father and her husband to pay, and in default of payment the *bekchi* will exercise the *jus primæ noctis*. Indeed, an experienced consul in Monastir, an able man who has studied the country for many years, declares roundly that these men simply treat the women of the village as their harem."

M. PEACOCK.

[Our correspondent should observe that while Mr. Brailsford describes a state of society, much like that of Western Europe during the invasions of the Danes in the ninth century, in which tyrannical claims easily arise, become crystallised, and acquire the force of custom, yet he does not appear to refer to any recognised *legal* rights on the part of the *bekchi*.—ED.]

REVIEWS.

SOCIAL ORIGINS.—Andrew Lang. PRIMAL LAW.—J. J. Atkinson.—Londres, Longmans, Green et Cie., 1903 ; p. xviii., 311.

CET ouvrage est formé de deux parties distinctes, bien que les sujets qui y sont traités soient étroitement solidaires. La première (p. 1-207) est tout entière de M. Lang, et la seconde de son cousin, M. Atkinson. Avant de mourir, M. Atkinson avait confié son manuscrit à M. Lang, qui s'en est fait l'éditeur.

L'objet du travail de M. Lang est de chercher comment se sont constituées les formes d'organisation sociale les plus anciennes que nous connaissons. Avec Darwin, il admet que les hommes ont commencé par former des groupes très restreints, et non les hordes étendues dont l'existence a été postulée par certains auteurs. C'étaient de petites sociétés familiales, jalouses et ennemies les unes des autres (p. 165). Anonymes, elles ne se distinguaient les unes des autres que par la portion du territoire qu'elles occupaient. Mais il y aurait eu dès lors une tendance à ne pas permettre volontiers les mariages entre hommes et femmes d'un même groupe. Sur les causes qui auraient déterminé cette interdiction naissante, M. Lang n'est pas très explicite. Il paraît admettre concurremment la théorie de Crawley, d'après laquelle la femme serait considérée par l'homme comme d'un mauvais contact en raison de la faiblesse qui est en elle et qui est supposée contagieuse, et la théorie d'Atkinson, dont il sera question plus loin, et qui fait de la jalousie sexuelle du mâle, chef du groupe, l'origine de la prohibition. Mais en même temps, il ne semble complètement satisfait ni par l'une, ni par l'autre explication ; il ne les propose qu'à titre de présomptions provisoires.

Il y aurait donc eu un germe d'exogamie antérieur au totémisme. Mais ce germe ne put se développer que quand le système totémique fut institué. En effet, jusque là, les hommes, pour satisfaire à leur éloignement instinctif pour les relations incestueuses, s'en allaient bien chercher de force des femmes au dehors. Mais ces femmes, une fois incorporées dans le groupe, n'étaient pas discernables les unes des autres ni de celles qui appartenaient à ce même groupe par droit de naissance. Il fallait donc, à chaque génération,

importer de nouvelles étrangères. Au contraire, à partir du moment où chaque groupe familial eut son totem, les femmes indigènes et les autres furent faciles à distinguer, puisqu'elles avaient des noms différents. D'un autre côté, le totem étant hérité en ligne utérine, il y eut désormais, au sein de chaque groupe, des représentants de totems différents. Par suite, pour épouser une femme d'une autre famille, c'est à dire, d'un totem autre que le sien, chaque homme n'eut plus besoin d'aller faire une razzia au dehors. A l'intérieur même du groupe dont il faisait naturellement partie, il trouvait tout ce qu'il lui fallait. Si nous comprenons bien l'auteur, le totem ne fut pas institué volontairement dans ce but, mais une fois établi, on l'utilisa de cette manière. Nous verrons tout à l'heure ce qui lui a donné naissance. M. Lang semble d'ailleurs reconnaître en plusieurs endroits que les tabous inhérents au totem ne sont pas sans avoir exercé une influence spéciale sur ces prohibitions matrimoniales ; mais il ne dit pas avec précision en quoi cette influence a consisté.

Que deux groupes de ce genre entrent en relations pacifiques et s'accordent mutuellement le *connubium*, l'agrégat qu'ils formeront par leur réunion donnera l'organisation des tribus Australiennes en deux phratries exogames, divisées elles-mêmes en un certain nombre de totems, mais sans que jamais le même totem se retrouve dans les deux phratries. Soient, en effet, deux groupes A et B, unis par un traité d'alliance en vertu duquel tous les hommes de A peuvent prendre femmes en B et réciproquement. Comme, d'un autre côté, le principe est établi que le mariage est interdit entre individus d'un même totem, l'alliance matrimoniale entre A et B n'est possible que si les totems de A ne se retrouvent pas en B et inversement. La constitution des phratries serait donc due, non comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le soutenir ailleurs¹, à un sectionnement d'un groupe initial, mais au rapprochement de deux groupes différents qui se seraient liés l'un à l'autre par une convention plus ou moins expresse (p. 55 et suiv.).

Quant aux classes matrimoniales en lesquelles se divise chaque phratrie, M. Lang, après avoir passé en revue les différentes théories qui ont essayé de les expliquer, paraît bien n'en trouver aucune qui le satisfasse. Il reproche à celle que nous avons pro-

¹ V. *Année Sociologique*, Tome I., *La Prohibition de l'Inceste et ses origines*, et Tome V., *Sur le Totémisme*.

posée de voir dans les phratries le produit de la subdivision d'une horde initiale, alors que, selon lui, elles seraient, comme nous venons de le dire, deux groupes d'abord autonomes et distincts. La méthode est bien critiquable, qui consiste à rejeter une explication parce qu'elle ne se concilie pas avec un postulat que l'on a préalablement admis. Une théorie demande à être discutée en elle-même. Finalement, M. Lang ne nous en propose aucune. Il estime la question insoluble tant que l'on ne connaîtra pas le sens des mots qui servent à désigner les classes.

Mais il reste un problème : comment se sont établis ces totems par lesquels les groupes primitifs se sont distingués les uns des autres? Ce serait le besoin de se nommer mutuellement qui aurait donné naissance à cette institution. Primitivement, les groupes étaient anonymes ; tous ceux dont on n'était pas étaient "les autres," "les étrangers." Mais ces dénominations étaient trop vagues. Chacune de ces petites sociétés sentit le besoin de désigner par un nom spécial les sociétés voisines avec lesquelles elle était en conflit plus ou moins permanent. Des raisons diverses décidèrent les hommes à employer de préférence pour cet usage des noms de plantes ou d'animaux. Ici, ce fut une ressemblance, physique ou morale, réelle ou imaginaire, avec telle ou telle espèce animale, qui fut la cause déterminante ; ailleurs, le nom donné fut celui de l'animal ou de la plante qui constituait le fond de l'alimentation du groupe. En raison même des sentiments d'animosité que ces premières peuplades humaines nourrissaient les unes pour les autres, ces noms furent très souvent des *sobriquets*. M. Lang cite un certain nombre d'exemples qui tendent à prouver que, en France, en Angleterre, les villages voisins se désignent souvent par des sobriquets de ce genre.

Nous nous sommes efforcé de reproduire, avec autant d'exactitude que possible et surtout sans les affaiblir, les théories de M. Lang. Mais il est difficile que le lecteur n'ait pas senti tout ce qu'elles ont de conjectural. Très souvent on n'aperçoit pas, ou l'on n'aperçoit que très confusément les raisons qui ont déterminé l'auteur. Ainsi, qu'est-ce au juste qui a donné naissance à cette exogamie pré-totémique dont il admet l'existence? M. Lang hésite entre la théorie de Crawley et celle de Atkinson. Nous verrons plus loin en quoi consiste la seconde, et nous dirons pourquoi elle nous paraît peu satisfaisante. Quant à la première, elle est d'un simplisme qu'il est bien difficile de concilier avec

les faits. Le contact de l'homme est tout aussi redoutable à la femme que le contact de la femme est redouté de l'homme ; le tabou est réciproque. Il est donc impossible qu'il soit dû à la simple crainte que la faiblesse féminine ne se communique contagieusement à l'autre sexe. Cette théorie méconnaît un fait essentiel, à savoir, le caractère religieux du commerce sexuel et de l'interdiction exogamique.

D'un autre côté, si l'exogamie n'est vraiment elle-même qu'après l'institution totémique, d'où vient que le totem l'a ainsi déterminée et renforcée ? Pour répondre à la question, il ne suffit pas d'invoquer vaguement les tabous attachés au totem. Encore faut-il dire quels sont ces tabous et comment ils ont agi sur les prohibitions exogamiques. De même, on comprend bien mal ce qui peut avoir induit deux groupes primitifs à s'accorder mutuellement le *connubium* ; car, puisque, dans l'hypothèse de l'auteur, chacun d'eux contenait, avant l'union, une pluralité de totems, chaque homme pouvait y trouver des femmes d'un autre totem que le sien, avec lesquelles, par conséquent, il pouvait librement se marier. Dès lors, à quoi pouvait servir, du moins au point de vue matrimonial, cette addition d'un groupe nouveau ? De plus, de ce que deux sociétés s'accordent le *connubium*, il s'ensuit bien pour chacune d'elles la *possibilité* de se marier dans l'autre, non l'*obligation* de ne pas contracter de mariages dans son propre sein (pourvu que hommes et femmes ne soient pas du même totem). Cette obligation pourtant est caractéristique de l'organisation en phratries ; hommes et femmes ne doivent pas seulement être de totems différents, mais ils ne doivent pas appartenir à la même phratrie. D'où peut venir cette obligation dans la théorie de M. Lang ? Quant à son hypothèse sur les origines du totem, elle est bien difficilement admissible pour qui connaît le caractère religieux du totem, le culte dont il est l'objet. Comment un sobriquet aurait-il pu devenir le centre d'un véritable système religieux ? M. Lang, il est vrai, laisse de côté cet aspect religieux du totémisme ; mais c'est laisser de côté ce qu'il y a d'essentiel dans le phénomène à expliquer.

Comme M. Lang, M. Atkinson s'est proposé, dans son travail, de retrouver les origines pré-ethnographiques, et même presque pré-humaines des premiers groupes humains que nous connaissons. Il prend pour point de départ une famille ayant à sa tête un chef, sorte d'anthropoïde patriarche qui, par jalousie sexuelle,

monopolisait à son usage individuel toutes les femmes du groupe, y compris ses propres filles. Par suite, n'admettant à côté de lui aucune rivalité, il exilait du groupe les autres mâles, une fois qu'ils étaient devenus adultes. Ceux-ci s'en allaient donc former, au dehors, des bandes errantes dont les membres cherchaient à s'emparer de force des femelles dont ils avaient besoin.

C'est l'affaiblissement progressif de cette jalousie initiale qui aurait permis la transformation de cette "famille cyclopéenne" en tribu. Pour expliquer comment s'est effectué ce changement, l'auteur postule qu'à un moment donné un progrès, à la fois physique et mental, se produisit chez ces ancêtres de l'homme et les rapprocha du type humain. La vie étant devenue ainsi plus longue, l'enfance elle-même se prolongea. Des liens plus étroits, parce que plus durables, unirent les enfants à la mère, qui s'opposa à leur exclusion du groupe lorsqu'ils furent adultes. Elle finit par y réussir. Seulement, les jeunes mâles ne furent gardés qu'à la condition de ne pas empiéter sur les droits conjugaux du chef. Il leur fut interdit de s'unir aux femmes du groupe. C'est cette interdiction que l'auteur appelle la loi primitive (*the primal law*) de l'humanité ; et cette loi survit encore dans la règle qui interdit, dans une multitude de sociétés inférieures, toute espèce de relations entre frères et sœurs.

Nous ne suivrons pas l'auteur dans la suite des conjectures qu'il risque pour expliquer la manière dont peu à peu se constitua la tribu. De telles théories ne relèvent pas de la controverse scientifique puisqu'elles ne sont susceptibles d'aucun contrôle. C'est un tissu de pures imaginations dont on peut parfois estimer l'ingéniosité, mais qui ne reposent sur aucune preuve positive. L'auteur, il est vrai, croit prouver ses théories en faisant voir qu'elles rendent compte de certaines pratiques primitives (tabous sexuels divers). Mais pour que cette dérivation eût quelque valeur démonstrative, il faudrait tout au moins qu'elle fût la seule possible. Or, on sait que bien d'autres explications ont été proposées.

EMILE DURKHEIM.¹

¹ [Mr. Lang further explains and elaborates his hypothesis in *Man*, December, 1903 (art. 101), an advance copy of which has kindly been placed at our disposal by the officers of the *Anthropological Institute*.—ED.]

L'ANNÉE SOCIOLOGIQUE, publiée sous la direction de Émile Durkheim, Professeur de Sociologie à l'Université de Bordeaux. Sixième Année (1901-1902). Paris : Félix Alcan. 1903.

THE new volume of *L'Année Sociologique* opens with an important article by Messrs. Durkheim and Mauss on some primitive forms of classification. The authors commence by calling attention to the illusion, demonstrated by the discoveries of contemporary psychology, that mental operations in reality very complex are simple and elementary. The logical faculties of definition, deduction and induction, which seem to be essential parts of the individual understanding, are built up by a painful assemblage, laboriously organised, of elements borrowed from sources the most diverse and the most foreign to logic. What may be called the classificatory function is by no means innate. The classification of objects, as we understand it, is of comparatively recent origin. It does not go back further than Aristotle. Not only has it a history, but that history presupposes a considerable pre-history. In fact, it is impossible to exaggerate the condition of indistinction whence the human mind set out. Even to-day, a large part of our popular history, of our myths, of our religions is based on a fundamental confusion of all images and all ideas. None of them can be clearly separated from the others. Metamorphoses, transmissions of qualities, substitutions of persons, of souls and bodies, beliefs relative to the materialisation of spirits and the spiritualisation of material objects are the elements of religious thought or of folklore. Now the very idea of such transmutations could not come to birth if the objects were represented in concepts duly delimited and classed.

This mentality, however, subsists no longer in European societies, save in a state of survival, and even under this form it is now only found in certain clearly localised functions of the collective thought. But there are innumerable societies in the world in which all the natural history resides in the œtiological tale, all the speculation on vegetable and animal species in metamorphoses, all the scientific prevision in divining cycles, in magic circles and squares. In China and the whole of the Farther East, and in the whole of modern India, as in ancient Greece and Rome, the notions relative to sympathetic actions, symbolic correspondences, and astral influences not merely were or are widely

spread, they exhausted, or even now still exhaust, all collective science. Now, what they presuppose is the belief in the possible transformation of the most heterogeneous objects into one another, and consequently the absence more or less complete of definite concepts.

Among savages, that is to say, in the least evolved societies with which we are acquainted, the mental confusion is still greater. Here even the individual loses his personality. Between him and his external soul, between him and his totem, the indistinction is complete. His personality and that of his fellow-animal only make one. Identification goes so far that the man takes the character of the thing or the animal with which he is thus brought together. For example, in Mabiug the clansmen of the crocodile are supposed to have the temperament of the crocodile: they are proud, cruel, always ready to fight. Among certain Sioux there is a section of the tribe which is called *red*, and which comprises the clans of the mountain lion, the buffalo, and the moose-deer—animals all characterised by their violent instincts. The members of these clans are by birth warriors, while the husbandmen, people naturally peaceable, belong to clans whose totems are animals naturally pacific.

What applies to men in the savage mind, applies with even greater force to things. According to a remark of Von den Steinen, our determination of species by relation to one another, so that the one does not merge into the other, does not exist for the Indian of Central Brazil. Animals, men, inanimate objects have almost always been originally conceived as sustaining with one another relations of the most perfect identity.

So far indeed from man having exercised the classificatory function spontaneously and by a sort of natural necessity, at first the most indispensable conditions for its exercise were wanting. Let us analyse the idea of classification. A class is a group of objects. But objects do not present themselves to observation ready grouped. It is true we can perceive more or less vaguely their resemblances. But the sole fact of these resemblances does not suffice to explain how we are led to assemble the objects which resemble one another thus, to muster them in a sort of ideal *milieu* shut up within determinate limits which we call a genus or a species. Besides, to classify is not merely to constitute groups; it is to dispose these groups according to very special

relations, to co-ordinate them or to subordinate them one to another. All classification implies a hierarchic order, of which neither the sensible world nor our consciousness offers us the model. The very expressions we make use of to characterise it authorise us in presuming that all these logical notions are of extra-logical origin. We speak of the "relationship" between the species of a given genus. We call certain classes "families." Nay, the word *genus* itself designated first of all a family group (*γένος*). These facts tend to the conjecture that the scheme of classification is not a spontaneous product of the abstract understanding, but the result of an elaboration into which all sorts of strange elements have entered.

The object of the paper is not to treat in its entirety the question, what has led men to dispose their ideas in this form and whence they could have found the plan of this remarkable disposition, but simply to bring together a certain number of indications which may throw some light on it. The only way to answer the question fully is to seek the most rudimentary classifications adopted by mankind, in order to see out of what elements they have been constructed. All it is proposed to do is to bring together in the pages following those I have thus summarised a certain number of classifications which are certainly very primitive, and the signification of which does not appear doubtful.

The systems of classification analysed and compared in pursuance of this intention are those of the Australians, the Zuñi, and the Chinese. It is not possible here to follow the authors into the details of their lengthy exposition; but an outline may be given of their argument.

Among the Australians each tribe is divided into two great fundamental sections, which we call phratries. Each phratry in its turn includes a certain number of clans, that is, groups of individuals who bear the same totem. Save in rare cases, the totems of one phratry are not found in the other. Beside this division into clans each phratry is divided into two matrimonial classes, or classes having the right of connubium with one another, each composed of a certain number of clans. The point insisted on by the authors is that this classification is not confined to the members of the tribe, but extends to the universe at large. All the objects of the universe are divided between these phratries and clans; all belong either to one or another. The classification

governs all the facts of life, and its marks are found in all the principal rites. That food only may be eaten which is allotted, or free, to each particular division of the tribe. The Wakelbura of North Central Queensland are divided into two phratries, the Mallera and the Wutaru. A Mallera wizard can only make use for his art of objects which are reckoned Mallera. When a Mallera dies, the scaffold on which his body is exposed (a practice of the tribe in lieu of burial), and the branches which cover him, must be of some wood belonging to his phratry.

The simplest form of classification takes account only of the phratries. A more complete and characteristic system takes account also of the clans or totems. If totemism is on one side the grouping of men into clans according to natural objects, it is also inversely a grouping of natural objects according to the social groups. As Mr. Fison says, the South Australian savage considers the universe as a great tribe, to one of the divisions of which he belongs; and all things animate or inanimate which are of his group are parts of the body corporate of which he himself is part. They are absolutely parts of himself. But while this classification into phratries and clans is an advance on the previous one, it is still imperfect and bears witness to the state of initial confusion whence the human mind set out. The distinct groups are multiplied. The objects attributed to each phratry or each clan are clearly distinguished; but inside the clan they are to a large extent indifferiated. They are all of the same nature, and there are no strict lines of demarcation such as exist between ultimate varieties in our classification. The individual human members of the clan, the members of the totemic species, and those of the various species attached in the native view to the clan, are all only different aspects of one and the same reality. By applying the social divisions to the primitive mass of representations a certain number of pigeon-holes for these representations have been made; but the contents of the pigeon-holes remain in a relatively amorphous state, witnessing to the slowness and difficulty with which the classificatory function is developed.

The conclusions drawn after a searching examination of Australian ideas are that if this manner of classifying objects is not necessarily implied in totemism, it is at any rate certain that it is frequently met with in societies organised on a totemic basis; and that there is, therefore, a close bond and not an accidental

relation between this social system and the logical system found with it. The Zuñi present an example of a similar form of classification carried to a higher degree of complexity. Among them the notion which society has of itself and the idea which it has of the world are so interlaced and confounded, that their organisation has been justly qualified as "mytho-sociological." Every being and object of nature, sun, moon, stars, heaven, earth, and sea, with all their phenomena and all their elements, inanimate beings as well as plants, animals, and men, are classed, ticketed and assigned to a determinate place in a system unique, *solidaire*, and with all its parts co-ordinated and subordinated to one another according to the degrees of relationship.

In its present form the principle of the system is a division of all space into seven regions—the North, South, East, and West, the Zenith, the Nadir, and the Centre. Everything in the universe is divided among these seven regions. The wind, the air, the winter, the pelican, crane, grouse, sagecock, evergreen oak and other things are assigned to the North. To the West are assigned the water, the springtime with its humid breezes, the bear and coyote, and the tender spring-grass; to the South, fire and the summer; to the East, the earth, seeds, the first frosts which ripen the crops and complete the year, the deer, the antelope, the turkey, and so forth. The North is the region of war and destruction, the West of peace and hunting, the South of agriculture and medicine, the East of magic and religion. To each region is attributed a special colour, yellow to the North, blue to the West, red to the South, white to the East, motley like the play of light and shade in the clouds to the Zenith, and black to the Nadir. The Centre, the navel of the world, partakes of all.

Now the important thing to observe is that this partition of the universe is exactly that of the clans in the pueblo. One division of the pueblo corresponds to the North, and has its appropriate colour, one to the South, and so on. Each of these divisions, except the Centre, is a group of three clans bearing totems corresponding to the animals or other objects of the region to which it belongs. The Centre is represented by a single clan, that of the Parrot-Macaw, "the all-containing or mother-clan of the entire tribe, for in it the seed of the priesthood of the houses is supposed to be preserved," as Mr Cushing explains. In the author's opinion the evidence goes to show that all these clans are derived by

segmentation from one primitive clan or horde. Moreover, the division of objects by regions, and the division of society by clans are inextricably interlaced and confounded, so that, strictly speaking, objects are classed neither by clans nor by regions, but by clans orientated.

This classification is obviously composite. It has reached a stage of evolution beyond the Australian classification. Whence did it start? From classification by regions, or by clans? A long argument follows to prove that it is a development from a classification precisely similar to that of the Australians, and that in its own structure and in the less highly evolved systems of various Sioux tribes we are able to trace the various stages through which it has passed. The authors then return to Australia and show by the evidence of Mr. Howitt that the Wotjoballuk have the beginnings of a similar classification by regions. They contend, further, from the example of other peoples in America, Australia, and Melanesia, that it is a necessary development from the classification by clans. For in assemblies and in camps of the tribe each phratry and each clan must have its definite localisation. Once this is fixed, the evolution of ideas follows its natural course.

The divinatory system of the Chinese is next examined. This system is at the base of the philosophy and religion known as Taoism; and it governs every detail of life of the immense population of China, Tibet, Mongolia, Cambodia, and Siam. This, too, is a composite system. One of its most essential principles is the division of space according to the four cardinal points, over each of which an animal presides and gives its name to the region. Properly speaking this animal, real or mythical, is confounded with the region. The blue dragon is the East, the red bird is the South, the white tiger is the West, the black tortoise is the North. Thus each region has not only its animal but its colour. But every cardinal point is divided into two, with a resulting total of eight cardinal points corresponding to the eight winds. The eight winds in their turn are in close relations with eight powers, namely, (1) heaven, (2) earth, (3) vapour and clouds, (4) fire and light, (5) thunder, (6) wind and wood, (7) water, and lastly mountains. All beings, all events, all attributes, substances, accidents, are classified under the rubric of these eight powers. To the four regions correspond, moreover, the four seasons. But the Chinese year is more minutely subdivided. It has twenty-four seasons,

and each of these seasons corresponds to a division of the primitive four and of the cardinal points. Nor is this all. For the divisions of time two cycles, one of twelve and the other of ten, are employed concurrently for years, months, days, and hours. Five revolutions of the former cycle and six of the latter are equivalent, thus forming in combination a sexagenary cycle, and serving to mark time with exactitude. The two cycles with their divisions are closely connected with the compass, and by that means with the five elements ; and thus the Chinese have arrived at the extraordinary notion of time not homogeneous, symbolised by the elements, the cardinal points, the colours, and so forth ; and in its different parts the most various influences are held to predominate. The twelve years of the cycle are related also to twelve animals, the rat, cow, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, ape, cock, dog, and pig, which are assigned three by three to the cardinal points ; and thus again this division of time is connected with the general system. The years are thus subsumed under the elements and under regions represented by the animals. Evidently we have here a multitude of interlaced classifications. The system dominates the entire life of China, and is an instance, a specially typical instance, in which the collective thought has in a fashion *réfléchie et savante* worked over themes obviously primitive. We have not the means of tracing any historical connection between it and the systems previously referred to, though it is clear enough that it reposes on the same principles as they—a conclusion confirmed by the remains of totem-clans in China.

The authors proceed to refer to traces in other civilised countries of systems of classification which recall those previously discussed, instancing ancient Greece and India. They finally argue that primitive classifications are not exceptional and without analogy with those of the most cultivated peoples, but on the contrary there is no solution of continuity between the latter and the former. Primitive classifications are the first efforts to unify knowledge ; they are truly a philosophy of nature. It is not for the purpose of regulating his conduct or justifying his practice that the Australian divides the world among the totems of his tribe. It is because the notion of totem is cardinal for him that he is compelled to group all his other knowledge by relation with it. The conditions on which these ancient classifications depend have in fact played

an important part in the genesis of the classificatory function in general. These conditions are social. The social relations of mankind are not based on the logical relations of things: they have served as the prototypes of the latter. Men have not divided themselves into clans according to a prior classification of things. On the contrary, they have thus classified things because they themselves were first of all divided into clans. Nor has society been merely the model on which the classifying thought has wrought: the framework of society has been the very framework of the system of things. Men were themselves first of all grouped. For that reason they could only think under the form of groups. And when they came to group ideally other beings, the two modes of grouping began by confusion to the point of being indistinguishable. Phratries were the first genuses, clans the first species. Things were deemed an integral part of society, and their place in society determined their place in nature.

Moreover, not only the exterior form of the classes but the relations which unite them to one another are social in their origin. The logical hierarchy is only another aspect of the social hierarchy, and the unity of knowledge is nothing else than the unity of the social whole extended to the universe. The bonds of relationship of things are conceived as social bonds, as the words genus, family, &c., remind us. To us indeed these words are no more than metaphors: to the primitive savage they were literal facts. This means that the same sentiments which are at the basis of domestic and social organisation presided also at the logical classification of objects. It is states of the collective feeling which have given birth to these groupings. In such states of feeling there are sentimental affinities between things as between individuals, and they are classified according to these affinities. In other words, the differences and the resemblances which determine the manner of grouping are more emotional than intellectual. It is often said that man began by imagining objects as they were related to himself. We are now in a position to state more precisely in what anthropocentrism, better called *sociocentrism*, consists. The centre of the earliest system of nature is not the individual: it is the society. Nothing demonstrates this better than the manner in which the Sioux hold in some sort the entire world within the limits of the tribal space, and universal space itself is nothing else than the site occupied by

the tribe, but indefinitely extended beyond its real limits. It is in virtue of the same mental disposition that so many peoples have placed the centre of the world ; " the navel of the earth," in their own political or religious capital, that is to say, where the centre of their moral life is found. In the same way, in another order of ideas, the creative power of the universe and of all that therein is, is at first conceived as the mythical ancestor, the generator of society.

It is this prepotent emotional element of primitive classifications which has so long retarded a logical classification. A logical classification is a classification of concepts. Now the concept is the notion of a group of objects clearly determined ; its limits can be marked with precision. On the contrary, emotion is essentially fluid and inconsistent. Its contagious influence extends to everything around it. In order to mark the limits of a class, the distinguishing characteristics of the objects included in that class must be analysed. Emotion is naturally refractory to analysis : it is too complex. Especially when of collective origin, it defies critical examination. Social pressure does not allow individuals to judge in freedom of the notions which society has itself elaborated. Such constructions are sacred. The history of scientific classification is thus the history of the stages in the course of which this element of social affectivity has been progressively enfeebled, leaving more and more the room free for individual thought. These distant influences have not ceased to be felt even yet. They have left behind them an effect which is always present. It is the very framework of all classification. It is this totality of mental habits in virtue of which we represent to ourselves objects and facts under the form of groups co-ordinated and subordinated to one another.

Such is an imperfect outline of this acute and learned paper. It is, as the authors remark, an example of the light capable of being thrown by sociology on the genesis and mode of logical operations. As a particular application of sociology, I should like to observe, its value depends on the prevalence of totemism in the early stages of society. Totemism is not as yet proved to have been universal. The Eskimo are not the only people who have betrayed to scientific inquirers no clear and unmistakable trace of totemism. A thorough study of the classificatory systems of such peoples may reveal, if not totemism itself, at least many of the

elements of which it consists. Until this has been done we must be careful how we generalise from the data so lucidly expounded here—a caution which is indeed implied in the authors' introductory paragraphs.

One other remark must be added. If an investigation of the classificatory systems of a large number of peoples result in finding the notion of totem, as among the Australians, as the very foundation of their earliest attempts at a philosophy of the universe, as inextricably involved in the earliest exercise of their classificatory faculties, we shall be led to the conclusion that it must have arisen at an immensely distant period of human history. That period will be thrown further and further back, the more widespread we find the notion to be. But totemism could not have originated, and certainly could not have formed the basis of any classificatory system, unless the society in which it arose was recognised as to some extent heterogeneous. If it could be shown that totemism is the basis of every savage classification of which we have any knowledge, we should have a fair ground for presuming that at the dawn of humanity every society was already heterogeneous, and that totem-clans and phratries were not formed by the coalescence of previously separate and homogeneous human societies. These researches, therefore, may have an indirect but important bearing on recent theories of social origins.

With regard to the rest of the contents of the volume I can only repeat what I have said of previous volumes. They are, in one word, excellent.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MARKET PLACE.

THE SILENT TRADE. A Contribution to the Early History of Human Intercourse. By P. J. HAMILTON GRIERSON. Edinburgh: W. Green and Sons. 1903. Pp. 1-112.

THE origin and significance of primitive barter are well worthy of study, and finding they had not been made the subject of adequate treatment, Mr. P. J. Hamilton Grierson, after much

searching of authorities, has produced a little closely-packed book with the object of remedying this defect. Nearly one-half of the book is devoted to a consideration of the group and its neighbours. Taking hunting peoples as the most "primitive," the author, following his authorities, regards the small nomadic groups, which are necessitated by a hunting life, as "families" or as "small groups in the nature of families." It would, by the way, be of great interest to find out in each case what is the exact relationship to each other of the members of these groups according to their and our ideas of kinship. Each of these groups comes into occasional contact with similar and related groups; towards these its attitude is essentially dissimilar from that which it assumes towards alien groups. The meetings between friendly groups are generally associated with an exchange of gifts. In some cases when presents are given there is not merely an expectation of a return gift, there is a distinct understanding, and not infrequently the object desired in return is specified; a transaction which is virtually barter.

Each tribe has its well-defined tribal land, to which its members have exclusive rights as against the stranger, and most frequently that area is further divided among various groups of tribesmen. Boundary marks come to be regarded as sacred. The stranger is always feared and is without rights, and it is generally a public duty to slay him. As soon as a community ceases to be self-supporting, it becomes necessary to have dealings with strangers and therefore with enemies. We now come to the main thesis of the book, the silent trade and the primitive market. When a Veddah wants axes or arrows he makes models of them, and carrying these by night to the armourer's door, leaves them with half a boar or a stag. The armourer makes the articles required and hangs them up where the flesh was laid; and the Veddah takes them away the following night. This method of barter is very widely spread, and Herodotus makes mention of it. Even in markets trade is sometimes done without words. Markets are usually held in border lands which are neutral territory, and in some cases also are regarded as sacred, which sanctity embraces the market also. In other words, the conception of "peace" has been formed—a peace attached to a certain spot and observed whilst the market is held there. The peace extends to the paths that lead to the market place. Later, the privilege becomes,

personal rather than local, and the person of the trader or of the middle man becomes inviolable.

It is not the entertainment of guests but that of strangers as guests which is unfamiliar to the primitive man. In the early stages of this novel relation the stranger is still regarded as an enemy, but is treated as a friend for a limited time and for a specific purpose. Gradually the idea of extra-tribal hospitality extends beyond the herald and the trader till it embraces the wanderer and the suppliant. What was once dictated by self-interest and continued by custom becomes fixed by law, and when it is no longer legally obligatory, comes to be regarded as a moral or even as a religious act. Such is a brief outline of the argument of this interesting little book. The author gives full references and footnotes, and a lengthy list of authors cited; the copious table of contents does duty for an index.

A. C. HADDON.

STUDIES IN THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE.

By LUCY A. PATON, Ph.D. (Radcliffe), Boston, 1903.

IN this study, which, though dealing with the fairy element in Arthurian tales in general, is more especially concerned with the nature and evolution of Morgain le Fay, Miss Paton has given us the result of much reading and patient investigation. She has collected a large number of passages from widely differing sources, and her monograph, as a book of reference, will be of great value to the Arthurian student. But from a constructive point of view the study is not so satisfactory; both the views advanced and the methods employed are alike open to serious objection.

In the introductory chapter the writer sets forth the character and attributes of the Celtic fay, and does so with justice and accuracy; having established this framework she then proceeds to fit Morgain, as Celtic fay, into it. But is Morgain *ab origine* a Celtic fay? And if certain qualities of the fay have been postulated of her are we therefore bound to believe that *all* the essential characteristics must, at one time or another, have been hers? That is a question the answer to which must be proven and not

assumed. Miss Paton herself seems to have some misgivings. To begin with she is evidently a little doubtful of the pure fairy origin of her heroine. She would incline rather to equate her with the Irish war-goddess, the Morrigan. But the records of that personage are scanty, and do not offer the material necessary for transition to the conventional fay, so the well-known story of *The Sick-bed of Cuchullin*, which has no connection with the Morrigan, is pressed into the service, and we are asked by the aid of this uncertain foothold to leap into a veritable Irish bog of pure hypothesis—a *liaison* between Arthur and Morgain, a consequent fairy abduction, the desertion of the fairy mistress for Guinevere, and the resultant enmity of Morgain, first for Arthur, then for his wife. Even the weaver of this ingenious web is compelled to admit that the traces of such a story are extremely faint, but she evades the difficulty by implying, if not explicitly stating (cf. pp. 29, 165, et seq.) that, given the origin assumed, if there was not such a story told of Morgain there ought to have been, and we may therefore safely argue that there was.

But the only text Miss Paton can bring to her aid is the very late, and much contaminated Huth *Merlin* (which indeed throughout the study is quoted with a freedom entirely disproportionate to its real value as an argument for origins); therefore the account of Arthur and Urien's abduction by Morgain and the fight of the former with Accolon of Gaul, is taken as the starting point for investigation.

Now this is surely wrong. The Huth *Merlin* belongs to a very late stage of evolution, being in all probability posterior even to the prose *Tristan*. There is no trace in any early text of the love between Arthur and Morgain (unless of course Morgain be considered to be identical with Mordred's mother, which the writer does not suggest), nor of any resulting enmity. When this comes in it is as the result of rivalry with Guinevere, and no attentive reader of the prose *Lancelot* can fail to see that it is the queen and not the king to whom Morgain is opposed, and that her desire is to make mischief between them.

Did it not occur to Miss Paton that if the ill-will of Morgain to Arthur were an integral part of the tradition, as she supposes, the final *dénouement* of the story would have undergone a corresponding modification, and Arthur would have been carried off to the Otherworld, not by his enemy Morgain, but by his friend

and protectress, the Dame du Lac? But the *dénouement* remains unchanged throughout, and Morgain is, as before, the beneficent being who seeks for and tends the sorely-wounded king. Is there any recorded instance in which a deserted fairy-love, who has pursued the offending mortal with unrelenting hate through life, changes her attitude at the moment of death and carries him off to share her unending bliss? Miss Paton has misconceived the whole situation.

The rivalry between Guinevere and Morgain is of earlier origin than the prose texts and has no connection with Arthur. In the group of *lais* (discussed in Chapter V.) dealing with the love of a fairy for a mortal, Miss Paton practically ignores the fact that in the majority of the versions the fairy has a rival, in the person of a queen who offers her love to the hero and is rejected, a rejection which brings about either the meeting or the separation of the lovers. She entirely omits to state that while in one of these cases, (that of *Guingamor*), the fairy has been identified with Morgain (which she tells us), in another, (*Lanval*), the queen was identified with Guinevere. That is, at a moment when the Arthurian "cycle" did not exist, but scattered popular tales were beginning to be "Arthurised," a rivalry was held to exist between Arthur's wife and a fairy who may or may not have been identified with Arthur's sister.¹

Is it not much simpler then to consider the Guimar story (*vide* Chapter V.) as merely a late and rationalised version of one of these *lais*, rather than to try and explain it by the hypothesis of a previous connection between Arthur and Morgain, of which we have no record? In the one case we are resting our argument on facts, in the other on fancies.

But I think Arthur's relation to Morgain rests on other foundations. If we go behind the prose romances, as when

¹ That it is Guingamor and not Guigemer who is referred to in *Erec* is, I think, clear. The latter, who married and dwelt in his own land, could not have been described as *Sire d'Avalon*. In the *Cangé* MS., Bib. Nat. 794, the name in *Erec* and *Perceval* is the same, and in the latter poem we read of the son of Guingamor,

*E si vos di por verite
Que de cele isle rois estoit
Ou nes uns morz hom nabitait
De cele contree estoit rois.*

essaying to discover hidden origins we surely should do, we shall find that five traits are early postulated of Morgain: (1) She lives in the Isle of Avalon; (2) She is chief of nine queens; (3) She can change her shape and fly through the air; (4) She possesses a magic ointment which will heal all wounds; (5) She carries off the wounded Arthur to her home in Avalon. Now one and all of these are traits which are also found connected with the Valkyrie. We know that nine is the number most generally associated with them. We know that as swan-maidens they could change their shape and fly through the air. We know that the dwelling of Brynhild, the most famous of the sisterhood, whether it be in the isle of the Thidrek-saga, the Schild-burg of the Volsunga-saga, or the Glass Mountain of popular tradition, is, like Avalon, a form of the Otherworld. We know that the Valkyrie carried off the slain heroes to the bliss of Valhalla, and, as Mr. Nutt showed long ago, the magic ointment or balsam, which we find the crone in *Gerbert* using with such effect, is paralleled by Hilde's (the typical Valkyr) ceaseless resuscitation of the dead warriors.

I have long believed that Morgain, in her relation to Arthur, is a loan from Scandinavian tradition, which has affected the Arthurian legend far more than we realise. The sword in the block, by the withdrawal of which Arthur won his kingdom, has long since been recognised as a parallel to the Branstock; probably the sword of the Grail Quest, which must be soldered afresh by the hero before he can achieve his task, comes from the same source; while the mysterious smith of the same Grail tradition, who forged but three swords, and then must needs die, "for never could he forge a sharper," recalls Wieland. Even to-day, in the nightmare charm of the Orkneys, Arthur is confused with Siegfried and his victory over the Valkyr. It may even be that the relationship between Arthur and Morgain is a loan from the same inexhaustible store, and depends upon the mutual relations subsisting between Siegmund-Siegfried, the Valkyr, and Wotan.

If this were the root-origin of the character we can easily understand how, developing in a Celtic *milieu*, it would gather to itself Celtic characteristics, and while on the one hand the Valkyr would come into contract with the Irish war-goddess, from whom she might well have borrowed her name, on the other hand, as her true origin became forgotten, certain traits in her story would tend

to assimilate her to the type of the ordinary fairy. But I think it most probable that the final identification was brought about by confusion between the Arthurian Morgain and an independent and powerful fairy being bearing a similar name. We are only now beginning to realise how much the Crusaders borrowed from the East, and what confusion their borrowings have wrought in this very Arthurian legend. Is it not possible that a careful examination of the fairy traditions of Sicily and the East may show that if the Crusaders lent traditions of Arthur and his sister, they also borrowed stories of a powerful fairy queen? In any case I feel sure that in Morgain we have a composite character, and her legend must be examined from more than one side.

On the question of the abduction respectively of Renouart, Lancelot, and Alisander l'Orphelin, to which Miss Paton devotes a chapter, a suggestion of Professor Singer's (*Beiblatt zur Anglia*, June, 1903, p. 177) is worth noting; he suggests that the account given by Wolfram of the descent of Arthur's race from a union between Mazadan and Fêi-Mûrgan rests upon the tradition of the love of Alexander the Great for a fairy being; a story well known in the Middle Ages. *Mazadan* he equates with *Macedo*, or the *Macedonian*, a name by which Alexander is frequently designated in German poems. If this be the case, we can, I think, understand how this last version arose. For the other two, they are manifestly doublets of the same tale, and until the evolution of the Lancelot legend is more clearly determined it would be rash to hazard an opinion as to the exact relation between them.

Is it not possible that the connection between Morgain, the Dame du Lac, and Sebille l'Enchanteresse may be founded on the fact that each of these has been connected with the Queen of the Otherworld in one of her many forms? Morgain as Lady of Avalon, the Dame du Lac as Queen of the Isle of Women, and Sebille as Queen of the Sidh? This would tend to differentiate them from other fairies, and account for their being considered as "Queens."

The section of the study devoted to the Dame du Lac is somewhat thin, and too much is made both of her relations with Arthur, which are not a part of the early tradition, and of "Excalibur," the real origin and ownership of the sword being still a problem; but again the fault lies in too much reliance being placed on Malory and the Huth *Merlin*. The section devoted to

Niniane is much the most satisfactory, the texts are simpler and less contaminated, and the study is proportionately clearer and more definite.

There are one or two errors to which attention should be drawn. On p. 178 the writer says that the son of Gawain by the sister of Brandelis, whose story is related in the *Perceval*, is there nameless, but that we may presume his identity with the "Bel Inconnu." He is twice named, or rather names himself. When he meets Perceval he says :

" *Li biax desconeus ai non
ainsi mapelent li bretons.*"

And again when he meets his father for the second time we read :

" *Sire fait il ie sui Guiglains
votre fis que li roi Artus
mist non li biax desconeus.*"

A statement which agrees with our English poem, but not with Gautier's version.

On p. 142 Ewaine Blancemains is identified with "Ywain" *filz Urien*. The two are never confused in the romances. Miss Paton does not seem to be aware that there are four distinct knights of this name (indeed, that curious text, *Bib. Nat.* 337, gives five) : Ywain, the *chevalier au lion*, found in the earliest Arthurian texts, and never confused with the others ; his half-brother, Ywain the Bastard ; Ywain *Blance-mains* ; and Ywain *de Lionel* ; this latter is probably the *Ywán de Nónel* of the *Parzival*, and the *Lanzelet*. The position of these two last varies, sometimes the one is placed first, sometimes the other. Morgain is never treated as Ywain's mother in the poems, but I think it is possible to explain her connection with King Urien. We know that in the *Bel Inconnu* poems we find two enchanters, Mabon and Evrain, or Yrain ; in the *Erec* we find one enchanter, Mabonagrain ; and there has been much discussion whether the original tradition gave one or two. Now the *Perceval* texts make Mabonagrain son, or nephew, to King Evrain, or *Urien*, the readings vary. Given this confusion between the enchanter and the better-known king, it is, I think, easy to understand how Morgain, the enchantress, might come to be looked upon as the wife of Urien ; but it is sig-

nificant that her son is never called either *filz Urien* or *chevalier au lion*.

On p. 231 Miss Paton says that the maiden who has carried off the stag's head is the Fisher King's daughter. The Fisher King in Gautier has no daughter, we only find her in Manessier.

It is only fair to Miss Paton to say, while pointing out the defects in her study, that I believe she is not altogether responsible for those defects; while the vast majority of Arthurian MSS. remain a *terra incognita*, unexamined, and unedited, the attempt at a complete and exhaustive study of any incident or character of the cycle is practically fore-doomed to failure, though our thanks are none the less due to those who are willing to act as pioneers in clearing the way for others to follow.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

Whilst grateful to Miss Paton for her valuable collection of material and for much suggestive investigation, I cannot, any more than Miss Weston, accept the Morgain-Morrigan equation. But I must point out to Miss Weston that the Morrigan belongs to the same divine clan as Fand. There is no reason why she should not, like others of the Tuatha de Danaan goddesses, have developed into a "fairy queen;" but as a matter of fact she belongs to the earliest and rudest stage of Irish saga, and the form under which that saga has come down to us is obviously a survival from an older and more savage world. Miss Paton's equation necessarily carries with it the implication (or so it seems to me) that the figure of the Morrigan went over from Irish into Welsh literature in the 10th-11th centuries. It strikes me as untenable that the Morrigan story as we know it in Irish tales of the 7th-12th centuries could originate or account for the Morgain story as we find it in the 12th-century French and Latin romances.

ALFRED NUTT.

AFRICAN LEGENDS.

CHINAMWANGA STORIES. Compiled and translated by EMMELINE H. DEWAR. Livingstonia Mission Press. 1900.

CUNNIE RABBIT, MR. SPIDER, AND THE OTHER BEEF. West African Folktales. By FLORENCE M. CRONISE and HENRY W. WARD. London and New York. 1903.

THESE two books are, each in its own way, welcome contributions to the study of African folklore. Mrs. Dewar has collected twenty-four stories from an area hitherto almost, if not quite, untouched—the Nyasa-Tanganyika Plateau. No particulars are given as to where or how the stories were obtained; but the language is that spoken at Mwenzo, a station about midway between the two lakes, whence the brief preface is dated. The language (here called Chinamwanga) is one of several spoken in the district, and seems to be closely related to Konde. The stories themselves are sometimes very fragmentary—probably because told by children, who did not know them very well. Collectors usually have the same experience to begin with. The old people, who are the real authorities for the stories, are not easily approached on the subject, even when perfectly friendly. Perhaps after long residence among them, with daily intercourse, one may at last win their confidence; but in the meantime one has to be content with the contributions of the juveniles, whose goodwill is greater than their knowledge. My own note-books contain many scraps which were quite unintelligible till a complete version of the tale was found in some other quarter, and some which still await identification. An example of this kind is “The Younger and Elder Brothers” (p. 29), which is probably meant for the tale given in Jacottet’s *Contes Populaires des Bassoutos* (p. 47) as “Masilo et Masilonyane,” and also by Callaway, in a Zulu version. There are several “Brer Rabbit” episodes; one (p. 57) is a variant of the Tar-baby story; and “The Rabbit and all the Other Animals” (p. 11) reminds one of “Le Chacal et la Source” in Jacottet, though I have nowhere come across it in the exact form given by Mrs. Dewar. In this last, the incident of Brer Rabbit entreating Brer Fox not to “fling him in dat brier-patch,” is presented as follows:—“The elephant caught him, the rabbit cried . . . ‘Master, dash me on the rock, if you

do it on the sand I will be killed.' The elephant on hearing it thus said, 'Certainly, then, I'll dash him on the sand, and he will die.' He carried the rabbit to the sand, then lifting him overhead said, as he brought him down, 'Nga!' The rabbit as he touched the ground threw up the sand in the elephant's eyes, then ran away, saying, 'I have outwitted you.'" "The Bird and the Goblin" corresponds, in part, to "The Bird that made Milk," in McCall Theal's *Kaffir Folklore*, of which versions are also given by Jacottet, Torrend, and others. "The Rabbit and the Cock" is to be found in Junod's *Chantes et Contes des Baronga* as "Le Lièvre et l'Hirondelle." M. Junod gives another version of the same story under the title of "Le Lièvre et la Poule," and I have two Nyanja versions, "The Cock and the Swallow" (told at Blantyre by a boy whose home was on the Shiré, near the Murchison Falls) and "The Cat and the *Ntengu* Bird," told by two boys in the West Shiré district. Mrs. Dewar has given, not only the words of the songs which frequently occur in these stories (and are usually sung by the audience in chorus), but has also noted down the airs; and these are perhaps the most interesting and valuable part of the book. These songs, probably owing to the practice just mentioned, are better known and remembered than the stories, as in "The Bush Fire" (p. 85) and several others. The music, so far as we can judge, does not differ essentially in character from the airs noted down, in the book already referred to, by M. Junod, who has come to the conclusion that the Baronga scale is the same as ours, though, owing no doubt to the imperfection of their instruments, a note is occasionally found to be too high or too low by the third or fourth part of a tone. Several airs, taken down on the Zambezi by M. Edouard Foa, have been successfully harmonised by M. Gaston Serpette (see appendix to *La Traversée de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1900). M. Junod's remarks on this subject (*Chants et Contes*, pp. 21-34) are full of interest.

The stories collected by Miss Cronise among the Temne people, in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, are mostly of the familiar "Uncle Remus" type, though with important local characteristics of their own. It is interesting to note that "Cunnie Rabbit" (unlike the *Kalulu* of the East African stories) is not a rabbit at all, but a small antelope (*Hyomoschus*). The turtle or tortoise (here called *Trorkey*) is here, as elsewhere, the embodiment of

superior intelligence ; but the spider, so familiar in West African folk-lore, does not, so far as I remember, occur on the eastern side of the continent. The frequent introduction of the "debble" is probably due to European influence ; perhaps he takes the place of the "goblin" (*Chirombo, chitowi, dzimwe*), of the Eastern Bantu. The story called "Marry the Devil, there's the Devil to pay," closely resembles a Nyanja one in which the successful wooer is a "were-hyena." The songs referred to above are here also a conspicuous feature (see p. 9). I am not aware whether these two collections have appeared in time to be laid under contribution for M. René Basset's forthcoming anthology of African stories ;¹ there are several which might with advantage be included in such a volume.

A. WERNER.

MACEDONIAN FOLKLORE. By G. F. ABBOTT, B.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.

Mr. ABBOTT is to be congratulated in having rescued from oblivion a portion of the folklore of Greece, so soon destined to perish under the malign influence of what is known as education or civilisation.

Greece, like Russia, is peculiarly rich in ancient lore, and for much the same reason. Turkish misrule has had this good effect, that it has preserved the Greeks untouched by outside influences down to our own day. But the present opportunity cannot last, and we should be proportionately grateful to any one who will help to gather in the harvest before it is too late. Mr. Abbott's method, however, is not altogether good. Particularly in the earlier part of the book, but to some extent throughout, he wastes space by adding comparisons from any books he may happen to be familiar with—from England, Scotland, and Germany, from Russia and the Slavonic states, even from Asia. But the work of collecting and the work of comparison are different things, and a useful comparison requires far more knowledge than Mr. Abbott possesses. It is clear that he has not published all his collections ;

¹ [Just published by the *Librairie Orientale et Americaine*, Paris, under the title of *Contes Populaires de l'Afrique*.—ED.]

and it is a great pity that he did not exclude the excursions which I have mentioned, and use the space for completing his own record. Something might have been done, too, by arrangement. All the texts might have been collected in the Appendix, and much space might then have been saved in the printing. If the book produces the impression of being padded, Mr. Abbott has only himself to thank for this; and it certainly does produce that impression at first. Nor is it quite fair to suggest that the book is a *corpus* of Macedonian folklore, when the material has obviously been gathered in three or four towns only. If there is a great deal here, there must be far more behind; and it would have been better, if it had been possible, for Mr. Abbott to take a longer time in collecting, and to cover as far as possible all the ground.

At the same time, it is pleasant to add that the book contains a quantity of original matter of great value. There are stories, songs, distiches, charms, and riddles which are quite new, so far as my knowledge goes; and some of them very good. Mr. Abbott is quite within his province in citing parallels from ancient Greek literature, which he does fully; and although some of these are rather vague echoes of the thought, they yet have interest, not least in testifying to the continuity of thought and sentiment in Greek lands. The persistence of those things is marvellous when we consider the ruinous devastations which have swept over these unhappy provinces. Charon and his ferry are already familiar, so are the Neraïdhes; but there is new matter, if only a little, in what is said of Lamia (why did not Mr. Abbott give us some more in the Greek, if he was too nice to give it in English?), and episodes in his stories remind us of Perseus and Andromeda, of Bellerophon, and of other old friends. The ceremonies performed at death have many ancient echoes; in fact, we never go far from antiquity. The most original matter, however, is to be found in the superstitious observances of the people, the charms and incantations, and the folk-medicine. Mr. Abbott has been so lucky as to get hold of one or two medicine-books, of which he gives extracts; and with a general resemblance to others (such as that published in these pages in 1897) there are always interesting novelties. Another novelty is the were-boar, which reminds us of Arcadia. And for the student of folk-custom, the very detailed accounts given of ceremonies at birth, death, and marriage have great value.

The book is most interesting, and well worth the consideration of students. It is to be hoped that it may receive so warm a welcome that the University Press may be emboldened to make the study of modern Greek one of its special features. The material is vast and easy to gather, whilst no one can tell what light it may not yet throw on antiquity.

W. H. D. R.

VESENNEVAH OBREEDOVAYAH PAYSNYAH NA ZAPADAY I SLAVAYN.
(VERNAL CEREMONIAL SONGS IN THE WEST AND AMONG THE
SLAVONIANS.) By E. V. ANITCHKOFF. Part I. (Ceremonial
Songs.) Pp. xxix., 392. 8vo. St. Petersburg. 1903.

ALTHOUGH this important work is written entirely in Russian (except, of course, quotations) it will not be entirely useless to students of folklore who are unacquainted with the language, if only on account of the extensive bibliography, which is in two parts, of which the Russian portion (separate from the rest) occupies eight columns and that of other literature upwards of twenty columns. This bibliography will serve to call attention to many important publications hardly known in England; while we are pleased to see that English books, including the publications of our own Folk-Lore Society, occupy a place on almost every page of the second part. The body of the work is divided into three chapters: (1) Introduction; (2) Welcome and Homage to Spring; (3) Agricultural-religious Rituals. Almost every page contains numerous references in footnotes to authorities quoted, scarcely a statement being made without a clear reference to its source; and though most of the quotations are from the Russian, many verses are cited from old and modern English, French, and German songs, as well as from less-known languages.

Like many other Russian writers the author sometimes uses foreign words in Russian characters, such as "Ritual," which will not be found in a Russian dictionary.

W. F. KIRBY.

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XVII. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a Special General Meeting of the Society, to be convened by the Council or upon the requisition of at least five Members, who shall give fourteen days' notice of the change to be proposed which shall be in writing to the Secretary. The alteration proposed shall be approved by at least three-fourths of the Members present and voting at such Meeting

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The value of the Index to archaeologists is now recognised. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

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 Shropshire : *Kenyon*.
 Tokens : *Patterson, Pritchard, Searle*.
 William I : *Carlyon-Britton*.
 William II : *Carlyon-Britton*.
- Orkney : *Charlson*.
 Ornament : *Allen*.
 Ottery : *Whitley*.
 Oxfordshire : *Hone*. See "Thame."
- Pagham : *Johnston*.
 Parish registers : *Lloyd, Mallwyd, Phillips, T*.
 Perthshire : *Anderson, Christison, Ross*.
 Pevensey : *Hudson*.
 Place names : *Nevill, Potter*.
 Polstead : *Eld*.
 Pottery : *Hobson, Hughes*.
 Kabyle : *Myres, Randall-McIver*.
 Prehistoric remains : *Beddoe, Col- lingwood, Dymond, Mann, Mun- ro, Richardson, Ward*.
 Bone pins : *Ffrench*.
 Caves : *Dawkins*.
 Chambers : *Clinch*.
 Cists : *Anderson, Coles, Litt*.
 Crannogs : *Knott, Fane*.
 Horses : *Munro*.
 Neolithic times : *Hancock*.
 Stone implements : *Rawnsley, Rotherham*.
 Priesthawas : *Whitley*.
- Rathmichael : *Ball*.
 Reading : *Bilson*.
 Rednal : *Kenyon*.
 Repton : *Hipkins*.
 Ribchester : *Garstang*.
 Richborough : *Goddard*.
 Ringmer : *Legge*.
 Rispaïn : *Barbour*.
 Rochester : *Bond*.

- Roman remains: *Cowper, Haverfield, Murray.*
 Bitterne: *For.*
 Caerwent: *Ashby.*
 Coins: *Evans, Haverfield.*
 Earthworks: *Evelyn-White.*
 Great Chesters: *Gibson.*
 Inchtuthil: *Abercromby, Anderson, Ross.*
 Inscriptions: *Blair.*
 Mancetter: *Chattaway.*
 Manchester: *Roeder.*
 Military engines: *Clephan.*
 Silchester: *Hope.*
 Ribchester: *Ribchester.*
 Richborough: *Goddard.*
 Roads: *Climenson.*
 Villas: *Barker.*
 Uriconium: *Phillips.*
 Wall: *Hodgkin.*
- Rome: *Aitchinson, Lanciani.*
 Ropley: *Kirby.*
 Rothampstead: *Keyser.*
 Roydon: *W.*
 Rye: *Andrews.*
- St. Buryan: *St. Burgan.*
 St. David's: *Allen.*
 Sanctuaries: *Harrison.*
 Seals: *Andrews, Caldecott, Hope, O.*
 Scotland: *Cannibalism, Christison, Mitchell, Reid, Southesk. See*
 "Aberdeenshire," "Arran,"
 "Balmerino," "Edinburgh,"
 "Inchtuthil," "Orkney,"
 "Perthshire," "Rispain."
- Selsey: *Arnold.*
 Semington: *Ponting.*
 Shap: *Whiteside.*
 Shelvoek: *Kenyon.*
 Sherston Magna: *Symonds.*
 Shrewsbury: *Drinkwater, Kenyon, Morris.*
 Shottaton: *Kenyon.*
 Shropshire: *Drinkwater, Flower, Phillips, Shropshire, Walters. See*
 "Eardiston," "Felton,"
 "Haughton," "Lyneal," "Rednal,"
 "Shelvoek," "Shottaton,"
 "Shrewsbury," "Sutton,"
 "Tedsmere," "Uriconium,"
 "Wem," "Wenlock," "Wikey."
- Silchester: *Hope.*
 Sliadon: *Arnold.*
 Smalley: *Currey.*
- Somersetshire: *Bates, Haverfield. See*
 "Bath," "Glastonbury,"
 "Taunton,"
- Southampton: *Goddard.*
 Stainmore: *Collingwood.*
 Stanstead: *Andrews, Lewis.*
 Steeple Ashton: *Knubley, Ponting.*
 Stone circles: *Christison, Coles, Collingwood, Gowland, Harrison.*
 Stonehenge: *Gowland, Harrison.*
 Suffolk: *Hancox, Redstone. See*
 "Ash Bocking," "Assington,"
 "Blythburgh," "Hadleigh,"
 "Kersey," "Polstead," "Tudenham,"
 "Witton."
- Surrey: *Bar, Guiseppi, Nevill, Stephenson. See*
 "Hobnury Hill," "Merstham," "Pagham,"
 "Waddon," "Wandsworth,"
 "Warlingham," "Weybridge,"
 "Witton."
- Sussex: *Blaker, Cooper, Haverfield. See*
 "Bosham," "Brightling,"
 "Chichester," "Cuckfield,"
 "Hastings," "Lewes," "Pevensey,"
 "Ringmer," "Selsey,"
 "Slindon."
- Sutton: *Kenyon.*
 Sutton Valence: *Sauls.*
- Tacolmeston: *Strange.*
 Taunton: *Gray.*
 Tedsmere: *Kenyon.*
 Thame: *Ellis.*
 Thorrington: *Round.*
 Tideswell: *Cor.*
 Tiltey: *Walter.*
 Tissington: *Meade-Waldo.*
 Torrington: *Doc.*
 Totnes: *Windeatt.*
 Treasure Trove: *Blanchet.*
 Trefglwys: *T.*
 Tring: *Payne.*
 Tuam: *Costello.*
 Tudenham: *Redstone.*
 Tumuli, cairns, barrows: *Bryce, Charleson, Dawkins, Eeles, Evans, Goddard, Hutcheson, Worth.*
- Uriconium: *Phillips.*
- Viking period: *Coffey.*

- Waddon : *Clinch*.
- Wales : *Glynné, Hughes, Phillips, Prætorius, Summers, Thomas, Williams.* See "Bangor," "Caereinion," "Caerwent," "Flintshire," "Glamorganshire," "Guilsfield," "Llandaff," "Llandenny," "Llanfihangel," "Llanfyllin," "Llangendierne," "Llanhilleth," "Llanwouno," "Newtown," "St. Davids," "Trefeglwys."
- Warwickshire : *Cossins, Walker, Windle.* See "Astley," "Birmingham," "Coventry," "Middleton."
- Walton : *Bedford.*
- Wandsworth : *Davis.*
- Wargrave : *Climenson.*
- Warlingham : *Johnston.*
- Wells : *Bull, Collingwood, Knox, Meade-Waldo, O'Reilly, Westropp.*
- Wem : *Fane.*
- Wenlock : *Cranage, Weyman.*
- Westmorland. See "Shap," "Stainmore," "Wharton," "Windermere."
- Weybridge : *Lloyd.*
- Whaddon : *Ponting.*
- Wharton : *Curwen.*
- Whicheam : *Sykes.*
- William and Mary : *Dillon.*
- Willingale Doe : *Round.*
- Wills : *Phillips, Shropshire, Will.*
- Wiltshire : *Harrison, Heathcote Straton.* See "Erlestoke," "Lacock," "Malmesbury," "Marlborough," "Semington," "Sherston Magna," "Steeple Ashton," "Stonehenge," "Whaddon."
- Windermere : *Cowper.*
- Wing, *Payne.*
- Worcester : *Pinckney.*
- Worcestershire : *Andrews, Windle.* See "Worcester."
- Wotton : *Evelyn, Fairbank.*
- Yorkshire : *Leadman, Poppleton, Skaipe, Visitations, Wordsworth, Yorkshire.* See "Crayke," "Fountains," "Haliwerfolk," "Harrogate," "Kirklees."

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