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# FOLK-LORE

*A QUARTERLY REVIEW*

OF

*MYTH, TRADITION, INSTITUTION, & CUSTOM*

BEING

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

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

VOL. XXIV.—1913



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21/3/17.

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LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY

SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD., 3 ADAM ST., ADELPHI, W.C.

1913

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ERRATA.

- P. 421, l. 18. For Hingchabis read Hingchābis.  
P. 431. Delete Note 12.



# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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VOL. XXIV.]

MARCH, 1913.

[No. I.

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**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20th, 1912.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Lady Constance Boyle, Mr. J. Grant, Major M'Carrison, and Mr. J. F. Tocher, as members of the Society, was announced.

The deaths of Mr. W. Ker, Mr. A. Lang, and Mr. J. G. Tolhurst, and the resignations of Mr. A. R. Brown, Mr. G. F. Bridge, Mr. C. Gilbertson, Mrs. Greenaway, Mr. A. Kalisch, the Rev. F. M'Cormick, Mrs. Rounthwaite, and Mrs. Seligman, were also announced.

The withdrawal of the subscriptions of the Carnegie Free Library (Alleghany), the Franklin and Marshall College Library (Lancaster, Pa.), the Kiev Imperial Library, and the Worcester Free Public Library (Mass.), was reported.

Dr. W. L. Hildburgh exhibited and explained a number of Spanish charms and amulets against the evil eye, sorcery, etc., upon which some observations were offered by Miss Broadwood, Mr. Lovett, and Lady Gomme.

Mr. M. Trophimoff read a paper entitled "Modern Russian Popular Songs," (Vol. xxiii., pp. 427-42), which was illustrated by the singing of songs by Mrs. Kipmann and by Messrs. Volovi, Musatov, and the reader of the paper.

In the discussion which followed the President, Miss Broadwood, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Marchant, and Miss Hullah took part.

The meeting concluded with hearty votes of thanks to Dr. Hildburgh for his exhibition and to Mr. Trophimoff for his paper and to the lady and gentlemen who had assisted him in illustrating it.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18th, 1912.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Mr. W. F. Kirby was announced.

On the motion of the Chairman the following resolutions were passed, viz.:—(1) The Folk-Lore Society desires to express its profound regret at the death of Mr. Andrew Lang, one of the original members of the Society and a former President. During the entire existence of the Society he displayed the greatest interest in its operations and contributed largely to its Proceedings. His numerous and valuable works have done much to establish the foundations of scientific folklore, and have largely contributed to its popularisation among the British Public and abroad. The Society desires to express the condolence of its members with Mrs. Lang on his unexpected death, and directs that a copy of this resolution, with an expression of

thanks for the valuable collection of books and pamphlets which she has presented to the Society, be communicated to her.

(2) The Folk-Lore Society desires to express its regret at the death of Mr. W. F. Kirby, for twenty-seven years a member of the Society, a constant attendant at the meetings of the Council, and a valued contributor to the Proceedings of the Society. His wide knowledge of the folklore of Modern Europe, his translation of the *Kalevala*, his *Hero of Esthonia*, and his bibliography and notes to Sir R. Burton's edition of the *Thousand Nights and a Night* were valuable contributions to the study of folklore. The Society directs that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to his family with an expression of condolence at his death.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.:—Mr. Harold Bayley, Mr. G. R. Carline, Mr. James Cunningham, Miss Lilian Gask, Dr. G. Landtman, and Mr. Clement A. Miles. The resignations of Mr. E. Peacock, Mr. A. W. Beckett, and Mr. S. G. Warner were also announced.

Mr. Lovett exhibited a number of dolls representing sailors lost at sea.

Capt. Whiffen read a paper entitled "A Short Account of the Indians of the Issá-Japurá District (South America)" (pp. 41-62), which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides, and exhibited a number of objects of folklore interest which he had collected in that district.

After some observations by the Chairman on the paper, hearty votes of thanks were accorded to Mr. Lovett and Capt. Whiffen.

The following gifts to the Society's Library were reported, viz.:—

By the Government of India:—*Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1907-8*; *Antiquities of Chamba State, Part I., Inscriptions of the Pre-Muhammadian Period*, by J. Ph. Vogel; *Progress Report of the Archæo-*

*logical Survey of India, Western Circle, For the year ending 31st March 1911;*

By authors, publishers, and reviewers:—*Baessler-Archiv*, Band I., Heft I.; *Über Altperuanische Gewebe mit Szenen-haften Darstellungen*, by Dr. Max Schmidt, (B. G. Teubner, Berlin); *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, by Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, (Macmillan); *The Iowa*, by William Harvey Miner, (Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa); *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society*, Vol. IX., Parts II. and III.

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**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15th, 1913.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.:—Miss V. Dale, Miss P. E. Lawder, Miss J. M. Marett, Miss Thorpe, Mr. Thurston, and Mr. Charles Walker. The enrolment as a subscriber of the Leipzig Library was also announced.

The Secretary read letters of acknowledgment from Mrs. Lang and Dr. Kirby of the votes of condolence passed at the last meeting on the deaths of Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. W. F. Kirby.

Mr. Harry Pouncy delivered a lecture on "Old Dorset Customs and Superstitions," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides. In the discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Burne, Mr. Major, Mrs. Everett, and Sir L. Gomme took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer.

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THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19th, 1913.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. W. CROOKE) IN THE CHAIR.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report of the Council, Cash Account, and Balance Sheet for the year 1912 were duly presented, and upon the motion of Mr. Hartland, seconded by Dr. Gaster, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

Balloting papers having been distributed, Mr. L. J. Pritchard and the Secretary were appointed scrutineers for the ballot for the election of the President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Chairman then delivered his Presidential Address.

At the conclusion of the address, the Secretary announced the result of the Ballot, and the following were declared duly elected, viz.:—

As *President*, R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A.

As *Vice-Presidents*, The Hon. John Abercromby; The Right Hon. Lord Avebury, P.C., O.M., etc.; Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne; E. Clodd, Esq.; W. Croke, Esq., B.A.; J. G. Frazer, Esq., LL.D., etc.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; Sir Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.; A. C. Haddon, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, Esq., F.S.A.; The Right Hon. Sir J. Rhys, P.C., LL.D., etc.; W. H. D. Rouse, Esq., Litt.D.; The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.; and Sir E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S., etc.

As *Members of Council*, Mrs. M. M. Banks; M. Longworth Dames, Esq.; Lady Gomme; P. J. Heather, Esq.; W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson, Esq.;

Miss E. Hull ; Sir E. F. im Thurn, K.C.M.G., C.B., LL.D. ; E. Lovett, Esq. ; A. F. Major, Esq. ; C. Pendlebury, Esq. ; W. H. R. Rivers, Esq., M.D., F.R.S. ; C. G. Seligmann, Esq., M.D. ; C. J. Tabor, Esq. ; E. Torday, Esq. ; E. Westermarck, Esq., Ph.D. ; H. B. Wheatley, Esq., F.S.A. ; Sir B. C. A. Windel, F.R.S. ; and A. R. Wright, Esq., (Editor of *Folk-Lore*).

As *Hon. Treasurer*, Edward Clodd, Esq.

As *Hon. Auditors*, F. G. Green, Esq. ; and C. J. Tabor, Esq.

As *Secretary*, F. A. Milne, Esq., M.A.

The Chairman, having congratulated the newly-elected President, vacated the Chair, which was taken by Mr. Marett, who, after thanking the Society for the honour they had conferred upon him, proposed a vote of thanks to the outgoing President for the services he had rendered to the Society during his term of office. The resolution was seconded by Dr. Gaster, and carried with acclamation.

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## THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have pleasure in reporting that during the year twenty-two new members have joined the Society, and that two libraries have been added to the roll of subscribers.

There are, however, many well known libraries both in this country and on the Continent which have never yet subscribed to the Society, and the Council venture to hope that in view of the increasing interest in folklore and the wide range of matters dealt with in the journal and other publications of the Society some at least of these may be enrolled during the current year.

On the other hand they have to record the unprecedented number of seven deaths, while there have been fifteen resignations, and five libraries or other institutions have withdrawn their subscriptions. The list of members and subscribers has been carefully revised, and the total number now stands at 424.

Among those of whom the Society has been deprived by death are Mr. Andrew Lang, who became a member when the Society was formed in the year 1878, and Mr. W. F. Kirby and Mr. W. Ker, who had been members for upwards of twenty-seven and twenty-two years respectively. Tributes to the memory of Mr. Andrew Lang have already appeared in the pages of *Folk-Lore*; and the votes of condolence with Mrs. Lang and the family of Mr. W. F. Kirby which were passed at the meeting of the Society held in December have been recorded in the minutes and will be printed in due course.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows:—

17th January, 1912. "The Ceremonial Customs of the British Gipsies."  
Mr. T. W. Thompson.

12th February. (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "The Scientific Aspect of Folklore." Mr. W. Crooke.

- 25th March. "Guy Fawkes' Day." Miss Charlotte S. Burne.
- 17th April. "The "Dreamers" of the Mohave-Apache Tribe." Miss B. Fieire Marreco.
- 15th May. "Cotswold Place-Lore and Customs." Miss J. B. Partridge.  
"Japanese Spirits, Mythology, and Folk-Tales." Mr. A. R. Wright.
- 19th June. "The Sociological Significance of Myth." Dr. W. H. R. Rivers.
- 20th November. "Modern Russian Popular Songs." Mr. M. Trophimoff.
- 18th December. "A Short Account of the Indians of the Issá-Japurá District (South America)." Captain T. W. Whiffen.

Mr. Wright's and Captain Whiffen's papers in May and December were illustrated by lantern-slides; and Mr. Trophimoff's paper in November was most effectively illustrated by the singing of several popular Russian songs by a company of singers whom he brought with him to the meeting.

Exhibits were on view at several of the meetings. In March Dr. Hildburgh exhibited a collection of Bavarian and Tyrolese charms; in April Miss Moutray Read, on behalf of Miss Haverfield, exhibited a box of playing-cards from Rajputana, and Miss Estella Canziani a clasp such as is sewn in the cinctures of women in certain parts of Savoy; in November Dr. Hildburgh exhibited and explained a number of Spanish charms and amulets against the Evil Eye; and in December Mr. Lovett exhibited some dolls representing sailors lost at sea, and Captain Whiffen a large number of objects illustrative of his paper, which were of special interest coming as they did from the district which is now notorious as the scene of the Putumayo atrocities. The clasp exhibited by Miss Canziani has been very kindly presented by her to the Society, and will in due course be placed in the Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge. The Council are glad to be able to announce that Mr. Pendlebury has consented to act as the convener of the Exhibits and Museum Committee, and to make himself responsible for the arrangement of the objects exhibited at the meetings of the Society, and they hope

that in future the exhibits may once more be arranged as systematically as they were under the able direction of Mr. A. A. Gomme.

The Council have made arrangements with the authorities of University College for holding the meetings of the Society in the room of the Women's Union on the ground floor of the College buildings, the refreshments after the meetings being served in the Council room on the same floor. The rooms are spacious, well warmed, and well lighted, and the Council are confident that the new arrangements will contribute materially to the comfort and convenience of members.

Mr. R. W. Chambers, the Society's Hon. Librarian, has completed a card catalogue of the books and pamphlets in the possession of the Society, and reports that the library is in a very fragmentary and incomplete state, and that some expenditure on binding will be necessary in the coming year. Mrs. Lang has very kindly presented to the Society a number of books and pamphlets on folklore and kindred subjects which belonged to her late husband, and the Council invite similar gifts as additions to the Society's collection. It is intended later on to print a catalogue of the library for the use of members.

Dr. Gaster and Mr. Longworth Dames again attended the meeting of the Congress of Archæological Societies in July as delegates of the Society; and Miss Burne, Mr. Hartland, Sir E. Brabrook, and the President represented the Society at the British Association Meeting at Dundee in September.

The twenty-third volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. The Council have again to thank Mr. Wright for editing the volume and compiling the index, and they are glad to be able to announce that he has consented to place his valuable services at the disposal of the Society during the current year. The Council feel that some apology is due to members for the non-appearance of the *Bibliography of Folklore* dealing with the year 1908,

which they hoped would have been ready a year ago; they regret that unforeseen difficulties have prevented its completion, but have reason to anticipate that it may be issued shortly.

Notwithstanding the announcement made in the last Annual Report as to the extra volumes intended to be issued by the Society, the Council decided to issue Mrs. Gutch's collection of the East Riding of Yorkshire from printed sources as the extra volume for 1911 instead of for 1912, and the new edition of the *Handbook of Folklore* as the extra volume for 1912 instead of for 1911. Mrs. Gutch's collection is now in the hands of members, and the *Handbook* is in a forward state of preparation, and should be ready by the summer. The thanks of the Society are due to Miss Burne for the enormous amount of time and labour she has bestowed upon the *Handbook*, and the Council are confident that it will be recognised as a work of outstanding merit and permanent value. The extra volume for 1913 will be Mr. Simpkins' collections of the Folklore of Fifeshire, and of Clackmannan and Kinross, from printed sources.

The Brand Committee, acting under the instructions of the Council, have drawn up a report of their two years' work in the compilation of a new edition of the Calendar volume of the *Popular Antiquities*.

The Council regret that but little has resulted from their scheme for the affiliation of Anthropological Societies connected with the Universities, and for the admission of members of such societies to certain of the privileges of the Society in consideration of the payment of a nominal subscription. But the scheme is still on foot, and they hope that in the near future many University students may be enrolled as associate members of the Society.

The sum received as members' subscriptions in 1912 was £446 7s. od., which included a life subscription of £4 6s. od. from one of the original members of the Society with whom the Council made a special arrangement allowing

him to compound for his future subscriptions at a reduced rate. In 1911 the receipts from the same source amounted to £454 15s. od., but in that year the Society received two life subscriptions of ten guineas each. The Council regret that there is no reduction in the amount due in respect of subscriptions in arrear, which now stands at £43.

It is proposed to amend Rule III. of the Society's Rules by making the terms of composition more elastic. At present any member after paying a single subscription may become a Life Member upon payment of the sum of Ten Guineas, no matter what his age may be, and it costs a member of 30 or 40 years' standing precisely the same sum to compound for his future subscriptions. The Council are accordingly summoning a special meeting of the Society to be held immediately after the Annual Meeting, at which it will be proposed to cancel the existing rule, and to substitute for it a New Rule under which no member will be allowed to become a Life Member until after he has paid five subscriptions to the Society, and a sliding scale is fixed for compounding future subscriptions—fifteen, ten and five guineas being the amount payable according as a member has subscribed to the Society for five, ten or fifteen or more years. The Council feel that this modification in the existing rule will meet an objection to which expression has on several occasions been given by some of the older members of the Society.

The salvage stock of the Society is not being disposed of so rapidly as the Council could wish. Applications for copies should be addressed to Mr. C. J. Tabor, The White House, Knotts Green, Essex, who undertakes to deal with them with the greatest despatch. The price is 4s. per volume, carriage free, with all faults.

The Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

W. CROOKE,  
*President.*

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1912.

RECEIPTS.

By Cash at Bank, . . . . .	£285	0 0
“ in hands of Secretary, . . . . .		1 3 0
“ Subscriptions for 1912, . . . . .	(399), £384	6 0
“ “ 1911 and earlier years, (30)	31	10 0
“ “ 1913 (in advance), (25)	26	5 0
“ Composition Fee, . . . . .	412	1 0
“ Interest on Investments, . . . . .	4	6 0
“ Sales of Stock, . . . . .	32	19 4
	44	16 2

£810 6 3

EXPENDITURE.

To <i>Folk-Lore</i> :—		
Printing 1 part, 1911, . . . . .		£59 13 2
“ 3 parts, tot2, . . . . .		141 6 4
Illustrations, . . . . .		2 14 3
	£203	13 9
“ <i>County Folk-Lore, East Riding of Yorkshire</i> , . . . . .		71 13 3
“ Expenses of Distribution of Publications, . . . . .		32 16 3
“ Expenses of Meetings :—		
Hire of Rooms, . . . . .		£8 0 0
Refreshments, . . . . .		8 13 3
Lantern and Piano, . . . . .		1 4 0
Russian Singers, . . . . .		3 3 0
Advertising, . . . . .		2 16 0
	23	16 3
“ Handbook of Folk-Lore (Typing), . . . . .		2 16 11
“ Expenses of Management :—		4 2 5
Insurance, . . . . .		£13 8 0
Stationery, Printing, and Postages, . . . . .		20 16 6
Board Committee's Expenses, . . . . .		0 9 3
Rent of Telephone, . . . . .		2 12 6
Warehousing and Removing Stock, . . . . .		7 1 6
Secretary's Salary, . . . . .		35 0 0
“ Poundsage, . . . . .		24 13 0
Miscellaneous, . . . . .		1 7 5
	105	8 2
“ Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies, . . . . .		1 0 0
“ Balance in hands of Secretary, . . . . .		£2 14 6
“ “ at Bank, . . . . .		392 4 9
	354	19 3
	<u>£810</u>	<u>6 3</u>





## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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### METHOD OF INVESTIGATION AND FOLKLORE ORIGINS.

WE meet this evening saddened by the loss of a great personality, a scholar, a man of letters, a past President of this Society, a constant and valued contributor to our proceedings, Mr. Andrew Lang. So much has been said in the pages of *Folk-Lore* and elsewhere regarding his contributions to the literature of Anthropology and Folklore, that it is needless to discuss them in detail. Perhaps his most notable achievement was his criticism of the mythological school and his advocacy of anthropological methods in the investigation of popular belief and usage. Though his mind was of the critical rather than of the constructive type, he might have given to science a great book on the social aspects of folk belief and custom if, in the autumn of his life, he had been spared to concentrate his attention upon it. But this was not to be. By his premature death the world of science and literature has lost a scholar and this Society a friend, whose vacant seat at our council board will remind us of the vast knowledge stored within that busy brain, and of the critical powers and delicacy of style with which it was communicated. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, in spite of his devotion to other branches of learning, was able to prove, by his delightful book, *Golspic: Contributions to its Folklore*, how the services of school children can be utilised in the

cause of research. Mr. W. F. Kirby added to a wide knowledge of entomology a profound acquaintance with various branches of folklore, shown in his translation of the *Kalevala*, his *Hero of Esthonia*, and his notes contributed to Sir R. Burton's translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*.

As we review our work in the past, we are often tempted to regret the chances which we have lost, the schemes which we have failed to accomplish, because the man and the money were lacking for their fulfilment. Of course, with a larger membership and more ample revenue, we could undertake many projects which, for the present, must remain only a pious aspiration. But, considering our limited resources, the published literature of our Society represents a substantial contribution to the knowledge of the mind of man in its primitive stages. By the organisation of anthropological studies in our leading universities, by our association in this room with scientific training in the heart of the Empire, we are doing much to impress the importance of the subject upon the rising generation of students. During the recent meeting of the British Association at Dundee, we succeeded in re-establishing, after some years of neglect, the study of folklore as a branch of the work of the Anthropological Section. Miss Burne, Mr. Hartland, and myself, as your representatives, supported by Scottish scholars like Canon Macculloch and Mr. Brodie Innes, discussed the racial element in the folklore of that country. We pointed out that, while older writers, from Sir Walter Scott to J. F. Campbell of Islay, J. G. Campbell, and W. Gregor,—to name only a few out of a long list of worthies,—did yeomen's service in exploring popular tradition, they have left few successors, and that, unless a fresh body of workers is prepared to take the field, much which it is now possible to collect will inevitably be lost. Considerable interest was displayed in the subject, and we may hope that the good seed which has been sown will

yield an abundant harvest. Ireland, again, is a field which is as yet only imperfectly occupied. But the Folklore Survey of Co. Clare, for which we are indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp, proves, if proof were needed, that we have as yet barely scratched the surface. We may expect valuable contributions from the local committee which has recently been established. The same may be said of many parts of England, particularly the southern counties.

If Mr. W. Y. Evans Wentz<sup>1</sup> has failed to see a fairy, his zeal in collecting the experiences of more favoured observers is highly commendable; and during the past year the work of Mrs. Leather in Herefordshire, Miss J. B. Partridge in the Cotswolds, Miss Moutray Read in Hampshire, and Mr. T. W. Thompson among the English gipsies has provided a store of fresh material. In view of the importance of the study of the folk-drama, it is much to be regretted that the large collections made by the Society still remain unpublished. But the approaching issue of Miss Burne's *Hand-book*, and the volume of *County Folklore* for Fife and Clackmannan, will mark an important advance. In the immediate future our energies will be concentrated on the new edition of Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, which will classify much information at present inaccessible, and will form an encyclopædia of British folklore. We are much indebted to Miss Burne and to Mrs. Banks for organizing a body of workers now engaged in collecting material. It may be hoped that, from the ranks of the younger men and women now engaged upon this task, a body of working members may be created, ready to take the places of the veterans who lag superfluous on the stage.

Though it may tend to promote continuity in our work, I conceive that the custom of re-electing your President for a second term of office is in some ways unfortunate. In his first annual address he is tempted to unburden his soul, to

<sup>1</sup> *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, 1911.

exhaust the small store of material which his studies and reflection may have provided, without a thought of that evil day when, for a second time, he is compelled to occupy your attention with a mere *réchauffé*, the *crambe repetita* which wearies the unhappy listener. But in the sphere of Comparative Religion and Folklore the advance from year to year is startling; "the old order changeth, yielding place to new"; we seem, as it were, to feel the ground slipping beneath our feet; theories, once accepted, disappear unlamented; gaps in our knowledge are filled up by the exploration of some savage tribe, only to show themselves in some other unexpected quarter; an ever-increasing literature seeks to explain man's present or forecast his future from the examination of his past.

But the situation is not quite so startling as it appears to be. The new learning never quite loses touch with the science of the past. Even if folk-belief tends to wither in this unsympathetic age, the old principles readily adapt themselves to their new surroundings. For instance, tea leaves and umbrellas, both comparatively recently introduced into common use, have gathered round them a certain amount of lore among the folk. Ghosts of the dead past are ever with us, and, like some recent visitors to the excavations at Glastonbury, we believe that we can catch whiffs of incense from desolated altars, and hear the bells peal from the ruined Abbey towers.<sup>2</sup>

To call attention to these advances in knowledge and speculation naturally forms the subject of an annual address, however imperfectly this object may be attained. For example, we have hitherto believed that through the medium of dreams we arrive at our conception of another life. But Professor Frazer, following Mr. Lang, and reviewing the group of customs observed by savages for the conciliation and multiplication of the animals which they kill, dwells upon the unquestioning faith which back-

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 495.

ward man reposes in the immortality of the lower creation, and questions the validity of the current explanation to account for the fact. "The savage," he remarks, "it is said, fails to distinguish the visions of sleep from the realities of waking life, and accordingly when he has dreamed of his dead friends he necessarily concludes that they have not wholly perished, but that their spirits continue to exist in some place and some form, though in the ordinary course of events they elude the perception of his senses. On this theory the conceptions, whether repulsive or beautiful, which savages and perhaps civilised man have formed of the state of the departed, would seem to be no more than elaborate hypotheses constructed to account for appearances in dreams." And even assuming, for the sake of argument, that this theory affords a ready explanation of the widespread belief in human immortality which elsewhere he accepts,<sup>3</sup> he disputes its application to the belief current among many races in the immortality of the lower animals. For the old theory he prefers to substitute the savage conception of life as an indestructible form of energy, which he compares with the modern scientific doctrine of the conservation of force.<sup>4</sup>

In recent discussions the question of method holds a leading place. In a criticism of some modern works on the origin of belief and the growth and development of the moral ideas, in *The Birth of Humility*, Mr. Marett urges (p. 6) that "no isolated fragment of custom or belief can be worth much for the purposes of Comparative Science. In order to be understood, it must first be viewed in the light of the whole culture, the whole corporate soul-life, of the particular ethnic group concerned. Hence the new way is to emphasize concrete differences, whereas the old way was to amass resemblances heedlessly

<sup>3</sup> *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (Gifford Lectures), vol. i., pp. 27, 140.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), pt. v., vol. ii., pp. 260-2.

abstracted from their social context. Which way is the better is a question that well-nigh answers itself." Following the same doctrine, an American writer, Mr. W. D. Wallis, urges that the method by which anthropological material should be collected must be both comparative and intensive, the latter term implying that "no result is of any value unless you have carefully and, so far as possible, exhaustively, treated the particular case with which you are engaged. It will not be sufficient to say that you have found such and such correspondences and such and such differences. This is little worth unless you go further and ascertain how far these may be held to be the total of correspondences and the total of differences; and, perhaps more important still, to what extent these similarities are more than mere correspondences and represent really efficient factors."<sup>5</sup> As a natural corollary to these doctrines the new school discards what is termed "the naïve scheme of world-wide unilinear evolution," and pleads the necessity for a regional survey of the beliefs and practices of backward races, such sociological monographs being alone capable of serving as the basis of sounder comparative studies. Combined with these suggestions for enquiry, we find increased importance attributed to the interaction of the members of the group, the concentrated emotion of the kin, as the seed-bed of belief and usage.

Our dependence upon regional surveys of modern savage life involves a certain risk which deserves consideration. The types of societies which are capable of investigation fall into two groups: first, those of which we can acquire knowledge from the stores of a national, historical literature; secondly, those which we are able to examine only in the light of their present condition, and much of this, in the absence of material illustrating their evolution in the past, is necessarily obscure. For example, it is only in the case of a certain group of races, like those of ancient Egypt,

<sup>5</sup> *The American Anthropologist*, vol. xiv. (1912), pp. 179-80.

India, Greece, or Rome, that we possess much historical material. What we know of the peoples of Australia, Melanesia, New Guinea, or Borneo represents only the condition of their inhabitants as revealed to modern travellers, and their history is a blank. In the case of the former group we may expect to find "survivals" in the present which can be analysed and explained by our knowledge of their historical literature. Of the latter we know nothing save what we can pick up at the present day. It may be true that, as in the case of India, the historical record may have been manipulated to justify the pretensions of a priestly body, or to support some scheme of dogmatic theology. Still, with all its imperfections, the historical record does help to explain much which would otherwise be obscure, while in the case of savage races we can know nothing of the stages through which any single belief or usage may have passed.

If, for example, we examine the social system of the Arunta, we find no record which assists us in interpreting it, save some vague tribal legends projected into the Alcheringa, the age of the mythical tribal ancestors. Hence we are at a loss to explain the origin of a regulation, such as that which divides the tribes into two moieties; and we are left to infer, from our ideas of the probabilities of the case, aided by a comparison of facts drawn from other groups in a similar stage of culture, that it results from the coalition of two distinct tribes, or that it was established by some primitive statesman, or council of the tribal greybeards, who were forced to take action in view of the obvious physical dangers resulting from the intermarriage of the members of a small community. I confess that I find some difficulty in accepting the theory that a reorganisation such as this was the work of some savage Lycurgus and his assessors. Such reforms are, I am inclined to believe, seldom introduced *per saltum*; it is more probable that they represent the final stage of a long



series of evolution, rather than a single, definite decision ; still less are such reforms controlled by well-considered hygienic or economical considerations. Hence, in dealing with a question of this kind, our only resource is the comparative method which postulates the uniformity of psychological processes. While, then, the regional surveys of contemporary savage life possess distinct value, we must not underrate the importance of the study of those societies which possess an historical record.

Next comes the question of the character of the evidence at present available. Some of it is undoubtedly of the highest value,—surveys of backward races conducted by observers who by long residence among the people have acquired an intimate knowledge of their language, mental characteristics, and institutions, and have been trained in the laws of evidence by the discipline of judicial work. Others of the same class are travellers who possess the tact and sympathy which win the confidence of shy, reticent people, who understand what is worth seeking and how to find it. But such enquirers are in the minority, and a considerable part of our older material has been collected by the casual, uninstructed traveller during a scamper over half a continent, subject to constant interruption from the savagery of the people or the difficulties of transport.

As an example of the danger of hasty generalisation, I may quote the experience of Sir A. B. Ellis, one of the most competent students of savage beliefs. He tells us that at an early stage of his enquiries he was struck by the cult of what are popularly known as “fetish” trees. He was informed by English-speaking and Christian natives that “there was a devil in each tree,” and that the offerings of eggs, rum, and palm-oil were intended to propitiate this devil. He at first accepted the theory that “it was the spiritualised tree that was worshipped. In this belief I remained for some years, until, having made myself acquainted with the language, and learned more of the

general ideas of the natives upon religious matters, it occurred to me to inquire what had caused them to believe in the first instance that a god or spirit dwelt in the tree. The evidence I collected at once exploded my former theory, and I learned then, for the first time, that the tree was merely planted to afford shade for a tutelary deity, that that deity was obtained from and appointed by one of the higher deities through the priests, and that the tree itself, apart from the deity, was an ordinary tree, and nothing more. This explanation was so much at variance with my former ideas, and with all I had heard and read upon the subject, that I received it with extreme caution; and it was only after a series of enquiries extending over some months, that I suffered myself to be convinced that I had at last arrived at the truth."<sup>6</sup> The moral of this lies in the application thereof.

Again, in some modern treatises on the beliefs and usages of backward races I notice a tendency to accept more precise definitions of myth and beliefs than, in the nature of things, are procurable. Writers who lack practical acquaintance with field work, and who are trained in the creeds and dogmatic theology of the higher religions, are naturally disposed to define savage beliefs in a series of formulæ. But the trained explorer usually finds that, while the savage has a very clear knowledge of the social laws of his group, of the tabus which everywhere control his action, of the laws of marriage which it is often a matter of life and death to violate, he is unable, or has no desire, to formulate his religious views. So far as his religion is part and parcel of his social law, as is often the case, he shows little reticence. But, if the investigation be extended to magic, demonology, and similar subjects which are the very bed-rock of his beliefs, he takes care to keep this side of his mental equipment concealed in a secret chamber of his brain to which no foreigner has access. Where we might expect to find

<sup>6</sup> *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, pp. 184-5.

precision of statement on matters of belief, we encounter vagueness of thought and that inability to frame anything like a definition which results from lack of mental concentration and attention. The subject, when undergoing examination, becomes rapidly tired; he is ready to say anything which he hopes may satisfy his inquisitor and relieve him from an unpleasant ordeal. This is, I believe, the experience of the most competent observers of savage races, and I suspect that the same may be said about our own rural population. The writer who is dependent upon published literature will do well to be cautious when some explorer supplies him with a set of Creeds or Articles of Religion of some backward people.

When we pass from a discussion of methods of enquiry to the question of origins, "the fundamentals," as the Scottish rustic theologian calls them, though the advance is striking, it is neither violent nor unexpected. "It were good therefore," says Francis Bacon, "that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time itself; which, indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived."<sup>7</sup>

In the first place, we observe a new aspect of the relation of myth to ritual. As I remarked last year, we have hitherto followed Robertson Smith in regarding myth as of lower value than cultus,—the one vague and transitory, the latter definite and persistent. We are now invited to accept an eirenicon, which re-establishes the importance of myth as a subject for study. This is suggested in two ways. First, the Cambridge school, represented by Miss Harrison, while admitting that myth may arise out of, or rather together with, the ritual, regards both as interdependent: the one as not prior to the other: they probably arose together. "Ritual is the utterance of an emotion, a thing felt, in *action*, myth in words or thoughts. They arise *pari passu*. The myth is not at first *aetiological*,

<sup>7</sup> *Essays*, xxiv., "Of Innovations," ed. W. Aldis Wright, 1887, p. 100.

it does not arise to give a reason: it is representative, another form of utterance, of expression. When the emotion that started the ritual has died down and the ritual though hallowed by tradition seems unmeaning, a reason is sought in the myth and it is regarded as aetiological."<sup>8</sup>

In the second place, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, in a paper recently read before this Society,<sup>9</sup> suggests that the study of myths possesses a distinct sociological value. "When a social condition is mentioned incidentally or is revealed by the general colouring of a myth, we can be confident that it is not a pure product of imagination, but has a definite historical value. Social incidents, still less the general colouring of a myth, could never appear unless they had their roots in the social condition either of the people who narrate the myth or of those from whom the myth has been derived." This is old, well-established doctrine. Myth, like belief, springs from the physical and mental environment. The novelty of Dr Rivers' exposition lies in the proof that, in Australia, when the myth deals with the origin of social institutions, it is usually the totemic system which forms the special topic of the narrative, not the dual system and matrimonial classes, which seem to form the essential basis of the tribal organisation. Hence arises the corollary, that, while man lives undisturbed, his own existence and that of the earth on which he lives form such a part of his established order that his imagination is untouched. But, when a strange race enters the area which he has hitherto without question occupied, mystery and wonder will be aroused, or, if the strangers possess a culture of which creation myths form a part, these will be transferred and become part of the permanent heritage of the older people. From this it follows that the stratification of myth becomes a test of the type of the social complex resulting from the clash of cultures arising out of migrations, and therefore possesses a distinct sociological value.

<sup>8</sup> *Themis*, p. 16.

<sup>9</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii., pp. 311-2.

This involves the acceptance of the hypothesis of the origin of culture advocated by Dr Graebner and his followers. It may be true that his attempt to show the general prevalence of totemism as an universal stage in social development has failed to win general assent, but there is a tendency to accept his theory of the origin of culture as the result of transmission, not of evolution,—in other words, lateral, not vertical. It must, however, be remembered that this new school has in view more the social than the religious side of culture, with which we are more immediately concerned. Thus the withers of the old-fashioned school of folklorists are, in a great measure, unwrung, and, for the present, we may possess our souls in patience until the pendulum moves again and the old hypothesis of evolution regains its authority.

Transmission certainly plays an important part in the growth of culture, social organisation, myth, and popular belief. The American ethnologists seem to be agreed that their continent was peopled by immigrants from Asia, who, when their culture was sufficiently advanced to acquire the use of canoes, crossed Behring Straits, or, which is more probable, that they passed during an age of glaciation. In South America, at least, these migrations seem to have occurred at such a remote period that the existing civilisation has been entirely controlled by the *milieu*. On the other hand, the movement of the Polynesians within the Pacific area was comparatively modern. These conclusions are supported by the fact that the myths of north-eastern Asia and those of north-western America form practically a single group, the members of which are allied not by form alone, but by the actual content of the myths themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Coming nearer home, Mr. G. Coffey has recently proved

<sup>10</sup> *The American Anthropologist*, vol. xiv. (1912), pp. 1-59; T. A. Joyce, *South American Archaeology*, pp. 4 *et seq.*; A. Hrdlicka, *Remains in Eastern Asia of the Race that Peopled America* (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*), vol. lx., No. 15 (1912).

that the spiral decoration at New Grange reproduces forms of ornament prevailing in the Minoan, Mycenaean, and pre-dynastic period of Egypt. The first influences from the Mediterranean area, having penetrated into the north of Europe by the Atlantic sea-route, probably reached the Baltic, and passed thence through Scandinavia to Ireland at the end of the neolithic period and in the beginning of the Bronze Age.<sup>11</sup>

But, while transmission of culture may be established by many other instances of the same kind, we are, I venture to think, at present unable to formulate a general law which will account for all the facts. There are cases where such transmission, though antecedently probable, seems not to have occurred.

The Minoan Empire, through its control of the sea-power of the eastern Mediterranean, must have been in close contact with Egypt. But, though it assimilated some material culture and imported pottery and other works of art, the hints and ideas which it received were recast in its own mould, and in relation to the implements of the Bronze Age it was quite independent. In the sphere of religion Crete seems to have been untouched by Egyptian influences.<sup>12</sup> The great Minoan Mother goddess, with her doves and snakes, the shrines with tree, pillar, and axe worship, present little or no analogy to the complex polytheism of Egypt. Again, there is no trace of connection between the megalithic builders in Malta and the civilisation of the Aegean.<sup>13</sup> The case of the Phoenicians, mere huckstering traders, who followed sea ways long before opened by others, is similar. They exercised as little influence on the religious as on the artistic side of Greek culture.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *New Grange (Brugh na Boinne) and other Incised Tumuli in Ireland*, pp. 68-9.

<sup>12</sup> C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, pp. 38 *et seq.*

<sup>13</sup> T. E. Peet, *Kough Stone Monuments and their Builders*, p. 131.

<sup>14</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, pp. 92 *et seq.*

Again, while there is good ground for assuming that the conception of an Earth goddess and a god of vegetation, sometimes her son, sometimes her fosterling, or her lover, may have penetrated from Caria, and thence through a Thracian-Phrygian medium, to Hellas, she probably gained vogue in these western lands because she was identified with some local deity of fertility. Recent explorations by Messrs. Wace and Thompson<sup>15</sup> indicate that, possibly owing to difference of race, the prehistoric culture of northern Greece was practically unaffected by the outburst of civilisation in the Aegean area which we call Mycenaean; and the belief, once widely held, that much of the religion and culture of ancient Greece was derived from Babylonia, in spite of her domination of western Asia during the 15th century B.C. must now, in the light of Mr. Farnell's recent examination of the question, be abandoned. In the records of early Greece no single Babylonian name is recognisable in its religious or mythological nomenclature, and no characteristically Babylonian type of ritual is identifiable.<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact, the Hittite power in the second millennium formed a barrier between the Babylonian Empire and the coast-lands of Asia Minor.

If, then, we are to accept transmission of ideas through adjacent groups as an explanation of the growth of culture, we must endeavour to formulate some principles which may enable us to distinguish between what is alien and what is indigenous in each group. For the present we may accept the criteria laid down by Mr. Farnell in his discussion of the cult of Aphrodite,—the interpretation of the name; the existence of the worship, and the traditional antiquity attributed to it, among those tribes whose seats were especially remote from foreign influence; its association with certain ritual and ideas

<sup>15</sup> A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*.

<sup>16</sup> L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 307.

of a primitive cast; the prevalence of tradition connecting by lineal descent certain stocks with the divinity in question.<sup>17</sup>

In Greece the evidence, literary and archaeological, for distinguishing what is indigenous from what is foreign, is abundant. But this is an exceptional case, and in most other regions the material is imperfect. This is notably the case in India, which would seem naturally to be a promising field for such enquiries. But, as I have already said, the literary record, ancient though it be, is tainted by the prejudices of its compilers. Broadly speaking, we may conclude that in northern India the Aryan-speaking emigrants formed a more or less intimate association with the tribes which they found in occupation, and Hinduism, rather a social system based upon caste and tribal organisation than what we call a "religion," represents a fusion of cultures, the lower element contributing the demonology and fertility cults which have swamped the nature worship of the Vedic age, and replaced the tribal organisation by a system of totemic, endogamous groups. This process of absorption was restricted by the rise of Brahmanism, which formed a barrier to further race amalgamation, with the result that, when, at a much later age, it was extended by missionary effort to the south of the peninsula, the two races are found practically distinct,—at the top a priestly class, nervously tenacious of its claims to superiority, and much more trammelled by caste restrictions than their northern brethren; at the bottom a servile population, unaffected by Brahman control, and practising demon worship and blood sacrifice in their most brutal forms. We can even watch the beginnings of a partial amalgamation. In one famous south Indian temple, the goddess placidly receives the simple Brahman offering of milk and the fruits of the earth; but,

<sup>17</sup> L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii., p. 619. For a good discussion of the problem, see E. S. Hartland, *The International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891 (*Papers and Transactions*), pp. 15-38.



when the serf performs his blood sacrifice in her presence, her image is discreetly veiled.<sup>18</sup>

In short, throughout the world, the fusion of religion and social culture presents itself in many varied forms. Sometimes the new race destroys the indigenous people; sometimes the women alone are permitted to survive, and are admitted to rights of connubium and tribal worship with their conquerors; sometimes, as in the case of modern migrations to America and elsewhere, the two races become fused on practically equal terms. At times the union is purely mechanical, like that of sand and water; sometimes it is a true chemical union. But, as a whole, the result may be compared to a geological conglomerate, breccia formed out of water-worn pebbles, some of which are recognisable as fragments of some ancient rock, now cemented into an apparent unity by later filtration. Or, to use a metaphor employed by Mr. Lang,<sup>19</sup> they resemble the Corinthian bronze composed of gold and silver, copper and lead, all molten together at the burning of the great city.

Apart from the effects of transmission, the localisation of folk belief and usage deserves attention. In many countries, Egypt, Babylonia, China, India, where the facts are more or less capable of determination, this localisation is apparent. The oldest deities are those of the family, the group, the tribe, and it is only through a process of syncretism due to special causes, such as the welding of the scattered units into an empire, or the preaching of some eminent leader, that they become combined into a polytheistical system. Such local beliefs are singularly persistent, and seem to be little affected by racial movements or political revolution. In Australia the first thing that strikes one about the groups constituting the tribe is their essentially local character.<sup>20</sup> These groups are a type of

<sup>18</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. vii., p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> *History of English Literature*, p. 71.

<sup>20</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Across Australia*, vol. ii., p. 255.

the most primitive form of social organisation, the old gorilla with his harem, as described by Mr. Darwin.<sup>21</sup> The influence of some powerful or gifted race has given a permanent direction to the thought of its successors in the same region, or the permanence is the result of the environment and social atmosphere.

In Egypt, where the Mediterranean type of race has been modified by the immigration of Semites from the east, of negroes from the south, and successive invasions of foreigners, Persians, Greeks, or Turks within the historical period, we are assured that the folk beliefs of the present day are those of the dynastic and pre-dynastic peoples. In the welter of races which constitutes the present population of Palestine, we find distinct survivals of early Semitic beliefs, older even than those of the Arabs. In Greece the ancient Hellenic folklore survives to the present day. "The past," as Mr. Abbott<sup>22</sup> says, is found "peeping through the mask of the present," or, according to Mr. Lawson,<sup>23</sup> "practically all the religious customs most characteristic of ancient paganism, such as sacrifice, the taking of auspices, and the consultation of oracles, continue with or without the sanction of the Church down to the present day." And this occurs in spite of the fact that, while in the islands the inhabitants largely represent the old Hellenic stock, whatever purity that may have ever possessed, on the mainland it is only the power of the Church which gives to Slav or Toskh, Vlach, or half-bred Italian or Turk, a community of tradition, hope, language, creed, and a single national character.<sup>24</sup> When we find a seemingly alien element, as in the horrid cycle of tales centring round the Callicantzari or Vampires, it originated, as Mr. Lawson tells us, in the reputation for sorcery enjoyed by the Centaurs, a Pelasgian tribe on Mount

<sup>21</sup> *The Descent of Man* (2nd ed.), pp. 590 *et seq.*

<sup>22</sup> G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 25.

<sup>23</sup> J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> D. G. Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 149.

Pelion, modified by Slavic influences.<sup>25</sup> So, in the Italian peninsula, the orthodox beliefs form only a thin veneer over the primitive demonology and witchcraft, *la vecchia religione*, the old faith, as it is popularly called.

Needless to say, the same condition of things presents itself in these islands,—in our churches built on sacred hills, near holy wells, or prehistoric barrows; in the reverence still shown to megalithic monuments; in well-dressing; in the washing in the May dew as a fertility charm or as a magical method of promoting moisture. To give two concrete examples,—we find the animistic cult of trees in the famous Wishing Tree at Berry Pomeroy in South Devon.<sup>26</sup> On one side of this tree a peculiar excrescence looks exactly like a human ear. To obtain fulfilment of a wish you must, at peril of life or limb, walk three times round the tree, and whisper your desires into its ear. In Wexford we meet the remarkable custom of carrying at a funeral pieces of wood in the shape of crosses, painted green, red, and yellow, which are laid at the cross-roads nearest to the cemetery, where there is always a hawthorn tree on whose branches the offerings are attached. Even where in some places the tree has fallen under the weight of the crosses, the site is always remembered, and the crosses are piled round it.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 255. The continuity of the modern Greek folk-tales with those of the classical period has been recently disputed by Mr Halliday, (vol. xxiii., pp. 486-9).

<sup>26</sup> I am indebted to Mr. R. P. Chope for the following references: Tickler, *Devonshire Sketches*, p. 116; Mrs. H. P. Whitecombe, *Bygone Days in Devonshire and Cornwall*, p. 86; H. Friend, *Bygone Devonshire*, p. 43; P. F. S. Amery, *Devon Notes and Queries*, vol. i., p. 26; A. L. Salmon, *Popular Guide to Devonshire*, p. 131; C. R. Rowe, *South Devon*, p. 162. Compare the tree at Melling, near Ormskirk, in which the sap, protruding like a man's head, was believed to be the abode of the poisoner Palmer, "because he was buried without a coffin." *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S., vol. ii. (1856), p. 128.

<sup>27</sup> Miss M. Stoker, *The Academy*, vol. xlii., p. 390. For the hawthorn as a death tree and therefore unlucky, see *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 213, vol. iii., p. 88, vol. xxi., p. 224; *Notes and Queries*, 6th S., vol. vi., pp. 309, 494; Mrs. Gutch, *Country Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. (East Riding of Yorkshire), p. 31. "In the East Riding the bloom of hawthorn is not permitted in the house: "it has such a deathly smell,""—quoting S. O. Addy, *Household Tales*, p. 63.

Such localisation of beliefs suggests an important conclusion. When, in the course of migrations, ideas are transplanted into foreign soil, they survive only where the local atmosphere is favourable. If this is not the case, they remain exotic, like the orchids removed from a tropical forest to an English garden. Hence we observe the curious phenomenon that folk-tales, long forgotten in their native land, return through a foreign medium, and are admitted to full popular franchise, because they are founded upon principles embodied in the social or economic life of the race, and, when re-adapted, bring with them a breath from a half-forgotten past. The tale of Rampsinitus and the King's Treasury, told from the version of Herodotus a few years ago to some fellahin in the upper Nile valley, has now become a part of the local folklore. The *Thousand Nights and a Night*, which have their nucleus in Iranian or Hindu tradition, after passing through the Musalman alembic in Egypt, with large accessions from Arab sources, have come back, by translation, into the vernacular dialects from the Persian, and in an Indian bazaar now delight a Hindu audience. Miss Frere's charming collection, *Old Deccan Days*, translated into Marathi, and Lal Behari Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal* in a Bengali version, are now freely circulated as chap-books in the districts where they were originally collected.

The beliefs which are most persistent are those connected with the primal needs of humanity, man's daily bread, the rites at ploughing, seed-time, and harvest, the fertility cults associated with sacred tree, well, or stone monument. The achievement of the new school, of which Miss Harrison is the leading worker, has been to use the philosophy of M. Bergson and the sociology of M. Durkheim as a link between these beliefs and the doctrine that religion is the outgrowth of the social environment. The group deity, we are now taught, is the projection or externalisation of the collective emotion of the *thiasos* or group of worshippers.

To put the idea in its crudest form, a gang of savage zealots by rubbing shoulders in an orgiastic dance,—a mimic representation of the action or event in which they are, for the time, most deeply interested, such as a hunt, the outburst of vegetation in spring, the ripening of the harvest,—imbibe each other's *mana*, "the common element in ghosts and gods, in the magical and the mystical, the supernal and the infernal, the unknown within and the unknown without," the vague feeling of Power or Awe, Supernaturalism, Teratism. "This vague force in man and in almost everything," says Miss Harrison,<sup>28</sup> "is constantly trembling on the verge of personality," and becomes embodied in what is now called, by a rather clumsy term, the *Eniautos Daimon*, the spirit and potency of each recurring year. This spirit primitive man, fixing his glance not on the heaven above but on the earth beneath, by the practice of sympathetic or homœopathic magic endeavours periodically to stimulate and reinforce. The group deity, then, in its ultimate analysis, is but the shadow of the Brocken mist, and as little remains of the sanctions or sentiment popularly associated with what we term religion, as of the conception of a personal Deity.<sup>29</sup>

This is not the place or time to criticise these far-reaching hypotheses. But we must remember that they rest upon the latest fashionable philosophy, which has been summed up in the expression, "Everything looks as if . . .," and on a scheme of sociology which has encountered vigorous criticism.

Another important phase of the new doctrine is the mode by which this collective group emotion is expressed and recorded. This modern school attributes special importance to the dance as a representation in action of this emotion. In its pantomimic form the dance is the essence

<sup>28</sup> *Themis*, p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> See the powerful criticism by L. R. Farnell, *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. xi., No. 2 (Jan. 1913), pp. 453 *et seq.*

of the mystery function, the central rite of savage initiation. Skill in its performance confers definite social status. When a man is too old to dance the tribal figures, he hands over the duty to a younger performer, and, retiring into the background, ceases to exist socially. Further, the knowledge of the dance is transmitted, as a cherished ritual secret, from one group to another. In their latest book Messrs. Spencer and Gillen<sup>30</sup> tell us that when "a party of natives from some distant locality, either within the area occupied by the one tribe or from outside, is visiting a local group, it is customary to show them some special mark of attention, and this often takes the form of enacting some corroboree, which is then made a present to the visitors, who carry it back with them to their own country." The donors cease to take any further interest in it, and never, in any normal condition of the tribe, perform it again:

Thus the study of the folk-dance, for the revival of which we are indebted to Mr. Cecil Sharp, becomes of great importance. Its variations are racial or historical, and, like mummeries, masquerades, riddle and story telling, it once formed part of a group of ceremonies distinctively magical. The same may be said of many of our rural games, like the Cheese-rolling at Cooper's Hill in Gloucestershire, the Good Friday rites at Chilswell Hill near Oxford, or at St. Martin's Hill near Guildford;<sup>31</sup> and of the mazes found in various parts of the country, which are survivals of pagan celebrations, in which, as in the Olympian Games, the contest was perhaps originally a method of selecting the Fertility King of the year.<sup>32</sup>

Again, as a modification or extension of Professor Ridgeway's doctrine that the drama, with its solemn songs and dances, was a representation of propitiatory rites per-

<sup>30</sup> *Across Australia*, vol. i., pp. 244-5.

<sup>31</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii., p. 351; W. Johnson, *Byways in British Archaeology*, p. 195; *Id.*, *Folk-Memory*, p. 336.

<sup>32</sup> F. M. Cornford, in Miss J. E. Harrison. *Themis*, pp. 322-3.

formed at the tombs of heroes to induce or compel them to protect their votaries and promote fertility in the earth,<sup>33</sup> we are now invited to suppose these rites to be unconnected with the cult of any single dead man. On the contrary, in its association with the worship of Dionysus, the drama suggests an embodiment of the Eniautos Daimon, "who represents the cyclic death and rebirth of the world, including the rebirth of the tribe by the return of the heroes or dead ancestors."<sup>34</sup> Thus the drama of the Greeks by its successive stages,—the Contest of the Year against its enemy, Light and Darkness, Summer and Winter; the Ritualistic death of the Year Daimon; the Announcement of the fact by the Messenger; the Lamentation of the death of the old with the triumph of the new; the Recognition of the Daimon, followed by the Resurrection,—is resolved into a form of magic performed as a periodical fertility cult. But, to quote the warning of a recent critic:—"The present tendency is to find primitive religion in everything, and to explain everything by what primitive religion was or is supposed to have been. There is no objection to that, so long as it is recognised that (like the old interpretation of religion itself in terms of Jurisprudence) it is only an interpretation *ad hoc*, a transitory framework in which something vital and fluid for the time takes shape. The drawback is that the framework is apt to dominate over the content, and that to be regarded as the essence or originating cause which is only the convenient—or, it may be, the inconvenient—symbolism."<sup>35</sup>

We may readily admit that these speculations throw welcome light on many dark places of early Greek belief. But, if these conclusions are to be admitted, they obviously carry us far beyond the bounds of Hellas, and other cults,

<sup>33</sup> W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> Prof. G. M. Murray, in Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 341; and see H. J. Rose, J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. v., p. 860.

<sup>35</sup> *The Times, Literary Supplement*, Feb. 6th, 1913, p. 46.

other forms of the drama, must be investigated before they are finally accepted. Many of us will object to the disregard of the historical facts. With the hero envisaged as a Daimon, the cult of the mighty dead, which is obviously an important element in popular beliefs, practically disappears. But there are signs of reaction. Critical opinion, as represented by Dr. Leaf,<sup>36</sup> is coming round to the belief that the tale of Troy is a fact of history, based upon the secular contest between Asia and Europe, in which commercial ambitions played a leading part. Enough remains of the great city to show that the epic which records its fall is something more than a myth of dawn or sunset or a legend depending upon a cult of fertility.

Again, we are told that the fertility spirit is more human and more a present power to his worshippers than the Olympians, hidden from view in a remote heaven, and requiring propitiation by a gift sacrifice. But, even if this be true, it hardly justifies the contumely which the new school lavishes on those mighty powers which have inspired the art and literature of the modern world. If they are assumed to be cold and jealous deities, who by their claim to immortality have lost their right to man's devotion, we must remember that, even at the stage when Zeus was already decadent, he could inspire the deepest religious feeling in his worshippers. The mere sight of the majestic image of Pheidias aroused in Dion a sense of the divine nature far beyond the paganism of poetry or of the crowd:—"Whoever among mortal men is most utterly toil-worn in spirit, having drunk the cup of many sorrows and calamities, when he stands before this image, must utterly forget all the terrors and woes of this mortal life."<sup>37</sup>

But the strongest objection to this and other similar attempts to explain the complex of religious beliefs lies in the danger of attempting to solve the problem by any single

<sup>36</sup> W. Leaf, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography*, pp. 326 *et seq.*

<sup>37</sup> [Sir] S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 380.



method. Each of us is tempted to believe that he possesses the *magnum secretum*, the one key which will unlock the door of every mystery. But, before we attempt to apply it, we are bound to provide some definition which will cover the myriad phases of popular beliefs. Such a definition involves an artificial rigidity, and it must result in failure if we attempt to cram primitive thought, in its varied manifestations, or religion, "the uncharted region of human experience," as Professor Gilbert Murray calls it, into a set of neatly labelled pigeon-holes. This is particularly the case with the cult of fertility. In the last instalment of *The Golden Bough*.<sup>38</sup> Professor Frazer, himself the high-priest of this phase of belief, warns us that we must not accept "the impression, natural but erroneous, that man has created most of his gods out of his own belly. That is not so, at least that is not my reading of the history of religion." And he goes on to say that the reproductive faculties are no less essential to the preservation of the species than the nutritive, thus enforcing the need of the study of the intricate problems involved in the mysterious relations of the sexes, one of the most interesting, as it is one of the most difficult and delicate tasks which await the future historian of religion. To this he adds the necessity of the enquiry how the influence of man on man has shaped human destiny. "If," as he sums up his discussion, "we could strictly interrogate the phantoms which the human mind has conjured up out of the depths of its bottomless ignorance and enshrined as deities in the dim light of temples, we should find that the majority of them have been nothing but the ghosts of dead men." We thus seem to be reverting to the Euhemerism of Herbert Spencer and Sir A. Lyall.

But I have exhausted my time and your patience in

<sup>38</sup> *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), pt. v., vol. i., Intro., pp. vii. *et seq.*; *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead* (Gifford Lectures), vol. i., pp. 24 *et seq.*

groping among the dry bones of methods of investigation and the problems of origins. It is almost time for us to cease to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of speculation when so much remains to be done which is well within the powers of those to whom the philosophy of folklore seems vain and unprofitable. We have, in the first place, to infuse a new spirit of activity in the work of collection. We have still many fields unoccupied, for example, that of prehistoric folklore, which is practically untouched. Material is being gradually collected which will, in time, throw light upon the beliefs of man not only in the neolithic but even in the palaeolithic period. M. Breuil and other anthropologists have discovered wall paintings and even figures in the round in the caves of southern Europe, and their significance is brought nearer to us by the identification of similar records, dating apparently from the Aurignacian period, in the Welsh cave, Bacon's Hole.<sup>39</sup> These discoveries much extend our knowledge, which was hitherto largely confined to the mobilier of interments. In this enquiry we shall be assisted by the identification suggested by Professor Sollas of the now extinct Tasmanians with the Chelleans, the Australians with the Mousterians, the Bushmen with the Aurignacians, the Eskimo with the Magdalenian people.<sup>40</sup> The representations of animal hunts in these caves point to a form of magic intended to secure a supply of food. The rudely carved and painted stones laid with the dead may be the prototypes of the steatopygous figures of the neolithic period. It has even been suggested that from some of the cave decorations a rite like the Intichiuma, to use the inaccurate term of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, may have

<sup>39</sup> *The Times*, Oct. 14th, 1912. Abbé Breuil, in his recently delivered lectures, confirms the attribution of these drawings to the Aurignacian period. *The Times*, Feb. 11th, 1913.

<sup>40</sup> W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives*, pp. 252, 368-9, etc.; A. Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

been practised.<sup>41</sup> It is only by the intensive study of modern savage life that we shall be assisted to interpret the beliefs of the prehistoric people. Folklore must pass through the stage of the surveyor before its followers can presume to be architects.

There still remains the aesthetic side of folklore, which, through our absorption in its scientific aspects, we have hitherto neglected, with the result that we have, to some extent, failed in securing our main object, its popularisation. It is, of course, most important that we should seek behind the current version of the tale of Cinderella the earlier type, as it appears in the Scottish version, where the girl's mother is a sheep, and we are thus able to infer that the nucleus of the story goes back to a period of totemism or theriolatry. It is well for us to collect, as has recently been done,<sup>42</sup> the incidents which lie behind the Decameron of Boccaccio. But a survey like this helps us little to realise the beauty of the setting, the fugitives from the plague grouped in a delightful meadow, the delicacy and grace with which the tales are constructed out of the current folklore. Amid graver studies, I suggest that we may occasionally find time to discuss the contrast between the old folk-tale and its modern imitations, among which perhaps only two, Meredith's *Shaving of Shagpat* and Southey's *Three Bears*, conform to the folk-tale convention. We may examine that law of association which groups the old familiar incidents round some heroic figure of history or myth,—Alexander the Great, Virgil in mediæval tradition, or Charlemagne, just as the after-dinner story is attributed to Tarleton, Swift, Sheridan, Sydney Smith, Whately, or Jowett. We may consider how the masters of literature, like Homer or Shakespeare, work up the traditions of their time into epic or drama, and how their magical touch

<sup>41</sup> R. R. Marett, "In a Prehistoric Sanctuary," *The Hibbert Journal*, 1912, pp. 380 *et seq.*

<sup>42</sup> A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its Sources and Analogues.*

becomes most effective when it pierces through the conventionalism of their time and penetrates into the very heart of the people.

This is an ambitious programme which teaches us that our true work is only just beginning. But the more we extend the scheme of our enquiries, the more likely we are to win the support which our subject deserves. The increasing interest in the studies which we are pursuing encourages us to believe that we shall not fail to achieve success.

W. CROOKE.

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS OF THE ISSÁ-JAPURÁ DISTRICT (SOUTH AMERICA).

BY CAPTAIN T. W. WHIFFEN, *Fourteenth Hussars.*

(*Read at Meeting, December 18th, 1912.*)

NORTH of the main artery of the great Amazonian system, between the Rio Negro and the Napo, both of which tributaries have long been known to the traveller, trader, and missionary, lies a great stretch of virgin forest, drained by the Issá and the Japurá rivers and their affluents. To the north of the Japurá the watershed of an important tributary of the Negro, the Uaupes river, has also been more or less opened to European influences, but the Issá and Japurá basins remained unknown, and are to this day a veritable No-man's-land among the nations, claimed by Brazil, Peru, and Ecuador, but not administered by any: where never a king's writ can run, and where each man does what is, presumably, right in his own eyes and, frequently, egregiously wrong in his neighbour's.

The main trend of the country is a gentle slope from north-west to south-east, not sufficient to make the river currents rapid in normal conditions, though the rate of descent naturally increases greatly when flood water is coming down. Inundations are frequent, and a great one probably occurs two or three times in a century. So it is not, therefore, surprising to find that these Indians have many stories of a Great Flood.

The land between the river beds is broken by low parallel ranges of hills, densely wooded. Here and there on higher

ground a savannah, a natural geological outcrop, breaks the dense bush with a comparatively open space, where a totally distinct soil and flora will be found. The Boro explanation for these outcrops is that they are where Neva, the Good Spirit, spoke to the Indians when on a visit to earth, in recognition of which they are open to the sun and the sky to this day.

The soil in the forest itself is dark and damp, built up of successive layers of decayed vegetable matter. The rainfall is excessive and continual, the temperature hardly varies throughout the year, and heavy storms are frequent, especially in February and September, which roughly stand in Amazonia for the seasons designated as *the Rains* elsewhere.

Though the forest abounds in flower-bearing plants and trees, fruits of gay colours, birds and insects of the brightest hues, it is a place of dull and oppressive gloom, for all the life, and light, and colouring are massed overhead in the treetops, hidden from sight by a density of foliage, and an intricate tangle of creepers and parasitical growths. The effect of existence in such environment is depressing in the extreme. Everything is against progress. All makes for a dead-level resignation to an intolerable but unavoidable fate. There are no roads of communication except the waterways. Life is a ceaseless warfare with certainly-hostile nature and probably-hostile man.

These wild solitudes are inhabited by groups of Indians, as to whose origin and racial classification opinions are greatly divided. In the country now under discussion there are nine language-groups,—the Witoto, Boro, Andoke, Resigero, Muenane, Okaina or Dukaiya, Menimehe, Karahone, and Nonuya. It is with the first two, the Witoto and Boro, that we are mainly concerned.

These two language-groups occupy roughly the centre of my field of exploration, and are separated from each other by the Dukaiya-speaking tribes. The Boro tongue is more

unintelligible to a Witoto than the speech of a Friesland Hollander would be to a Briton from the North, and these groups differ from each other not only in linguistic but in physical details. Their order in the cultural scale approximates to the physical features and colouring of the Indians belonging to the group. The Andoke and the Boro, the better-looking, better-developed, taller, and lighter-coloured groups, are also the most intellectual. The lighter-skinned Indians look down on and despise the darker tribes, and those of the lowest grades, such as the Maku, are regarded as slave tribes by all the others. There is extreme animosity between the different groups, in addition to recurrent warfare between individual tribes of each group.

These patrilineal exogamous tribes dwell apart, and but little communication exists between even those of the same language-group. There is no organised trade, no recognised trade routes nor trade centres. An intermittent, irregular barter is carried on by individuals only. Every tribe has one, (or possibly two), *maloka*, a tribal house in which every member of the tribe has a right to food and lodging. Every *maloka* has its absolutely independent Chief, who is subservient to no higher power, answerable only to his own tribal council. The *maloka* are built on a wooden framework, and thatched from the ridge-pole almost to the ground with layers of palm leaves. The average size of these buildings is about seventy feet in diameter, but they differ in accordance with the numbers of the tribes. They are not permanent habitations. After two or three years the *maloka* ceases to be weather-proof; the soil of the plantation also is impoverished by successive cropping. No attempt to better either is made. The community merely abandons its old headquarters, and makes tracks for another site. The forest furnishes all it needs for house-building; fresh ground is cleared for the plantation; and life continues as of old. A further reason that induces the Indian to submit to these unsettled conditions

is that, despite all possible caution, tracks must get worn through the bush converging on the homestead, and a path is simply an invitation to an enemy. Safety lies in isolation and secrecy, for no other attempt at defensive measures is ever made, except to dig pits in the forest avenues and arm them with poisoned stakes to trap an enemy, be it man or beast.

Inside the *maloka*, or tribal lodge, cornered by the four great posts that support the framework, is a clear space, which is used as a dancing ground. One end of the building is set apart for the Chief and his women; the rest of the space round the *maloka*, between the outer wall and the central square, is allotted to the families of the tribe. There are no partitions, but each has its fire, made of three logs set endways, and by this are slung the three family hammocks in a triangle. But, in addition to his quarters in the tribal house, any man may, if he so pleases, build himself a small dwelling in the bush. This could, however, only be done by a married man, because of the very strict line of cleavage between the work done by the men and that done by the women. In no circumstances would a man cook, plant manioc, or prepare the cassava. He is therefore dependent upon his woman for the necessaries of life.

Each community, under its independent Chief, is strictly monogamous and exogamous, for all within the *maloka* are held to be akin, and the only probable exception to the exogamous rule would be in the case of a Chief with no son to succeed him. He might, with tribal consent, marry his daughter to one of the household, in order thus to gain an heir. There is no head chief to unite the tribes of any language-group, and only in the most exceptional circumstances would any tribes combine even in self-defence against a common enemy.

The Chief is elected by the tribal council of warriors, assembled in tobacco palaver, the tribal parliament and



court of law. He holds office till death, when his son, son-in-law, or adopted son would probably be elected to succeed him.

The rival authority is the medicine-man, and the amount of power exercised by either depends entirely upon their personality. The medicine-man is not a priest; he officiates for no divinity, offers no sacrifice, no prayer. It is his business to oppose magic to magic, and so protect his tribe, or his individual patients, from the ills resulting from the malevolent magic-working of their enemies. But of this anon.

From first to last the Indian is hedged about by *piá*. ('it is so,' 'it is our custom'). Before a child's birth the mother, and after birth the father, must submit to certain definite tabus. These differ slightly among the tribes, but are similar in all essentials. The mother, for instance, must not eat paca flesh, or the child's skin will be spotted like that beast's; nor capybara, or the child will have the teeth of a rodent: in fact her diet often is restricted to cassava and such poor food as small bony fish, frogs, lizards, and little snakes. Should she give birth to twins, one will be left by her exposed in the bush, where, when her time comes, she will have retired alone, or with one other woman. If the twins were girl and boy, the girl would be killed; otherwise it would be the second, as obviously that is the one who has no business to appear on the scene. The reason averred is that only beasts have more than one at a birth, and the Indian's aversion to anything resembling the brute creation is intense. To avoid any such likeness the tribes depilate, more or less strictly, all hair but that of the head. The exception is the medicine-man, and the hairier he is the better. For the same reason they blacken the teeth.

If a child at birth were seen to be deformed or sickly, the mother, during the bath in the river which is immediately resorted to, would simply submerge it till life was extinct.

Should several unfortunate births occur at any time it would certainly lead to war, as the tribe would attribute the evil to the hostile magic of some foe. After bathing, the mother and infant return to the *maloka*, and the father retires to his hammock to play the part of interesting invalid. In no part of my district is the couvade carried out with the rigour described by Dr. Crevaux and Sir Everard in Thurn. The Boro, who are in every way more punctilious than the Witoto, observe it most strictly; but the Boro father is not put to torture. He lies in his hammock for some three weeks, and till the child's navel is healed he must not hunt, nor even touch a weapon, and must not partake of foods that were previously tabu to his wife. (that is to say, he may not eat the flesh of any hunted animal, and so must practically forego his share in the family hot-pot). The penalty for infringement of the tabu on the part of father or mother is that the infant will be either deformed or malignant. The mother goes back next day to her work in the plantation, only returning to feed the baby at night; while the father receives congratulatory visits from his friends, talks, drinks, and licks tobacco with them. Tobacco, I may note here, is never smoked by these peoples, though they quickly learnt to smoke mine. This seems a curious point, for the tribes to the north smoke the leaf in the form of cigars, and those further south use pipes. A decoction, like raw treacle in appearance, is made from the leaf, and this is licked ceremonially between friends, to ratify a contract, and in tribal palaver.

When the medicine-man has arrived, and given his opinion on the new-born infant, it will be named, on the eighth day, by the medicine-man and the family, with ceremonial tobacco taking. Boys are generally called by the name of a bird or animal, usually the name of their father's father. Girls are given the names of plants or flowers. This name is never used in speaking. Witoto men address one another as *tanyabe* (brother), or *icvo* (father): Boro

as *moma*. Women are *gwaro* (mother), *tangali* (sister), in Witoto; *einyo* (mother), or *muije* (woman), in Boro. The white man may call himself or his Indian companions what he pleases. As he does not know their real names he cannot harm them by the use of fictitious ones. If he runs the risk in his own case of giving power to any hostile magic-worker to do him harm, through knowledge of the name that represents his essential *ego*, that is his affair. This secrecy of name applies also to the tribes. Indians call their tribe only by a word equivalent to 'our own people,' and bestow a nickname for general purposes upon their neighbours. This all makes for difficulty in the way of any classification.

The name given, the couvade period at an end, the little Indian ceases to be of any particular tribal importance for the next few years. From earliest childhood the youngsters share the lives of their parents. Nothing is hidden from boys or girls; nor is there any great ceremony over the formal admission of a youth to tribal rank. He has been taught to hunt and fish; he is allowed to attend a tribal tobacco palaver and to lick tobacco, after he has declared he will bear himself bravely. There are no such trials for the novice as the northern tribes impose in ceremonial whipping and Jurupari observances. Girls on the verge of maturity are segregated in secret lodges in the bush, in part for protective purposes,—where tribes are in the vicinity of the raiding Andoke or other enemies,—but there is always some communication between the lodge and the tribal house and, when it can safely be done, the girls will be brought in for any tribal festivities. But they remain in the lodges till they are married.

The marriage ceremony is simple. A man who desires to take a wife must have won a certain reputation as a hunter, to show he could support a wife and family, or no girl would take him for her husband. He must clear a plot of forest land for a plantation; obtain permission from the

girl's Chief by the present of a pot of coca and a pot of tobacco; and take to his future parents-in-law a piece of palm shingle, such as the roof is thatched with, and a section of a small tree,—symbolic proof respectively that he has either built his own house or obtained quarters in one, and has cleared a plantation. The father will produce coca and tobacco, and when they have licked this together the preliminaries are done. Two weeks later the marriage is consummated.

A man is practically free to marry according to his fancy, so long as the bride selected is not a member of his own household, nor one of a hostile tribe. Indians choose, as a rule, girls considerably younger than themselves, and the child-wife is brought up by the women of her husband's tribe until she arrives at maturity.

Unmarried women, and girl-slaves captured in war, belong to the Chief, but they are his wards, not his wives. If a man desires to marry a slave-girl, he must give a present to the Chief's wife. After marriage the girl is free.

Life is a strenuous business for all, and especially the women, for their work is continual, but the men's intermittent. Women are the cooks and the agriculturalists. Woman, the Indian says, can produce children, so it follows that she can produce manioc. Therefore no man will ever plant the manioc slips, nor prepare the cassava. His task is to fish, to hunt, and to fight.

The great event in Indian existence, the one social function, the sole outlet for all there may be of art in the Indian nature, is the dance. Anything will serve as an excuse for such festivity, and all the energies of the tribe for days beforehand will be concentrated on the preparations. From childhood they have practised the steps, and learnt the tribal melodies. Dress on ordinary occasions is almost non-existent; the men wear only a strip of beaten barkcloth, and the women not even this; but they paint the most elaborate and brilliant designs upon their naked skins,

especially for a dance, when they also adorn themselves with all the ornaments in their possession,—feather head-dresses if they be men, beaded garlands if women, and as much in the way of necklaces, armlets, and jangling leg rattles as each can muster. This finery is brought out from the storage places on the rafters of the *maloka*. Though the women may not wear feathers, they fasten the white down of the currasow duck to the calves of their legs with rubber latex, or some resinous substance. This makes them look enormous, owing to the fact that they wear tight ligatures below the knee and above the ankle to swell out the muscles, after the same fashion that the men wear ligatures on the upper arm. The Indian will never part with his feather ornaments, for they are communal, not personal, possessions; and I found that they objected extremely to any attempt on my part to secure photographs of them. I have only one of a small boy, the son of a Chief, wearing his feather head-dress. He was also the only boy I ever saw wearing one, as the feathers are supposed to be from birds shot by the wearers, in the same way that the necklaces of tiger, tapir, pig, or other teeth represent the game killed by the hunter who wears them, or therewith decorates his family.

When a dance is to be given, invitations are sent round to all friendly Indians in the vicinity. A piece of tobacco folded in a palm leaf is the 'at home card' of the Indian. The summons to a dance, however, depends on no formal card. The Chief himself conveys it by means of the *manguare*, the great signal drums hung from the rafters of the *maloka*. He beats out his message in notes that travel for eight or ten miles round. These drums are constructed from two blocks of hard black wood, hollowed by means of heated stones, with a husk of purposely varying thickness to secure the range of notes. The smaller is termed the male, and the larger the female drum, and they are decorated within by designs representative of their sex.

Then on the appointed day the guests assemble, in their best paint and ornaments. Set against the deep gloom of the forest, some two or three hundred Indians in full dress,—a shifting kaleidoscope of paint, feathers, beads, and dance rattles, with decorated dance staves and musical instruments,—the smouldering fires of the *maloka* stirred to a blaze, and the hot flickering of torches adding to the glow of light, the scene is indescribably bizarre. Nor is the eye alone affected. Strange and wonderful sounds torment the ear; the music of instruments never played for private amusement, only on such ceremonial occasions, (panpipes, flutes, and drums), adds volume to the stamp of the dancers' feet, the jangle of the leg-rattles, and the loud, shrill singing of the performers. The man appointed to lead the dance must be one who knows the old songs, mere strings of now unintelligible words handed down from some traditional and quite forgotten ancestors. The leader sings the solo, in a high falsetto, and the chorus, picking up their cue, repeat it with a simultaneously gradual crescendo of sound and speed.

The circumstance giving cause for the dance determines if men and women sing together or alone. All songs are sung in unison, with a drone accompaniment from those not actually articulating the words, to regular time, marked by stamping, but with no hand-clapping. The tunes are simple, and as a rule merely the repetition of a single phrase with no variations, repeated endlessly. What these mean no living Indian knows. They are the tribal songs that have always been sung, that are the only right things to sing; nor could I detect any suggestion of change or correction ever attempted or desired. There are no love, sacred, or nursery songs, and war songs are merely the chants proper for a war dance, and depend for significance on the occasion and the spirit of the dancers.

There is in this region no regular harvest time. Crops grow and ripen all the year round, irrespective of season,

but pineapples are at their best in October, which determines the date of the special Pineapple Dance. Manioc is planted mostly just before the heaviest rainfall is expected. At these, which might be called Harvest Dances, the dancing staves are decorated with part of the plant to be honoured, a tuft of pine or a bundle of manioc leaves. The leader starts outside the *maloka*, probably with some fancy stepping. The dancers, in single file, each with a hand on the shoulder of the next in front, circle outside the *maloka* with a step described by Spruce as 'a succession of dactyls,'—Right,—left,—stamp. Right,—left,—stamp,—repeated backwards at lesser intervals. Maintaining step and time the long line enters the house, to dance round the Chief till all are assembled. Then, after a signal for silence, the Chief sings a line that gives the keynote of the occasion. The men in some cases dance in a ring, faced by a ring of women dancers; in others women dance between the men; and, again, the men and younger girls may dance round the older women.

The Boro Manioc-gathering Dance may be taken as a typical example. The men form up into an outer circle, the women in the centre or behind the men of their choice, dancing with steps complementary to, and not identical with, the men's. The Chief starts with a question, something after this sort:—

“I am old and weak and my belly craves food,  
Who has sown the *pika* (manioc slips) in the *emiye*  
(plantation)?”

His wife answers:—

“I have sown the *pika*, long, long ago;  
The *maika* is sown with young shoots.”

The chorus of women join in and repeat the answer, changing the verb and pronoun to the plural.

The Chief then questions, after the same introductory line, “Who has cut the *pika* in the *emiye*?” and is answered in like manner. The song continues till the whole process

of growing manioc and preparing cassava is described, and the meaning will gradually shift from the birth and growth of the plant to the birth of a human being. The song is interminable, and will only be concluded when the Chief cries :—

“*Imine* (it is good), *imine*,  
The women are good women,  
*Imine.*”

The Muenane, a language-group between the Andoke and Resigero peoples, have a special Riddle Dance. This has been copied by many of their neighbours, judging from the fact that wherever it is danced the answer, if in the negative, is given in the Muenane language. The leader, a man selected for his wit, asks a riddle, probably original. The dancing chorus repeat it till the measure ends; then the questioner with a lighted torch rushes round and seeks an answer, thrusting his torch in the face of those he questions. Herewith comes the Muenane reply *Jana*, (I do not know). The dancer then joins the file following the originator and copying his actions, which are supposed to give the clue to the riddle, probably the name of a bird or animal, whose movements would be copied with an astonishingly adept mimicry, which is somewhat akin to certain children's games. The wit of the riddle depends on the amount of sexual suggestion that can be introduced in the reply, for these people, though strictly moral (by their own and even by our standards) in their habits, are in their most ordinary conversation what we should consider licentious in the extreme.

A dance is kept going for four or five days without cessation, and the amount of liquid consumed is amazing, though solid food is at a discount. The drinks are not alcoholic, but are made from certain fruits and appear to serve for food as well as drink. The excitement grows wilder and wilder; the noise intensifies; the breadth of suggestion in action and word increases to a degree im-



possible to mention in detail. It would appear to be the maddest orgie of drunken abandonment, yet it never touches eroticism.

Maddest and most impressive is the dance that follows the return of the warriors from a successful fight. All the prisoners, except any young children who may safely be kept for slaves, are knocked down and killed with wooden swords, and an anthropophagous feast of vengeance follows. These Indians are cannibals, primarily, in my opinion, for purposes of continued hostility. Human flesh is only on rare occasions eaten for lack of animal food, never for gluttony, nor, so far as I could discover, with any idea that the qualities of the eaten would be absorbed by the eater. It is a purely ceremonial matter, a ritual of vengeance, in which the women have no share, except the Chief's wife, to whom the genital organs of the male victims are allotted. This is noteworthy in that such parts of any animal are on no other occasion eaten by these tribes, who consider the intestines, brains, and so forth as carrion, unfit for human consumption. At the cannibal feast only the legs, arms, and fleshy parts of the head are eaten. The teeth are carefully preserved by the slayer to make into a necklace, visible proof of his prowess and completed revenge. The skulls are dried and hung outside or on the rafters of the *maloka* above the drums. What is not consumed is thrown into the river, and thus carried down stream, away from the Indian Paradise, which lies far up-stream. Some tribes bury the trunk with public jeers and insults, or it is often left for the wild dogs to devour. The humerus is made into a flute. The forearm, with dried hand and contracted fingers, makes a gruesome ladle to stir the pot wherein the human flesh, cut in pieces and highly seasoned with peppers, is cooked by the old women of the tribe, what time the warriors, the gory heads of the slain on their dancing

staves, sing, dance, and drink to a repletion relieved by vomiting, only to be indulged in again and again.

To appreciate the extent of the revenge accomplished by these anthropophagous practices it must be remembered that the Indian has an invincible hatred of all wild animals, which he looks upon as his enemies. To serve an enemy as a dead beast,—to eat him,—is the most profound insult he can offer. Moreover, the insult is carried out in further details. The teeth, though not bored as animals' would be, are made into a necklace, and they become a personal possession of the slayer. Now death to the Indian is not an end of all things. It is a transition. The dead still exist, for he sees them in his dreams; but they live in another world where everything, themselves included, is on a reduced scale. In this World of the After Life the soul requires what the body needed on earth. Mutilate the body, divorce it from all its possessions, keep essential portions of it, and a naked soul is cast forth to wander endlessly in the forest, or to go down the holes in the earth that lead to the regions of the damned. In any case the Indian's Paradise is unattainable to his enemies. In consequence of this belief in an ultramundane existence, when an Indian dies all personal properties and ornaments are buried with the body,—weapons with a man, pots and domestic articles with a woman. The corpse is wrapped in its hammock, and buried inside the *maloka*, below where the hammock used to hang, and a fire is kept burning by the relatives over the grave for some days. In the case of a Chief the *maloka* would be burnt, and the community migrate elsewhere. At the conclusion of the funeral feast everyone bathes ceremonially, for purposes of purification.

The soul of the deceased hovers near for a time, and then wanders off to the happy hunting grounds of the Good Spirit.

There is, in Indian opinion, no such thing as death from natural causes; it must be due to the malignant influence

of an enemy, working in sickness by means of the spirits of disease, or, should the death be accidental, brought about by the inimical intent of the object responsible, inspiring that animosity. The only way to avert or overcome these magical evils is to secure the protecting counter-magic of the medicine-man. This gentleman combines with clumsy conjuring skilled ventriloquism, some degree of hypnotic power, and often a considerable knowledge of drugs. He is poison-maker to the tribe, an important post where all lethal weapons are armed with poisoned darts. Poison plays a great part in Indian affairs. The Karahone especially are famous for their knowledge of toxicology. Perhaps I should rather say notorious, witness such Indian proverbs as "Take a pine from a Karahone and die." If a case of sickness is beyond the medicine-man's skill to remedy, after he has administered a strong narcotic he will have the patient taken out into the bush, and left there under a rough shelter. No one must venture near, or death will result. If the sufferer is dead next day, it is, of course, due to the fact that someone transgressed, and either spoke to or passed him. If by any chance he should recover he will relate his dreams, and from them the medicine-man will 'divine' who was the enemy from whom the sickness emanated. Vengeance ensues.

With regard to dreams, the Indian believes that in sleep the spirit can pass out of the body by the mouth, and visit the scenes and places recalled after waking. All souls have this involuntary power of temporary migration, and some more gifted beings can exercise it voluntarily. The medicine-man is credited with this capacity, and he must employ it for the protection of the tribe. In particular he can assume the form of a jaguar. This great cat, the 'tiger' of Amazonia, is dreaded not only for its daring and ferocity, but even more because it is a magical beast. It shares the qualification with the anaconda, the *yacumama*, mother spirit of the waters that bars the streams

and gives rise to floods. Omnivorous eater though he be, no Indian would kill the great water-snake, nor the jaguar, for food. When a child is killed by a tiger, or is lost in the bush, (taken by the tiger in Indian opinion), a tribal hunt would be organised, and the tiger-folk dealt with as human enemies would be; for they, like humans, can institute a blood feud with their enemies. The brute, if killed, would be brought back to the *maloka* and a feast of revenge, similar in detail to the anthropophagous orgies, would follow. Every medicine-man possesses a tiger skin in which he keeps his magic. It is never used as a covering, but the wizard is supposed to assume it when he goes forth in tiger form to work against tribal enemies.

In a sense any animal, all nature in fact, is inimical to the Indian. He is set in an overpowering environment. Isolated, without spur to material or intellectual progress, his surroundings assume a fearsome significance. It needs not much incentive to imagination to people the dark places of the sombre, illimitable forest with legions of threatening devils. Somewhere, above the sky which is the roof of the world, is an infinitely remote, intangible Beneficence, a Great Good Spirit, who is good for the sole reason that he is not evil. This is Neva, already mentioned as the Great Spirit who once visited earth in the guise of a man, and spoke to the Indians. The tale was told me by a Boro, but is practically the same among all these groups. But, runs the myth, one Indian displeased the Good Spirit, who thereupon told the tiger-people to be wicked, and kill the Indians who had heretofore been their brothers. Then the Good Spirit went back to his happy hunting-grounds, and was seen no more by men. Moreover, he is entirely passive. The Bad Spirit, whose kingdom lies below, is on the contrary possessed of an exceeding activity. His energies are ceaseless, and all malevolent. Both these Powers have subordinate spirits respectively good and evil. No prayer is offered to the Good, no supplication made to the Bad

Spirit, and sacrifice is quite unknown, nor is there any attempt to placate any spirits with gifts.

There are, according to Indian belief, four kinds of spirits: *the temporarily disembodied spirits of the living; the permanently disembodied of the dead; the extra-mundane spirits; and the spirits of all animate or inanimate objects.* The Indian believes in a temporary transmission of soul from one body to another, for a definite purpose and time, whether the spirit be one disembodied temporarily or permanently, or whether it be extra-mundane. As for the spirit that exists in all objects,—the '*transcendental x*' is Pfleiderer's illuminating expression,—this belief is the corner-stone of the Indian magico-religious system. In no other way can he explain the occult influences that surround and oppose him. Whether, when a higher-grade spirit migrates temporarily into a lower material form, the native spirit of that form is expelled, or shares its habitation for the time being, I was not able to ascertain.

Thunder is the noise of the spirits of evil when angry, and before a thunderstorm the air is full of bad spirits, whom the medicine-man must attempt to drive away, for probably they bring sickness from some enemy, wishful to destroy the tribe. Anything abnormal or unknown is regarded with suspicion. It is far more likely to be evil than good. One of the Witoto tribes had a double-stemmed palm tree that was an object of great importance, even of veneration, though not actually of worship. The sun and moon also are regarded with veneration, but are not worshipped. The moon is the sun's wife, and is sent by him periodically to prevent the evil spirits of the bush from killing everyone when the sun has set. Little attention is paid to the stars, but a Boro told me they were the spirits of great men of his tribe.

All Indians fear darkness, for then the powers of evil are most active, and no one willingly ventures far alone after sundown, nor would one bathe without a companion. In

the shelter of the *maloka* they gather around the family fires for the meal of the day, and afterwards first one and then another will tell tales far into the night.

These long rigmaroles are not easy to understand, and the variations are so many that it is difficult to ascertain if the tale is a new one or merely a fresh edition of something heard often before. Animal tales abound, stories in which the birds and beasts stand for characteristic ideas. Of the latter the following are typical:—

Tortoise	- -	Craft and slowness.
Ant and bee	-	Industry.
Poisonous snakes		Evil; the evil eye.
Boa constrictor	-	Silence, strength.
Tapir	- -	Blindness, stupidity.
Dog	- -	Cunning, deceit.
Capybara	- -	Wit, the practical joker.
Monkey	-	Tenacity of life.
Parrot	- -	Irresponsibility, a woman in disguise.
Hawk	- -	Cunning.
Peccary	- -	Constancy.
Tiger	- -	Bravery.
Sloth	- -	Laziness.

Though there are tales of bygone Chiefs of outstanding merit, relationship is only traced so far as memory serves, practically only on the father's side, for the mother, brought from another household, soon among these unsettled tribes will lose touch with her own people. There is no trace of any totemic system. Animals, I repeat, are hated enemies. I questioned a Boro tribe about one district void of habitations, and was told that the reason was as follows:—

“The Utiguene once lived there, the most powerful of tribes, but long, long ago the Chief had a daughter, ugly and bird-rumped, so the medicine-man called her Kemuime, (monkey). When she was so high (five feet) she went out to pick peppers in the bush, and did not return. The tribe decided a tiger had taken her, and organised a tribal hunt, but they were attacked by

a wicked tribe, and great numbers were killed. Long afterwards, [I am abbreviating considerably], Kemuime returned to the *maloka*, with her bird-rump covered with hair. The old women rubbed it with milk to remove the unsightliness. But it only grew the faster, so she was covered with leaves. She told them that a *kemuime*, i.e. a monkey, had seized her and carried her forcibly off to be his woman. She gave birth to twins, and buried the second, as even *kemuime* have but one at a birth. The child was hairy like a *kemuime*, with the face of a man. When she suckled him her unsightliness came. So she ran away. The tribe held a tobacco palaver, and because of the pollution, and the blood feud with the wicked tribe, and the girl's unsightliness, they determined to kill her. But she fled back to the forest, and all the *kemuime* came and robbed the plantation; and the lianas grew like nets, so that no man of the Utiguene could hunt, and the tribe died out."

There are also many myths connected with the discovery and cultivation of manioc, as well as of other fruits, but space forbids more than reference to them or to the numerous fables equivalent to such world-wide tales as the Lion and the Mouse, and the Hare and the Tortoise. In detail the Indian versions differ greatly from the Old World stories, but in every case the principle is identical.

The Indian has a firm belief in omens, but none of these tribes make much use of charms, though men wear bracelets of *iguana skin*, and children have a ring cut from the polished shell of a nut, put on the arm for lucky magic purposes. Defence lies in observation of tabu, and due heed to what is ruled good or evil; also the study of lucky and unlucky signs. I ought to mention the universal belief among these Indians in the potency of human breath as an evil-expelling agency. Much of the medicine-man's ceremonial healing consists of blowing and breathing over the patient, as well as the usual sucking out of the poison, the evil spirit that, in the guise of stick, stone, thorn, or some similar object, lurks in the flesh of the sufferer and causes

the sickness. But others besides the medicine-man can remove evil by the breathing or sucking process. Spruce mentions Indians sucking each other's shoulders as a cure for rheumatism, and I have often known an old woman breathe over forbidden food, to remove the 'poison' and make it permissible to eat. They will breathe over a delicate child in the same way, to improve its health.

Dr. von Martius considered the savage state of the Forest Indians to be the result of degradation, a theory recently advanced with regard to these identical tribes in the *Contemporary Review* for September, 1912. For my part I agree with Dr. Tylor "that Dr. Martius' deduction is the absolute reverse of the truth,"<sup>1</sup> and regard this theory as erroneous. I saw nothing to suggest degeneration. On the contrary, it appears to me that, in spite of the awful handicap of environment, these tribes are probably evolving a higher life.

I found no traces of the existence of any submerged superior civilization, but much to show that these people have not yet emerged from practically the Stone Age. There is no metal in the country but what filters in by barter and is employed for ornaments,—mostly Peruvian and Chilian dollars and empty cartridge cases. There is also no stone. Metal tools or weapons are unknown. They have only wood, and stone axes. The latter they look upon as of almost divine origin, and have handed down, they know not from whence, generation by generation. They have not learnt to produce fire, and have no knowledge of the potter's wheel, nor of the spindle. Thread they make from palm fibre, rolled on the naked thigh. Beaten bark cloth is their only material. Ligatures are made with finger-work only, in plaiting of an extraordinary fineness. Hammocks are knotted. Baskets, mats, cassava-squeezers, and other bark-fibre articles are plaited. Yet with their primitive tools, a stone axe, wooden knife,

<sup>1</sup> *Early History of Mankind*, p. 139.



and capybara-tooth awl, they turn out such finely finished work as the blow-pipe, made with infinite toil and patience from laths of hard wood, strips split off the trunk of the *chonta* palm.

Everything points to the conclusion that these tribes found their way to the Forest in a very primitive condition. The Forest has arrested, has stunted their growth, but it has not plunged them back from later cultures to the Stone Age.

Did space permit I would greatly like to touch on the disputed question of origin. I was continually struck by the prevalence of Mongoloid traits, especially the obliquity of eye, most noticeable in the Boro, but more or less common to all the groups. Tempting parallels of custom and belief can be drawn, too, with the peoples of similar cultures to be found among the pagan races of Malaya and New Guinea. Mr. T. A. Joyce in his recent book on the Archaeology of South America repudiates the idea that contact with any Pacific cultures could have exerted permanent influence on the indigenous population. Against any such supposition he advances the argument that there are no linguistic traces of Polynesian or Melanesian dialects to be found, and also avers that, to quote his own words,—“Any people arriving on the Pacific coast must have been skilled seamen, and it seems incredible that, after settling, they should have proceeded immediately to forget their craft, especially as their chief source of nourishment must have been the sea. Yet through the whole of the coast of South America nothing but the most primitive form of raft was found, and it appears that sails were entirely unknown south of Tumbes.”<sup>2</sup> But unwritten languages are surely a parlous guide. The tongues of Amazonia, at least, are still in constant flux. Yesterday's word may have other meaning to-day, and be changed out of all recognition to-morrow. The second

<sup>2</sup> *South American Archaeology*, p. 190.

argument can hardly be pressed in face of Dr. Rivers' Dundee paper on the Decadence of Useful Arts. In any case it is a fascinating subject, and, so far as the Indians of the Issá-Japurá district are concerned, not one that can be set aside for a more convenient indefinite future to solve. Their solitudes have been broken. There was only *piá*, our custom, to keep tribal law and legend from an obliteration no research can remedy. An alien culture,—I cannot call it a higher one,—has intruded. Even now the Boro and Witoto as I knew them are exceedingly hard to find. It may be that I was the first and last white man to meet them unaffected by outside influences.

THOMAS WHIFFEN.

## COLLECTANEA.

### FURTHER NOTES ON SPANISH AMULETS.

(With Plates I. and II.).

IN *Folk-Lore* for December, 1906, I published some notes dealing, for the most part, with a series of specimens collected during the course of the previous year. In the spring of 1911 I had the opportunity of collecting a new series of specimens, as well as of obtaining some slight further information concerning certain of the types already noticed, upon which the following notes are based. I think that the difficulty of obtaining reliable information at first-hand has increased considerably during the six years intervening between my visits, and the number of amulets visibly worn or newly-made has decreased in a like proportion, owing to the advances of modern education and material progress; as these matters are purely quantitative it is manifestly impossible to base an accurate judgment upon them in circumstances necessarily personal.

With respect to a considerable proportion of the specimens hereinafter described, I was unable to learn more than that these were "amulets," intentions unstated or given vaguely as against "the evil eye"; in such cases I have referred to similar Italian forms of which the intentions are known. With respect to certain of the finer specimens, of silver, no definite information was forthcoming, probably for the reason that these objects were used only by the wealthier classes and during, apparently, the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and that these classes are the ones most likely to alter or to lose their old beliefs. Numerals in ordinary type refer to the Figures illustrating the present paper,

and those in italics to the Figures of the original paper. Where specimens are noted as having been obtained at Madrid or San Sebastian the provenance must be considered as uncertain, since objects from all parts of Spain are brought to Madrid either by the collectors supplying the dealers there or by a natural gravitation to the capital, and San Sebastian draws, I think, in part from Madrid.

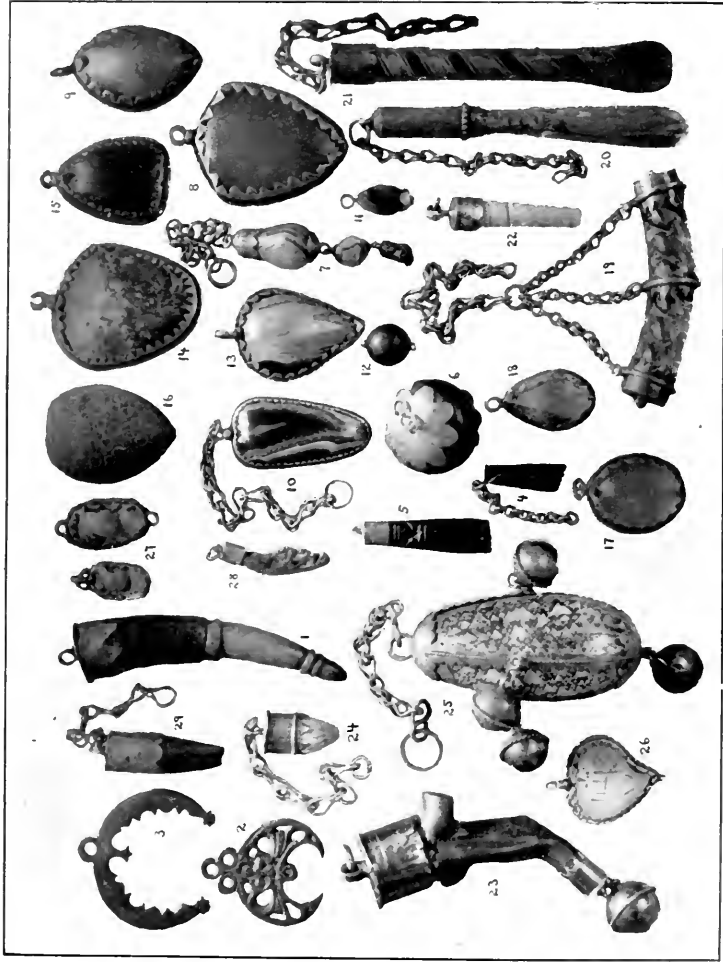
*Horns*.—The horns worn suspended at the neck by pack-animals were noted as being still in use at Toledo and Granada. Further specimens of the obsolete type of bone "horn" shown in Figs. 5, 6, 7 (*Pl. IV.*) were noted at Seville; the florid style of ornamentation of the silver sockets of these appears to be peculiar to that locality. Amulets similar to Figs. 8 and 40 (*Pl. IV.*) are still made and used at Seville.

Fig. 1 (Plate I.).—A piece of antler, in a silver socket; Madrid. The lower end is carved in a shape suggestive of a phallus, a form to which, in Roman times, several of the present-day virtues of the horn were attributed; the resemblance may, however, be merely a chance one due to the ornamental smoothing of the material to avoid paining the child's gums during dentition. (See also *Musical Horns* and *Tritons* below.)

*Lunar Crescents*.—Several specimens were noted of the silver compound amulet shown in Fig. 15 (*Pl. VII.*). One of these, of unknown provenance, has a right "fig" hand (instead of the left hand of Fig. 15 (*Pl. VII.*)). Another (with left hand), from Seville, has a square piece of clear blue glass<sup>1</sup> set above the four-petalled emblem. Such silver specimens do not, in general, appear to be very old, but I think that they are not of present-day manufacture; I have seen no like amulets made of other metals.

Fig. 2 (Pl. I.).—A brass amulet, quite new; Seville. This is particularly interesting as showing the disappearance of the "fig" hand of the older specimens noted above, which is here replaced by a small conventional circle, and by the increased resemblance to a cross of the four-petalled flower-like emblem. I have noted this emblem as occurring upon the wrists of the "fig" hands of some of the Portuguese compound amulets combining profane

<sup>1</sup> Bellucci, *Catalogo Descrittivo, Amuleti Italiani*, (1898), Tablet x., mentions blue glass as used against the evil eye in Italy.



SPANISH AMULETS.



amuletic symbols with a figure of the Virgin, and have illustrated amulets in which a figure of the Virgin is used to turn a profane amulet (a lunar crescent) into a religious pendant (the Virgin standing, as is usual, upon a lunar crescent).<sup>2</sup> Recently I have seen the four-petalled emblem as the decoration upon the robe of the Virgin in certain religious pendants of the sixteenth century. These facts suggest that this emblem, (concerning the meaning of which I have never succeeded in obtaining definite information from users of the amulets on which it occurs), is an emblem connected with the Virgin, and that its presence in the Portuguese amulets is for the purpose of giving a religious flavour to the profane "fig" hand, and in the Spanish amulets of turning the combination of the crescent and the "fig" hand into an amulet associated with the Virgin. In these connections it is worth recalling that the "fig" hand is a feminine emblem bearing somewhat the same relation to the vulva that the horn bears to the phallus. And one is led to speculate as to whether there can be traced some kinship between the "fig" hand, a distinctive survival of the days when Spain was Roman, with its feminine associations, and the almost similarly distinctively Semitic open hand now commonly known in Northern Africa as the "Hand of Fatima,"—an amulet which, as Mohammedan, must have been most severely repressed by the Church authorities.

Fig. 3 (Pl. I.). A crescent-shaped ornament, of thin brass, in which the projection at the centre of the inner curve is suggestive of a conventionalization of the "fig" hand; Madrid.

*Hands.*—A number of specimens of "fig" hands were noted, but of these none, with the exception of some of those of jet, seemed to be contemporary types. One specimen, of a material not noted in the original paper, is of ivory, painted red, in a silver socket.<sup>3</sup> Almost all of the "fig" hands noted were left hands; right hands seem to be comparatively rare. At Madrid "fig" hands of jet are still made and sold, some naturalistic, but others greatly conventionalized. (See also *Crescents* above.)

<sup>2</sup> "Notes on Some Contemporary Portuguese Amulets," *Folk-Lore* vol. xix., pp. 217, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Red-coloured "fig" hands are still commonly used in Portugal. Cf. vol. xix., p. 215.

Fig. 4 (Pl. I.). A highly conventionalized "fig" hand, with a chain for suspension: Madrid. A flattish piece of jet, with four lines across the end to mark off the fingers, and a line across one side (illustrated) to show where the folded fingers meet the palm. A contemporary amulet, a number of which were kept for sale at a street-stall, against evil eye and (because it is of jet) for the preservation of the hair. I was told that at Madrid these amulets, when used for the hair, are carried anywhere upon the person, but that in the vicinity of Toledo they are worn, by women, in the hair itself.

Fig. 5 (Pl. I.). A similarly conventionalized "fig" hand (back of hand illustrated) of jet, in a silver socket; Seville.

*Jet.*—A note quoted in the *Diccionario General Etimológico* speaks of jet as hung from the necks of Spanish Arab infants, to preserve them from the evil eye.<sup>4</sup> (See also *Hands* above.)

Fig. 6 (Pl. I.). A large bead of jet, in the form of a flattened globe, mounted in silver as a pendant, top here in view; Madrid.

*Stone and Glass.*—At Madrid, at a small street-stall, a string of over fifty milky glass beads, similar to those shown in Fig. 58 (Pl. VIII.), but smaller, was found, kept for the purpose of supplying women with single beads as lactation-amulets. Several beads of agate, combining greyish, reddish, and white, similar to Figs. 61 and 62 (Pl. VIII.), were noted in other cities.

Fig. 7 (Pl. I.). A triple pendant, with a chain; Madrid. The upper piece is of agate, greyish, white, and reddish, and was probably an amulet for women: the middle piece is of blue glass with bands of other colours, and may have served as an amulet against the evil eye; the lowest piece is a drop of black glass strewn thickly with spots of blue, yellow, and red, and probably served against the evil eye.

Fig. 8 (Pl. I.). A large piece of milky agate, mounted in silver as a pendant: Madrid. A lactation-amulet.

<sup>4</sup> See sub. nom. *Azabache* (Jet). The word *Azabache* (pronounced Atha-bá-che) is there given as derived directly from the Arabic, and the Arabic term as derived from the same root as the Latin word *Gazates*. The resemblance between *Antipathes* (a term used by Pliny in describing a black stone whose magical properties corresponded to those of jet) and *Azabache* is so marked, however, as to seem to me to be worthy of a note here.



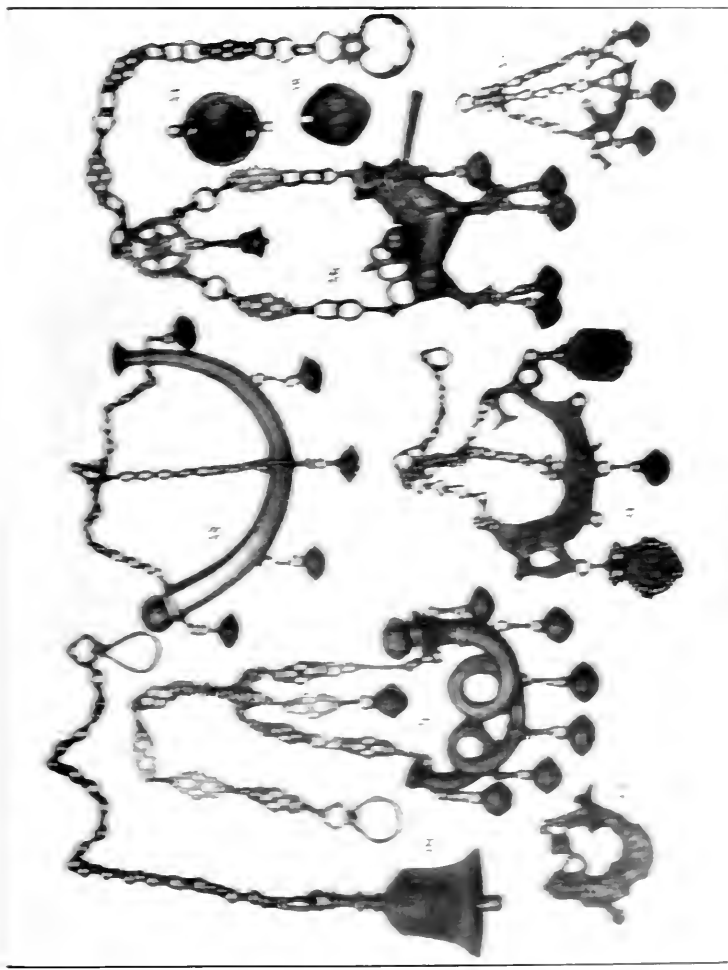




Fig. 9 (Pl. I.). A piece of milky agate having a series of concentric white stripes, mounted in silver as a pendant; Seville. Near the upper edge of the stone a hole has been bored, showing that the stone was used as a pendant before it was mounted. The stone is evidently a lactation-amulet, but, since in form and markings it bears a considerable resemblance to a human eye, it may have served otherwise as well.

Fig. 10 (Pl. I.). A piece of agate, grey, white, and blood-red, in the shape of a very elongated heart, mounted in silver; San Sebastian. Probably an amulet connected with the blood, and, possibly, lactation.

Fig. 11 (Pl. I.). A small flat bead of agate, clear with bloody cloudings, mounted as a pendant; Madrid. A contemporary amulet to regulate the menstrual flow in women, and for the prevention and cure of hemorrhage in either sex.

Fig. 12 (Pl. I.). A globular bead of a soft red stone, mounted as a pendant; Madrid. A contemporary amulet to regulate menstruation.

Fig. 13 (Pl. I.). A pendant of banded agate, brown, yellow, whitish, greyish, and pinkish, mounted in silver; Madrid. Amuletic intention not ascertained.

Fig. 14 (Pl. I.). A pendant formed of a piece of hardstone, mottled brown, yellow, and white, mounted in silver; San Sebastian. The stone appears to be a small neolithic axe, having portions of its cutting edge broken away, mounted edge upwards. This object was selected as an amulet, presumably, on account of its form, for the stone of which it is composed is, I think, one not commonly used for amulets.<sup>5</sup> In Italy neolithic axes are still used as amulets against lightning; they are in such cases generally perforated for suspension or are bound in cloth, and are comparatively rarely mounted in metal.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "In Spain they [neolithic axes] are known as *rayos* [*i.e.* thunderbolts] or *centellos* [*centella*=lightning, flash], and are regarded as thunder-stones." Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements etc.* (1897), p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bellucci, *op. cit.*, and *Amulettes Italiennes Anciennes et Contemporaines*, a catalogue of a comparative collection exhibited by the Société at the Exposition of 1900, in the *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.

Fig. 15 (Pl. I.). A pendant formed of a piece of dark amber-coloured hardstone, mounted in brass; Madrid. The stone appears to be a very small, but carefully made, neolithic axe (or ornament in the form of an axe) mounted with its cutting edge downward. There is a hole for suspension near the upper limit, indicating that the stone had probably been used as an amulet before having been placed in its present mounting.

Fig. 16 (Pl. I.). A heart-shaped piece of dark grey fossil madreporite coral, apparently ancient, showing traces of having been mounted in metal, presumably as a pendant; Seville. Madreporite, which belongs to that class of amulets of which the effect is produced by the confusing of the evil-working eye or evil-working mind, seems to have been a favourite amulet amongst the ancient Romans, just as it still is amongst their Italian descendants,<sup>7</sup> and, to a lesser degree, elsewhere where Roman influence penetrated. In Spain, however, modern amulets of madreporite seem to be extremely rare, if not altogether lacking.

Fig. 17 (Pl. I.). An ovoid piece of clear glass, flattened on each side so that it resembles somewhat a human eye, mounted in silver as a pendant; San Sebastian. A hole has been bored longitudinally at some period anterior to that of the mounting. Probably, like Fig. 20 (Pl. VIII.), an eye form against fascination.<sup>8</sup>

Fig. 18 (Pl. I.). A faceted piece of clear glass, mounted in silver as a pendant; Madrid. Near the top there is a small hole for suspension. Probably originally a drop from a crystal chandelier, later mounted as an amulet against the evil eye.<sup>9</sup>

Fig. 19 (Pl. I.). A pendant ornament, probably for a child, formed of a piece of clear glass cut as if twisted of three heavy strands and mounted in silver; Madrid. Concerning this form, which is unusual, I could obtain no information; I think that it may have been considered protective for reasons similar to those given for the next specimen.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet vii.: and *Amulettes Italiennes etc.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet x.

<sup>9</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tablet x., speaks of crystal glass amulets commonly known as *Vetri del Malocchio*, and preferred in the form of ornamental pendants from lamps or chandeliers, or as the faceted stoppers of glass bottles.

Fig. 20 (Pl. I.). A "sucker" (*chupador*) for an infant, composed of a piece of four-lobed and twisted clear glass mounted in silver as a pendant; Granada. Said, by the vendor, to be considered protective against the evil eye. The glass is so shaped as to produce a confusing effect when it is turned even slightly on its axis, and this (possibly together with the crystalline appearance of the glass) would seem a valid reason for the assumed amuletic properties.

Fig. 21 (Pl. I.). A "sucker" for an infant, composed of a rod of clear glass containing twisted bands of blue, red, and white, mounted in silver as a pendant; San Sebastian. Two other specimens, of similar form, differing in the breadth of the bands or in their colours, were obtained at the same time as this, and other similar specimens were noted at Madrid and Seville. In all instances the objects were referred to as being amulettically protective.

Fig. 22 (Pl. I.). A small pendant of twisted opaque white glass, in a silver socket: Segovia. For an infant, against the evil eye.

*Coral*.—Fig. 23 (Pl. I.). A large piece of red coral, set in a gilt silver socket, with a small bell attached to the lower end; Madrid. An amulet for an infant (whose name is on the socket) of, probably, the seventeenth century, corresponding to the English "coral and bells."

*Shells*.—The opercule of the trochus shell is still commonly sold and used against headache. Generally it is set in a finger ring as shown in Fig. 44 (*Pl. VII.*), but I have noted pendants of it also, and, especially interesting, a pair of ear-rings (from Segovia) for the cure of megrims.

Fig. 24 (Pl. I.). A small shell, set in a silver socket with a chain; Madrid. Amuletic intention not ascertained.

Fig. 25 (Pl. I.). A large shell, mounted in silver and with small bells; Madrid. An amulet for an infant. The surface of the shell has been removed so as to expose a layer showing numerous broken and wavy lines. The vendor did not know of any special amuletic significance attached to the shell.

Fig. 26 (Pl. I.). A heart-shaped piece of mother-of-pearl, inscribed IHS, mounted in silver; Madrid. Mother-of-pearl seems to be rarely used for pendants in Spain, and the belief in its

intrinsic amuletic virtues (against the evil eye), common in Italy,<sup>10</sup> I did not find amongst the persons I questioned.

*Bones and Teeth.*—Fig. 27 (Pl. I.). Two bones (the “ear-bones”) from the heads of fishes, mounted in silver as pendants; Segovia. Said to be worn by children, against accidents and the effects of the evil eye. These bones were obtained together, and are the only mounted examples of the kind I met with in Spain.<sup>11</sup> On the three occasions that I have obtained such bones in Spain (Segovia, Granada, Madrid), and on the one occasion in Italy (Rome), they have been in pairs. An explanation of this fact may lie in their use as amulets against ear-troubles, as noted by Dr. Bellucci of occasional occurrence in Umbria, or in their degradation from specially curative amulets of this kind to simple amulets of a generally protective nature, or in their origin in pairs.<sup>12</sup>

Fig. 28 (Pl. I.). Jawbone of a small carnivore, mounted in silver as a pendant; Seville. History and intention not known to vendor.

Fig. 29 (Pl. I.). A piece of bone, or a diseased tooth mounted inverted (*i.e.*, root outward, an unusual mounting for a tooth), in a silver socket; Madrid. Specific amuletic intention not known to vendor.

*Bells.*—Fig. 30 (Pl. II.). A small bell, of gilt silver, to be worn suspended from a child's waist; Madrid. Bells of similar character are to be found in numbers such as to indicate that they must have been in fairly common use in Spain. On a portrait of a young child by Velasquez (No. 1196 in the Prado Gallery) at

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tab. xi., 16 (“a heart-shaped plate of mother-of-pearl, set in metal, with a ring for suspension”).

<sup>11</sup> A pendant, formed of a larger bone of this kind similarly mounted in silver, is in the National Museum at Copenhagen, amongst objects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; its provenance is not stated.

<sup>12</sup> “The head of a perch contains a flat white stone, according to many, known as the lucky stone. This stone is a charm to bring good luck if carried on the person. . . . If two bones are carried, it is supposed to make one's luck doubly sure. They should be both of the same fish.” From “Fish and Charms,” a short article in *P. T. O.*, London, Dec. 21, 1907.

Newfoundland cod-fishers “carry for luck a bone found in the head of the cod. This magic bone . . . is supposed to preserve its owner's life.” From *Pearson's Weekly*, April 30, 1908.

Madrid, painted about the middle of the seventeenth century, is shown a bell almost identical with the one here illustrated. (See also notes below, and Nos. 23 and 25.)

*Sirens and Tritons.*—Since my earlier paper was published I have seen of sirens three specimens not reported there, all of the same type and style of workmanship, two of them at Madrid and one just beyond the northern border of Spain.

Fig. 31 (Pl. II.). A flat silver child's pendant, worked on both sides, representing a triton blowing a trumpet; Madrid. Along the lower edge are five loops for little bells, of which one still bears its bell, two bear old religious medals, and two are empty. The medals (a silver one of S. James, and a silver-mounted brass one of the Virgin and a Saint), were said by the vendor to have been in place when he obtained the ornament. Their addition is interesting as illustrating one form of the tendency to give a religious flavour to profane amulets. An ornament cast in the same form, but finished in a different style, with all its bells in place, was obtained at Seville, and another was noted at the same place. Another triton, of similar type but of finer design and workmanship, was noted at Madrid.

Fig. 32 (Pl. II.). A small flat silver child's pendant, of crude workmanship, representing a triton blowing a trumpet; Seville. The triton is furnished with a wing like an angel, and has three bells along the lower edge.

Fig. 33 (Pl. II.). A pendant, of gilt repoussé silver, finished on both sides, in the form of a triton holding a pecten shell (an emblem of S. James; compare No. 31) and a shell trumpet; Seville. Although without bells it may be, like Nos. 31 and 32, a child's amulet.

These tritons were called (possibly merely through ignorance of their true name) *sirenas* by the people in whose shops they were found; they may have taken the place, in Seville, of the true sirens which seem to occur more commonly in Northern Spain. The trumpet (a horn), which the triton is generally represented as blowing, may have contributed to their choice as children's amulets.

*Musical Horns.*—The two specimens described below are children's belled ornamental whistles. The type is rather uncommon, so that no information was obtained as to the reason for the

choice of musical horns as models, but it would seem likely that this choice was aided, if not dictated, by the favour in which representations of animals' horns are held as children's amulets.

Fig. 34 (Pl. II.). A musical horn, of heavy gilt silver, with six small bells along the lower edge and one attached to the elaborate suspending chain; Madrid. (but obtained at Saragossa by the vendor). Apparently of the same workmanship as the sirens, (two of which, at least, are known to have come from Saragossa,) and as the lion noted below.

Fig. 35 (Pl. II.). A musical horn, of silver, with five small bells attached to the body; San Sebastian. Although of much lighter metal, this resembles No. 34 in certain details; it seems, however, to be of somewhat later date.

*Lions*.—Fig. 36 (Pl. II.). A crowned lion, of heavy gilt silver, with five small bells attached to the feet and neck and one attached to the elaborate suspending chain; Madrid. (but obtained at Saragossa by the vendor). A child's ornamental whistle, apparently of the same period and workmanship as the sirens and No. 34. No information as to any amuletic intention of the lion was obtained, (excepting the suggestion that it might give strength to the child,) although the ornament as a whole was said to be an amulet. There is a similar lion in the collection of jewellery at South Kensington, and another in the Louvre Museum; another, somewhat ruder in finish, was noted in France near the Spanish border.

*Amulets embracing Religious Conceptions*.—The two specimens described immediately below consist of thin bronze medals, apparently of the seventeenth century, resembling Byzantine coins, bent into a cup-shape and arranged for suspension. From only one person, an old woman at Madrid, was any information concerning their use in Spain obtained; they seem to be unknown to most people at present. They resemble an amulet described by Bellucci<sup>13</sup> as obtained at Aquila, and some obtained by me at Verona and Venice.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, Tab. xvi., 14; a bronze Byzantine coin called "*scifato*," of the form of a porringer, mounted in silver; employed especially for tumours (in the mouth). These coins, either merely perforated for suspension or bound in a silver rim, must have been until recently quite common in Northern Italy.



Fig. 37 (Pl. II.). A bowl-shaped bronze(?) medal(?), worn smooth on both faces, mounted in silver with a loop for attachment at each end; Madrid. The bronze has a hole near each end, serving to fasten it before the silver mounting was put on. Said to be for the cure and the subsequent prevention of erysipelas (*crisipela*).

Fig. 38 (Pl. II.). A bowl-shaped bronze medal, with the outer face worn smooth, and with a saint bearing a cross upon the inner face; Seville. A hole for suspension, elongated by much usage, is near the upper edge. No information was obtained concerning it further than that it was an amulet and (by a leading question) "Byzantine."

Several bronze medals of S. Anastasius were noted, bearing on their obverse the head of the saint and an inscription such as "*Imago · S · Anastasi · M · et · M.*," and on their reverse an inscription such as "*Im · S · Anasta · Mon · et · Mart · civis · aspec · fugari · demon · morbosq · repell · Acta · 2 · Con · Vic · testant · Rome.*" The specific application of these medals in Spain was not ascertained; in Italy they are used against demoniacal possession, witches, and sickness.<sup>14</sup>

Annually, on June 23rd, the day before St. John's Day, a ceremony takes place in one of the principal plazas at San Sebastian. A large ash-tree having been erected, at about 4 p.m. the Chapter of the Parish of S. Vicente, preceded by the municipal band, marches to the tree, which is then formally blessed. The tree is then "burnt" by lighting a small quantity of inflammable material placed about it, and is finally overthrown in order that it may be stripped of its limbs and branches by the great crowd (largely children and young people) gathered for the purpose. The pieces are eagerly scrambled for by the younger element, while the more sedate spectators ask for bits from those fortunate enough to have secured large pieces. The pieces are hung up within houses, or upon balconies, and are said to bring good luck.

especially at Venice, where they are still known to many people as amulets.—now stated generally to be against the evil eye. I think that the Spanish specimens, in which the designs, although almost obliterated, seem to be not quite Byzantine in treatment, have probably been based on the Venetian.

<sup>14</sup> Bellucci, *op. cit.*, Tab. xvi., 3.

*Errata in Former Paper.*—In the original paper, under Fig. 77 (*Pl. V.*), read “N. S. de las Angustias” instead of “S. Angustias.”

In the last paragraph of the notes on *Spanish Votive Offerings*, the statement as to the purpose of the small silver objects there referred to is incorrect. These objects are not offerings made before the granting of a request for intercession; each is a symbol (*escudo*, *i.e.* scutcheon) of the Virgin of a certain locality, and is to be worn upon the special dress assumed in certain cases in the fulfilment of a vow made to that form of the Virgin.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

#### OXFORDSHIRE VILLAGE FOLKLORE (1840-1900).

I AM writing this account of old customs, charms, and superstitions from recollections of what I have myself seen and heard in the village of Long Handborough, and of what I have been told by my mother, who was a native of the neighbouring village of Barnard Gate and whose memory would go back to about 1840. The few notes from other sources I have carefully distinguished. As I have tried to make a full record of the local folklore known to me, naturally many items appear in it which are very familiar in other places, but the repetition seems necessary for the sake of completeness. As so much of my material is widely spread, no attempt has been made to note the numerous parallels in other counties.

Long Handborough is about three miles from Woodstock, and about eight and a half miles from Oxford. It is usually called Handborough ('Amborough in dialect), except when it is necessary to distinguish it from Church Handborough, which is about a mile distant.

The inhabitants of the villages in Oxfordshire consisted of the 'gentlefolk,' the 'respectable people,' and the 'poor folk.' The word 'respectable' did not apply in any sense to the conduct of those persons, but only to their social position. The 'gentlefolk' were usually the squire, if there was one, the clergyman, and

perhaps a few others. The 'respectable people' were all others above the position of labourers, who were the 'poor folk.' The countryman had his rules of manners and etiquette, which were never broken. He took off his hat to nobody; he touched it with his forefinger to the 'gentlefolk,' but never to the 'respectable people.' He addressed the 'gentlefolk' as 'Sir,' and his employer invariably as 'Master.' Only the principal inhabitants and the large farmers were termed 'Mr. So-and-So'; all the others were called 'Master So-and-So,' as was the married labourer himself. Some of the more old-fashioned farmers used 'thee' in speaking to their men, but it would have been an intentional insult for the men to say 'thee' to their master, or to any superior. A labourer would say to his employer,—“What be I to go at, master?” and the master would reply,—“Thee go up in the Roslin-house ground, and rake arter cart” (that is, rake up the loose corn behind the wagon, in carrying corn).

The phrases used in driving horses I always thought interesting. Some carters would keep saying almost continuously to their horses,—“Come hayther, come hayther, *wut!*”<sup>1</sup> “Het up, Jolly!”<sup>2</sup> “Haw wut, smiler!” “Come here *up,* Dumplin!” “Haw, haw, haw” was said encouragingly, and I took it to mean,—“All is going well, keep on as you are going.” The four horses in a team were (and still are) called the Forrust, Lash-horse, Body-horse, and Thiller. The first horse was seldom called by his name, but, if he was not pulling fairly, or was looking carelessly about him, the driver would call out “Forrust,” when he would instantly prick up his ears, and attend to his work.

The question of women's rights presented no difficulty to the countryman. He had no doubts whatever upon *that* subject. He said,—“A 'ooman's aulus sarved well enough if 'er yent knocked about.” Some even went a little further. A friend of mine told an old labourer that some man in the village had been ill-treating his wife, and he replied,—“He unly gin 'er a slap 'o the 'ead, and that dun't 'urt no 'ooman!”

<sup>1</sup> A call to a horse to come towards one; hence to turn to the left side, on which the carter walks when driving without reins.

<sup>2</sup> Go to the right or off side away from the driver. Cf. '*heit*, scot! *heit*, brok!' in Chaucer's *Freres Tale*. (N.B. Initial *h* is never pronounced.)

There was an old man in the neighbourhood who remembered seeing a man sell his wife in Witney market. He said it was quite lawful if her husband "took her to market in a halter." She only realised the sum of five shillings!

The language of the people abounded in proverbs and similes; most of them are very expressive, and need no explaining, and some of them are probably very old. I will give here a few of the sayings most often used:

"Women and linen look best by candlelight.

Bread is the staff of life, but beer's life itself.

The greater the sinner, the greater the saint.

The man's the head, and the woman's the neck, and the neck turns the head.

Bachelors' wives and maids' children are always well taught.

The sharper the storm, the sooner it's over.

Self first, then your next best friend.

A creaking door hangs long on its hinges, [said of an invalid who lives to be old].

You can eat apples and nuts, after any sluts.

Little children make your head ache, and big ones make your heart ache."

Speaking of children,—

"When you've got one you may run,

When you've got two you may goo,

But when you've got three you must stop where you be."

Old people would solemnly tell children to work hard at school, for—

"When house and land are gone and spent,

Then learning is most excellent."

"If you stop till the day of resurrection, I shall stop till the day after, [said to a wife who goes to fetch her husband from the public-house].

A salve for every sore, [an excuse for everything. I once saw this saying in a very old manuscript in the Bodleian Library].

Every tub stands on its own bottom.

Like the old woman's dish-cloth, looks better dry than wet [said of clothes that are a bad colour in the wash-tub].

Too high for the stirrup, and not high enough for the saddle.  
 Trying to keep one's dish upright, [to make both ends meet].  
 The boy has gone by with the cows, [spoken of lost opportunities].

Every generation gets weaker and wiser.

I'll please my eye if I plague my heart, [said by a man who marries for beauty only].

To see which way the cat jumps, [to see how things will turn out].

To put all the bells on one horse.

The nearer the church the further from heaven.

I'd rather have a knave than a fool.

To be poor, and to look poor, is the devil all over.

A bellowing cow soon forgets her calf, [said of people who grieve noisily].

It must be a man or a mouse, [a master or slave, usually spoken of husbands].

I'll win the horse, or lose the saddle.

The golden ball never goes up but once.

In and out like a dog at a fair, [said of people or children who keep going in and out of doors].

As peart as a maggot.

As scarce [pronounced *skæs*] as snow in harvest.

As snug as a bug in a rug.

Like a crab in a cow's mouth, [said of a small quantity of anything].

As pleased as if the pot was on.

Slipping about like a cat in pattens."

There were many nursery rhymes current in the neighbourhood, and the old grandmothers would keep little children and babies amused for hours by crooning ditties like the following:—

" My good Mrs. Bond, what have you got for dinner?  
 Beef in the larder, and ducks in the pond.  
 Dilly, dilly, dilly, dilly, come and be killed,  
 For the gentlefolks are coming and their bellies must be filled."

" The man in the moon was caught in a trap  
 For stealing the thorns out of another man's gap.  
 If he had gone by, and let the thorns lie,  
 He'd never been a man in the moon so high."

- “ Pit a pat, pit a pat, baker’s man,  
 So I do, master, as fast as I can,  
 Pit it and pat it and mark it with B,  
 And put it in the oven for baby and me.”
- “ Dance a baby diddy,  
 What shall a mammy do wid’ ee,  
 Sit ’ee in her lap, and give ’ee some pap,  
 And dance a baby diddy.”
- “ I’ll tell you a story about Jack a min’ry  
 And now my story’s begun,  
 I’ll tell you another about Jack and his brother,  
 And now my story’s done.”
- “ Christmas is a-coming and very glad am I,  
 For I can go to your house and have some Christmas pie.  
 I don’t mean a magpie that sits upon a house,  
 And I don’t mean a crab pie that isn’t worth a louse,  
 But I mean a mince-pie stuffed full of plums,  
 That I can put my fingers in and sweetly [*from un:ed* sweetilie] suck  
 my thumbs.”
- “ Once upon a time, when birds made rhyme,  
 And monkeys chewed tobacco,  
 When old hens took snuff, to make them puff,  
 And little pigs run to see the fun,  
 And couldn’t think what was the matter.”
- “ This pig got in the barn,  
 This eat all the corn,  
 This said he wasn’t well,  
 This said he’d go and tell,  
 And this said,—weke, weke, weke,  
 Can’t get over the barn-door sill.”

[This was said taking hold of the baby’s toes each in turn.]

- “ That’s my lady’s knives and forks,  
 That’s my lady’s table,  
 That’s my lady’s looking-glass,  
 And that’s my lady’s cradle.”

[This was said interlacing the fingers upwards at the first line, then downwards at the second line, putting together the two fore-fingers at the third, and the two little fingers as well at the fourth line].

My mother knew an extraordinary number of old rhymes, ghost stories, and charms, many of which I remember, and which it seems to me may be of some interest to lovers of folklore.

I will begin with a charm called "Trying the Dumb Cake," by which a girl could see her future husband. It must be done on Christmas Eve, and should be carried out in complete silence. First, a dough cake must be made and placed on the hearthstone, and the maker must prick her initials on it, the door being carefully left open, as something terrible would happen if the spirit came and found it shut. She must then wait in perfect silence till the clock strikes twelve, when her future husband will walk in and prick his initials beside hers on the cake, and then walk out again. An old lady once told me that a girl in this way brought her future husband, who was a soldier, into the room, and in passing through the doorway he broke his sword in two. The girl picked up the broken piece and kept it. After she had been married to him some years, in turning out her trunk she came across it, and showed it to her husband, and he was so angry he could hardly forgive her. He told her he suffered dreadful agonies during the time she forced him to appear, although he did not then know the reason. A woman once told me that in her youth she and a friend tried the 'Dumb Cake,' but, just before the clock struck twelve, the dog jumped up and began to growl, and they were frightened and spoke, and so the charm was broken.

Another way to make your future husband appear, was to take hemp seed to the churchyard at twelve o'clock at night on Christmas Eve, and sow it going along, saying while doing so,—

" Here I sow hemp seed that hemp seed may grow,  
Hoping my true love will come after me and mow."

The hemp seed immediately grew up, and your future husband came behind you and began to mow it. You must move very quickly or he might cut your legs off with his scythe. I have heard girls recommended to try this rather ghastly proceeding, but I never heard of one who did so!

If you wished to dream of your lover, you must pin your garters to the wall and put your shoes in the shape of a **T**, and before getting into bed say the following lines,—

" I pin my garters to the wall,  
And put my shoes in the shape of a **T**.  
In hopes my true love for to see,  
Not in his apparel nor in his array,  
But in the clothes that he wears every day.

If I am his bride to be,  
 If I am his clothes to wear,  
 If I am his children to bear,  
 I hope he'll turn his face to me.  
 But if I am not his bride to be,  
 If I am not his clothes to wear,  
 If I am not his children to bear,  
 I hope he'll turn his back to me."

After saying this, you must get into bed backwards, and not speak afterwards.

If you wished to know if your lover was constant, you must gather four long blades of grass (called 'lovelaces') and hold them in your hand. Then tie them together in four knots, two at each end, saying while you do so,—

"If you love me cling all round me,  
 If you hate me fall off quite,  
 If you neither love nor hate  
 Come in two at last."

If the grasses form a ring, he is constant; if all the knots come undone, he hates you; if they come in two pieces, he is indifferent.

There was also a method of finding out the initials of your future husband, known as the "Bible and Key." You placed the door key between the leaves of the Bible, leaving the ring of the key outside, and tied your garter round the covers. Then two persons held up the Bible by placing the first finger on the ring of the key, one of them saying the following verses from the Song of Solomon:—"His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me. I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, . . . that ye stir not up, nor awake my love till he please. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would be utterly contemned." Then you said slowly the letters of the alphabet, beginning at A, and, when you got to the initial of your future husband, the key slowly turned round.

Another way girls have of telling their fortunes, which is common to the whole county and is still practised, is by taking a seed-stalk of grass, called a 'bennet,' and saying the following, as they touch a seed, beginning at the bottom of the stalk and finishing at the



top,—“Whom shall I marry?” They then take a seed between the thumb and finger and say,—“A rich man,—a poor man,—a beggar man,—a farmer.—a thief”; “How shall I go to church? coach,—carriage,—wheelbarrow,—chaise.” “What shall I wear? silk,—satin,—cotton,—rags.” The sentence or word that finishes with the top seed determines the fortune.

I used to hear a great many curious old rhymes. I especially remember one which was intended to make your flesh creep. It was told in the twilight of a winter evening, and had to be said very slowly and solemnly, with the voice rising and falling dramatically, and with a strong emphasis on the words in italics:—

“*Then* was a Lady all *skin* and *bone*  
 Such a *Lady* ne'er was *known*.  
*She* went into a church to *pray*,  
 As *I* have heard many people *say*.  
 When she got to the church *stile*,  
 She waited *there* a little *while*.  
 And *when* she got to the church *door*  
 She waited *there* a little *more*,  
 And *then* she entered *in*.  
*She* looked up, and *she* looked down,  
 And *saw* a dead man lying on the *ground*,  
 And from his *nose*, and *mouth*, and *chin*,  
 The *worms* crawled *out*, and the *worms* crawled *in*,  
 And she said to the parson.—“Must *I* be so?”  
 And the parson said,—“You *must* be so.”  
 And she said, OH DEAR, OH DEAR, O!”

The exclamations of the lady in the last line were said in a loud startling voice, and the reciter would put her hand suddenly on the listener's, and make her start.

Another quaint old rhyme was the following:—

“A man, a man of double deed,  
 He sowed his garden full of seed;  
 When the seed began to grow,  
 'Twas like a garden full of snow;  
 When the snow began to fall,  
 'Twas like a bird upon the wall;  
 When the bird began to fly,  
 'Twas like an eagle in the sky;  
 When the sky began to roar,  
 'Twas like a lion at your door:

When the door began to crack,  
 'Twas like a stick about your back ;  
 When your back began to smart,  
 'Twas like a penknife in your heart ;  
 When your heart began to bleed,  
 'Twas time for you to die indeed."

I remember my grandfather singing the following old song, when he was over seventy. It was the only song he ever did sing, and I believe he had sung it ever since he was a young man :—

"When Adam was first created,  
 And lord of the universe crowned,  
 His happiness was not completed,  
 Till for him a helpmate was found :  
 She was not taken out of his head, sir,  
 To rule and triumph over man ;  
 And she was not taken out of his feet, sir,  
 By man to be trampled upon :  
 But she was taken out of his side, sir,  
 His partner and equal to be,  
 And him she was bound to obey, sir,  
 For man was the top of the tree."

Those were not the days of suffragettes, and we used to listen meekly while he sang the last two lines with great gusto !

The two following old songs were frequently sung by the men at harvest homes :—

1. "I love a shilling, a jolly, jolly shilling,  
 I love a shilling, as I love my life ;  
 A penny I will spend, and a penny I will lend,  
 And tenpence carry home to my wife."

The next verse begins "I love a tenpence," and ends "And eightpence carry home to my wife"; and so on, until the last verse, which ends "And nothing carry home to my wife."

2. "Oliver Cromwell lies dead in his grave,  
 'Um, ah, dead in his grave ;  
 There grows a green apple-tree over his head,  
 'Um, ah, over his head ;  
 The bridle and saddle are laid on the shelf,  
 'Um, ah, laid on the shelf ;  
 If you want any more you may sing it yourself,  
 'Um, ah, sing it yourself."

If a lady were asked to sing a song, and she was not anxious to do so, she would decline by singing the following verse:—

“You have asked me to sing, and I’m sure I’m quite sorry,  
I cannot oblige the good company here,  
If I were to begin you would see in a hurry,  
The guests would depart and the coast would be clear.”

(*Then with its proper tune :*)

A shepherd was watching his flock by a fountain—  
(Oh that is too high for a voice with a tone)  
But by your permission I’ll try at another.

(*Then with its proper tune :*)

A North-country lass up to London did pass—<sup>3</sup>  
And that is so slow I will never get done.  
So I hope you’ll excuse me, for I’m sure I can’t sing.”

It used to be the custom for the hostess, in pouring out tea, to say to each guest,—“Is your tea agreeable?” to which the answer was, usually,—“Quite, thank you.” If you wished for another cup of tea, you placed the teaspoon on the right side of the tea cup, but, if you did not want any more, on the left side; and in cutting bread and butter, it was considered polite to ask,—“Which do you prefer, upper-side or lower-side?”—meaning the top or bottom of a loaf.

The belief in witches was very strong in those times. I remember an old woman called “Shaking Charlotte,” who was afflicted with palsy, and we were always told she was a witch, and the children used to run away when they saw her coming, but I never heard that she did any harm. If you could scratch the supposed witch with a pin and fetch blood, she was unable to harm you. An old lady once told me that, many years before, she was in a low, depressed state of mind, and her brother came to see her. He said solemnly,—“Jane, you’re bewitched. I’ll tell you what I will do. I will put a cross over your door, and then no unholy thing can enter in.” He then placed two straws in the shape of a cross over the doorway. She did recover, but whether in consequence of the cross or not, she couldn’t say.

My mother used to speak of a boy who was supposed to have been bewitched. She told me his name, but I have forgotten it.

<sup>3</sup>This is not the original line.

It was said that he would run straight up the walls of houses, and over the roofs, like a cat.

There were many stories of the Devil, (familiarly spoken of as 'Old Nick,' or 'Old Serat'), appearing to people. A man was going from Northleigh to Barnard Gate, and the Devil came to him in the shape of a fiery serpent, and surrounded him so that he could not pass for some time. When at length he was able to escape, he went back to Northleigh and brought several friends to the place where the serpent had been, but it had disappeared.

A friend of mine told an old labourer at Holton that he did not believe in a personal devil, and the old man said,—“Not believe in the Devil? Why, I've sin' 'im!” And he considered there was no more to be said.

If for any reason you should wish to call up the Devil, you must say the Lord's Prayer backwards. If a girl looks a long time in the looking-glass admiring herself, the Devil will come behind her and look over her shoulder. Any particularly profane or wicked person was said to have sold his soul to the devil.

Of course there were many talès of ghosts, and of spirits 'waiking.' There was said to be a ghost that “walked” in a lonely road near Northleigh, which carried its head under its arm; another was said to open the gates for people going across the fields from Church Handborough to Eynsham. I was always told that, if you should see a spirit, you should say to it solemnly,—“Spirit, what troublest thou?”, and follow wherever it led you.

There was a pond on the Witney Road not far from Handborough, in which we were told, when children, that the spirit of a woman had been laid. She was called “Old Mother Culpepper,” and there is a tablet to her memory in Handborough church. The ceremony of 'laying the spirit' was performed by twelve clergymen, and the spirit was enjoined not to return until the pond ran dry; we were told that, if ever this particular pond should run dry, the spirit would “come again.” There was a spirit “laid” in a barrel of beer at Stanton Harcourt, and the barrel had always to be kept full to prevent the spirit from returning.

I have many times heard the lads “give the rough music” to a neighbour who was suspected of certain offences, such as beating his wife, or being too familiar with his neighbour's wife. They

came round early in the evening and begged old tin trays or tea-kettles, and then assembled before the offender's house, and made a deafening noise. If there was a back way to the house, the man would escape and hide himself till the performance was over: but, if he could not get away, his position was most miserable, for they would keep on beating their instruments with astonishing perseverance, until they were tired out, and had to go home to bed.

It was the regular custom on the evening of the 5th of November, which was called "Bonfire Night," for the boys to go round the village to collect faggots for a bonfire, chiefly from the farmers. They would come to the door, and sing,—

" Let gunpowder plot  
Never be forgot.  
A stick and a stake,  
For King George's sake.  
A faggot, a faggot, a faggot,  
If you don't give me one, I'll take two.  
The better for me and the worse for you.  
Hammer and block, beetle and wedges.  
If you won't give me a faggot, I'll cut down your old hedges.

The farmer would promptly fetch a faggot from his 'woodpile,' as he knew that, at the least hesitation on his part, the lads would help themselves to two. The boys still go round the villages, but now they ask for pence instead of firewood.

On Shrove Tuesday, or 'Pancake' Day, the children used to sing at each door,—

" Pit a pat, the pan's hot,  
And I be come a srover;  
Eat a bit, and bite a bit,  
And then 'tis all over."

and ask for pence.

When the harvesting was finished, the labourers rode home on the last load of corn, shouting as they went along.—

" Hip, hip, hip, harvest home,  
A good plum-pudding and a bacon bone,  
And that's a very good harvest home."

The harvest-home dinner, (always called "the harvest-home"), usually consisted of large joints, plum-puddings, and tins of

potatoes, all baked in the brick-oven, and an unlimited supply of beer. When dinner was over, the company all stood up, and sang the following song,—

“ Here’s a health unto our master,  
 The founder of the feast,  
 I pray to God with all my heart  
 His soul in heaven may rest ;  
 And that ev’rythink may prosper, 5  
 Whatever he takes in hand ;  
 For we are all his servants,  
 And all at His command.  
 Then drink, boys, drink,  
 And see that you do not spill ; 10  
 For if you do, you shall drink two,  
 For ’tis our master’s will.

Here’s a health unto our misteris,  
 The best in one and twenty.  
 Heigho ! is it so, is it so, is it so ! 15  
 Fill him up a little fuller,  
 For methinks he seems but empty,  
 And down let him go, let him go, let him go.  
 And if he drinks too deep  
 He can go to bed and sleep, 20  
 And drive away dull sorrow, care, and woe.”

At line 10 one or two would purposely spill a little, and have to drink another glass, and at line 16 all the glasses would be filled up. The “harvest home” has been discontinued for the last forty or fifty years.

Of course we had the mummers at Christmas. Some little time before, they would come and ask for newspapers or coloured paper, with which to deck themselves out, and when we saw them perform, it was a great part of the fun to guess who they were, for they were literally covered from head to foot with narrow strips of paper. I had forgotten part of the words said by them, so I obtained this from a native of to-day. It is much altered from what I remember, and several lines are omitted. It is still acted in the different villages.

The mummers would come to the back-door, and say,—“Please to let the mummers act,” and, upon our complying, they all walked into the room, and the first performer, who carried a

stick, walked stolidly round in a circle, and said in a monotonous tone.—

“A room, a room, brave gallants all,  
Please give me room to rhyme,  
I am come this merry Christmas-time,  
To show you activity, activity,  
Such as has never been seen before.  
Come in, the French officer.”

*Even his grace*:—“I am the French officer, officer I,  
Many long fields I have battled to try,  
So guard thy head and mind thy blows, head, face also.  
So a battle, a battle, betwixt thee and I,  
To see which shall be on the ground dead first. Shall I?”

(*They then fight, and the first speaker is wounded.*)

“Come in, Doctor Airo.”

“See, sir, here comes the noble Doctor Airo; he don’t go travelling about like other quack doctors do; he has got a sign to cure, not to kill.”

*Doctor*:—“I’ve got a little box of pills to cure  
The hock, the pock, the palsy, and the gout,  
Pains within, and pains without.  
I can cure this man if he ain’t quite dead.  
So, noble fellow, raise up thy head,  
And fight again once more.  
Come in, Jack Finny.”

*Jack Finny*:—“Jack Finny’s not my name,  
But Mister Finny is my name.  
Don’t you know I’m a man of very great fame?  
Last year when I came here,  
You never asked me to taste your beer,  
Now I have come with my bladder and broom,  
To sweep the cobwebs from your room.”

Jack Finny was dressed as a clown, and carried a bladder attached to a long piece of string, with which he used to strike the heads of the other performers, for the amusement of the audience.

On the 29th of May everyone was supposed to wear a piece of oak, called “shick-shack,” and anyone not wearing it was liable to be stung with stinging-nettles. The old saying was,—“Twenty-ninth of May, shick-shack day.” In the afternoon in Oxford the shick-shack was discarded, and monkey-powder or leaves of the ash was put in its place, and in the evening both emblems had to

disappear, or the wearers were beaten with stinging-nettles. An oak tree was often called a shick-shack tree.

On April 1st there was the usual custom of making everyone an April Fool. If anyone was made an April Fool after noon, they would say to him,—

“April Fool is gone and past,  
And you're the biggest fool at last;  
When April Fool comes again,  
You'll be the biggest fool then.”

I was visiting some friends at Blackthorn near Bicester, when quite a little girl, and was awakened quite early one morning by a loud clanging noise. I was told they were “ringing the bees.” This was done by beating a fire-shovel with a door key, and was intended to induce the queen bee to settle. It was said that, if the bees were not “rung,” the owner could not claim them if they settled on another person's premises. Bees were seldom kept in the villages around Handborough.

Signs or tokens of death were firmly believed in, and there were many of them, such as a ‘death tick,’—a ticking noise in the wall, the hooting of an owl, the howling of a dog, a blowfly buzzing about the house, the chirruping of a cricket, and a “winding-sheet” or “shroud” in the candle (the guttering usually caused by a hair). Of three or four magpies seen together it was said,—

“One's a wedding,  
Two's mirth,  
Three's a berrin' (d'rying),  
Four's death.”

It was a general belief that a person could not die if there were pigeon's feathers in the pillow on which he was lying. I have often known a friend or nurse of a person ‘dying hard’ gently remove the pillow from under his head, saying,—“There may be some pigeon's feathers in it.” A person taken to see a dead body should always touch it, or it was thought he would dream of it. A cure for goitre, or ‘full neck,’ was to draw the hand of a corpse across it. There was a saying

“Happy is the corpse that the rain rains on,  
And happy is the bride that the sun shines on.”

There was another curious custom which deserves mention.



When I was quite a little girl I remember several times seeing the funeral of a baby. Four young women dressed in white carried the coffin on a white cloth held by the four corners. They wore large white bonnets tied under the chin in the fashion of those days, and, if they had no white bonnets, they covered those they had with a piece of white muslin. They walked from Long Handborough to Church Handborough, a distance of about a mile, and I never saw any mourners following. This custom was discontinued before I grew up.

There was a tradition that a ship could not sail if a murderer was on board. I remember part of an old song about a man named William who had murdered his sweetheart and her baby. The captain of the ship summoned all the men before him, and told them that there was a murderer on board.

““ For the ship is in mourning and will not sail on.”  
 Then up came one,—“ I’m sure it’s not me.”  
 And up came another, and the same he did say.  
 Then up came young William to curse and to swear,  
 “ I’m sure it’s not me, sir, I vow and declare.”  
 As he was a-turning away for to go,  
 The ghost of his dear Mary came up from below.  
 She stript and she tore him, she tore him in three.  
 All for murdering her sweet baby and she.”

There were several “cures” and superstitions which were firmly believed in. A cure for cramp in the night was to place a bowl of water under the bed. An old labourer at Holton told me he used to suffer dreadfully from cramp, but was cured in this way. He said,—“ Nobody need ever have cramp.” If anyone had warts certain persons in the place could charm them away, and many people assured me that theirs had disappeared after being ‘charmed.’ Another way, but a cruel one, was to take a snail, rub it over the warts, stick it on a thorn, and, as the snail died, the warts disappeared. There was an old superstition that, at twelve o’clock at night on Christmas Eve, all the cattle in the fields fell upon their knees, and another that it was a sin to kill a martin, swallow, robin, or wren, for

“ Martins and swallows are God A’mighty’s scholars.  
 And robins and wrens are God A’mighty’s cocks and hens.”

At Bloxham it was ‘friends’ instead of ‘cocks and hens.’

The dark marks across the shoulders of a donkey, some used to say, were originally caused by Christ making a cross on the ass on which he sat: and others, that they were made by the legs of Christ as he rode into Jerusalem.

The old saying

“A whistling woman and a crowing hen  
Are neither good for God nor men.”

was carried out in rather a heartless fashion by the farmer's wife, by chopping off the hen's head on the chopping-block. I have known this done many a time. It was considered unlucky to have a crowing hen, but this drastic proceeding was not so much to avert the ill-luck as to protest against the hen's usurping the privileges of the cock.

If your cheeks burned it was thought to be a sign that someone was talking about you, and, in case they should be backbiting you, you should say,—

“Right cheek, left cheek, why do you burn?  
Cursed be she that doth me any harm.  
If it be a maid, let her be slayed,  
And if it be a widow, long let her mourn;  
But if it be my own true love, burn, cheek, burn.”

If your nose itched it was a sign that you would be kissed, cursed, or vexed, run against a gatepost, or shake hands with a fool.

A small white spot on the finger-nail meant that a gift was coming to you,—

“A gift on the finger is sure to linger,  
A gift on the thumb is sure to come.”

The seventh son of a seventh son would have a remarkable career.

It was lucky to fall upstairs, or for a black cat to come into the house. It was unlucky to spill salt at table,—(but the ill-luck could be averted by throwing a pinch of salt over the left shoulder),—to meet on the stairs, to be married in May, to have an engagement ring with an opal in it,—(an opal signified widowhood and tears),—for a bride to wear any black article of clothing on her wedding-day, and to *meet* a funeral,—(you should always turn the same way until it was past). If you broke a looking-glass,

you would have no luck for seven years. If you laughed before breakfast, you would cry before night. If you shuddered suddenly, it was a sign that someone was walking over your grave. To mend your clothes on your back, meant that you would have lies told about you. A hot coal flying from the fire in your direction, was a sign that you had an enemy. A tea-stalk, (called a stranger), floating in your tea was a sign that a stranger was coming: and to stir up the tea-leaves in the tea-pot was to stir up strife. A spark in the candle meant that you would shortly receive a letter. To sneeze signified "once a wish, twice a kiss, three times a disappointment."

Dreams also had their significance. If you dreamt of clear water, it was a good sign, but, if of muddy water, a bad sign.

"If you dream of a weddin' you'll hear of a berrin.

Dream of the dead, you'll hear of the living.

Friday dreamt, and Saturday told,

Will be sure to come true, be it ever so old."

Although I have written in the past tense, because I have not been in the district for some years, I do not wish it to be supposed that these old customs and sayings are no longer in use. Of course some of them may now have become obsolete, but, as the habits of the people are still very much the same, it is likely that the old superstitions and omens will continue to be believed, and the old sayings to be spoken, for many years to come.

ANGELINA PARKER.

#### PIEDMONTESE PROVERBS IN DISPRAISE OF WOMAN.

ALONGSIDE the monkish literature which in mediæval times enlarged in dispraise of woman almost as a professional duty, there flourished a mass of popular ballad, jest, and proverb which more or less seriously adopted the same tone,<sup>1</sup> and this abuse of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the Scottish ballad of *The Dumb Wife of Aberdour*; J. Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, p. 134; etc.

woman still survives in story and saying all over Europe. In Servia, for example, we find:—"Where the devil cannot cause a mischief, there he sends an old woman, and she does it," and "Woman has long hair but short brains."<sup>2</sup>

In Piedmont many proverbs in current use share this mediæval characteristic, although the songs of the winter courtship meetings in the stables<sup>3</sup> are couched in extravagant eulogy of the beauty and good qualities of woman, or rather of *a* woman. From a number of these unprinted songs of young people in love written out for me by a peasant, I select the following:—

“Sei bella, sei splendida, o vaga fanciulla,  
 Dei dolci peccati sei forse pentita?  
 Mi sembri una santa discesa dal ciel.  
 Sei bella e pietosa di bruno vestita.  
 Coperto la fronte di pudico vel.  
 Riposa tranquilla nei sogni ridenti,  
 Eppur già è scritto nel mio destino  
 Laggiù sull' arena ai rialzi del mar  
 In mezzo ai profumi di magiche feste  
 Un giorno mia sposa dovrai diventar.  
 Ed allora il mio cor sinfiamma d' amor.  
 O bel angioio mio, o mio bel tesor.”

which may be very freely translated as

“O dainty girl, so lovely, all glorious within,  
 Hast thou perchance deserted our pleasant ways as sin?  
 To me thou now appearest a saint from Heaven come down,  
 All beautiful and holy, in simple robe of brown,  
 The modest veil of girlhood still hides thy forehead clear,  
 And be thy dreams all smiling, thy rest without a fear.  
 But know already written my changeless fate's decree  
 That there upon the shore of the ever-shifting sea  
 Love's magic feasts and perfumes await both thee and me,  
 And thou, one day of glory, my bride and joy shall be.  
 Then in my heart is burning a love all words above,  
 O angel mine, O treasure, my beautiful, my dove!”

<sup>2</sup> Mijatovich, *Servia and the Servians*, pp. 204-5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii, pp. 457-8.

But the proverbs,—the philosophy of the older and, presumably, married men,—show a very different outlook, and I have gathered orally and from various local pamphlets the following choice specimens, chiefly to illustrate this point of view:—[The spelling follows the local dialects.]

1. Stan verslusa, n'autran spusa.  
This year (a) stye (on the eye), next year (a) bride.
2. Mariësse a l'è ün brut atè,  
Ma. Nossgnur, femlu privè.  
Marriage is a bad business,  
But, O Lord, let me try it.
3. A l'è scrit sü la porta dël dôm  
Che na bella fia a pia ün brut òm.  
It is written on the door of the church  
That a beautiful girl marries an ugly man.
4. L'òm basta ch'a sia pi bel dël diaval. (*o ch'a l'abia nen i còrn*).  
It is enough for a man to be more beautiful than the devil, (*or not to have horns*).
5. Se un l'è bin marià,  
A l'à el paradìs anticipà :  
S' a l'è mal marià,  
A l'à l'infern anticipà.  
If one is well married,  
It is Paradise anticipated :  
If one is ill married,  
It is Hell anticipated.
6. L prim òm a l'è de Dio.  
El secund a l'è del mund.  
E l ters a l'è dël diaval. (*Of widows.*)  
The first man (husband) is god-like, (*i.e.* gifted with virtues,  
because beloved).  
The second is worldly, (*i.e.* has virtues and vices).  
The third is diabolic.
7. El cör d' lè fumne a l'è a mlon.  
A na dan na fëtta a prün.

L'ultim ai resta le grumele.  
 Woman's heart is like a lemon.  
 They give a slice to everyone.  
 The last gets the seeds.

8. Chi a l' à pasienssa cun el fil  
 A l' a pasienssa cun el mari.  
 Who has patience with the thread  
 Has patience with the husband.
9. Dua a l' è scür  
 Le dònhe a sun tüte cumpagne.  
 Where it is dark  
 Women are all the same.
10. Nè fumina nè teila  
 Van nen guarda al ceir 'd la candela.  
 Neither woman nor cloth  
 Is to be looked at by candle light.
11. Le dònhe quasi tüte  
 Per fesse bele as fan brute.  
 Nearly all women  
 To be beautiful make themselves ugly.
12. El diavul a fa la turta  
 E le dònhe an lu fan mangé.  
 The Devil makes the cake  
 And the women cause it to be eaten.
13. La dònha a l' è cum la castagna.  
 D' föra a l' è bela e dentra a l' à la magagna.  
 Women are like chestnuts,  
 Beautiful outside, bad inside.
14. Le dònhe a la san pi lunga d' el diavul.  
 Women know more than the devil.
15. Le dònhe sun segrete cum el trun.  
 Women are as secret as the thunder.
16. Le dònhe van sempre a j' eccess.  
 Women go always to extremes.

17. J'arme d'le dònhe a sin  
La lenga, j'unge, e le lacrime.  
Women's weapons are  
Her tongue, nails, and tears.
18. Al caval spron,  
A la fumna baston.  
To the horse spur,  
To the woman stick.
19. Sant an cesa, e diavul an te ca.  
Saint in church, devil at home.
20. Tùti a sun bun d'regulè la fumma a ciance.  
Everyone can manage a woman—in words.
21. Ùn òm a na val sent,  
È sent a na valu nen ün.  
A man is worth a hundred (men).  
But a hundred are not worth one.
22. Vin vej e dònne giuvu  
A mantenhu el cör cuntent.  
Old wine and young women  
Keep the heart content.
23. Chi d'amur as pia, d'rabia as lassa.  
He who is caught by love, is left by rage.
24. Due fumme e ün oca a fan ün mercà.  
Two women and a goose make a market.
25. Sinch fumme e na galinha  
Fan la fera d'Piscinha.  
Five women and a hen  
Make the fair of Piscina (near Pinerolo).
26. Tre fumme e ün can  
Fan la fera d'Urbassan.  
Three women and a dog  
Make the fair of Orbassan (near Turin).
27. Tre fumme e ün sach d'nuss  
Fan la fera d'Cavalimur.  
Three women and a sack of walnuts  
Make the fair of Cavallermaggiore (near Saluzzo).

28. Vintinov crave e na fumma  
 A fan trenta bestie.  
 Twenty-nine goats and one woman  
 Make thirty beasts.

To the last proverb women reply:—

29. L'òm, l'asu e l'pitu a s' asmiu.  
 A man, an ass, and a turkey are the same.

E. CANZIANI.

#### COUNTY CLARE FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS, I.

IN continuation of *A Folklore Survey of County Clare*,<sup>1</sup> I now present a collection of quasi-historic tales and traces of tales, ranging from mythical times to the early eighteenth century. Few counties can boast such a rich and unbroken series, and, although I dare not assert that all the tales have been passed from mouth to mouth "without book,"—and indeed hold an opposite view in certain cases,—it is probable that many were so transmitted. In some examples it may be instructive to compare the tradition with written history. I have arranged the tales in chronological order, and tried to eliminate all clearly derived from books in recent years. I shall, however, show how modern books on King Brian have venerated the purer tradition of 1890 near Killaloe, and record the oldest written tales about the district. There is no reason to believe that the local accounts of De Clare's wars, the Armada, or the great Civil War of 1641-51, go back to any other than a remote traditional source.<sup>2</sup> The tales of the saints were probably drawn, long ago, from the actual *legenda* read in the churches. The wild stories of gods and heroes probably came down orally from incredibly remote periods.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vols. xxi., xxii., and xxiii. Map, vol. xxi., Pl. xi.

<sup>2</sup> The tales have, however, been touched up and remodelled since 1892.

<sup>3</sup> I do not refer to the euhemerized tales of the Tuatha Dé Danann, of which the recension dates probably little, if at all, before the Norse wars, and far later than the introduction of Christianity.



The belief that the "torch of tradition" has burned continuously, without rekindling, is strengthened by the slight and bald narrations about the all-important Mound of Inauguration at Magh Adhair,<sup>4</sup> despite its appearance in accessible works, from the *Collectanea* of Vallancey onwards. It is also noteworthy that the bulk of the Clare stories are Dalcassian, the great tribes of the Corcabaiscinn only appearing in the tales of St. Senan, and those naming the Corca Modruad having seemingly died out.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *The Gods.*

Ana or Danann, Mother of the Gods, is still kept in mind by Irish speakers in naming certain hills in Kerry,<sup>6</sup> and her children, the Tuatha Dé Danann, are not forgotten in ancient Thomond. Slieve Boughy or Aughty (Sliabh n Echtgha), on the north-eastern border of Clare, is named from "Echtghe the Awful," the divine daughter of the god Nuada Silver-Arm.<sup>7</sup> These hills were given to her by her lover, the cup-bearer of Gann and Genann, the eponymous ancestors of the Ganganoi of Ptolemy.<sup>8</sup> Tuath Aughty is the parish of Feakle. The god Lugh had a daughter Tailti, and a rath-builder. Alestar, dug a fort to appease her anger at a slight offered when her husband, Eochy Garbh, was clearing a forest to make a fair green in her honour. This fort lay at Cluan Alestair on Sliabh Leitreach (or Mount Callan),<sup>9</sup> but its site is now forgotten. The two tales are recorded in ancient books, and the place-names themselves are still preserved.<sup>9</sup>

I have already noted<sup>10</sup> a warning in 1905 by two natives at

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vol. xxii., p. 208.      <sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., pp. 181-2.

<sup>6</sup> The Paps of Kerry are called *Da chích Danainne* ("The Two Breasts of Ana"), *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan), vol. i., p. 24 n.

<sup>7</sup> "Dindsenchas" (ed. Whitley Stokes), *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. (1894), p. 458. See also the later "Agallamh na Senorach" (The Colloquy with the Ancients), S. H. O'Grady, *Sik'a Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> See paper by Mr. G. H. Orren in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxiv., p. 119.

<sup>9</sup> "Dindsenchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv. (1894), p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> Vol. xxi., p. 198. So in *Sik'a Gadelica*, vol. ii., pp. 123-6, people are afraid to sit on certain *tulachs* or mounds from fear of the Tuatha Dé Danann. For a description of this remarkable district see *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., pp. 343-52.

Croaghateeam, north-west of Ballinalacken Castle, to cross ourselves as a protection "against the Dananns," and not far away to the east, near Lisdoonvarna Castle, is the entrenched natural green hillock of Lissateeam (Lios an t siodhain), the "fairy fort," which was in 1839 a recognised palace of the Dé Danann. This name recalls the early passages relating to the *Sidh*. The fifth-century hymn of Fiacc says,—“On Erin’s folk lay darkness, the tribes worshipped the *Sidh*,” while Tirechan’s annotations in the *Book of Armagh*<sup>11</sup> tell of the “*viros side aut deorum terrenorum*,” for whom Patrick and his clerics were mistaken. Much later Seaan MacCraith<sup>12</sup> tells how, in 1317, the hideous hag Bronach revealed herself at Lough Rask to Prince Dermot O’Brien as one of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and again, as a lodger in the green fairy hills, in the following year, to Sir Richard de Clare at the ford of the river Fergus. She is still vaguely remembered in northern Burren.<sup>13</sup> In 1684 Roderic O’Flaherty tells us that the Irish call “aerial spirits or phantoms” *sidhe* “because they come out of pleasant hills.” Another of the Danann who played a large part in Clare was the smith Lon Mac Liómhtha. Perhaps the banshee Aibhill and the lady Gillagreine were of the same race.<sup>14</sup> The latter may have been a daughter of Greine the sun, but in late legend (the “Agallamh”) she is a daughter of Finn mac Cumhail.

## 2. *The Red Branch Heroes.*

The great Setanta, surnamed Cuchulainn, (the Hound of Uladh and for a long time its sole defender against the hosts of Queen Medbh, whether a real hero or the Brocken spectre of one, a sun god, or the son of the god Lugh), has set his mark in place-names

<sup>11</sup> See Rolls series, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, vol. ii., p. 315, for Tirechan, and p. 409 for Fiacc. Tirechan died A.D. 656.

<sup>12</sup> *Cathraim Thordhaicbhaigh*, written about 1345-60, not, as usually stated, 1459, an error arising from a date in the original of an eighteenth-century copy.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., pp. 187-9. Her name in 1839 was *Cailleach Cinn Boirne* (the “Hag of Black Head”). The old name of the Hag’s Head in Moher Cliffs, not far south from Black Head, was *Ceann Cailighe* (*Kan Kallye* in the 1580 maps). The *Cailleach* (cloaked woman) in older legend was younger, i.e. a *Cuillin*.

<sup>14</sup> Vol. xxi., p. 186.

far and wide, from the Cuchullin Hills in Scotland to Cuchullin's Leap<sup>15</sup> at the mouth of the Shannon. At the latter place a huge and lofty rock tower, rising some fifty or sixty feet away from the end of Loop Head, appears at one time to have been walled, and may, like other cliff forts, have been approached by a plank or natural bridge before the chasm widened. Before 850 Irish writers called it Leim Chonchulainn, so that probably his name and a story were attached to it in the ages left without record by the ravages of the Norse and Danes. But in later days his name was forgotten. "A hero," said the natives, was loved by Mal (a "Hag," though not necessarily old or ugly), and was pursued by her into the extreme angle at Loop Head. Closely pressed by her the hero leaped over to the island, was followed by her, and gathered his strength and sprang back to the headland. Mal was not to be discouraged, and followed, but fell short, and her blood stained all the sea as far as Hag's Head, her abode.<sup>16</sup> Local etymology says that Malbay owes its name to her. The same tale of Cuchulainn and the too fond dame is told in the Dindsenchas, but located at Fich m buana, near Dromsna, on the upper Shannon.<sup>17</sup>

Cuchulainn and the Red Branch Heroes, Conall Cernach, Cet, and Ross, fought the champions of the Firbolg Clann Umoir, and slew them. Several of the chiefs of the sons of Umor are commemorated in Clare; Irgbus at the fort Caherdooneerish or Dunirias (not Caherdoonfergus as on the maps), on Rinn Boirne or Black Head; Daelach at Lissadeely, Ballydeely, and the

<sup>15</sup> Such "leaps" abound up the coast. There is Leamanivore ("Big Man's Leap") in North Mayo, the "Giant's Leap" at Downpatrick Head, Leimtaggart ("Priest's Leap") and the "Leap of (Fiachra's) Sea Horse" in the Mullet at Dun Fiachrach Fort, Leim Conor, Leim Chaite, near Donegal Fort, and Cuchulainn's Leap in Clare, the Leap of Ballingarry in Kerry, and the "Heir's" Leap near Ardmore in Co. Waterford. There are also inland leaps such as that at Ardnurcher Castle.

<sup>16</sup> O'Curry, in the *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 92, gives the tale rather differently: the hero's paramour (*Cannan*) pursued him from Emania, and struck her back against a stone slightly below the edge, leaving an impression, whence it was called Leac na Cannain, and people believed that anyone with nerve enough to turn on one heel in the mark could obtain any wish.

<sup>17</sup> "Dindsenchas," *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvi., p. 57-8.

Daelach river: Ennach at Tech n Ennach, up the same river, where the great fort of Doon stands above Kiltinora; Beara at Finnvarra; and Adhar at Magh Adhair.<sup>18</sup> Unless the story at Magh Adhair,—that “it is the tomb of a king,”—refers to Adhar, no trace of the tale has survived except the place-names. I am myself rather inclined to think that the localities in the tale are places of similar name in Co. Mayo, where early writers place a branch of Clann Uathmor.

The O'Conors and O'Loughlins of Corcomroe claimed descent from Fergus mac Roigh and Medbh, and possibly they, rather than the intruding Dalcassians, preserved the Red Branch stories.

### 3. *Finn Cycle.*

Clare has been less forgetful of the far later saga cycle referring to Finn mac Cumhail and his warriors, the events of which are attributed to the third century. Finn, Conan, Caeilte, Dermot, and Oisin have left obvious traces in the place-names. The *Agallamh* says that Cluan Chepáin in the mountains of Echtghe was named from Chepán, son of Morna, who fell there.<sup>19</sup> The site is now forgotten, but was to the south of Lough Graney. The elopement of Dermot and Grainne, Finn's wife, has given many names. I have already recorded their association with dolmens,<sup>20</sup> at one of which, Tobergrania, the use of a flooded dolmen as a holy well has replaced the pagan lovers by two Christian ascetics from Feakle. Several hill tops are called Seefin or Finn's Seat, viz. on Slieve Bernagh, on Inchiquin Hill, and a cairn at Black Head.

The tale of the Glasgeivnagh, or Grey-green Cow, on Slievenaglashta has been already alluded to,<sup>21</sup> and runs as follows:—Lon mac Liomhtha (Loon mac Leefa), of the Tuatha Dé Danann, was the first smith to make an edged weapon in Ireland. He had only one leg, with which he could spring over hills and valleys, but as compensation he had a third arm and hand growing out of his chest, with which he held the iron on the anvil while forging it with

<sup>18</sup> “Dindsenchas,” *loc. cit.*, vol. xv., pp. 478-481.

<sup>19</sup> *Silva Gadélica*, vol. ii., p. 126.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. xxiii., pp. 91-2.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. xxiii., p. 89; see also *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxv., p. 227-9, vol. xxvi., p. 150.

the huge hammer held by his other hands. He had stolen a wonderful grey-green cow from Spain, and lived on its unlimited milk. After long seeking he found a "desert" sufficiently fruitful to support her in Teeskagh. Many tried to steal her, but failed, because her hoofs grew backwards and she could not be tracked. One of Lon's seven sons took charge of her on each day of the week, holding her tail while she grazed. When she reached the edge of the plateau, he pulled her round by the tail, and let her graze back to Lon's fort, Mohernagartan ("the smith's fort"). She drank of the seven streams of Teeskagh,<sup>22</sup> and the rocks were marked in every direction with her hoof prints. At last the fame of Finn mac Cumhail reached Lon, and he, unlike the rest of his race, (who sulked in the fairy hills after their defeat by the Milesians), determined to recognize the chief hero of the new race and to make for him a wondrous sword. Lon set off to make himself known, and springing over the intervening plains and hills reached Ben Edair, the Hill of Howth, on the east coast. Finn and his warriors were holding a court when the strange being dropped into their midst, and Finn demanded the name and errand of the intruder. "I am Lon, skilled in the smith's craft, a servant to the King of Lochlan," the visitor replied. "I lay on ye a *geis* (obligation) to overtake me ere I reach my home," and off he sprung. The Fianna were soon outdistanced, except Caeilte "of the slender, hard legs," who came up with Lon hard by his forge, a cave with heaps of slaggy material in a nook still called *Garraidh na gceardchan*. Caeilte slapped Lon on the shoulder with the words, "Stay, smith. Enter not thy cave." "Success and welcome, true man of the Fianna," replied Lon, in delight. "Not for witchcraft did I visit thee, but to lead thee to my forge and make thee a fame-giving weapon." The two had already wrought in the forge for two days when Finn and his followers arrived, and Lon sold them eight swords. He resumed work aided by Goll and Conan, sons of Morna, but their mighty blows split the anvil and ended the work.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Seacht srotha na Teiscaighe*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 71; taken down in 1839 from Shane Reagh O'Cahane, an old tailor and *shanachy* (story-teller) in Corofin, by O'Donovan and E. O'Curry.

The Scottish versions of this tale are well known, and have more classical analogies than the Clare tale.<sup>24</sup> In the versions of north Ireland the Glasgavlin cow descends from the sky, and more closely resembles the rain cows of the Vedas, to which also a striking analogy is found in a subsequent appendix to the Clare tale. The cow has habitats at Cluainte (Kerry), Howth (Dublin), Glen an Arribble (Waterford), Ballynascreen (Londonderry), and opposite Torry Island in Donegal, where she and another smith figure in the archaic tale of Balor and Mac Kineely.<sup>25</sup> The cow is also found in Kerry, and in Glenganlen in Cavan. Finn's cow, the Glasghoilean, has a bed in the Isle of Skye. The tale was minutely localised on Glasseivnagh Hill and Slievenaglasha before 1839. At first our enquiries seemed to show that the story had died out, but after a couple of years Dr. MacNamara found it still subsisting amongst a few old folk and herdsmen near Teeskagh. As neither of us referred to the 1839 story, we were much struck by the perfect agreement after the lapse of two generations. I took down one recension at Tullycommoun in 1896, from John Finn. The main story is identical with that given above, and it ends as follows:—"At Slievenaglasha were the *Glas* cow's beds. No grass ever grows on them. She used to feed near the herd's house [at the dolmen of Slievenaglasha] and over Cahill's mountain, where she could get plenty of water out of Teeskagh. And

<sup>24</sup> I refer to a few in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxv., p. 227.

<sup>25</sup> *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i. (O.S.). See also *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan), vol. i., p. 18 n.; P. A. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, vol. i., cap. iv.; Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, pp. 1, 283; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 315, for Howth. The *Bo'hair na bo ruadh* is said, p. 318, to run all round the Irish coast at a distance of three casts of a dart from high-water mark. I only note one *Boru* well on Ardoilean or High Island. Like the *Bo ruadh* well at Elmvale, Clare, it is now misnamed after King Brian Boru. The Rev. P. Power of Portlaw gives a Waterford legend of the Glas cow's tail cutting *Gleann an earball* in Desies without Drum, (*The Journal of the Waterford and South East Ireland Archaeological Society*, vol. x. (1907), p. 117). The Balor legend is also given, from Shane O'Dugan of Co. Donegal, by O'Donovan in *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 18 n. W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk Tales*, p. 1, gives a *Glass Gavlen* tale from Achill, and J. Curtin, *Hero Tales of Ireland*, the tale of the sieve in Elin Gow and the cow Glas Gainach at Cluainte, Co. Kerry.

she went away, and how do I know where? And there were no tidings." Another tale, extant and in 1839, tells that the cow could fill any vessel with milk, until an ill-conditioned woman brought a sieve; the milk ran through and became the Seven Streams: and the cow, mortified at being unable to fill the sieve, ran away and (*or*, in one version) died. With reference to another appendix to the tale.—"an Ulsterman took the cow,"—I have already given the tale of the hero and wonderful cow concealed in a cave until "the last great battle."<sup>26</sup> The Oughtdarra people say that this cow is not the *Glas*, but that the latter made the foot-prints on the neighbouring crags. There is mention of the cow near Shallee Castle, between Dysert O'Dea and Ennis, and at Ballymarkahan, near Quin.

In one of the 1839 addenda, apparently now forgotten, O'Donovan and O'Curry were told that the Tuatha Dé Danann posted ambuscades to waylay Finn and his men at the fords of the Fergus opposite to the Glasgeivnagh Hill at Corofin (*Coradh Finne*), Corraviekeown (*Coradh mhic Eoghain*), a mile to the west of the former, and *Corraviechurrin* (*Coradh mhic Dhabeirean*), at Kells Bridge, to the east of the first named. The attempts failed, and in a pitched battle on the summit of Keentlae (*Ceann t sliabh*, ancient *Cenn nathrach*)<sup>27</sup> or Inchiquin Hill the Fianna slew all their enemies, whose bones are still turned up at Seefin or Keentlae. The same summit is the scene of the early saga *Feis tigh chonain* and Finn's fatal feast, but the site of Conan's house is forgotten and the saga only known from books.

Finn's gifted son, the bard Oisín, dwelt in a large two-ringed fort, hence called Caherussheen (*Cathair Oisín*), close to Corofin, and Finn's hound Bran gives the name Tirmicbrain to a small basin-like tarn in a marshy valley and evidently the remnant of a larger lake. The hero and his soldiers hunted a magic deer (white, with golden hoofs), which fled to Keentlae with Bran in close pursuit. All the men save Finn were outpaced, and he and the quarry and dog reached the eastern brow of the hill as the sun set, and then dashed down the slope. At the cliff of Tirmic-

<sup>26</sup> Vol. xxiii., p. 89.

<sup>27</sup> Nathrach is a man's name (*e.g.* St Senan's smith), and not a literal "serpent."

brain the deer made a wondrous leap into the pool, and Bran followed. Neither was ever seen again.<sup>28</sup> Finn had "hunting lodges" at Formoyle to the west of Inchiquin, and at Shallee (*Se/sga*, a hunting seat). In eastern Clare Finn, Oisín, Dermot, and Grainne were in my boyhood usually described as giants.

The next important Finn saga is found at Loop Head, where in 1839 it remained much the same as written by Comyn about 1750 in *The Adventures of the Three Sons of Thorailbh mac Stairn*. Crochan, Sal, and Dahlin were three brothers to whom a druid foretold a fearful end if their beautiful and only sister ceased to be a virgin. Accordingly, they built a fort for her, still called *Cathair na haon mna* ("the fort of the lone woman"), and three other forts to guard her at Cahererochaun ("the fort of the knoll"), Cahersaul ("the fort of the brine"), and Dundahlin. For long they guarded her, until their cattle were carried away by three other brothers,—Ceanuir of Liscannor, Ruidhín of Moheruí ruidhín at the giant cliffs of Moher, and Stúithín of Kilstúitheen (now under the waves of Liscannor Bay). The Loop Head chiefs overtook and slew two of the raiders (Stúithín escaping to his magic home, which sank under the waves), and returned home with the spoils. Now the amorous Diarmuid Ua Duine was waiting on Mount Brandon, and, as soon as he knew of their absence from his ring,<sup>29</sup> he set off in his magic square *currach* (boat) of wax. He choked with his ring the hideous *fiast* Dabhrán which opened its jaws to seize him at the cliff, and reached the lady. She consented gladly to fly with him, and her brothers returned to see her landing far away in Kerry. They tracked her footsteps as far as *Aill an triúr*, where yawned the deep chasm of Poulnapéiste, the dragon's lair. Fearing a worse doom, they seized each other's hands, and sprang over the cliff into the hungry waves.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Dr. G. U. MacNamara, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxi., p. 206. The name, of course, means Mac Bráin's land.

<sup>29</sup> It was given by Angus of the Brugh on the Boyne and had a red stone: when the desired event occurred, the stone turned green.

<sup>30</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 71; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxviii., p. 350. It will be noted that Crochan and Sal are the "humped knoll" and the "brine" of that wild peninsula. Much of the story is given in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 303-6.



An old tale of the same neighbourhood related that Finn threw a "finger stone" of a ton weight across the Shannon from Knockanure in Kerry to Carrigaholt in Clare. A similar story was told to me in 1869 by an old man, Shaneen O'Halloran, a retainer of the Stacpooles of Edenvale. A giant named Hughey in the days of Finn threw an enormous boulder from either Mount Callan or Loughnaminna Hill at a hostile giant whom it just missed, breaking into two. The pieces stand at the northern end of the Edenvale ridge, opposite the Kennels. The "Irish militia" (*i.e.* Finn's troops) made the huge, mysterious, many-gated stone fort on the summit of the Turlough Hill, south from Corcomroe Abbey; so I was told by an old herdsman who crossed the ridge while I was plotting the fort in 1905. Other rock memorials of Finn I have already mentioned,<sup>31</sup> and the Dindsenchas gives a similar legend of another rock, the *Cloch nan arm*, "on which the Fiance ground their weapons yearly." The tale previously narrated about the Tuam an goskaigh stone<sup>32</sup> may belong to the Finn period, as it is placed in a Glasgeivnagh locality. The same nameless "champion" is commemorated in Barnagoskaigh: he was defeated and slain at Doonaunmore fort because he had lost his "druid's staff."

The sentence in certain copies of *The Battle of Magh Rath*, which states that Chonan maol, the Thersites of Finn's court, was, while worshipping the sun, slain and buried on Mount Callan, is undoubtedly a forgery of the late eighteenth century. It is by no means so certain that the ogham stone, so long read, "Beneath this stone lies Conan the fierce and swift-footed," is also forged.<sup>33</sup> The name on the stone is very doubtful, and possibly Collas, and the epitaph probably a late scholastic freak. It played a great part in Irish archaeology by reviving an interest in oghamic script, but all legends connecting it with the band of Finn are

<sup>31</sup> Vol. xxiii., p. 90.

<sup>32</sup> Vol. xxiii., p. 92.

<sup>33</sup> The five readings extracted by Theophilus O'Flanagan in 1788 (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i.), surpass those of Oldbuck and Pickwick. I have told the story in *The Journal of the Limerick Field Club*, vol. ii, p. 250.

probably later than the earliest accounts of its discovery in 1778.<sup>34</sup>

Hence I hesitate even to name the Finn items in the tale of the sinking of Kilstapheen or Kilstuitheen as being of any great age, though the main tale is doubtless ancient. In 1839 men said at Lehinch that the golden key of the enchanted island of Kilstapheen lay under Conan's tomb.<sup>35</sup> The present-day tale narrates that in the battle of Bohererochaun<sup>36</sup> Stapheen, attacking the spoilers of his cattle, lost the golden key, and his island and fort immediately sank under the waves.<sup>37</sup>

(To be continued)

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

## WELSH FOLKLORE ITEMS, I.

### *Hiring Fairs.*

I ENCLOSE a list [of Hiring Fairs]. Of course the custom is dying out. "At the fairs the servants wishing to be hired stood with a straw in their mouths." "Llanoyer Estate hire their servants Oct. and Nov." Hay and Brecon fairs are very interesting, and hiring is still done there. The letter I send is from the farmer's wife in this neighbourhood who supplies me with butter etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>34</sup> It was first published by John Lloyd in *An Impartial Tour in Clare*, 1778, but may be alluded to in 1750 by Comyn in his romance, unless the allusion is also interpolated.

<sup>35</sup> General Vallancey tells the same tale of the mirage land of Tir Hudi off the Donegal coast; its key, too, lay hidden under a druidical monument.

<sup>36</sup> Note the name Crochaun, as in the Loop Head story.

<sup>37</sup> For further particulars of Kilstuitheen see vol. xxi., pp. 485-6. The whole subject of spectral islands and their legends is dealt with in *The Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxx., part v.

<sup>1</sup> "There is a Fair in Abergavenny on May 14th, and one the first Monday in May in Monmouth. They are the hiring fairs, but there are very few girls go to them now. The custom seems to be dying out. There used to be one in Caerleon, May 1st, but there are no servants go there for hire now. The farm servants about here change very much the same as a town girl would. They don't mind when they leave, as they think they can always get a place."

*Anglesey*.—Menai Bridge, Nov. 14; Trefdraeth, Nov. 1.

*Brecknockshire*.—Builth, April 16, May 12; Hay, Feb. 2, May 17-18, Nov. 17.

*Cardiganshire*.—Aberayron, Nov. 13; Aberystwith, Nov. 12; Cardigan, Nov. 10; Dihewyd, Nov. 11; Llanarth, Nov. 10; Llangeitho, Nov. 17; Tregaron, Whit T., Nov. 12, 19, 26.

*Carmarthenshire*.—Kidwelly, Oct. 29-30; Llanfihangelararth, Oct. 10; Llangennech, Oct. 23; Llanybyther, Nov. 1, 20-1; Mothvey, Nov. 5.

*Carnarvonshire*.—Aberdaron, May 12; Criccieth, June 29; Pwllheli, May 22, Nov. 11; Sarn, May 15, Nov. 13.

*Denbighshire*.—Ruthin, first Tuesday every month.

*Glamorgan*.<sup>2</sup>—Cowbridge, March 25; Neath, May 12.

*Merioneth*.—Bala, May 14, Oct. 2; Corwen, third Tuesday in March; Dolgelly, May 11, Sept. 20; Festiniog, Nov. 13; Llandrillo, May 3; Llanuwchllyn, June 20; Maentwrog, May 15; Trawsfynydd, April 20, June 26, Sept. 19.

*Monmouthshire*.—Abergavenny, May 14; Caerleon, May 1; Monmouth, second Monday in May; Raglan, March 31; Usk, Trinity Friday.

*Pembrokeshire*.—Fishguard, Oct. 8; Haverfordwest, Oct. 5; Henfeddau, Sept. 27, Oct. 30; Herbrandston, Oct. 10; Letterston, third Monday in Oct.; Little Haven, Nov. 1; Llandeloy, Nov. 1; Mathry, Oct. 10-11; Newport, Oct. 16; Pembroke, Oct. 10; St. Davids, first Tuesday in Oct.

*Radnorshire*.—Knighton, May 17-8; Newbridge-on-Wye, May 17; Penybont, May 13-4; Presteign, May 9.

(*The late*) E. J. DUNNILL.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Monmouthshire.*

*Pwka Trwyn*.—This neighbourhood is the home of legends of *Pwka*, a good spirit who dwelt at some favoured farmhouses. Gossips yet talk of the farm of "Molly Rosser" on Stow [Hill], at

<sup>2</sup>At Llandilo, near Swansea, hiring died out some time ago, but was formerly done at Hollantide Fair, Nov. 12. Both this and St. Barnabas' Fair, June 21, were great pleasure fairs.—J. B. PARTRIDGE.

<sup>3</sup>These notes by the late Mrs. E. J. Dunnill, of Newport (Mon.), were made in 1909, and have not been revised or completed by her.—ED.

Newport, as haunted by this spirit, whose kind offices were obtained by placing a bowl of milk in a particular spot on retiring to bed at night. In the morning the hearth was cleaned up, kettles polished, dishes washed, and sometimes the cows milked and the horses harnessed, in return for the bowl of milk. The Trwyn is a farm and farmstead in the parish of Mynyddyslwyn, and tales of Pwka Trwyn, or Puck of the Trwyn, have been orally transmitted for several generations. The first place in which the Pwka appeared was Pantygassy, near Pontypool.

"*Plygain*."—I have met a lady whose mother was very successful in adorning the candles for Plygain. Among the Independents and Methodists it was the custom to go on Christmas morning to the chapel at 5 a.m. to celebrate *Plygain*, (which, I have been told, means "very early in the morning"). Candles were dressed and decorated with hoops and coloured paper by the women members of the church, placed in tall brass candlesticks on the communion table, and lighted, after which a service was held. There was a friendly rivalry as to who could make the candles look best. My informant knew this service to have been held within the last fifteen years at Abercarn. A little girl writing this Christmas [1909] from the neighbourhood of Llanfair, near Welshpool, says,—"*Plygain* or carol singing here to-night." The letter is not dated, but sent off on Dec. 28th.

*Welsh Sabbath*.—In a curious book, *Account of Aberystwith* by Edmund Jones, printed at Trevecca in 1779, the author says,—"*What progress the Reformation had made was miserably destroyed by the Book of Sports. No doubt the profane part of the people of Aberystwith received the news of these kingly and episcopal orders with pleasure. And as the sinful Israelites willingly followed the commandment of Jereboam to worship the Golden Calves, and obeyed these wicked orders to the utmost, to it they went with a witness, using all manner of sports in the church yards, bringing music there to animate them in their evil exercises, and sometimes, in some places the Parson himself was the musician. All Hell rejoiced at it, for there was a dreadful harvest of Souls prepared for it. Now did the Fairies frisk and dance and sing their hellish music, for the darkness of ignorance and vice in which they delighted returned again, and feasts of sin*

were made for them." Rowland Phillips says,—“ In Wales there was scarcely any necessity for such orders [the Book of Sports] for the people enjoyed to the fulness of their hearts all games and sports. Sunday was the day of all others for games, and the Parish Churchyard shared with the old tennis court or castle green the scene for athletic sports on Sunday afternoon.” The Rev. Rees Pritchards (c. 1620) in *Canceyll y Cymry*, writing of the Welsh Sabbath, says:—

“ A day for drunkenness and gaming,  
 A day for dancing and for loafing,  
 A day for harlotry and play,  
 Such is the Welshman's Sabbath day.”

*Fifth November.*—The Fifth of November was celebrated in Newport by rolling a lighted barrel of tar down Stow Hill, a street in the town. This custom was ended because the people threw into the fire a policeman, who had interfered with their wild sport.

*Stow Fair.*—This was held in Whit week up to 1860. All the people were allowed to sell beer at Fair time. They hung a bush or branch from the house. Stow Fair always had a Lord Mayor elected, who presided over the wild pleasures, and punished any strangers who visited his kingdom without paying a toll. The punishment was being ducked in the muddy pool, or sitting in the stocks.

*May 29th.*—At Caerleon the boys arm themselves with ash branches and oak branches, and fight each other.

*Tree Belief.*—By the gate of St. Woolos Church [Newport] there used to stand a very old tree that was hollow inside. The water used to ooze through the bark and stand in the hollow part, and was then supposed to have healing properties. The little girls of the district used to bring their dolls, and christen them in the water on Sunday mornings.

*Marriage.*—I was told by a working woman of the wedding, which took place lately [1909], of a doctor living at a village a few miles from Newport. “As the family was much respected they roped the bride.” On enquiry I found this meant that, as the bride and bridegroom were leaving the church, young men held up a rope and prevented the bride from getting away until money was given them. As the rope had been dropped in the muddy road,

the results on the bride's white satin dress may be imagined. I am told that the bride is roped sometimes in Newport.<sup>4</sup>

(*The late*) E. J. DUNNILL.<sup>5</sup>

The *Skyrrid*, or Holy Mountain, is so called because it was divided at the Crucifixion. One part of it is in America. There has been no snail upon it ever since, or worm either: that is because it is sacred: they cannot go there. (Collected at Bromyard, 1909.)

ELLA M. LEATHER.

*Radnorshire.*

*Four Stones, Old Radnor.*—There was a great battle fought here, and four kings were killed. The Four Stones were set up over their graves. (Kington Workhouse, 1908.)

*Foundation Sacrifice (?)*.—The following paragraph appeared under "Brecon and Radnor Notes" in the *Hereford Times*, Nov. 26, 1910, concerning Dolfor Hall, which stands near the border between the counties of Radnor and Montgomery. "Some eighty years ago, when the old hall, (then 200 years old), was being restored, a curious discovery was made. As the workmen were pulling down the old house, in one corner of the big kitchen, under the paving, they came across a vault made of flagstones, and covered over with another flagstone. This vault contained a horse's head at each corner, all pointing to the north. The only explanation that could be gleaned was that the heads were placed there, long before anyone then living could remember, to prevent or counteract witchcraft, and that they were the heads of horses that had mysteriously died from the effects of witchcraft. There was, however, no local tradition." The local theory, though probably quite a wrong one, proves the survival of a belief in witchcraft among the inhabitants of Dolfor eighty years ago.

ELLA M. LEATHER.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii., p. 459 (Piedmont); vol. xiii., pp. 231-2.

<sup>5</sup> See note <sup>2</sup> p. 107.

## REPORT OF BRAND COMMITTEE.

### NEW EDITION OF BRAND'S *POPULAR ANTIQUITIES*.

IN reporting the progress of the work deputed to them the Brand Committee desire to commence with an abstract of a few particulars respecting the origin of the undertaking.

When Miss Burne delivered her address as President of the Society in 1910 she directed special attention to the paramount interest of National Folklore, at the same time urging a practical endeavour to utilise the mass of material which, owing to the exertions of the Society, has been collected. Miss Burne's stirring appeal for a vigorous attempt to complete the series of *County Folklore* met with so much appreciation that she followed it up by a circular letter to the Council on the same subject, which was discussed. In the meantime Mr. Crooke, our present President, threw out the suggestion that a practical manner of carrying out some of Miss Burne's views would be to prepare a new edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, thus utilising the great stores of National Folklore dispersed through the publications of the Society, as well as in the considerable literature on the subject which has grown up since the publication of Brand's work.

The President favoured this proposed solution of a difficult question, and asked Mr. Wheatley to prepare a memorandum on the best means for carrying it out. The whole matter was discussed at a Council meeting on April 20, 1910, and it was agreed that the Society should undertake the publication of a new edition of Brand's work.

The Council appointed a Committee "to consider what steps should be taken to carry out the proposals contained

in Mr. Wheatley's Note . . . to consist of the President (Miss Burne), Mr. Wheatley, and Mr. Wright, with power to add to their number."

At the Council meeting on June 27, 1910, the Committee brought up the following recommendations, which were duly adopted by the Council, viz. :—

1. That, in the first instance, the work be confined to the sections on the Calendar, leaving the others to be dealt with at a future period.

2. That the basis of the new edition be that of Sir Henry Ellis, with such MS. additions to it as are known to exist. With these should be collated Hampson's, Hone's, and other works on the Calendar. Hone's original illustrations should be reproduced. The volumes of *Notes and Queries* and the printed *Journals* and other publications of the Folk-Lore Society should be consulted; a Bibliography of other likely sources drawn up for the use of workers, and all information brought up to date by means of local inquiry.

3. That in the presentment of the matter theories and guesses at origins should be omitted. The several items of evidence to be arranged chronologically. The references to be given briefly on a uniform system. Such of Sir H. Ellis's parallels from classical and continental authorities as it may be worth while to retain (on account of the inaccessibility of their sources) to be placed together at the end of the British and Irish matter.

(The work will be fully indexed, but the extent of the index and its details cannot be decided upon until the materials are in a forward state.)

4. That a general Director of the undertaking be appointed, with several sub-editors and a large staff of readers.

5. That communications be entered into with local archæological societies and museums with a view to supplement the printed material by oral information whenever



lacunæ in the former become apparent during the progress of the work.

6. That in due course a specimen chapter be printed and circulated for the guidance and instruction of workers, and that the cost of circulating instructions and queries be borne by the Society.

7. That the compilation of the Bibliographical list be put in hand at once, and that two copies each of Ellis's "Brand" and of Hone's works be procured and pasted down for general use and collation.

8. That endeavours be made to get the staff of workers together in time to begin with the New Year (1911).

The Council further appointed Mr. Henry B. Wheatley as Editor-in-Chief, and a little later Mrs. M. M. Banks, F.R.Hist.S., became a member of the Committee, in addition to those previously mentioned.

The Committee had to consider in the first place what was the character of the published material known as the work of the Rev. John Brand, and how this was to be amalgamated with the newer material available in Folklore literature. The literary history of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* is so truly remarkable that it will be convenient to refer to it here.

In 1725 the Rev. Henry Bourne (1696-1733) published a small but useful volume, compiled with the definite object of drawing attention to the evils of the superstitious beliefs held by the peasants. This was entitled "Antiquitates Vulgares: or the Antiquities of the Common People, by Henry Bourne, M.A., Newcastle-on-Tyne," a small octavo volume of less than 250 pages. This publication was evidently intended more for instruction than as an antiquarian essay.

Fifty-two years after this book appeared, the Rev. John Brand (1744-1806) brought out a new edition with additions. This, although more valuable for what it contains than the previous book, is very clumsily edited, and therefore not a

convenient volume to consult. The title is as follows: "Observations on Popular Antiquities, including the whole of Mr. Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, with an Addenda to every chapter of that work, also an Appendix, containing such Articles on the subject as have been omitted by that Author. By John Brand, A.B. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1777."

Brand continued to collect further materials, with the intention of publishing a new edition on a new plan. He did not live to carry out this intention, and left his materials in an unfinished state. He had, however, prepared a preface for this edition which was dated August 4, 1795. At the sale of Brand's library in 1808 his MSS. were purchased for the purpose of publication. Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ellis took the matter in hand, and in 1813 two handsome quarto volumes were published with this title: "Observations on Popular Antiquities. . . . By John Brand, A.M. Arranged and revised with additions by Henry Ellis, F.R.S."

Ellis's edition was republished with considerable additions in Bohn's Antiquarian Library in 1848 (3 vols.).

In 1870 Mr. W. C. Hazlitt published a revised edition with additions: and in 1905 he brought out another edition rearranged in alphabetical order.

The basis of the new work will be Ellis's "Brand," but it will be necessary to a large extent to rewrite the articles of Brand, so that owing to our fuller knowledge at the present time they may be more complete and less disconnected than they appear at present. It will be at once seen that the new materials are so considerable that Brand's contributions will be largely outnumbered. With every wish to do honour to Brand, it will not be possible to mark the text of any particular edition of his work. Moreover, we cannot attribute with certainty any particular portion to Brand himself. An endeavour will be made to quote in Brand's own words anything of special importance in his own original work of 1777.

It is therefore proposed that the general covering title of the new work shall be *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, followed by a specific title for the several divisions of the work. The whole history of the mode of arrangement will be explained in a Preface.

Should it be thought that this treatment is in any way disrespectful to the memory of the man whose name is so intimately associated with the subject, a moment's consideration will show that in Ellis's "Brand" the contents have been so much enlarged and rearranged as to have lost all resemblance to the original edition.

The first work to be attended to by the Committee has been the preparation of a Bibliography. The principal works to be consulted were, of course, well known, but much difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the names of local publications, and this part of the list still requires supplementing from local information. Parochial histories generally yield more matter than county works. Glossaries, memoirs, and reminiscences are also valuable sources. The Committee are much indebted to Dr. T. E. Lones, who has examined numbers of likely works at the British Museum and weeded out from the list such as proved not to contain any useful matter.

Considerable difficulty has in some cases been experienced in obtaining copies of books, as many workers live out of reach of libraries.

It has been arranged that general works should each be undertaken by one worker, and not by several persons searching for particular districts only; but local works have as far as possible been entrusted to workers locally interested.

Nearly a hundred workers responded to the Committee's appeal for help, and though few have been able to give permanent assistance, yet their united efforts, though temporary, have resulted in a considerable body of material being got together.

The material collected has been copied according to the directions issued by the Committee on slips of a fixed uniform size. Salvage copies of the publications of the Society have been cut up and the extracts pasted on slips in the same way. Mr. Wright has so pasted down a late edition of Ellis's "Brand," which will form the groundwork of the Society's publication; also Hone's *Every Day, Year, and Table Books*, and Chambers's *Book of Days*. It has been found that reading stimulates collection, and this is what was to be expected.

The various extracts received consist, besides those immediately relating to the Calendar, of a certain amount of matter on Folklore generally. These miscellaneous extracts will be put aside for future volumes, as the immediate object is the satisfactory arrangement of the material collected for the special division of the Calendar.

Of previous systematic additions to Brand, two annotated copies of the quarto Ellis's "Brand" may be noted as in the British Museum Library; one among the Printed Books and the other (added to by Joseph Hunter) in the Manuscript Department (add. MSS. 24,544, 24,545). It will probably be well to leave the consideration of these until the materials in hand are nearer completion. Otherwise there would be some fear of confusion.

An annotated copy of Bohn's edition of Ellis's "Brand," which was prepared by the late William Kelly, has been kindly lent to the Committee by Mr. C. J. Billson.

The Committee will be grateful for any information respecting other annotated copies of Ellis's "Brand."

The work done so far may be summarised as follows. In *England* the "slipped" collections for the North and East Ridings, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Herefordshire may be considered sufficiently complete. Shropshire, which has also been well recorded, is in hand. Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, and Devon are well advanced in the hands of competent workers. A good deal of

recorded material is available for other counties, but workers are needed to complete it; and for several hardly anything has been done, especially for Nottinghamshire, Norfolk, the Fenland, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Kent, and the south-eastern counties generally.

For *Scotland*, Gregor's *North-East Scotland*, Mrs. Spoer's *Outer Isles*, and ten or twelve other volumes have been slipped. The Orkney and Shetland collections have been completed and slipped by Mr. A. W. Johnston, and Mr. David MacRitchie has forwarded a useful collection of newspaper cuttings accumulated during a series of years. But, though much Scottish Folklore has been recorded, it chiefly consists of stories and legends, principally Gaelic. Lowland Folklore is ill-represented, and customs have been little noted anywhere. Local workers are wanted. An effort was made at the Dundee Meeting of the British Association in 1912 to draw attention to the subject, and it is hoped the suggestion may bear fruit. In *Ireland* an independent Committee was founded a year or two ago for the purpose of collecting oral traditions. Mr. Westropp has kindly sent a valuable list of references to Irish publications. *Wales* is well supplied with first-hand printed collections, most of which have been, or are being, read and "slipped," but readers acquainted with the Welsh language are still needed. In the *Isle of Man* there is still much to be done. In the *Channel Islands* the Guernsey collection is completed, but hardly anything has been received from Jersey.

It will be seen that the Committee have in their hands a large amount of material for the preparation of a book of great value; but there can be no doubt that the revision, and the elimination of repetitions in the material before them, will be a work of considerable labour.

Taking account of the mere order of the Contents the possibilities of the work may be generally indicated, but the Committee feel that it will be inadvisable to

formulate any rigid rules for the final treatment and plan of the work until the bulk of the materials are in their hands. Then it will be possible to arrange for the selection of sub-editors, who possibly may be added to the Committee.

*Suggested Arrangements.*

*Preface.* This will contain a full account of Brand and his work in its various editions. What we owe to him and to his admirable title, and his influence on those who come after him in the gathering of the popular beliefs and superstitions before they are entirely lost. Explanation of the scheme of the work.

*Series of Introductions* to be prepared by experts on the several subjects, commencing with the following :—

*Calendars.* Almanacs. Change of style.

*Days of the Week.*

*The Year.* General Review of the whole subject.

*The Four Seasons.*

*The Months.*

At present it appears that it would be advisable to have a sub-editor for each month, who would have before him (or her) the whole of the extracts for that month, and would prepare a readable introduction which would contain a general résumé of the folklore of that month drawn up from the extracts before him, so that the extracts may follow as the authorities in support of his description.

It is possible that it may be advisable to print some of these articles in *Folk-Lore* as a help to the writers in obtaining such further information as they may consider needful after using all the materials that they have been able to obtain. The Committee feel that although their materials are abundant there are gaps in the information which must be filled before the work is finally prepared for the press. This publication would have the further advantage of keeping up the interest of the members in the work as it progresses.

*A Full Index to Complete the Work.*

This being the general scheme (as proposed) of the arrangement, minor matters will be dealt with as they arise.

The General Editor hopes to be able to prepare for office use a general scheme of the whole year, and rough notes on the different days, with references to places where information is to be found, which will be available to answer the inquiries of the sub-editors and help to preserve a unity of treatment in the whole work.

At the present moment the need is for more workers to complete the collection of material, especially in the districts which, as indicated above, have as yet been imperfectly covered. The help of librarians to supply the titles of local books, of persons with some amount of leisure to read them (a work which may be undertaken by quite young people), of local pressmen and others whose daily life causes them to mingle much with the folk. to record local sayings and happenings, is urgently wanted. And the Brand Committee appeal to all members of the Society resident in the United Kingdom, who have not yet taken part in the work, to give their aid, either by personal labour or by introducing others,—not necessarily members.—whose opportunities may be greater than their own.

The three other members of the Brand Committee wish to append to this Report the expression of their high appreciation of the unwearied labour which their colleague, Mrs. Banks, has devoted to the conduct of the business arrangements of the whole scheme. The correspondence has been very heavy, and the care of the numerous manuscripts has been entirely in her hands. The measure of progress achieved is mainly due to Mrs. Banks's energy and ability.

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### FOLK-MEDICINE IN LONDON.

I HAVE lately had opportunities for enquiry from druggists and herbalists as to folk remedies still in use in London, and have been able to record the following interesting examples :

*Orris root.*—This is the root of *Iris florentina*, and, apart from its ordinary uses, some magical quality is ascribed to it. In Whitechapel, the Jews use it to rub the gums of children cutting their teeth. But they always select a piece of the root bearing a fanciful resemblance to a human figure, and, in addition, they select pieces more or less suggestive of male and female forms. The male or “He Root” is used to rub the gums of girl babies, while the “She Root” is used for boys. I obtained confirmation of this custom in Shoreditch, Bow, and Barking. Some druggists, however, were quite ignorant of this fact, but they were not in a Jewish locality. They, on the other hand, sold orris root carefully shaped to a form suggested by a child’s “coral” (which, by the way, is phallic).

*Dragon’s blood.*—I am informed by a herbalist that factory girls, and others of the same class, buy penny packets of this gum as a love philtre. My first informant found this out quite by accident, being rather surprised at the unusual demand for this material at certain times. When I consulted my other friends in Shoreditch and Bromley-by-Bow, they admitted, with some amusement, the demand for dragon’s blood, but could not imagine the reason, although they said the girls always seemed half-ashamed when asking for it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 221 (Staffs.) : *N. & Q.*, S. 1. vol. ix., p. 242 (no locality). “Dragon’s blood” is “the inspissated juice of certain tropical plants of a red colour, especially of the tree *Pterocarpus draco*.”



*Tormentil root.*—This is the root of *Potentilla tormentilla*, and is an ordinary herbal medicine. Two girls inquired of one of my friends at Stratford-by-Bow for a “pennorth of tormentel.” The next week they came for more, and were asked what they wanted it for. After much hesitation and nervousness, one of the girls said that the other, her sister, had been jilted by her young man. She had consulted an old woman who was “wise,” and this old woman told her to get a bunch of ‘tormentel’ root and to burn it at midnight on a Friday. This would so worry and discomfort the “young man” that he would return to his sweetheart. My druggist friend told me that they came for three successive weeks, and then stopped. He does not know if they succeeded, or gave it up as a bad job, but he *thinks* they won!

*Mandrake.*—Although I have met with this at many herbalists in poorer parts of London, it seems to be generally used medicinally, and not as an amulet, or in magic. But in one lane in London a man has a street pitch, and does a big trade in penny slices of mandrake, which he assures his audience will cure everything. His stock-in-trade, however, consists of a root or two carefully selected on account of their resemblance to the human form. This root is the white bryony, and he assured me that it “screams terrible” when being pulled up; also that it must be pulled up at night.

E. LOVETT.

#### RULES CONCERNING PERILOUS DAYS.

THE following rules concerning perilous days will be found in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission's Report (Manuscripts of Lord Montague of Beaulieu, pp. 1-2)*, and seem worthy of preservation in *Folk-Lore*:

(Probably 15th Century.) The furste rule of the distinationis aforsaid. These buthe perilous daies as Sent Bernard seythe that ho so ys bore in eny of them his flesshe schall nevere roty. Thes dayes buthe marked above in the monthes in the signs aforsaide (ij days in Marche and one in Januare 19 eve Januar; 14 day Marc and 18 day Marc).

The second reule. There buthe perilous daies in the yeere which Senct Johan, evangeliste in the Ile of Pathimos (*sic*), in the whiche daies every man schuld shonys to make matrimonye or bygynne eny longe viage or foundement of eny other grete worke other of eny other grete doynge. The dayes hereof buthe marked in the monthes aforesaid at the signe made overe this processe.

The IIIde rule. There buthe xxviij daies in the yere that ho so in wiche zif eny mann bygynnethe eney journey, hit ys happylich zif he evere cometh azen, and ho so ever bygynnethe to take eny sikennesse hit ys wondere zif he evere recovere. And ho evere be weddyd in eny of tho daies, hit spedethe not well. And ho so evere ys bore in eny of thulke dayes happych he lyvethe not longe. The daies of these perilis buthe marked in the monthes aforwrite at the syne overe this processe.

The IIII. rule. The Mondayes in the yeere buthe in the whiche hit ys weel perilous to eny mann or womann or beste to blede for unnethe or nevere he schall schape, but that he schall be dede therby, but the more speciall grace of God lette hit, as by the marke of this processe in the monthes afore.

The V. rule. There buthe iij perilous Mondaies in the yeer as clerkes seien. That the child that ys bore in eny of hem, he schall be brende or droynt or deye sudeignely or somme other toule dethe. And if hit be a maide child, hit schall become a lyzt woman of hure body and therto badde but zif God lette hyr.

Also zif eny mann ete of eny goos fleshe in tho dayes his ys drede leste he take the fallyng evyl therof.

Hit is not profitable to bygynne eny grete worke or grete jorney in eny of thes iij dayes. And they buthe marked in the Kalender afore in Feverer, May and Septembre by the signe overe this processe.

The best dayes of every month in yeer to bygynne eny gode worke or take eny jorney ys the fyrste day, the iij, vj, vij, xiiij day.

*Explicit.*

Wytheinne haven. Wher so evere hit be one the prym eve, the spryng ys at the hyst. And be hit atte the morow tyde ar at the eve tyde that he be atte the hyst, thukke same daye sevenyzt at the same tyde, hit bygynnethe to springe.

The furste prime aftur Twelwe day accompte x dayes aftur and the prime day for one: the next Saturday afture, Alleluia ys closyd.<sup>1</sup> *Imperfect.* 3 *small pp.*

(At the beginning of each paragraph is a roughly drawn device, and on the fourth page is a fragmentary outline of a calendar, with Sunday letters and the same devices. The only two names noted are St. Juliana, Virgin, and St. John ante portam Latinam.)

LAURENCE GOMME.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a plan for finding Septuagesima, when the Alleluia would cease to be sung until Lent was ended.

#### BURIAL OF AMPUTATED LIMBS.

(Vol. xxi., p. 387.)

I HEARD a lovely story last night [Feb. 12, 1913] from a friend who has just returned from Johannesburg. A native man (a Majanga) had his hand so terribly crushed by the shutting upon it of a railway carriage door that one finger was actually pinched right off. Though the pain must have been awful, he thought nothing of it in his eagerness to regain possession of the lost finger and have it properly buried,—lest he should be maimed in the spirit world. I asked if the man had been under Mohammedan influence, and was told,—“Probably, yes.”

ROBT. M. HEANLEY.

## REVIEWS.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF RELIGION. Its Origin, Function, and Future. By JAMES H. LEUBA. New York: Macmillan Co., 1912. Sm. 8vo, pp. xiv + 371. 28<sup>s</sup> n.

THIS book is a good illustration of the effective application of the principles of psychology to the investigation of the origins of primitive beliefs. There is much in it which is beyond the scope of this review,—the relation of religion to morality and theology, the latest forms of religion and its future, as illustrated by the revival in western lands of Buddhism, Christian Science, and the like. But enough remains to constitute an important contribution to the investigation of primitive beliefs. The book is so closely packed with matters of interest that it must be read as a whole. Here it is possible only to give a summary of the main conclusions, and that, as far as possible, in the author's own words.

First comes an attempt to define "religion":—"Religion is that part of human experience in which man feels himself in relation with powers of psychic nature, usually personal powers, and makes use of them. In its active forms, it is a mode of behaviour, aiming, in common with all human activities, at the gratification of needs, desires, and yearnings. It is, therefore, a part of the struggle for life. . . . In its objective aspect, active religion consists of attitudes, practices, rites, ceremonies, institutions; in its subjective aspect, it consists of desires, emotions, and ideas, instigating and accompanying these objective manifestations" (pp. 52 *et seq.*). "The reason for the existence of religion is not the objective truth of its conceptions, but its biological value. This value is to be estimated by its success in

procuring not only the results expected by the worshipper, but also others, some of which are of great significance" (p. 53).

He accepts the conclusion of Sir E. Tylor that "out of naive thinking about the visions of dreams and trances, and from comparisons of life with death, arose a belief in the existence of spirits as the powers animating nature" (p. 70). But "an increasingly large number of competent writers would now place earlier than the Tylorian animism, or at least side by side with it, another fundamental and universal belief, arising from commoner and simpler experiences than visions: namely, a belief in the existence of an omnipresent, non-personal power or powers" (p. 72). This new theory is largely due to the work of Messrs. D. Brinton, in the United States, and R. R. Marett, in England. Discussing the views expressed by the latter writer, he remarks:—"I maintain that in seeking to replace belief in personal agents (animism) by *Mana*, 'which leaves in solution the distinction between personal and impersonal,' Marett disregards the only definite line of cleavage which can be used to differentiate religious from non-religious life; that is, the line separating the attitudes and actions that involve the idea of personal power from those that do not. In my view of the matter, when the distinction between personal and impersonal is in solution, religion itself is likewise in solution" (p. 74 *n.*). His theory postulates "first, that the belief in non-personal powers is neither a derivative of animism nor a first step leading to it, but that the two beliefs have had independent origins: and, secondly, that animism appeared second in order of time" (p. 77).

He goes on to condemn the attempt to seek the origin of superhuman, personal powers in some one class of phenomena,—the dream theory of Tylor; Spencer's worship of the dead; Max Müller's personification of natural objects. Gods grew, he asserts, "out of several different ideas of superhuman beings: these beings had independent origins: the attributes of the gods differ according to their origin; the historical gods are usually mongrel gods, the outcome of the combination of the characteristics belonging to superhuman beings of different origins" (p. 86). "Several of the sources may have operated simultaneously in the formation of divine ideas of superhuman beings and subsequently of gods, so

that several gods of different origin may have, from the first, divided the attention of the community, and these sources may have been effective not simultaneously, but successively."

The discussion of magic is equally interesting. Magic and religion have had independent origins: magic contributed little to the making of religion, and in its simpler forms probably antedated religion: but, as the ends of both are identical, magical and religious practices are closely associated. Religion is social and beneficial: magic individual and often evil, and it is of shorter duration than religion. Science is closely related neither to magic nor religion, but to the mechanical type of behaviour.

Even this summary will show that the book, as a whole, is interesting and instructive. The results will be seen to be far from revolutionary, but so many actively disputed doctrines are discussed that it is certain to arouse controversy.

W. CROOKE.

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GEBURT, HOCHZEIT UND TOD. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Volkskunde von ERNST SAMTER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. 8vo. pp. vi + 222. 7 Ab. im Text + 3 Tafeln. 6 m.

PROFESSOR SAMTER'S book is not perhaps exhilarating reading: it is not the German way to beguile the journey through the wilderness of fact with any cajoleries of style, and inevitably much of the contents of this book is too familiar to students of folklore to be very exciting. But, if it is a little tedious as an armchair companion, the book is quite a compendious and useful little book of reference for the study. It contains an examination of various practices connected with birth, marriage, and death, the motive of which is assigned to the aversion or placation of the spirits which threaten mankind at these crises of existence.

As regards the folklore of Germany and Central Europe, the author seems well equipped. Many of his illustrations, even where the practice illustrated is familiar, are new and interesting. His knowledge of the foreign literature of folklore and of the anthropological evidence appears to be more haphazard, and for savage

customs he is for the most part dependent on second-hand material rather than on the observations of field workers. The danger of utilizing citations without a knowledge of their context lies in the undue simplification of the data, and in a certain encouragement of the tendency to collect similarities and neglect dissimilarities in the comparative evidence. And it is the negative evidence that produces the most certain results. Again, one has an uneasy feeling that the rites connected with three great human crises are not necessarily so homogeneous as Professor Samter assumes. For instance, one remains unconvinced by examples of the offering of shoes in burial ritual that shoes are thrown at newly-married couples with the idea of making offerings of placation.

The author rightly acknowledges that a religious usage has often more than one motive behind it, but in practice he is sometimes seduced into the primrose path of simplification. The ritual wearing of the clothes of the other sex, for example, presents more and more complex problems than his chapter would lead one to suppose. I am doubtful, by the way, if the hanging up of a pair of trousers to defend mother and child from evil influences is quite the same thing as wearing the clothes of the other sex.

There are dangers, too, in giving way to a tendency towards dogmatic or *à priori* explanation. Some reasons given for observances are not sufficiently simple, we are told, to be original. For instance, the statement of peasants that they put a broom in front of the door because the *Alp* has to stop and count the twigs (p. 34, Note 8) must, according to our author, be an invented interpretation. But have we the right to push it aside in favour of a hypothesis? It is after all a very familiar device for dealing with the stupid bogey. In modern Greece, if you meet a *Kallikántzaros*, and give him a sieve, he will stop to count the holes, and as no *Kallikántzaros* can count more than two, you will have ample time to escape. Similarly, witches can be induced to stop and count the leaves on an onion-flower or a red carnation.<sup>1</sup>

The first chapter again displays an eagerness to find a religious meaning for an action for which a secular motive seems adequate. After discussing the statue of a kneeling female figure with two

<sup>1</sup> Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, i. p. 596: Sir Kennel Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 200.

attendant birth-daemons in the Sparta museum,<sup>2</sup> Professor Samter suggests that the kneeling attitude during delivery brings the patient into connection with Mother Earth. But that the best medical authorities of antiquity disapproved of it shows only that it was commonly adopted, not necessarily that it had any religious or superstitious significance. I am aware that this attitude during delivery is adopted among many peoples in the Lower Culture. But in noting this fact Professor Samter apparently did not pause to enquire the proportion of these cases in which any religious significance was attached to the attitude. I can remember none where it is even suggested, and, whether Greek medical opinion was right or wrong, it seems to a layman an attitude which might naturally be adopted from motives of supposed convenience.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

RELIGIONS MŒURS ET LÉGENDES: ESSAIS D'ETHNOGRAPHIE ET DE LINGUISTIQUE. By ARNOLD VAN GENNEP. *Deuxième Série*, 1909; *Quatrième Série*, [1912]. Paris: Mercure de France. 3 f. 50. per vol.

THE first series of these valuable essays was noticed in these pages in December, 1909, and the third series in December, 1911; and the critical qualities, both constructive and destructive, as well as the wide learning of the author, evidenced in those volumes find admirable expression also in their companions.

In view of a recent article in *Folk-Lore* by Miss Partridge the opening essay of the first series on the Girdle of the Church will now be re-read with much interest. It deals with the practice of surrounding a church with a girdle of chains, silk or other stuff, or a long waxen taper. After analysis of several such customs the author comes to the conclusion that the object was to bind either some evil or the church and its sacred inhabitants. The patron

<sup>2</sup> To this statue may be added a damaged terra-cotta group, which was found in the course of the excavations conducted by the British School of Athens at Sparta. Like the analogous Cypriote terracottas, it seems to represent the goddess of childbirth with two attendant birth-daemons.



saint was thus bound in his dwelling. The English custom of "clipping" the church with a girdle of live parishioners is not mentioned. Yet the explanation of the one custom must be the explanation of the other also. Whatever it may be, there can be no doubt that its object was magical: a conclusion borne out by the fact that, in our own country at least, a tree is often the object "clipped."

Perhaps I may be allowed to refer also to another paper of special attraction to students of folklore among the varied (and all interesting) contents of the first series. The author there considers the question whether we are always right in describing as survivals the rites and beliefs which in various European countries have been more or less incorporated into popular Christianity, and yet are obviously not of Christian origin. He suggests that in many cases they are not necessarily simple incorporations of pre-existing pagan elements, but that something must be allowed for invention by imperfectly-instructed native priests. In support of the suggestion he points to some of the facts of modern missionary history, such as in Madagascar, where the host and the consecrated wine have been known to be used as a poultice and a medicine, and among the Tarascoes of Mexico, where an annual religious ceremony consists of dancing in the church with lighted tapers. Dancing has been a religious exercise among the natives of Mexico from time immemorial; but it has never been admitted by European Christianity as a religious rite. Here perhaps M. van Gennep has forgotten the periodical dance by priests in the cathedral at Seville. He points out that the introduction of the lighted taper is not a pagan rite in Mexico, and that the Tarasco ceremony is therefore a compromise of a special kind, introduced probably by the local priest, in which neither the hysterical dance, nor the circumambulation in the church, nor the tapers can be solely explained as a survival. And he instances as a case of popular invention in Europe the use of the enormous clapper of the ancient bell in the cathedral at Mendes by women who come to pray to the Virgin for children. In all such rites as these the influence of pagan ideas can undoubtedly be traced; but the rites themselves cannot be put down as mere survivals. They have been adapted or invented to give expression to impulses which

Christianity had not eradicated, and for which in itself it provided no obvious outlet. As the author puts it in another place, "our Middle Age was a period of collective creation out of an original stock : that stock itself created *ad hoc* almost from top to bottom, and in it only a minority of the more ancient elements occur definitely as survivals."

The second series of the essays is quite as interesting as the first, and even more varied. Its topics range from the Man with the Iron Mask to totemism and taboo, from the origin of alphabets and of dialects to the meaning of saintship considered in connection with the proposed canonization of Joan of Arc, that great and devoted heroine, let me say, to whom Englishmen as much as Frenchmen owe reverence and gratitude and what reparation they can make to her memory for the cruelty, the wickedness, and the bigotry of their former rulers in Church and State.

On the question of the historical value of tradition M. van Gennep discusses the tendency, pronounced in certain quarters of recent years, to accept traditions almost at their face-value as records of historical facts ; and he argues convincingly that it is first of all incumbent on students of folklore and ethnography to determine with as much rigour as possible within what limits and for what facts documents of popular origin may be utilized scientifically. In another essay he wages a successful controversy against the astral interpretation of myths and legends. The astral interpretation is little more than our old friend the Sun Myth. It has never been wholly abandoned in Germany ; and a short time ago a new society was started at Berlin for an organized propaganda on behalf of the interpretation of myths as treating of the celestial bodies. The propaganda will hardly survive reasonable criticism. One of the longest essays in the volume is a defence of the comparative method of enquiry on the subject of taboo and totemism, reprinted with corrections and additions from the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. The controversy has somewhat changed its ground since the essay was republished. The methods of Dr. Graebner, rather than the purely historical method of M. Tousain, have taken the front of the battle. For all that the defence here presented of the comparative method as equally legitimate and necessary with the historical method

remains valid. Nor is it by any means without its application to the more recent speculations of Dr. Graebner's school.

M. van Gennep takes up his parable on totemism again in the fourth series of Essays. Reviewing Dr. Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy*, he regrets, as others do, that Strehlow's accounts of the Arunta organization and beliefs were entirely ignored in that wide survey. But amid much appreciation of the patient and minute research displayed, his chief complaint is the difficulty of forming a notion of what totemism is in itself, and the extreme vagueness of Dr. Frazer's definition when at last he ventures on giving one. The difficulty of defining totemism in a manner acceptable to anthropologists has been exemplified in the controversy in which the late Andrew Lang took part just before his lamented death. The very existence of totemism as an institution has indeed been denied by those for whom British archæology is effete, and by whom scientific comparisons between the beliefs, customs, and institutions of different nations are relegated to the Crack of Doom, if that will not be really a little premature. In the meantime for students the question of definition presses; for in the present state of things the most absurd blunders are made for want of proper definition. The author, therefore, comes back to an old proposition of his,—namely, to forbear speaking of totemism, at all events in a general way, and to give to each form of what we now usually and loosely include under the name of totemism its own particular name. Thus he would speak of the *sibokism* of the Eastern Bantu; the system of guardian spirits especially developed in British Columbia he would call *suliaism*; the institution he finds in West Africa he would call *tenneism* or *tanaism*, and so on. This might be feasible; it would at least provisionally get over the difficulty. He has a further quarrel with Dr. Frazer over the latter's refusal of all religious significance to totemism; and, while he agrees with him in denying exogamy to be a fundamental characteristic of totemism, he insists on knowing among which of the tribes of Australia "pure totemism" is to be found, since the divergencies of form there are to be reckoned by the number of "nations" (in Howitt's sense of the word), if not of tribes, and until the question is answered an exact idea of "pure totemism" cannot be framed.

An excellent article, in the guise of a lecture delivered at the University of Brussels, discusses the study of rites and myths and their relation to one another. Here, after considering other methods of study and interpretation, he puts in a powerful plea for his own method expounded in his little book on *Les Rites de Passage*. It consists in always studying the sequence of which any given rite forms part, and never, as too often is done, tearing it from its context and attempting to study it apart,—a method that cannot conduce to certain results, and too often leads the enquirer wildly astray. Elsewhere he returns to his Savoyard studies, begun in previous volumes. In a fascinating dissertation he traces the influence of the *Chansons de Geste* on the folklore of Savoy, showing how stories have been transferred from literary romances and localized. Following the pilgrimage routes over the Alps, he demonstrates that they are dotted with places in which mysteries and passion plays were represented, and from whence the custom of performing sacred dramas did not pénétrate to other towns of Savoy until the seventeenth century. The volume closes with a powerful plea for the preservation of dialects. In connection with this should be read an article in the second series on the theory of special languages, slang and jargon included, as demanded by the progress of the organization of society.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have only attempted to notice a few of the more salient essays contained in these volumes. M. van Gennep's style is clear and straightforward, he is always thoughtful, his arguments are frequently weighty, and his interests touch almost every side of folklore and ethnography.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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CHURCH AND MANOR. A Study in English Economic History.  
By S. O. ADDY. George Allen & Co., 1913. Demy 8vo,  
pp. xxx + 473. Hl. 10s. 6d. *n.*

MR. ADDY terms his book "A Study in English Economic History." The bulk of its 456 pages of text is devoted to an exposition of the very many and varying ways in which the mediæval village church ministered to the temporal as well as the spiritual

requirements of the parishioners. Probably the general reader will be astonished to find how long is the list of what to modern thought seem profane usages. The church fabric was the general repository of the village: not only the armour provided by the township, but more personal property, such as corn and wool, was stored by those whose own buildings were either too small or too damp. The parson in many cases, of course, had his tithes barn, but it seems that the proper place for the payment of tithes, where this was lacking, was the church. At Sarnesfield pigeons were kept in the tower and nesting holes provided. In 1617 Francis Tresse of Monkton confessed at the archdeacon's visitation that he had laid his plough harness "on a wet day" in the belfry. One of the most remarkable cases in point is omitted by Mr. Addy. At Abbot's Bromley the reindeer horns which figure in the annual Horn Dance in September are still warehoused in the church tower. To a certain extent the church played the part of a village clubroom: it served as the village theatre: to the churchyard flocked holiday-makers at the Wakes to buy from pedlars' stalls and to watch wrestling, cock-fights, and the morris dancers. The Horn Dance was in times past carried out in the churchyard, but now the front doors of public-houses form a more lucrative "pitch." Men of the Middle Ages feasted in church: they drank in church: they slept in church. In sterner times men sought sanctuary or staved off a Danish raid in the towers still existing at Salkeld in Cumberland, at Barton-in-Humber, and many other places on the exposed Northumbrian frontier. The church was in a very real sense associated with the everyday life of the population clustered round it. As a diligent and comprehensive collection of the evidence relating to the secular adaptation of the church fabric this book is distinctly suggestive and useful.

Mr. Addy passes to another phase of the same topic. If the parishioners found the church fabric of everyday practical convenience to them, it is not surprising to find that they were made to pay for it. To see that they did pay through the medium of church-ales held upon festival days was one of the principal labours which devolved upon the churchwardens. Though not accepting that Mr. Addy is right in maintaining that churchwarden and manorial

reeve were "identical," (which is a big word,) we may present him with a point he has missed which is in his favour. Whatever the origin of the Abbot's Bromley Horn Dance may have been, there seems no doubt that in the seventeenth century it was a species of church-ale, for to it "there belong'd a pot, which was kept by turnes by 4 or 5 of the cheif of the Town, whom they call'd Reeves who provided Cakes and Ale to put in this pot": the onlookers paid "pence apiece" and the profits went to the repair of the church. Here the reeves evidently acted as churchwardens, and the dance is considered to be of manorial origin.

The evidence Mr. Addy has collected on the trading of churchwardens seems to us the most valuable and original part of his book. Churchwardens' accounts published by the Somerset Record Society show that at Tintinhull in the fifteenth century the wardens had a monopoly of the sale of bread and beer: they managed a common brewhouse and bakehouse, and devoted the profits to the upkeep of the church. On occasions also they let the brewhouse for private "functions." One must not, however, regard the wardens of Tintinhull as publicans. Anybody could sell ale provided that he bought it from the common brewhouse. Nor must one argue from the particular to the general, and regard trading churchwardens as at all common. In this particular instance we are evidently dealing with a manorial privilege farmed by the wardens from the ecclesiastical corporation who happened to hold the lordship. Another useful chapter is that which illustrates the effect of monastic ownership upon both the structure and the control of the appropriated parochial churches. "When the founder gave the church and rectory to the priory [of Wymondham] he only gave the advowson and the greater part of the tithes, and the parishioners retained the rights to the nave, aisles, tower, and churchyard which they had enjoyed before. . . . In such a case the monks usually took the eastern limb or chancel, whilst the parish had the nave and aisles, a dead wall separating the two divisions of the building. Such arrangements often gave rise to disputes, and even to riots, on account of the encroachments which the monks were constantly making on the rights of the parishioners" (pp. 379, 376). An interesting illustration of this is what happened at Wymondham in 1249 and again in 1409. The parishioners

boarded up the two doors through which communication between the chancel and nave was obtained and cut down trees in the church-yard to make a test case of it, just as to-day a gate is knocked down to assert a right-of-way. At the dissolution the monastic portion of Wymondham Church was allowed to become derelict. This dual ownership is responsible for many architectural irregularities that at first sight are a puzzle to ecclesiologists.

When Mr. Addy abandons fact for theory he certainly shows courage, for he is surely alone in laying down the general propositions "that lord and priest were once the same person; that the hall cannot at an early time be distinguished from the church; and that ecclesiastical benefices were themselves manors, with all the privileges which belonged to feudal lordship" (p. vii). His evidence in no way supports this proposition, as it is drawn mainly from a late feudal period, when advowsons, rectories, and manors were all different forms of property, and no doubt were in many cases the property of one individual. Nor can evidence as to the original unity of church and hall, which is derived from Irish tribal and monastic society, be allowed much weight in determining the evolution of the English parish church. Again, after reading at p. 450 that "the evidence supporting the inference that the benefice and the manor were originally the same thing depends in some degree on that which supports the opinion that the hall and the church fabric were once indistinguishable," we at once ask for a definition of "manor" and "benefice." In area they very often were co-terminous, and in that sense identical, but in any other sense certainly not. Space does not permit of examining Mr. Addy's ingenious argument in full. He does not appear to adopt the usual interpretation of Edgar's law as to tithe payment: and the contiguity of manorhouse and church is most reasonably explained by the supposition that the manorial lord built the church on a site to suit his own convenience. Apart from his too visible efforts to fit facts to theory, Mr. Addy has produced a valuable and a well-indexed volume which will be welcomed if only as a useful digest upon a subject which was badly in need of one.

S. A. H. BURNE.

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CHANTS POPULAIRES DE LA GRANDE-LANDE ET DES RÉGIONS VOISINES. Recueillis par FÉLIX ARNAUDIN. Musique, texte patois et traduction française. Tome I. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912. Pp. lxxxvi + 512. 8 fr.

IT is more than a quarter of a century since M. Arnaudin published a small but interesting and characteristic collection of *Contes Populaires* of a district in the south-east of France, little known to the outside world, and perhaps possessing few attractions, save to those to whom ancient manners, customs, and traditions, with their quaint peculiarities and provincialisms, are dear. It was the first fruit of a labour to which he had already dedicated several years, in the effort to save for the benefit of posterity the knowledge of the modes of thought and ways of life of a peasantry long isolated from the main current of modern ideas and the development of modern civilization. Since that time he has continued his collections with unwearied diligencé; for the rupture with the past is now, as he says, at last an accomplished fact, and haste was necessary if anything was to be saved "of what was our ancient life and shed so much originality, so much primitive simplicity around our old hearths."

With the present volume he has begun the publication of the songs of the rural population. It includes cradle songs and dance songs, with the tunes to which they are sung. To both of these the attention of the Folk-Song Society should be directed, with the object of comparing them with English songs. They have been collected with great pains, in order to ensure scrupulous exactitude even to the smallest details. M. Arnaudin lays stress on the absolute sincerity with which they have been recorded, and without which, it is obvious, they would be worthless for all purposes of students. Of the coarser songs he has been very sparing. Coarseness, and even sometimes obscenity, is a feature of all *Naturvölker*, including in that category the uneducated classes of civilization. Entirely to ignore this feature would be to present a picture that would be untrue to life. But, he justly says, the bulk of such songs must be and remain *κρυπτάδια*. What are mild enough to be given are a hint that such things formed part of the peasant mentality; and we need no more.



Among the guarantees of authenticity is a lengthy list of the peasant singers to whom the author is indebted. It includes not merely the names of both men and women, but also details as to birthplace, residence, age, and occupation. This is an excellent example which might be followed in collecting traditions wherever practicable.

A careful account of the pronunciation, and the literal translation which follows each song, give a valuable insight into the dialect. The appendix and notes elucidate a number of customs to which reference is made, or which are the occasions of the songs, and are indispensable for their understanding.

Lastly, the volume is adorned with five clear and beautiful plates from photographs of customs that have now passed or are passing away, and of the ancient musical instruments of the district.

It is to be hoped that M. Arnaudin, after forty years spent in collection, will be enabled speedily to give the world the results of his life's work, not merely by publishing the remainder of the songs, but also the tales and customs that without his help would have vanished and left not a wrack behind.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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ALBRECHT DIETERICH. KLEINE SCHRIFTEN. Herausgegeben  
VON RICHARD WUNSCH. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1911.  
8vo, pp. xlii + 546. Mit einem Bildnis und 2 Tafeln. Ill.  
12 m.

THE death of Albrecht Dieterich in 1908 at the age of forty-two, and at the height of his powers, was an irreparable loss to German scholarship and to the study of the history of religions. Apart from the stores of accumulated knowledge that were buried with him, his untimely death removed a teacher endowed with the power of arousing interest and stimulating enthusiasm in those studies to which he had devoted his great gifts. In this country, where it is the fashion,—perhaps too much the fashion,—for classical scholars to coquette with folklore and ethnology, it is difficult to estimate at its true value the personal influence of Dieterich

and Hermann Usener or to realise the hostility towards the comparative method displayed by German *Philologen*, for whom the apotheosis of *Quellenforschung* condemned the use of new supplementary methods as 'a going over unto idols.' Dieterich's work was not in vain. "Nur das im Menschen ist dauernd, was im Herzen von anderem fortlebt" is a saying of Usener which he quotes in the obituary notice reprinted in this volume. While it is perhaps true that at the moment there is no successor of quite the same calibre to take his place, his work is being faithfully carried on, and, to quote but one objective manifestation of his influence, the series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* is evidence of the existence of a rising generation of scholars inspired by his spirit of enthusiasm and devoted industry. The sketch of his life and work, reprinted at the beginning of the book, reveals the influence exercised by a strong and lovable personality on his friends, colleagues, and pupils. And very interesting is the account of his upbringing by a devoted father, a schoolmaster, a strong provincial patriot, a man of forcible character and of pronounced, even narrow, religious creed. In his Hessian patriotism lay the roots of Dieterich's interest in the Folk,<sup>1</sup> while the respect inculcated for the religious views of his father, which he himself ceased to share, taught him, when analysing the devious tangle of religious beliefs belonging to the age in which Christianity emerged, to avoid a bias, which is as great an obstacle to the attainment of the truth as any prejudice of religious dogmatism. The volume contains the bulk of Dieterich's work apart from his books, reviews, and smaller dictionary articles. The thirty papers arranged in chronological order include the two large articles in Pauly-Wissowa on Aeschylus and Euripides, his enlarged doctorate thesis, and his *Habilitationschrift* in Marburg, the obituary notice of his master and father-in-law, Hermann Usener, and papers on matters connected with the classics, folklore, and Christian legend. Two have not previously appeared in print. The papers naturally vary in importance, and the range of subjects is too wide to permit of an adequate notice of their contents in detail. The classical articles are probably more familiar to English students than the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the eloquent passage in his address *Über Wesen und Ziele der Volkskunde*, p. 289.

contributions to journals of New Testament criticism or Hessian folklore. The chronological sequence of the whole throws an interesting light on the development of the author's interests. Up to 1900 we find him engaged in the disentanglement of the literature of the magical papyri and Orphic hymns, or occupied as a pure classical scholar chiefly with his favourites, the Attic dramatists. In 1900 the first of his folklore papers appears,—*Ein hessisches Zauberbuch*. It is an interesting application of the method learned in working on the magical papyri of antiquity to the no less chaotic material of folk magic, and demonstrates the distribution of an original document over a wide area. The Hessian magic book turns out to be derived from Württemberg, and the Black Forest district appears to be the home, at any rate in the nineteenth century, of a familiar type of magic book which is found all over Germany.

After 1900 we find Dieterich in increasing degree applying himself to problems of folklore or utilising the comparative method in his investigations into classical religion. The two papers on *Himmelsbriefe* illustrate the same method as that on the Hessian magic book. He analyses the text of these letters, which are supposed to descend from heaven to serve as charms, and demonstrates that the majority form a combination the parts of which consistently conform to certain original types. The kernel of the letter, with its injunctions as to the observance of Sunday, suggests a Jewish original as the ultimate source. This hypothesis is confirmed by corroborative evidence in the second paper, which proceeds to suggest some classical references to the same superstition. That it may have influenced the literary forms adopted by Menippos and Lucian, both Semites, is a brilliant conjecture, but the alleged references in classical authors are more dubious, and the letter in *Pausanias*, x. 38, does not seem to me quite parallel.

The papers on *ABC-Denkmäler* link the alphabets on Greek vases, and house walls, hitherto awkwardly explained as schoolboy exercises or fruits of a mason's idle moments, with the use of the Greek alphabet in the dedication ritual of the Roman Church, through a connecting chain of evidence as to the magical use of letters of the alphabet in spells and exorcism. In the matter of the

use of the alphabet in divination Dieterich seems to have overlooked the inscriptions of Adada and Limyra.<sup>2</sup>

*Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande* is another paper of great interest, not merely to students of early Christianity and its struggles with Mithraism, but also to those who are concerned with the genesis of saga. Dieterich has shown that the story of the Three Wise Men reflects an historical event which had impressed the popular imagination of the contemporary world,—the visit of homage paid by Tiridates and his attendant magi to the Emperor Nero in 66 A.D.

*Sommertag* contains examples of seasonal songs ancient and modern, but nothing very new except the attempt to apply them to two Roman wall paintings. As to the general character of the scenes depicted, the explanation seems plausible, but in detail we are not taken very far.

The address *Über Wesen und Ziele der Volkskunde* is an eloquent appeal for the scientific recognition of the subject. The analogy between the comparative study of culture and comparative philology supplies the main argument. And the warning that is drawn from the comparison is important. "Ich bin der Überzeugung, dass sie wissenschaftlich nur der treiben kann, der in irgend *eine* Philologie, d.h. in dem Studium *einer* gesamten Volkskultur, so zusagen, mit beiden Füssen steht."

The paper on the origin of Greek tragedy is clear, sound, and suggestive. Two points in particular deserve attention. The suggestion that the ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries influenced the development of Aeschylean tragedy, and the recognition that here the comparative method serves chiefly to emphasise the unique character of Greek drama. The parallels show the universal connection of drama with cult, but throw no light on the unaided development of cult drama into tragedy. True the modern drama is born of the religious play, but Seneca was its father. "Es gibt nur einen Gott Dionysos und es gibt nur einen Künstler Aischylos."

Of the two previously unpublished works, the first, *Der Ritus der verhüllten Hände*, collects the examples of the ritual covering of the hands in court ceremonial or religious practice. Instances

<sup>2</sup> C.I.G. 4310, 4379°.

are found in ancient literature and monuments ; in early Christian art it is common, particularly in the Byzantine period ; it survives sporadically down to the Quattrocento, and even appears in works of Luini and John Bellini. The literary evidence and that relating to the appearance of the rite in lay usage point to a Persian origin, and to its adoption in the court ceremonial of the Empire by Diocletian.

The last paper consists of 91 pages, entitled *Der Untergang der antiken Religion*. Unfortunately only the first chapter was found completed at Dieterich's death ; the remainder has been edited from notes used by the lecturer and those written by his audience. Obviously such a reconstruction will suffer by comparison with finished work ; it is a little bald, and the material would have been arranged somewhat differently in a written essay. But none the less the whole was well worth publishing. It gives an account, admirably clear and intelligible yet based on great learning, of the period of religious history with which Dieterich's studies had been chiefly occupied. He traces the internal causes of the fall of the high gods of Greece to "the revolution from above," manifested in the growth of the scientific spirit, rationalism, scepticism, and that last desperate venture of the Stoics, the attempted solution of religious doubts by allegorical interpretation, and "the revolution from below," beginning with Dionysos and the mysteries and culminating in Orphic magic, *i.e.* the development of a popular mysticism with its interests centred in a future life and built on the foundations of primitive superstition. "The revolution from without" passes in review the various cults, which invaded the ancient world in increasing numbers, and a chapter follows sketching the superstitious tendencies of the Alexandrian age, and its underworld of magic. The last chapter summarises the struggle and victory of Christianity.

One or two details in a general account are of course open to criticism, but it is a masterly and illuminating sketch. One realises in reading it the debt which Christianity owes to its organisation. It succeeded against its rivals partly because it was less compromising. It would never have uttered a plea based on surrender like that of Symmachus defending paganism against its assaults. "To the same stars we look upward, one heaven is above us, one

earth beneath our feet,—more than one way leads to the great secret." And in contemplating the assimilation of the various rival religions to each other, one realises the importance of its uncompromising attitude towards its internal organisation. Heresy was a real danger.

I have done little more than mention a few of the papers in this book which are likely to be of particular interest to students of folklore. It is no unworthy memorial of a scholar of generous imagination and great learning. Richard Wünsch is to be congratulated on his labour of love, and the thanks of the reader are due to Otto Weinreich for the unobtrusive work entailed by the compilation of an adequate index. The book is printed in a manner worthy of the great house of Teubner, and it is the more unfortunate that the sewing should be of a character which renders a visit to the bookbinder the inevitable corollary to cutting its pages.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

NATURSAGEN. Eine Sammlung Naturdeutender Sagen Märchen Fabeln und Legenden. Herausgegeben von Oskar Dähnhardt. Band IV. TIERSAGEN, Zweiter Teil. Bearbeitet von O. DÄHNHARDT UND A. VON LÖWIS OF MENAR. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. Large 8vo, pp. ix + 322. 8 m.

A GREAT deal of hard work and good learning have gone to the making of this further instalment of *Natursagen*. A mass of material has been collected and reduced to something like order, and the gratitude of students is due to the authors for an admirable book of reference for the animal stories with which it deals. To call it a book of reference is not to slight their ability nor the interest of their work. So little scientific work has been done as yet in their particular field that the primary necessity is spade work, and any honest book on the subject can at present claim no more than to provide *Prolegomena*. The material has first to be rendered manageable before lasting conclusions can be drawn.

This is illustrated in the book itself. In Europe, where more preliminary surveying has been done, our authors walk with firmer

steps. When it comes to crossing continents, we are less confident in our guides. The bridges are at best working hypotheses. It is not the fault of Dähnhardt and his collaborators, but of the present state of our scientific equipment. Above all more regional study is needed. A comprehensive study of the beast tales of Africa, for example, is necessary before we can follow the Tar Baby story without misgiving from a literary source in India across Africa to America.

The fact of the matter is that our working hypotheses are weak instruments, and I suspect Dähnhardt of under-estimating the difficulties of charting lines of transmission. Firstly, the earliest literary source does not necessarily give us the home nor the original form of a story. Both *Æsop* and the *Panchatantra* are highly sophisticated, and an oral version of a story may quite well represent an older tradition than they. Secondly, the possibility of independent invention cannot wholly be excluded, particularly in the case of beast tales, whose *motifs* are so very simple. Thirdly, a connection between two regions must imply an interchange of stories both ways. Before satisfactory conclusions can be drawn as to lines of transmission we need new criteria, and these can only be supplied by a closer study of regional characteristics. It is precisely for the reason that both the literary and the oral tradition in Europe have been subjected to this intensive study that we find Dähnhardt convincing in the European field and only plausible outside it.

The addition of a bibliography is a valuable asset for the student. It is a pity that it is unnecessarily disfigured by a number of misprints in the titles of foreign books.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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THE LIFE OF A SOUTH AFRICAN TRIBE. By HENRI A. JUNOD.  
Vol. ii. THE PSYCHIC LIFE. Neuchatel: Attinger Frères,  
1913. [Macmillan.] 8vo, pp. 574. Ill. 15s. *n.*

WITH this second volume M. Junod has completed the task of giving an account of the customs, institutions, and beliefs of the Thonga tribe of the South African Bantu. Although the sub-title

of the volume is *The Psychic Life*, its subject is more comprehensive than that phrase would necessarily import. For it includes not merely the "literary" and artistic life and the religious life (in a word the folklore in the large sense used by the Folk-Lore Society), but also the agricultural and industrial life,—that is to say, that important slice of ethnography often included by German writers under the name *Volkskunde*.

The chapters dealing with the latter are, it is needless to say, replete with interest, and abundantly prove that the folklore in our sense of the word cannot be understood without a knowledge of the varied industries with which a people provides for the maintenance of the individual lives of its members, and its continuance as a community in its physical environment. Economic causes and considerations are inseparably bound up with its organization, its arts, and its religion. Especially is this the case with the hunting customs, where, if anywhere in this department of life, we may find indications of archaic modes of thought and archaic practices, such as may interest students who are seeking for origins.

In that part of the volume devoted to the "literary" and artistic life Junod sketches, necessarily in outline only, the Bantu grammatical system; and he devotes much attention to the songs and music of the tribe. The poetry, as throughout the lower culture, consists chiefly of the repetition of a few phrases and sentences, and affords many a glimpse into the development of ballad poetry out of refrains continually reiterated. In dealing with folk-tales the author refers to his previous collection of *Chants et Contes des Baronga*, and adds here comparatively few new stories. He points out that the wealth of tales is vast. He has collected about fifty Thonga tales, but is under the impression that these only amount to a fifth or perhaps a tenth of the total: I should not be surprised to learn that this is an under-estimate, for no oral tale is conclusively fixed either in form or substance as one committed to writing is. It is still, as he says, "a plastic matter unconsciously undergoing constant and extensive modifications in the hands of the story-tellers." We are all familiar with the phenomenon. Its result is that the incidents not merely vary in themselves, but they drop out of one story and find a place of



harbourage in another, or they float away and coalesce with similarly floating incidents to form new stories. The *catena* of incidents in a story is always changing. The early studies of the Folk-Lore Society showed without any doubt that the point on which attention should be directed is not so much the plot of the whole story as the separate incidents. They are the units out of which a tale is made by ever new combinations. The incidents are very largely a common stock,—one cannot quite say a universal possession of mankind. Whatever origin may be assigned to them, they are presumably very ancient. It is their changing combinations and modifications to suit different stages and forms of culture that constitute the puzzle which they often present. The plots resulting from such modifications and combinations may often be new or peculiar to different peoples. In this sense a tale may be sometimes quite modern, while the stuff out of which it is woven is almost as old as the human race itself. Ethnographically the chief interest of folk-tales lies in these changes and the hints they may give us of political, economic, or social evolution or environment of the people that tell them.

Interesting as are the chapters in which the author deals with this side of the mental and emotional life of the Thonga, far more interesting is the part of the volume consecrated to their religious life. It is probable that, from causes we can but vaguely conjecture, the Thonga have emerged from a type of totemism common to other branches of the Bantu race. The totem-kin has broken down. It is in fact everywhere breaking down among the Bantu. Among the Thonga it has disappeared with practical completeness. The family, descendible through males, has taken its place as the social unit; and the only beings who receive anything like an organized cult are the *Manes* of ancestors, either of the family or the chief of the group which M. Junod calls a clan. Traces of maternal descent seem, however, to be found in the veneration of maternal, as well as of paternal, ancestors. There is some want of precision in the author's information on the subject: it does not distinctly appear whether the maternal *Manes* that are honoured are those of the mother's maternal ancestors or of her paternal ancestors. The chief performs rites addressed to his ancestors on behalf not only of himself and his family, but also of

the entire group over which he rules, and which is called by his name. Officially, it would appear, his ancestors are regarded as the ancestors of the group, though as a matter of fact the real ties between the chief and his group are rather political than consanguineous. The point of interest is that their relations to one another are modelled on consanguinity, and that the religious implications follow the presumption of the blood-bond.

M. Junod discusses once more, and with some additional evidence, the Thonga idea of Tilo (Heaven), on which he had given much information in his previous book on the Baronga. He hardly carries the true interpretation, however, further than Callaway was able to do in dealing with the Zulu belief, though he adds some curious details. His account of Thonga magic is full of interest, especially the section dealing with possession and exorcism. Exorcism is a special branch of the medicine-man's profession. Nobody can exercise it who has not been himself at one time possessed. Indeed, possession is the only method of initiation into the business of an exorcist. The spirits who are active in possession are, it should be noted, not the ancestral spirits, the ordinary objects of worship, but alien spirits; and they subsequently receive a cult from the patient. The exorcists form a separate guild or society, though they often combine the functions of exorcist with other branches of the medicine-man's business. When they die special rites are paid, possibly, I may suggest, because of their special cult. The funeral is attended by other exorcists; the corpse is unusually taboo; it is not laid in the grave in the manner of ordinary corpses; a species of *urticaria* growing in the water is laid on its head, "to cool him" and prevent the deceased from coming out of the grave to trouble the survivors. A little hut is built on the grave for the same purpose; one of his followers dances on the grave, and, when the mourning is ended, he burns the drugs at the annual feast and succeeds to his master's place. M. Junod's account of the practice of divination is also very detailed, accompanied with diagrams (one of them reproduced from his previous work), and the result of much careful enquiry.

Lastly, a section is devoted to an examination of Thonga taboos. The author distinguishes between taboos properly so

called (*yila*, supernaturally sanctioned), infringements of *nau* (the law), and mere observances of etiquette. (Compare the Latin *fas* and *ius*.) In connection with this matter he points out that Bantu religion and Bantu morality are mutually independent.

M. Junod has laid all students of anthropology, and especially all students of Bantu civilization, under a great debt of gratitude by this painstaking study of Thonga life. The photographs, sketches, and diagrams are of much assistance in understanding the text, though some of the photographs fail to bring out the details, either because they are too small or from other causes.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE COCHIN TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. II. By L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER. Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1912. Svo, pp. xxiii + 504. Ill.

THE second volume of this important contribution to the etymology of India, of which the first instalment has been reviewed in these pages,<sup>1</sup> is of much greater value than the portion describing the forest tribes and the "untouchable" menials, of whom the writer, a Tamil Brāhman, possesses much less intimate knowledge than of the more civilized races of the seaboard,—Brāhmins, Nāyars, Jews, Christians, and Mappillas. The articles are carefully compiled, the facts grouped on a well-considered system, and an abundant supply of good photographs is provided. In some cases space might have been saved by compression, and the system of transliteration, where we find the names of deities and other technical terms of Hinduism sometimes recorded in the recognized Sanskrit forms, sometimes in the Malayāli equivalents, gives an impression of slovenliness which the book, as a whole, does not deserve. Thus, the well-known Gāyatrī sun-hymn appears as "Gāyitri"; "Ganapathi," "Bhagavathi," instead of Gaṇapati and Bhagavati; Saraswatī, sometimes "Saraswathi"; offend the eye of the scholar.

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii., pp. 263-7.

The most important question in the ethnology of South India is to fix the approximate date for the Brāhman emigration from the north. That many of the southern Brāhmins, with perhaps an exception in the case of the Nambutiris, are, to some extent at least, "Aryanized" Dravidians, is fairly certain. What we desire to know is the length of the period during which this process of racial absorption and the amalgamation of Brahmanical Hinduism with the indigenous idolatries were partially completed. A popular astrological formula states that the Nambutiri immigration occurred 1346 years ago. Of course, Hindu influence in the south was even earlier than this, because the *Periplus*, probably written in the first century A.D., speaks of Komar, the modern Cape Comorin, which represents Kumāri, "the damsel," the goddess Durgā. Recently discovered copper-plate grants testify to the existence of Brāhman colonies in the fourth or fifth century, and the late Dr. Burnell was probably correct in fixing the main southward movement of the Brāhmins in the seventh century. By this time, the Dravidians had established powerful monarchies, and pre-Brahmanic forms of belief were able successfully to resist the new learning, with the result that in our day South Indian Brahmanism is very different from the Hinduism of the north.

It is impossible here to follow the writer through his careful account of the leading tribes of the state,—the Nāyars with their abnormal matrimonial system, and their connection with that strange class of Brāhman Puritans, the Nambutiris, who by a rigid system of tabu promoting complete isolation represent at the present day, more absolutely than any of the northern branches, the ideals of ancient Hinduism. The elaborate account given of Brahmanic rites, when compared with the classical description of Vedic ceremonies by H. T. Colebrooke, written more than a century ago, will be useful for reference.

Except the Beni Israels of Bombay, who through contact metamorphosis have become, to a large extent, Hinduized, Cochin alone contains a Jewish population which, in the case of the White Jews, has resisted absorption. The racial distinction between them and the Black Jews, who are apparently, to a large extent, of local origin, is well illustrated by good photographs.

Mr. Anantha Krishna Iyer and the Government of the Cochin

State may be congratulated on the publication of this useful Ethnographical Survey. Materials have been collected for a third volume, which will include anthropometrical statistics. It may be hoped that nothing will prevent the completion of this praiseworthy undertaking.

W. CROOKE.

THE LUSHEI KUKI CLANS. By Lt.-Col. J. SHAKESPEAR.  
Macmillan and Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. 235. Map + 4 col. pl.  
+ 19 ill. 10s. n.

OUT of the fulness of an intimate knowledge comes this book. Colonel Shakespear went to the Lushei Hills in 1888, and has served there or thereabouts ever since. Of the use to which he has put his unrivalled opportunities for gathering accurate first-hand information concerning the Lusheis proper and their dependent clans and the Old Kuki and other Kuki clans, this volume packed full of interesting facts gives eloquent testimony. He gives us matter to weigh and ponder at every page. Why do Lusheis practise teknonymy? We have the Lushei explanation, and when we learn that the Lusheis are an "extremely superstitious race" we may be sure that their explanations are worth attention. Like so many of the tribes in their neighbourhood, they believe that there is a divine Supreme Being who reckons not now of mankind. Direct dealings with men are for a lesser deity, but men are chiefly concerned with the propitiation of the Huai, evil spirits of hill and dale, of river and jungle. Add to this a complicated psychology which recognizes a dual soul, one half of which is in incessant struggle with the other, and you will see that Lusheis are necessarily unreliable, a fact which a Political Officer soon has forced on his notice. Of chapter iv., with its full and careful account of Lushei religion, I can only say that it is a fit prelude to chapter v., in which we have not only folk-tales in ample number, but a most interesting analysis of Lushei beliefs regarding superstitions and magic. It begins with the "Thimzing" time when the auk swallowed the sun so effectually that "a general transformation took place, men being

all changed into animals." This is not bad for people who are far from primitive. Here, too, we have strange beliefs about the snake, the *rulpui*, which find a parallel in Manipur and among the Naga tribes in contact with Kukis of the Thado clan. Students of various forms of social structure will find much delight in unravelling the various systems of marriage to be found in this area. Neither wild horses nor all the honeyed arguments of an eloquent editor shall drag from me my theory of the strange happenings among the Chiru, where one forlorn group of maidens seems condemned to go unwed or to have to import their husbands.

In every aspect the book is of very great importance and value, and, knowing well the patience and care with which its facts were collected and investigated, I can heartily commend it to all who seek to know what manner of men are they who thirty years ago were the terror of the plains below, and now read newspapers and draw interesting plans of the road to Heaven, which accrued to the man who took heads.

T. C. HODSON.

THE BOOK OF PROTECTION: being a Collection of Charms now edited for the first time from Syriac MSS. With Translation, Introduction, and Notes by HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Litt. Oxford Univ. Press, 1912, 8vo, pp. lxxxvii + vii + 103, 27 ill. 10s. 6d. *n.*

CHARMS are always difficult to obtain and to collect. People fight shy of communicating them, and those who possess the charms will, as I can say from personal experience, obstinately refuse to tell the charm to any one else, as it is said that the charm must be stolen, for if it is directly given it loses its efficacy. The witch or the one who endeavours to become a sorcerer must "overhear" the older one repeating the charm or conjuration, and thus learn to know it. Nor are charms transmitted in a written form. But happily even sorcerers and wizards suffer from a bad memory, and so, from olden times, they evidently found it necessary to prepare such manuals for their pupils or for refreshing their own memory. In olden times it was, however, dangerous to keep such records.

The possession of such a collection meant often carrying their life in their hands, for, if such a book were to be discovered, it would have meant evident and irrefutable proof of a man's heresy, and would bring upon him condign punishment.

Such collections are therefore scarce in Europe, and they are no less scarce in the East. Happily some have survived, and Prof. Gollancz is certainly to be congratulated on having come into the possession of no less than two collections of Syriac charms and conjurations. A Ms. similar to one of those possessed by Prof. Gollancz has found its way to the library of Cambridge, and another is treasured in the British Museum. Out of the four Prof. Gollancz has made one collection. He has published them in the original Syriac, and he has added an English translation with a short introduction. It was not an easy task to translate such charms into readable and intelligible English. Charms are not often written so as to be easily understood. On the contrary, the less they are understood the more powerful and efficacious they are, and, if one can add a large number of names and collect a long string of diseases and make them face one another, and fight together, then the charm's virtue is unimpeachable. Neither demons nor spirits dare stand up against the crushing power of such an amulet. No less than ninety-five are contained in this valuable book. Some are mere short adjurations, others are longer formulas of prayers and conjurations akin to the exorcisms found in some ancient Greek Prayer Books; but no doubt most of them are of great antiquity. Charms have their own history, no less charming than that of fairy tales; they also travel from country to country and from faith to faith. They will easily submit to slight changes.

It makes very little real difference whether a church saint is substituted for a pagan god, or a Moslem saint takes the place of some gnostic archon. So long as the essence remains the same, the faith of the people supplies the rest. What a goddess has done in the time of paganism, a Christian saint can equally well do, and perhaps better, when Christianity is the ruling power.

In my study, "Two Thousand Years of a Charm against a Child Stealing Witch,"<sup>1</sup> I was able to trace the evolution of such

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi., pp. 129-62.

a charm. In this collection by Prof. Gollancz we find a welcome parallel to what I was already able at the time to refer to in my article. It would be an interesting study, and well worth undertaking, to investigate each of these, or at any rate a large number of them, as to their origin, source, development, filiation, parallels in ancient and modern literature, and also the connection between the formulas found in charms and those used as exorcisms by various churches for banishing evil spirits.

No less interesting would it be to trace the relation between the miracles or legends of saints, the incidents recorded of their wonderful exploits, and the way in which, as in the work of sympathetic magic, the recital of these deeds had been transformed into powerful charms for warding off the evil action of some demon.

Prof. Gollancz's book will prove of extreme value not only for the study of Syriac charms but also for the comparative study of divination and magic. The Mss. themselves are of comparatively recent date (sixteenth or seventeenth century), but there can be no doubt that the monks who wrote them copied them from older Mss. How far they changed words here and there, and how far they modified the language to suit their own time, could only be determined by the discovery of older texts. But that the substance is extremely old cannot be doubted. Some of them remind us of the Greek formulas of conjurations published by Vassiliev in his *Anecdota Græca*, and by Pradel in his collection of South Italian conjurations. Le Grand's collection, and those published by me in my *Roumanian Popular Literature*, offer other curious parallels, not to speak of the vast number of conjurations and charms found in Hebrew Mss., some of them going back to the Testament of Solomon, and some finding parallels in the Greek magical papyri.

Sufficient has been said to show how valuable the publication of Prof. Gollancz is, and how much folklore is indebted to him for his scholarly book.

M. GASTER.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
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 17 GRAY ST., NEW OXFORD ST., LONDON, W.C.



# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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Vol. XXIV.]

JULY, 1913.

[No. II.

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**WEDNESDAY. MARCH 19th, 1913.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members of the Society was announced, viz. :—Mr. A. E. Balleine, Mr. E. A. Barber, Mr. J. A. Beazley, Miss Blackman, the Rev. F. W. Bussell, Mr. F. M. Cornford, Miss de Brisay, Mr. A. T. Duguid, Dr. L. R. Farnell, Miss L. Graham, Miss Jane Harrison, Mr. J. Humphreys, Miss C. E. Ives, Mr. A. Keiller, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, Mr. S. Langdon, Miss Legge, Miss J. M. Marett, Miss S. Morrison, Prof. G. G. Murray, M. Emile Nourry, Miss G. M. O'Reilly, Miss G. C. Porter, Mr. S. Rendall, Mr. F. Roscoe, Mr. A. Sidgwick, Prof. J. A. Smith, and Mr. F. F. Urquhart.

The enrolment of the Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, and the Malvern Public Library as subscribers to the Society was also announced.

The President read a paper by Mr. P. Manning entitled "Bringing in the Fly," which was followed by a discus-

sion in which Dr. Gaster, Mr. Lovett, and the President took part.

Mr. Lovett exhibited and explained a number of specimens of folk-remedies still used in some parts of London, (*supra*, pp. 120-1), upon which some observations were offered by Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hildburgh, Mr. Wright, Miss Moutray Read, Miss Porter, and the President.

Miss Burne read a paper entitled "British Calendar Customs," and in the discussion which followed Mr. Clodd, Mr. Lovett, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Wright, Mr. Lamont, and Mr. Williams took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Manning and Miss Burne for their papers, and to Mr. Lovett for exhibiting and explaining his specimens of folk-remedies.

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16th, 1913.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. W. H. Barker as a member of the Society was announced.

The deaths of Lady Dorothy Nevill and Lord Archibald Campbell were also announced.

Dr. G. Landtman read a paper on "The Poetry of the Kiwai Papuans," and in the discussion which followed the President and Dr. Gaster took part.

Mr. Lovett exhibited and explained a number of amulets from the eastern counties of England, upon which observations were offered by Miss Canziani, Dr. Hildburgh, Dr. Gaster, Miss Burne, Mr. Wright, and Mr. W. H. Barker.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Dr. Landtman for his paper, and to Mr. Lovett for his exhibition of amulets.

## MR. ANDREW LANG'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF EXOGAMY AND TOTEMISM.

BY (THE LATE) ANDREW LANG.

[In Mr. Andrew Lang's last communication to *Folk-Lore*, which appears on pp. 376-8 of vol. xxiii., he says that "for the last three years I have written and rewritten, again and again, a work on Totemism and Exogamy; but for various reasons,—partly the influx of new facts and new theories, partly weariness of controversy,—I do not expect to publish the volume. . . . But the chapter on my theory of totemic exogamy may perhaps be detachable; if so, *Folk-Lore* may give it hospitality?"

In accordance with the wish so expressed, the chapter referred to, (No. xiii., "The Author's Theory of the Origin of Exogamy and Totemism"), is printed below in the condition in which it is found in manuscript.

For the kind permission to make this extract from the unpublished work, members of the Society and other readers of *Folk-Lore* are indebted to Mrs. Lang, who is the literary executrix of her late husband.—ED.]

EXOGAMY is manifestly the greatest and most far-reaching of taboos. By this taboo every one is affected. Something is forbidden,—a taboo is always prohibitive of something,—and, if we want to understand why anything is forbidden, we ask "to whose interest is it to prohibit this or that; *cui prodest?*" Usually the persons who reap advantage by a taboo are the seniors of the community, the makers of customary law. Were any seniors ever interested in prohibiting all sexual unions (except their own) within any given circle? I think there were such seniors!

As to the origin of Exogamy, I conceive, (following Mr. Atkinson in his *Primal Law*), that man dwelt originally, as in Darwin's opinion, in small family groups, the Sires in each case expelling the young males when they were arriving at puberty. The Sires are the interested seniors for whom we are looking! "The younger males, being thus expelled and wandering about, would, when at last successful in finding a partner, prevent too close interbreeding within the limits of the same family," says Darwin.<sup>1</sup> The sire among horses, stags, (and gorillas, according to Darwin), thus expels the young males through no idea of "incest" in unions of brother and sister, mother and son, through no aversion to unions of persons closely akin by blood, but from animal jealousy. Darwin supposed that man did not cease to be fiercely jealous as he became human. The expulsion of young males was a practical enforcement of exogamy, of marriage out of the brutal herd, out of the savage camp.

As progress advanced, I conceive that the sire was moved, (by the tears, perhaps, of some female mate, in Mr. Atkinson's theory, and by a softening of his own heart, now becoming human), to let the son of his old age, his Benjamin, remain in the camp, so long as he did not interfere with any of the females, but found a mate outside the group. The custom of brother and sister avoidance, among tribes known to Mr. Atkinson in New Caledonia and other isles, seemed to him a result of this law. Mr. J. M. Robertson calls this idea "a violent assumption of a dramatic reconciliation effected by a mother between father and son on the basis of exogamy for the latter: we are unable to see how the happy solution was repeated all through the species."<sup>2</sup>

Does not Mr. Robertson believe in the blessed words *Natural Selection* and *Survival of the Fittest*? He appears to admit that "early man, like the gorilla and wild bull" (and many other animals) "of to-day, forcibly expelled or

<sup>1</sup> Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> *The Literary Guide*, July, 1910, p. 102.

slew his male young when they aroused his jealousy." If early man did so, man not so early left off doing so, certainly; and for that he must have had *some* reason, and *some* early men must have begun the practice of permitting the young males to remain in the camp or fire-circle, but not to choose a mate within it. They were of milder mood; the mothers, too, were growing more maternal; had it not been so, we should all be more brutal than we are at this moment. Then came in Natural Selection. Groups which contained several fine young males would be "the fittest," would overcome in all encounters groups with only one male, perhaps a tottering old male; and the fittest groups would survive. The reform would be imitated by other groups till "the happy solution was repeated all through the species."

Mr. Atkinson merely gave dramatically, in his remarks on the mother, son, and sire, an example of the way in which advancing humanity might modify the old brutal custom.

My theory is practically that of Mr. Atkinson. The expulsion of the young sons by the sire was his unspoken enforcement of exogamy. The idea is Darwin's, it is not that of an amateur naturalist: hypnotised by no belief in the promiscuity of the earliest men. With them, solitary and fierce, my theory of exogamy begins.

Mr. Howitt, if I understand his meaning, thought that exogamy arose in a society which, save for exogamy, was as advanced as that of an Australian tribe of to-day. After quoting two tribal legends of the rise of exogamy, (legends of an opposite sort are ignored), from the dividing of the tribe into phratries, "with intent to regulate the relations of the sexes," Mr. Howitt says, "I can see very clearly how such a social change might be brought about. . . . Such a man," (a *voyant*, a medicine-man), "if of great repute in his tribe, might readily bring about a social change, by announcing to his fellow medicine-men a command received from some supernatural being such as Kutchi of the Dieri,

Bunjil of the Wurunjjerri, or Daramulun of the Coast Murring. If they received it favourably, the next step might be to announce it to the assembled headmen at one of the ceremonial gatherings as a supernatural command, and this would be accepted as true without question by the tribes-people.”<sup>3</sup>

But this theory postulates the modern organised tribe, with a supreme All-Father, a probouleutic council of medicine-men, a *Boulé* of headmen, with ceremonial gatherings, and tribal consent.

To such a tribe, hitherto promiscuous, the headmen announce that, by a supernatural command, they must so arrange themselves that no man may marry his mother, nor any woman of her tribal status, nor his sister, nor any woman of her tribal status, nor any woman in his own division of the tribe. The tribe accept a proposal so contrary to their previous promiscuity. But *why* Daramulun issued this edict, if he did, or why the medicine-man conceived such a curious idea, no theorist who believes in this legislative action can make even a guess. A theory which postulates that, when exogamy arose, tribes were organised on the present model; a theory which postulates a decree totally bereft of any plausible motive, and conducing to no perceptible advantage to any mass or class of men, seems to me futile. It merely re-states the facts,—there *is* at present an exogamous division which prevents marriages of some consanguine and of many more non-consanguine people,—but *why* there is such a division Daramulun only knows! My theory answers the question, *cui bono?* “Who has an interest in enforcing an exogamous decree?” My guess, adopted from the greatest of naturalists, Mr. Darwin, is obliged to contradict the theory of Mr. Howitt at every point. I suppose the “primal law” of the half-brutal sire to have persisted in local groups longer, owing to the admission of sons with their alien mates, than the harem

<sup>3</sup> *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 89-90.

of the old sire. There was as yet no organised tribe: the groups preserved the ancestral jealous hostility. This can neither be proved nor disproved, but the hostility is the keystone of my arch.

As to primal hostility of groups, it is a curious fact that, in the Banksian island of Mota, the two *veve*, (or intermarrying phratries), "in the old days . . . hated one another, and even now there is a feeling of hostility between the two. . . . There are a number of customs of avoidance which receive their most natural explanation as evidence of this old feeling between the two divisions."<sup>4</sup> Given hostility, to obtain wives from each other, men, on my theory, had recourse to robbery.

I would add, that if brothers and sisters were allowed to make love to each other, (and the boys to their mother, which seems hardly conceivable), the family circle must, on occasion, have been broken up by murders and revenges, red revenge between sire and son, brother and brother. No small society could have lived if such amours were permitted. Man had thus good human reasons for slaying such amorists; otherwise capital punishment is all but unknown to savage law.

I next suppose the local groups to have come to distinguish each other by names derived usually from animals, more rarely from plants, for totem kins *are* so distinguished. For my reasons and my answers to objections I must refer to my books, *Social Origins*, and *The Secret of the Totem* (pp. 114-34). Of this later book I reprint what seems necessary: a few passages need alteration.

The establishment of totemic beliefs and practices cannot have been sudden. Men cannot have, all in a moment, conceived that each group possessed a protective and sacred animal or other object, perhaps of one blood

<sup>4</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, "The Father's Sister in Oceania," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi., p. 55. The Haida intermarrying sets, according to Mr. Swanton, hate each other bitterly.

with themselves in explanatory myths. There must have been dim beginnings of the belief (so surprising to us) that each human group had some intimate connection with this, that, or the other natural species, plants, or animals. We must first seek for a cause of this belief in the connection of human groups with animals, the idea of which connection must necessarily be prior to the various customs and rules founded on the idea. Mr. Baldwin Spencer remarks, "What gave rise in the first instance to the association of particular men with particular animals and plants it does not seem possible to say."<sup>5</sup> Mr. Howitt asks, "How was it that men assumed *the names of objects, which in fact must have been the commencement of totemism?*"<sup>6</sup> The answer may be very simple. It ought to be an answer which takes for granted no superstition as already active; magic, for instance, need not have yet been developed.

Manifestly, if each group woke to the consciousness that it bore the *name* of a plant or animal, and did not know how it came to bear that name, no more was needed to establish, in the savage mind, the belief in an essential and valuable connection between the human group Emu, and the Emu species of birds, and so on. As Mr. Howitt says, totemism begins in the bearing by human groups of the name of objects.

It is difficult to understand how a fact so obvious as this,—that the totemic name, if the name existed, *and if its origin were unknown*, would come to be taken by the groups as implying a mystic connection between all who bore it, men or beasts,—can have escaped the notice of any one who is acquainted with the nature of savage thinking, and with its survivals into civilised ritual and magic. Mr. Frazer has devoted forty-two pages of his *Golden Bough*<sup>7</sup> to the record of examples of this belief

<sup>5</sup>[*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 127].

<sup>6</sup>*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup>Sec. ed., vol. i., pp. 404-46.



about names, in various forms. He quotes Sir John Rhys to the effect that probably "the whole Aryan family, believed at one time not only that his name was a part of the man, but that it was that part of him which is termed the soul, the breath of life, or whatever you may choose to define it as being." So says Sir J. Rhys in an essay on Welsh Fairies.<sup>8</sup> This opinion rests on philological analysis of the Aryan words for "name," and is certainly not understated.<sup>9</sup> But, if the *name* is the soul of its bearer, if his soul be his essence, if he and his totem are of one essence and name, then the name and the soul, and the soul and the totem of a man are all one! There we have the *rapport* between man and totemic animal for which we are seeking.<sup>10</sup>

Whether "name" in any language indicates "soul" or not, the savage belief in the intimate and wonder-working connection of names and things is a well-ascertained fact. Now, as things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, animals and sets of men having the same name are, in savage opinion, mystically connected with each other. That is now the universal totemic belief, though it need not have existed when names were first applied to distinguish things, and men, and sets of men. Examples of the belief will presently be given.

<sup>8</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxx. (1891), p. 567.

<sup>9</sup> See examples in "Cupid and Psyche," in my *Custom and Myth*, and Mr. Clodd's *Tom Tit Tot*, pp. 91-3.

<sup>10</sup> In Mr. Frazer's theory the origin of this idea of *rapport* is the North and Central Australian belief that the essence of each human being is the spirit of a primal being of animal or vegetable form, and so totemic, which enters a woman and is reincarnated. To me it seems that this belief is a theory constructed by men who were already totemists, and already animistic, and who asked themselves, "Why have we totems? Whence have we souls?" If I am wrong, why do but two *human* sources of the many totem names exist?

Thus, given a set of local groups<sup>11</sup> known by the names of Eagle Hawk, Crow, Wolf, Raven, or what not, the idea that these groups were intimately connected with the name-giving animals in each case was, in the long run, sure to occur to the savage thinker. On that assumed mystical connection, implied in the common name, and suggested by the common name, is laid the foundation of all early totemic practice. For the magical properties of the connection between the name and its bearer, the reader has only to refer to Mr. Frazer's assortment of examples, already cited. We here give all that are needed for our purpose.

In Australia, each individual Arunta has a secret name, *aritua churinga*, "never uttered except on the most solemn occasions," "never to be spoken in the hearing of women, or of men, or of another group." To speak the secret name in these circumstances would be as impious "as the most flagrant case of sacrilege amongst white men."<sup>12</sup>

The facts prove, I repeat, that to the early mind names, and the things known by names, are in a mystic and transcendental connection of *rapport*. Other Australian examples of the secrecy of a man's name, and of the power of magically injuring him by knowledge of his name, are given by Mr. Howitt, Brough Smyth, Lumholtz, Bulmer, Dawson, and others. It would appear that this superstition as to names is later than the first giving of animal names to totem groups, and that totem names were not given to

<sup>11</sup> I am sure to be told that I declared *local* totem groups to be the result of reckoning in the male line, and not primitive, and that, here, I make the primitive animal-named group *local*. My reply is that in this passage I am not speaking of *totem* groups, but of *local groups bearing animal names*, a very different thing. A group may have borne an animal name long before it evolved totemic beliefs about the animal, and recognised it as a totem. No group that was *not* local could get a name to itself at this early stage of the proceedings. The "local habitation" precedes the "name."

<sup>12</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 139.

groups by the groups themselves, (at least, were not given after the superstition about names came in), for to blazon their own group names abroad would be to give any enemy the power of injuring the group by his knowledge of its name. Groups, had they possessed the name-belief, would have carefully concealed their group names, if they could. There are a few American cases in which kins talk of their totems by periphrases, but every one knows their real names.

He who knew a group's name might make a magical use of his knowledge to injure the group. But the group names or kin names being already known to all concerned (having probably been given from without), when the full totemic belief arose it was far too late for groups to conceal the totem names, as an individual can and does keep his own private essential name secret. The totem animal of every group was known to all groups within a given radius. "It is a serious offence," writes Mr. Howitt, "for a man to kill [the totem] of another person,"<sup>13</sup> that is, with injurious intentions towards the person.

An individual, says Mr. Howitt, "has of course his own proper individual name, which, however, is often in abeyance because of the disinclination to use it, or even to make it generally known lest it might come into the knowledge and possession of some enemy, who thus having it might thereby "sing" its owner—in other words, use it as an "incantation"."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, in Australia, the belief that names imply a mystic *rapport* between themselves and the persons who bear them is proved to be familiar, and it is acted upon by each individual who conceals his secret name.

This being so, when the members of human groups found themselves, as groups, all in possession of animal

<sup>13</sup> *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xviii. (1888), p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51; *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 581.

group names, and had forgotten how they got the names, (all known groups having long been named), it was quite inevitable that men, always speculative, should ask themselves,—“What is the nature of this connection between us and the animals whose names we bear? It must be a connection of the closest and most important kind.” This conclusion, I repeat, was inevitable, given the savage way of thinking about names. Will any anthropologist deny this assertion?

Probably the mere idea of a mystic connection between themselves and their name-giving animals set the groups upon certain superstitious acts and abstentions in regard to these animals. But being men, and as such speculative, and expressing the results of their speculations in myths, they would not rest till they had evolved myths as to the precise nature of the connection between themselves and their name-giving animals, the connection indicated by their names. There are scores of such myths.

Now, men who had arrived at this point could not be so inconceivably unobservant as to be unaware of the blood-connection between mother and children indicated in the obvious facts of birth. A group may not have understood the facts of reproduction and procreation (as the Arunta are said not to have understood them), but the facts of blood-connection, and of the relation of the blood to the life, could escape no human beings.<sup>15</sup> As savages undeniably do not usually draw the line between beasts and other things on one side, and men on the other, as we do, it was natural for some of them to suppose that the animal bearing the human group name, and therefore *solidaire* with the group, was united with it, as the members of the human group themselves were visibly united, namely, by the blood-bond. The animal is thus explained as men's ancestor, or brother, or primal ancestral form. (Or the man's soul is an emanation from a supposed primal being of animal form.) This

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *The Golden Bough* (2nd ed.), vol i., pp. 360-2.

belief would promote kindness to and regard for the animal.

Unessential to my system is the question, *how* the groups got animal names, so long as they did get them and did not remember how they got them, and so long as the names, according to their way of thinking, indicated an essential and mystic *rapport* between each group and its name-giving animal. No more than these things—a group animal-name of unknown origin; and belief in a transcendental connection between all bearers, human and bestial, of the same;—was needed to give rise to all the totemic creeds.

Now, we can prove that the origin of the totem names of savage groups is unknown to the savages, because they have invented many various myths to account for the origin of the names. If they knew, they would not have invented such myths. Thus that, by their way of thinking, the name denotes a transcendental connection, which may be exploited, between themselves and their name-giving animals we have proved.

In *Social Origins* I ventured to guess as to how the group names first arose, namely, in sobriquets given by group to group.<sup>16</sup> I showed that in France, England, the Orkneys, and I may now add Guernsey, and I believe Crete, villagers are known by animal names or sobriquets, as in France—Cows, Lizards, Pigeons, Frogs, Dogs; in Orkney—Starlings, Oysters, Crabs, Seals, Auks, Cod, and so forth. I also gave the names of ancient Hebrew villages, recorded in the *Book of Judges*, such as Lions, Jackals, Hornets, Stags, Gazelles, Wild Asses, Foxes, Hyænas, Cows, Lizards, Scorpions, and so forth. I also proved that in the Orkneys, and in the Sioux tribe of Red Indians, rapidly ceasing to be totemic, the group sobriquets were often “Eaters of” this or that animal, or (where totemism survived among the Sioux) “not Eaters of” this or that.<sup>17</sup> I thus established the

<sup>16</sup> The passage will be found in *Social Origins*, pp. 166-75.

<sup>17</sup> *Social Origins*, pp. 295-301.

prevalence in human nature, among peasants and barbarians, of giving animal group sobriquets. "In Cornwall," writes an informant (Miss Alleyne), "it seems as if the inhabitants do not care to talk about these things for some reason or another," and "the names are believed to be very ancient." When once attention is drawn to this curious subject, probably more examples will be discovered.

I thus demonstrated (and I know no earlier statement of the fact) the existence in the classes least modified by education of the tendency to give such animal group sobriquets. The same principle even now makes personal names derived from animals most common among individuals in savage countries, the animal name usually standing, not alone, but qualified, as Wolf the Unwashed, in the Saga; Sitting Bull, and so on. As we cannot find a race just becoming totemic, we cannot, of course, *prove* that their group animal-names were given thus from without, but the process is elsewhere undeniably a *vera causa*, and does operate as we show, while it certainly operates in conferring names on clans just emerging from totemism.

As to this suggestion about the sources of the animal names borne by the groups, Dr. Durkheim remarks that it is "conjectural."<sup>18</sup> Emphatically it is, like the Doctor's own theories, nor can any theory on this matter be other than guess-work. But we do not escape from the difficulty by merely saying that the groups "adopted" animal names for themselves; for that also is a mere conjecture. Perhaps they did, but why? Is it not clear that, given a number of adjacent groups, each one group has far more need of names for its neighbours than of a name for itself? "We" are "we," "The Men"; all the rest of mankind are "wild blacks," "barbarians," "outsiders." But there are a score of sets of outsiders, and "we," "The Men," need names for each and every one of them. "We" are "The Men," but the nineteen other groups are also "The Men,"—in their

<sup>18</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv., p. 423.

own opinion. To us they are something else ("they" are not "we"), and we are something else to them; *we* are not *they*; we all need differentiation, and we and they, by giving names to outsiders, differentiate each other. The names arose from a primitive necessity felt in everyday life. Through taunts bandied between groups, and through women stolen by group from group, the names would become generally known.

That such sobriquets, given from without, may come to be accepted, and even gloried in, has been doubted, but we see the fact demonstrated in such modern cases as "the sect called Christians" (so called from without), and in *Les Gueux, Huguenots*, Whigs, Tories, Cavaliers, Cameronians ("that nick-name," cries Patrick Walker (1720), "why do they not all call them 'Cargillites'? if they will give them a nick-name?").<sup>19</sup> I later prove that two ancient and famous Highland clans have, from time immemorial, borne clan names which are derisive nicknames. Several examples of party or local nicknames, given, accepted, and rejoiced in, have been sent to me from North Carolina.

Another example, much to the point, may be offered. The "nations," that is, aggregates of friendly tribes, in Australia, let us say the Kamilaroi, are usually known by names derived from their word for "No," such as *Kamil* (Kamilaroi), *Wira* (Wirajuri), *Wonghi* (Wonghi tribe), *Kabi* (Kabi tribe). Can any one suppose that these names were given from within? Clearly they were given from without and accepted from within. One of the Wonghi or of the Wirajuri or Kamilaroi tribe is "proud of the title." Messrs. Spencer and Gillen write, "It is possible that the names of the tribes were originally applied to them by outsiders and were subsequently adopted by the members of the tribes themselves, but the evidence is scanty and inconclusive."<sup>20</sup> There can hardly be any evidence but what we know of

<sup>19</sup> *Six Saints of the Covenant* (1901), vol. i., p. 241.

<sup>20</sup> *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 11 (note).

human nature. Do the French call themselves *Oui Oui*? No! But the natives of New Caledonia call them *Oui Oui*.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, to return to totem names, savage groups would have no reason for resenting, as derisive, animal names given from without. Considering the universal savage belief in the mystic wisdom and *wakan*, [or *mana*], or power, of animals, there was no kind of objection among savages to being known by animal group names. The names came to be regarded as rather honour-giving than derisive. This has not been understood by my critics. They have said that among European villages, and among the Sioux of to-day, group nicknames are recognised, but not gloried in or even accepted meekly. My answer is obvious. Our people have not the savage ideas about animals: while the Sioux clans do accept their sobriquets.

Mr. Howitt, in his turn, does not approve of my idea, thus stated by him, that "the plant and animal names would be impressed upon each group from without, and some of them would stick, would be stereotyped, and each group would come to answer to its nickname." He replies,—“To me, judging of the possible feelings of the pristine ancestors of the Australians by their descendants of the present time, it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, nor do I know of a single instance in which such names have been adopted.”<sup>22</sup>

Mr. Howitt, of course, could not possibly find kinships *now* adopting animal and other such names given from without, because all kinships where totemism exists have got such names already, and with the names a sacred body of customs. But does he suppose that the many local tribes calling themselves by their word for "No" (as *Kabi*, *Kamil*, *Wonghi*, and so on), originally gave these names

<sup>21</sup> J. J. Atkinson. The natives call us "White Men." We do not call ourselves "Goddams," but Jeanne d'Arc did.

<sup>22</sup> *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 154.



to themselves, saying, "We are the people who, when we mean 'No,' say '*Wonghi*'"? That seems to me hardly credible! Much more probably tribes who used *Kamil* or *Kabi* for "No" gave the name of *Wonghi* to a tribe who used *Wonghi* in place of their *Kamil* or *Kabi*. In that case the tribes, as tribes, have adopted names given from without.

Again, I consider that the feelings of that noble savage, the Red Indian, are at least as sensitive to insult as those of Mr. Howitt's blacks. Now it so happens that the Black-foot Indians of North America, who apparently have passed out of totemism, have "*gentes*, a gens being a body of consanguineal kinsmen in the male line," writes Mr. G. B. Grinnell.<sup>23</sup> These clans, now no longer totemic, needed names, and some of their [new] names, at least, are most insulting nicknames. Thus we have Naked Dogs, Skunks, They Don't Laugh, Buffalo Dung, All Crazy Dogs, Fat Roasters, and—Liars! No men ever gave such names to their own community. In a diagram of the arrangement of these clans in camp, made about 1850, we find the *gentes* of the Pi-kun'-I under such pretty titles as we have given.<sup>24</sup> (Other instances are given at the close of the chapter.)

If we want to discover clans of fiery Celts adopting and glorying in names which are certainly, in origin, derisive nicknames, we find Clan Diarmaid, whose name, Campbell, means "Wry Mouth," and Clan Cameron, whose name means "Crooked Nose."<sup>25</sup>

Moreover, South African tribes believe that tribal sacred animals, *siboko*, as Baboon and Alligator, may, and did, arise out of nicknames; for their myths assert that nicknames are the origin of such tribal and now honourable names. I cannot prove, of course, that the process of adopting a name given from without occurred among

<sup>23</sup> *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 208.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 208, 225.

<sup>25</sup> Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 357.

primitive men, but I have demonstrated that, among all sort and conditions of men in our experience, the process is a *vera causa*.

Dismissing my theory, Mr. Howitt, in place of it, "could more easily imagine that these early savages might, through dreams, have developed the idea of relationship with animals, or even with plants."<sup>26</sup>

That animal nicknames, given from without, can be and are accepted in Australia Mr. Howitt seems to think possible in his own book, in the very page in which he says that the fact "seems to him most improbable." He writes, "The hypothesis suggested by Professor Haddon is that groups of people, at a very early period, by reason of their local environment, would have special varieties of food. This receives support from the fact that analogous names obtain now in certain tribes, e.g. the Yuin." If this be the case, my theory is so far accepted; groups may and do receive names from their articles of food. How the steps respecting the animals or other objects, denoted by the names of the human groups, would be taken, I have shown. But I cannot find that Mr. Howitt gives any examples of such group-sobriquets among the Yuin and other tribes. Some Yuin personal names are Thunder, Stone-tomahawk, and so forth; the "family" names are place-names.<sup>27</sup> The elderly Kurnai receive *personal* nicknames from the animals which they are skilled in catching, as *Bunjil-tambui*, "Good man perch."<sup>28</sup> I repeat that nobody could find "groups" accepting new animal nicknames now, as the totem "groups" are, of course, already named Cat or Dingo or Iguana and so forth.

Meanwhile Mr. Haddon's suggestion, made in the same year (1902) as my own, is really a form of my own, differing in so far as he derives the group sobriquets entirely from articles of food in the area of the group; and supposes the group-folk to have lived mainly on the object, and bartered

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 739.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 738.

what was superfluous with other groups in exchange for [supplies of the objects on which the latter mainly lived]. His chief example was drawn from a myth of two totem kins in a tribe to the effect that their totem names, a small fish and a very small opossum, had once been their staple as food. But the known five other totem kins in the tribe, according to their myth, were descended from their totems, and one myth is as worthless as another.<sup>29</sup>

Against Mr. Haddon's theory Mr. Baldwin Spencer urged obvious criticisms. Every group eats everything that is edible in its area.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, I add, nobody eats Morning Star or Rainbow; the Red Ochre kin of the Dieri live very far from the red-ochre pits, and Mr. Haddon can hardly think that any kin lives mainly on carpet snakes, or black bees, or sandal wood, or bats, or wolves and ravens—*dura ilia!*

Mr. Haddon's theory, however, agrees with my own in the essential point that group assumed names were given from without.

I may best deal here with Mr. Frazer's other objections of 1910 to Mr. Haddon's theory, as in essence Mr. Haddon's idea and mine are much akin. Obviously unacquainted with my views, Mr. Frazer confines his criticism to those of Mr. Haddon, and is clearly unaware that in *The Secret of the Totem* (1905) I replied to his objections as formulated by other writers. Concerning Mr. Haddon's view Mr. Frazer writes,<sup>31</sup>—"The view that the names of the totem clans were originally nicknames applied to them by their neighbours, which the persons so nicknamed adopted as honourable distinctions, appears to be very unlikely. Strong evidence would be needed to convince us that any group of men had complacently accepted a nickname bestowed on them, perhaps in derision, by their often hostile neighbours. . . ." I

<sup>29</sup> See Mr. Haddon's views in *Report of the British Association*, Belfast, 1902.

<sup>30</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv., pp. 50-1 and Notes.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 51.

had answered all this and supplied the strongest possible evidence, in *The Secret of the Totem* (pp. 129-34), giving modern examples, examples of Highland clans (who are touchy on points of honour), examples from the Blackfoot Indians, and (pp. 25-6) the instance of Bakuena tribes who account for their tribal sacred animals (*siboko*) as the result of accepted nicknames.

On December 9, 1879, the Rev. Roger Price, of Molepole, in the northern Bakuena country, wrote as follows to Mr. G. W. Stow, Geological Survey, South Africa. He gives the myth which is told to account for the *siboko*, or tribal sacred and name-giving animal, of the Bahurutsi (Baboons). (These animal names in this part of Africa denote *local tribes*, not totem kins within a local tribe.)

“Tradition says that about the time the separation took place between the Bahurutsi and the Bakuena, baboons entered the gardens of the former and ate their pumpkins before the proper time for commencing to eat the fruits of the new year. The Bahurutsi were unwilling that the pumpkins which the baboons had broken off and nibbled at should be wasted, and ate them accordingly. This act is said to have led to the Bahurutsi being called Buchwene, Baboon-people,—which” [namely, the Baboon] “is their *siboko* to this day, and they having the precedence ever afterwards in the matter of taking the first bite of the new year’s fruits. If this story be the true one,” continues Mr. Price, “it is evident that what is now used as a term of honour was once a term of reproach.” The Bakuena, too, are said to owe the origin of their *siboko* [the crocodile] to the fact that their people once ate an ox which had been killed by a crocodile. Mr. Price, therefore, is strongly inclined to think “that the *siboko* of all the tribes was originally a kind of nickname, or term of reproach, but,” he adds, “there is a good deal of mystery about the whole thing.”

This case, which I obtained from Mss., thanks to the kindness of Miss Burne, was published in 1905, in Mr. G. W. Stow’s posthumous work, *The Native Races of South*

*Africa* (p. 413). Mr. Frazer omits the passage in his account of "the Baboon totem" of the Bahurutsi.<sup>32</sup> Here, none the less, is his "strong evidence" that the process which he thinks is improbable, the complacent adoption of a derisive nickname, is thought actual by the people who bear the names.

On this point Mr. Stow, to whom Mr. Price wrote the letter just cited, remarks [p. 417]:—

"From the foregoing facts it would seem possible that the origin of the siboko among these tribes arose from some sobriquet that had been given to them, and that in course of time, as their superstitions and devotional feelings become more developed, these tribal symbols became objects of veneration and superstitious awe, whose favour was to be propitiated or malign influence averted."

I quoted this passage, written before my own theory had occurred to me, from the Mss. in *The Secret of the Totem* (p. 26). Mr. Frazer does not allude to the facts, which prove that some totemists, or people, at least, with *tribal* totems, (*siboko*), are convinced that "groups of men had complacently accepted nicknames bestowed on them in derision, by their often hostile neighbours."

Mr. Frazer continues his criticism: this strong evidence "would be needed to convince us that any group of men had complacently accepted a nickname bestowed on them, perhaps in derision, by their often hostile neighbours, nay, that they had not only adopted the nickname as their distinctive title and badge of honour, but had actually developed a religion, or something like a religion, out of it, contracting such a passionate love and admiration for the animals or plants after which they were nicknamed that they henceforth refused, at the risk of dying of hunger, to kill and eat them."<sup>33</sup>

This is somewhat exaggerated. Mr. Frazer has declared that totemism is not a religion.<sup>34</sup> Again, I know no

<sup>32</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii., p. 375.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 51.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 5.

evidence to prove that any totemist would rather die of hunger than eat his totem: several Australian tribes eat their totems freely. For the extraordinary influence of the name as implying the closest *rapport* between all who bear it, I merely refer to Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, vol. i., pp. 404-46. On my theory, as totemists certainly do not know how they got their totem names, they would seldom suspect, like the Bahurutsi, that they were nicknames, perhaps derisive. I have proved on unimpeachable evidence, Mr. Price's, that the Northern Bakuena think that a process occurred which only "strong evidence" would make Mr. Frazer believe in. However, I am able to prove that savages can accept, and have accepted, "clan" nicknames from without.

Take this "strong evidence": Mr. Frazer writes of the Wendal or Wyandot, the Hurons' name for themselves. "According to L. H. Morgan the original form of the name Wyandot is *wane-dote*, "calf of the leg," a name given to these Indians by the Iroquois and adopted by themselves."<sup>35</sup> Again, the Black Feet Indians have, or had, exogamous clans with male descent. The names of these clans are no longer totemic. Among them now are Liars, Biters, Patched Moccasins, "They Don't Laugh," Worms, Buffalo Dung, Crazy Dogs.<sup>36</sup>

I cite these as obvious and derisive sobriquets, but the clans have now no other names. Other clan names occur among the Dacotas, who, as Mr. Frazer points out, appear, in the seventeenth century, to have had badges, as that of the Eagle, Panther, Tiger, Buffalo, etc., from which each band "is denominated."<sup>37</sup> *Now* their clans are styled "Not encumbered with much baggage," "Bad Nation,"

<sup>35</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii., p. 30, n. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, pp. 208-10, cited in *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii., p. 84, n. 3; *The Secret of the Totem*, p. 132.

<sup>37</sup> J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (3rd ed., 1781), p. 256.

"Breakers (of the law)," the law broken being that of exogamy!<sup>38</sup> No community ever called itself "Incestuous," or "Bad Nation"; these clan names are sobriquets.

Once more, the Crows have exogamous clans: out of twelve four are totemic in name, Antelope, Raven, Prairie Dog, Skunk. I presume that these totem names were, in origin, sobriquets, just as some of the other clan names of the Crows, Bad Leggings, Treacherous Lodges, Bad Honours, are undeniably hostile yet accepted sobriquets.<sup>39</sup>

In Europe the sobriquets, animal or vegetable, of the villages are now resented, and one village is angry, in Cornwall, when another village hangs up its Mouse, or whatever its animal may be, dead, by way of a taunt. Mr. Frazer's readers cannot be aware (nor is he, I daresay) that in 1905 I defended my theory that savages can and do accept even injurious clan sobriquets from without by actual examples, and that I have shown how, the animal name once accepted, "a religion, or something like a religion" of it, was "actually developed." Mr. Frazer writes

"No single instance of such an adoption of nicknames from neighbours was known to Dr. Howitt, the most experienced of Australian anthropologists, in the whole of Australia."<sup>40</sup>

I have quoted, above, my reply, given in *The Secret of the Totem*, to Mr. Howitt.

Here may close my chapter of answers to objections against the possibility of complacent acceptance of sobriquets. It occurs in savage as it does in civilised societies: many of the facts are recorded by Mr. Frazer himself, others he has overlooked; and certainly my array of the facts in 1905 has escaped his vigilant industry in study, otherwise he would not have ignored what is essential.

My theory of the origin of the phratry system, as given

<sup>38</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii., pp. 86-7, n. 4.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 153-4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 52, n. 2; Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 154.

in 1905, has now to be modified in consequence of the general acceptance of certain evidence.

I next suppose that a local exogamous group of, say, Ducks, and another neighbouring group named Dogs, weary of fighting for wives against the kin of their own wives and own children, made peace with *connubium*. Here we have the evidence of the Urabunna, Karamundi, and Itchumundi arrangement by which people of one totem must marry only people of one other totem, as Dingo, among the Urabunna, marries only into Water Hen.<sup>41</sup>

The Itchumundi nation contains four tribes. A man of the Mukwara (Eagle Hawk) totem and phratry "married a Kilpara" (Crow phratry) of the Bone-fish totem; a Mukwara of the Kangaroo totem married a Kilpara of the Emu totem, a Mukwara of the Dog totem married a Kilpara of the Padi-melon totem, and so on. "The tribes of the Karamundi nation have a similar rule [like that of the Itchumundi nation] by which a member of either class" [phratry] "may marry only in one totem of the other class."<sup>42</sup> Messrs. Spencer and Gillen and Mr. Howitt assign the same rule to the Urabunna nation. All these tribes are in the most primitive state of social organisation, with female descent and no sub-classes; the Urabunna have, the others have not, *pirrauru*. Mr. Frazer, Mr. Spencer, and Mr. Howitt make no attempt to explain their unique rule of one totem to one totem marriage. It must make the two intermarrying totem kins in a high degree consanguineous, and can scarcely have been adopted to prevent marriages of near kin, if cousins were reckoned near kin.

These marriages are mainly marriages of first cousins, which Urabunna law permits, if the bride be a daughter of the man's mother's *younger* brother, or of his father's younger sister. When one small community may select wives only from one other small community,—Water Hen group from

<sup>41</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i., pp. 176-, 387-8, quoting Howitt and Spencer and Gillen.

<sup>42</sup> Howitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 189.



Dingo group with restrictions on *that*,—if the people may not marry some of their first cousins, whom may they marry?

The Dieri, on the other hand, may marry any person of the right tribal status, (*all* first cousins are excluded), in any of the many totems in the phratry which is not their own; whereas among the Urabunna, Karamundi, and Itchumundi the members of each totem kin may only marry into one totem kin in the opposite phratry.

I would suggest that, among the Urabunna and the other "nations," first Dingo and Water Hen, say, made a covenant to marry peacefully with each other alone, (some two kins must have begun the practice), and that then other pairs imitated the example; and, finally, all pairs coalesced into one federated phratry or the other. What they gained by this was peace.

The arrangement, I conjecture, would be worked out thus: first we have  $x$  animal-named exogamous local groups raiding each other for wives. Two such groups, Water Hen and Dingo, tire of this, and make a marriage treaty for peaceful betrothals: other groups, however, may still raid *them*, and they may raid other groups, as they probably would, in revenge for raids on themselves, and because, in two small communities, marriageable women were not very plentiful. But other groups follow their example, two by two. This, however, does not prevent any adventurous braves in any of the groups from raiding every group which is not the one linked by marriage treaty with his own. This dangerous license would cease when half of the groups federated, and the other half also federated into what are now the phratries, each phratry as a whole making a covenant of peace with the other. But, by an amazing conservatism, the pairs of totem-kins still only marry into each other among the Urabunna, Itchumundi, and Karamundi. How otherwise than by my conjecture can we account for this strange limit to choice in marriage?

The rule of one totem-kin wedding into only one other totem-kin in the opposite phratry must be earlier than marriage into any kin of the opposite phratry. When men, as among the Dieri, or any other tribe with female descent and two phratries, had once been permitted to seek wives in all of the totem-kins of the phratry not their own, they never could submit to a restriction limiting them, for no conceivable reason, to brides from a single totem-kin. The only reason for restrictions being, by the ordinary theory, closeness of consanguinity, there could be no objection to Water Hen, in phratry A, wedding into any totem-kin of phratry B. Mr. Howitt, however, writes that "the Urabunna restriction" (or "marriage to one or more totems") "is certainly later in origin than the Dieri rule."<sup>43</sup>

This seems impossible. Men who had once enjoyed the wide freedom and ample latitude of choice of the Dieri would never limit themselves to brides from a single totem-kin, and do that for no conceivable reason, except that which I have suggested. Dingo, who may only marry Water Hen, is not consanguineous with any of the other totem-kins into which he may not marry: he is not barred from union with them for that cause. Reason, if there were a dislike of consanguine marriages, would urge a larger latitude of choice than a single kinship offers, for, when two small kinships marry exclusively with each other, they both become extremely consanguine. Therefore the Urabunna are forced to allow first cousins to marry, as far as the age-grades rules permit; they have no choice if they are to marry at all. On the other hand, the Dieri, among whom members of any totem-kin of B phratry may marry into any totem-kins of A phratry, are able to indulge their consciences by forbidding *all* marriages between what we call "first cousins." Mr. Howitt himself sees that *this* rule, "the Dieri rule is evidently a development of that of the

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

Urabunna, and is therefore the later one." <sup>44</sup> Mr. Frazer agrees. <sup>45</sup>

The Dieri rule about cousins is the later of the two, <sup>46</sup> and it is rendered possible by the Dieri emancipation from the Urabunna and Karamundi rule that each totem may marry only into one other totem.

It follows that the Urabunna, Karamundi, and Itchumundi rule,—one totem marries into one totem only,—is not later, as Mr. Howitt writes, but earlier than the Dieri rule,—any totem in phratry A may marry into any totem in phratry B. Emancipation from the Urabunna, Itchumundi, and Karamundi law,—one totem to one totem only,—enabled the Dieri to bar the marriages of *all* first cousins. Consequently the one totem to one totem rule is the earliest of all ; and how can we explain it except by the alliance, with *connubium*, of two groups with totemic names ? The example thus set was followed by pair after pair of linked totem-kins, and for this reason there is necessarily a *dual* union and division of intermarrying kins throughout the Australian system. This is an automatic result of one totem to one totem marriage, followed by federations of the intermarrying pairs of totem-kins.

Why only *two* groups, in the first place, made alliance with *connubium*, I have not to explain. It is enough that they certainly did it, (in several nations they still adhere to *connubium* between two totems only), unless any other reason for the one totem to one totem law can be discovered. Dislike to consanguineous marriages could not produce this drastic rule, I repeat, for each totem-kin must have recognised no consanguinity with any other.

In *The Secret of the Totem* (pp. 142-5) I supposed that, say a dozen, or any number of different exogamous totem groups were on wife-raiding terms with each other, and that in each group, say Dingo, women raided from Wallaby,

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>45</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i., p. 346.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 346.

Kangaroo, Lizard, and other groups, kept, and transmitted to their children, their *original* group animal-names. But the children, though of different totem names, were prevented from intermarrying in local group Dingo by the ancient local exogamous prohibition, "no marriage within the local animal-named group." I then supposed all the totem groups within a given area to make *simultaneously* alliance and *connubium* in two phratries, each phratry under the captaincy, and bearing the name of, its most important totem-kin, say Black Cockatoo for one, and White Cockatoo for the other phratry. I was not aware that, as long ago as 1890, Mr. Washington Matthews, in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* (vol. iii., p. 110), had observed that the tendency of the Navahoes to name a phratry after one of its clans might end in the permanent and universal use of such a name for a phratry. This fact is stated by Mr. Frazer,<sup>47</sup> but he is clearly unaware that, in Australia, the phratry names of many tribes are the names of a totem-kin in each phratry.<sup>48</sup> I supposed the example to be imitated, borrowed, and diffused widely. But it was obvious that, in society before the phratriac arrangement, Eagle Hawk local group would contain many persons of totem names of descent also represented in Crow local group. Yet the representatives of any totem never (except in Aruntadom) exist in both phratries. I had to assume that "the totems were therefore deliberately arranged so that one totem never appeared in both phratries."<sup>49</sup> Deliberate arrangement in making the social organisation is much insisted on by Mr. Howitt, Mr. Frazer, and Mr. Spencer, but in this case the measure was rather elaborate and toilsome, and, on my present view, was superfluous, for, on my new suggestion, the totem-kins automatically and necessarily fell each exclusively in one phratry or the other. Thus if, in making the phratry federation, you put Water Hen and Dingo into the same phratry, they

<sup>47</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii., pp. 243-4.

<sup>48</sup> *The Secret of the Totem*, pp. 154-70.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

could not intermarry with each other. Now it was their old sacred rule to intermarry with each other, though at one time they could, if a young brave wanted an adventure, seek a bride from an uncovenanted group. If I am right "the Devil's riddle is mastered," the puzzle of "why only *two* phratries" is solved. I was always inclined to think that it was an automatic result of some arrangement, but I could not find the arrangement, and had to fall back on design. This theory accounts for the final coalescence into a *tribe* of groups, by my assumption originally hostile.

Perhaps the usage of part of New Ireland, and of two adjacent groups of isles, Tanga and Aneri, may corroborate our information concerning the one totem to one totem marriage of the Urabunna, Itchumundi, and Karamundi "nations." The "totemic creatures are the sea-eagle, the dove, the black and white fly-catcher, two kinds of parrots, the sea-gull, the dog, and the pig. No man may marry a woman of his own totem, and more than that, the men of any one totem clan are not free to marry the women of any other totem clan. The Sea-gull men always marry Sea-eagle women," as Urabunna Dingo men only marry Water Hen women. "The Parrot men of one clan (the *am pirik*) may only marry Parrot women of the other clan, (the *angkika*) or Dove women."<sup>50</sup> But to other clans a larger choice is open. Pig men may marry women of any other totem except Sea-eagle, Dog men may marry into any totem but their own.

This looks as if some totem-kins in these isles had clung to, and others had relaxed, the Urabunna rule,—one totem to one totem.

My theory (as far as convergence or amalgamation of totem-kins into phratries, exogamous and intermarrying, is concerned), also occurred to M. Arnold van Gennep. Unluckily he suppressed his chapter on the subject in his *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*, as my views had already appeared.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii. 32-3.

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.* (1906), p. cxii., note 5.

Mr. Frazer makes no reference to myself, or to M. van Gennep, on this matter, but (vol. i., pp. 284-5), argues against the theory of amalgamation, without noticing our replies to certain objections that had already been urged on us by others. "Why," he asks, "were these federal communities so regularly either two in number or multiples of two?" M. van Gennep had briefly said that our theory of *convergence* (amalgamation) "seule explique entre autres le fait du dualisme des éléments de chaque groupe [p. xxxiv]." He added that the Australians generally "n'ont de noms de nombres que jusqu'à deux," and, for an element of symbolism in this, refers to Mr. MacGee, "Primitive Numbers," in *The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, vol. ii., pp. 821-51. These are not my own ideas, but those of M. van Gennep.

I would say that, if amalgamation began in the Urabunna "one totem to one totem" marriage, while such pairs finally federated into each phratry, Mr. Frazer's question is answered. I regard the later bisections of two classes into four, and of four into eight, as deliberate and intelligent imitations of the original model,—the sets of pairs, the "two class system." The natives, like Mr. Frazer, would think that it had been the result of bisection, not of amalgamation, and would imitate what they supposed to have been the wise method of their ancestors.

Mr. Frazer's argument ought to be given in his own words (vol. i., p. 285):—

"While we may without much difficulty conceive that communities," (in this case totem-kins) "which in their independent state had been exogamous, should remain exogamous after they had united to form a confederacy; it is far more difficult to understand why in uniting they should have adopted the complicated rules of descent which characterise the four-class and eight-class organisations of the Australian tribes."

Nobody has ever suggested (as far as I know) that "*in*

uniting" the totem-kins instantly "adopted" the four or eight class system. The tribes of one totem to one totem marriage: the Dieri, without that rule: the To-tathi, Barkinji, and many other tribes, have not the four class or eight class system, but all agree that tribes began with the two class or phratry model. Many tribes adhere to it; others have gone on to the four; others (all with male descent) to the eight class system. Their motive and method, I think, are obvious. They do not know *how* the phratry, or two class system, arose, but they see that it excludes from marriage some close consanguines, mother and son, brother and sister. They suppose that the system was made for this very purpose, and when they wanted to exclude other consanguines, whom the system did not exclude, they did so in the honoured ancestral model, by repeated bisections, making first two, then four "subclasses" in each phratry.

Mr. Frazer goes on:—"We can imagine that each community in the confederacy should continue as before to take its wives from another community," ("community" apparently now means phratry), "but why should the two intermarrying communities now cede their child to a third?" (The third "community" clearly means "subclass.") Mr. Frazer knows, and has very well explained, why the children are "ceded to a third community," that is, enter the subclass in the brother or mother's [sister's?] phratry, which is not that of father or mother (vol. i., p. 163). It "is to prevent the marriage of parents with children." The child is not driven into an alien "community"; it is still in the totem-kin and phratry of its father and mother, but the rule "maks siccar" there can be no union of child with father or mother without violating an *express* law.

The same obvious reply answers this objection: "On the theory of amalgamation what motive can be assigned for the rigid exclusion of all children from the communities of both parents?" There was no such exclusion, no subclasses existed, when the amalgamation was made; there

was none till, long afterwards, a subclass arrangement was devised to stereotype and express publicly the already existing bye-law against the union of father and daughter, mother and son. The poor children, "rigidly excluded from the communities of both parents," are still in the paternal or maternal "communities" of the totem-kin and the phratry and in the family fire-circle. They have lost nothing. That exclusion is perfectly intelligible on the hypothesis that it was devised to prevent the marriage of parents with children, but it is difficult to see how it can be explained on any other: who is dreaming of explaining it on any other? People entered into the phratriac exogamy by the amalgamation which I and M. van Gennep suggest, and then, for conscientious reasons, "kept compounding it as they went on," as Byron says about people who "began with simple adultery."

Manifestly Mr. Frazer has not understood the theory of amalgamation. Beginning in the lower degree with the intermarrying pairs of the one totem to one totem pattern, the duality was necessarily preserved in the phratry confederation, and was deliberately imitated in the formation of first four, and then eight subclasses.

Of course I cannot answer the question "Why did one totem pair off only with one other totem at first, why not with three, or five, or seven?" I can only say that the Urabunna, (or certain of their tribes), the Karamundi, and the Itchumundi obviously did this very thing, and do it still. Apparently we find an intermediate stage of intermarriage of only three or four totem-kins in each phratry. Rat (in Kararu phratry) marries Cormorant and Bull Frog; Bull Frog in Matteri phratry marries Rat, (and probably Cormorant), while Cormorant (in Matteri phratry) marries Rat and Red Ochre, in Kararu phratry. This is the rule in the southern Urabunna tribe called Yendakarangu. It is said to be an Urabunna tribe, but has the Dieri, not the Urabunna phratry names. The facts in this strange case



are obviously not given with completeness. Some kins marry into three totems. Some into two. Some only into one other totem. "This table is evidently imperfect."<sup>52</sup> Evidently there are intermarrying combinations of totem-kins within the federation of the phratries. The compact is not between one totem-kin and one totem-kin, but none must marry into *all* the totems of the phratry not his own.

In writing all this I am incurring the rebuke of Mr. Goldenweiser. He writes that we "Britishers" seize upon "a feature salient in the totemic life of some community only to be projected into the life of the remote past, and to be made the starting point of the totemic,"<sup>53</sup> (in my case of the phratriac) "process." This is "methodologically unjustifiable." In making a hypothesis, I think I may seize on a salient feature of totemic life in three "nations" more "primitive" than any others known to us. I then try how the feature works into my hypothesis of the origin of phratries in totemic communities. Well, it drops in like the keystone into the arch! There is the bridge. "Walk over, my Lady Lee!", into the land of a theory which, at least, shows how phratries containing each a distinct set of totem-kins *might* come into existence.

On my theory the *primal* prohibition was not based *consciously* on consanguinity, but on locality and ownership. The semi-brutal Sire says,— "No amours except my own in *my* camp." When the groups got names,—Emu, Lizard, Grub, Iguana, Kangaroo,—the prohibition was "no amours within the name." When two groups first coalesced into *connubium*, the first rule was "no marriage with peace save into one other totem group." The final rule was "marriage into any totem-kin not in your own phratry." As the rise of the phratries instantly and automatically produced classificatory relationships or "classes," people were confined in marriage to one set of such relations in the opposite

<sup>52</sup> Howitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

<sup>53</sup> *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii. (1910), p. 280.

phratry, the *Nupa* or *Nea* set. Men, reflecting on the system, saw that it barred the marriage of persons of close consanguinity, and thought that other persons, also consanguine but not so closely consanguine, should be excluded; hence the four and eight class systems.

In the same way the Catholic Church excluded first cousins, and relations in "gossipred,"—godfathers and godmothers, godsons and goddaughters,—from intermarriage, and introduced other restrictions hitherto unknown. In Scotland, among the *noblesse*, it became very difficult for any marriage to occur without a dispensation, and many pairs were divorced because of some scarcely traceable relationship. The Australian blacks, in precisely the same way, conceived new scruples, and passed more stringent regulations, till human nature revolted, and the exogamous system was abandoned among the Kurnai and the Narran-ga. They had run the whole round of the labyrinth and come out into daylight.

## THE ROMANCE OF *MÉLUSINE*.

(*Read at Meeting, June 18th, 1913.*)

THE tale of Mélusine, the mysterious wife of Raymond, Count of Lusignan, belongs to a cycle of folk-tales the interest of which is imperishable. Its earliest mention is by Gervase of Tilbury, favourite of the Emperor Otho IV. and Marshal of the Kingdom of Arles. It is found among other stories in his book entitled *Otia Imperialia*, a collection, (like the *De Nugis Curialium* of his contemporary, Walter Map), of speculations, folk-tales, and superstitions current in his time. Nearly two centuries later, Jehan d'Arras, a courtier of the Duke of Bar, worked it up into a political romance in honour of his patron and for the amusement of his patron's duchess, Marie, sister of Charles V., King of France. This romance has been made the subject of an elaborate study by M. Jules Baudot in the first volume of a work on *Les Princesses Yolande et les Ducs de Bar de la Famille des Valois* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1900). M. Baudot has minutely investigated the circumstances in which it was written and the political references it contains. The result of his researches is to show that Jehan d'Arras began the composition on the 20th November (St. Clement's Day), 1387, and finished it on Thursday, the 7th August, 1393. I do not propose to follow the commentator in his ingenious identifications of many of the characters and incidents of the story, interesting though they are. Their importance is chiefly due to the light they may throw on the history of the ducal

family, on the political relationships with one another and with the German States of the various lordships ultimately incorporated into the Kingdom of France, and on the literary methods and predilections of the fourteenth century. These matters may leave members of the Folk-Lore Society cold. But there are others that will have for them a little more attraction.

Mélusine was one of the mysterious ladies who wedded mortal men "upon conditions." They form a numerous class, and are found in all quarters of the globe. The conditions they lay down are by no means always the same. According to Gervase's version, the tale was told of Raymond, lord of the castle of Rousset, in the province of Aix; and the condition imposed by the nameless bride whom he wedded was that her husband should never see her naked. We will come back to this condition by and by. Jehan d'Arras, in adapting the tradition to his own purposes, reports a different condition, namely, that Mélusine's husband was not to see her on Saturdays. He probably found the condition in the folklore of his time, for similar stipulations are not uncommon. Thus, in the *arrondissement* of Montbéliard in the Jura, the water-fairy of the river Doubs weds the Sire de Mathay after bargaining that she is to be allowed absence from him every Friday night, and that he is neither to ask questions nor to attempt to spy on her.<sup>1</sup> But in a romance it needed some explanation. For this purpose, and without holding himself bound by any principle of economy in marvels, the romancer proceeded to double the mysterious heroine with a mother also of more than mortal origin, the Lady Pressine. She was found, he tells us, by Elinas, King of Albany. He was hunting one day in a forest near the sea-shore, and, overcome by thirst, made his way to a fountain that he knew. As he was approaching it he heard a voice singing so melodiously that he thought it must be an angel's. Dis-

<sup>1</sup> Ch. Thuriot, *Traditions Populaires du Doubs* (Paris, 1891), p. 458.

mounting, he crept cautiously to the spot, and, peering through the branches of the trees, he saw a lady so beautiful that he was at once smitten with love. He was a widower and the father of several children. Whether the lady knew this does not appear; but she received his advances graciously, and agreed to become his wife if he would promise not to attempt to see her during childbirth, warning him that, if he failed his covenant, he would lose her for ever. The requirement was not unreasonable, and the promise was given. But Elinas' son by his former wife, variously called Mathathas, Nathas, and Thiaus, hated his stepmother; and, when she gave birth to three little daughters of surpassing beauty, he egged his father on to enter the room where Pressine was engaged in bathing the babes. Pressine instantly snatched them up and disappeared. In fact, she took refuge in the isle of Avalon with her sister, the Lady of the Lost Island; and there she brought up her daughters until they were fifteen years of age. The eldest of these daughters was Mélusine, who, having discovered her father's breach of faith, thought she would be showing her affection for her mother by going with her sisters and shutting him up "in the lofty mountain of Northumberland, called Brumbelioys, where he spent his life in great sorrow." Her mother, however, took her officious interference in anything but good part, and cursed her to become every Saturday a serpent from the navel down, only to be released if she could find a husband who would promise never to see her on a Saturday, or to betray her to any other person. In case he broke his promise, her punishment was to return to her misery until the Day of Judgement, and, further, she was to appear three days before the fortress, which she should build and should call by her name, every time its lord should change or a man descended of her line should die.

Out of the many identifications proposed by M. Baudot for names occurring in the story, only these names of

forbears of Mélusine and of places connected with them have any interest for the student of folklore. For the scene of this part of the story is manifestly laid in the British Isles, and in the Celtic and pre-Celtic part of them. If the royal names can be shown to correspond, not to actual kings (that would be to exact too much), but to names in the more or less fabulous lists of Celtic royalties, presumptive evidence would be found of a Celtic origin of the tale in the British Isles. This is all the more likely since Jehan d'Arras was brought into contact with English influences. The second Earl of Salisbury (born 1328) is described by M. Baudot as his protector and correspondent. The earl's possessions included not merely New Sarum, from which he took his title, but also domains in the county of Northumberland and the south of Scotland. His father, the first earl, had been governor of Edinburgh during the second earl's childhood, and the latter had sojourned with his mother in Scotland. He seems, further, by his second marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Jean de Mohun of Dunster, to have come into possession of properties in Somerset. Here, if he had any taste for literature and tradition, (and it seems that he had), was ample opportunity to become acquainted with Celtic story; and we gather that he lent certain manuscripts to Jehan d'Arras, though what they were we have no present means of knowing. In this loan, at all events, is the possibility that the author of *Mélusine* had some Celtic legends to work over. Since there is nothing in Scottish history corresponding with the names and incidents outlined above, M. Baudot turns to Irish legend. He identifies Elinas' with Laoghaire, the son of Neill of the Nine Hostages, and Mathathas with Oilill Molt MacNathy, the son of Laoghaire's predecessor. The setting aside of Elinas he assigns to the Irish custom of electing a successor in the lifetime of the king, the result of which frequently was that the days of the reigning king were shortened. The romancer, indeed, expressly says that

so overcome was Elinas with grief at the loss of his wife Pressine, that he made over the government to his son Nathas. These equations can only be checked by an Irish antiquary. The identification of the lofty mountain of Brumbelioys is a different matter. M. Baudot does not hesitate to say that it is Crossfell. His contention is based partly on considerations of the probable corruption of manuscripts by the misreading of copyists. But the termination *ioys* is apparently refractory to this reasoning. So he reads Brumbelioys as Crossfell Hills, the terminal syllable, he says, "rendering as perfectly as writing can the pronunciation of *hills!*"

We return to the adventures of Mélusine. She is found at midnight at the fairy fountain called the Fount of Thirst, and wedded by Raymond, Count of Lusignan, on the terms we know. When he violates his oath, she mounts on the window sill and flies away, leaving the print of her foot in the stone. But first of all she goes three times round the fortress in the shape of a serpent fifteen feet long, and every time she passes the window of the room where she has been betrayed she utters a piercing cry. However, we need not follow the details of departure and lamentations. It suffices to draw attention to the fact that, though she is in the form of a fish from the navel downward, she flies, and she also takes the form of a great serpent. She furthermore returns daily to visit her children and superintend their nurses. According to another account, adopted elsewhere in the romance, Raymond, after discovering Mélusine's secret, says nothing about it; and all goes on as before, until their son Geoffrey, in a fit of rage with his brother Froimond, who has become Abbot of Maillières, burns the abbey over his head. Raymond, on hearing of the deed, is overcome with sorrow and anger, calls her "Thou false serpent!", and reproaches her with the misconduct of her sons. But, when he sees Mélusine before him and realizes what he has done, he prays

her on his knees to forgive him. She may forgive him, but the curse is stronger than her love, and with the tenderest words and embraces they part for ever.

Such, in brief, is M. Baudot's analysis of the tale as developed by Jehan d'Arras. We may pass over the heroine's lengthy and didactic farewells to her children, which, as the commentator observes, form a most judicious compendium of political economy and morals. Whatever Jehan d'Arras' indebtedness to Gervase of Tilbury, it is probable that the story in its essentials was current in Lusignan, a survival of ancient pagan myths. How much it owes in the romancer's hands to Celtic tradition from the British Islands, there may be a difference of opinion. The union of a mortal man with a supernatural lady upon conditions which are inevitably broken is a frequent incident in the folklore at least of Wales. Sir John Rhys, in his *Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx*, has given a number of these stories. In some of them there is the same curious indecision between aerial and aqueous characteristics of the lady that we meet with in the tale of Mélusine. Like Mélusine and Pressine, she is usually connected with water. She comes out of a lake or pool, just as those heroines are found at fountains. But, when the taboo is infringed, she sometimes flies away, like Mélusine, through the air, like a wood-hen (*iar goed*), as one of the stories puts it. In all this, however, there is nothing peculiar to Celtic folklore. In the Shetland Islands she is actually a seal, in Sutherlandshire a mermaid. Whether these legends are Celtic in origin may be doubted. They belong more specifically to the swan-maiden cycle, in which, instead of a broken taboo, the catastrophe depends on the recovery by the supernatural wife of her magical garment. Once more possessed of this, the swan-maiden resumes her bird-form, the seal or the mermaid her aquatic nature. In Scandinavian folklore the swan-maiden first appears in the Lay of Weyland the Smith; as a seal she is familiar down to modern times



in Iceland. The cycle is in fact very widely diffused. Its most strikingly told example is the splendid story of Hasan of Bassorah in the *Arabian Nights*.

A more tragical note is struck where the lady imposes a prohibition. In the first half of the Middle Ages, and in some countries even later, a marriage was far from indissoluble. The *Liber Poenitentialis* of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, is doubtless a compilation of clerical rules in vogue throughout the west of Europe and not peculiar to Anglo-Saxon England, though adopted and possibly adapted for the purposes of his own jurisdiction by the great archbishop. Its use was extended in the eighth century by Eggerht, Archbishop of York, to the northern province. That the Church was able to enforce all the prohibitions and penances laid down in it is very improbable. Indeed there is abundant evidence on the face of this and other ecclesiastical documents to the contrary, in the alternative and lighter penances provided, and in the methods kindly allowed to powerful men to shift the most uncomfortable parts of their penances to other shoulders. But even in this very document, if a woman leave her husband and will not return, he is permitted, after five years, with the bishop's consent, to take another wife. Or if husband or wife be taken away by force into captivity, there is permission to marry again after a like period, and, moreover, a provision that, if in such a case the captive return after a second marriage on the part of the spouse left behind, the new husband or wife shall be dismissed. The husband of an adulterous wife is also specially authorized to repudiate her, the lord's sentence having been first obtained, and to marry another.<sup>2</sup> In Wales, at a much later date, the freedom of separation

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Poenitentialis Theodori etc.*, xix., 23, 24, 18; cf. *Confessionale Egberti*, 26, 19; *Excerptiones Egberti*, cxxiv., cxxv.; in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Pub. Rec. Comm., 1840), pp. 285, 353, 351, 336; see also p. 281, n. 4.

was even greater. "Practically," as Sir John Rhys and Sir David Brynmor Jones say, "either husband or wife might separate whenever one or both chose," though the consequences to their property varied with the circumstances.<sup>3</sup> The facility of separation and marriage to others enjoyed by husbands and wives in Scandinavia is obvious to the most superficial student of Norse literature. Among the Germans, Grimm lays it down that separation might take place either at the will of both parties, with or without any other ground, or at the will of one party only, especially the man's, on account of some bodily blemish or crime. The husband could demand divorce for his wife's barrenness; she for an equivalent reason on his part, or simply because he neglected her. The solemnities of divorce corresponded to those of marriage. The keys, the symbols of the mistress' authority in the house, were required to be delivered up. Each party held one end of a piece of linen cloth: and while so held it was cut in two, leaving one end in the hand of each.<sup>4</sup> It is thus clear that the right of separation of a married pair was undoubtedly recognized by the common law of various countries in the west of Europe, and even was to a great extent acquiesced in by the Church, until the more ascetic of its rulers were able, after a secular struggle, more or less to enforce their will. In the light of these facts, a marriage upon conditions imposed by the bride is not so fantastic in a mediæval story as it otherwise seems; still less so is it in the more barbarous societies in which the tale must have originated.

Nor do the conditions themselves appear unduly arbitrary as they are set forth in the romance. Pressine forbade her husband to intrude upon her childbed. The seclusion of a woman at such times from men, including her husband, is a very common and stringent rule in savage

<sup>3</sup> Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People* (1900), p. 212; Wade-Evans, *Welsh Mediæval Law* (Oxford, 1909), p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1854), pp. 443, 454.

life. Though among some tribes he is required to be present and act as midwife, he of all men is more usually required to be absent. In the Loyalty Islands, indeed, where birth takes place (contrary to the general rule) in public, everybody may be present to witness it except the husband, whose absence is enforced; nor may he pay his wife a visit until the child is big enough to crawl.<sup>5</sup> But we need not go to these far-off lands, and to peoples alien to ourselves in blood and traditions, for examples of the exclusion of the father from his wife's bedside on such occasions. In our own social conditions his absence is a matter of course, and does not suggest to us any special taboo. But if we take into account the practices in the more backward parts of Europe and among the peasantry and working-classes, it would seem to be founded on something more than convenience. It used to be a general Slav custom, still followed in out-of-the-way places in Servia and Bulgaria, that a woman must not give birth in the house, for that would be to pollute it.<sup>6</sup> Among the Votiaks, where possibly climatic conditions are frequently adverse to birth out of doors, the midwife hangs up a curtain before the bed, that no one may witness the birth, since to do so would be an evil omen.<sup>7</sup> In neither of these cases is there, on the surface at least, a special prohibition to the husband. Among the Ossetes, however, an expectant mother used to be sent home to her own people for the birth.<sup>8</sup> It is very rarely that the Abruzzian husband is allowed to be present; indeed it would seem to be a purely local exception.<sup>9</sup> In Ireland "the father is carefully kept out of the way on these occasions."<sup>10</sup> Near Cracow and in Ukrainia the

<sup>5</sup> *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xix., p. 504.

<sup>6</sup> F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Sudslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 537.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. xiii., p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> Schiefner, *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, vol. v., p. 69S.

<sup>9</sup> Finamore, *Tradizioni Popolari Abruzzesi* (Turin, 1894), p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. C. R. Browne, *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., p. 359.

father is forbidden to be present, and he is only allowed to visit the mother when the birth is over.<sup>11</sup> Among the Albanians, after the birth, when the baby has been wrapt in its swaddling clothes and laid in the cradle, the relatives are admitted to offer their congratulations and admire the little stranger. But the father is obliged to keep away, and to refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old.<sup>12</sup> I have elsewhere suggested that a requirement thus common (but not universal) may be a relic of earlier social conditions, when the wife dwelt in her mother's house, and descent was reckoned only through women.<sup>13</sup> Whatever may be the value of this conjecture,—and it is only a conjecture,—it is plain that Pressine laid no undue burden on her husband: in fact, she simply demanded his compliance with a custom probably well known and generally followed throughout Europe. The same rule may also be suspected in ancient Japan, though in the authorities to which I have access I cannot find it definitely stated. When *Toyo-tama-hime*, the daughter of the Sea-King, was near her time, she caused her husband, *Hiko-hoho-demi*, to build her a separate parturition-house, in accordance with Japanese custom, and requested him:—"Thy handmaid is about to be delivered; I pray thee do not look upon her." But he peeped in secretly, and saw that *Toyo-tama-hime*, in the act of childbirth, had changed into a dragon or sea-monster of eight fathoms in length. She was greatly ashamed because he had disgraced her; she forthwith abandoned the child on the sea-shore and returned to the sea.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, vol. vi., p. 36. If we may judge from the old ballad literature, the custom was the same throughout the north-west of Europe. See L. Pineau, *Les Vieux Chants Populaires Scandinaves* (Paris, 1898), vol. i., pp. 110 *et seq.*

<sup>12</sup> L. M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey etc.* (1891), vol. ii., p. 243.

<sup>13</sup> J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ii., p. 637.

<sup>14</sup> Aston, *Nihongi* (1896), vol. i., pp. 94-5, 103-4, 107; *id.*, *Shinto* (1905), p. 114. The ancient Chinese practice is detailed in the *Li Ki*, and presumably it is still followed. There the exclusion of the husband from the wife's room is complete. See *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxvii., pp. 471, 475, 476.

Before dealing with Mélusine's stipulation let us turn to that of the fairy wife of Raymond, lord of Rousset, as narrated by Gervase of Tilbury. She forbade her husband to see her naked. We may compare the Indian tale of Urvasi, the fairy or *âpsarâs* wedded to Pururavas. Her stipulation was: "Without my desire thou shalt not approach me, and I must not see thee naked, for that is the custom of us women."<sup>15</sup> The futile discussions over this tale by philologists in the third quarter of the last century are an excellent measure of the value of their mythological theories. The late Andrew Lang, with clearer insight, recognized that the gist of the myth was contained not in doubtful explanations of the meaning of the names, but in the custom to which Urvasi thus required her husband to conform. "There must have been," he justly says, "at some time a custom which forbade women to see their husbands without their garments, or the words have no meaning."<sup>16</sup> Accordingly he adduces a number of customs, chiefly relating to the early days of marriage. None of them, it is true, exactly corresponds to that mentioned by Urvasi; but they do show what is now familiar to all anthropologists,—that a number of curious taboos bind brides and bridegrooms in various parts of the world. So far as these taboos are germane to the present enquiry, they exhibit the relations between the young couple as secret, and usually limited to the darkness of night. I have elsewhere studied the subject of visiting husbands.<sup>17</sup> In some countries the husband is never at any time more than a guest who comes by night and goes with daylight; in others visits of this kind are merely a preliminary to a more open and avowed union. It is at least a plausible contention that in the latter cases we have

<sup>15</sup>The story is literally translated from the Sanskrit by A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers* (2nd ed.) (Gütersloh, 1886), p. 73.

<sup>16</sup>A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1884), p. 71.

<sup>17</sup>*Primitive Paternity* (1910), vol. ii., chap. v.

an epitome of the real history of marriage among the peoples concerned. Relics of such nocturnal visits in the customs of courtship are still extant in the north and west of Europe. A condition similar to that imposed by the fairy of Rousset, or that by Urvasi, may very well be, and probably is, an accompaniment of the custom wherever it is found. To be sure, the exercise of conjugal rights in the course of these stolen interviews is hardly now in accordance with social convention; but in fact it frequently takes place. In the past there is every reason to think it was a more ordinary incident. However much a matter of course it may have been, the full disclosure to one another involved in nudity may always have been deemed indecent, and therefore a proper subject for resentment on the part of the lady. But this is by no means all. The prurience of vowed celibacy and the tyranny of the confessional scrupled not to pry into the most intimate details of married life, and strove to regulate them by the artificial and preposterous ideals of the cloister. Archbishop Theodore's *Liber Poenitentialis* accordingly imposes on every husband, without qualification, the prohibition laid by the fairy of Rousset on Raymond, though it does not venture so far as to affix a penance to its breach.<sup>18</sup> The ecclesiastical attitude was no doubt perfectly well known; and, whatever the laity might in their hearts think of it, the knowledge would tend to excuse the supernatural lady's rigour on the point.

Mélusine's requirement of absolute privacy on Saturdays presents more difficulty. It will not have escaped attention that Urvasi makes a parallel claim for freedom from her husband's presence except at her own desire. Such a claim as this presupposes an equality of treatment of the sexes much greater than is now recognized by the Hindu sacred law. But what the law does not recognize is sometimes secured by contract. Deeds have been officially registered

<sup>18</sup> *Liber Poenitentialis*, xix., 25; cf. *Confessionale Ecgberti*, 20 (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, pp. 286, 351).

in India by which a bridegroom agrees never to scold his wife, under penalty of divorce, and to allow her to go to her father's house as often as she likes, giving her a right to enforce her liberty in this respect by an action against him for unlawful confinement.<sup>19</sup> Among many peoples, however, the actual freedom of women is much greater than the letter of the social organization would secure them. It depends, in fact, on the strength of women's individual wills and influence, or on their power of combination to counter-balance the marital authority. The Beni Amer of Abyssinia, Mohammedans though they are by profession, are unable to reduce their women to the condition of dependence envisaged by the Prophet. A wife has the right to return to her mother's house at any time. She exercises the right and stays for months, kindly letting her husband know that if he cares for her he may come and see her. Even at his own home, if he scolds her, she will exact a penalty, and perhaps keep him out of doors a whole night in the rain until he purchases peace with a camel or a cow. Many a husband has been thus ruined by his wife, who has then calmly left him for ever. The women all understand one another. Whenever there is a family disagreement, the wife calls her friends together; the husband is, of course, always in the wrong; and the whole village is speedily in an uproar. It is a point of honour with a woman, even if she love her husband, not to express it, but to treat him with contempt; and it would be deemed a shame to her to show him any affection.<sup>20</sup> This is, no doubt, an extreme case; but it shows what may be done by determination in the teeth of institutions as hostile as possible to the rights of women.

Somewhat nearer to the stipulation made by *Mélusine*, but even more exacting, are the marriage customs of the Hassanyeh Arabs of the White Nile, also followers of Islam.

<sup>19</sup> *Indian Notes and Queries* (Allahabad, 1887), vol. iv., p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (2nd ed., Basel, 1883), p. 324.

The most respectable women among them, by agreement at the time of marriage, limit their conjugal duties to not more than four days of the week, and if possible to fewer. The remaining days are absolutely at the wife's disposition.<sup>21</sup> Such an arrangement is, of course, foreign to European manners. In Europe a wife by marriage came legally into the *potestas* of her husband. But though he could chastise her, as he might his slaves and children, she was the ruler of his household,—a position that probably, in the case of a nobleman or man of wealth, gave her a considerable measure of personal independence within well-recognized limits. To what extent she availed herself of the opportunities afforded by it must have depended on her character and circumstances. The Wife of Bath was not the only lady in the Middle Ages, or in the *Canterbury Tales* themselves, who thoroughly understood how—

“to have sovereyntee  
As wel over hir housbond as hir love,  
And for to been in maistrie him above.”

Succeeding in this, she could impose conditions beside which that of Mélusine would not seem incredible.

It must, however, be remembered that the story of the conditional marriage did not originate in the Middle Ages, but in a state of society much more archaic. It is merely the adaptation of a savage tale to a higher stage of civilization, the last term of an evolution which perhaps began in totemism, and certainly at a period when marriages were dissolved more freely than the more complex organization of social institutions has permitted in Europe within historical times.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

<sup>21</sup> J. Petherick, *Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa* (Edinburgh, 1861), pp. 141-4, 151.



## COLLECTANEA.

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COUNTY CLARE FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS, II. (*continued from*  
p. 106).

(With Plates III.-V.).

Plate III. shows the limestone rock named Cloughlea, the straight gashes on which are said to have been made by the sharpening of the swords of Finn and his band, as I have already described, (vol. xxiii., p. 90).

### 4. *Semi-Historical Tales.*

Crimthann mac Fidach, a reputed High King of Erin, had a sister Mong finn (Fair Hair), and was poisoned by her in A.D. 377. In her anxiety to disarm her brother's suspicions and to secure the monarchy for her sons, she drank first of the poisoned chalice and died. The dying king bade his followers take him southwards, and was brought to a flank of the Cratloe Hills opposite Limerick City. There he died, and was buried in haste under a cairn. "Crimthann mac Fidach's poor tumulus" long remained, and the hill was called Sliabh oided an righ (the hill of the king's death). A shadow of the story clung to the king's cairn up Glennagross, but is now on the point of being forgotten. The heap has been nearly removed, and is unmarked on the maps,—a most unpardonable omission. Before 1872 Michael Hogan, "The Bard of Thomond," went to examine the cairn, and found all taken away to make fences except the principal slab. The peasantry called the hill Knock Righ Crimthan at that time. I hear from Dr. George Fogerty, R.N., that the site is still shown.

Crimthann had a foster son, Conall of the swift steeds, son of

Lugaid Meann, who had already swept into Clare, fighting seven battles and reducing under his sway all the central plain up to Luchaid ford, still the county boundary on the side of Galway. A foster son stood almost in closer relation to his foster father than the latter's actual children, and Conall demanded an *eric* or atonement for his foster-father's death. For this he claimed the district which, despite the hostility of the Connacht tribes and the wars of their able king Fiachra, was held by the strong hand by Conall and his descendants down to Dioma, whose decisive victory in the seventh century at Knocklong wiped out all future claims of Connacht on the territory. After the Norse wars the later princes claimed lineal descent from Conall, and thus southern Connacht is said to have become "North Munster," Tuadh Mumhan, or Thomond, in the stead of the older district of that name south of the Shannon.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. *Early Christian Period.*

Here we ought to be on safer ground, but at their best the records are so very imperfect down to the ninth century that we have to depend largely upon late documents, which are rather sermons than histories, though doubtless recording some facts. Older writers argue from the use of the present tense and from such statements as that the saint "is at" a place that the *Lives* are contemporary. But we, recognizing the vivid faith that a Saint was alive for evermore, or that his *relics* were at the place, must look for other proof. Wherever, as in the cases of St. Patrick and St. Columba, we can test the eleventh and twelfth century legends by earlier information, the result prescribes great caution in dealing with any late *Life* without surviving predecessors. The "field legends" were probably kept in shape by the lections of the clerics until, at any rate, the overturn of the old regime late in the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> The Reformation, accepted from the English

<sup>1</sup>The most accessible of the many records of the story is perhaps *Silva Gadélica*, vol. i., p. 413; vol. ii., p. 378; (from the Book of Ballymote). The early Dalcassian stories are examined in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxix. (C), p. 192.

<sup>2</sup>Of course this refers only to Clare, where time-serving Earls of Thomond and Bishops of Killaloe long protected the old conditions by a show of conformity.



THE CLOUGHLEA (FINN'S "SHARPENING STONE"),  
BALLYSHEEN, CO. CLARE.

*To face p. 202.*



Government only in lip-service, affected neither the faith nor the services of the people until the wreckage caused by the Desmond wars about 1580 partly cleared its way. Even after the suppression of the monasteries<sup>3</sup> the traditions must have been kept alive by books until the hopeless ruin of the old conditions after 1651. By 1638 some of the *Lives*, and notably that of St. Mochulleus, had disappeared, so that I am inclined to believe that the stories of the Saints became oral traditions from at least about the middle of the seventeenth century. The *Lives* by which we can check the folk-tales are those of St. Senan (comprising a very early metrical one and others of the tenth to twelfth centuries), St. Mochulleus (written in 1142), St. Flannan (about the same date), St. MacCreicius (late), St. Endeus (about 1380), the latter's sister St. Fanchea, and St. Tola,—(the last does not mention Clare),—all later than 1000. Isolated mentions of other Clare saints abound from *The Calendar of Oengus*<sup>4</sup> (soon after 800) downwards, and a few notes in the Annals are possibly contemporary with the saints themselves.

The County has no early tales of St. Patrick, nor dedications to him, thus bearing out the statement of the *Tripartite Life* that he did not cross the Shannon. He baptized the Corcavaskin converts at Knockpatrick Hill near Foynes, in Limerick County, and blessed their country from its summit.<sup>5</sup> He also converted and baptized King Carthin and his son, Eochaidh Bailldearg, the overchiefs, at the palace of the former at Sengal (or Singland) close to the modern city of Limerick. The widely-known old ballad—

“A hundred thousand vipers blue he charmed with sweet discourses.  
And lunched on them at Killaloe with soups and second courses”

has no reference to any Clare story.

<sup>3</sup>The Franciscans of Quin and Ennis survived continuously, in the former place to 1825, and in the latter until the present day, but the Cistercians of Corcomroe Abbey only until about 1650.

<sup>4</sup> Editions published by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* and those of the Henry Bradshaw Society.

<sup>5</sup> I discussed its identity in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxv. (C), p. 395. The *Agallamh na Senorach* (“The Colloquy with the Ancients,” *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., pp. 101-265), however, tells of an excursion of St. Patrick in eastern Clare, but I do not think that this work has any weight against the authorities, *loc. cit.*, p. 126; it is later than 1142 if by “Drogheda” Monastery it means the one founded in that year and not the venerable Monasterboice, which was sometimes called the “Abbey of Drogheda.”

Turning to local saints, we find many remembered in folk-tales, from the first known evangelist downwards. Earliest of all is Breacan, son of Eochaidh Bailldearg. "Now Eochaidh Bailldearg had two sons, *i.e.* Conall Caemh and Breasal, *i.e.* his name was Breacan of Aran, as the poet says,—“Breacan of Aran, son of Eochaidh, was a righteous true-judging Saint, . . . high his dignity before he got the name of Breacan.”<sup>6</sup> He lived about 480, and is remembered as “Rikin” at Clooney near Quin, and as Breacan at Kilbreckan and at the well at Toomullin near the cliffs of Moher. Clare and Aran were so closely connected, until the O’Flaherties ousted the O’Briens from the Aran Isles about 1585, that I include the story from Aran, where Breacan’s church is the chief of the “Seven Churches.” The *Leaba Breacain*, his “bed” or grave, an early enclosure with a richly carved but broken cross, yielded on excavation a slab with an early cross and “(S) c̄i Brecani,”<sup>7</sup> showing that he was early revered as a saint. The Clare stories, though vague, represent him consistently as a bright, joyful, affectionate man, hardly troubled by the more mundane temptations. He won crowds of converts by tact, patience, and sweetness, and is said even to have tried to convert the devils who led forlorn hopes against his temper and patience. He won over the impatient, jealous St. Enda<sup>8</sup> by becoming one of his disciples and causing his own more numerous converts to pay reverence to that saint. He converted a chief (“king”) whom Enda threatened with lightning, by thanking God for sparing the pagan, and then teaching the convert to do the same. These stories were told around Toomullin, but without the saints’ names, in 1878, and my notes of 1880 give the last incident as follows:—“The King was going to curse and swear, when he stopped and asked the other saint if he had saved him . . . and the King said to the saint,—

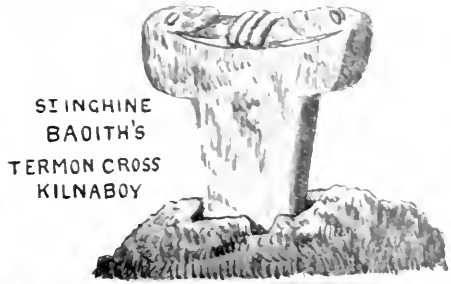
<sup>6</sup> *Book of Lecan*, p. 214. One might speculate that the mythical island “Brasil” took its name from the saint, in the same way as St. Brandan’s Isle, St. Ailbe’s Isle, and the Isle of the Seven Bishops.

<sup>7</sup> Plate IV. See Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i., plates xliv.-v.; G. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland etc.*, p. 140, reads “capiti Brecani,” but part of the “S” remains. A horseman on the broken cross at Killeany, shown in Plate IV., is supposed to be Breacan.

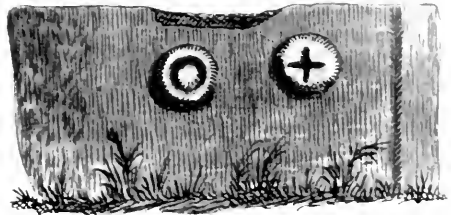
<sup>8</sup> I assume that St. Enda is intended by “the saint from Aran” in the Toomullin story.



ST BRECAN  
KILLEANY . ARAN



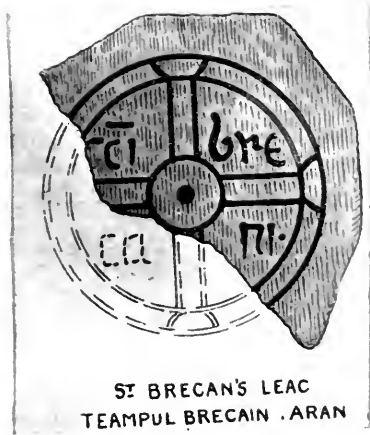
SI INGHINE  
BAOITH'S  
TERMON CROSS  
KILNABOY



PLAGUE STONE . TOMFINLOUGH



ST LUCHTIGHERN'S CELL  
TOMFINLOUGH .



ST BRECAN'S LEAC  
TEAMPUL BRECAIN . ARAN

ST. BRECAN, ST. LUCHTIGHERN, AND ST. INGHINE BAOITH.





“Ye know more about your Master than that other one, and talk as if you’d lived in His house. So I’m going to mind *you* this time out.”” But I found no stories remembered at Doolin, near Toomullin, in 1905; the well was known as St. Breacan’s in 1839. At Cloony and Kilbreacan his name is only recalled as that of the church-founder. Doora church near Kilbreacan was called Durinierekin in 1189.<sup>9</sup> In Aran the most definite tale is that Breacan and Enda agreed to set out from their churches at opposite ends of the island and to fix the boundary of their districts at the point at which they met. Breacan celebrated a mass early and set out, with the untiring energy ascribed to him in the Clare tales; but Enda prayed, and the feet of Breacan’s horse stuck fast in the rock near Kilmurvey, in the valley across the island below the great fort Dun Aengusa, until Enda came. At that point the island is fated to be broken asunder,—no improbable contingency, in view of the geology and the violent seas, for a great tidal wave, faintly recalled in tradition in 1878, passed over the island at this point before 1640.<sup>10</sup> The fourteenth-century *Life of Endeus* does not name Breacan, so that evidently there was then the idea of the saints’ rivalry; the *Life* is, however, sadly lacking in personal and local colour. The *Lives* of St. Enda and of his sister St. Fanchea tally perfectly with the popular account of St. Enda’s angry, impatient character. Apart from his brother saint he is only remembered as the patron of Killeany church near Lisdoonvarna and the builder of its altar, on which lie the curious “cursing stones” already illustrated.<sup>11</sup>

*Sixth-Century Saints.*—Greatest of all the saints at this period was Senán, son of Gerrchin of Iniscatha or Scatterry, who died about 550. His *Life*<sup>12</sup> is of great interest, and gives what seems

<sup>9</sup> Charter of Donaldmore O’Brien, King of Munster, to Forgy Abbey (Clare), as quoted in a later charter of 1461, MSS. F. 1. 15., Trinity College, Dublin; see *Handbook* vi., *The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, pp. 67-9.

<sup>10</sup> Roderic O’Flaherty, *A Chronographical Description of West or H-Iar Connanght*, p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. xxii., Pl. v.

<sup>12</sup> J. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum etc.* (1645), Tom. I., March 8th. The metrical *Life* is attributed to St. Colman of Cloyne, and a prose *Life* to his successor Odran, but the latter is probably many centuries later. See also “Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore,” edited by Whitley Stokes in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

to be a genuine picture of his time, showing the chiefs living and exercising hospitality in their forts, the lesser gentry employing their sons to herd cattle on their detached pasturages, the boys, spear in hand, driving herds across the tidal creeks, and all the men commandeered for a raid against the neighbouring tribes of Corca Modruadh in Corcomroe. The tradition of the Kilrush district, collected by the Rev. John Graham before 1816,<sup>13</sup> said that Senán was born in Moylough (Maglacha in the *Life*), and spoke before his baptism, when, his mother having eaten some wild fruit, he said to her,—“You have an early appetite, mother!” “You have old talk, my child,” she replied, and named him Senán, (from *sean*, old). He told her to pull up three rushes, and the present lake, still called Loughshanan, broke out and he was baptized in it. He dedicated Kilmihil Church to St. Michael, because the archangel helped him in his combat with a monster. At present, save where the “book legend” has established itself, he is remembered only as a church founder (Kiltinnaun), healer (“Sinon’s Well,” Kilkee), woman-hater, and, above all, a dragon-queller. Along the Shannon banks you hear of his fight with the *Cat*, the *Cathach* of the older story, which dates from 800 (being known to Oengus<sup>14</sup>). At Doolough, near Mount Callan, the peasantry told of his chaining the *peist*, and throwing it into the Lough, which in storms the monster still makes to boil like a pot. Senán then built the churches on Scatterry, besides those at Kiltinnaun, Kilrush, and Kilmihil, and the Round Tower of Scatterry. A woman disturbed him just as he was completing the cap of the Tower, and he left it unfinished.<sup>15</sup> As a boy I heard in 1868 and 1872 endless tales of him from fishermen and donkey boys, but forgot them before I began to make notes. In 1878 I heard how the

<sup>13</sup> W. S. Mason, *A Statistical Account or parochial survey etc.*, vol. ii., p. 439, a report of exceptional fulness and interest.

<sup>14</sup> *The Calendar of Oengus* (ed. by Whitley Stokes), *Irish MS. series*, Royal Irish Academy, vol. i., p. lvi., March 8th, says that Senán “gibbeted” the monster. The *Lebar Brecc*, pp. 83-4, says that Senán hanged and fettered the monster, whose name was Cathach, for eating his smith Narach, and “Senán was hangman to the *beast*” (p. lxii.).

<sup>15</sup> This is also alluded to in O’Brannan’s poem on the Shannon. Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii., p. 206.

dragon slept with its body looped round Scatterry and its tail in its mouth; how the angel brought the saint to Knockanangel hill (and church), and helped him to drive out the monster; how Senán would not let the lady saint (Cannara) land on his island, and only let her be buried where the tide ebbs and flows over her tombstone; and how he let no woman enter the church. At that time no one prevented girls from entering Teampul Shenáin, and the holy elder bush, from which in earlier days it was reckoned fatal to break a twig, was a mere memory. St. Senán's bell, folk told, came down ringing from the sky upon a roadside altar between Kildimo and Farighy. The late Rev. Sylvester Malone heard from Dean Kenny how his curate, the Rev. S. Walsh, about 1827 first persuaded some women to enter Senán's church.<sup>16</sup> Soon afterwards their families were evicted. At the patterns<sup>17</sup> the women used to wait at the Cathedral while the men finished their devotions at St. Senán's grave and church, for they held that any woman intruding was either struck barren or met with some other disaster.

Caritan, Senán's disciple, is vaguely remembered as "Credaun" at Kilcredane near Carrigaholt. In 1816 he was known as Credán *neapha* (*naomh*, holy), and by his well cured sore eyes and rickets, giving its waters a circular motion which kept the tide from uniting with them.<sup>18</sup>

The tale of "St. Senán's Warning"<sup>19</sup> tells, as by Tom Crotty, an old guide, how thirteen boats full of people came to 'make rounds' and merrymake upon one Easter Monday; one man, who only came for sport and did no reverence to the saint, got drunk and was drowned on his way to land. The guide gives a circumstantial account of the saint's appearance to his father, Dan Crotty, but it was probably at least "dressed to amuse the quality,"—a pestilential custom, encouraged by former generations of thoughtless gentry and originating many a sham legend. The convivial

<sup>16</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, vol. xiii. (1874-5), p. 259.

<sup>17</sup> See vol. xxiii., pp. 80, 207.

<sup>18</sup> W. S. Mason, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 436.

<sup>19</sup> J. F. O'Hea, *Irish Pleasantry* (1882), p. 216.

Senán in it is the antithesis of the preternaturally austere saint of other modern tales and of the *Lives*.<sup>20</sup>

St. Columba, the apostle of the Hebrides, who died in 597, is remembered as the builder of Cruilin oratory, opposite the Aran Isles, from which he came, landing at Lacknanevee ("the saint's rock") on the shore below. At the opposite (eastern) side of the great terraced hills of limestone, he gave his name to Glen Columbcille, where he built the church and left the (six) marks of his fingers on a block of stone by the roadside.

St. Maccreiche, a venerable monk about 580, was, according to his *Life*, brought to Corcomroe from Emly, with St. Luchtighern of Tomfinlough, to go on an embassy to Aedh, king of Connacht, to recover certain cattle "lifted" by the king's subjects. He and his disciple Mainchin are locally remembered as building the churches of Kilmacreehy, Kilmanagheen, and Inagh; their heads are carved on the former church, where they lie buried on either side of the chancel (Plate V.). Macreehy (but his name is forgotten) chained the destructive Demon-Badger or Bruckee (*Brocsidhe*) in its cave Poul nabruckee, near Rathblamaic church in Inchiquin, and hurled it into Rath Lake. The tale is also told in older written legend, and the head of the Bruckee is supposed to be represented in the carvings of large-eared dragons at Rath and Kilmacreehy.<sup>21</sup>

St. Colaun of Tomgraney, who died at that place on Oct. 24th, 551, of yellow jaundice, gives his name to Tobercolaun, the well-house on the road between his church and Bodyke. Some call him St. Colman.<sup>22</sup>

St. Luchtighern Mac Ua Trato<sup>23</sup> of Tomfinlough or Fenloe in south-east Clare, though appearing in the Calendars and the *Life*

<sup>20</sup> It has been maintained that the early Irish adopted a form of humour consisting in attributing incongruous acts to persons notoriously incapable of them; see S. H. O'Grady's preface to *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. xviii. This view has been contradicted by others, who ascribe the instances to the defective ideas of the narrators; see *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., p. 380. Both views are probably in some cases correct.

<sup>21</sup> See vol. xxi., plate xiv., and also *The Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, vol. iii., p. 204.

<sup>22</sup> *Annals of Ulster, Clonmacnoise and Tighernach*, 548-51.

<sup>23</sup> *The Calendar of Oengus* (*loc. cit.*), p. lxxvii. The patronymic may be corrupt.



ST. MACCREICHE'S TOMB, KILMACREEHY CHURCH,  
CO. CLARE.

*(Lent by the North Munster Archaeological Society.)*

*To face p. 208.*



of St. Maccrecius, has little other record. His name was forgotten at Tomfinlough until revived by one of my papers,<sup>24</sup> but he played an anonymous part in a local tale in 1839, not quite forgotten fifty years later. Once on a time a horrible plague invaded Erin, large lumps coming out on the heads of the victims, who soon died. The saint told his flock one Sunday that any who got the disease should come at once to him. Soon afterwards, as he and his two deacons were making hay in the church field at Tomfinlough, they saw a woman running up with two big lumps on her forehead. She fell at the saint's feet, and he prayed, signed the cross, and pulled off the lumps, which he flung against the church, where one of them burst. The woman at once recovered. One of the deacons knelt and glorified God and the saint, but the other mocked. "I will carve out three heads over the door of the little church," said the holy man, "and let Heaven decide who is right." Next day the carved features of the scoffer were worn away.<sup>25</sup> The stone, (with two bosses, one round and one flat), built into the wall near the south-west angle of the graveyard, and the three carved heads, of which one is worn flat, may still be seen. The "plague stone" (Plate IV.) is believed to keep disorders out of the parish, which certainly was hardly affected by the destructive "Great Cholera" in the last century.

*Seventh Century.*—After 600 several saints of great note appeared in Clare. St. Colman mac Duach founded in 610 the famous monastery of Kilmacduach, not far over the borders of Clare, and died in 630. I have already told<sup>26</sup> how he miraculously brought away the Easter Day feast of his brother, King Guaire the Hospitable, from Gort to his hermitage under the cliffs of Kinallia. The story is still told, and the track in the rocks is called Bohernameesh (*bothar na mias*, way of the dishes, or altar vessels). The grave of St. Colman's servant is seen near it.<sup>27</sup> The little

<sup>24</sup> It now appears on a slab over the restored Holy Well at Fenloe.

<sup>25</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), (MS. Royal Irish Academy), vol. ii., p. 205.

<sup>26</sup> Vol. xx., p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 110; G. Keating, *History of Ireland*, Book ii., sec. vii., (ed. Dineen, *Irish Texts Society*, vol. iii.), tells the story, pp. 65, 71, but calls the saint Mochua.

oratory, the altar with its votive offerings and round stones, the well, and the saint's cave, under a huge boulder below the Eagle's Cliff, are still to be seen.<sup>28</sup>

St. Mochuille, Mochulleus, or Mochulla came into Clare about the same time, 620. His father was Dicuil, or Dicaldus according to the *Life* of 1141, which tells how Mochulleus struck the hillside and three streams broke out and ran down to the lake (stagnum), north of Tulla. He made a church with levelled-up platform and earthworks, with the aid of seven soldiers of King Guaire (Guaraeus), who had killed his tame bull when sent to arrest the saint, and were converted. The *Life* was recently found in Austria,<sup>29</sup> Colgan having sought for it vainly in Ireland in 1637, so the local tale is an actual tradition. It was told to me in 1892, long before the *Life* was published, by some road-menders near Carrahan and Clooney, and is attached to the pillars on Classagh Hill called "Knocknafearbrioga" (*sic*), the hill of the *farbreaga* or false men.<sup>30</sup> "The saint, who was building Tulla church, was too busy to cook the bit he ate. So he used to send his blessed bull to the monks of Ennis Abbey for food. Now there were seven thieves *kept* about this place in old ancient times, and they went to rob the bull, and he roared so loud the saint heard him over in Tulla. And he stopped building and knelt down, and he prayed and cursed at the one that was hurting his bull all he could. And the thieves were struck, and became *farbreags* or sham men." The *two* springs forming St. Mochulla's well are on the eastern shore of Loch Graney, and the earthworks are still traceable round the church of Tulla (Tulach nan easpuig, rendered "Collis Episcoporum" in the *Life*). The saint is also commemorated by Temple-mochulla in south-east Clare, and by no less than fifteen holy wells near Tulla. He avenged an injury to the well at Fortane late in the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

St. Caimeen of Iniscaltra was half-brother to King Guaire the Hospitable, and died about 653. He is remembered as building

<sup>28</sup> Vol. xxii., plate iv.

<sup>29</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xvii., p. 135.

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. (Sec. C), plate v.

<sup>31</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 211. See also *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xli., pp. 5-19.



the Round Tower on Iniscaltra in Lough Derg. There was some trace of a tale like his legend in *Silva Gadelica*, the king wanting the church filled with soldiers, and the saint preferring it full of books.<sup>32</sup> There is also a story to account for the "unfinished" round tower, and similar to that about Scatterry (*supra*).<sup>33</sup> He drowned a gentleman and his assistant who tried to carry off a girl from his pattern on Holy Island over a century ago.<sup>34</sup>

The founders of Killaloe, SS. Molua and Flannan, and the patroness of Kilnaboy, St. Findchu, daughter of Baoth (*inghean baorth*) belong to this century. All are remembered, but I heard only that St. Molua blessed the beautifully variegated ivy on Killaloe cathedral, and that St. Flannan lies buried in the stone-roofed oratory. The *Life* of St. Flannan is extant. He preached also in the Scotch islands, and the Flannan Isles and their boat-shaped early oratory recall his labours.<sup>35</sup> St. "Inghine Baoith" used to sit on a natural seat in a ridge of rocks on Roughan Hill near her church, and her name (Ennewee) was given to women in her parish as late as 1839. Her "seat" cures back-aches. (Plate IV.)

*Eighth Century.*—St. Tola, son of Donchad, died in 734 or 737. He founded Disert Tola, now Dysert O'Dea. The cross near his church is called Cros banola. O'Donovan regards this name as meaning "the white cross of Tola," but the people suppose it to mean "Cross of Banola" (or Manawla), a female saint whose crozier was preserved locally until secured for the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. People told in 1839 how St. Blawfugh of Rath, (Blathmac, son of Onchu), built that church and two round towers on the ridge not far from Dysert. St. Manawla coveted one of his towers for her own monastery. Under cover of night she stole up to Rath, uprooted a tower, slung it in her veil, and ran down the hill. Despite all her care, she woke St. Blawfugh, and he ran after her at full speed. The "poor weak woman," hampered by her unwieldy burden, was on the point of being overtaken

<sup>32</sup> *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 436. Cf. a later tale at Dysert *infra*.

<sup>33</sup> In Michael O'Brannan's poem on the Shannon (1794), Caimin is stated to have built the tower. See *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 158.

<sup>34</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 334.

<sup>35</sup> The *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1899), p. 328.

when she mustered her strength and flung the tower to Dysert, where it stuck, right end up, beside the church, the top being broken by the shock, as may be seen to this day. In throwing it she lost her balance, fell on a rock, and dented it with her knees; the rock, with two *bullins* or basins in it, existed in 1839,<sup>36</sup> but I could find no trace of it in 1885 or since.

With Tola we part company from the saints in order of time, but some undatable stories remain. Templenaneave and Kilcoan, near Ross in the extreme south-west angle of Clare, were built, the former by nine saints (whence its name "Teampul an naomhar naomh"), and the latter by Coan, the survivor of the group. Coan had fallen into sin and was banished, but, repenting, built Kilcoan at the opposite side of the bog and regained enough repute of sanctity to render his church a more popular burial place than that of the nine just saints who needed no repentance. The tale was told in 1816. About a century before, any body buried at Ross persisted in coming up above ground, even after repeated re-burials, so that the people deserted the unrestful cemetery.<sup>37</sup>

At Clondegad two saints (or druids), Feddaun and Screabaun, had a bitter quarrel, and decided that the greatest miracle-worker should retain the place. Twisting two "gads" of osiers they made rings, and Screabaun's gad swam up the river against the current, and gave the place the name Clondegad (plain of the two gads).<sup>38</sup> Feddaun retired and built Kilfiddaun (church of the streamlet). Screabaun's bed is shown in a cleft of the rock, under a fine ash-tree and above a waterfall, not far from Clondegad. Screabaun may be a real person, as there is a holy well named Toberscreabaun, and in the Papal Taxation of 1302 a place "Eribanub" (perhaps Scribanus) is named with Clondegad. I found no personal traditions attached to the other saints whose names are given to churches and holy wells, except that Senán Liath of Kiltinanlea is said to have been a brother of Senán of Scatterry. St. Forgas is apparently purely mythical, his name being derived from Loch Forgas and the river Fergus.

T. J. WESTROPP.

(*To be continued.*)

<sup>36</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., pp. 144-6.

<sup>37</sup> W. S. Mason, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., pp. 98-100.

## PIEDMONTESE FOLKLORE, I.

THE following miscellaneous notes were gathered during rambles through Piedmont in 1911-12, at the same time as material which has already appeared in *Folk-Lore*.<sup>1</sup>

*Birth*.—At Prigelato an infant to be baptized is always carried to the church by the godfather upon his shoulder, in a cradle covered with a white cloth decorated with coloured ribbons. After baptism the child is handed to the godmother, who returns it to the nurse. The godmother must also blow out the candle carried by her at the baptism; if she succeeds at her first attempt, the child will live long and be fortunate, but if she fails there will be bad luck. (In some places, if the candle is blown out by the wind during the ceremony, it is most unlucky, and the child will die within the year.) The baptism is followed by a feast called the *babiage*. Many guests are invited, and they all kiss each other. It is held in the mother's house, and each comer, except the godfather, brings a basket of *grissini*,<sup>2</sup> eggs, butter, sugar, and coffee as a present. At Rua all the women go together to visit the mother, and take her bread and sugar.

At Finestrelle it is said that the mother must never rock the cradle if the child is not in it, or the child will be ill.

*Death*.—If a child dies at Prigelato, its bier is ornamented with flowers and ribbons. In the funeral procession the nearest relations walk first and are expected to cry a great deal, and all who attend are given a candle, which is afterwards put in the church. There is no professional undertaker, but a neighbour fills his part, and after the burial is given a feast, together with those who have made the coffin and those who have watched the corpse. When parents die, children wear mourning for three years. During the first sixteen months women wear on their shoulders a white handkerchief, and then in succession handkerchiefs of black, coffee colour, and, last of all, green. Men wear first white ties and then black. For sisters and brothers mourning lasts a year; during the first six months a brown handkerchief is worn, for the next three

<sup>1</sup> "Courtship, Marriage, and Folk-Belief in Val d'Ossola," vol. xxiii., pp. 457-8; "Piedmontese Proverbs in Dispraise of Woman," *supra*, pp. 91-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Grissini* are the hollow pieces of bread, about as thick as a finger and three yards long, which are common in Piedmont.

one of coffee colour, and for the last three a green one. For an aunt or cousin mourning lasts from three to six months.

At Balme, on the evening of a death, the peasants will say prayers and the rosary in the stable. It used to be the custom to repeat the rosary three times, with rests in between, but now it is only done once. As the mourners leave the stable, copper coins are given to them. Formerly, in place of money, children present used to be given *fette* (slices of bread).

Many old customs at death have now died out. At Caluso there was the curious custom of the *Facoltà medica* (Physician's Order). A doctor who thought that there was no hope of a patient's recovery was bound to exhort the dying man to receive the last rite of the Catholic faith, and to warn him that, if this were neglected, medical visits would cease within three days. This custom was quite common as late as the early years of the seventeenth century.

*Marriage*.—At Ponte Canale, Castel Delfino (Valle Varaita), I was told that, when Chianalesi marry, the numerous wedding party rides from the village to the register office in pairs, and principally on mules,—donkeys not being used. A single animal carries bride and bridegroom, another the bride's father and mother, another her brother and sister, and so on. It is the custom to gallop through any other villages on the way. At Castel Delfino, when the wedding day is fixed, the bridegroom presents a *coudlin*,—a small silk or woollen hand-woven strip,—to the bride, and she wears it attached to her lace collar (*gorgiera*) with its ends falling down her chest. The bride presents a *foularin* (silk handkerchief) to the bridegroom, and he wears it as a necktie until the wedding day. On that day the bride will wear her cap so that the lace falls on her forehead; the ordinary ironed cap is only assumed eight days after marriage, and then the lace is stiff. The bride gives a *foularin* or silk or wool ribbons to each of her men friends, and a wool handkerchief with a fringe to each of the women, who wear it, with ribbons and strings tied to it, when accompanying her to church. After the ceremony, friends and acquaintances kiss the bride on her doorstep, and receive from her a piece of ribbon and from the bridegroom a *coudlin*. These gifts are taken from a box held by the bride's mother or her representative.

The young folks place the long and large pillow-cushion on the nuptial couch, and, if not watched, will try to play some trick on the newly-married couple, such as propping up the bed so that it will fall to pieces when used, or hiding the key of the room. A game was also played of which the meaning is obscure. Slices of bread soaked in wine and sugar were toasted and then offered on a plate to the married couple. When they put out a hand to help themselves, the pieces of bread were stuck through with little sticks to hinder them from being snatched away.

At Boves, near Coni, a tax (*labramari*) of one per cent. of the dowry was once levied by the municipality on a widow or widower who married again. A bride who married outside the village paid two per cent. A barrier was put across the church door, and was not removed until these taxes had been paid.

*Carnival and Lent.*—At Turin, among the poor folks, Carnival and Lent used to be represented by two puppets. The skeleton of the Carnival figure was a wooden cross with the arms hinged by bands and nails. Details were neglected, but the figure had a suit stuffed out as much as possible with straw and rags, and was given a stick under its arm, a buttonhole flower, a cigar or pipe in its mouth, and an old cap over its eyes. It was conveyed round the streets in a cart or on a donkey, accompanied by the beating and rubbing of sticks on the bottoms of metal, wood, or earthenware vessels. On the last day of the Carnival its funeral song was sung :—

“Carnival mio pün d’ogli,  
Staser maccarün e crai fogli.”

The Carnival figure was burned at midnight. The Carnival being dead, his widow, Lent, remained. She was represented by a thin puppet, dressed in mourning, and hung for forty days between two neighbouring balconies in all weathers “as an example of work and suffering.” At her feet was attached a small orange with six black chicken feathers stuck in it, and at the bottom a white feather. A black feather was pulled out on each Sunday, the last white feather representing the Day of Resurrection.

*Holy Thursday.*—At Limone the windows are illuminated by lamps consisting of wicks floating in snail shells full of oil. There is an elaborate religious procession and service.

*St. John's Eve.*—Young men gather verbena. With it in their possession, girls with whom they shake hands will fall in love with them.

*The Borrowing Days.*—An old peasant at Cogne, in the Val d'Aosta, told me the following:—An old woman lived with her lambs at the bottom of the Valle Pontei at a place called Er Follett. When the end of March arrived she sang:—

“Marz, Marzolin,  
Le mie pecore son salve.”

(March, little March, my lambs are safe.) March, or the *folletto*,<sup>3</sup> answered:—

“Tre giorni ho ancora,  
Tre li prendo dal compare Aprile,  
Tutte le tue pecore creperanno.”

(Three days have I still; three I will borrow from friend April; all your lambs shall die.) Nothing more was heard, but a landslide shortly buried Er Follett and all its inhabitants.

*Calendar and Weather Sayings:—*

A dry January means a bad season.

If St. Vincent's Day (Jan. 22nd) is fine and clear, there will be as much wine as water.

If St. Paul's Day (Jan. 28th) is fine, it means a fine summer.

When a cuckoo sings in April, it is a good sign.

He who has seen three fine Aprils ought not to mind dying.

A wet April and a windy May will make a happy year.

On St. George's Day (April 23rd) sow barley; on St. Mark's Day (April 25th) it will be too late.

If it rains on St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24th), it will rain all autumn.

December snow lies four months.

A warm Christmas means a cold Easter.

If Christmas Day falls on a Monday, of three bulls you will keep only one.

If it rains on Thursday, it will rain all Friday and Saturday till mid-day.

<sup>3</sup> The *folletto* is a Puck-like little being full of mischief.

If rain comes from Aosta, be warned; if from Chatillon, go on with your work, for it will not last.

A pale sun in the morning means a high wind.

*Dances.*—At the *fiesta* of *le souvent*, the young men promise *da souvent*, i.e. not to dance during vespers. Two girls with a white veil over their heads take bread to the altar rails to be blessed, and distribute it in the sacristy to their waiting companions, a large piece being offered to the priest. At the public dances, for which the girls make decorations with leaves and sheets, there is a particular dance called *el bal del basen*; at a certain high note the couples suddenly stop dancing and kiss each other. Often the dances are held out of doors, but in the evening they are generally in a stable, for which the young men make a temporary wooden floor. On the Sunday after the *fiesta* all the young men have dinner at the house of the girl who has had charge of the preparations, the girls providing and cooking the food (usually mutton) and the young men giving the wine. Dancing and supper follow, and on the following day all the company returns to eat up what may have been left over.

*Tinkers' feasts.*—At Mondovi the tinkers during Carnival on *Giovedì Grasso* blacken their own faces and those of any whom they may meet. In the evening *polenta* is made from maize by both men and women in the piazza, and given away to any one who asks for it.

*Souls as flames.*—On certain nights, four small flames or lights are to be seen on the campanile of the church of St. Giulio, in the Isle of St. Giulio in the Lake of Orta. These are the souls of four saints, SS. Giulio, Elia, Chiliberto, and Alberto, who meet there to discuss and arrange the affairs of the island.

*Blasphemy punished.*—At a dinner some one carving a chicken said that he had done it so well that not even St. Peter could put it together again. Suddenly the chicken came miraculously together, jumped about the table so vigorously that it splashed every one with broth, and then flew away. All the guests present died that year. (From *Tibaldone Ms.*)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Cf. vol. xx., pp. 297-8 (Roumania). The *Tibaldone Ms.* is in the Archivio di Stato at Milan, and is a kind of encyclopædia written in 1701.

At Balme I was told that there was once a man who did not believe in God, or the Devil, or anything else. One day, when he was drinking wine in the inn, a companion asked him if he would sell himself to the Devil for a litre of wine, if the Devil really existed. Without hesitation he said he would. For some time nothing happened, and no more was thought about the matter. Then a young man came in and sat at the same table. He ordered some wine, and, when he had drunk it, he said to the man,—“Did you not say that you would sell yourself to the Devil for a litre of wine?” “Gladly,” answered the man. The newcomer sent for the wine, calling on those present to be witnesses of what had passed. When the wine was finished, the stranger told the man that now he must go with him, as he was the Devil. The man did not want to go, and made a great fuss, but the Devil appealed to the witnesses, and finally disappeared with his prey amidst fire and smoke.

*The folletti.*<sup>3</sup>—On the slope of the picturesque hill of Santa Brigida, near Pinerolo, there stands a pillar called *d’fumna morta* (Dead Woman’s Pillar). One very bleak winter evening some maidens sat in a stable talking about the “good folk” in the woods. “I even know,” said one, “where they hold their gatherings,” and she pointed to a chestnut-tree. “I’ll wager anything that I will go and stick my spindle at the foot of the tree.” Her companions turned pale with terror, but in spite of their warnings she ran out of the stable. She never returned, and next morning they found her lying dead at the foot of the tree, with her spindle stuck through her gown into the ground. The pillar was erected and named in memory of this event, and formerly only the most venturesome would go near the place at night. It was thought that the pillar was enchanted, and that anyone passing at midnight would be struck dead. Until a few years ago one side of the pillar had painted on it the figure of a woman kneeling down and putting a spindle into the ground, but this has been altered to the figure of a saint.

ESTELLA CANZIANI.

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## ONTARIO BELIEFS.

THE following notes were derived from a retired farmer, a man of about 70, of a good United Empire Loyalist family, partly Scot, partly Northumbrian, with a strain of Dutch. Those marked (C) were furnished to him by his niece, and forwarded to me. All the ideas mentioned are, or were within my informant's lifetime, living beliefs in his part of the province, Napanee, Prince Edward Co., on the Bay of Quinté, and its neighbourhood. As his memory is unusually good, they may be taken as in substance correct. As to how far these notions form part of current belief to-day, I am not sure. Many people seem to have forgotten all about them; one old resident whom my correspondent approached for information declared that he had come "a generation too late." Yet other and much younger people, such as the contributor of the items marked (C), have a good store of traditions. On the whole, I am of the opinion that few of these ideas are now taken very seriously, except the weather-signs, perhaps. Where I know any particular belief to be a real and living one, I indicate the fact.

1. *Weather-signs.*

The usual rhyme about Candlemas Day is remembered. The local form of the belief, common in Canada, is as follows:—

On February 2 a hibernating bear comes out of his hole. If he sees his shadow, *i.e.* if the day is at all sunny, he goes back again for another six weeks, during which time winter lasts. He then comes out for good.

If Easter is early, spring will be early (C). The prevailing wind on Easter Sunday is the prevailing wind for the next forty days. Consequently, if it be in a cold quarter, the fruit crop will be good, as it will hinder the blossoms from forming prematurely.

The usual belief exists about rain on St. Swithin's Day.

The following signs, largely Indian in origin,—the local Indians are for the most part Mohawk,—indicate a hard winter:—

Dead leaves clinging to the trees instead of falling.

Muskrats building high and strong winter houses. Before a mild winter they build less elaborately; in the very mild winter of 1877-8 they made no houses at all.

Bees storing a great amount of bee-bread. (This cannot be Indian.)

Burrowing animals making deep burrows (C).

Squirrels laying in a large store of nuts (C).

Several layers of husk on the corn (C). ("Corn" in this country always means maize, never wheat.)

When the first snow falls, count the number of days to Christmas; this will indicate the total number of snow-storms for the winter.

Three white frosts in succession presage rain.

The last Friday and Saturday of each month foretell the weather of the next month; as they are warm or cold, rainy or fine, etc., so it will be. (I have met this belief elsewhere in Ontario.)

A clear sunset on Friday means a storm before Monday night. (Communicated by another old resident of Napanee.)

Friday is either the fairest or the foulest day of the week.

When the leaves on the trees turn wrong way up in a wind, it will rain (C). (This is also Yorkshire.)

If the Great Bear, generally called the Dipper, is visible, it will not rain; or, in general, if the stars are out (C).

## 2. *Moon beliefs.*

The moon controls the weather to some extent. According as it lies far north or south in the heavens, the weather will be warm or cold; if the crescent moon lies supine, there will be dry weather till the next phase; rain, if it stands upright.

A halo around the moon indicates a storm coming; the number of stars visible within the halo equals the number of days till the storm arrives.

If you wish your hair to grow quickly, cut it in the new moon; for slow growth, cut it in the wane.<sup>1</sup>

Kill hogs in the new moon, for then their meat will not grow less in cooking.

To ensure a good crop of potatoes, plant them at full moon.

To see the new moon over the right shoulder betokens good luck, which may be conditional on hard work; over the left shoulder, bad luck but no hard work; straight ahead, very good luck.

Always wish on a new moon (C).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii., p. 345.

3. *Stars.*

Always say "Money" when you see a falling star (C). (This is apparently a worn-down form of wish; see the next item.)

Wish on the first star you see of an evening (C).

4. *Days of the year.*

New Year's Day "First foot" must not be a red-headed man, and should be a dark-haired man. (C, who adds that many of the older people "make a point" of having the first foot dark-haired. The name "first foot," however, does not seem to be in use.)

If you would be lucky in the new year, clean the house on New Year's Eve, so as not to carry over any of the old year's dust (C).

Easter. Wear some new article of clothing, or you will have nothing new all year (C).

Christmas. Collect pieces of Christmas cake made by different friends. Every piece eaten during January will bring a month's happiness (C). [Cf. *N. and Q.*, 9th S., vol. xii. (1903), p. 505; 10th S., vol. i. (1904), p. 172.]

5. *Days of the week.*

Cut your nails on Sunday, and you kill God's grace for the week (C).<sup>2</sup>

Friday is an unlucky day to commence any piece of work; however, if a little is done on the Thursday, the ill-luck is avoided.

To be free from toothache, cut your nails on Friday.

6. *Birth, marriage, and death.*

Houses were formerly built with the different rooms of the same floor on different levels, connected by steps. The reason given to my informant by an old lady was that the dust would collect about the steps and not drift from room to room. Is it not rather to facilitate the carrying of a new-born child upwards?

"Rock the cradle empty; babies in plenty."

A child born with a caul will have the second sight if the caul be removed upwards, so as to open the eyes. If the caul be removed sideways, so that the eyes are not fully opened, the power

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities etc.*, vol. iii., p. 178; *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. (*Northumberland*), p. 58; *N. and Q.* 1st S., vol. ii. (1850), p. 511 (*Devonshire*), vol. iii. (1851), p. 55 (*Lancashire*), p. 462 (*Devonshire*), vol. vi. (1852), p. 432 (*Kent*).

will be imperfect, and his vision too dim to describe ; if downwards, so as to keep the eyes closed, he will not have second sight at all.

To sit on the edge of a table indicates a desire to marry.

When a wish-bone or merry-thought,—the former is the common name in Canada,—had been broken in the usual way, the larger part used to be hung up over the front door of the house. The first young unmarried person passing under it in entering would marry within a year.

The same is presaged by the person being handed a cup of tea or other drink with two spoons in it.<sup>3</sup>

In shaking hands, if the hands are accidentally crossed, one of the persons so doing will marry within the same interval. (The symbolism is obvious ; the position of the hands suggests that of the hands of bride and groom during the giving of the ring.)

In choosing the wedding-day, the usual rhyme, "Monday for health, Tuesday for wealth," etc., is quoted.

If an unmarried woman finds a horseshoe, which in general is lucky, the number of nails in it indicates the number of years to her marriage (C).

You will never be wealthy until you have worn out all the clothes in which you were married.

The future husband or wife may be seen as follows :—Walk upstairs backwards in the dark, holding a mirror and gazing fixedly at it. Repeat at each step,—“Come my future, come my love.” The image of the destined person will be dimly seen in the glass looking over the experimenter’s left shoulder.

A girl who “mocks across a chair,” (*i.e.* makes fun of or mimics anyone when there is a chair between them), will not be married that year (C).

If a wedding party on its way from the ceremony passes a funeral, one of the family of either bride or groom will die within a year.

In baking bread, if the top crust of the loaf cracks, a death will occur before the loaf is eaten. If a hole (supposed to represent a grave) is found in the centre of the loaf, a funeral will take place within the same time.

If a framed picture falls from the wall, someone will die in the house within a year (C).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. vol. xx., p. 219 (*Oxfordshire*) ; vol. xxi., p. 226 (*Yorkshire*).

In sowing a field by hand, if you miss a cast, *i.e.* leave a bit of the ground you have covered with no grain cast on it, a member of the family on whose land you are sowing will die within the year.

If a hen crows, she must be killed at once, or one of the family will die. This seems to be taken quite seriously, and has resulted in the death of numerous hens.

If you sleep on your face, you will die by drowning.

A dog howling at night is a sign of death, near the place where he howls and in the direction in which he looks at the time. (Cf. Mark Twain, *Tom Sawyer*, ch. x., which gives the same belief for the Mississippi valley, with the addition that the dog must be a stray.)

When a funeral procession has left the house, the corpse must not be carried past the house again, or another of the family will die. "Many in this locality . . . will travel miles around rather than pass the house with the corpse," adds my informant.

The usual belief is prevalent about thirteen at table. In general, "thirteen is an unlucky number for *anything*" (C).

"Telling the bees" in the case of a death has apparently been thought superstitious for the last half-century, but seems still to continue.

The following illustrates the power of a dying man's curse:— Before the repeal of the death-penalty for theft, a certain Judge D—— accused his servant, a man of about forty, of stealing his watch. The servant, who was innocent, was convicted on circumstantial evidence. Before being hanged he wished that none of the D—— family might live beyond forty, since one of them had unjustly caused his death at that age. The curse was fulfilled, for every member of that family has died somewhere in the fourth decade of his life.

"Green Christmas, fat graveyards."<sup>4</sup>

A red spot on a finger-nail denotes the death of a friend.

### 7. *Folk-medicine.*

To cure neuralgia, wear about the neck next the skin a necklace of nutmegs bored lengthwise and strung together, long enough to fall some six inches below the throat.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. (*Northumberland*), p. 179.

Swelling of the neck may be checked or prevented by a necklace of amber beads, which must be genuine and of fair size.

For toothache, use toothpicks made from splinters of a tree struck by lightning.<sup>5</sup> (See also *Days of the Week.*)

An excellent cure for whooping-cough is bread made by a married woman who retains her maiden name,—e.g. a Brown who has married a Brown.

For warts, steal a piece of meat from a butcher's shop, rub it on the warts, and hide it. Or put it on a loaded cart, or in some other way insure it being carried some miles off. The warts will then disappear on the ninth day (C).

For a cold in the head, rub the nose and the brow between the eyes three times with saliva on retiring, taking care to rub downwards and to allow the application to dry in each time. In the morning there will be copious discharge at the nose and great relief.

Convulsions :—Take off the child's shirt and burn it. Be careful not to burn it too fast, or the child may die. This belief flourishes among the poorer classes.

Colic in horses. Put a pan of water on the fire ; by the time it has boiled dry the horse will have recovered.

### 8. *Witches and wizards.*

The latter were rarer than the former, but equally evil. Elflocks in the mane of a horse were known as "witches' saddles," and regarded as proof that the beast had been ridden by them in the night. Nothing seems to have been done beyond the practical measures of combing out the mane and keeping the stable door locked.

A horse-shoe over the door would keep witches out of the house. If they got into the churn and prevented the butter from coming, a shoe recently worn by a stallion, heated red-hot and dropped in, would scald them out. If the witch who was doing any one an injury was known or suspected, she might be shot at with a silver bullet. This was quite infallible, as the witch would perhaps die, and certainly lose all power to harm the shooter ; but she might nullify the process if she or one of her family could at once buy or borrow something from him.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii., p. 193 (*Japan*).

9. *Harvest customs.*

Corn. This was, and sometimes still is, husked at a "husking bee," *i.e.* all the farmers of the district took it in turns to go to each other's houses and help in the husking. Food and drink were provided and a good deal of merry-making went on. Any one finding a red ear would be married within a twelvemonth.

Wheat etc. The last sheaf was called "the maiden" or "the Lord's sheaf." It was cut, bound up, and stood in a place where the rain would not beat it down. It was not lucky to garner it, and it was left for the poor. Often a whole corner of the last field was left standing for the poor to glean or for "the Lord's birds," a reminiscence of Matth. c. 10, v. 29. The charitable desire to leave enough for the poor to glean seems to have swallowed up all other practices connected with the last sheaf. These customs do not seem to have been general, but the habit of a few families originally from Vermont. Related to them is the custom reported by another old inhabitant of his grandfather, who left the United States shortly after the War of Independence. He would never allow a sheaf which had been dropped on the way from the field to be picked up, but gave no reason for letting it lie.

10. *Visitors.*

If you enter anyone else's house and leave by a door different from that by which you entered, you will bring them visitors.

To drop the dishcloth while washing up means that visitors are coming. The same is indicated by a tea-leaf floating in one's cup. If the leaf, when bitten, feels hard, the visitor will be a man; if soft, a woman. To ensure fulfilment of the omen, throw the leaf under the table, silently wishing that some particular person may come. (In this hospitable district there is no demand for means of averting such an omen.)

11. *Good and bad luck.*

It is unlucky:—

To cut across a corner. If you must do so, wish (C).

To break a mirror; this means seven years' ill luck.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii., p. 347; *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vol. xii. (1885), p. 38 (*Cornwall*).

To spill salt. Matters are somewhat improved if you throw some of it over your left shoulder (C).<sup>7</sup>

To go under a ladder; also to hold an umbrella over one's head while in the house (C).<sup>8</sup>

To meet (not to overtake or be overtaken by) any person on the stairs (C).<sup>9</sup>

When having your fortune told by tea-leaves, to point at them with the finger; this nullifies the signs and brings on ill fortune. If you must point, use a spoon or the like.

To dress one foot entirely while the other is still bare (C).

If after starting from the house you go back for something forgotten, sit down and count seven before starting out again. Otherwise you will be unlucky (C).<sup>10</sup>

Sing before breakfast and you will be sorry before supper, ("will cry before dinner," C).

The following are lucky:—

To find a horse-shoe (C).

If a cat comes to one's house and stays. But, if the cat is black, it will bring bad luck (C).

To put on clothes accidentally wrong side out. If it is necessary to change them, wish. (C.—Wishing seems a powerful counter-agent to evil influences, *vid. supra*.)

To put the left boot on first. This brings good luck while those boots are worn.

A rabbit's foot should be carried for luck (C). (This is of course American, originally Southern, but rabbit-foot charms have of late years been popular in the Northern States as well.)<sup>11</sup>

"See a pin and pick it up,

All that day you'll have good luck" (C).

After mentioning a piece of good fortune, touch wood, or you may lose it.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *N. and Q.*, 1st S., vol. iii., p. 387 (*Holland*); Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 161.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 345 (*Worcestershire*); vol. xxi., p. 89 (*Argyllshire*), pp. 225-6 (*Yorkshire*).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., p. 226 (*Yorkshire*).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. vol. xx., p. 346 (*Worcestershire*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. vol. xix., p. 296.



12. *Miscellaneous.*

Hair from the head should be burned, not thrown away. Otherwise the rest of the hair will come out (C).

If, when you rise from a chair or go up or down stairs, your joints crack, you have not yet seen your best days.

“Dream of fruit out of season,  
You’ll be mad without a reason.”

(“Mad” generally means “angry,” not “insane,” in popular speech.)

“Wash and wipe together,  
Live at peace forever.”<sup>12</sup>

If your nose itches, you will either kiss a fool or shake hands with a stranger.<sup>13</sup>

Froth in the tea or coffee cup is a sign of wealth, if it be collected in a spoon and drunk before it dissolves.

If a person has “crowns” in his hair, their number indicates the number of reigns in which he will live.

Rat-charmers used formerly to go from house to house. Their method was simply to walk up and down saying, “Rats, rats, rats, go away” three times. The vermin were then supposed to go within three days.

Lizards were formerly, I gather, thought poisonous, perhaps are still occasionally. My informant describes amusingly the wild panic of a tea-party which found one in their kettle.

To cut a baby’s nails will make it steal (C).<sup>14</sup>

When two people are walking together, if they meet a third and allow him to pass between them, they will quarrel. But this may be averted if one of the two says “Bread and butter” (C). (Apparently the estrangement may be avoided by the mention of two things constantly found together.)

On coming to the end of a sidewalk, make a wish afterwards, naming some poet (C). (Our country towns generally have extending from them into the open country a half-mile or so of paved or board walk. This is referred to here.)

If a spider crawls over a woman’s dress it signifies that she will soon have a new one (C).

H. J. ROSE.

<sup>12</sup> Contrast vol. xxiii., p. 347; vol. xx., p. 346 (*Worcestershire*).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. vol. xxiii., p. 462.

<sup>14</sup> *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. (*Northumberland*), p. 58.

INDIAN FOLKLORE NOTES, IV.<sup>1</sup>

THE following notes are taken from the *Report of the Census of Baluchistan for 1911* by Mr. Denys Bray,<sup>2</sup> which is full of interesting matter, and is not generally accessible to English readers.

*Ablution, counting times for.*—"In any Yāsīnzai Kākar hut you may see a string hanging from the roof during the winter months, in which the goodman of the house ties a knot whenever the cause for an ablution arises, to serve as a reminder of the number of ablutions he must get through, when summer comes and washing is less of a nuisance" (p. 60).

*Fertility charm.*—At a boy's circumcision "among the Marī the mother stands in the centre of singing women, bearing in her hands an upper mill-stone, which is sprinkled with red earth and covered with rue, an iron ring, a green bead and a red cloth, tied together by a red thread—all symbolical, I imagine, of procreative virility" (p. 61).

*Mosques primitive.*—As for the more primitive mosques, a few stones in a ring, with a small opening to the east and a small arch to the west, complete the Brāhūī's mosque. "My own impression is that these so-called mosques are much older than Islam itself, probably developments of something of the nature of magic circles" (p. 61).

*Stone worship.*—"In a certain Chāgai shrine there stands a stone some two feet high, with a flat base and a rounded, bullet-shaped head, too lifelike, it would seem, to be other than the conscious work of men's hands. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that in this far-off shrine the pious Musalmān is bowing his head all unwittingly before a *lingam*, an ancient relic of pre-Islamic times. Similar in character appear to be a couple of conical stones at the shrine of Pīr-Sultān-ul-Afrīn in Zahri, reverentially kissed by all who come to worship. Their shape and their polished surfaces seem unmistakable evidence of their long-forgotten origin. The tops of the stones by the by are pierced through from side to side, and the keepers of the shrine never tire of telling how the saint used to run ropes through the holes and

<sup>1</sup> For No. III. see vol. xx., pp. 229-31.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta, Superintendent Government Printing, price 4s. 6d.

spend the livelong night with the stones hung round his neck, lest errant thoughts should disturb his holy meditation. It seems almost sacrilege to add the materialistic detail that each stone must be a good five and twenty pounds in weight" (p. 63).

*Bethgeleert story.*—The famous tale of the sacred dog is given (p. 63 f.). This has been already recorded by Mr. Longworth Dames (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii., p. 266; for further examples from India see Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (2nd ed.), vol. ii., pp. 220 *et seq.*).

*Rain magic.*—Sometimes the Khan or chief doffs his fine clothes for the woollen overcoat of the peasant, and himself ploughs a field in time of drought. Another device to cause rain is to have a sham fight, the fall of blood being supposed to induce the falling of the rain. Men of one camp go to another, make a great noise, and are soused with water for their pains. They are then given alms and are sent away (p. 65). Sometimes a boy is dressed up as a little old man, with a hoary beard of cotton-wool on his chin, a felt cap on his head, a felt coat, and bells jingling round his waist. They sing:—

“The buffoon! The old manikin!  
Down fell the grain-bin  
On top of poor granny!”

On this the goodman of the house comes out with a gift of money or grain.

The little old man then jingles his bells, and bellows like a camel to the chorus:—

“Good luck to the house of the giver!  
And a hole in the bin of the miser!

“And so they move on from house to house. In the end their collections are clubbed together, a pottage is prepared and distributed among the people, and the game is closed with prayers for rain. I suppose the old man's (*piraka*) bellowing and the jingling of bells are imitative of thunder and the swish of rain, but I can volunteer no explanation for his general get-up, unless his snow-white beard is imitative of snow; the game at any rate is generally played in the uplands in the late autumn” (pp. 65 *et seq.*).

“There is a similar rain-making game among the girls. Each

girl makes herself a small wooden frame called *tiktālo*, something like the framework of a kite, by tying two sticks crosswise, joining the ends at top and bottom with two more sticks, and tying another stick right down the centre as a handle. Then they go in a body through the village, attended by a female minstrel, and sing at each door:—

“Tiktālo! Mātālo!  
Kāsim’s dwelling, I’ll plait you your tresses!  
House of Raīs, mulberries and raisins!  
Arbāb’s house, white bread and roast meat!  
Rush, rain, rush!”

Raīs and Arbāb are titles of headmen among the cultivators, but I can throw no light on the identity of Kāsim; the bread and the meat and the fruits are symbolical, no doubt, of the produce that the earth will yield if only the rain will fall. Having collected doles from house to house, they give them away in alms and pray for rain. Not until the time comes for the distribution of the dainties do the males or older women take part in the fun” (p. 66).

Among the Pathāns “an interesting rain-making custom still survives in what is now a mere boy’s game. In times of drought boys make a round bag out of white cloth and stuff it with rags. And they paint the eyes and nose and mouth of a woman on one side of the bag, and bedaub the face with flour, and stick a pole through the bag, and go in a body from house to house, one of their number carrying the doll, or *Lādo Ladanga* as it is called. At each door they sing this chorus:—

‘Lādo Ladanga! What do you want?’  
‘The sky’s muddy rain is what I want;  
The earth’s green grass is what I want;  
One measure of flour is what I want;  
Flavoured with salt—that’s what I want!  
Argōrē! bargōrē!  
God grant you a son to redound to your glory!  
Amen.’

And the mistress of the house may be relied on to give them a dole in return for their flattering prayer” (p. 67).

*Rain stopping.*—"Some people stop rain by hanging out a wooden ladle in the air; others believe in putting antimony in a cock's eye; women light a small fire in the open and damp it down with green leaves, to make it send up a column of smoke into the sky. Any one who can put two and two together will surely admit that the rain is bound to die away if it falls on a dead body; so the Jamāli Baloch of Las Bela are doubtless wise in their generation in never taking their dead to burial if it's raining, unless of course there has been enough rain and to spare. But corpses are not always procurable, and I am assured on all hands that the best all-round device to stop rain is to run a thread through a frog's mouth and then let it go with the thread tied round it.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the hated miser, who hoards up grain in his bins and spends his days praying for drought, has learned to turn the frog to his own base uses. When the rains are withheld, folks soon begin to suspect that he has hidden some frogs away in his house in a jar of water, and so stopped the rain. And sure enough, driven to desperation, they have more than once ransacked some miser's house and exposed his hateful trick. At least so they tell me. The survey department may possibly have wondered why their constructions are occasionally demolished in the wilder parts of the Brāhūi country. It may be of interest to them to know that they are joint-accused with the hoarders of grain, and stand charged with locking up the rain by means of their survey pillars" (p. 66).

"To a Pathān the stopping of rain must seem simple enough. For he has a sheaf of devices to choose from. Throw a handful of salt on the fire; nail a horse-shoe on to the wall, well out of the reach of the rain; plaster a *patira* or wheaten bannock on a rubbish-heap; put a Koran into an oven when the fire is out, and

<sup>3</sup> During a drought in China, "a geomancer came forward, and obtained the sanction of the Viceroy to the following ridiculous arrangements for propitiating the Dragon King. After having closed the south gate of the city—a device usually resorted to in such emergencies—he placed under it several water tubs, filled to the brim, and containing frogs—a number of boys were then ordered by the soothsayer to tease the frogs so as to make them croak. In a few days rain is said to have followed this extraordinary exhibition of human folly." J. H. Gray, *China* (1878), vol. i., p. 147. Cf. Croke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (1896), vol. i., p. 73.

bring it back to your room and distribute alms—it doesn't seem to matter much which of these methods you adopt, all are pronounced to be immediately effective. But, after all, the only ones to dabble in rain-stopping are the grain-boarders who always hanker after drought, and the women who get bored with a few days' rain. Two other Pathān ideas about rain are perhaps worth adding. Pathān lasses are fond of scraping up the last titbits on the dish with their fingers and licking them off, much to the disgust of the old ladies, who know well what the consequences will be. "For the hundredth time of asking," they will say, "don't lick the pot, or there will be a downpour of rain on your wedding day." And any Pathān can tell you that if you want to change your sex, all you have to do is to go and roll under a rainbow" (p. 67).

*Rain-making by holy men.*—"In almost every locality throughout the land there is a holy man who receives a share of the produce known as *tuk* as a retaining-fee to produce rain, ward off locusts and mildew, and otherwise control nature for the good of the community. In the more civilised parts the *tuk-khor* or fee-receiver is a Sayyid, but in the wilder parts any holy magic-monger can be found playing the part with apparently equal success. They go to work in various ways. In Bāghbāna a Shekh reads some charm and lures distant clouds to the valley by waving his turban in their direction. But if there has been some hitch about his *tuk*, he is quite capable of driving the clouds over the hills and far away. Not that a *tuk-khor* has always the best of the matter. If rain holds off, the people seek to spur his flagging efforts by stopping his payments. If this fails, and their distress is great, they bind him hand and foot with a rope and leave him to swelter in the blazing sun the livelong day, holy Sayyid though he be, in the pious hope that he will repent him of his slackness, and call in his frenzy upon God and his sainted forefathers to save his honour by sending rain. There is nothing like this, I am told, for bringing a lazy *tuk-khor* to his senses; instance could be piled on instance to prove that rain has fallen within a few hours of his punishment" (p. 67).

W. CROCKE.

## THE MAGIC MIRROR: A FIJIAN FOLK-TALE.

[The following story has been sent to me by Mr. D. Jenness, of Balliol College, Oxford, who has recently been conducting anthropological researches at the instance of the University Committee for Anthropology in the D'Entrecasteaux Group, New Guinea, and is now attached to the Stefansson Expedition to the Arctic; so that I must make myself responsible for the publication of this interesting piece of Fijian folklore. It was collected from a Fijian mission-teacher at Goodenough Island, who has since died.—R. R. MARETT.]

LONG ago some white men with two Fijians went to one of the islands in the Fiji group to have a look at it. The Fijians were left in charge of the boat. One said to the other,—“You look after the boat while I have a look round.” So he went away, and looking down on to the beach in a certain place he saw what appeared to be two men, one of whom, catching sight of him, fled away. He knew they could not be ordinary men because the island was uninhabited, so he crept up to the one that remained, busily digging in the sand, and caught hold of him. His captive, however, suddenly straightened up to a great height, and ran up a small hill, with the Fijian clinging round his neck. On the top of the hill was a tree called *Mafa*, and the being entered into a hole in its side, leaving the Fijian in a trance without. By and by he came to, and went down to the boat and slept. In the afternoon the being came to him and told him to go back to the tree, where he would find a small stone wrapped in a piece of calico. So the man went and found it. At night the being came again to him and told him to take great care of the stone, which was a crystal like glass. “You must not show it to anyone,” it said, “and, if you are wishing anything, you have only to look into the stone.” So the Fijian went back home. Thereafter, when a man was ill, the Fijian had only to look into the stone, and it told him the remedy. Many cures were worked in this way. After a time some English doctors heard of these wonderful cures, and sent for him to help them at the hospital. No one, however, knew anything about the stone. While he was at the hospital, two young

men came and asked him to prescribe for a friend of theirs. He consented, but they saw him take the stone and look into it, and went away and told others. The doctors and the Government heard about it, and the man was imprisoned for two years. Sir J. Thurston was Governor at the time, and the teacher who told us the story thought that he had secured the stone.

D. JENNESS.

SCRAPS OF ENGLISH FOLKLORE, VII.

*Cambridgeshire.*

*Plough Monday.*—On the first Monday in Epiphany the men and boys went through Ickleton after dark cracking whips and dragging a huge log of wood or old wooden plough. They rang door bells, and asked for something for Plough Monday. It was said that, if people refused to give them anything, they attempted to plough up the doorstep or scraper with the improvised log plough. After the custom of dragging the log died out some years ago in the neighbourhood of Ickleton and Duxford, the men simply came round and said they were Mr. So and So's ploughmen, and would thank you for a trifle for Plough Monday. The boys used also to come round, and I remember my father once saying,—“But you are not ploughmen,” whereupon the prompt answer was,—“No, but we be harrer (harrow) boys.”

*Valentine's Day.*—The children go round the village in couples, or three or four together, and sing:—

“Good morning, Valentine,  
Curl your locks as I do mine,  
Two before and three behind,  
So good morning, Valentine.”<sup>1</sup>

Of course pennies or cakes or oranges are expected.

*Shrove Tuesday.*—The school children are allowed to play in vicarage meadow,—which adjoins garden at Duxford and is quite in the middle of the village,—and for this purpose they are allowed a special half-holiday from school. This meadow

<sup>1</sup> Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities etc.* (1853), vol. i., p. 62; *N. & Q.*, 6th S., vol. iii. (1881), pp. 150, 335.



is called the "Camping Close," and I have been told that there was an old game called "Camping," which was played on Shrove Tuesday. It seems to have rather resembled a game of Rugby football, without the ball. All the participators were ranged in two long lines facing each other, and at a given signal each man seems to have "gone for" his vis-à-vis, and serious damage usually resulted. My information on this point is rather vague and perhaps not very reliable.

At Duxford there were two churches, and the livings had been joined into one. The rector therefore lived at the rectory belonging to the one church, and let the other residence (a vicarage) to my father. The Camping Close joined on to the vicarage garden, and I believe some part of it had, many years back, been taken in from the village green and enclosed in the vicarage grounds. It has been suggested that this was the reason for the Shrove Tuesday custom.

The Camping Close at Ickleton was a meadow adjoining the water-mill, and was thrown open to the children, exactly as at Duxford, on Shrove Tuesday, when an old woman residing at Ickleton always had a cake and sweet stall in the Close.

*May Day.*—The children brought round garlands, which usually consisted of a hoop covered with flowers, (generally wild flowers), and more often than not had a doll or dolls in the centre. Sometimes there were two hoops set at right-angles to each other; sometimes a piece of cloth was stretched at the back, and some motto worked in flowers or letters in the centre, instead of the more usual doll. More often than not the children came round a few days before to beg for ribbons to adorn the garlands. Sometimes the boys carried poles with a bunch of flowers fastened at the top. The garlands were always suspended on a stout stick and covered with a white cloth, and carried by two of the children. When they reached a house, the cloth was thrown back, generally with an air of great triumph, and the children sang:—

“ The first of May is garland day,  
 So, please, I've brought my garland.  
 First and second and third of May,  
 Is chimney-sweepers' dancing-day.  
 Ladies and gentlemen, I wish you a happy May,  
 I've come to show my garland, because it is May Day.”

“*Trailing Ale.*”—At the time of harvest, the men of the parish used to come round, often bringing a stone jar with them, and ask for “trailing ale.” It was supposed that, if this was refused, the men would trample down the corn. I never heard of this being done, and believe the custom of asking for it has died out some time ago. I think the following points about “trailing ale” gathered from my brother are correct, as he has been making enquiries in the neighbourhood from some of the older people who remember it:—

When any one walked through a field of standing corn while it was being reaped, the reapers would demand from him something for “trailing ale.” When cows or foals strayed into standing corn, the owner of the corn was entitled to ask the owner of the cattle for “trailing ale.” If a footpath was made through standing corn, the people who used it would be asked for “trailing ale.”

*Harvest.*—After harvest the men were nearly always given a feed of some sort. This was usually on the day on which the last load was carried. This load was usually decorated with boughs, and brought home with a little shouting and jubilation. On my father’s farm the men had always bread and cheese and onions and beer, but on some farms a big hot dinner was provided. I believe this was always done in my grandfather’s time, but it was found too much trouble to keep it up, so the men were given 2s. a head and the bread and cheese etc., instead of the hot meat and pudding. This was always called a “hawkey.”

After harvest one or two men from each farm would go round to the neighbouring farmers and ask for “largesse,” as they had finished harvest. I believe the collection was made on behalf of all the men on the farm, but I think the custom degenerated into one or two men just going independently and seeing what they could get for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

*Fifth of November.*—The boys used to dress up a figure, or often dress themselves up, and go round the village singing the usual rhyme.

*Christmas* was of course another excuse for singing for money from door to door, and “While Shepherds watched their flocks

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M. & Q.*, 6th S., vol. iii., p. 469, vol. iv., p. 193 (*East Anglia*, 1881), and Robert Bloomfield, *The Horkey*.

by night" was the favourite, whilst "Good King Wenceslas" was a very good second; but there was also a version of the familiar "God bless the master of this house."

*Sayings.*—I have no note of locality for the following sayings:—

The apple crop will be the better if christened on St. Swithin's Day (of course by rain).

Better to see a wolf enter the fold than the sun shine on Candlemas Day.<sup>3</sup>

M. C. JONAS.

### Devon.

*Apple-tree custom.*—A woman living near Kingsbridge tells me that her father, (born about 1830), used to go out in his youth shooting at apple-trees, "for luck and good crops." They sang,—

"Here's a health to the apple-tree,  
Here's a health to the tree that blossoms!  
Hats full, caps full, dree bushel bags full,  
Hip, hip, hip, hooray!"

She was not sure of the exact day, but knows that it was just about the New Year.<sup>4</sup>

*Fishing beliefs.*—At Beesands it is held very unlucky to go out fishing on Good Friday. Some years ago, any Friday was held to be an unlucky day for fishing, and many men would not go out to sea on that day.

*Fifth of November.*—In the Beesands district, an effigy is always part of the proceedings, as well as bonfires. Any person who is unpopular may be burned in effigy. Two years ago, at Torcross, a pair of effigies were made, man and woman, to represent a certain gentleman suspected of too much attention to his neighbour's wife. They were stuck up arm in arm, and carried about before being burned. (From a fisherman's daughter, 1911.)

*Christmas.*—People used to go round before Christmas, begging for wheat from the farmers.

*Fairs.*—At Moretonhampstead, Summer Fair was held on the

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. (1853), p. 51; *N. & Q.*, 1st S., vol. vi. (1852), p. 480, vol. xi. (1855), p. 238 (*Norfolk*).

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Brand, *op. cit.* (1853), vol. i., pp. 28-30.

third Thursday in July, and was celebrated by climbing a pole for a leg of mutton, jumping for cakes and treacle, wrestling, country dances, and races. Women raced down the street, starting from the Cross, for a gown piece. The church tower was decorated. Whortle pie was eaten.

The church at Moretonhampstead is dedicated to St. Andrew, and on this day and other Fair days gammon pie was eaten. It consisted of a leg of pork, a couple of fowls, etc., all put into a big pan and covered by rough paste. People kept open house. There was dancing at night. Down to about 1817 a Fair was held with gingerbread stalls and shows, and also with races, wrestling, and other sports.

J. B. PARTRIDGE.

*Herefordshire.*

*Charm.*—I am indebted to Col. R. Rankin for the following account:—"In an orchard at the Vroe Farm, Rowstone, is a fine old Glastonbury thorn, which is now (January, 1913) in full leaf. I went to the thorn to take a cutting lately, and was surprised to see in the fork of the tree, so green and beautiful in the midst of winter, a number of placentas of cows, which had apparently been placed there for generations. When the farmer was questioned, he explained,—‘It do bring wonderful good luck in the calving.’"

*Toad's heart charm.*—It was, and perhaps is still, believed that a person wearing a toad's heart concealed about the body can steal with impunity, as he cannot be found out. A farmer watched one of his men, suspected of petty pilfering, and overheard him boasting to his fellow-workmen thus,—“They never catches *me*: and they never ooll neither. I allus wears a toad's heart round my neck, *I* does!"

*Seed-time rhyme.*—

“Plant your seeds four in a row,  
One for the dove, and one for the crow,  
One to rot, and one to grow.”

*New Year's Day.*—There is a saying in the neighbourhood of Cusop and Hay that, if a tramp calls on New Year's morning, every knock he gives at the door will be a happy month for the

occupants of the house. This applies only to men.—(Communicated by Mr. C. G. Portman, of Hay.)

*To raise bread.*—Mr. Portman also informs me that in this district it was the custom to put dough to rise in a warm bed; the bed must be warm from having been slept in.

*Gipsy funeral custom.*—A gipsy named John Locke died at Eardisley, in February, 1912. According to the usual gipsy custom, his tent, bedding, and other belongings were burnt, and his beloved fiddle was buried with him. My informant had tried to buy the fiddle, but the widow refused to sell it at any price.

ELLA M. LEATHER.

### Warwickshire.

*Rhymes.*—The following rhymes relating to the months, and to the weather or rural matters proper to them, are all known among the people of Ilmington :—

January dire,  
Freeze the pot upon the fire.

February fill-dyke,  
And if it be white 'tis the better to like.

By Valentine's Day  
Every good hen, duck, and goose should lay.  
By David and Chad  
Every hen, duck, and goose should lay, good or bad.<sup>5</sup>

When bean planting in the old-fashioned manner with the peg, it was usual to drop *four* beans in each hole :—

One for the pigeon, and one for the crow,  
One to go rotten, and one to grow.<sup>6</sup>

Saint Matth-i-as  
Springing leaf and grass;  
A little bit of hay at night, and none in the morning.

Wet on Good Friday and Easter Day,  
Means much good grass, and but little good hay.<sup>7</sup>

Come Easter early or late,  
'Twill make the old cow quake.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *N. & Q.*, 1st S., vol. i. (1850), pp. 238, 421, (*Norfolk*).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Herefordshire*, above.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *N. & Q.*, 1st S., vol. vi. (1852), p. 123, (*Hertfordshire*).

If oak is out before the ash,  
Of rain you'll only have a splash:  
If ash is out before the oak,  
Of rain you'll surely have a soak.

*Bees.*—When a swarm of bees leaves the hive, it is held necessary to “ring” it; this is generally done with a fire shovel and a door-key. Without this ceremony it is supposed that the owner can claim no right of property in the swarm, but that with it he is entitled to follow wherever it goes. Bees must not be sold; a hive that has been bought will have no luck. In case of the death of the master, some member of the family must knock on each hive with the key of the door, and tell the bees of their loss; otherwise they will not thrive afterwards.<sup>8</sup>

*Parsley* must not be transplanted. If it is, a member of the family in whose garden the parsley plants are set will die within the year.<sup>9</sup>

Ilmington.

F. S. POTTER.

*Mandrake.*—In December, 1908, a man employed in digging a neglected garden half a mile from Stratford-on-Avon, cut a large root of white bryony through with his spade. He called it a “mandrake,” and ceased work at once, saying that it was “awful bad luck.” Before the week was out, he fell down some steps and broke his neck.—(Communicated by Mr. F. C. Morgan, of Malvern.)

*Loo-belling.*—The custom which in many parts of the country goes by the name of “riding the stang,” is called “loo-belling” in Warwickshire. Mr. Morgan photographed “A man’s effigy” at Brailes, Shipston-on-Stour, on February 18, 1909, just after it had been placed opposite the dwelling of a woman, who was the other guilty party. Her effigy was made also; both remained outside her house during the day, and were carried round the long, straggling village in the evening. This was done for three evenings; on the third both effigies were burnt. In another case, in Warwickshire, the effigies were carried round three villages.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *N. & Q.*, 1st S., vol. ix. (1854), p. 446; vol. xii. (1855), p. 37, (*Cornwall*); *Cornhill Magazine*, 1911, pp. 465-79, (“Telling the Bees”).

<sup>9</sup> Vol. xx., p. 343, (*Worcestershire*).

<sup>10</sup> The custom was described and illustrated by a drawing from Mr. Morgan’s photographs, in the *Illustrated London News*, August 14, 1909.

An old inhabitant of Charlecote describes the custom as follows:—  
“Young men and lads armed themselves with tin cans etc., and went to both offenders’ houses three nights in succession, and marched into three parishes,—Hampton Lucy, Charlecote, and Wasperton. On the third night they burnt the man’s and woman’s effigies in front of both their houses at Hampton Lucy. The last time it was done in this district was in 1892.”

ELLA M. LEATHER.

*Folk-medicine.*—At Pillerton a child with the whooping cough was given a piece of bread and butter every morning while the dew was still on the grass, a similar piece being put out on the grass for the black snails.

At Ilmington a cure for whooping cough is to take whatever is recommended by a man who rides a *skewbald* horse into the village. (A *skewbald* horse is one in which white is varied by patches of any other colour than black; a horse with white and black only being called “piebald.”) I have heard an aged relative, born about 1780, say that in his earlier days he had a friend who for a time rode a *skewbald* horse, and was so often stopped by anxious mothers that he found it necessary to be prepared with a remedy, which was always “battered ale.”

Once, when a small boy, I was present at the ceremony of charming for whitemouth or thrush. This was about 1841, but I remember it clearly, for I was much impressed. The operator was named Bennett, and was the village carpenter of Ilmington, and of some local reputation as a successful charmer for the ailment. The mother brought the sick child to his house; he took it in his arms and muttered his charm over it in such a manner that no word was intelligible. He then took his fee, which was, I believe, a fixed one.

F. S. POTTER.

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## IN MEMORIAM: LORD AVEBURY (1834-1913).

BY H. B. WHEATLEY, D.C.L.

THE Folk-Lore Society, in common with many other important societies, has suffered a great loss by the death, on May 29th, of its distinguished member, Lord Avebury, who joined the Society in 1880, two years after its foundation. Throughout his long life and amid the multifarious interests which filled it, he always retained a special interest in the subject to which our Society has been devoted. His first work of importance was on *Prehistoric Times* (1865), and a few years later his *Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man* appeared. His last work, *Marriage, Totemism and Religion: an answer to Critics*, was published in 1911. In the following year was published in *Folk-Lore* (March, 1912) his reply to Mr. Lang's review of this book.

Lord Avebury was elected a Vice-President in 1889, an office which he held until his death.

The name of the eminent banker, author, naturalist, and statesman, known to all as Sir John Lubbock until 1900, when he was created Baron Avebury, had been for years a household word, and his many-sided career as a man of science and a man of affairs is one to marvel at. He was an indefatigable worker, and when we look at the voluminous list of his publications we might easily suppose that he had no other occupation, if we did not know that he was a man of business in one of the most anxious of professions. He was also occupied in many national movements, the most important of which related to early closing and public holidays. As the founder of Bank Holidays, he obtained the humorous sobriquet of "St. Lubbock."

My friend, Dr. Philip Norman, a life-long friend of Lubbock, has kindly communicated to me some interesting particulars of his



early life. "Sir John William Lubbock, the astronomer and mathematician, and a prominent Fellow of the Royal Society, spent his early married life at Mitcham Grove, in a house (now pulled down) which had belonged to the Hoares. But on succeeding to the baronetcy in 1840, he settled permanently at High Elms, Farnborough, Kent, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had been a mere farm. He had a family of eight sons and three daughters, and as the former began to grow up he made a delightful cricket ground for them, and organised matches in which for some years he used to take part. John was the eldest of the sons, and being in his boyhood rather delicate, and from the first devoted to study, he was less known for success in games and sport than his numerous brothers. He was, however, fond of cricket and the Eton game of fives, his father having built a fives court at High Elms, and there being also a court at my home (about three miles off). For a time he assisted in the management of the West Kent Cricket Club. Long afterwards, when he had almost given up the game, he agreed to play one or two matches for the 'Lords and Commons,' then exceptionally strong in cricketers. In order to prepare himself, he used to get Joseph Wells, the Bromley professional, to bowl to him for some weeks regularly in the early morning before he went up to London to business, the result being that he scored well in matches against Harrow and the famous wandering club 'I Zingari.' Lord Avebury was very keen about fives, and a good performer. I have played with him scores of times. He generally had some stiff book of science with him, which he read between the games. When we most often played together he was engaged in the study of bee life, and between the games I have several times seen him mark a bee's head with paint, the bee never attempting to sting him. He was trying how far they could find their way home to the hive." With respect to Lord Avebury's intimate association with Charles Darwin, Dr. Norman adds,—“His introduction to science was undoubtedly to a large extent brought about by his being near Darwin, who encouraged and helped him in his study of plant life when he was a child.”

He was an indefatigable Fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed over one hundred papers to its publications. His favourite

subjects of scientific research were connected with Geology, Zoology, and Botany, and his studies of the habits of ants and bees are of particular moment. *Punch* in 1882 had a happy fancy portrait of Lubbock described as the "Banking busy bee." He was fond of travelling, and his popular works on the scenery of Switzerland and the scenery of England told of this love and conveyed it to his readers. The "Uses" and the "Pleasures" of life he explained to others, and he had every right to teach, for he knew. It was a great position that Lord Avebury attained to, and he won it by hard working and earnestness of purpose.

He gave of his best to his profession, and he was regarded by the bankers as their leader. But he still had time to devote to Parliament, to social improvements, to science, to literature, and to friendship. It is not necessary to mention in detail all the honours meted out to him. He received them from abroad as well as at home. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University of London from 1872 to 1880, an office first held by his father; Vice-Chairman of the London County Council, and then its Chairman; and President of too many societies to mention. In Parliament he first sat for Maidstone and then for the University of London, making, as has been said, an ideal University Member. Dr. Norman believes that his own father (Mr. George Warde Norman) introduced Lubbock to politics by persuading him to stand as a Liberal for West Kent, where, however, he was beaten twice. He further adds that "he was a man of unswerving rectitude, and of infinite capacity for work, who was always animated by the keenest desire to benefit his fellow-creatures." In this high estimate all will cordially agree.

H. B. WHEATLEY.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### THE COMPLETION OF PROFESSOR PITRÈ'S COLLECTION OF SICILIAN FOLKLORE.

IN the spring of the present year was published the twenty-fifth and final volume of Dr. Pitrè's *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*. The occasion ought not to pass unnoticed in these pages, seeing that the *Biblioteca* is the most extensive and complete collection of the folklore of any country ever made, or at least ever published in a tongue generally accessible to students. The work of collection was commenced by Dr. Pitrè at the age of eighteen, in the year 1858. The first volume, consisting of songs with a critical study of folk-poetry, was issued as long ago as 1871; and both collection and publication have been carried on with steady and persistent determination during all the intervening years, amid the arduous duties of professional life as a medical man, in addition to other literary labours, and recently despite heavy bereavements and some of the infirmities of age. The touching dedication of the final volume to the memory of his only son, while bearing witness to the intense grief and disappointment of a father's heart, contains yet a note of satisfaction that "the precious treasure of the traditions of the Sicilian people is henceforth safe," though he who, with his mother and sisters, could testify how many sacrifices his father had made for the work was no longer here to partake of the triumph.

A triumph indeed it is. For Dr. Pitrè is idolized by his fellow-citizens. His kindly personality and devoted professional labours have won their affection. They recognize that his literary labours,—his studies of various aspects of the history of Palermo and of Sicily, a number of works on Italian folklore either written or edited by him, and above all this great collection of Sicilian traditions now completed,—have reflected lustre on the city of

the Golden Shell. Nor has the Italian Government been insensible of the national debt to him. A year or two ago a chair of folklore was erected in the University of Palermo, and Dr. Pitriè was appointed the professor. And since the completion of his task of recording the traditions of his native island, he has been nominated Chevalier of the Civil Order of Savoy,—an order instituted in 1831 for those who, belonging to professions not less useful than that of arms, have become by their profound studies an ornament of the State, and carrying with it a modest pension of 1000 lire.

A critical review of the *Biblioteca* is, of course, impossible here. Perhaps it is known to comparatively few British students. But to those who know it, it is a prized possession. The stories in particular are inferior to none. They have an atmosphere of their own, recalling the conditions of life of the Sicilian peasant and the eventful and romantic history of the island. They are annotated, like the other volumes, with illustrations drawn from Dr. Pitriè's stores of knowledge of Italian folklore in general. A few of them have been translated in Prof. Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*. The later volumes of the *Biblioteca* are adorned with excellent sketches and photographs of almost every phase of peasant life.

Whatever sorrows and disappointments life may have brought to Dr. Pitriè, as it brings to all of us, he is happy at least in this, that he has lived and laboured to the termination of an undertaking such as profound enthusiasm alone could have inspired him to initiate and sustained him in prosecuting. When he began, especially in the social and political conditions that prevailed at that time, there can have been few to sympathize with him. He has lived to hear his work acclaimed as of national importance, to know that he has succeeded in painting and handing down to posterity a picture of the life of a people which, but for him, would never have been preserved. He needs not the congratulations of foreign students to be conscious that this result far transcends the measure of national value, that it is a scientific achievement. But at least we may add our tribute of praise and gratitude, and an expression of our good wishes that his life may be lengthened to reap more abundant fruits of his long devotion to the cause not less of anthropology than of Sicily.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

## CHARON—CHAROS.

THE following extract from the *Montreal Daily Star*, of August 20, 1912, seems worthy of preservation in *Folk-Lore*:

## "NO CHARON HERE.

*He is All Very Good For the World Beneath.*

Amsterdam, August 21 [*sic*].—Owing to a boycott on the steamship Charon by the dockers on Greek ports, the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company has been compelled to change its [*i.e.* the ship's] name. The men refused to work the ship on account of its association with the mythological old gentleman, who plies the ferry across the river of the lower world."

The above statement is not quite correct as it stands. The person with whom the dockers would associate the ship's name would not be the ancient Charon, but rather his modern descendant, the death-demon Charos, for the facts about whom see Mr. Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. The occurrence is interesting, as showing not only the liveliness of the belief in this picturesque figure, but the survival of the ancient notions of omens connected with names and chance utterances (*κληδόνες*), illustrated by the classical puns on the names Pentheus, Meleager, Helen, etc.

H. J. ROSE.

## CURSING TREES.

THE custom of cursing or threatening trees with destruction if they fail to bear fruit is of some interest. In folk belief cursing is closely connected with blessing. To give one example,—among the Iranians: "For blessing and cursing one and the same word is used, *āfirināmī*. The same peculiarity is to be observed in the old Hebrew word *bérék*, to give a blessing, and to curse."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, p. 175 n.

The custom of blessing trees is common. It is done on the eve of the Epiphany (January 5).<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, in Courland, apple-trees are struck with a stick on the first day of Christmas, so that there may be a good crop of fruit.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Frazer has collected numerous examples of the beneficial effects of curses and abuse in connection with trees and plants.<sup>4</sup> The commentator on the Laws of Manu writes:—“Through fear of being cut down and the like immovable things such as trees become fit to be enjoyed by means of their fruit, flowers, and so forth, *i.e.* they transgress not the law according to which they must give flowers, etc., at the appointed season.”<sup>5</sup> In English custom the habit of discharging guns at trees may have been partly prophylactic, partly by way of menace. In India, a barren tree will bear if a naked man cuts a piece off it on the day of an eclipse.<sup>6</sup> Again, Mr. Denys Bray writes:—“They have a pretty way in Makrān of dealing with a mango tree or date palm that fails to give fruit. The owner gets a couple of friends to bear him company, and strides up to it in a threatening manner. “What’s all this?”, he bawls. “No fruit? D’you think you can make a fool of me? I’ll soon show you’re mightily mistaken.” And with that he gives it a stroke with his axe. Thereupon his comrades fling themselves upon him and seize his hands: only let him spare the poor thing this once and it’ll be on its best behaviour in future, they’ll be bound. But he wrenches himself loose and gives it another blow before they can stop him. In time of course they wheedle him into a more forgiving frame of mind, and turn to the tree and say, “Harkee, brother Mango! We’ve begged you off this time, or by the Almighty he would have had you down. And now that we have given our word for your good behaviour, you’d best bear fruit next year and plenty of it, or you’ll catch it

<sup>2</sup> T. F. Thistleton Dyer, *British Popular Customs* (1876), pp. 20 *et seq.*; J. Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities etc.* (1848), vol. i., pp. 28 *et seq.*; *N. & Q.*, 7th S., vol. xi., pp. 103, 217, 337; 9th S., vol. ix., pp. 287, 314.

<sup>3</sup> W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feld Kulte* (1875), 77, *Der Baumcultus der Germanen*, vol. i., p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> *The Golden Bough*, part i., vol. i., pp. 279 *et seq.*; vol. ii., pp. 20 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> vii., 15, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv., p. 218*n.*

<sup>6</sup> F. R. Hemingway, *Gazetteer Godavari District* (1907), vol. i., p. 47.

with a vengeance." It's marvellous, I am told, what a bit of bluster will do to make a mango tree or a date palm mend its ways."<sup>7</sup>

I venture to suggest that we may perhaps find in such customs as these an explanation of the Gospel narrative of the Barren Fig Tree, which has sorely puzzled the commentators.<sup>8</sup> In other passages the laying of the axe to the root of the tree and the subsequent exhortation, as well as the appeal of the gardener, may imply a like custom of threatening or coercing a barren tree so that it may bear fruit.<sup>9</sup> Thus it seems at least possible that the incident of the Barren Fig Tree may have arisen from a misapprehension of a custom of this class. This theory would be considerably strengthened if I could produce a parallel to these customs from Palestine or the neighbouring countries. But this I have as yet failed to discover. Possibly it may be found in the Talmud or in early Christian literature, and I should be glad if any reader could supply it.

W. CROOKE.

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FEAST DAYS AND SAINTS' DAYS.

(Vol. xxiii., p. 453.)

IN the December number of *Folk-Lore* Miss J. B. Partridge writes of the annual Feast at Haresfield being held on the third Sunday in September, "though the church dedication is to St. Peter."

It is worth placing on record that on the other side of England in the fourteenth century, at Lynn, Norfolk, the following statute of the "gild of S. Peter, Lenne," was included in the return of 1389:

"And yis gyld schal have foure morne-spechis in ye yer. Ye frist schal bene after ye drynkyng: ye secund schal ben ye sonday nest be-fore mielmes day: ye thyrd schal be ye sonday

<sup>7</sup> *Census Report, Baluchistan* (1911), p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> *St. Matthew*, cap. xxi., v. 17-9; *St. Mark*, cap. xi., v. 12-14; *Encyclopedia Biblica*, vol. i., p. 564, vol. ii., pp. 152 *et seq.*; J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii., p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *St. Matthew*, cap. iii., v. 10, cap. vii., v. 19; *St. Luke*, cap. xiii., v. 6-9.

nest be-fore candelmes day: ye ferd schal be ye sonday nest be-fore sent austenis day in may."<sup>1</sup>

The Sunday next before Michaelmas Day must have been the fourth Sunday in September, and not the third; but three possible explanations suggest themselves for the peculiarity noted by Miss Partridge,—(1), that there existed at Haresfield a gild of St. Peter, and that for some local reason what was the second "morowe-speche of the gyld" at Lynn may have been observed at Haresfield in place of the feast-day ("ye drynkyng"); (2), that the name of the patron saint at Haresfield has been changed; (3), that some pre-reformation bell, if any exist in the belfry, may provide a connecting link by its inscription, either with St. Peter or some other saint.

If investigations could be carried out in this and other cases where there is a difference between the feast-day and the day of the patron saint of the village, it is possible that much light might be thrown on a somewhat obscure subject.

P. J. HEATHER.

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#### TWENTIETH-CENTURY MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

WHEN rice is thrown at a British wedding the birds of the air quickly remove all traces of it, and most of us must have mourned the untidy litter, lasting for very many days, which follows the more common and meaningless showering of paper confetti in place of the good old folk customs of rice and shoe throwing. The lack of significance in paper confetti has, however, proved unsatisfying, and the modern craze for "mascots" and luck signs has lately led to the paper discs being sometimes replaced by paper shapes imitating all manner of amulets and symbols, appropriate and not. It may be interesting, therefore, to record the granting of a British patent (No. 6339 of 1909) for "Improvements in or relating to Luck or Love-Charms, Tokens or the like, and Devices for Holding and Distributing same." The following passages are extracts from pp. 2-4 of the description of the

<sup>1</sup> Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds, E. E. T. S.* (1870), p. 62.



invention. "For many years past, rice alone, and more recently, confetti alone, have been showered on a bridal pair when leaving the precincts of the church after the marriage ceremony. Both these articles are, in this connection, so objectionable and annoying as to be almost a nuisance; so, too, is the slipper occasionally thrown at the bride and bridegroom, and often to the hurt or harm of one of them if hit by the missile. The prevailing idea is that these customary or occasional observances bring luck to the nuptial parties." Then follows a description of "lucky objects," amongst different races, which are familiar to folklorists. "My object therefore is to use such forms as luck or love-charms, or tokens, amulets, emblems and symbols as are indicated, and others of a like kind (including the forget-me-not) and to make my representations thereof in papier-maché, celluloid or other suitable substance, gilded, silvered, or otherwise suitably coloured, as well as to combine and preserve in continuity therewith, miniature slippers (of such suitable substance and colouring), rice, barley, or other cereals, used as aforesaid, and confetti (such seeds being preferably coated with a smooth transparent substance or varnish so that they may not so easily cling to the clothing or hair, or cause an unpleasant feeling inside a garment) for sprinkling in the path of a newly-wedded couple, or showering over them, as may be desired—"for luck." The tokens are to be sprinkled by means of "a cornucopia or horn-of-plenty, luck-horn, or like receptacles," and in its lid flower-holding tubes are fixed. "The names of the nuptial parties, and date of the ceremony, may also be engraved on the receptacle, or on a plate to be affixed thereto, so that in its more artistic forms in silver and gold the receptacles may be preserved and descend as heirlooms in the family with some of its lucky contents" (*sic*).

A. R. WRIGHT.

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## REVIEWS.

ESSAYS ON QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD ENGLISH  
POEM OF BEOWULF. By KNUT STJERNA. Trans. and ed.  
by J. R. CLARK HALL. (Viking Club Extra Series, No. 3.)  
Curtis & Beamish, 1912. 4to, pp. XXXV + 284. 128 ill. + 2  
maps. 12s. 6d. *u.*

THIS handsome and finely illustrated volume, containing a part of the contributions to archaeological science made by the late Dr. Stjerna during his unfortunately only too brief life, is due to the industry of Mr. Clark Hall, whose edition of *Beowulf* was noticed in *Folk-Lore* on its appearance in 1911. The present writer then took occasion to refer to the useful "List of Things Mentioned in *Beowulf*", which formed an appendix to the work just mentioned. That list, with some additions, also finds a place in the volume of essays now under review.

As is only natural, the main interest of the book is archaeological, and we may at once say that, from that point of view, it contains contributions to knowledge of the highest interest. But there are also many points of interest to the folklorist. For example, there is the account of the method of dealing with a dragon in charge of a hoard of treasure. The place where the treasure (and incidentally the dragon) is hidden is known by the occasional issuance of flames from the spot. When the seeker gets near enough he is to throw his knife (with a steel blade) or his right shoe (doubtless with iron nails or the like in it) into the flames, and then to throw himself down on the ground with his legs crossed. The dragon rushes out to kill the man who has thrown his property into the fire, but the sign of the cross is too

much for him and he hurries away (which seems a weak point in the story), so that the seeker is enabled to secure the treasure. Here in the iron and the cross we have a very interesting blend of pre-Christian and Christian beliefs and ideas.

Without citing other similar points we may direct special attention to the discussions as to various methods of burial and the underlying ideas attached to each contained in the chapters "Scyld's Funeral Obsequies," "The Double Burial in Beowulf," and "Beowulf's Funeral Obsequies." Everybody knows that cremation during the later part of the Bronze Age replaced the earlier method of inhumation and was again itself displaced, and there has been much discussion as to the significance of this. One of the most recent works which deals with this question is that very magnificent contribution to science by the Hon. John Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*. Mr. Abercromby agrees with those who think that cremation indicated the belief in a separate soul which, when the body was burnt, could depart from the scene of its funeral, whereas the soul belonging to the inhumated body was, as we may put it, earthbound, and compelled to linger near the place of its burial. With this view Stjerna concurs, and endeavours to explain the alternations of the two methods of disposal of the dead by a consideration of the racial influences from time to time dominant. On the question of the voyage of the dead,—so closely connected with many mythologies and, of course, with ship-burials of Skandinavia,—he thinks that we can distinguish three typical stages:—

1. The dead man is laid in a boat, and this is pushed out from the shore, it being left to the Higher Powers to settle what his fate shall be.

2. The dead man is buried in his ship on land, or both are hung up in a tree. Here we are further from the primitive idea, for it is left to the Higher Power not merely to determine where the boat shall go but actually to launch it from the land.

3. Finally, the Higher Power is expected to look after everything, for the dead is left without any means of transport. Stjerna thinks that this development had its cause in the growing spirituality of the times, but we may also surmise that, at least in many countries, it was the result of the waning of the belief that the souls of the

dead had water of some kind to cross before reaching their final destination.

This is a most interesting book, and makes one lament the early death of its author, who might have enriched the scientific world with many other such excursions as those contained in this volume.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE.

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ON THE INDEPENDENT CHARACTER OF THE WELSH 'OWAIN'.

(*Romanic Review*, 1912.) By A. C. L. BROWN.

IN this study Professor Brown carries a step further the campaign initiated some ten years ago, which had for aim the demolition of Professor Foerster's theory of the dependence of the Welsh Mabinogi, *The Lady of the Fountain*, on the *Iwain* of Chrétien de Troyes.

With the general results of Professor Brown's argument I am entirely in agreement; in fact I expressed similar views on the subject as long ago as 1902, in my *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*; but so far as the present study is concerned, while Professor Brown is inclined to lay somewhat undue stress on minor and doubtful details, he overlooks points of real and striking importance, sufficient in themselves to prove his thesis. Thus the argument (p. 158) that the reference to a 'lustrous' or 'resplendent' castle is a proof of the Other-world origin of the story, is scarcely convincing; any castle of white stone, with the sun upon it, might very well suggest such an adjective. The detail may be a purely natural comment. Again, the fact (p. 159) of the silence of the hosts during the meal is quite capable of explanation on normal grounds; chivalric etiquette prescribed a courteous silence till the guest made his willingness to speak apparent. This latter detail might well belong to the present redaction of the story, and have been absent in the original source. These are minor details; more important is the fact that Professor Brown has failed to detect the real source of the character he terms 'The Monster Herdsman,' whom he looks upon as the servant of the Fairy mistress of the Other-world palace. The black Giant who herds

the beasts of the forest is, in my opinion, not an Other-world, but a purely Folklore figure. In Mannhardt's invaluable work on *Feld und Baum-Kultus* we find that, in many parts of Europe, the Wood-Spirit is, even to-day, conceived of under a precisely similar form; *i.e.* as a gigantic one-eyed man, who acts as Herd to the beasts of the forest, a conception which agrees strictly with Owain's description of the monster as 'Wood-ward,' and the diverse character of the beasts obeying him. Chrétien's 'herd of bulls' appears to be a rationalized version of the original form. The English *Ywain and Gawain* here agrees with the Welsh.

But, if the *Mabinogi* has here preserved the primitive form, in another place it has omitted what appears to be a corresponding original feature, retained alike by the French and English poets. In these two latter versions the Lady of the Fountain has been warned of the coming of Arthur and his knights by a message from the 'Demoiselle Sauvage,' a mysterious personage alluded to nowhere else in the work. Now in the Italian Tyrol the Wood-Spirit, referred to above, is still known as *L'Om Salvadegh* (*L'Homme Sauvage*), and has a female partner. I am inclined to think that the *Demoiselle Sauvage* may, like the Herdsman, be a folklore survival. The fact that the allusion is found in the French and English versions, while it is absent from the Welsh, seems to point to a common original, which, in the case of the Male Wood-Spirit, was followed more closely by the Welsh and English, and in the case of the Female, by the French and English writers. That the authors of *The Lady of the Fountain* and *Ywain and Gawain* could, each on his own initiative, have changed Chrétien's "herd of bulls" into the diverse creatures which come at their master's call, seems most improbable, while the change by the more sophisticated French poet of monstrous and fabulous creatures into ordinary animals is quite comprehensible. The fact that the English writer, while on the whole following Chrétien's version, here falls into line with the Welsh, is an argument in support of the theory, previously advanced by the present writer on other grounds, that the English poet knew other forms of the story, which he drew upon from time to time, to correct, or modify, the defects apparent in the French text.

That the Welsh *Mabinogi* is a folk-tale, which in its origin is

entirely independent of Chrétien's poem, I am firmly convinced; that it is, strictly speaking, an Other-world adventure, I do not feel so sure. The term 'Other-world' seems to me to be too easily and loosely applied by modern critics; strictly speaking it connotes the Abode of the Departed, and I should myself always distinguish it from Fairyland, for which Professor Brown seems to consider it a synonym. *Owain* is certainly a Fairy-tale, but I do not consider that the evidence points to its being an Other-world adventure. So far as the relations with Chrétien's poem are concerned, there seems to me to be indisputable evidence in favour of a source common to both, but reproduced with greater fidelity by the Welsh writer.

J. L. WESTON.

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VOR FOLKEÆT I OLDTIDEN (Our Race in Early Times). II. *Midgård og Menneskelivet* (Midgard and the Life of Men). III. *Hellighed og Helligdom* (Sacredness and Sacred Things). IV. *Menneskelivet og Guderne* (The Life of Men and the Gods). 3 vols. By VILHELM GRØNBECH. Copenhagen: V. Pios Boghandel, 1912. 8vo, pp. 271 + 208 + 133.

IN these volumes, which form a sequel to *Lykkemand og Niding* (The Lucky Man and the Miscreant), published in 1909, Herr Grønbech attempts to reconstruct, on the evidence of Icelandic sagas and other contemporary literature cited in full bibliographical notes, the general social and philosophical outlook of the early Germanic race, and more especially of the Scandinavian branch. He insists very strongly that to judge the old tales from our modern standpoint is to misunderstand them entirely, and he gathers his evidence together into a very vivid picture of a society built up on certain very definite conceptions, whose last traces are to be found to-day in a few obscure folk-customs. As Herr Grønbech's volumes are of interest in connection with recent theories of early communal life and consciousness, and are also not yet available in a translation, a somewhat extended notice of their contents has been prepared.

*Midgård og Menneskelivet* deals with man and his world as

viewed by the Norsemen of early times. The subject is treated under a series of headings, such as "The World," "Life," "The Soul," etc.; but the division only serves to emphasize the various aspects of one all-pervading idea, which can perhaps be best expressed as "a sense of the wholeness of life." This sense of wholeness accounts, according to Gronbech, for the apparent conventionality of description found in the sagas, as in most primitive literature. The old Norse hero could never be anything but "well-armed," "sword-swinging," "horse-taming," even in his most commonplace actions, since these qualities belonged to his very nature or being, and he would be as incomprehensible without them as the figure of a man would be to a savage if depicted with less than two eyes and four limbs. The same conception is made to account for the extreme importance attached to the maintenance of individual or family honour.—(the two are hardly separable). For an insult or injury meant a break in the unity of the nature attacked, and if left unavenged must lead to annihilation as surely as an ever-bleeding wound. One in whom this process of spiritual disintegration had been allowed to set in was known as a *niding*, and was not only the most pitiable, but also the most dangerous, of men; for his shattered personality presented a loophole through which the evil forces of Udgård, the outer region of darkness, could make their way into Midgård, the bright, familiar world of men. Hence the *niding* was not merely left to the inevitable ill-fortune that must pursue one whose "luck" was broken: he became an outcast, deprived of all human rights, whether in life or in death. For, whereas the "whole-souled" man passed in death to a shadowy after-life of which the happiness consisted in the knowledge that his name and fame would be revived again and again in the persons of his descendants, for the *niding* there could be no after-life except as some horror of darkness haunting the place where his life had suffered shipwreck. And so it became a duty, not only to put him to death, but to annihilate his body and by every possible means to wipe out all remembrance of him from the earth. It is clear from some cases quoted that a *niding* was often merely a sufferer from some slight lack of mental or physical balance; but in the strong life-instinct of a race bred among stern surroundings there could

be no tolerance for weakness, and an infant who showed any lack of vigour would be left to die. To the Norse mind this was in no sense murder, since the child only received its full life and a share in the family *hamingja*, or luck, when the father admitted it into his clan by naming it after some ancestor, whose life was supposed to pass into the child and thus attain rebirth. In the case of one born of a thrall-mother even more was necessary. Only after an elaborate ceremony of acceptance into a freeborn family could it be said of him, in the words of an old Swedish writer, that he had "received a whole soul and a past."

This inclusion of the past in the present is another characteristic of the highly-unified view of life upon which the author insists so strongly. A true life,—the full-souled life of the freeborn,—was not limited to a single individual, or even to one generation. It was essentially the life of the clan: the life of remote ancestors, revived again in every worthy descendant, and strengthened by every union with other freeborn families. It was a pre-eminently aristocratic conception, and involved, among other things, a great fearlessness in the face of death; for death could not end life for him who left kinsmen to avenge him and to revive his name and memory. The true enemy to be feared was the oblivion which awaited the *niding*.

In *Helliged og Helligdom* the same unified life-spirit of the clan is described as embodied in its material possessions. The root-meaning of the word *hellig*, "wholeness," must be kept in mind if we are to realize the quality of essential vitality which was the real object of reverence in sacred things.

No man could handle an object without imparting to it something of his own life and will, which clung to the thing itself even when it had passed out of his possession. Under these circumstances a gift became a serious matter, since the recipient must admit into his own life, for good or ill, so much of the spirit of the giver as had been assimilated into the gift. Cases are quoted where gifts were feared, and if possible avoided, as placing the recipient in the power of the giver. On the other hand, gifts became the great binding power in social compacts, such as marriage, and were considered necessary as a ratification of every good wish. "What will you give me?" was the natural reply to



a wish for good luck, and the story is told of how King Harald, hearing his queen wish Bishop Magnus a successful journey, insisted on her sealing her words with the gift of the cushion upon which she sat. For a wish without a gift was letter without spirit and a sign of false-heartedness. In the same way the bestowal of a name upon a child demanded the seal of a gift. This custom is referred to in the legend of the Lombards, who on hearing the voice of Odin enquire "Who are these Long-beards?" immediately entered the battle-field with the triumphant cry,—“He who has given us a name will also give us the victory!” Certain crises in a boy's life, such as the cutting of his first tooth, were also marked with gifts intended to ensure to him that fresh share of the family *hamingja* for which he was now prepared.

But there were certain objects capable above all others of bearing within them the spirit and will of their original or greatest owner. Such were, in the first place, swords and other weapons, which were treasured in the clan from one generation to another and only given away in token of the greatest friendship. Funeral barrows would sometimes be broken open to obtain possession of the swords of departed heroes, and in handing on such a weapon it was customary to recite the deeds of those who had borne it, not merely as a matter of interest, but in order that the new owner might understand clearly the nature of the power which he was taking into his hands. For this was an important point. If his own nature was in harmony with that of the weapon, or powerful enough to control it, then the new possession would bring him good luck. Otherwise the sword itself might take control and reduce the man to a mere instrument of its own will or fate. Other "sacred" objects were certain necklaces and arm-bands, and ships too were recognized as embodying the nature of their great captains. There are also tales of certain animals which were held sacred in the family to which they belonged, and which proved their value by coming to the help of their owner in cases of emergency.

The extent to which a man's possessions were understood to partake of his nature is shown by the customs, some of which survived in much later times, regarding the exchange or purchase of goods. It is said that down to the present day, in remote

parts of Scandinavia, a peasant will abstract three grains from the measure of corn which he gives as charity, or three hairs from the cow which he has sold, to ensure that his luck shall not go from him together with the material object. In the same way, the purchaser will not feel sure of his possession until he has led the cow into his house to see the fire on the hearth and to eat a wisp from the housewife's lap. In earlier times it was the custom to give a handful of earth to the purchaser of land, and to throw a staff back over the shoulder on leaving as a sign of full renunciation. And in the days when disputes as to possession were settled by single combat, each disputant would first drive his sword into the ground in question, in order that the "luck" of the earth might itself declare for its rightful owner.

There were, as one would expect, certain parts of the home in which the spirit of the family was believed to be specially concentrated. The most important place seems to have been the "high seat," the supports of which would be carried away on leaving the home, and in several legends are said to have been thrown overboard on nearing a strange land, in order that by drifting ashore they might mark out the most auspicious spot for a new settlement.

As regards the members of the family themselves, the women were held to be more closely bound by the spirit of the clan and more susceptible to its warnings than the men; and the long hair of the woman was looked upon as the symbol, or even the medium, of her especial sacredness. A woman would lay her hand on her plaited hair in taking an oath as a man would lay his on his sword. Boys also wore their hair long up to a certain age, and to cut a boy's hair without the consent of his guardian was an act of sacrilege. Even when the moment came for him to take his place among the men, no near relation might perform the ceremonial clipping of the locks which violated his sanctity. This must be done by some "whole-souled" man, who thereby became a sort of foster-father to the boy and was expected to seal the act with gifts. The occasion is said to have been widely used for the cementing of desirable alliances, a notable case being that of King Pepin, who as a boy was sent by his father Charles Martel to Liutprand to have his hair cut by him for the first time.

It is very noticeable that in the scheme of philosophy and ethics outlined in these two first volumes there is hardly any mention of the gods of northern mythology. If they appear at all it is rather as heroes, subject like other heroes to the immutable laws of cause and effect, than as controllers of those laws. And in the last volume of this series, in spite of its title, the supernatural beings themselves play an exceedingly small part. One is left in the end with the feeling that the creed of these hardy northerners, at least in the age with which Herr Gronbech deals, might be summed up in a paraphrase of a well-known saying as "Trust in the gods and keep your sword sharp," and that the trustfulness depended entirely upon the consciousness of success in sharpening the blade. There were temples, it is true; sometimes, as in Icelandic remains, a large assembly-room with a smaller room beside it containing the *stallr* or stone upon which lay the arm-band of the chief and other sacred objects, and by standing upon which it was possible to establish communication with the higher powers. More often there was simply a small *blothus*, or house of dedication, adjoining the dwellinghouse in which the sacred feast was served. There were also sacred woods and wells which marked the meeting-place of certain clans for the periodic festivals at which they sought to renew their common life. But, though the names of some of the gods occur in the "healths" drunk on these occasions, their place being taken later by the names of Christ, the Holy Ghost, and various Christian saints, it does not appear that the success of the ceremony was held to depend in any way upon their goodwill. It was rather the power lying behind the gods themselves that was called into play, and this not as an act of grace but as the direct result of the successful performance of certain ceremonies by the assembled clan. These ceremonies consisted partly in games,—wrestling, horse-fighting, and other strenuous exploits of which the success was calculated largely by the amount of damage effected among the performers,—partly in the eating of a common meal, but mainly in the drinking of ale in accordance with very strictly defined rules. The ale was brewed with special care, served in a great bowl or *skapker*, and handed round in a sacred horn by the wife of the king or chief who presided at the feast. No man might refuse the horn, or drink

from it seated, or set it down unemptied, or fail to follow its course round the hall with silent attention, under pain of being held responsible for breaking the chain whereby fresh life was to be drawn into the clan. With each round of the horn a certain *minne*, or health, was drunk, three principal healths, or in some cases three times three, marking the usual course of the ceremony. Sometimes the drinking was accompanied by vows of future deeds, the ale being not only the pledge of good intentions but an actual means of setting in motion the forces necessary to the deed. This was especially the custom at funeral feasts, when the dead man's successor was expected to renew the family life by some such fresh departure. The boisterous joy shown on these occasions was a sign that the revitalization had been successfully accomplished, and not in any sense an incongruous element in an otherwise serious ceremony.

The word *blot* used in connection with the annual and special clan feasts is sometimes translated "sacrifice," but would perhaps be better rendered as "dedication," since it does not necessarily include the idea of slaying. In many cases no doubt a specially selected animal was killed to provide a common ceremonial meal, but we also hear of both animals and men being *blotet* in the sense of being dedicated to the gods. Torolf, Torsten, and Torgrim were all members of a family in which the custom had been established of dedicating a son to the god Tor. One thus dedicated was known as a *blotmand*, and was counted a source of strength to his clan. In another case a certain Floki dedicated three ravens to the gods before starting on a voyage to Iceland, in order that the birds might show him the way.

This is the nearest approach to any idea of propitiation of a personal deity that we can find in Herr Grönbeck's interpretation of early Germanic religion. If his interpretation is correct, the religious ceremonies of the northern races must be looked upon as special concentration-points in that daily life which was not merely the aggregate of many individual lives, but one life animating a whole clan, from its earliest known ancestor to the last descendant worthy to escape the oblivion of the *niding*.

MALTA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE. By R. N. BRADLEY.  
T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 8vo., pp. 336. 54 ill. + map.  
8s. 6d. *n.*

THE object of this book is to discuss the Mediterranean race and its supposed successors, the modern Maltese, from the points of view of archaeology, anthropology, and linguistics.

In the field of archaeology the views of the author are important, because he shared in the recent work of excavation. His account of the great megalithic structures at Hal Saflieni and Hagiar Kim, illustrated by a series of fine photographs, are valuable. He deals with the prehistoric remains found in the island under the heads of—caves; hypaethral sanctuaries; hypogaea or underground buildings; rock tombs; dolmens; megalithic towers, walls, and villages; and menhirs or single upright stones. He suggests that the dolmen had its origin in the attempt to shapen or reduce the width of the opening of the cave occupied by the primitive troglodytes.

In anthropology he follows the guidance of Professor Sergi, and he hesitates to accept the view of Professor Elliot Smith that the dolmen-building impulse was derived from Egypt. The curious steatopygous figures or idols found in the excavations he connects with a South African race like the Bushmen. He is on less safe ground when he traces the Celtic plaid to "Mycenaean" costume, and the taste of the modern Maltese for lace to the pre-Aryan race, or when he finds in the blue eyes of some Maltese girls a link between Africa and Ireland. We may readily admit that the almost complete absence of the double-axe symbol and the unique character of the local pottery prove the isolation of the people in the prehistoric age.<sup>1</sup> But, even granting this, it is difficult to believe that a race occupying an island provided with fine harbours, on the highway of commerce, could, in spite of the occupation of the island by successive bodies of foreigners, have maintained its purity.

The chapter on folklore records variants of the legends of Hercules and of Perseus and Andromeda, and a local tale of the Serpent and the Apples. The curious carving on the altar at

<sup>1</sup>Cf. *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiv., p. 267.

Hagiar Kim is connected with the Adonis cult. Among customs, that of stripping the flesh from the bones before burial of the corpse, possibly a method of purification intended to propitiate the ghost, and that of burying articles with the dead, are interesting.

Mr. Bradley admits that his philological theories will not meet with immediate acceptance. He finds an Arabic or Semitic substratum in English to which he assigns words like the *ash*-tree, *baby*, *black*, *chisel*, *hoof*, *jewel*, *merry*, *tail*, *talk*, and *tall*.

Even with some reservations in regard to certain anthropological and philological speculations, the book is fresh and interesting. We know so little of the Minoan period that there is some excuse for a writer who has the courage to desert the beaten track and follow independent lines of enquiry.

W. CROOKE.

THE BACKWATERS OF THE NILE. Studies of Some Child Races of Central Africa. By THE REV. A. L. KITCHING. Preface by Peter Giles. T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiv and 295. Map + 57 ill. 12s. 6d. *n*.

THE GREAT PLATEAU OF NORTHERN RHODESIA. Being Some Impressions of the Tanganyika Plateau. By CULLÈN GOULDSBURY and HUBERT SHEANE. Intro. by Sir Alfred Sharpe. Edward Arnold, 1911. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiii + 360. Ill. Map. 16s. *n*.

THE term "epoch-making" has never been applied with more reason to any work than to Mary Kingsley's two great books, *Travels in West Africa* and *West African Studies*. It may be boldly stated that all books on African travel can be classified as belonging to the pre-Kingsleyan or post-Kingsleyan period. This distinction does not, however, mean books which have been published before or after the appearance of her writings, but such as have, or have not, been influenced by her spirit. It is wonderful for how long a period the negro could be misunderstood by the Anglo-Saxon; and still more so that men who were entirely devoted to the African and did not shrink from sacrificing their lives for his welfare, men of great eminence, were incapable of

seeing him in the true light. To choose as an example the greatest African traveller, Livingstone, it cannot be denied that, although he recognises in his writings all the generous help he has received from the natives, his strong religious bias always prevents him from rendering full justice to his black friends. But he was not to blame; it wanted a woman, and a woman of Mary Kingsley's eminence and delicacy of feeling, to discover the soul of the negro and to find out that his way of thinking was so characteristic of his race that it could not be compared to that of any other. To those who have travelled in Africa and lived with the black man, *West African Studies* opened a new world, a world of great beauty, a world which not infrequently takes possession of him that penetrates it, and then the European begins to think black. A brilliant example of this is the author of *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*. But it is not necessary to be so fully affected; many have learned from Mary Kingsley how to sympathise with the negro and to judge him according to his own merits and not according to a standard of our own.

The two books before me are excellent examples of pre-Kingsleyan and post-Kingsleyan literature. Mr. A. L. Kitching is a missionary who, if he has ever read Mary Kingsley, has never grasped her spirit. He is one of those false apostles who never tire of reporting to us the darker sides of negro life, accentuating the shadows, so as to make the picture entirely distorted. This tendency to blacken the character of the negro has been too much in prominence lately, and the reader ought to be warned only to accept with the greatest reserve information from these prejudiced sources. On the other hand, we have the book of Messrs. Gouldsbury and Sheane, which is post-Kingsleyan; the two officials who have written it belong to the class of men of which this country ought to be prouder than of her victorious generals; they are obviously men who love and understand the natives among whom they live and who, quite justly, enjoy the sympathy and the friendship of the negroes they have to govern. One may disagree with some of their views,—(I, for example, cannot see the employment of the natives in the mines in the rosy light in which it appears to the authors),—but one is always sure that they state their case as they think it ought to be stated in all fairness to the black man, whereas

the whole of Mr. Kitching's book is a plea for the necessity of support for the mission, not forgetting to pass the hat round. The wrong wrought by books of this kind is all the greater, because those who are attacked do not know of the attack and have no opportunity of defending themselves.

In *On the Backwaters of the Nile* the Rev. A. L. Kitching tries to show up the wickedness of the black man ("half devil and half child"), and the necessity of improving him by sending out missionaries, who, he thinks, I am glad to say, ought to "worm their way somehow into the thoughts and feelings of those they are to teach." Mr. Kitching has been eminently unsuccessful in doing this. Although containing some interesting material, his book is nothing if not a requisitory against the black man. I generalise on purpose, for the author does not content himself with speaking evil of the natives he is particularly acquainted with, but provides us with general information of this kind: "the attitude of the African mind towards sickness and death is a compound of dread and fatalism, of fear and folly." As for the tribes that have given him hospitality, those who are naked "are purely animal, devoid of all self-consciousness, destitute of all sense of indecency," (which, he explains, means "what we should call modesty"); those who by the wearing of clothes show outward signs of decency and propriety "are no more moral than the frankly primitive Nilotic tribes." Mr. Kitching does not believe in the spirit of independence which still prevails among some of the natives, and expresses satisfaction that they are being "hammered into order." That this hammering goes with the robbing of the natives by the Baganda agents he admits. It is only "in the presence and under the heel of the white man that the devilish side of the African is kept under." He finds among them "the degradation of all motives to a dead level of blind selfishness," and gives as an example the case of a chief who "was quite willing to give you all he had that you required (I quote), provided you were agreeable on your part to handing over any article he fancied among your possessions." Is this not the case all over the world? Nothing will satisfy Mr. Kitching; he complains thus of the chief on whose land, I hope with his permission, the mission was built: "Although he sometimes came to our services



and made no attempt to hinder his household from following their inclination in that respect, he seemed to have no desire for any standard better than his own, no appreciation of the degradation of his practices." He is given as an example of a "typical heathen, steeped in all the degradations of savage life!"

Mr. Kitching insists on the shadows, and forgets to mention the lighter sides of native life. Sometimes this leads him to amusing paradoxical statements. On p. 146 we are told that the wives are mere chattels: on the same page he deplores the tendency to avoid marriage; in one place we are told that these people have no moral sense whatever, and a few pages later we learn that the decline of the marriage rate has a deplorable effect on the general morality. Such a saying as that dances among the Baganda and Banyoro are too obscene, or at any rate too suggestive, to be countenanced where Christianity is acknowledged and professed, is strange reading to a reviewer who has recently visited the United States and seen the dances fashionable among the white population of that country.

It is a pity that the missionary "Advt." part of this book is so unpleasantly conspicuous, because it prevents the appreciation of the good material it contains.

"To get at the bottom of Africa there is only one method—long continued residence—backed by a proper sympathy with native ideas." Thus says Sir Alfred Sharpe in his introduction to *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, by MM. Gouldsbury and Sheane, both of the British South Africa Company, and when he says further that the authors give a minute, reliable, and deeply interesting description of native life on the Tanganyika plateau, I am in entire agreement with him. Although the book is excellent reading throughout, the folklorist will take a special interest in chapters ii, iv, vi, viii, ix, xi, xii, xvi, and xvii,—Mr. Sheane's part of the work.

The authors are not blind advocates of the natives; but they praise the unswerving honesty of the bush (*i.e.* uncivilised) native; admit his great generosity, sense of justice, and law-abiding qualities. They state how keen he is to acquire knowledge, giving as an example that many of the more advanced boys at the Livingstonia mission injure themselves by overstudy. As for their

intellectual powers, their language is a startling monument of this. Chivemba is closely akin to the Luba languages of the Congo, and a look at the brilliant grammar of the latter languages by Dr. Morrison, published a few years ago by the Presbyterian Tract Society at New York, will confirm the saying of the authors that "the copious vocabulary and the almost unlimited capacity of forming derivatives according to fixed laws makes us wonder at the genius of the race which evolved it." A fair idea of the possibilities of Chiluba may be got from the fact that the Baluba near Lake Moero use thirty-seven different tenses in their common speech. None of our European tongues shows such a marvellous logic as the Bantu languages do ; the closest resemblance to them can be found in the newer, artificial, international languages.

Besides their qualities the defects of the Awemba are mentioned : their want of an aim in life, their thriftlessness, improvidence, and lack of sense of the value of time. The greatest obstacle to progress is, however, apart from their conservatism (which, I think rightly, is mentioned among their qualities), the intensity of their sexual nature. The apparent absence of will-power is ascribed to the fact that the individual has merged his volition in that of the clan. The authors prove the presence of a strict code of sexual morals, and deplore that the natives are very far from living up to it.

The plateau native is emphatically a man of religiosity rather than a man of religion. Like most Bantu people he accepts one Supreme God, Leza, the incomprehensible, the greatest of all spirits, creator of life and death, more a nature-force than a deity : the African First Cause. Leza is responsible for creation in all its forms, and for death (natural) and decay ; "he brings about in fit and proper time the death of old age." He is above the flattery of worship, and prayer is reserved for spirits less exalted, not so remote from humanity, spirits that have qualities and faults in common with man, the spirits of the ancestors and of nature, chief among which is Mulenga. The nature spirits represent those phenomena of nature against which primitive man has to wage war ; the ancestral spirits may be tribal (when spirits of chiefs), or family (when those of a deceased member of the family). The former have priestesses, doomed to celibacy, and are capable of

personal possession as well as of reincarnation in the shape of animals. The person possessed by them, usually a woman, has the gift of prophecy, but may sometimes practise black magic as a *muloshi*, or witch, causing disease and death. The family spirits are prayed to by the head of the family, who makes sacrifices to them; it is their duty to protect the crops and to keep illness from the house; their foremost task is, however, to keep from the threshold the *vivanda*, the restless souls of evil men, suicides, murderers, and sorcerers. There exists a guild of *nganga*, who may be priest, physician, diviner, or exorcist; the different ways of producing enchantments and practising divination are fully described. To detect sorcerers the *mavav* or *mavi* poison ordeal, common in East Africa, is resorted to. Totemism is general, and both animate and inanimate totems are recognised. Exogamy is general.

The authors believe that the aristocracy of the plateau comes from Urua, the country of the Baluba of the Lualaba; the proletariat, too, distinctly show Luba features. This may be the case; but, if the aristocracy do come from the Lualaba, they must have returned to their place of origin, for it seems fairly well established that the Luba people originate from Lake Nyassa and, travelling in a north-eastern direction, migrated to the Lualaba, and thence to the Sankuru and the Kasai; that one branch proceeded further west, but, being repelled, returned by a more southern route to form the nucleus of the Lunda empire, of which Kazembe was an offshoot. We find ourselves confronted by the exceptional fact that two tribes, belonging to the same race, both claim to be offshoots of the main branch: the informant of the authors, Simimbi, a chief of the Awemba, telling them that they are descendants of the Lualaba Baluba, and my informant, a chief of Urua on the Lualaba, claiming descent from the Awemba. This is certainly the reverse of what usually happens.

It is impossible to do full justice to all the valuable material contained in this book within the space at my disposal; *The Plateau of Northern Rhodesia* is a work which every student of Africa ought to possess, and the authors are to be complimented on their achievement. The illustrations are excellent.

E. TORDAY.

THE CENSUS OF NORTHERN INDIA. REPORTS. PANJAB, by PANDIT HARIKISHAN KAUL, Part i. (1912), pp. 553 + xiii, 8s.; NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, by C. LATIMER, Part i. (1912), pp. 268 + cxxv + xi, 9s.; BALUCHISTAN, by D. BRAV, Parts i. and ii. (1913), pp. 200 + 98 + 7, 4s. 6d.; KASHMIR, by M. MATIN-UZ-ZAMAN KHAN, Part i. (1912), pp. 256, 6s.; UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH, by E. A. H. BLUNT, Part i. (1912), pp. 432, 6s.; RAJPUTANA, by E. H. KEALY, Part i. (1913), pp. 271, 4s.

EVEN to students familiar with the rural life and beliefs of the Indian races these Census Reports present a mass of new and important material. It is highly creditable to the officers in charge of the provincial enumerations that the reports of their operations are, on the whole, so instructive. Their primary duty was to organize, often from most unpromising sources, a staff of enumerators, and, without interference with racial or religious prejudices, to collect a body of statistics which are indispensable to the work of administration. The discussion of the material thus collected, and the investigation of problems of religion and sociology, are only incidental to the successful conduct of the enumeration. Such discussions and investigations must be carried on within a limited time, in a climate which often renders intense mental efforts impossible, and amid the distractions of less interesting but more important duties. That so much has been done under such difficult circumstances is highly commendable. Again, when we compare these Reports with the first real attempts which commenced in 1871, no one can help being impressed with the new spirit which pervades them. They are compiled with a much wider outlook and with greater skill and literary power; and the writers, as a rule, seem to have endeavoured to keep themselves acquainted with the results of recent research, and to provide in readable form information indispensable to the student of religion and folklore.

I do not propose within the narrow limits of a review to attempt detailed discussion of the subjects dealt with in this great series of Blue Books. These notes are confined to Northern India; Bengal, the Report of which is delayed by the re-arrangement of the pro-

vincial boundaries, the Central Provinces, Bombay, and Madras, which deal with different races, must remain for future consideration. Here I propose merely to discuss the general characters of the Reports, and to call attention to some contributions of special interest. As a whole, they deserve the study of all anthropologists who realize that no other country presents a more interesting mass of problems, and that nowhere else is to be found a more valuable collection of material.

The Indian provinces naturally fall into two classes. Some, like the Panjab and the United Provinces, have been subject to British rule for a long period, and much material is already on record. In others, like Baluchistan, for instance, the administration is only just beginning to reduce a number of savage tribes into some semblance of order. There is a further difference in others, like the United Provinces, where Mr. Blunt has been able to supplement the obvious deficiencies of the Census Report for 1901, which displayed little or no first-hand knowledge of the rural population. In the Panjab Pandit Harikishan Kaul has been able only to glean the fragments which fell from the tables of his predecessors, Ibbetson, Maclagan, and Rose.

It is interesting to observe that two of these Reports are the work of native officials. In the mechanical work of compilation, and in their reviews of statistics, they reach the average standard; they write wonderfully good English, considering that it is to them a foreign tongue. But students who look to them for a more thorough presentation of peasant beliefs, and for much needed light on the darker regions of social life, will, I venture to think, be disappointed. The learned native finds it difficult to interest himself in beliefs and usages which conflict with orthodoxy, while the observant European finds the living folk of the village more engrossing than the sacred books of the Maulavi or Pandit. To take an example, the cult of the goddess Devi is of special interest, but, when the Pandit from the Panjab discusses it, he bases his conclusions on the Vedas and Purānas, not the village worship. To explain the Devi cult the Pandit looks to the Brāhman philosophy of Śākta worship.<sup>1</sup> Thus he begins at the wrong end, and his investigation is of little value.

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab Report*, vol. i., pp. 114 *et seq.*

One special question upon which investigation was invited by the Census Commissioner was the institution of the Panchāyat or caste council as bearing upon internal organisation. The most valuable contribution on this subject is contained in Mr. Blunt's excellent report.<sup>2</sup> With this may be associated the elaborate review of Hindu domestic rites by Pandit Harikishan Kaul, and Mr. Latimer's account of the constitution of caste and tribe on the North-West Frontier.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Bray's report is, as he says, unconventional. He abandons the familiar, stodgy style of the official writer, and his notes on the folklore of Baluchistan, from which extracts are given elsewhere, are novel and interesting, and are written in a witty and graphic style.

I need not dwell upon the protests from Baluchistan and the Panjab, as representing the so-called "Indo-Aryan" and "Turko-Iranian" groups, against this method of race classification. A revolt was certain to occur against the cruder methods of anthropometry; but the protest is sometimes based upon inadequate grounds. We may, for instance, admit that the Baloch mother, by use of pressure and manipulation, secures that form of head which satisfies the tribal conception of beauty, without assuming that every peasant woman elsewhere finds time from her dairy, her corn-mill, and her cooking pots to force the skull of her child to assume a shape which race,—or may I add environment?—has impressed upon it. But sporadic cases of skull manipulation do not touch the real difficulty.

What are the morals to be drawn from this great collection of anthropological and folklore material? I venture to think that it illustrates the danger of imposing systems of race classification, of far-reaching hypotheses which, somewhere or other in the vast area of India, are certain to conflict with ascertained conditions. The Census officer of the future will be well advised to adopt less ambitious methods. The patient accumulation of facts, the intensive study of the smaller groups, the exploration of the village shrine and local cults in search for the key to the strange religious complex which we, not the people themselves, call Hinduism, will

<sup>2</sup> *United Provinces Report*, vol. i., pp. 332 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Panjab Report*, vol. i., pp. 263 *et seq.*; *North-West Frontier Province Report*, vol. i., pp. 322 *et seq.*

give adequate scope for enquiry. If they follow these methods in the future, they will confer still greater services on science.

W. CROOKE.

THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO. A description of their physical, moral, and intellectual condition, with some discussion of their ethnic relations. By CHARLES HOSE and WILLIAM M'DOUGALL. Appendix by A. C. HADDON. 2 vols. Macmillan, 1912. 8vo, pp. xv + 283, x + 374. Col. and other ill. Maps. 42s. n.

"IN writing this book we have aimed at presenting a clear picture of the Pagan tribes of Borneo as they existed at the close of the nineteenth century." The authors, Dr. Hose and Dr. M'Dougall, have fulfilled their task in an admirable manner, the result of their labours being two sumptuous volumes full of interest and beautiful photographs. The authors have aimed, it would appear, more in the direction of giving a clear-cut impression of the tribes of Sarawak, especially the Kayan, than at producing a text-book of the ethnography of the region. Some of the chapters are admirable as pen-pictures; that on the Punan is especially to be commended. Very interesting chapters are given on the various aspects of these peoples; their daily life, life on the rivers, in the jungle, mode of warfare, childhood, and youth being treated in separate chapters. The final chapter, entitled "Government," contains a graphic and sympathetic account of the peace-making which Dr. Haddon has already described in his book, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown*.

The first half of the second volume is taken up with an account of the religion and folklore of the various tribes, the well-known paper of the authors on "The Relations between Men and Animals in Sarawak"<sup>1</sup> forming the basis of much of it. The chapter on spiritual existences does not add a great deal to our knowledge, except that a very clear account of the Kayan spirits called *Toh* is given: the same remark applies to the folklore section, where the authors have contented themselves with giving typical examples, including some more adventures of those delightful rascals

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxi.

*Plandok* (the mouse-deer), *Kelap* (the water-tortoise), and *Kra* (the monkey).<sup>2</sup>

The most noteworthy feature, however, of the work is the attempt, and a very able attempt, of the authors to dissect out, as it were, the various layers of culture which exist in Borneo, and to establish the relationships of these layers to the cultures of the surrounding regions. They have not attempted more than a sketch, but as far as they have carried the analysis they have thrown a great deal of light upon the subject. Chapters iii. and xxi. are occupied with the discussion, the results of which may be summarised briefly as follows:—Before Borneo was separated from the mainland, it, and much of the whole surrounding region, were peopled by tribes of which the Klemantan, Kenyah, and Punan are the descendants. "Their cultural status was probably very similar to that of the existing Punan" (p. 225). The stock is a mixture of Caucaso-Mongoloid elements (p. 226), and the members of it are called Indonesian. The immigration of the Mongoloid stock into the region steadily continued, so that, when Borneo became separated from the mainland, the Indonesian stocks which were left behind gradually received more infusions of Mongoloid blood and culture, so that in the course of time the Indonesians left in Burma and elsewhere became possessed of a culture consisting of an Indonesian layer and a Mongoloid layer. Pressure from the North was continuous, and finally those tribes which were in the southern portion of the area emigrated southwards.

"We believe that the Kayan emigrated to Borneo from the basin of the Irrawaddi by way of Tenasserim, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, and that they represent a part of the Indonesian stock which had remained in the basin of the Irrawaddi and adjacent rivers from the time of the separation of Borneo, there, through contact with the Southward drift of people, receiving fresh infusions of Mongol blood; a part, therefore, of the Indonesians which is more Mongoloid in character than the part which at a remote period was shut up in Borneo by its separation from the mainland" (p. 233).

The authors would especially associate the Kayan with the

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, vol. i., p. 342 *et seq.*



Karen, and in a lesser degree with the Chin, Kakhyen, and with the Nāga in a still less degree.

The Kayan have "imparted to the Kenyah and many of the Klemantan tribes the principal elements of the peculiar culture which they now have in common" (p. 243).

The Murut, again, are thought by the authors to be immigrants from the Philippines or from Annam. The Iban are a Proto-Malay stock. "We have little doubt that they are the descendants of immigrants who came into the South-Western corner of Borneo at no distant date. We regard them as Proto-Malays, that is to say, as of the stock from which the true Malays of Sumatra and the peninsula were differentiated by the influence of Arab culture" (p. 248).

Why, though, this insistence upon the "cultural" side of the work in a periodical devoted to the study of folklore? The reason is this. If it be conceded that the culture of a people such as the Kayan be complex, that is to say, compounded of two or more distinct cultures, then it becomes at once apparent that, before we can proceed to the discussion of the origin and development of any custom or social phenomenon, we must make it quite clear that the facts are considered in their proper setting, and that we are not talking of "development" when we ought to speak of "the result of the mixture of cultures." As an example of this let us consider the hypotheses put forward by the authors to account for the origin of totemism and head-hunting. In the case of totemism the clan-totem is said to develop from the individual totem. Quite so, but, first of all, since totemism proper does not exist in Borneo, and since the culture of the Kayan is supposed by the authors to be complex, we should be led to enquire whether it be not possible that what the authors would take to be the beginning of totemism among the Kayan are, on the contrary, relics. In the region whence the authors suppose the Kayan to have come, a totemic culture or group of cultures exists, and this fact would tell against the authors and in favour of the suggestion just put forward that the Kayan have retained the elements in question from one of the contributing cultures.

Let us now examine the explanations of the origin of head-hunting. Two are offered (vol. i., p. 188). In the first case "It

is not improbable that the practice of taking the heads of fallen enemies arose by the extension of the custom of taking the hair for the ornamentation of the shield and sword hilt. It seems possible that human hair was first applied to shields in order to complete the representation of a terrible human face, which, as we have seen, is generally painted on the shield, and which is said to be intended as an aid to confusing and terrifying the foe." The second possible origin is from "the custom of slaying slaves on the death of a chief, in order that they might accompany and serve him on the journey to the other world" (vol. i., p. 189). Here again we may argue in the same manner. The first view seems to be adventitious and wholly insufficient, for, in view of the fact that the Kayan are supposed by the authors to have brought the custom with them into Borneo, it would follow that such shields would be found among the tribes in the region whence they came, and this, so far as I know, is not the case. The second view is far more plausible, but here again it would seem as if the solution offered were inadequate. Taken by itself such an explanation seems at first to be quite satisfactory, but how are we to account for the fact that the spiritual beings called Toh, which are not the ghosts of the deceased owners of the heads, take up their residence in the heads as they hang in the gallery of the house? (vol. ii., p. 20).

Space will not permit of the discussion of the problem here. Suffice it to say that this relationship will have to be explained before we can claim to understand the cult, and that the explanation is more likely to come from the mainland than from Borneo.

I merely cite these two examples to shew that, viewed from the standpoint of complexity of culture, problems of origin and development assume a very different character. There can be no doubt that only in this way can we ever emerge from that region of probability and conjecture, of personal opinion and subjective theories, where we are at present confined, to the land of method and precision.

The following statement by the authors is very welcome, coming as it does from eminent authorities:—

"It has often been attempted to exhibit the mental life of savage peoples as profoundly different from our own; to assert

that they act from motives, and reach conclusions by means of mental processes, so utterly different from our own motives and processes that we cannot hope to interpret or understand their behaviour unless we can first by some impossible or at least by some hitherto undiscovered method, learn the nature of these mysterious motives and processes. These attempts have recently been renewed in influential quarters. If these views were applied to the savage peoples of the interior of Borneo, we should characterise them as fanciful delusions natural to the anthropologist who has spent all the days of his life in a stiff collar and a black coat upon the well-paved ways of civilised society."

"We have no hesitation in saying that the more intimately one becomes acquainted with these pagan tribes, the more fully one realises the close similarity of their mental processes to one's own. Their primary impulses and emotions seem to be in all respects like our own. It is true that they are very unlike the typical civilised man of some of the older philosophers, whose every action proceeded from a nice and logical calculation of the algebraic sum of pleasure and pains to be derived from alternative lines of conduct; but we ourselves are equally unlike that purely mythical personage. The Kayan or the Iban often acts impulsively in ways which by no means conduce to further his best interests or deeper purposes; but so do we also. He often reaches conclusions by processes which cannot be logically justified; but so do we also. He often holds, and upon successive occasions acts upon, beliefs that are logically inconsistent with one another; but so do we also."

The authors would seem to have made contradictory statements about the Kayan. In vol. ii., p. 217, we read,—“the Kayans have a keen sense of humour and fun”; and on page 239, “the Karens are said to be distinguished by a lack of humour, a trait which is well marked also in the Kayans.”

W. J. PERRY.

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ACROSS AUSTRALIA. By BALDWIN SPENCER and F. J. GILLEN.  
2 vols. Macmillan, 1912. 8vo, pp. xiv, xvii + 515. Col.  
and other ill. Maps. 21s. n.

EVERYTHING coming from the pen of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen has a "precium affectionis" for the anthropologist! It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that, since the publication of their first volume, half of the total production in anthropological theory has been based upon their work, and nine-tenths affected or modified by it. For the theories of kinship and religion, social organization, and primitive belief, the central and northern tribes of the Australian continent have proved a mine of invaluable facts and information.

It is impossible to find in recent anthropological literature a single publication referring to the origins of religion, government, or law, to the primitive forms of totemism, marriage, or magic, which does not deal at length with the data provided by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen; an omission of such treatment would rightly be considered unpardonable.

In this country the monumental works of Dr. Frazer, as well as the piercing analysis and brilliant conceptions of the late A. Lang, owe their leading features to the "howling and naked savages" of Central Australia. In the history of religion, two of the most important recent works are based mainly on the Arunta folklore, customs, and rites. I refer to Mr. Crawley's *Tree of Life* and Professor Durkheim's recent work on *Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse*. The beliefs about "spirit children" and reincarnation of ancestors have thrown a most illuminating light upon savage mentality, and upon the primitive ideas of kinship. All who know Mr. Sidney Hartland's *Primitive Paternity* are able fully to appreciate the discovery of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

With reference to this point, as well as to some others, there has arisen a little confusion from the apparent contradictions involved in the statements of the Rev. C. Strehlow, who studied the Arunta after Messrs. Spencer and Gillen and is publishing a series of excellent pamphlets on the subject. But on a closer inspection these contradictions are seen to be due only to a different manner of looking at facts, and in no way to a variance in the facts recorded.

And as far as breadth and soundness of the outlook go, anyone who knows the two works will hardly hesitate in choosing between the views of an eminent scientist like Prof. B. Spencer and those of a missionary who, though an excellent observer, does not seem to have the necessary scientific training. Nevertheless, the information published by Mr. Strehlow is most valuable, as his data of folklore are more ample and detailed owing to his perfect knowledge of the native idiom. His work enhances the value of the results attained by previous writers, and is a kind of indispensable complement to their work.

The present book in its way is of a high intrinsic value to the ethnologist. Although in anthropological material it contains little that has not been published in their previous volumes, it is very important because it gives a clear and thorough insight into the authors' way of investigating and recording information. The home ethnologist can never know too much about the manner in which the facts he is using in his theories were obtained. Moreover, the easy colloquial way of treating the subject allows some glimpses into the homely facts of native life, and brings us into intimate touch with it, a thing almost impossible in a systematic and rigidly scientific work, such as the former volumes of these writers. The book is, besides that, a most interesting and fascinating description of the home of the tribes which have occupied so much of our thought and attention.

B. MALINOWSKI.

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SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

*The Place-Names of Oxfordshire: their Origin and Development.*

By H. ALEXANDER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.

Crown 8vo, pp. 251. 5s. n.

To the disgrace of folklorists, a few enthusiasts have published more county volumes on church bells than our Society has issued of *County Folk-Lore*, and the Society's series must now also yield in pride of numbers to that on county place-names, on which over a dozen volumes have appeared, including five prepared by the late Prof. Skeat. As most of the place-names are in counties for which "printed extracts" have not yet been compiled, future folklore

volumes should benefit by the annotations on names. The present volume is admirable, and comprises, besides notes on phonology etc., and an alphabetical list of names with *dated* references for their various forms, tables of the first and second elements of the names and a bibliography of record publications, charters, etc. On p. 24 there is an interesting list of changes due to popular etymologies.

*Man and Beast in Eastern Ethiopia.* By J. BLAND-SUTTON.  
Macmillan, 1911. 8vo, pp. xii + 419. 204 eng. 12s. n.

THIS book is mainly a well-illustrated account of sport and zoology in British East Africa, Uganda, and the Sudan, the author having made trips from Mombaza to the Victoria Nyanza, along the Great Rift Valley, and by boat up the White Nile and Bahr el Gebel to Rejaf. But it also contains much of interest to the anthropologist. Four chapters deal with the Masai, Wa-Kikuyu, Ndorobo, and Kavirondo, and three with Drums, Ornaments for Ears and Lips, and Ethiopian Fashions of Hair-dressing, with illustrations of fetish huts, charms, etc., and brief bibliographies.

*Brands used by the Chief Camel-Owning Tribes of Kordofan.*  
By H. A. MACMICHAEL. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1913.  
8vo, pp. viii + 40. xvii pl. 6s. n.

THE fascinating story of the History of Writing has not yet been adequately told. Before it can even be attempted, it will be found necessary to record and study far more fully and extensively the brands and marks of ownership which preceded, perhaps by an immense interval, the first attempts at picture writing. For this preliminary work such a collection as the 131 figures supplied by Mr. MacMichael is invaluable. The shapes of the brands, and their exact positions, are very clearly shown and explained, and lists are added of the names of brands, the chief camel-owning tribes and their brands, and the common words used to denote a camel at various ages.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
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3 ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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Vol. XXIV.]

SEPTEMBER, 1913.

[No. III.

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**WEDNESDAY, MAY 21st, 1913.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss M. Bayley, Mrs. Pope, and Dr. Cyrus Macmillan, as members of the Society, was announced.

The resignations of Mr. J. Ceredig Davies and the Rev. H. C. Matthew were also announced.

Mrs. Shakespear read a paper by her husband, Col. J. Shakespear, on "The Religion of Manipur," which was copiously illustrated by lantern slides, and in the discussion which followed Mr. T. C. Hodson, Sir Charles Lyall, Dr. Gaster, and Mr. A. R. Wright took part. Mrs. Shakespear also exhibited a number of objects from Manipur, including vases, swords, daggers, a walking stick, and a huge hair pin.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded Mrs. Shakespear for so kindly reading the paper and exhibiting the objects.

A paper by Miss A. Werner, entitled "Pokomo Folk-lore," was also read.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18th, 1913.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. Singer and Mrs. Singer, as members of the Society, was announced.

The deaths of Lord Avebury and the Hon. G. Wyndham were also announced, and, on the motion of the President, it was resolved "That this Society deeply regrets the loss of one of its oldest and most distinguished members, Lord Avebury, and directs the Secretary to convey to Lady Avebury its condolence with her on her bereavement."

The following resolution was also passed, on the motion of the President:—"The Folk-Lore Society congratulates Dr. Pitré on the issue of the twenty-fifth and final volume of the *Biblioteca delle Tradizioni Popolari Siciliane*, completing the devoted labours of half a century; and desires to put on record its sense of the monumental character of his work and its wishes that he may reap in his remaining years the reward of fame due to his services to science."

Mr. E. Lovett exhibited and explained a number of amulets for good luck in fishing used on the coasts of the British Isles, with foreign examples for comparison.

A paper by Mr. E. S. Hartland, entitled "The Romance of Mélusine" (*supra*, pp. 187-200), was read.

Dr. Westermarck read a paper on "The Moorish Conception of Holiness," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Major A. J. N. Tremearne, and Mr. E. Lovett took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Lovett for showing his exhibits and to Mr. Hartland and Dr. Westermarck for their papers.

The following additions to the Society's Library were reported, viz.:—



By exchange:—*Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. xxxii., Fasc. v.

By the Governments of India:—*Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March, 1912*; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1911-2*; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, for 1911-2*; *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1912*; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1912*.

By M. É. Nourry:—*Le Discernement du Miracle*, par P. Saintyves (É. Nourry, 1909); *Les Reliques et les Images légendaires* (2nd ed.), par P. Saintyves (Mercure de France, 1912); *Les Saints, Successeurs des Dieux*, par P. Saintyves (É. Nourry, 1907); *La Simulation du Merveilleux*, par P. Saintyves (E. Flammarion, 1912); *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses*, par P. Saintyves (É. Nourry, 1911).

By Mr. E. Torday:—*Takelma Texts* (Univ. of Penn.: Anthropological Publications of the Univ. Museum, vol. ii. No. i., 1909).

By Mr. E. Lovett:—*Thompson's Compleat Collection of 200 Favourite Country Dances* (n.d.).

By authors, reviewers, and publishers:—*All about the Merry Tales of Gotham*, by Alfred Stapleton, (R. N. Pearson, Nottingham, 1900); *Legends of Ma-ui—A Demi God of Polynesia and of his Mother Hina*, by W. D. Westervelt (Hawaiian Gazette Co., Honolulu, 1910); *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, by Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear (Macmillan, 1912); *Methode der Ethnologie*, von F. Graebner (Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1911).

## THE POETRY OF THE KIWAI PAPUANS.

BY G. LANDTMAN, PH.D.

(*Read at Meeting, April 16th, 1913.*)

THE Kiwai people live at the mouth of the Fly river in British New Guinea.

These Papuans have a rich treasure of legends and myths, showing the wonderful imagination with which they are gifted. During my stay among them I collected over 800 tales, variants included. But the folklore of the Kiwai Papuans also comprises a great store of what we cannot but style poetry, due allowance being made for the low stage of culture of a people ignorant of writing. It is of this branch of folklore that I wish to give a few examples and to try to throw some light upon its nature, as far as I have understood the native texts, so strange and crude to the European mind and so easily misinterpreted.

In studying the native poetry we find that it comprises various kinds of songs, and, further, that almost all these songs belong to some ceremony or dance, and that they are sung in unison. In some cases the dancers themselves sing and beat the drums, but in others there are special drummers who sit on the ground, beating their instruments and singing, while the dance goes on in front of them, as, for instance, in the *taera* or *horioinu* ceremony. On this occasion the men are dressed up to represent spirits of the dead and dance before the women. Their faces are covered with leaves or masks, and, as the women think they are real spirits, naturally the dancers cannot take part in the singing, since they would be betrayed by their voices.

Each of the songs of the various dances comprises only a very few words, which are repeated over and over again. When one text has been sung for a while, the singers leave it and take up another. It proves much more difficult than one would anticipate to obtain the exact texts of the songs. In singing the natives generally pronounce the words so hastily as to make them almost incomprehensible, and they modify them freely by abbreviating or by adding extra syllables. It is generally with the utmost difficulty that a man can repeat correctly in speaking the text which he sings fluently. The extreme briefness of the texts tends further to obscure their real meaning. Even when one has found out what the separate words mean, the sense of such fragmentary and vague expressions is far from clear. But it is quite evident that in a great many cases not even the singers themselves understand the meaning of their own songs. They have learnt them by repeating them after other singers, but without troubling themselves about the meaning of the words. The texts of some of the ceremonial songs possibly contain old words which are not properly understood by the present generation. But the natives are also fond of taking over songs which they have heard among other tribes, and they often borrow them without knowing the original language. They simply copy the dances and words, but, in spite of their natural cleverness in mimicry, both tunes and words must become more or less changed, and much more the interpretation which they may give to the songs.

An instance of this occurred during my stay in the country. I went once with a number of natives from Mawata on the coast to Budji, a couple of days' journey further west, where the people speak quite a different language, which my Mawata men did not understand. We stayed at Budji for two nights, on each of which our hosts held a dance which greatly interested the Mawata natives. On our way back they tried to imitate the Budji dances

and songs, but in spite of all efforts could not reconstruct the texts beyond a few broken syllables. Shortly afterwards I left Mawata. On my return in a couple of months I heard my former companions on the Budji trip sing the same songs without any hesitation; they had practised them in the meantime, and professed that they were genuine Budji songs, words and all. There had been no communication between Mawata and Budji since our trip, and one can understand how much the original songs must have changed through this method of learning them.

#### A. *Mimetic Songs and Dances.*

Of the different kinds of songs I will first deal with those accompanying mimetic dances. In these dances the young men are the chief performers; they dance together in a group in the open air to the accompaniment of their unison songs, while a small "orchestra" of drummers keeps time on their instruments. The dancers imitate actions from real life, but without merely copying them in a mechanical way, the gestures, simplified and conventionalized, mimicking the characteristic moment only of each act. One could not understand without being told what the various dances represent, but having once grasped their meaning one usually watches the movements of the dancers with unfeigned admiration. The subjects of these small pantomimes vary enormously. The following are a few of the motives belonging to a dance called *taibubu*:—a canoe being launched from the beach, a wave coming and lifting it up; the rocking movement of a canoe sailing in fair wind; a canoe being beached, the waves lifting it higher and higher up; a sail shaking in the wind; the tree-tops bending down in a heavy rainstorm; spearing a fish and throwing it on the beach; a bird on the beach is frightened away by an approaching canoe; the walk of a pelican; directing a blow at an enemy, and dodging his counter blow. One

song and dance succeed another, each with a different tune, and there is no connection between the various dances.

The texts of these songs are very poor from a literary point of view, in many cases only comprising two words which are repeated over and over again in a slightly varying form. Naturally such rudimentary texts do not greatly assist the uninitiated to understand the dances. But these fragments express a much fuller idea to the imaginative minds of the people themselves, who often attribute to the texts a meaning which cannot be deduced from the mere words. The following songs of *osare* dances exemplify this.

a. "*Eh, temaio, temaia, eh, Daruao temaia.*" *Tema* means smoke, and *Daru* is the name of an island. The natives explain the meaning of the song as follows:—(I retain throughout this paper their original expressions in "pidgin" English): "Some man he go along canoe, he see smoke, that smoke he come from Daru."

b. "*Eh, waduria wadurie sakupe sakupea waduria wadurie.*" *Waduru* is a tobacco pipe of bamboo, and *sakupa* or *soguba* is tobacco. This is the meaning:—"Give me bamboo pipe, I want smoke."

c. "*Temarore temarorea mabo temarore temarorea.*" *Tema* means smoke, and *mabo* root or base. The song says:—"Smoke he come up, man he make him fire, smoke on top, fire inside."

The meaning of the songs is often given more or less differently by different people, particularly when the mimetic character of the dances is not sufficiently pronounced to contribute to the interpretation of the songs.

### B. *Semi-Mimetic Songs and Dances.*

A category of songs somewhat similar to the last comprises those which form a descriptive accompaniment to the performance of certain rites. Songs of this kind, however,

are comparatively few. Although songs are part of almost all ceremonies of any importance, the singing does not as a rule take place concomitantly with the rites but separately, generally with dancing. In most cases the words of the song have little or no reference to the ceremonies in question.

Certain observances at the *gaera* or great harvest festival are said to be accompanied by songs. As an introduction to the chief part of the ceremony the natives have various games, and among others a shooting match with small bows, such as are generally used by boys. A bunch of bananas is hung on a tree for a target, and instead of arrows the stiff mid-ribs of a certain kind of grass are used. Different groups of men compete, all shooting together, and each time a man succeeds in placing a missile in a banana his people cheer by shouting "*Wi!*" During the shooting the people sing,—

*d. "Giriba manuba giriba manuba wiaika manuba  
sawaia, wi."*

The meaning of the words is very uncertain, but the different groups of the people want to encourage their marksmen in this way.

The most important part of the *gaera* ceremony is the setting up of a tree, which is decorated in various ways and has all sorts of fruit and other garden produce hung from its branches. Just before the tree is erected the men lift it up horizontally and swing it in their hands, singing,—

*e. "Gugu watara arakiki sarakikio."* ("You me (you me = we) make him that *gugu* [the tree] now, make him good.")

*"Gidjava gidjavao arakiki sarakikio."* ("You me dance all same, make him good.")

*"Rube rubec gagi roropopo rube rubec."* ("All people come thick, all stand close" (*i.e.* there should be no gaps in the crowd).)

During one of the phases of the *tacra* or *horiomu* ceremony, when spirits of the dead are supposed to dance before the women, the drummers who accompany the dance sing,—

*f.* “*Markai wareva bupa ware markai iamka pi-iamka ware.*” (“Brother belong me he ghost now, stop along dark place, you me make dance belong him now.”)

“*Markai wareva bupa ware markai tukiapo.*” (“Friend belong me he ghost now, stop along dark place.”)

“*Koimege iaba ngatara igiuina wakai ere panulja iaba ngatora.*” (“I try wake him my friend, he no more, my throat he no good now” [is choking].)

“*Iara gasu gapu gama sura gasu gapu gama.*” (“That dance for you now, you me dance for that brother.”)

Although songs are supposed to accompany the above-named and other ceremonies, they are not necessarily or exclusively sung together with the rites to which they refer, but, like many other songs, may be sung independently in connection with dances as a semi-mimetic representation of the rites they describe.

### C. *Serial Songs.*

The most complete song-texts from a literary point of view are those which are sung in connection with certain dances and ceremonies taking place indoors, in the *darimo* or men's house. Although the various ceremonies differ considerably from each other, the singing is attended in many of them by more or less the same circumstances. The people walk very slowly round and round the long-house in a column two and two with very short tripping steps which cause the gay feathers and leaves of their dresses to wave. Those who do not take part in the dance sit round the fires. The leader walks at the head of the procession, the solemn progress of which he regulates. He knows the texts of the songs, and, when he thinks that

one text has been sung long enough, he starts another. Anybody may join immediately, but if it is a song which the people do not know well, they generally let him sing it once alone and come in when he begins over again, or as soon as they think they know it. This kind of singing characterizes the *mado*, *barari*, and other dances, and forms part of the *madia*, *moguru*, *gacra*, and other ceremonies, though these comprise a great variety of other rites as well.

The text of each of the separate songs consists, as always, of a very few words, the interpretation of which is all the more difficult as no mimic gestures serve to throw light upon the significance of the words as in the previously mentioned dances. For a long time it seemed impossible to extract any certain meaning from the songs. I do not need to express my great satisfaction when at last I found that, although each separate "verse" hardly seemed to convey any definite thought, yet when put together they formed a series, supplementing each other and constituting a sort of narrative, naturally a very crude and fragmentary one, but unmistakably indicating the character of the songs. This gave my research a new interest, and gradually I collected quite a number of these serial songs, some of them comprising fifty verses and upwards. If the songs are very long, the singers only go through part of them at a time and continue them on subsequent days. We shall now consider some of the texts and the subjects they treat.

*g. A Song of a Journey from Adiri, the Spirit-land.*

The most characteristic motive in serial songs is to begin with an allusion to Adiri, the land of the dead, which is thought to be situated far away in the west where the sun and moon go down. The narrative then follows the coast in an easterly direction, until it reaches Dibiri on the eastern bank of the Fly river. The following song of a *mado* dance gives an example:

1. "*Adiri busere Adiri boborudo sōpu domidaimo.*"



("Altogether girl belong Adiri take him mud from water-hole.")

2. "*Adiri busere Adiri tumurudo soputo wemegio.*"  
("Altogether girl belong Adiri rub him body along mud.")

3. "*Adiri busere Adiri tumurudo gencito wemegio.*"  
("Altogether girl belong Adiri make paint [patterns] along body.")

4. "*Adiri busere Adiri tumurudo moromoro gaborua.*"  
("Altogether girl belong Adiri he come, full up people along road now.")

5. "*Oh, oh, piago wiriromea piago wiroroa nimita.*"  
("Oh, people whistle along *piago* [pan-pipe], noise he hear now.")

6. "*Adiri gama dorutura mabia me beda nisebia?*"  
("Beat him drum now along Adiri, small sister he ask: "Big sister, what way I dance?")")

7. "*Adiri darimo gama nupura gama nupura rasio.*"  
("Make dance along Adiri *darimo* [men's house], *nupu* [a feather ornament] he move him now.")

8. "*Adiri darimoa dabai ruwoiro.*" ("Make dance along Adiri *darimo*, rope belong *gope* he start swing now.")  
*Gope* is a carved board hung up at the gables of the houses partly as a decoration and partly to protect the inhabitants from sickness.

9. "*Adiri darimoa gope woiro gope woiro.*" ("Make dance along Adiri *darimo*, *gope* he swing now.")

10. "*Adiri darimoa moromoro darimoroa.*" ("Full up people along Adiri *darimo* now.")

11. "*Adiri burairudo goboroke wahina roriburio.*"  
("Canoe he come along Adiri, spring (sinew) he move that time ghost he get up.") This verse, which seems to have little connection with the rest of the song, was explained as referring to the arrival of spirits at Adiri. The dead bodies are sometimes carried to the grave on a piece of a broken canoe, which is afterwards left on top of the grave to provide the spirits with a craft on which to reach Adiri.

With the following verse a new section of the song begins:

12. "*Idobimuba kurakura totoipi Sido rovigio.*" ("Come along Idobimuba now, what place Sido he been cry.") Idobimuba, a mythical locality, means "the weeping point," and Sido, the first man who ever died, wept there on his way to Adiri.

13. "*Ah, Nibonibomuba Sopanogere movcamo.*" ("Ah, you me see him Sopanogere (a mythical man) along Nibonibomuba (another mythical place).")

14. "*Oh, Sopanogere ibotere terei nogua.*" ("Come close to place belong Sopanogere now, more better you me run away, by and by he shoot.")

15. "*Bauda oromo nimo nivairio Tugere pea nivairo.*" ("Tugere canoe take you me other side along Bauda passage.")

16. "*Ah, Boigu tumu ogetwiro mea ogetwirora nimitaio.*" ("Ah, frog he sing out along Boigu, you me hear.")

17. "*Ah, Boigu busere Boigu boborudo suaito wemegio.*" ("Ah, all girl along Boigu rub him body along mud.")

18. "*Ah, nimo Sopamuba Kogea Davane moveamo.*" ("Ah, from Sopamuba you me see Kogea at Davane.") Kogea is a legendary man living at the island of Davane or Dauan.

19. "*Ah, Davane gomoa Kogea patara pe ratamege.*" ("Ah, along Davane raft belong Kogea sea he knock him.")

20. "*Davane bari Kogea gumaro wario motomo.*" ("Along point belong Davane you me been put him up one stone hawk place belong Kogea.") There is said to be, or to have been, a stone shaped like a hawk at this spot.

21. "*Saiba bobo soromi sairo werewere.*" ("Along Saibai [an island] big pelican walk about along mud.")

22. "*Saibi bobo buraie burai domodomo.*" ("Along Saibai haul him canoe along mud.")

23. "*Saiba bobo Gebaru busere Saiba burai domodomo.*" ("Along Gebaru [a place in Saibai] girl he haul him canoe.")

24. "*Saiba oromo nimo nizwairio wario sama nimo nizwairio.*" ["From Saibai one sting-ray he take you me go other side."]

25. "*Paso maramu Kaibani mura sebauba rebeta muroro mia.*" ("Mother belong Paso [a mythical woman in Paso island] make him belt belong Kaibani [a mythical man], that belt he no good.") This verse probably refers to some incident in a legend.

26. "*Gugusu obo tofo mea Gugusi obo nou sobere.*" ("Along creek name Gugusi drink fresh water now.")

27. "*Nimo oromorudo Marukara mozweamo.*" ("You me look outside, look island belong Marukara.")

28. "*Oh, Augaromuba carobo ea mosio motoi.*" ("I stand up along Augaromuba, hold him *ea* [digging or walking stick] along hand.")

29. "*Nimo Nugu gaborudo Nuguro nimeiworo.*" ("Along Nugugabo Nugu [a mythical man belonging to that place] hold him bow [and] arrow after you me.")

30. "*Teremuba Manugu boro Manugu teretere nadoro?*" ("Along Teremuba Nugu where he go now?")

31. "*Ah, Teremuba Manugu darimo nadoro.*" ("Ah, along Teremuba Nugu he go inside *darimo* [men's house].")

32. "*Nimo osio busere nimo gido nimo Bina wiororiburio.*" ("You me altogether boy [and] girl look sand-bank outside Bina river.")

33. "*Oh, Bina suomoie Erumia suo riron.*" ("Oh, along mouth belong Bina river string belong Erumia he hang down.") Erumia is a mythical jelly-fish supposed to live at the mouth of Binaturi river.

34. "*Kiauwuro mea kiauwuro rorou wowogo gugere.*" ("Outside along reef he full up pigeon [birds in general].")

35. "*Kiatwuro mea kiatwuro rorou sawia tematema rorou.*" ("Outside along reef full up pelican he fly all same smoke.")

36. "*Aberemuba Abere divare rawio.*" ("Along Aberemuba people he put *divare* [tail of cassowary feathers], he dance.")

37. "*Aberemuba Abere bedare sebiao?*" ("Along Aberemuba what name [why] people he dance?")

38. "*Aberemuba Abere bedare sebiao sawiadai Nigori gama rarogo?*" ("Along Aberemuba what name people make him dance now belong *Nigori*?") *Nigori* is a ceremony performed during the copulating season of the turtles.

39. "*Yaru oromo Daru oromo mo beda tato niaibi.*" ("No got no paddle, what name I get him other side along Daru, more better I paddle along hand.")

40. "*Soromi waro rivadoro Daru gimini rivadoro.*" ("Pelican he walk about along sandbank close to Daru.")

41. "*Daru aibi morogido wia toto norobai.*" ("Along reef paddle belong me he catch him bottom now.")

42. "*Darua Waimce morogido Daru gabo rôvarogo.*" ("Along Daru ask him Waimce [a mythical character of Daru] where road; road he there.")

43. "*Darua Waimce morogido surko surko nese rowarogo.*" ("Along Daru Waimce yarn about for me about that *nese* [breast shell] he no good.") This verse probably refers to some episode in a tale.

44. "*Daru namira overa rogo nese nomidai.*" ("Along Daru I speak, "Brother, more better you give me that *nese*."")

45. "*Mawata darimo mea karara muro rivarabu.*" ("Inside *darimo* belong Mawata [a village] good *karara* [a ceremonial mask] stop on top.")

46. "*Mawata wio mea mo woibi nogua.*" ("Along Mawata I very lazy along morning, good sun he stop [the sun has arisen].")

47. "*Ah, Subo wario ro oromoito igiri riwaworo.*" ("Along Subo one hawk he fly outside look out for fish.")  
A mythical hawk is said to live at a place called Subo.

48. "*Subomuba wario ro nimo nimarubo.*" ("Along point belong Subo one hawk he fly alongside you me.")

49. "*Parama busere darimo bogue bogo rarogo.*" ("*Parama busere* [mythical women living in the island of Parama] make noise along *darimo* [men's house].")

50. "*Gagoro gagoro Dibiri gagoro kudima gagoro gagoro Dibiri gagoro.*" ("Good fine tree stop along Dibiri.")

The reason why so many of the serial songs begin with allusions to Adiri, the spirit-land, is probably connected with the fact that many of the rites refer directly or indirectly to the spirits of the dead. After Adiri the songs deal with place after place along the coast in an easterly direction, although it seems doubtful whether they purpose to describe an actual journey. I believe that they simply mention the various places in turn, together with some circumstance customarily connected with them, and, as Adiri lies at the extreme western border of the world, the songs seem to describe a wandering from west to east through the whole of the world known to the Kiwai people. As there is hardly any conspicuous place in the country which is not associated with some being or tradition, the verses naturally combine the names of the different places with some reference to the local myths.

*h. A Song describing the Building of Aberé's House and her Journey.*

A serial song connected with the *moguru* ceremony tells us how the mythical woman Aberé and her people built a *darimo*, men's house, in Dudi, the country on the western side of the Fly river opposite Kiwai island. The house had only just been completed when they pulled it down. They tied all the timber together into a raft on which they sailed away from Dudi, but the fastenings of the raft broke,

and they all fell into the water. At last they arrived in Kivai.

1. "*Dedearo Abere mere darimo paca dedearo.*" ("People belong Abere cut him bush what place they want make him *darimo*.")

2. "*Doputimo Abere mere darimo paca doputimo.*" ("People belong Abere burn him bush now for *darimo*.")

3. "*Doomiro Abere mere darimo paca doomiro.*" ("People belong Abere clear him ground now for *darimo*.")

4. "*Domoumoro Abere mere darimo saro domoumoro.*" ("People belong Abere go cut him post now for *darimo*.")

5. "*Degebaro Abere mere darimo saro degebaro.*" ("People belong Abere cut him post now belong *darimo*.")

6. "*Dasio Abere mere darimo saro dasio.*" ("People belong Abere cut him other end belong post.")

7. "*Dosoumo Abere mere darimo saro dosoumo.*" ("People belong Abere carry him post now.")

8. "*Demobodo Abere mere darimo saro demobodo.*" ("People belong Abere dig him hole now for post.")

9. "*Abo dotigimo Abere mere darimo abo dotigimo.*" ("People belong Abere put him up *abo* [the short posts supporting the floor].")

10. "*Abo madigo dotomomo Abere mere darimo abo madigo dotomomo.*" ("People belong Abere put him *mao* [the horizontal beams] on top *abo*.")

11. "*Demobodo Abere mere darimo saro demobodo.*" ("People belong Abere dig him hole and put him up *saro* [the tall posts supporting the roof].")

12. "*Mao dotomo Abere mere darimo saro mao dotomo.*" ("People belong Abere put him *mao* [the horizontal beams] on top of *saro*.")

13. "*Dotigiro Abere mere darimo aatio ota dotigiro.*" ("People belong Abere put him up post belong wall.")

14. "*Daroraruso Abere mere darimo animirio daroraruso.*" ("People belong Abere make fast all wood belong on top.")

15. "*Demoumo Aberere mere darimo te demoumo.*" ("People belong Aberere go cut him *te* along bush [*te* palms for the flooring].")

16. "*Degebaro Aberere mere darimo te degebaro.*" ("People belong Aberere cut him down *te*.")

17. "*Dasio Aberere mere darimo te dasio.*" ("People belong Aberere cut him other end belong *te*.")

18. "*Dabogoro Aberere mere darimo te dabogoro.*" ("People belong Aberere split him *te*.")

19. "*Doisoro Aberere mere darimo te niro opu doisoro.*" ("People belong Aberere take him out inside belong *te*.")

20. "*Dowasauro Aberere mere darimo te dowasauro.*" ("People belong Aberere carry him *te*.")

21. "*Daruoro Aberere mere darimo te daruoro.*" ("People belong Aberere cut him *te* little bit [make cuts in the surface of the palm], make him flat.")

22. "*Dotomoro Aberere mere darimo te dotomoro.*" ("People belong Aberere lift him *te* on top.")

23. "*Dosorooro Aberere mere darimo te dosorooro.*" ("People belong Aberere put him *te* proper place.")

24. "*Doboboro Aberere mere darimo were doboboro.*" ("People belong Aberere cut leaves for thatching the roof.")

25. "*Dadoro Aberere mere darimo were dadoro.*" ("People belong Aberere put him *were* [thatch] on top.")

26. "*Dobodoro Aberere mere darimo gabora dobodoro.*" ("People belong Aberere shut him *gabora* [wall in the upper triangular parts of the gables between the doors and eaves].")

27. "*Dasio Aberere mere darimo tamu dasio.*" ("People belong Aberere cut him leaf and shut him *tamu* [the gables].")

28. "*Dobodoro Aberere mere darimo girivaworo dobodoro.*" ("People belong Aberere shut him *girivaworo* [the gap at the ridge-poles].")

29. "*Soge soge Aberere mere darimo soge soge.*"

30. "*Pipite Aberere mere darimo pipite.*"

31. "*Adaramao Aberé mere darimo adaramao.*"

32. "*Uteute Aberé mere darimo uteute.*"

*Soge* means flying-fox, and *pipite*, *adarama*, and *uteute* are various kinds of bat. The meaning of the last four verses is possibly that Aberé's people dancing in the *darimo* fill it like a flock of flying-foxes or bats. But the mention of these animals in connection with the *darimo* may also refer to the life-preserving properties ascribed to them, for which reason they are also among the "medicines" used in house building.

33. "*Digirimo Aberé mere darimo digirimo.*" ("People belong Aberé move him house now [they walk about in the house, stamping in order to find out whether it is strong enough].")

For some reason the house is not found satisfactory, and they pull it down.

34. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out grass [the thatch].")

35. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo girivaworo dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out wood on top [the ridge-poles].")

36. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo gabora dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out *gabora* [the triangular parts of the gables underneath the eaves].")

37. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo aatio dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out wall.")

38. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo animirio dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out altogether wood belong on top [the rafters of the roof].")

39. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo mao dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out altogether *mao* [the horizontal beams].")

40. "*Dopodoro Aberé mere darimo te dopodoro.*" ("People belong Aberé take him out altogether *te* [the flooring].")

41. "*Dagurubo Aberé mere darimo saro dagurubo.*" ("People belong Aberé pull him out *saro* [the tall posts].")



42. "*Dagurubo Abere mere darimo abo dagurubo.*" ("People belong Abere pull him out *abo* [the short posts].")

43. "*Dowere Abere mere darimo saro dowere.*" ("People belong Abere put him all post together.")

A new section of the song begins now.

44. "*Abere mere patora miraro irie patora irie usarigo demowio patora irie.*" ("People belong Abere take *usarigo* [a kind of yam] belong garden, take all wood belong house make fast, make *patora* [a raft], water he run round *patora*, put *kaikai* [food] on top.")

45. "*Abere mere patora peito aude demowio irie patora irie.*" ("People belong Abere bring *aude* [another kind of yam], put him along *patora*, water he run round.")

46. "*Abere mere patora peito giromigo demowio patora irie.*" ("People belong Abere bring *giromo* [a kind of banana], put him along *patora*, water he run round.")

The same is repeated with *madego*, *awea*, *berogo*, *oriomu*, *obirari*, and *gidara*, all various kinds of banana.

While the raft is carrying the people away, the rope breaks, and they are all plunged into the water and begin to swim.

47. "*Surama nio giro sarare woiname.*" ("North-west wind he come, high sea, Abere swim along *giro* [in the shape of a fish, *giro*].")

48. "*Merebo karisi merebo Iomituri karisi merebo.*" ("Abere catch him shore along *Iomituri* [in Dudi], he find him one fish, he *kaikai* [eats].")

49. "*Pedeaturi kadame merebo.*" ("Along *Pedeaturi* Abere catch him one shell-fish, he *kaikai*.")

50. "*Giro waea sosoro tama urioro.*" ("Abere leave him that *giro* [abandons the shape of a *giro*], he go along *waea* [becomes a hornbill].")

51. "*Amura sosoro tama urioro.*" ("Abere leave him *waea*, he go along *amura* [bird-of-paradise].")

Abere's people, floating on the remnants of the raft, are carried to and fro by the tide. Finally they come near a

point on Kiwai island. Flying about in the shape of a bird-of-paradise Abere wants to help her people, but the bird-of-paradise cannot take her over to the island, as it is a bush bird and does not belong to the sea.

52. "*Mumu Kiwai gima badu mumu Kiwai.*" ("Two pigeon, *gimac* and *badu*, carry Abere go along Kiwai.")

Abere helps her people to reach Kiwai, and some of the plants which they have brought with them are saved.

53. "*Dou cveremo busere nigo uramu dou cveremo.*" ("All girl belong Abere bring sago-tree and plant him, he all same husband belong you.") No explanation could be given as to why the sago-palms are mentioned as fictitious husbands of the girls. In this verse "Abere's girls" are substituted for "Abere's people" in the previous verses. In the legends Abere is represented as the foster-mother of a great many girls.

54. "*Nato boromo ibodoro nato rirou.*" ("Abere send him altogether girl go follow track belong pig.")

The girls kill the pig and bring it home. It is cut up, and a small piece is put in the ground where they plant sago. Afterwards they plant bananas, yams, taro, and other garden produce, but without the meat, which is the "medicine" of sago only. All these plants are first brought to Kiwai by Abere.

*i. A Song of the Making of a Canoe.*

Another serial song describes the making of a canoe, in which the people afterwards go out on a voyage; it is sung both at the *moguru* ceremony and at a dance called *upipoo*.

1. "*Burai negebadumo nimo burai tato upi burai negebado.*" ("All you me woman cut him canoe now, you me no got no canoe.")

2. "*Burai nasiodumo nimo burai tato upi burai nasiodumo.*" ("All you me woman cut him other end belong canoe, no got no canoe.")

3. "*Burai nemaipodumo nimo burai tato upi burai nemaipodumo.*" ("All you me woman clear him away bushes where make him canoe, make clear place, no got no canoe.")

4. "*Burai noisodumo nimo burai tato upi burai noisodumo.*" ("All you me women dig him out canoe, no got no canoe.")

5. "*Burai nododiaidomo nimo burai tato upi burai nododiaidomo.*" ("All you me woman haul him canoe outside, no got no canoe.")

6. "*Burai nagiadumo nimo wamea bubube upi burai nagiadumo.*" ("All you me make him canoe fine, now along head.")

7. "*Burai norodiadomo nimo burai tato upi burai norodiadomo.*" ("All you me woman go inside along canoe pull him go now.")

8. "*Nabio Gebaru Aboito gawateai.*" ("Pull him canoe go alongside Abo close to Gebaro [two islands in the delta of the Fly river].")

9. "*Ibuo nematoidumo nimo ibuo tato upi nomutoidumo.*" ("You me look out for *ibuo* [the tidal bore].")

10. "*Mumutumu niromodumo nimo upi besere mumutumu niromodumo.*" ("All you me woman go catch crab along Mumutumu.")

11. "*Worodo damera worodo Siva damera worodoro.*" ("High ground move him along Siva [a legendary mountain in Dibiri] that time all woman walk about on top.")

12. "*Worodo damera worodoro Mesede damera worodoro.*" ("High ground belong Mesede [a mythical man in Dibiri], he move him that time all woman he walk about on top.")

13. "*Goro darimo nodorodumo nimo goro upi besere goro darimo nodorodumo.*" ("All you me woman go inside *darimo* [men's house], make him *goro* [an episode of the *moguru* ceremony].")

14. "*Goro darimo worodoro nimo goro upi besere goro darimo worodoro.*" ("*Darimo* he move him that time you me woman make him that *goro*.")

D. *War Songs.*

When the men return from a victorious fight they are received by the women, who dance outside on the beach. The name of the dance is *nekede*, and the following are a few texts of the songs:—

*j.* 1. "*Eregeburo warami namu uere rebesio.*" ("Good brother he catch him man. he cut head along *uere* [beheading knife].")

2. "*Namu durupi vararuti arima mawio mawioro.*" ("Brother he cut head, blood he come, body belong man he leave him behind.")

3. "*Namu uere raberuti eregeburo warami namu uere raberuti.*" ("Brother cut him head along *uere*, wind belong that man he burst along throat.")

The dance with which the men celebrate a successful fight is called *pipi*, and in the songs they fight their battles over again, as shown by the texts:—

*k.* 1. "*Roron gabo roron mo sido gabo gabo roroa.*" ("I come along good road now.")

2. "*Bedebede gubu bedebede gubuo mo sido durupio.*" ("All mud come on top me that time I fight, my body he fine [is well ornamented].")

3. "*Ara papa degurara deguraro.*" ("I put *uere* [beheading knife], blood he jump along man, behind [afterwards] break him bone inside.")

4. "*Boboro mo durupi boboro, mo sido durupio.*" ("That body I been leave him [the body of the enemy whose head has been cut off], he come soft now, close up he burst, my body he fine.")

5. "*Bubure mo durupi bubure mo sido durupio mo durupi bubure.*" ("Altogether fly he full up on top that body, my body he fine.")

While in the progress of a dance the people are engaged in singing one verse of a serial song, the leader has time to

think of the next. In modern dances at all events it even happens now and again that a new verse is composed while the song is in progress, and each additional verse is cheered by the people with a loud laughter. In many serial songs there is a succession of practically identical verses, as for instance when the different kinds of bananas which Aberé and her people took with them on the raft are enumerated in seven verses, and such reiteration suggests that at least in some cases the verses have been added during the singing, possibly in order to give the leader time to remember the rest of the song.

E. *The same Motives in Serial Songs as in Folk-Tales.*

The subjects of certain serial songs strongly recall those of the legends, and indeed the motives are in some cases identical in tale and song. The contents of the songs are naturally very meagre, and some of the versified tales are mere fragments, yet in not a few cases they enable us to recognize incidents told in some legend or another. Sido and Sagaru, for instance, the hero and heroine of a great many myths, are also mentioned in the songs.

Sido first meets Sagaru at a dance at Iasa. He gets there by climbing a tall palm, *kurua*, which bends over until it reaches the long-house at Iasa, where he secures the top of the tree to a post. While the dance is in progress, some rivals of his cut the string with which the *kurua* has been fastened, and the tree straightens itself and goes whizzing back to his place, Uuo. The following verses of a *madia* song refer to this incident, which is also related in the legends. The verses are sometimes sung with little regard to their rule of proper order, but just as the singer remembers them; I give them here according to the sequence of the story:—

1. "*Madia mo Iasaito maigi gama norowaro.*" ("I go make him good dance along Iasa.")

2. "*Madia bubua wapa gesegere.*" ("Good *wapa* [grass skirt] belong girl [Sagaru] he move him now along Iasa.")

3. "*Beruberuo kurua Uuoito moriodoro Sido mo upuru toto.*" ("Oh, *kurua*, ladder belong Sido he go back now along Uuo.")

After Sido and Sagaru have been married for some time, she once gets angry with him, according to the tale, and goes away. Another man, Meuri, who wants her, causes a tree, *nabea*, standing in her path to become quite small; and when Sagaru sits down on it to rest, the tree resumes its natural height, and she is lifted high up. Sido, in pursuit of Sagaru, finds her in the tree, which he tries in vain to cut down with his stone axe. Finally he summons the winds, which blow the tree over, but Sagaru is hurled to Meuri's place and received by him.

The songs relate the same incidents in the following way:—

1. "*Sagaru Iasa darimo oromaro remocogu.*" ("Sagaru come wild now place belong Iasa.")

2. "*Iasa nabea moroba Sagaru toto titi saragova norodoro.*" ("Along Iasa Sagaru, good woman, he go on top along *nabea*.")

3. "*Sido nabea mabuo ibuo ipisiava rarao.*" ("Sido close to *nabea* he think: "What side I go cut him?")

4. "*Sie susuo nouro nabea waubaira waubaira nabea.*" ("Sido he sing out west wind: "You can knock him down *nabea*."")

5. "*Nabea morobo diaruo diarua nabea morobo.*" ("Wind he take him go *nabea* and my woman.")

6. "*Meuri Iasa nabea tau wowea ro aibi biabia riaibia.*" ("Meuri from canoe he see that Iasa *nabea* he come, he pull strong.")

Sido sends some small birds to look for Sagaru, they find her and are sent back by her with a message to Sido. He goes after her and has a fight with Meuri. The latter falls

first, although not dead, and Sido is killed by Meuri's brother. Sagaru takes his body home in a canoe.

The songs give the following version:—

1. "*Teretere nigo iudoti abere Meuri gomoito.*" ("Sido send *teretere* [some small birds] go outside along place belong Meuri.")

2. "*Sarare babigo nigo wairio maramu Sagaru gomorudo.*" ("Sido send him *sarare* [other small birds] go along Sagaru.")

3. "*Gimae nigo budo wairio nigo gesogeso vovogo babigo.*" ("Sagaru send him small pigeon: "You go back what place you been come.")

4. "*Darimo-darimo babigo nigo Meuri opia gubuto viraiia.*" ("Sido he fight him bushman Meuri along stone club, no kill him proper.")

5. "*Nubia uramuro Sido moro nubia wodi sese uramuro moro nubia.*" (Sagaru wails over Sido's body: "My good husband, all time he long [has been longing after] me, follow me all time, he dead now.")

6. "*Madia Dibiri oromo burai saboa maburio maramu sirurarobo.*" ("Sagaru put him Sido along Dibiri canoe, take him go along other side.")

7. "*Madia mo uroburac rirua Sido rirua.*" ("Small south-east wind take him Sido go.")

Similar songs, although still more fragmentary, refer to Mesede, a legendary character famous as a marksman and also for having a great number of wives, and to the history of a wonderful drum made by a man named Merave. Another serial song tells how the mythical Marunogere inaugurated the *moguru* ceremony. All the incidents mentioned in these and other songs of the same kind are also related in the folk-tales.

#### F. *Songs occurring in Folk-Tales.*

It happened quite frequently when the natives were telling me folk-tales that they included some song in the

narrative. In many cases it was a fragment of a serial song referring to some particular incident in the tale, and sung by way of parallel to that episode. In other cases the song really formed part of a tale.

Some songs are said to have belonged originally to a folk-tale, but to have been afterwards adopted into some ceremony. Of this the following songs give an instance. In Mabuig island in Torres Straits there lived a blood-thirsty warrior, Kuiamo or Kwoiam,<sup>1</sup> who is well known among the Mawata tribe also, and when he has speared his mother and after her many other Mabuig people the legend makes him sing:—

“*Keda baua keda baua ngai Kuiamo ada Kuiamo.*” (“All same big sea I come now, I Kuiamo, fine man Kuiamo.”)

Returning to Mabuig after having fought many people in New Guinea, he sings in his canoe—

“*Kupari manu keke koibaruke Kuiamo.*” (“I been kill man, I been clean him out all place, my name Kuiamo.”)

And celebrating his victories with a dance, he sings—

“*Eh, kuti bu waimec, eh, kuti bu waimec.*” (“I sing out along trumpet shell [a signal of victory], I take head every time.”)

“*Ngai Kuiamo koibu garika.*” (“I Kuiamo, I been kill all people.”)

All these songs from the legend of Kuiamo are sung by the people at the *pipi* dance which is held after a successful fight.

A rather similar instance is afforded by a song which the people sing when they plant bananas. According to a legend it was originally sung by the first man who found and planted a banana-tree, and that is why it is still thought to promote the growth of bananas, although the text has no direct reference to the planting.

The songs which belong exclusively to some folk-tales

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v., p. 67.



represent almost the only Kiwai songs which are not connected with a dance or ceremony. Thus utterances occasionally take the form of songs; the personages of the tale sing instead of speak. Again, the characters when in distress sometimes express their emotion or fear in a song. This is the case in the following songs taken from folk-tales.

The Daru people, once defeated by the Masingara people, sing on their way back to Daru,—

“*Eh, iviri kutaigo, ch, saradi kutaigo djodji vuraja, ch, djodji kutaigo.*” (“Oh, altogether my good brother, altogether poor people he dead now.”)

“*Iviri mazvari mogiwuda kawarima sabu sabu sacba.*” (“That time me come, me plenty people, this time come short, no much people.”)

In another tale a little girl, who has been separated from her brother and left alone in the bush, weeps and tries to tell him how he may find her—

“*Yawana, no nati ibodoro namu arbipuai buru diriomoro ota uru vatonomi.*” (“Yawana, brother, you follow my track, I here alone empty country, I stop close to big tree.”)

A man once climbed a coco-nut tree to steal the fruit, and the tree calls out in a wailing voice to its proper owner, a mythical being,—

“*Mau, mo sepate datuke, mau!*” (“Mother, he pull my ear now!”) by ear meaning bunch of nuts.

#### G. *Death songs.*

The laments over the dead constitute a particular kind of songs. Immediately a death has occurred the wail usual on such occasions is started by those present, and the loud, sorrowful sounds inform the whole village of what has happened. In general several persons, men and women, wail together, but with a total lack of unison; both tunes and words vary, and the same singer keeps on modifying his wail. It is difficult to give an idea of the strange impression

produced by these wailings, weird and disconsolate past description, reminding one of the moaning of the wind or the howling of an animal in distress, and interrupted by the sobs and tears of the singers. Even quite a long time after a death some relative or friend of the dead man or woman may again begin to wail, if something reminds him of the departed person. It also happens, if a man has had a very narrow escape from death, that his mother or wife in her anxiety wails over him as over somebody dead, covering him with caresses.

The words of the death songs vary principally according to the relation in which the mourners stand to the deceased. On the whole these laments embody a very limited number of conventional thoughts and phrases which are repeated over and over again, and for many of the villagers the wailing is more or less a formal concern. But to some extent the mourners may give expression to their sorrow in words of their own, adapting the text and tune to each other. I give here a few short texts of mourning songs. A widow sings at the death of her husband,—

*“Uramuc uramu bonidoveario madi overe uramuc.”* (“Husband belong me, good fellow yarn he make all time, you me [he and I] sit down one place every time.”)

A widower sings over his dead wife,—

*“Orobora* (pronounced almost as *rubra*) *oroborae bonidovearie madi wodi bari geru geru oroborae bonigoveario.*” (“Good woman, good wife belong me, good nose [good looks] he got, all time sit down one place.”)

A child laments over a father’s death,—

*“Baba nirimagare rere baba dovearie madi overa abera dovearie.”* (“Good fellow father, that’s why I sorry, good fellow yarn he make all time, you me one place all time.”)

The different songs mentioned above represent the only kinds which I have found among the Kiwai people. As

we have seen, practically all the songs are connected with some dance or ceremony, among which in a sense the death songs may be reckoned, and the only other kind of songs is that occurring in certain legends. Naturally the people sing on a great many occasions besides dances, but the songs are invariably borrowed from a dance, or possibly a legend. When the men are returning from a fight, it seems to be the rule to strike up a song from their war dance, and when walking together or travelling in a canoe they may choose a song suitable for that purpose, but on the whole almost any song seems to do for almost any occasion. The young people sing the songs belonging to the dances in which they take part, and the elder their dance songs. The people hardly ever sing while they are working. I often asked what a young man would sing when he wanted to be heard by the girl of his choice, and the answer was, invariably, "*Mado*," "*Madia*," or some other dance song.

#### H. *Rhyme and Alliteration.*

When considering the songs of the Kiwai people from a literary-æsthetic point of view, we cannot expect to find much which would appeal to us. But, in spite of all its general crudeness, the native poetry shows certain higher attributes which must strike us as rather remarkable.

Thus there is no doubt as to the existence of a sort of rhyme in the Kiwai songs, which is produced by the repetition of the same word in a slightly different form so as to constitute the rhyme. They are therefore a sort of play upon the resemblance of sound in such words. The following verse, which shows rhyme of this sort, belongs to one of the serial songs describing a journey from Adiri, or Woibu, eastward:—

"*Woibu ganania Soibu ganania ganania orodoro.*" ("Adiri he go down now altogether [below the horizon].") Woibu

and Soibu both mean the same thing, the spirit-land, although the first name only is in ordinary use.

The natives are quite aware of the rhyming character of such words, and form the variants of these words purposely for the sake of the assonance; as one of my informants put it, "All same I sing out boy belong me [whose name was Saisami], "Saisami, Aisami, Kaisami.""

Some other texts of the same serial song also afford examples of rhymes:—

"*Warawia bobo Sarawia bobo.*" ("They find him one swamp name Warawia.")

"*Murke Surke Murke Surke sagida yobama.*" ("I go place belong Murke [a mythical person], he got plenty *sagida* [croton].")

"*Yomena wairu somena wairu yomena-gu somena-gu.*" ("He sing out people belong place, "More better you come."")

In a few texts three rhymes are combined with each other, as in the following:—

"*Yoromo soromo oromo yaramawio saramawio.*" ("Along outside, see he break along canoe, spray he come.")

A study of the Kiwai songs furthermore reveals a kind of alliteration. An example occurs in the serial song mentioned above, which describes the making of a canoe. In the seven first verses and in some of the others the verbs alliterate, all beginning with a *n*-sound.

"*Burai negebådumo nimo burai tato upi burai negebådumo.*"—" *Burai nasiodumo nimo burai tato upi burai nasiodumo.*"—" *Burai nemaipodũmo nimo burai tato upi burai nemaipodũmo.*" Etc.

All the cases of alliteration which I have found in Kiwai songs are of this description. The alliterative words generally occur both at the beginning and end of a verse, and, as each text is sung over and over again and one verse repeats the consonance of the preceding one, the similarity of sound becomes the more obvious.

Another instance, also quoted above, appears in the song of the building of the *darimo*, men's house, by Aberé. Out of the forty-four verses which describe the building and pulling down of the house there are forty in which the verb begins with a *d*-sound.

"*Dedearo Aberé mere darimo paca dedearo.*"—" *Doputimo Aberé mere darimo paca doputimo.*"—" *Doomiro Aberé mere darimo paca doomiro.*" Etc.

The consonance is still more marked by the recurrence of the word *darimo*, also beginning with *d*, in each of the forty verses.

Now, it seems open to question whether so many verbs beginning with *d* and connected with house building exist in the ordinary language. It appears more likely that some at least of the verbs are simply coined for the sake of the alliteration, without meaning anything in particular. Even if this be so, we understand that the different verses may have a sufficiently clear signification. The nouns, referring to the different parts of the structure, are used in their right sense, and as everybody knows that the song is about a house in building, the meaning of the separate verbs is of minor importance.

The same applies to the verbs in the song about the making of a canoe. Different informants of mine translated many of the separate verses rather differently, which shows that they did not understand them properly, but they all agreed as to the general run of the narrative.

Although we can thus trace a sort of rhyme and alliteration in the Kiwai songs, what we never find in the written texts, and cannot expect to find, is metre. The reason is simply that the texts only exist as songs, and that in singing, as stated before, the words are modified at will, so that almost any text could be sung to any tune. In writing it is almost impossible to retain the deviations from the ordinary form of the words.

I. *Poetical Ideas.*

The question arises whether in Papuan folklore we can find any signs of poetical ideas.

The natives are fond of similes and use them frequently in their folklore; we often come across passages which seem to convey a poetical thought.

In one of the tales it is stated that several men once danced before a girl in order to find out whom she would prefer. Each one wanted to make her smile at him. The dance, however, ended in a fight, during which the girl ran away and went up to heaven, where she remained. Flickerings of lightning, fitfully gleaming in the sky, are her smile.

Another tale, of a comic nature, relates how everything, the sea included, once laughed at a certain incident, and, the narrative continues, "sea he laugh still," referring to the undulating waves of the sea.

When the Daru people once returned from Masingara, where many of them had been killed, they saw how the sky was very red at sunset. According to the tale the men associated the colour of the sky with the blood of their slain brothers and sang,—*Daudai kibuia Daudai kuruka kuruka mataiba kuruka gamu rumpuradara.* ("Along Daudai [the name of the country] sky he red from blood belong dead man.")

We need not now enter into the question how far, if at all, the natives consciously use such similes. Whatever our views as to the existence of poetical ideas in the native tales, we cannot but recognise in the folklore of these Papuans one of the many instances in which amid a rude culture there appear the first sporadic beginnings of phenomena properly belonging to a higher civilization.

In some cases a real sentiment is unmistakably reflected in the native folklore. When the Mawata tribe left their old home and went westward to their present village, one

man, Sabake, at first refused to go with the others, and stayed behind. After a time his brother Gamea went back to Old Mawata to persuade Sabake to come. But Sabake said, in the wording of the tale, "I no like go, I no been see place all same Mawata. What's good I go that place, I no can leave my good place." Now Old Mawata, like the whole coast, is merely a sand and mud bank between the sea and the inland swamps, overgrown with mangroves and pestered with mosquitos. The brother did not cease his persuasions, and at last Sabake yielded. He went to his garden, smeared his face with mud in token of his sorrow and wailed,—“I leave my place belong garden, I leave my good place Old Mawata, good place, good sand, no good I go dark corner, I been stop light place.” On their way to New Mawata he still wept, sitting at the stern of the canoe with his feet in the water, “I never look place all same Old Mawata.”

G. LANDTMAN.

## THE CEREMONIAL CUSTOMS OF THE BRITISH GIPSIES.

BY T. W. THOMPSON.

*(Read at Meeting, January 17th, 1912.)*

THE following paper is a first attempt at a systematic presentation of what is known at present concerning the ceremonial customs of the Gipsies of Britain. That it will not be markedly successful I am fully aware, but I ask for the indulgence that is granted to inexperienced youth and to pioneer work.

The chief source from which I have dug out my material has been the many notebooks filled during a constant intercourse with British Gipsies extending over the last three and a half years, during which time I have become acquainted with more than two thousand of their number, and have been on exceptionally intimate terms with some half a dozen families in Westmorland, East Anglia, and North Wales. I have also made a free use of the notebooks of my friends and fellow-members of the Gypsy Lore Society, thanks to their kindness. Many of the results of our researches are to be found scattered up and down the pages of the Journal of that Society, but some are hitherto unpublished, and for leave to incorporate these in my paper I am very grateful to Dr. John Sampson and the Rev. George Hall.

Practically all the other printed sources of information have been examined, either by myself or by Mr. E. O. Winstedt of the Bodleian Library; but not everything contained therein has been accepted. In addition, parallels



extracted, chiefly by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, from the more reliable writings on the Gipsies in other countries have been added in many cases. The mass of material thus collected would have proved well-nigh unmanageable had it not been for the assistance in classification afforded by Miss C. S. Burne, to whose suggestions also some of the theories proposed are due.

Lastly, I have to acknowledge the services of the Honorary Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society, who advised and helped me when I was in difficulty, encouraged me when I was despondent, and poured iced water down my back when I was enthusiastically straying into dangerous paths.

The Gipsies are a slightly dolichocephalic, or long-headed, race, and the average height is 5 ft. 4.9 in. Their limbs are wiry, their movements vivacious, and their hands and feet small. Their features are regular and, in youth, often very beautiful; the mouth neither large nor small, the teeth good and white, and the nose straight, with a slight tendency to be hooked. They are deeply pigmented, the skin of pure Gipsies being olive, or even darker, and the hair straight and black with the peculiar kind of blackness known as "blue-black." The iris is dark, especially among the women, and the eyes have an indescribable lustre.

Their language is undoubtedly Indian, but their origin and early history are alike shrouded in mystery. It is impossible, however, to conceive of them as anything but a wandering race. From linguistic evidence it is probable that they all left India before the Mohammedan invasion, passing through countries where Persian, and possibly Armenian, were spoken, and avoiding those where Arabic was the language of the inhabitants. In Asia Minor and Eastern Europe a halt was called, but in the fifteenth century they spread over Western Europe by way of Germany. At the present time they are found in Western

Asia and Siberia, North Africa, and the whole of Europe, from which continent they have spread comparatively recently into North and South America and Australia.

As no statistics are available, it is impossible to state exactly how many Gipsies there are in the British Isles. Estimates vary from 1500 to 600,000, the latter being absurdly high, and the former much too low. In all probability the correct number lies somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000.

Leaving Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland out of consideration, for there are practically no Gipsies there, this population is fairly evenly distributed as far as numbers are concerned. Exactly the same kind of Gipsy is not, however, to be met with everywhere. Draw a line from the mouth of the Tyne to Morecambe Bay, and another from Lowestoft to Birmingham and thence to the Bristol Channel, and the country is very roughly divided up according to the character of its Gipsy population. In the North we find what in Scotland are known as *tinklers*, and in Westmorland and Cumberland as *potters*,—a class which has resulted from the union of pure Gipsies with “gaberlunzie men” and other “sturdy rogues and vagabonds.” Their dialect of *Romani* retains no traces of the original structure of the language, whilst most of the root words have been debased, or replaced by the “cant” of the non-Gipsy, or *gájo*, element. About 50 per cent. of their vocabulary at the most can be recognized to be of *Romani* origin. These *tinklers* and *potters* are probably descended from the Gipsies who arrived here in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The central area is occupied by the purest Gipsies that we have in Britain. It is only within the last two or three generations that they have intermarried with *gájos*, and shown other signs of decadence. One family, the Woods, deserves special mention. They are the descendants of a certain Abram Wood, who first went up into Wales soon after 1700 A.D.

Since then they have isolated themselves, and, in consequence, have so many peculiarities that they ought perhaps to be regarded as a class by themselves. They alone preserve the grammatical structure of their language to any degree of perfection. Shreds of it survive amongst the other families of this area, who, in addition, retain a fairly full and comparatively uncorrupted vocabulary. The ancestors of most of these Gipsies probably arrived at a later date than those of the *tinklers* and *potters*. In the south we find a class which is intermediate between the two already considered. All vestiges of the original structure of the language have disappeared from their dialect, whilst the vocabulary has been decaying for many years. Different families preserve it in very different stages of the process.

All these Gipsies are little better than local nomads. The *tinklers*, and those in the south, practically never cross the imaginary boundary lines into the central area. A good many of them are settled in houses for the greater part of the year; the rest confine their wanderings within very limited districts. In Scotland, according to Simson,<sup>1</sup> they parcelled out the country at an early date, assigning each district to one particular family. The head of such a family issued tokens to all its members, which protected them within their own district; but if they wandered outside they were liable to be beaten and robbed by the family on whose preserve they had encroached. A token issued by the head of the Baillie family was, however, sufficient to protect its bearer anywhere. Without any prearranged scheme England has been portioned out in much the same way, though not with the same precision. In the south the district travelled by a particular family seems to be fixed, with this exception, that large numbers congregate in the fruit- and hop-growing districts at picking

<sup>1</sup>W. Simson, *A History of the Gipsies: with specimens of the Gipsy Language* (ed. by J. Simson, 1865), pp. 218-9.

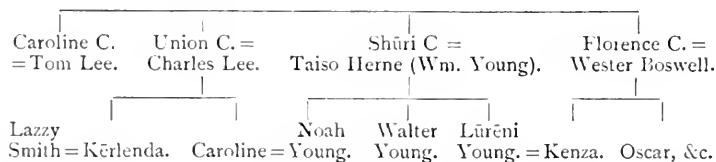
time. In the central area the state of affairs is a little different. It is only within the last hundred years that the Hernes and Boswells, with some of the Smiths and Lees and Grays, migrated into it from the south-east of England, and there is still a perceptible drift northwards, and, to a lesser extent, westwards. It is no rare thing now to meet Welsh Lees in Lancashire, Lancashire Boswells in Ireland and Cumberland, or Yorkshire Hernes in Scotland, but it would be quite extraordinary to meet them to the south of their recognized districts. Wide-wandering bands are not at all common, a fact which is bound up with the absence of any family organization.

The ill-defined, consanguine groups that, following the example of the Gipsies themselves, I have called families, are quite unorganized. Not this kind of family, but the individual family,—husband, wife, and children,—is the social unit. There appear, however, to be some survivals from an earlier stage in the process of family evolution. At the present time descent is as a rule reckoned in the male line, but from a study of English Gipsy pedigrees it seems probable that matrilineal descent was a little more frequent in times past than it is now. No particular custom or rule can be discovered. Elijah Boswell, for instance, had three wives at the same time, two of whom were Gipsies and sisters called Smith, and the third a *gâji*, (a non-Gipsy). His children by the Gipsy wives were all called Smith, those by the *gâji* Boswell. The Youngs, on the other hand, owe their surname to Miller Herne's wife, Winifred Young, who can have been little better than a *gâji*. Women seem to retain their own surnames after marriage; at least they are nearly always referred to by them. Sophy Herne, the wife of Taiso Boswell, used to be very indignant, and not infrequently violent, whenever anyone so much as suggested that her name was Sophy Boswell.<sup>2</sup> Again, after marriage

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series, vol. v., p. 149; (Old Series, 1888-92; New Series, 1907 onwards).

between Gipsies travelling in different areas, it is as usual as not for the husband to leave his own district and travel that of his wife's family. Lastly, in the case of the famous band of Gipsies that travelled through the country giving balls about the year 1870, I have been able to obtain from Noah Young, the commercial manager, the names of its principal members.<sup>3</sup> In addition to himself it consisted of his mother, Shūri Chilcott, widow of Taiso Herne (*alias* William Young), his brother Walter, his sister Lūrēni and her husband Kenza Boswell with his father Wester and some of his brothers, (Būi being specially excepted), and the brothers Lазzy and Ōti Smith. He did not mention Union Chilcott and Charles Lee, but they were with the party when it was in Lancashire at any rate. These appear to have been the nucleus, though the names of Neily Buckland and Tom Lee ought, perhaps, to be added. At first sight it would seem as though this were a very mixed band, the members having no particular connection with one another; but on examination it becomes evident that there is a clear connecting link, and that a very interesting one. Practically every one of the male Gipsies mentioned was connected with the daughters of John Chilcott and Liti Ruth Lovell; some were husbands, some were sons, and some had married daughters. To illustrate this point I append a small genealogical tree :—

JOHN CHILCOTT=LITI RUTH LOVELL.



There are two exceptions, Ōti Smith and Neily Buckland; but even they had some connection on the female

<sup>3</sup> A full account of this band has since been published in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. vi. (1912-13), pp. 19-33.

side with the Chilcotts. Ōti's mother, Elizabeth Smith, as may be seen from the pedigree attached to my article on Borrow's Gipsies,<sup>4</sup> was a half-sister of John Chilcott; while Neily Buckland, whose matrimonial alliances had been many and various, claimed to have lived at one time,—probably when these balls were taking place,—with a Sabaina Chilcott.

The interest of this connection lies in the fact that it is an apparent survival of the type of family still found amongst foreign Gipsies. Wislocki<sup>5</sup> lays down the rule, as applying to Gipsies of Central Europe, that, when a man marries, he leaves his own clan and joins that of his wife, and to her clan the children count; and this rule is supported by Brepohl,<sup>6</sup> and is partially in vogue among the Eastern European Gipsy coppersmiths lately in England. Both principles are illustrated in the genealogical tree given above. Wester Boswell and Tom and Charlie Lee counted to the Chilcott clan by virtue of marriage into it; Walter Young and Oscar Boswell by virtue of descent; and Noah Young and Kenza Boswell by both. Nor were any of the female descendants of John Chilcott unrepresented, since Celia and Bella, the only two daughters not mentioned in the tree given above, had both died childless. It is significant too that Wester's oldest son, Būi, whose mother was a Herne, was not included, for, by the same rule, Būi should be counted to the Herne clan; according to Wislocki, if the wife dies, the husband reverts to his original clan, and is at liberty to marry into a third, but the children remain in their mother's family. It is, to say the least of it, remarkable that so close an analogy to foreign Gipsy laws relating to family organization should be traceable in the case of the only large band of English Gipsies in recent times about which much is known; and, taking the other

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., pp. 162-174.

<sup>5</sup> *Vom Wandernden Zigeunervolke* (Hamburg, 1890), pp. 61-68.

<sup>6</sup> *Aus dem Winterleben der Wanderzigeuner* (Seefeld, 1910), p. 6.

facts mentioned into account as well, I make bold to go a little further than this, and state that in England we have what are almost certainly genuine survivals of the organized maternal family,—not the matriarchate, for the government has always, so far as we know, been in male hands.

The organized family bands of Continental Gipsies keep in touch with one another chiefly by means of messengers, and occasionally assemblies are held.<sup>7</sup> There is some traditional evidence to support the belief that such assemblies were once held in Britain.<sup>8</sup> That the family chiefs were then subject to any higher authority is uncertain, but it is extremely probable. They are, according to Wliskoeki,<sup>9</sup> in Eastern Central Europe at the present day, and there are indications that in the time of James V. of Scotland “Johnne Faw, Lord and erle of Litill Egypt,” enjoyed a position more exalted than that of the ruler of a small family band.<sup>10</sup> The English Gipsies vaguely remember that one Newcombe Herne once made laws for them.<sup>11</sup> In Germany the Gipsies are now governed by two or three selected chiefs, all those in South Germany, according to Engelbert Wittich,<sup>12</sup> one of their number, being under the jurisdiction of a single man. He is chosen for his personal qualities and wealth, and deposed as soon as he becomes old or sick or infirm, when another chief is elected, usually from among his family or nearest relatives. At an annual assembly, or *tsil*, he gives verdicts in all disputes, and punishes those who have broken a taboo, committed an

<sup>7</sup> E. Wittich, *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner* (Striegau, 1911), p. 21; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., pp. 287-92; Liebich, *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1863), p. 40; *Berliner Tageblatt*, Sept. 12, 1890; *The Times*, Jan. 27, 1872, and Sept. 29, 1879.

<sup>8</sup> Summarized in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 271-4.

<sup>9</sup> *Vom Wandern den Zigeunervolke*, pp. 78-82.

<sup>10</sup> Simson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-3; MacRitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts* (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 37-44.

<sup>11</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., pp. 225-6.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 287-292.

offence against chastity or against morality, spoken evil of their dead relatives or of their own wives, failed to observe the funerary laws or customs, or been guilty of any serious crime, the offenders being *bale tshido* (disgraced and partially outlawed). Only in cases of revenge for murder does he possess no rights of settlement. In England Gipsy jurisdiction and Gipsy law are dead.

On their first arrival here the Gipsies had no surnames, and it is possibly in consequence of this that an examination of sixteenth-century parish records reveals such entries as "Joan the daughter of an Egyptian," "William the son of an Egyptian," "Robartt an Egyptian," and "John an Egyptn." After settling they adopted *gájo* surnames, choosing in many cases those of aristocratic families. Of names in use at a very early date some have survived, such as Faa, Baillie, Brown, Stanley, and Buckley; others, amongst which Bannister, Bownia, Leister, and Volantye may be mentioned, are no longer found.<sup>13</sup> As fresh Gipsies arrived, fresh surnames, possibly Herne, Boswell, and Lee, were added to the growing list. Then came constant accessions, due partly to the subdivision of families and partly to occasional marriages with *gájos*. Some of the Boswells, it is said, began to call themselves Boss, others Lock, the latter being a nickname by which they were known. Lucy Lock, to take one example, married a travelling barber called Edward Taylor, and, as their descendants have chiefly allied themselves with Gipsies, the *gájo* strain thus becoming diluted, the Taylors, a numerous family, must now be regarded as Gipsies. Whole families, again, adopted a new name for trade reasons, or because some individual member had disgraced himself, or was wanted by the police. But the surname is of little importance compared with the

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, O.S., vol. i., pp. 5-24; N.S., vol. i., pp. 31-4; H. T. Crofton, "Annals of the English Gipsies under the Tudors," in *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, 1880; D. MacKitchie, *Scottish Gypsies under the Stewarts*.



prænomen, which is the real name. This seems to be part of a person, for it must not be mentioned after his death lest his ghost should be recalled. If anyone else bears the same name, then it must be altered, as in the case of Siterus Boswell, who has been called Jack ever since his great-granduncle Siterus died, or a nickname must be substituted, as in the case of Chasey Price, who is always called "Shovel Mouth" by his friend Nukes Herne, who himself has a dead child called Chasey. There is a well-marked tendency to have two first names, one for *Romanitshals* and personal friends, and the other for everyone else. For example, Shandres Smith and Lavinia Boswell have eight children, of whom three have only one name, the other five being known as Vensa Starki, Diddles, Lūlū, and Nornas to a limited circle, and as Lena, Bertie, Reuben, Prince Albert, and Edward to the rest of the world. They generally address one another as "brother," "sister," "uncle" and "aunt," quite irrespective of kinship. "Uncle," and "aunt," or rather the *Romani* words *kāk* and *bībī*, were originally terms of respect; they are used when speaking to those of older generations, parents excepted, and are occasionally accompanied by names. "Brother" and "sister" are used under all other circumstances, even by parents when addressing their children, and are practically never accompanied by names.

In the case of those who have two names, the one conferred at baptism is usually the *gājō* name that is open to anybody. It is publicly revealed at the very beginning, for the baptismal ceremony is that of the Christian Church, the British Gipsies having none of their own. Nor is there anything to make us believe that they ever had one, for the rather elaborate rites practised by some of the Continental Gipsies after the birth of a child<sup>14</sup> seem to have been borrowed from surrounding peoples. From the time

<sup>14</sup> Summarized in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 339-41. Information mostly derived from Wlislöcki.

of their first arrival here they have been in the habit of having their children christened. Almost a score of records of Gipsy christenings during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been brought to light,<sup>15</sup> and many more might be discovered if the Parish Registers were thoroughly examined. Since 1700 Christian baptism has been the rule. They adopted this *gájo* rite from some superstitious feeling, the exact nature of which I have not been able to ascertain. The German Gipsies like to have their children baptized as often as possible, and the practice of successive baptisms is not unknown in England.<sup>16</sup>

For a certain period after childbirth the mother is considered to be *mokhadi*, ceremonially unclean, or tabooed. Hernes, and Boswells, and Smiths, and Grays, and Lees all assert that for one month (a month and a day, according to *Būi* Boswell) after the event she is allotted her own cup, plate, knife, fork, and spoon, which are subsequently destroyed. She is not allowed to prepare or even touch any food except her own, nor must her husband have any connection with her. Two or three generations ago a special tent was frequently assigned to her, and she was compelled to wear gloves for some considerable time longer than the month, whilst in extreme cases she was not permitted to touch dough for a whole year.<sup>17</sup> Even the very mixed *tinklers* cling to this observance, for they, according to Mr. Andrew M'Cormick,<sup>18</sup> do not allow a woman to cook any food for weeks after she has given birth to a child. Amongst the German Gipsies, who are closely akin to our own, the prohibitions are at once more numerous and more stringent. Wittich<sup>19</sup> states that births (except miscarriages, which do not count) are never

<sup>15</sup> See Note 13.

<sup>16</sup> See also *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. vi., pp. 65-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, O.S., vol. ii., p. 382, and vol. iii., p. 58; N.S., vol. ii., p. 184.

<sup>18</sup> *The Tinkler-Gypsies of Galloway* (2nd ed., Dumfries, 1907), p. 297.

<sup>19</sup> *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, pp. 27-8.

allowed to take place inside the living waggon, or it and all its contents would have to be destroyed, or sold to *gájos*. It is usually arranged that they take place on a makeshift straw bed under the waggon, for the bed on which a child is born becomes *mokhadi*, of course, and must be destroyed or sold. No cooking vessels, crockery, knives, forks, or spoons used by the mother must ever be used again, whilst between the birth and the christening of the child male Gipsies must not eat or drink in the waggon, nor eat anything cooked in it. If any of these prohibitions are disregarded, the offender is *bale tshido*. Liebig, Mr. Gilliat-Smith, and Mrs. Miln all mention the prevalence of childbirth taboos amongst the German Gipsies. The first-named states that they last for one month, and adds that during that time even the breath of the woman is considered to be *mokhadi*.<sup>20</sup> The period mentioned by Mrs. Miln<sup>21</sup> is from the time that the birth is expected until five months after the event, whilst among the Gipsies of the Rhine Province, according to Mr. Gilliat-Smith,<sup>22</sup> a woman who is found to be with child is separated from the rest of the tribe, and tended and well cared for by women alone, which system is prolonged until two months after the birth. It is not only in England and Germany that the Gipsies regard a woman as *mokhadi* for a certain period following, and in some cases preceding, childbirth. Dr. Sampson observed childbirth taboos amongst the Eastern European Gipsies who visited Liverpool in 1886.<sup>23</sup> Their existence has not, however, been recorded by any of the continental students of the Gipsies of that part of the world.

The English Gipsies do not, as we have seen, consider a woman to be *mokhadi* before the birth takes place, but that

<sup>20</sup> *Die Zigeuner*, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> *Woings and Weddings in Many Climes* (London, 1900), p. 383.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. i., p. 129.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, O.S., vol. iii., p. 58.

they did once is suggested by a lingering belief of the Lancashire Boswells that a pregnant woman protects a man from hurt by mortal hands; <sup>24</sup> any woman does not protect a man, but the clothing of *all* women is considered to be *mokhadi* in a more restricted sense. In both England and Germany cooking utensils, crockery, or food touched by a woman's dress must be destroyed. In Germany, too, according to Wittich, <sup>25</sup> a woman's linen must not be hung up in the waggon, because, if a male Gipsy touches it, he is *bale tshido*,—a fate which also befalls him if he eats or drinks from a vessel touched by a woman's dress. The punishment which, in Germany, attends the touching of a woman's linen possibly affords some explanation of the custom of the Herne women of wearing men's underclothing. <sup>26</sup> They seem, however, to have been paying more attention to the letter than to the spirit of the taboo. It must not be imagined, however, that the dread of ceremonial contamination from women's clothing is merely formal in England. One afternoon, when I was having tea with the family of Shandres Smith and Lavinia Boswell, Diddles, a boy of sixteen, hurled back a slice of bread at his mother because she had allowed it to touch her dress whilst cutting it. Lavinia quietly gave it to the dog. "That's the way wid all our fambly," she explained, "we can't none on we stomach hanythink what's *mokhadi*. I wouldn't have gid it to the child if I'd a-noticed."<sup>27</sup>

Blankets, handkerchiefs, and anything connected with the washing of clothes, or with the toilet, are *mokhadi*. Kenza Boswell was called "Blanket Pie Kenza" ever after the memorable occasion at Blackpool, some years ago, when he forced himself to eat a mouthful or two of a large meat pie, to avoid offending some charitable folk who had given

<sup>24</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 266.

<sup>25</sup> *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, p. 28; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 290.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, N.S., vol. v., p. 78.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 265.

it to the Gipsies as a special treat, but who had made the lamentable mistake of sending it to the tents in a blanket in order to keep it hot.<sup>28</sup> The plight of Ēros Herne, when a friendly *gájo* brought him some mushrooms in a handkerchief, was less deplorable; there was no call for immediate consumption in his case, so he was able to thank the donor profusely for the gift, and to feed his bantam with it as soon as he was gone. Hubert Smith, the son of Shandres and Lavinia, had serious thoughts of separating from his *potter* wife because she persisted in washing his cooking utensils and crockery and table linen in the same bowl, with the same piece of soap, and sometimes even in the same water as she used for washing wearing-apparel and herself. He contented himself, however, with destroying everything.<sup>29</sup> None of this family of Smiths will take drinking water from a stream in which some of their cousins washed several years ago.<sup>30</sup> Saiki Herne, Ēros's wife, once dashed her sugar basin and its contents against an adjoining wall because a comb from her hair accidentally fell on them. If it had been a hair brush, a nail brush, or a pair of scissors, she would have done exactly the same. Things can even be *mokhadi* by association or resemblance; hence the widespread avoidance of white crockery.

By some a sick person is considered to be *mokhadi*, and has a special set of crockery and a knife, fork, and spoon assigned to him, which are destroyed when the illness terminates. This taboo does not appear to have such a wide currency as some of the others, being confined, as far as I know at present, to the Cambridgeshire Smiths<sup>31</sup> and "Jasper Petulengro's" family. Perhaps it is due, not to survival, but to the confusing of ordinary maladies with childbirth.

The last class of taboos is concerned with animals, and like

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 156.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 265.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 232-3.

<sup>31</sup> *Gipsy Smith, his Life and Work; by Himself* (1901), p. 7.

those associated with washing and disease it applies equally to men and to women. In England anything connected with food that is touched by a cat or a dog becomes *mokhadi*, and consequently we find Vensalena Smith (Shandres' and Lavinia's daughter) making paper saucers for her kitten to drink from,<sup>32</sup> and Algar Boswell driving a stake through the bottom of a bucket from which a dog had chanced to drink.<sup>33</sup> German Gipsies are *bale tshido* for eating the flesh of cats, dogs, or horses, and for eating from a vessel in which such food has been prepared or kept.<sup>34</sup> On one occasion, writes Mr. Eccleston, Lazy Smith, after driving off a dog that was licking his frying pan, shouted to his daughter to put it on the fire quickly and clean it. The inference to be drawn from this is that he counted fire a sufficient purifier, but other Gipsies say that nothing can purify a thing that has become *mokhadi*. Neither these nor any other taboos, with the exception of that on the name of the dead and those that concern women at the time of childbirth, have been recorded for Eastern European Gipsies.

The German Gipsy punishment of making any offender, no matter what his sin or crime, *bale tshido*, amounts to the imposition of a taboo on him by the chief. He is allowed to travel with the band, but no one must drink from the same glass as he, nor eat from the same plate, nor use the same knife, fork, or spoon. To sit at meat with him, or to drink his health, is, however, allowed, and is not considered dishonourable. The duration of the sentence varies from two years to life, breaking a taboo meriting the minimum punishment. These imposed taboos are removed by the chief at the annual *tsil*, apparently without any accompanying ceremony.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 265.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 156; see also O.S., vol. ii., p. 382, N.S., vol. ii., p. 184, vol. iii., p. 320.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, N.S., vol. iv., 290; see also vol. i., p. 128.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 287-8.

Returning to the English Gipsies, it is worthy of note that the husband of one of the granddaughters of "Jasper Petulengro" is treated by his wife and family as if he were a German Gipsy law-breaker; he is *bale tshido* for life because he is a *gájo*. No one will eat or drink from the same vessel, nor use the same knife, fork, or spoon. When taboos were much more strictly observed than they are to-day, the Gipsies would naturally never contemplate marriage with *mokhadi gájos*, for they would be afraid of becoming contaminated themselves. This is quite sufficient to account for the fact that in a great many countries, including England and Wales, they are still practically an unmixed race, though racial pride has probably been a by no means negligible factor in determining this. Racial endogamy is, and always has been, their established rule or custom, but there always have been a few who did not conform.

At the present day they are endogamous within a more restricted circle. The British and German Gipsies, for instance, do not intermarry; they never come in contact with one another, for one thing, and, even if they did, there are sufficient superficial differences between them to prevent intermarriage for two or three generations. Further, the British Gipsies are, as I have already shown, divided up into three classes, each confining its wanderings, more or less, to a restricted area, and these do not intermarry to any appreciable extent, and would not do so freely at first if completely mixed. The same cannot be said of the families within any one of these particular areas. Still, most of them seem to despise and disapprove of all the others, and, even after marriage, her husband's family, unless it is identical with her own, is still contemptible to the wife, and his wife's to the husband. Something more than family pride occasionally underlies the feeling between two families. Once, when I told Lavinia Smith (*née* Boswell) of a proposed visit to the Bosses at Hale Moss, Altrincham,

she implored me not to go. "They'se will witch hevery penny out'n your pockets, an' put a spell onto yous so as yous will do none more good as long as yous may live. Yous will see nothink only but bad luck an' povertiness an' resease into all your days, so now I'm a-warnin' of yous. An' yous'll come back here wid it all into your clothes an' things, an' it'll pass on to we, and onto all our childern."<sup>36</sup> But this is only an isolated instance, and consequently is of little importance at present.

Inbreeding, as might be expected, has been prevalent, a fact which is revealed by the examination of a large number of English and Welsh Gipsy pedigrees collected chiefly by the Rev. Geo. Hall, Mr. John Myers, and myself. Marriages between cousins have been very common indeed, and have almost invariably resulted in healthy offspring. Four children of Elijah Lee married the same number of his brother Sampson's children, whilst in the Matthew Wood pedigree, recorded by Dr. Sampson,<sup>37</sup> of 24 marriages during 3 generations, 7 are between first cousins, and 7 between either first cousins once removed or second cousins. In a list of the 16 great-great-great-grandfathers of Manfri Wood, the same person, Abram Wood, occurs 7 times. Marriages between nephew and aunt, and between uncle and niece, have also occurred, without the issue, which was very numerous in some cases, being in any way defective. There are also records of more or less permanent unions between sister and brother, son-in-law and mother-in-law, father-in-law and daughter-in-law, grandfather and granddaughter, father and daughter, but these have played but a negligible part in the propagation of the race. Of the German Gipsies Liebich wrote in 1863:<sup>38</sup> "Marriage prohibitions are confined only to ascendants and descendants, side relations, even brothers and sisters, being allowed to marry, although this has been avoided

<sup>36</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 270.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 370-1.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 49.



in recent times, at least as far as brothers and sisters are concerned." His remarks apply equally well to their English and Welsh kindred, and probably to the Gipsies as a race. It is almost certain that there never have been any degrees of kinship within which marriage was prohibited, except the direct line. No matter how small the group unit is made, no traces of rules or customs designed to produce exogamy are discoverable, nor is anything known which suggests that exogamy was once the prevalent system. At the same time it is very doubtful whether a closer endogamy than that of the race was originally practised. The present day frequency of marriage between relatives may possibly be a survival of primitive family endogamy; but there are indications that it is due to a comparatively modern tendency of certain families to isolate themselves more or less completely from the rest. The statements of Trēnit Herne that "Hernes by rights oughter only to marry Hernes," and of a Herefordshire Smith that "we never marries out of the name," obviously cannot be regarded as reminiscences of an ancient endogamic system.

There is nothing to indicate that the Gipsies were ever polyandrous, nor should we expect them to have been, but polygamy occasionally occurs at the present day in Britain, and was more common in the past. The man very frequently married sisters, Charlie Pinfold, for example, taking three to wife, and Dick Herne, Nīaboi Herne, and Edward Wood, two each.

Before marriage no sexual intercourse is allowed; in fact the Gipsies set the very highest value on corporal chastity. Many observers noting this combined with a certain obscenity of conversation and song and lewdness of gesture and dance, have been not a little mystified, failing to grasp that the one is consistent with their dread of contamination, and the other with their being in a low stage of civilization. Some proof of the bride's virginity

used to be exhibited at her wedding, both in England<sup>39</sup> and Scotland,<sup>40</sup> and great precautions were taken lest this proof should not be forthcoming. A girl was compelled to wear a "girdle of chastity" whenever she went out hawking or fortune-telling,—that is, whenever she mixed with strangers,—from the age of puberty to the day of her marriage. If any youth said that he had received favours of a Gipsy girl when he had not, then, according to Borrow, she had a right to demand a kind of trial. The details of this, as given in *The Romany Rye*,<sup>41</sup> are so absurd on the face of them that I will not repeat them here.

From Kadilia Brown I once heard that an unchaste girl used to be driven from the tent and never owned again, and Borrow gives the same punishment for one who had granted favours to a *gâjo*, adding that years earlier she would have been buried alive. As recently as 1875 an old Suffolk Gipsy told Dr. Ranking that the ancient punishment for unchastity was burying alive, and pointed out to him a spot where three roads meet near Bamford, a few miles out of Ipswich, where, as a boy, he had seen a Gipsy girl undergo this punishment.<sup>42</sup> The German Gipsies take a very serious view of offences against chastity, whether in or out of wedlock, the offender being frequently *bale tshido* for life.<sup>43</sup>

The period of courtship is usually short, and any courtship is conducted mostly in public. Amongst the Hernes the bridegroom, or his relatives, test the would-be bride's constancy by appointing another young man to make a pretence of wooing her. If she gives him the slightest encouragement, then she is cast aside as useless; if not, marriage follows, subject, within living memory, to the

<sup>39</sup> In *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, O.S., vol. iii., pp. 158-9, a full description of the "girdle of chastity" is given.

<sup>40</sup> W. Simson, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>41</sup> Vol. i., chap. x.

<sup>42</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., pp. 170-1.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 290.

approval of an assembly of the bridegroom's older relations.<sup>44</sup> Amongst some of the Smiths, according to Dr. Ranking,<sup>45</sup> on the advent of another suitor a girl who was already engaged used to withdraw from the tent, seat herself on the ground apart, and loosen her hair, so that it fell all round her, and covered her face. It is not improbable that this practice was originally intended to facilitate childbirth, as it is among other people. From old Liz Buckland, Leland<sup>46</sup> heard that it was the custom of the girl to give her accepted suitor a red string or cord, or a strip of red stuff, or to throw a cake containing coins over the hedge to him, but no confirmation of either of these customs is forthcoming.

Gipsies invariably marry at an early age, so that the *tinkler* rule mentioned by Simson of never giving away the younger daughter in marriage before the elder is quite unnecessary.<sup>47</sup> Parents seem to be loth to part with their daughters, who have frequently to run away with the young man of their choice. In many families there is not, and possibly never has been, any marriage ceremony whatever. In others, the majority, Christian marriage is the only form of union in vogue at the present day. This, however, has never been as prevalent as Christian baptism or Christian burial,<sup>48</sup> nor does it appear to have been at all important a century or two ago. A marriage performed only in a church was not counted as a marriage at all by the Boswells,<sup>49</sup> nor, if we can rely on Schwicker,<sup>50</sup> by the majority of Gipsies everywhere; whilst in Hungary and Germany, according to Liebich,<sup>51</sup> the religious ceremony

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 170.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 184.

<sup>46</sup> *The Gypsies* (1882), p. 160; *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* (1891), pp. 143-4.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

<sup>48</sup> See note 13.

<sup>49</sup> Crofton, "Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire," in *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, vol. iii. (1877), p. 40.

<sup>50</sup> *Die Zigeuner in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen* (Wien, 1883), pp. 142 *et seq.*

<sup>51</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

might be delayed for months after the civil ceremony. The Hernes would have nothing whatever to do with Christian marriage; only prostitutes and cripples (? those already contaminated), they remarked, were married in churches. Was their real objection to the presence of a mixed crowd, or to the close proximity of graves? Almost certainly it was dread of contamination in some way or another.

A great variety of other marriage rites, once practised but now extinct, have been recorded, but most of them are none too well attested. The most widely-spread form of union in England was a very simple ceremony in which the bride and bridegroom clasped each other's hands in the presence of their relatives and friends, and vowed to be faithful to each other.<sup>52</sup> Amongst the Hernes, if a scholar could be found, he used to read a few words from the Bible! "Handfasting," which symbolizes union, is of course common enough amongst Indo-European peoples; it is, for instance, a Scottish folk-custom, and it forms part of the marriage ceremony of the English Church.

A very different rite to this is reported to have been practised by one of the Lancashire Boswells and her husband, and by Alfred Herne and his wife. A cake in which blood drawn from both of the contracting parties was mingled, was baked, and subsequently eaten by them together. Amongst the settled Servian Gipsies a cake is baked, and afterwards eaten together by the bride and bridegroom,<sup>53</sup> whilst in Germany the *voivode* used to touch the lips of the pair with wine, spill a few drops on their heads, and then drink the remainder himself.<sup>54</sup> From India an exact parallel is forthcoming, for amongst the Rajputs and Kewats blood is drawn and mixed with food, which the bridegroom and bride eat together.<sup>55</sup> Eating

<sup>52</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Love Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 170.

<sup>53</sup> Gjorgjević, *Die Zigeuner in Serbien*, Teil i., pp. 60 *et seq.*

<sup>54</sup> Liebig, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-9; Mrs. Miln, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

<sup>55</sup> A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (1902), p. 385.

together, of which the Roman *confarreatio* is a much-quoted example, and the English wedding cake a survival is another common Indo-European marriage rite; and, like "handfasting," it seems to symbolize union. The English Gipsy form of it is distinctly "savage."

The marriage ceremony of the Scottish Gipsies, as described by Simson,<sup>56</sup> was also intended to symbolize union, and the indissolubility thereof. The officiant, who carried a long staff, and wore a ram's horn around his neck, mixed the urine of both parties with earth, and sometimes brandy, and stirred the whole into an indissoluble mixture. This was then handed to the bride and bridegroom for them to test its indissolubility, after which they joined hands over it and were thus made man and wife. The mixture was bottled up, sealed with a mark like a capital M., and either buried or carefully preserved. (Small quantities of it were occasionally given to various members of the tribe.) Following this the more immediate relations of the contracting parties assured themselves of the virginity of the bride. Unfortunately there is no corroborative evidence for the existence of the earlier part of this ceremony, nor does any exact parallel seem to be forthcoming either from Gipsies in other countries, or from non-Gipsy peoples anywhere. An analogy to it may be traced in the Hottentot custom, in which the officiant discharges his secretion first over the bridegroom and then over the bride, thus uniting them to the tribe and to one another.<sup>57</sup>

At the weddings of the Northumbrian Gipsies,—a class resembling the *tinklers*,—a cheese or plate was, according to Barker,<sup>58</sup> broken over the head of the happy couple. The breaking of these, possibly to ensure fertility, is probably analogous to the scattering of cereals, an Indo-

<sup>56</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 259 *et seq.*

<sup>57</sup> Crawley, *op. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> "The Gipsy Life of Northumberland," in *Bygone Northumberland*, by W. Andrews (1899), pp. 222-40.

European marriage form which is known in the North of England and Scotland, where, by the way, cheese is frequently used in other rites. In passing, it may be noticed that the Gipsies, in England at any rate, think that scattering bread on a person, or his carrying a grain of wheat, protects him against dangers, both natural and supernatural.<sup>59</sup>

To the same Gipsies the practice of jumping over a broomstick as a form of marriage has been ascribed,<sup>60</sup> a rite also mentioned by Mrs. Miln<sup>61</sup> and Morwood.<sup>62</sup> The latter relates how he surprised a company of Gipsies in Yorkshire, drawn up in two parallel rows, between which the bride and bridegroom passed, jumping over a broomstick that was held across their path about eighteen inches from the ground. According to Angelina Gray (*née* Smith), her grandfather, Wisdom Smith, was married over a broomstick; an old gipsy woman near Grantham (? Mary Smith) affirmed that all her people were so married; and an Oxfordshire Smith once stated that some few of the Gipsies jumped over the broomstick at marriage. A bough of a tree was used in its place by the Shaws, Grays, and Dymocks, if one can rely on a shepherd of Stanstead Abbots who knew them well.<sup>63</sup> In Wales marriage over the *shuvél* or broom is still perfectly remembered by the Wood family. Matthew Wood's father and mother were made man and wife in this way, and so were Ben and Caroline Wood. Dr. Sampson has been kind enough to supply me with some very interesting details of the ceremony.<sup>64</sup> The *shuvél* might be a branch or bough of the flowering broom (*Cytisus scoparius*), in flower if season

<sup>59</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., pp. 265-6.

<sup>60</sup> See note 58.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

<sup>62</sup> *Our Gipsies in City, Tent and Van* (1885), p. 141.

<sup>63</sup> *N. & Q.*, 4th S., vol. iii. (1869), pp. 461-2.

<sup>64</sup> These and others have since been published in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 198-201.

permitted, but if not carrying its dry pods; or it might be a besom, such as was made by the Gipsies themselves from broom, preferably one that had seen some service. It was held by the father either of the bridegroom or of the bride, with one end resting on the ground, and over this would jump first the young man and then the young woman. The elder who was officiating would then say: "*Ne! kanâ romerdē shan*" (There! now you are married), or words to that effect, and perhaps admonish the newly-wedded pair. Presents would then be given, and followed by feasting, after which the young couple might go away together for a few days. According to another account, the elder who was going to officiate would himself go and cut two long branches of broom, and lay them on the ground, and over these the bride and bridegroom would leap, backwards and forwards, with hands clasped together. The officiant would then take a ring of rushes twisted by the bridegroom, and put it on the bride's finger half way down, after which the bridegroom would push it into its place. As soon as possible after the marriage this rush ring would be replaced by one of gold, purchased out of the joint earnings of husband and wife, "to bind them together right." One of the Locks, who himself married a Wood, told me that this was the way in which the Welsh *gájos* used to be married, and Elias Owen<sup>65</sup> states that in North Wales in olden times marriages were considered valid when contracted over a besom. Is this Welsh Gipsy rite wholly or partially of Welsh origin, or was jumping over the besom introduced into Wales by the Gipsies shortly after their arrival there about 1700, are questions which naturally arise. Jumping over artificial objects, as exemplified by the Belford "petting" stone, is a widely-spread Indo-European marriage form, but it is extremely doubtful whether this Gipsy ceremony ought to be regarded as a transition rite. Mr. W. Crooke considers it to be a survival

<sup>65</sup> *Old Stone Crosses* (1886), pp. 62-3.

of jumping over the branch of a sacred tree, and as such interprets it as a fertility charm.<sup>66</sup> It is important to note that no similar rite has been recorded for Gipsies anywhere outside Britain, and perhaps significant that the performance of it was in no way secret, friendly *grájos* being allowed to witness it. But at present I shall hazard no answer to the questions raised.

Jumping over tongs has been ascribed both to the English Gipsies and to the *tinklers*,<sup>67</sup> but the evidence for the existence of this as a marriage rite is entirely unsatisfactory.

It is also very doubtful whether any credence can be given to Bulwer Lytton's statement that, when his gipsy friend, Mimy, proposed to marry him, she said: "You will break a piece of burned earth with me,—a tile for instance."<sup>68</sup> The breaking of an earthen vessel is, however, a continental Gipsy marriage ceremony, practised in Germany, Spain, Moldavia, Transylvania, and Turkey.<sup>69</sup>

Another English Gipsy custom, according to a writer in *Notes and Queries*,<sup>70</sup> was the compelling of the bride to bring a pail of water to her husband's tent; it was probably intended to symbolize wifely subjection.

Simson's vague statement that the *tinklers* at one time sacrificed a horse at their marriage ceremony cannot be omitted, though the accuracy of it is doubtful.<sup>71</sup> Sacrifice is a marriage rite found amongst Indo-European peoples.

The same writer<sup>72</sup> also asserts that the father of the bridegroom used to spend the three or four nights

<sup>66</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 178.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, O.S., vol. i., p. 179; H. N. Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs in many Lands* (1897), p. 337.

<sup>68</sup> *The Life, Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton* (1883), vol. i., pp. 315-325.

<sup>69</sup> Germany: see note 54; A. Colocci, *Gli Zingari* (Torino, 1889), pp. 225-6, quotes Borrow and Kogalnitchan for this practice in Spain and Moldavia. Transylvania: Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Turkey: L. M. J. Garnett, *Women of Turkey* (1891), vol. ii., p. 360.

<sup>70</sup> 4th S., vol. iii. (1869), pp. 461-2. <sup>71</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 269. <sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 264.



immediately preceding the marriage with the bride's mother, but, if this custom ever did exist, it was probably due to decadence rather than survival, for it is entirely contrary to the Gipsy view of chastity.

With three exceptions these British Gipsy marriage rites and all those that have been recorded for their kindred elsewhere<sup>73</sup> are restricted to one locality. The exceptions are,—the breaking of an earthen vessel, eating or drinking together, and the virginity test. The first two have only a limited currency, but the virginity test, which frequently accompanies other ceremonies, has been recorded for England, Scotland, South France, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Servia, and Egypt,<sup>74</sup> and also for a mixed band of European Gipsies who were in Boston in 1908. It seems to be genuinely, though not exclusively, Gipsy, for, in addition to being almost universal among them, it accords well with the general tenor of their ceremonial customs. I am inclined to think that practically all their other marriage rites and ceremonies have been acquired by the Gipsies from the peoples with whom they have come in contact in Europe, or amongst whom they are now living.

If M. van Gennep's view that the main point of marriage rites is to mark the transit from one status to another, from one family or clan to another, be accepted, then it follows that they will be of less importance amongst endogamous peoples, where there is little or no actual transit, than amongst others. There will therefore be more variation of rites, those that symbolize union will take the lead, and family custom will rule. If the Gipsies were originally

<sup>73</sup> Summarized in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 341-354.

<sup>74</sup> Bataillard, "Les Gitanos d'Espagne et les Ciganos de Portugal" in *Compte rendu de la 9<sup>e</sup> Session au congrès international d'anthropologie* (Lisbonne, 1880), pp. 501-5; G. H. Borrow, *The Zingali* (1841), vol. i., p. 340; R. Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary* (Edinburgh, 1818), Appendix, p. lxxiii.; W. Simson, *op. cit.*, pp. 261 *et seq.*; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, O.S., vol. ii., p. 59, and vol. iii., p. 158.

closely endogamous, the variety and instability of their marriage rites, the comparatively large number of those that symbolize union, and the scarcity of those that mark transition, would be natural.

Gipsy marriages are as a rule permanent. True, Mimy only wanted to marry Bulwer Lytton for five years,<sup>75</sup> and in a paragraph on German Gipsies in an undated *Libausche Zeitung*<sup>76</sup> it is stated that marriages are in the first place for five years only, after which they become final if the wife has borne children and not betrayed her husband. This statement is, however, quite unconfirmed.

Unfaithfulness, like unchastity before marriage, is extremely rare. In Britain the men have never, as far as is known, been punished for it, but in Germany and Hungary they are maimed by being shot, either in the leg or in the arm.<sup>77</sup> The treatment of erring sisters has naturally been more severe. Possibly they were once buried alive, and certainly they used to be expelled from the family for ever, a punishment comparable with that meted out in the Balkans, where they suffer temporary or permanent banishment, neither they nor their husbands being allowed to remarry as long as their partners survive.<sup>78</sup> From Adelaide Garratt (*née* Lee) and Ēros and Saiki Herne I recently heard of survivals of two other forms of punishment. Dick Herne, they said, cut off the ears of one of his two wives (and incidentally gave them to the donkey to eat), because of her infidelity, whilst, for the same reason, another Herne caused his wife to run naked around a large field.<sup>79</sup> In Hungary an unfaithful Gipsy wife suffers

<sup>75</sup> See note 68.

<sup>76</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 312-3.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 355.

<sup>78</sup> Wlislöcki, "Vehmgerichte bei den bosnischen und bulgarischen wanderzigeuner" in *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn* (Budapest, 1893), vol. iii., p. 173.

<sup>79</sup> *Journal of Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., pp. 170-1.

expulsion from the band, accompanied by flogging, four gashes to brand her, and a night spent tied naked to a tree.<sup>80</sup> In Germany the punishment takes the form of cutting off, or at least gashing, the nose.<sup>81</sup> The custom of punishing an unfaithful wife by mutilating the nose or other member of the body is common enough in India,<sup>82</sup> but the Gipsies might have acquired it in the Near East, for there is an old Serb enactment of the year 1349, which states that "A noble outraging a married woman shall have his hands and nose cut off," and that "A married woman guilty of libertinage, shall have her nose and ears cut off."<sup>83</sup>

Unless these be regarded as such, no traces of divorce rites have been discovered amongst the English and Welsh Gipsies, but the *tinklers*, according to a somewhat unreliable authority,<sup>84</sup> used to employ the broomstick or tongs at their separations, the parties standing on either side and jumping away. But the real *tinkler* divorce ceremony, if Simson<sup>85</sup> can be believed, is one of much greater interest. A horse without blemish was chosen, round which the officiant walked several times at noon, extolling its virtues. It was then set free, and by its tameness or wildness when recapture was attempted the guilt of the woman was estimated. If it was lively and mettlesome, then she ran some risk of being slain for her misdeeds. Generally, however, the horse when caught was charged with its own and the woman's sins, upbraided for them, and stabbed. The

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 190-1; quotation from *The Martyrdom of an Empress* (1904), pp. 141-2.

<sup>81</sup> Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 50; A. Colocci, *op. cit.*, p. 228; Biester in *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, Feb. 1793, p. 118.

<sup>82</sup> N. Chevers, *A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India*, pp. 487 *et seq.*

<sup>83</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 68; quotation from *La Turquie à Europe* (Paris, 1840) by Ami Boué, tome 4, p. 430; Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 50, mentions a church assembly at Neapolis in Palestine in 1120 which decreed that male *Ehebrechers* should be castrated, and females have their noses cut off.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, O.S., vol. i., p. 179.

<sup>85</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 267 *et seq.*

parties concerned stood one on each side of the carcass, clasped hands, and addressed one another. Then, quitting their hold, they walked three times round it in contrary directions, stopping at the "corners" and speaking. At the last stop, by the horse's tail, they shook hands, and parted for ever, going north and south. The animal's heart was then taken out, roasted, sprinkled with brandy or vinegar, and eaten by the husband and his friends. The wife, on her departure, was given a cast-iron token about an inch and a half square, marked with a sign like a capital T. If she lost this, or attempted to remarry, she was liable to death after trial by the elders of the tribe; and the manner of her death was that she was bound to a stake by an iron chain, and cudgelled at intervals until she died! This ceremony began at noon, probably because the sun begins to decline then. The horse is frequently employed in divination by other peoples, and its use in the chastity test or ordeal is in no way extraordinary, for what other animal would a *tinkler* have, except perhaps a dog? The eating of the heart is not a little peculiar, though, for amongst the German Gipsies, it may be recalled, horse-flesh is tabooed. As to the origin of this curious form of ordeal, which seems to be peculiar to the *tinklers*, I can say nothing, except that it is obviously not connected, as Simson thought it was, with the *Asvamedha* rite. The punishments meted out to the woman,—expulsion from the band and prohibition of remarriage, or, under exceptional circumstances, death,—are very much the same as those of Gipsies elsewhere in cases of unfaithfulness, and are quite in keeping with the high value they set upon corporal chastity.

Although the British Gipsies have abandoned their marriage and divorce rites, they still cling firmly to their funeral customs, the main point of which, the destruction of almost everything connected with the deceased, they observe much more strictly and completely than their kindred elsewhere.

Coffined burial in churchyards and cemeteries is now their universal custom. It has always been prevalent from the sixteenth century onwards, so prevalent in fact that many writers have been sceptical about the existence of any other form of burial. This scepticism I should like to dispel. In *Lavengro*<sup>86</sup> Borrow describes the funeral of an old Mrs. Herne, who was buried uncoffined in a deep dell, after the manner of "a Roman woman of the old blood." Mr. John E. Cussans, writing to *Notes and Queries* in 1869,<sup>87</sup> asserts that the Shaws, Grays, and Dymocks used to bury their dead in a field at Strett Hall, near Saffron Walden, and also that it was no uncommon thing for bodies to be buried at the side of the road. The authors of *English-Gipsy Songs* state that until about 1825 the Gipsies buried their dead in lonely and remote places.<sup>88</sup> This last statement is too inclusive; they ought to have written "some few of the Gipsies" and not "the Gipsies," for it is only in East Anglia that there is any strong tradition of such burial. Grays, Smiths, and Browns have all assured me that it was once the invariable custom of some of the Gipsies, the Hernes being particularly mentioned, secretly to hide away their uncoffined dead in such lonely places as the remoter parts of Mousehold Heath, or to deposit them in ditches by the sides of lanes.<sup>89</sup> It is considerably less than a hundred years, they state, since such practices entirely ceased, owing to the attentions of *gâjo* officials. From their account it must have been somewhere about 1830 when Borrow's friend, Ambrose Smith ("Jasper Petulengro"), found one of the Hernes burying his wife in a ditch near Gorleston, took the body away, and gave it a Christian burial, to prevent further trouble befalling the old man.<sup>90</sup> About the same time a party of Gipsies

<sup>86</sup> *Op cit.* (1851), vol. iii., p. 168.

<sup>87</sup> 4th S., vol. iii., p. 462; Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

<sup>88</sup> By C. G. Leland, E. H. Palmer, and J. Tuckey (1875), p. 31.

<sup>89</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 169.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 78.

were compelled to bury an uncoffined body in Littlebury Churchyard, much against their will, for they wished to dispose of it elsewhere.<sup>91</sup>

Uncoffined burial survived a little longer, for, even after they were induced to bury their dead in churchyards, the Hernes and their tributary family, the Bakers, refused to employ anything more than winding-sheets. Almost exact parallels are forthcoming in the now extinct German Gipsy customs of employing only the hollowed-out trunk of a tree as coffin, and of burying the corpse in the depths of a thick wood.<sup>92</sup> The Siebenbürger Gipsies of twenty years ago buried their dead uncoffined, either in the least frequented part of the village burial ground, or out in the open country on the edge of a secluded wood, and subsequently planted thorns on the grave.<sup>93</sup> Of this last custom we have a reminiscence in England in John Chilcott's death-bed injunction: "Plant briars over me."<sup>94</sup> The grave of Cecilia Chilcott, who died in 1842, was watched for some time after the funeral, but this may only have been to prevent resurrection-work, which was common about that time.<sup>95</sup>

More than a score of fairly detailed accounts of English Gipsy funerals from 1769 to 1911 have been collected, chiefly by the Rev. Geo. Hall, Mr. E. O. Winstedt, and myself, some from printed sources, some from the Gipsies themselves. I do not propose to give these in full, for a summary of the more important ceremonial observances will be better in keeping with my present method of discussing Gipsy customs.

The body is "laid out," sometimes with the arms crossed, sometimes with them straight down by the side; there seems to be no general rule or custom. Amongst the

<sup>91</sup> See note 87.

<sup>92</sup> Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>93</sup> H. von Wlislöcki, *Vom Wandern den Zigeunervölke*, p. 296.

<sup>94</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 302.

<sup>95</sup> *The Times*, Oct. 18, 1842.

Turkish gipsies Paspati<sup>96</sup> observed that they were placed in the latter position.

The manner of clothing the corpse also varies. Some of the *tinklers*, according to Simson,<sup>97</sup> used only to put a paper cap on the head, and paper round the feet of their dead, leaving all the rest of the body bare, except the breast opposite the heart, where they placed a circle made of red and blue ribbons; but what reliance can be placed on this statement I do not know. Isaac Herne was clothed in pantalets, socks, and a white shirt, whilst one suit of best clothes and an overcoat, all turned inside out, were placed in the coffin under his body.<sup>98</sup> Pyramus Gray was buried in full walking-dress, the coat being turned inside out. In the case of Tom Brown, however, none of the splendid graveclothes that he wore,—green “cut-away” coat, plush waistcoat, doeskin riding-breeches, and silk stockings,—were turned inside out, for this custom seems to be confined to some few of the Hernes and Grays. He did not wear any boots or shoes, for that, according to my informant, Adelaide Garratt (*née* Lee), would have been contrary to Gipsy custom. Neither she nor Lavinia Smith (*née* Boswell) approved of Jack Lee being buried in red morocco slippers,<sup>99</sup> nor of the corpse of Cecilia Chilcott being supplied with satin shoes. The latter was dressed in a Scotch plaid gown and silk stockings, but another member of the same family was buried in white silk, because she was an unmarried girl. Eliza Herne, less ‘*gáji*ified’ than these two Chilcotts, was buried in the red cloak and bonnet beloved of Gipsy fortune-tellers a century ago. Major Boswell was covered with a white sheet, and a tuft of grass was placed on his chest, according to a common custom in Staffordshire, where he died.<sup>100</sup> At Wigton, in Cumberland,

<sup>96</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, O.S., vol. i., p. 5.   <sup>97</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>98</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 41-4.

<sup>99</sup> *London Evening News*, 1911.

<sup>100</sup> Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 171; quotation from *Staffordshire Advertiser*.

one-armed Chris Smith was recently buried with a sod placed in a saucer on his breast,—a custom once prevalent in that county, I am told, but now extinct.<sup>101</sup> The Lancashire Boswells usually employ shrouds, but enclose the favourite dress of the deceased in the coffin under the body. None of the above-mentioned Gipsies wore their jewellery, as far as we know, except Jack Lee, but to do so is really by no means uncommon. Full dress, preferably the best clothes that the deceased possessed, seems to be the general rule, and many Gipsies,—I am thinking particularly of Būi Brown<sup>102</sup> and Johnny Gray,—have made a point of struggling into this before they died. The former part of this statement applies equally well to most Continental Gipsies. For instance, when Sophie Kīrpatsh,—one of a band of Eastern European Gipsy coppersmiths,—was buried at Mitcham in 1911, she was fully and elaborately dressed and bedecked with a necklace of coins and a massive silver belt.

Things other than the clothing and jewellery placed on the dead body are frequently enclosed in the coffin, though this cannot be set down as a general rule, the East Anglian Smiths, for instance, thinking any such practice to be quite improper. Clothes were buried with Isaac Herne, a watch and a purse of money with Cecilia Chilcott, a fiddle and a pocket-knife with Pyramus Gray, a whip with Johnny Gray, and a fiddle, cup, saucer, plate, knife, etc. with an uncle of Rodney Smith.<sup>103</sup> Leland<sup>104</sup> records a case in which a pair of new shoes was bought, and put in the coffin, but I have been unable to obtain in England any other examples of the practice of enclosing new things. According to Liebich, (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-5), the German Gipsies of fifty years ago used to bury the dead man's weapons

<sup>101</sup> *Westmorland Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1912.

<sup>102</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 169.

<sup>103</sup> *Gipsy Smith, His Life and Work: by Himself*, p. 7.

<sup>104</sup> *The English Gipsies and their Language* (1873), pp. 58-9.



with him. Sophie Kirpatsh's coffin contained a piece of soap, a towel, a mallet, and a flask of water, whilst at the funeral all the mourners dropped money into it after it had been specially opened for that purpose.

Ceremonial watching of the body between death and burial frequently takes place. In the case of the woman who was buried at Littlebury two long hazel sticks were bent over the head and feet of the body, the ends being thrust into the ground. From these hung two oil lamps, which were kept burning all night, while two women, one on either side of the corpse, watched, sitting on the ground. Five tapers were placed on the lid of the coffin of an old Gipsy woman who died near Highworth in 1830, and were kept burning until the body was removed for interment.<sup>105</sup> When George Miller, a *potter*, died at Staveley in 1909, the body was watched continuously, candles being kept burning at the head and feet of the corpse. The burning of lights and the watching of the corpse are widely-spread customs, the former being mentioned by Sartori<sup>106</sup> as among the means used for protecting the corpse, and the survivors, from evil influences. What special meaning the British Gipsies attach to them I do not know, but amongst their Servian brethren the corpse is watched lest anything should jump over it, in which case it would become a vampire.<sup>107</sup> In the North of England a cat or dog which jumped over a corpse used to be killed; the same prejudice being felt, as Mr. Crooke has pointed out,<sup>108</sup> in many other parts of this country, Ireland, China, and the Malay Peninsula.

It is not at all certain whether the Gipsies fast ceremonially between the death of a person and his burial.

<sup>105</sup> Groome, *In Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 121 quoting from W. Hone, *The Year Book*; Tegg, *The Last Act; being the funeral rites of nations and individuals* (1876), pp. 315-8.

<sup>106</sup> *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipsic, 1910), p. 137.

<sup>107</sup> Gjorgjević, *op. cit.*, Teil i., p. 70.

<sup>108</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 181.

The East Anglian Smiths and Browns, and possibly also the Hernes, will not eat any food in a house, tent, or waggon where a corpse is lying, which possibly sheds some light on the fact that, when one of the Stanleys died in a cottage in the Isle of Wight in 1900, the surviving members of his family camped out in the garden until after the funeral.<sup>109</sup> According to Leland,<sup>110</sup> friends used to prepare food for the family of the deceased for three days after his death, but that he obtained this statement by the process of suggestion is, unfortunately, only too probable.

The corpse is usually carried to the grave by the mourners themselves. At the funeral of Paradise Buckler, aged 13, who died at Belbroughton in Worcestershire in 1815, the coffin was carried on nothing but white pocket-handkerchiefs, because she was an unmarried girl, this being the custom in that county.<sup>111</sup> When Lepronia Lee was buried at Kirton, sisters and cousins wore white, but the rest black, except that the men had white ribbons to tie their hatbands, white gloves, and white neckties; she too was unmarried.<sup>112</sup> Mourning colours are, as a rule, avoided; black is sometimes worn, but Genti Gray regards red as the proper colour. Amongst the Continental Gipsies the colour varies, red and yellow, black, and white all being in vogue.<sup>113</sup>

On the day after the funeral the complete destruction of the deceased's personal belongings, (with the exception of his money), and of the family tent or waggon in which death took place, together with the entire contents thereof, is usually carried out. In the earlier records clothes, blankets, trinkets, a fiddle, and, in one case, books, are

<sup>109</sup> *N. & Q.*, 9th S., vol. xii., p. 496.

<sup>110</sup> *The English Gipsies and their Language*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>111</sup> F. H. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, pp. 119-20 (quoting *Truth*, Aug. 28, 1879).

<sup>112</sup> Morwood, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

<sup>113</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 363.

specially mentioned.<sup>114</sup> Living-waggons were unknown, or comparatively rare, until half a century ago, and therefore, if the destruction were merely a formal rite and dictated by no real feeling, it is hardly likely that they would now be destroyed. But to our certain knowledge three have been burned during 1911. On the day after the funeral of Isaac Herne, *i.e.*, on Feb. 25, 1911, his son Īza, by arrangement with the blacksmith of Sutton-on-Trent, brought his father's van on to a bare patch of garden behind the smithy. Wheels and shafts were then removed and placed, with the harness, inside the van, which already contained bedding, old clothes, a hat, boots, and other small articles in a sack. Straw saturated with paraffin was placed in and around the van, and ignited by Īza. When the fire had burned itself out the ashes were scattered about the garden. Everything that will burn is destroyed by fire; after which drowning and burying are usually employed to dispose of the remains, and in some cases of the ashes from the fire. After the death of Oli Herne at Withernsea in 1894, his wife, Wasti, had the waggon burned on the sea-shore in the early morning, as the tide was rising, so that the ashes might be carried away. The stove and the iron belongings, as well as the crockery, were broken up, and the fragments thrown into the sea.<sup>115</sup> About five years later, when Savaina Lovell, wife of Simpronius Bohemius (Buī) Boswell, died in Liverpool, the fragments of the crockery, together with a battered silver tea-service, and some articles of jewellery, were secretly dropped into the Mersey from one of the ferry-boats, whilst, when her

<sup>114</sup> Article by J. R. T. in Hone's *Table Book* for June, 1827 (quotation from a journal kept by a member of his family during the year 1769); *Annual Register* for 1773 (5th ed., 1793), pp. 142-3; Note by Cuthbert Bede in *N. & Q.*, 2nd S., vol. iii. (1857), 442.

<sup>115</sup> These details were obtained from Wasti by the Rev. George Hall. See also *Manchester City News*, Sept. 22, 1894; *N. & Q.*, 8th S., vol. vi., p. 286; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. i., p. 358.

clothes and bedding were burned at Jackson's Bridge a few days later, the ashes were strewn on the canal close by.<sup>116</sup> A Gipsy grinder's stone was carried two miles in order that it might be thrown into the River Severn,<sup>117</sup> and the fragments of Sinfai Herne's (*née* Gray's) crockery were transported twenty-six miles so that they might rest in the River Tyne. Adelaide Garratt (*née* Lee) asserts that not only is drowning preferable to burying, but that it is indispensable, because the *gájos* might dig up things that had been buried. Other Gipsies do not, however, share her fears, Īza Herne, for instance, being quite content to bury the fragments of his father's stove and pans and crockery, although the River Trent could not have been far away.

Īza would not allow a *gáji* to obtain a charred spindle, but he himself kept the hub caps off the wheels, together with some hooks, and gave the iron parts of the waggon that remained after the fire to the blacksmith. After his mother's funeral in 1908, it is said that the hub caps and scrap iron and silver were sold, the latter on condition that it should be melted down. In Germany, where a failure to perform the necessary funeral rites is followed by the punishment of being made *bale tshido*, it is permissible to retain anything that was removed from the waggon before the entrance of death, and to sell everything else to *gájos* instead of destroying them.<sup>118</sup> Of these practices such English Gipsies as I have asked strongly disapprove. In Germany they do not destroy anything at all when a child dies, but in Sept., 1911, at Dormington, in Herefordshire, Cornelius and Lucina Price on the death of their four-year-old son burned a practically new living-waggon that had cost £80 to build.<sup>119</sup> If anything has by chance been

<sup>116</sup> *The Tramp*, Oct., 1910.

<sup>117</sup> From the note by Cuthbert Bede.

<sup>118</sup> Wittich, *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, p. 29; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 48-9. Cf. also Liebich, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Wlislöcki, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Gjorgjević, *op. cit.*, Teil 1, pp. 67-72.

<sup>119</sup> *Hereford Journal*, Sept. 23, 1911.

preserved that ought not to have been, then it is left severely alone; no one will look at it, or touch it, or disturb it.

The favourite animals of the dead person, his horse and his dog, for instance, are occasionally slaughtered by English Gipsies, though this is somewhat unusual.<sup>120</sup> The carcasses are generally buried, occasionally sold, but, according to Adelaide Garratt (*née* Lee), they ought to be disposed of under water. The last method, however, is probably nothing more than a family idiosyncrasy, for it is obviously impossible in the majority of cases.

Annual ceremonial visits to the grave were at one time customary. Miller, the Doncaster historian, records that Gipsies from the south used to visit Charles Boswell's grave at Rossington annually, and pour a flagon of ale on it;<sup>121</sup> and a former curate of Selston told the Rev. Geo. Hall that members of Dan Boswell's family used to visit his grave there and perform the same rite. The German Gipsies, in Liebich's time, used to pour the dead man's favourite alcoholic drink on his grave at the time of the funeral, and a year later hold a feast at the same place.<sup>122</sup> The Eastern European coppersmiths dropped rum on Sophie Kîrpatsh's coffin when it had been lowered into the grave, and drank some themselves, returning three days later to pour beer on the grave. On the ninth day a feast was held, and it was said that a like ceremony would be observed at the end of three, six, and twelve months.

The survivors frequently abstain from the favourite food or drink of a dead relative or friend, or food or drink shared with him just before his death, sometimes for a number of

<sup>120</sup> See note 105; *Catholic Times*, Dec. 13, 1873; B. C. Smart and H. T. Crofton, *The Dialect of the English Gypsies* (2nd ed., 1875), p. 203.

<sup>121</sup> F. H. Groome, *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 111, quoting from Miller's *Antiquities of Doncaster* (Doncaster, 1804); *N. & Q.*, 4th S., vol. iii., pp. 518, 557; *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. iii., p. 235.

<sup>122</sup> Liebich, *op. cit.*, pp. 54.

years, sometimes for life. I could quote a score of instances of abstention for this reason from such things as fish, hedgehogs, potatoes, apples, Christmas puddings, tobacco, and beer.<sup>123</sup> In addition to this, the German Gipsies frequently fast on Fridays for a year, and used at one time to turn vegetarians for a year,<sup>124</sup> but a similar taboo has never been mentioned in connection with the Gipsies of Eastern Europe. In England they also frequently abstain from the favourite amusement of the deceased,—music, dancing, or cards. One of the Burtons never uses the stopping-places where his dead father used to encamp; and an aunt of Louis Lovell, who saw him brought from Darton, where he died, to Bradford in a suit of red flannel, swore never to wear that coloured material again.<sup>125</sup> The taboo against mentioning the dead by name, with which I have already dealt, is the most widely-spread and strictly observed of all. It has been recorded by Liebich and Wlislöcki for Germany, Servia, and Turkey, in addition to England. Finally, an oath by a dead relative,—*e.g.*, “By my dear dead grandfather,”—is the most sacred an English Gipsy can swear.

There can be no doubt that the destruction of the property of the deceased, and of the waggon or tent and its contents, is the main feature of Gipsy funeral rites; and it seems to me to be equally obvious, after what has been said about the Gipsies' fear of ceremonial contamination from clothing, crockery, etc., that this destruction is not dictated by a desire to supply the needs of the spirit in another world, but by dread, either of the contaminating power of death or of the clinging presence of the ghost of the dead person. That the animistic explanation is the correct one becomes

<sup>123</sup> A few examples will be found in Leland's *The English Gipsies and their Language*, pp. 49-55.

<sup>124</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 365.

<sup>125</sup> Crofton, “Gypsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire,” in *Manchester Literary Club Papers*, vol. iii. (1877), p. 35.

probable in the light of Wislocki's proof that the Gipsies are inordinately afraid of the ghosts of the dead who have not found rest,<sup>126</sup> and practically certain when it is recalled that those who have handled a dead person do not become taboo, and that the destruction used to be postponed, amongst the Gipsies of Siebenbürgen, until such time as the soul was supposed to be freed from the body, that is, until the latter was decomposed.<sup>127</sup> Further, it is supported by the statement of Cornelius Price, an English Gipsy, that if he had not destroyed his van the spirit of his dead son would have returned in a short time to haunt it,<sup>128</sup> and of Engelbert Wittich, a German Gipsy, that the rite is observed because it is believed that the ghost of the deceased must haunt the waggon in which he lived during his life, and will find no repose until it is destroyed or removed from the family.<sup>129</sup> (That the ghost should trouble *gájos* naturally does not matter; in fact, I should think it was rather desirable.) No evidence of any weight has been adduced in favour of any other explanation, and I agree, therefore, with the theory, first proposed by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, that the destruction of the effects of the dead is, or at any rate was, dictated by dread of the clinging or lurking ghost. In the light of this it is quite obvious that the manner of destruction is of minor importance, burning and drowning being preferred solely because they are more irrevocable than any other means.

It is probable that in their fear of the ghost of the dead lies the key to the interpretation of most of the other Gipsy funeral customs. Planting thorns on the grave, hiding the corpse in an unfrequented place, burying it in a ditch,

<sup>126</sup> *Volks Glaube und Religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster, 1891), p. 97; *Vom Wandernden Zigeunerzölke*, pp. 279 et seq.

<sup>127</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 361.

<sup>128</sup> *Hereford Journal*, Sept. 23, 1911.

<sup>129</sup> *Blicke in das Leben der Zigeuner*, p. 29; see also *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. v., pp. 79-80.

under a tree,<sup>130</sup> and (if the statements of Spengler<sup>131</sup> and Miss L. A. Smith<sup>132</sup> be accepted) under water, all seem to be devices for preventing the body from being walked over, and, as such, are based on fear of the ghost, possibly of making it uncomfortable and restless, possibly lest some one should accidentally walk over the grave and "catch" it. The prohibition of footwear is in all probability based on the belief that it would keep the ghost from "walking," whilst the same belief may underlie the custom of turning the clothes inside out. In the latter case, however, an alternative reason suggests itself, namely, that the device was intended to prevent the stupid ghost from losing its way during its journey to the other world, for, according to his son, a half-breed named Winter used to turn his coat inside out whenever he got lost, with the inevitable result that he very soon found the right road.<sup>133</sup> Articles enclosed in the coffin,—“bits o’ things what the dead person was more fonder on than others, an’ might find the want of,” according to Lavinia Smith (*née* Boswell),—would no doubt content it, and lessen the chance of its returning to trouble those left behind. In the particular case of Rodney Smith’s uncle, however, practically all his possessions were placed in his coffin, instead of being destroyed, so that nobody should ever use them again. The enclosure of a pair of new shoes in the coffin of Job Cooper seems to have been nothing more than an individual eccentricity, comparable with the curious behaviour of another of Leland’s Gipsy friends, who burned his waggon on being jilted by the girl whom he had intended to marry.<sup>134</sup> The desire further to

<sup>130</sup> R. Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, In 1772 and 1773* (1775), pp. 179-80.

<sup>131</sup> Heister, *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner* (Königsberg, 1842), p. 51.

<sup>132</sup> *Through Romany Songland* (1889), p. 51.

<sup>133</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S., vol. vi., p. 149.

<sup>134</sup> *English-Gipsy Songs*, pp. 68-9.



content the ghost probably underlies the slaughter of favourite animals, and possibly also the pouring of beer or spirits on the grave. But to mention the dead person's name would summon it at once. "He don't want her to walk," was the explanation offered by old Frank Elliot to the Rev. Geo. Hall of a Gipsy's reluctance to mention his dead sister's name. The Servian and Turkish Gipsies, on the seventh night after the burial, call on the dead person by name, promise never to use his name again, and implore him to quit the earth and not let his ghost torment his friends.<sup>135</sup> The ghost might be inhabiting the favourite camping places of the dead person, so they are avoided, whilst to indulge in his favourite amusement or to eat his favourite food would be to invite it to join in the entertainment or meal.

If the interpretations that I have suggested be accepted as substantially correct, it follows that the funeral ceremonies of the British Gipsies fall into two classes. The more important of these comprises those rites that are dictated by a dread of the clinging, lurking, or haunting presence of the ghost; considered as a class, they are almost universal amongst Gipsies. The less important comprises those that are based on a desire by thoughtful ministration and abstention to avoid giving it any cause, or offering it any inducement, to return; these have a more limited currency. In South-Eastern Europe neither class is well represented, for the Gipsies there practise funeral rites that are not readily distinguished from those of their *gâjjo* neighbours.

I have now recorded all that is relevant to my subject, and perhaps a little that some may consider to be irrelevant. My main object has been to provoke discussion, and to stimulate and give a direction to the research work in which we are engaged. The interpretations I have suggested and the theories I have advanced are put forward quite tentatively for the present. But what stands out most

<sup>135</sup> Wislocki, *Volks Glaube*, p. 96.

clearly from the mass of material here presented is, firstly, the Gipsies' dread of contamination, and the taboos naturally arising therefrom ; and, secondly, the main features of their funeral rites, founded, as I believe, upon their dread of the clinging, lurking, or haunting presence of the ghost. These, at any rate, are intensely Gipsy. Their persistence through long ages, and their existence in our very midst to-day, add another to the many romances alike of folklore and of gipsy-lore. Unlike family organization they have been better preserved in the West than in the East of Europe, but like it they probably date from a time antecedent to the first arrival of the Gipsies in the European continent, for there is a marked absence of parallels to them in European folklore. Strongly contrasted with the unity and persistence of these taboos and funeral rites is the variety and instability of the marriage rites, a variety and instability that suggests that they originally had none at all, but acquired such as they have practised from time to time by borrowing from the *gájos* with whom they are now in contact, or with whom they have been in contact within comparatively recent times, and this view is strengthened by the fact that parallels to most of them, more especially to those of the gipsies of Eastern Europe, can be found in European folklore. That they do borrow from *gájos* is, I think, no longer in doubt ; at any rate, since their arrival in England they have picked up (and possibly helped to disseminate) many of our native tunes, songs and dances, medical recipes, charms, and omens. The general tenor of the customs taken as a whole, and the tone of mind that prompts them, are characteristic of a people in a low state of civilization.

T. W. THOMPSON.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### CRETAN FOLKLORE NOTES.

(With Plate VI.)

*Binding Churches.*—The photographs (Plate VI.) represent two churches at the little village of Evgeniké (Εὐγενική), a drive of two hours south of Candia. It is a common practice throughout Greece, when a village is devastated by an epidemic, to vow a binding of the church or churches with wax candles. The thin wax candles are knotted together and tied round the church as in the photographs. For any serious epidemic spiritual help may be invoked in this way; the most frequent plague, and consequently the most frequent cause of binding the church, is meningitis. But there is no special connection between that particular disease and the custom. Further, no reason is assigned, so far as I could learn, for the binding of the church. All the persons of whom I inquired informed me simply that the candles were offered as a gift (δῶρον) to the Virgin or the Saint to whom the church belonged. The act of binding seems to have lost any significance it may once have had.

The following items I gathered chiefly round our camp fire on Mount Ida when we were excavating the Kamares cave. The greatest of practical archaeologists, the Cypriote foreman, Grigóri Antoníon, supplied most of the information.

*Fumigating against Evil.*—One evening he produced from his luggage some laurel and a packet of olive leaves, both of which he had brought from Cyprus. The former he presented to us for seasoning the cooking; with the latter he fumigated us to ward off evil influences (διὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, “for the eye”). He explained

that in Cyprus they do not use incense, as they do in Greece, for domestic fumigation, because incense is used for the dead. Instead, for domestic spiritual requirements, they use the Palm-Sunday olive leaves. The leaves are taken into the church on Palm Sunday, where they are offered as "palms," and left in the church for forty days. When this period has elapsed they are taken out and used as incense in households.

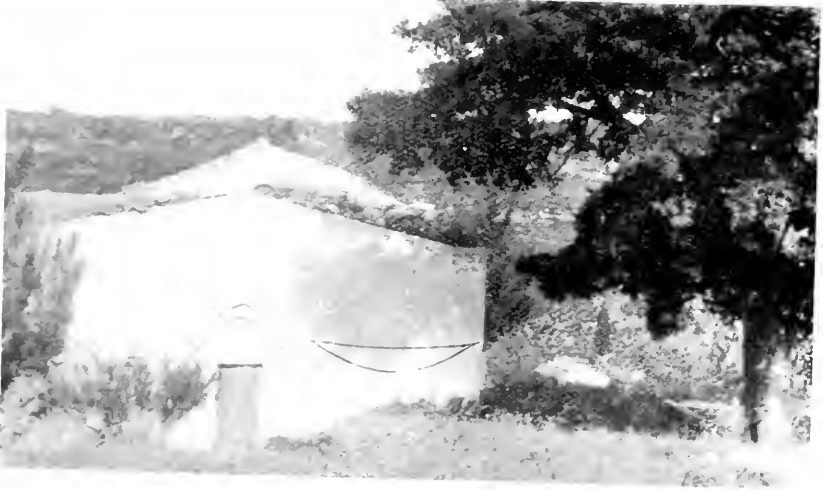
*Folk-Medicine.*—Scorpion bites Grigóri cures by putting the head of the scorpion that bit you on the wound ("a hair of the dog that bit you").

*Divination.*—One evening the conversation turned on divination. At Knóssos once, Grigóri discovered who had broken his *nargileh* by means of the sieve.

At his home in Cyprus lives an old woman who takes a handful of beans and throws them on the table and divines by means of them. Grigóri firmly believes in her powers, and told us that she had correctly informed his wife of his being on the sea on his way back to Cyprus.

Divination by the shoulder-blade of sheep (*σπάλλα* or *κοιτάλα*) is practised by shepherds. The men of Sphakiá are the experts at this mode of prophecy. I subsequently discussed this topic with the Abbot of the monastery of Arkádhí. He was much interested in such matters, and particularly in *planchette*, to which a travelling German had once introduced him. On theological grounds he was much distressed at the German's statement that spirits of the dead wrote the answers, and proved to his own satisfaction that it could not be the dead but that it must be evil spirits (*ἀκάρθβατα πνεύματα*). He firmly believed in the divination by the speal-bone, and told long stories of the foretelling of the sack of the monastery by the Turks in 1866. He confirmed the reputation of the Sphakianí, but appeared to think that the diviners of these degenerate days were not equal to their predecessors, and that in the rest of Crete the art was dying out. There was one shepherd, whose name unfortunately I have forgotten, from the village of Anógia, of whom he spoke with respect.

I heard of the speal-bone also in Thessaly and Pindus, but there the practice was always referred to with contempt as a fast-disappearing shepherd superstition.



BINDING CHURCHES WITH WAX CANDLES IN CRETE.



The Abbot of Arkádhí was also familiar with the "Bible and Key." His method apparently was to balance the key on the finger and recite a certain Psalm. He seemed reluctant to specify the particulars to a foreigner, layman, and heretic.

*Supernatural Beings.*—An old man whom Mr. Dawkins and I came across in the village of Phaneroméni, in the Messará, declared that the Kamares cave itself was haunted, and he prophesied that we should do no good there. He had once been a shepherd on the hill and had gone into the cave, and there he had seen an *Arabatzélla*, whose lower lip hung down to her waist. He had raised his gun and fired, and she disappeared, the bullet passing right through her and hitting the other side of the cave. We had, however, no ghostly trouble with workmen, and, at any rate when in company, these old men's tales are not taken very seriously by the younger generation.

The story is interesting as a projection of a spook out of folk-tales. *Arabatzélla* is the feminine diminutive of *Araps*, the black spirit corresponding to an *ifrit*, who regularly appears in Greek fairy tales. And in folk-tales of the Near East these beings are consistently described as having an upper lip which reaches to heaven and a lower lip which touches the ground, a feature, I fancy, of Oriental origin introduced into Greek stories through the Turkish. It is interesting to notice that, when the old man saw a bogey, it should possess the stereotyped trait of the bogies of his folk-tales.

*Drolls.*—In the villages on the southern slopes of Mt. Ida and in the plain of the Messará Gotham stories are told about the village of Anógiá, which is just the other side of the mountain. Nearly all the stories which the shepherds told us round the camp fire began, "Once upon a time there was a man of Anógiá," and went on to tell how he was persuaded that his gourd had given birth to a hare, or how he tried to rake the moon from a well. As a matter of fact Anógiá is a large and exceedingly prosperous village, and, to judge from their material success its inhabitants must be well above the average in intelligence and business capacity.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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## QUEBEC FOLKLORE NOTES, III.

*A Devil-Child.*—A woman living in a village not far from Montreal, who was formerly a good Catholic, began to neglect her religious duties seriously. Her impiety culminated during her pregnancy, when she repulsed a vendor of religious pictures, saying that she would as lief have the devil in the house. In due time her child arrived, and showed extraordinary precocity. He was born with teeth; he learned to speak when a month old; and, in general, he so astonished his parents, as well as the neighbours, who came from all sides to see the prodigy, that they began seriously to discuss the advisability of killing him. The child overheard them, and interposed with the significant remark, "If you kill me, there will come seven worse than I."<sup>1</sup> He vetoed another proposal to send him to a travelling show as a "freak," declaring that they should never make money out of him.

L. B. is rather sceptical about this story, and says she would like to see the child (who is now alive, aged about twenty) before believing in it entirely; but she is of opinion that the creature was sent as a punishment to its parent, and sure that "il n'est pas comme les autres enfants." In telling the tale she showed, like most *habitants*, marked reluctance to make any actual mention of the Evil One.

*Folk-Medicine.*—To cure whooping-cough, take a large caterpillar, of a certain species black at both ends and yellow in the middle. Touch it to make it curl up, but be sure not to hurt it. Then put it in a tailor's thimble, enclose this in a bag, and hang it around the patient's neck. As the caterpillar dries up, the disease will disappear.<sup>2</sup>

L. B. once kept a number of these caterpillars as pets, but her brother drowned them all. Next spring, before the caterpillars of that species appeared, all the children of the family had whooping-cough, the offending brother being the worst sufferer. He was in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *S. Matthew*, cap. xii., v. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-Lore*, p. 156; Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. (East Riding), p. 72; vol. ii. (North Riding), p. 180.



high disfavour with both L. B. and her father for having brought the disease upon the family.

For a sore throat, take a stocking which has been worn, the dirtier the better, and tie it inside-out about the neck, making sure that the sole is next to the sore place. (L. B. takes this quite seriously. When one of us, having an attack of tonsillitis, used a golf-stocking to fasten on an improvised cold compress, she was distressed to find that the stocking was clean.)<sup>3</sup>

*Children.*—If a child cuts its teeth very early, the next one will be born before long.<sup>4</sup>

To aid children in teething, a hole should be made in a five-cent piece (the smallest Canadian silver coin, about the size of an English threepence), and this fastened about the neck with a string by one of the godparents. The teeth will then come easily.

A child's nails should not be cut before it is a year old, as it will either be bad or have a poor memory.<sup>5</sup>

A baby who cries a great deal will grow up handsome.

To smack it in the traditional fashion promotes its growth.

*Dreams and Omens.*—To dream of finding money is unlucky; to dream of losing it means that someone will find some.

To dream that one's own or anyone else's hair is verminous portends good luck.

It is unlucky to fasten up a dress crookedly.

To bump your elbow means that a friend is coming.

A long thread on the dress promises a new lover (*un nouveau cavalier*).

If a girl splashes herself in washing clothes, dishes, etc., she will marry a drunkard.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>This use of a dirty stocking for sore throat is common in Yorkshire. Cf. also Mrs. M. C. Balfour, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. (Northumberland), p. 47. [Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties etc.*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>The usual penalty in England is that the child will grow up a thief. Cf., for example, W. Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>"A wet apron [in washing] means a drunken husband," is said in Yorkshire, and a similar belief is general, e.g. C. J. Billson, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. i. (Leicestershire and Rutland), p. 66. [Ed.]

Tacking-threads in clothes indicate that they are not yet paid for.

If anyone is very sick during a sea-voyage, but recovers quickly on landing, his health will always be good.

E. H. and H. J. ROSE.

#### PIEDMONTESE FOLKLORE, II.

*Charms.*—If seven frogs are killed during the duration of a rainbow, and pulverized, the resulting powder will cure fever.

To make a woman go mad, horse hoofs and ox horns should be ground to powder, mixed, and hung in a small bag in the doorway so that the woman will touch it in passing.

*Witches and Witchcraft.*—The three following stories were told to me by the priest and an old peasant at Cogne, in the Val d'Aosta:—

At Moncuc there was an *alpe* (mountain hut) in which lived a cheesemaker. One day he gave an old woman who begged from door to door some boiling whey in spite. "Thou shalt make no more cheese," said the old woman. The following night a landslip came down and destroyed the hut, and on its site there is now a big boulder (*clanet*), in the middle of which is a hole. If you throw stones down the hole, you will hear metallic sounds from the cauldron of the cheesemaker. The old peasant who told me the tale said he remembered, when a young shepherd, having thrown stones in the hole and heard the sound of the cauldron.

An old woman belonging to the village of Cartaselle used to walk every evening to Lilla, spinning all the way, and returning home at midnight. Some peasants of Lilla became very curious about her, and decided one evening to stop her and ask for her *conocchia* (distaff). She thanked them; disappeared, and was not seen again.

In the Mogne castle used to be seen, between 11 p.m. and 3 a.m., great lights and people dancing to the sound of musical instruments. But one day all this ceased.

A man at S. Jean was toasting his bread, when a woman came and placed herself in front of the stove. A goat came out of the stable and went up to her, and she put her hand on its head. The animal at once fell lame. So the owner quickly took up a knife and cut off the goat's head. This broke the charm. The goat became all right again, and the woman became lame. When dying, the woman averred that four carts would not suffice to carry the yokes of the cattle which she had destroyed by her sorceries.

*The Devil.*—A cross was erected on the summit of the rock of Cavour to the memory of the Cavourese who died fighting there in 1691. But the peasants give it quite a different origin. They say that the Devil himself was once lord of Cavour, and lived on the top of this rock. The human inhabitants determined to get rid of him by erecting a cross on the very spot. The undertaking proved very difficult, but they finally succeeded, and then the Devil, uttering horrible yells, threw himself into the Nether Regions. He clutched the rock as he fell, and left indelible prints of three fingers, which can still be distinguished. On the summit of the same rock there is a large hole, and tradition says that there is at the bottom of the hole a car laden with gold and drawn by two yoke of oxen. The car is guarded by the Devil, who revenges himself on the peasants who drove him away, by ruining all those who seek to obtain the treasure.

Cavourese legends ascribe to the Devil the power of transforming himself into many shapes,—a black ram, lovely child, cat, crow, vulture, eagle, and sometimes even a dove,—although his commonest shape is a toad. If, when in any of his shapes, he suddenly disappears, it is because a saint from Paradise has appeared. For instance, at the abbey-church of St. Benignus, the imprint is shown of a taloned hand. The Devil, spited by the monks sending many souls straight to Paradise, proposed to crush the church and all within it by throwing the belfry on top of it. But St. Benignus suddenly appeared, with all the martyred saints of the convent, and the Devil disappeared in terror.

The old bridge between Mt. Bunasco and Mombasso was built by the Devil, who, in order to prove that he was the architect, left a print of his taloned feet in a rock just in front of a neighbouring chapel.

There is a tale of a poor girl, called Carina, who was the joy of her friends and of her betrothed. Both her parents died suddenly, and her betrothed was called up by the conscription. Nor did her misfortunes end here, for a few days later a terrible tempest swept over her little plot of ground, destroying everything. The poor creature in her despair prayed that death would have mercy on her. Suddenly a dark angel appeared, and offered her every happiness if she would give her soul to him. Carina, however, shut her eyes and crossed herself devoutly, whereupon the Devil disappeared in smoke. But the terrible effects never left Carina. She heard strange noises in the night, and saw processions of spectres. This could not long be borne, and she died. Her betrothed returned to find her in her grave. Even there Carina is not at rest, for her spirit is seen to hover about the road, calling her betrothed in piteous accents. She waits for a reply, and, when none comes, returns weeping to her tomb.

*Folk-Tale.*—A shepherd once lost a goat. He looked for it everywhere. Not finding it in the neighbourhood, he went up to the mountains to search for it, to the Piano di St. Martino, a mountain between the Antrona and Anzasca valleys. He lost his way and never returned home. His voice is still heard, but he cannot be found.

*Mountain Spirit.*—A shepherd went up Mt. Becetto, near Sampeyre, to the Piano del Vino, with his flock, and waited till evening the arrival of another shepherd, one of his friends, so that the two of them, with their flocks, might go home together. The jödel of another friend was heard, and to it a girlish voice answered from the top of the mountain. This voice continued as long as the shepherd remained on the spot. Getting frightened he began to run homewards, but the voice followed him all the way, and only ceased when he fell asleep.

ESTELLA CANZIANI.

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COUNTY CLARE FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS, III. (*continued from*  
p. 212).

(With Plate VII.).

6. *The Danish Wars and King Brian.*

IN the district that produced *The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gall* as a pæan on the winning of its hard-won independence one would expect a mass of stories relating to the Danes and Norse. But this is so far from being the case that the very phrase "Danish forts" is rarely used among the peasantry, though common in the mouths of "half-read" persons. The "forts," in fact, are traditionally the homes of the Dé Danann, of the contemporaries of Fergus and Diarmuid, and of the early Dalcassians. Rarely indeed do we meet the term Caher Lochlannach or "Norse fort," (*not* Danish), nor have I found the name in any Clare record before the *Book of Distribution and Survey* in 1655 (if, even there, "Caherloglin" be not some such name as "Cathair lochlain"). I found the name in use only near Lisdoonvarna, where it was unmistakably Caherlochlannach. At Kiltumper the base of a little kerbed cairn called "Tumpers Grave," between Kilmihil and Doolough, was reputed in 1839 to be the grave of a Danish chief chased by a Dalcassian army from the stone ring fort of Caher-murraha (or Cahermurphy) to the Kiltumper ridge, slain, and buried there.<sup>1</sup> The "heathen Danes" or "black Danes" appear vaguely enough; they were "great druids" (magicians), "made the heather into beer,"<sup>2</sup> and smoked the "Danes' pipes."<sup>3</sup> I hardly like to repeat a legend at Attyflin, before 1870, that "they (the Danes) rode eight-legged horses," yet where could the peasantry of County Limerick at that date have heard of Sleipnir? Even the gentry, I believe, were unacquainted with tales from the Edda, which I first heard of in 1878; at the earlier date I was also told about the Danes that "they used to swim in the ditches round the forts." In 1877 a retainer of the Morelands of Raheen on Lough Derg, and an old fisherman, on my first visit to Iniscaltra (Holy Island) in that great lake, told me of the Danes. No one would

<sup>1</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare) (Ms. Royal Irish Acad.), vol. ii., p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> So at Lough Graney in 1893.    <sup>3</sup> Really seventeenth-century tobacco pipes.

injure the fences at the churches "for the Danes made them"; the people were less afraid to injure the churches themselves, for "the saints are in heaven and will not come back, but who knows where the Danes are?" "They put the forts to mark their estates, and maybe they'll come back to claim them." "They killed all the clergy in the churches and the (round) tower, and burned them (the churches) all." The Danes were reputed to have tails, as I heard widely about 1870. The stone fort of Caherscrebeen, near Lemaneagh Castle, Inchiquin, had amongst its treasure caves and cells one "full of Danes' beer, *beor lochlannach*, the best of all drinks." The old divisions on the hills were made by the Danes to mark out their heather meadows.

Such appear to be all the impressions that remain, upon the mind of the folk a thousand years later, of the two terrible half-centuries 810-50 and 900-70.

So far I can write with little hesitation, but in the legends of the great deliverer Brian, son of Cennedigh, the collector of folklore is in constant danger of deception. How far any of the legends are really old and independent of books, and how far apparently independent versions were derived from books in the early years of the last century, I cannot pretend to decide. Now the corruption is unquestionable; the popular press and many excellent little books, besides tourists and others who make enquiries not always judicious and even supply information directly, have in the last ten years overlaid nearly all the folk-tales.

The tale of King Brian best attested as traditional relates to the dam built by him across the outflow of Lough Derg to drown out his enemies living up the river, and to the fort of Ballyboru constructed by him to defend the end of it. The Halls and Windele found the tale existing over seventy years ago,<sup>4</sup> and I found it among the peasantry of Counties Clare and Tipperary near the fort, among the fishermen on Lough Derg, and among the old folk and gentry, never varied, from 1889-1906. Mrs. Hall was told by an old woman in 1843 that Balborumá was King Brian Boru's dining room. Windele about 1839 heard that there were two

<sup>4</sup> Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, *Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 420. J. Windele, *Topographical Ms.* (Royal Irish Academy, 12. c. 3), pp. 614-27, calls Balboru "the circular rath of Kincora."

sunken ways from Kincora to it,—along one of which the dinner was carried, the servants returning by the other,—but I always found Balboruma identified with Kincora. De Latocnaye in 1797<sup>5</sup> heard that the fort where the Shannon issues from the lake was “O’ Bryan Borhom’s palace.” O’Donovan was told that the walls of Kincora were of dry stone, but when he subsequently visited Killaloe in 1839 he found that no old person remembered the building as still standing; so it was evident that his earlier informant regarded Balboruma as Kincora.<sup>6</sup> There was said to be a passage under the river from the fort to County Tipperary, and on Craglea the precipice and well were still connected with the banshee. In 1893 the Grianan Lachtna fort was said to be a house of King Brian, the Parc-an-each his horse paddock, and the Clochaniona (*cloch an fhiona*) his wine cellar.<sup>7</sup> The last named is a late-looking ivied ruin across the river, in Tipperary. Thanks to Mr. Robert White of Kincora House, and the Parkers of Ballyvalley, I was put on the track of many local stories in 1892-4, before modern changes had affected them.

One of the chief localized tales was about the “Graves of the Leinster Men” and Lachtrelyon on the flank of Thountinna mountain in Co. Tipperary to the north-east of Killaloe. At the former were some low standing stones and an old avenue, and at the latter a huge rock behind which were traces of a cairn. The latter was called in English “The Leinster Man’s Grave” and “The Leinster King’s Grave,” or, in Irish, Knockaunrelyon and Lachtrelyon (*cnocán* or *leacht-righ laighean*). When the cairn was partly removed, a large human skeleton and rusted iron weapons were found. These were given or sold to a Mr. Molloy, but I could not trace their ownership in 1892. The tale then ran that

<sup>5</sup> *Promenade d’un François en Irlande*, p. 153.

<sup>6</sup> It was probably the revival of the name at the modern house that led the people of the neighbourhood to separate Kincora from Balboruma; it had arisen in 1843, for in Hall, *loc. cit.*, we find that “his kitchen was at Kincora where the steamboat station now is.”

<sup>7</sup> The *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Tipperary), vol. ii., p. 28 (1840), render it “stone of the wine,” but *cloch* is very common for a castle, and sometimes used for a church; e.g. Cloghnarold, Harold’s Castle (Co. Limerick), Cloghansavaun (Co. Clare), CloghJordan (Co. Tipperary), and many more.

King Brian Boru engaged his daughter to the King of Leinster, who came to fetch her. But Brian's wife did not like the match, and sent soldiers to hide on the hill. They attacked the Leinster Prince, and after "a big fight" several of his men were slain and he was mortally wounded. He entreated his men to carry him to the head of the pass so that he might die in sight of Leinster, and they did so, and buried him there, facing Leinster. They also buried their slain comrades down the hillside under the stones called "The Graves of the Leinster Men" (see Plate VII.).

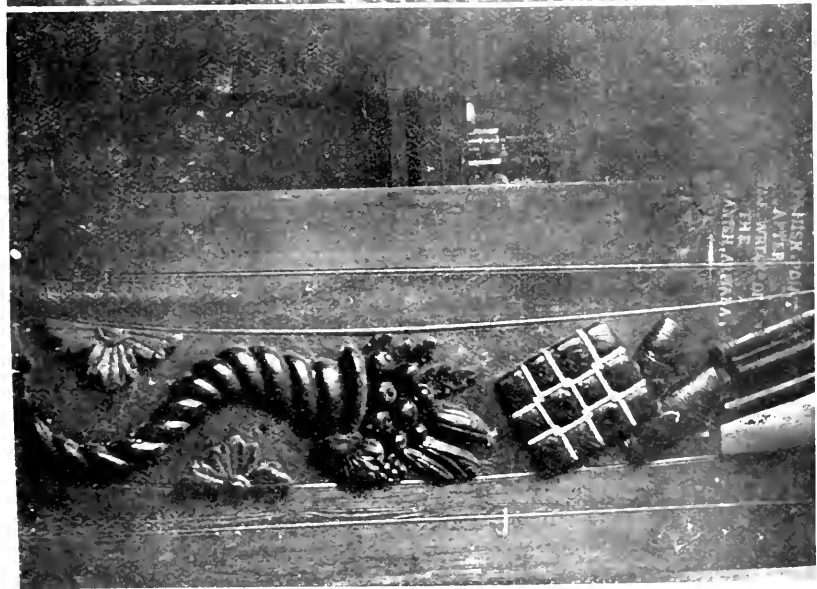
Such was the older story, evidently not derived from a book, but now there is an altered version. In 1906 I heard that the King of Leinster came to pay his rent to Brian Boru, and brought a "maypole" as a present. When he came to Kincora, "Brian's bad wife" called him "a sneak" for paying taxes and sent him away, and then told her husband that the King would pay no rent. Brian, in a passion, went with all his men by the short cut under the river from Ballyboru to Rine Innish, and caught and beat the Leinster men. And when their King fell, "badly hurt," "Brian came to abuse him and heard all, and he was very sorry and carried him up to where he could see Leinster," and "set by him till he died, and buried him there." The tales vary on the mountain as to Brian's subsequent meeting with his wife; "he ran and broke her head," says one, and "she ran off to the Danes when he offered to bate her," says another. My uncle's gamekeeper at Townlough said that old people told how "they" dug behind the Knockaun "and got big bones there." As will be seen, the early story is free from all those details from *The Wars of the Gaedhil* with which the later version is amplified and overlaid.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the original tale did not refer to King Brian at all, as the cairn burial seems to date it long before 1014.<sup>9</sup>

In 1889 it was related at Killaloe and O'Brien's Bridge that Brian Boru broke down the curious half-rebuilt O'Brien's Bridge to escape from the hot pursuit of a great Danish army from Limerick. The stone-vaulted romanesque church beside the Cathedral of St. Flannan was said to be "Brian Boru's vault," and the far later richly-carved doorway of the older Cathedral was said

<sup>8</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxix., pp. 210-1.

<sup>9</sup> However, cairns may have been made even later in some cases.





1. THE GRAVES OF THE LEINSTER MEN (CLIPPERARY).
2. ARMADA CARVING AT SPANISH POINT (CLARE).



to have been made for him as a door for his palace, and some said that he was buried under the early Celtic tombstone in its recess. He was, of course, actually buried at Armagh Cathedral, in accordance with his will.

I got a doubtful story, from a suspected source near Broadford, that Brian hid his cattle from the Danes in the fort called Lisnagry ("cattle fort") near the pass of Formoyle. I learn from Dr. G. U. MacNamara that Brian Boru's well at Elmvale near Inchiquin Lake is locally said to be named from a red cow (*bo-ruadh*) and not from the King. The modern story that "Brian Boru was made King of County Clare" at the mound of Magh Adhair did not exist there in 1891, and I forced the old man who told it to me to confess that he had "got it from a knowledgeable man, a sapper" on the Ordnance Survey, about 1895. Much history, spread during this survey, is becoming bogus antique tradition.<sup>10</sup>

#### 7. *Other Traditions up to A.D. 1270.*

The *Annals* tell how, in 1086, three named Connaught chiefs fell in a raid into Corcomroe. Two curious stories, evidently genuine folk versions of the raid, are attached to the great cairn of Cairn Connachtagh in the marshy fields at Ballydeely between Ennistymon and Lisdoonvarna. I was told in 1878 (and Dr. W. H. Stacpoole Westropp remembered the legend as extant long before then) that the King of Connacht went to Loop Head and returned "with lots of men and cows chained together," and the Clare men (some said "under the O'Briens," comparatively late settlers in that district), attacked the Connaught men and killed all except three chiefs, and buried the dead (or the chiefs) under the big cairn. Others said only that a king was killed in a battle there and buried under it.<sup>11</sup> In 1839, and long after, it was told how a Connaught army hunted a big serpent to the spot and killed

<sup>10</sup> Mr. P. J. Lynch gives a still later "antique" tradition, told to him on the spot, that an old tree grew there and an Orangeman came from Ulster and cut it down,—an obvious modernization of the *Bili Maigh Adhair*, a venerated tree, felled by the Ulstermen in 976, or of its successor cut by Aedh O'Connell of Connacht in 1051.

<sup>11</sup> So the late Professor Brian O'Looney.

it, and buried it under the cairn.<sup>12</sup> The first story is probably to be connected with the tales of the raids of the three brothers of Loop Head against the plunderers of their flocks,<sup>13</sup> as all the three opposing chiefs came from a few miles away. The cairn is almost certainly Carn mic Tail, the inauguration place of the Corca-Modruadh tribes.<sup>14</sup>

The Norman invasion has left in County Clare no traditions known to me. It hardly affected Clare in the time of King Donaldmore, while his two sons, and especially Donchadh Cairbreach, had more or less friendly relations with the foreigners. He was remembered as the builder of Limerick Cathedral, and a slab near the west door, with an encircled cross between four fantastic animals, was (at least in later tradition)<sup>15</sup> believed to mark his grave. None of his numerous Clare foundations,—Killone, Canon's Island, Inchicronan, Clare Abbey, and Corcomroe,—was attributed to him, and the last named was definitely assigned to his grandson Conor. Donchadh Cairbreach was also forgotten as the founder of Ennis "Abbey."

*Croohore na Siudaine.*—Conchobar Ruadh succeeded Donchadh in 1242. He was an able prince who forced the Normans to recognize him, and, aided by his gifted son Tadhg Caoluisge na Briain, expelled them from all their settlements in Clare. He fell in quelling a rebellion in 1269 at a place called Siudaine near Corcomroe Abbey,<sup>16</sup> and was buried in the chancel of that monastery, where his effigy still remains. He is locally remem-

<sup>12</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 309. Serpents and the Black Pig are frequently associated with famous meeting places of pagan times. See De Vismes Kane, *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii., p. 301.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Life of St. Maccrecius and Annals of the Four Masters*.

<sup>15</sup> It is not mentioned by Dyneley in his description of the Cathedral, in *Harris' Ware's Bishops*, or in any authority known older than 1860, such as the *Historical Memoirs of the O'Briens*. Lenihan describes it in *Limerick: its history etc.* (1866), adding that lions are the arms of the O'Briens, but not hinting that the slab was connected with Donaldmore. The late Dean O'Brien had it moved to the steps of the monument of the Earls of Thomond, resting it in a handsome base.

<sup>16</sup> Not behind Ballyvaughan, as marked on the Ordnance Survey maps, but near the Castles of Muckinish.

bered as "Croohoore na Sudany," and is reputed to have built the noble early fortress of Dun Conor or "Doon Croohoore," on the middle Isle of Aran. He may have repaired it, or added a late-seeming bastion to its outer wall, but the place is evidently of very early origin. In a poem by Mac Liac, King Brian's bard, about 1000, the island was assigned to Concraid, son of Umor, a Firbolg chief at the beginning of our era. Probably the names Concraid and Conchobhar were confused in the popular mind,<sup>17</sup> and the close connection between Aran and Corcomroe familiarised the Aran men with Conor's monument and history. Hugh Brigdall in 1695 notes "a monument or statue of ye O'Bryens in this Abbey nicknamed Concuba na Siudne."<sup>18</sup> Local tradition in the middle of the nineteenth century said that he fell in battle and was buried where he fell, and the Abbey built over him.<sup>19</sup> A cruder story about 1849 said that he fell smoking, and was buried with his pipe in his mouth! This was still told at the Abbey in 1878, but it is hard to tell how it originated, as the face is clean shaven and unbroken. I found no trace of the pipe story in 1885, but by 1900 it had been revived among young men "guides," falsely so called, for the benefit of tourists.

A tale existed before 1870 which was curiously like the tales of Solomon putting Hiram and the temple-builders to death, the Strasburg clock, and so on. Conor got five skilled masons to build the Abbey of Corcomroe, and as soon as they had finished the chancel and east chapels he killed them, lest they should build similar structures elsewhere; this explains the rude, bald ugliness of the rest of the ruin and its beautiful east end. In recent years

<sup>17</sup> *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 478, from the Rennes *Dindsenchas*, sec. 78, ed. by W. Stokes. Roderic O'Flaherty says "Chonquovar" (*Ogygia and A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*).

<sup>18</sup> Ms. Trinity Coll., Dublin, i. 1. 2, pp. 332 (*Commonplace Book relating to Ireland*).

<sup>19</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 156, collected by John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. A very inaccurate view of the monument is given in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii. (1834), p. 341, and in Canon Dwyer's *Handbook to Lisdoonvarna* (1876), p. 81. The account in the former says wrongly that the monument is of "Donchadh" O'Brien, slain in "1267." Donchadh also fell in battle and was buried in the Abbey (in 1317), but the monument is for Conchobhar, whose powerful son reigned for many years later.

Donaldmore has taken Conor's place as the slayer, because he is now known to be the actual founder.<sup>20</sup>

Torloughmore is remembered as the "founder" (*i.e.* restorer) of Ennis Abbey. Strange to say, a few generations after his death an unflattering tale is told of this special favourite of Clare historians in the Appendix to a *Life* of St. Senan. Theodoric, son of Tatheus, enraged by the monks of Iniscathaigh permitting a husbandman to take sanctuary, invaded St. Senan's *termon* at Cill mic an dubhain (Kilmacduan), and dragged forth the refugee. On the second night after the sacrilege, the saint appeared to the prior of Iniscathaigh, and said that he was going to punish Theodoric. The Prince saw that same night in a vision St. Senan, who rebuked him and struck his leg with the crozier. No doctor could cure the wound, which mortified, and Theodoric died.<sup>21</sup> No definite folk-tale seems to refer to "Torlough's war."<sup>22</sup> The second war is, however, well represented.

*Claraghmore.*—It is wonderful how deep has been the impression made in tradition by the war of Murchad, Prince of Thomond, (Torlough's son) with Sir Richard de Clare in 1310-18. But it is confused and is centred on the Norman leader, locally known as "Claraghmore" (the great De Clare), bearing no trace until recent years of deriving anything from the records. The second prose epic of Thomond, the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* ("Triumphs of Torlough"), a bombastic but very reliable history (usually assigned to 1459 on the sole authority of a late eighteenth-century copy, but from internal evidence earlier than 1360),<sup>23</sup> has made no impression on the folk-tales down at least to 1891. A very vague memory of a battle near Clare Abbey is believed to refer to the fierce fight there in 1276, but the tradition gives no data. An

<sup>20</sup>[The tale of the slaying of a great architect by his jealous employer is found throughout the Old World; see, for examples, the Roumanian ballad of *Manoli*, and note by W. A. Clouston in *N. & Q.*, 7th S. vol. iv. (1887), p. 141.—Ed.]

<sup>21</sup>J. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum etc.* (1645), Tom i., March 8th, sec. xiv.

<sup>22</sup>Unless a vague fight "where the English were beaten" near Ballycarr be Torlough's victory in Tradree.

<sup>23</sup>*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxii., Sec. C, Pt. ii., pp. 139-40.

equally vague tale<sup>24</sup> at Mortyclough has been referred to the decisive battle of Corcomroe in 1317, which, however, was certainly fought on the ridge close to the Abbey, between it and Bealaclogga creek, and not at Mortyclough. It is probable that the name Mothar tige cloice ("fort of the stone house," and in its phonetic form Mortyclough), suggested to someone the meaning Mortough's tombstone, and was explained by the slaying of "Mortough Garbh O'Brien" in the battle. He was a rather obscure adherent of Prince Donchad, and seems unlikely to have remained in popular remembrance.

In 1695 Hugh Brigdall records the local tradition near Dysert O'Dea that De Clare fell at Dromcavan.<sup>25</sup> At the stream bounding that townland and Dysert, old folk told in 1839 a tale, not found in the histories but evidently old, that when Claraghmore was coming to Dysert<sup>26</sup> a certain Conor more Hiomhair (locally "Howard") advised O'Dea to lay a trap. He loosened the timber side beam of a wicker bridge over the stream, and hid in a recess on the bank under it, armed with his axe. As Claraghmore rode across, Hiomhair pushed out a prop and the structure collapsed, and as De Clare and his horse were struggling in the stream the Irishman split his skull.<sup>27</sup> The history makes it clear that De Clare had crossed the stream and fell in an ambush of the O'Deas in a wood towards Dysert. There was actually a contemporary Conchobhar na Hiomhair, who fought on the Irish side at the battle of Corcomroe Abbey in the year preceding (1317), but was too obscure to render his intrusion into local tradition probable, and hence may have been the real slayer of the Norman. The night before Claraghmore died, says tradition at Scool, about a mile and a half from Dysert, twenty-five banshees washed blood-stained clothes in the lake. This was told to Prof. Brian O'Looney before 1870, and Dr. G. U. MacNamara found it still extant some

<sup>24</sup> First given in *Dublin Penny Journal*, *loc. cit.*, and the *Ordnance Survey Letters*.

<sup>25</sup> *Commonplace Book*, p. 224.

<sup>26</sup> As the Castle was far later, O'Dea's residence may well have been the fort not far from Dromcavan in the intervening townland now called Ballycullinan. The old townlands have been greatly subdivided, even since 1655.

<sup>27</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 156.

five years ago. In the history a banshee appears to De Clare.<sup>28</sup> A story preserved in an Appendix to the *Life* of St. Senan tells how the saint, to punish a violation of his sanctuary, drove Richard De Clare mad, so that the latter rushed heedlessly into a battle in which he lost his life; this story probably dates back to the later fourteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

There are some extremely unreliable De Clare traditions. Clare Castle and Clarisford near Killaloe were said to be named after "Clarence," for De Clare, in certain late English histories, had been transformed into a good "Duke of Clarence" who "introduced civility" into Clare, building market towns and castles and governing the country well; but the Irish were under no such delusions about the civilizing career of Norman conquest in Thomond.

The late sixteenth-century "court" (possibly that of the Deans of Kiliénora), on the Fergus near Inchiquin Lake was called Cobhail<sup>30</sup> an Claraighmore ("Great De Clare's ruin") in 1859.<sup>31</sup> At my earlier visits the old folk denied that it ever bore the map name "De Clare's House," or had anything to do with Claraighmore, with whose name and fate they were familiar.

The north-east tower of Bunratty Castle was named "De Clare's Tower" by the Studderts; it is clearly of the late fifteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The name De Clare was used in late times by the Studderts, who have of course no connection with the extinct Lords of Bunratty, and probably first applied the name to the tower with no better foundation than the recent "bathroom" story possesses.

Conor O'Hiomhair figures in a second tale at Dysert Castle, in which a guest of O'Dea politely wishes the castle full of gold,

<sup>28</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., pp. 188-9.

<sup>29</sup> Colgan, *op. cit.*, March 8th, sec. xxxvii. [*sic*].

<sup>30</sup> Cobhail, pronounced locally "Cowl," is used, even by English speakers, near Corofin and Tulla for a ruined house or eyen cabin. Coul na brawher ("the friar's ruin") is still shown, not far north from "De Clare's House."

<sup>31</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 51. It was also called "O'Quin's ruin"; v. *ibid.* pp. 61-3.

<sup>32</sup> This tallies with the statement in the "Castle founders' list." So far as I can judge, no portion of any earlier building is left.



and the chief in reply wishes it full of O'Hiomhairs.<sup>33</sup> A very modern and ill-attested story, which I did not find at Dysert in 1885 or 1895, says that O'Dea lured the English into a bog by setting bulrushes in the mire, so that De Clare, "knowing that such plants always grew in firm soil," rode in with his knights and became a prey to the Irish.

The tale of a great battle at Dysert Castle, and the human bones turned up round it, probably concern the battle fought there in 1502, but have been used by some to locate the decisive battle of May, 1318. The "stone of broken bones" near Quin (where a Donnall O'Brien was taken by his enemies and his bones broken on the rock),<sup>34</sup> has been also asserted to refer to Donnall O'Brien, brother of King Torlough, who was slain by a Norman soldier, or mason, when peaceably buying wine at the Castle. I cannot trace the tale before 1860-70, when the history of the *Four Masters* was well known, and, if the tale be genuine or even taken from some "knowledgeable person," it more probably relates to Donnall beg O'Brien, whose bones were broken with the back of an axe and he, still alive, hung in ropes to the belfry of Quin Abbey in 1584, by order of Sir John Perrot.

A very remarkable story, certainly genuine and evidently referring to the period of the Norman wars, attaches to a low hill with traces of entrenchment and, formerly, a deep straight ditch, between Loughs Bridget (Breeda) and Anilloon (Alinoon) between Tulla and Bodyke. It is called Kilconnell, and in 1839 Irish-speakers called it Cladh na 'n gall ("Foreigners' trench," or "defeat," said some). An English army encamped there and was destroyed by an Irish army from Tomgraney. Most of the English soldiers were slain and buried on the hill top, within the Cladh, where human bones have been found.<sup>35</sup> In 1891 the late Captain Charles George O'Callaghan, of Ballinahinch near Kilconnell (from whom I carefully concealed the 1839 tale and the history, although he said "tell me the story I'm to look for"!)

<sup>33</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 157.

<sup>34</sup> So Prof. Brian O'Looney. The tale is also alluded to in *Revue Celtique*, vol. xiii. (1892), p. 67.

<sup>35</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 297.

gave me two tales to the same effect. Mr. Whelan of Kilconnell, and an old labourer at Ballinahinch, gave a version like that of 1639, but added that the English first drove back the Irish into the swamp at Lough Anilloon below the hill, where many were lost. No period was fixed by the tale, but it tallies only with an event in 1315. Richard De Clare set out to fight with Edward Bruce, possibly intending to march by Scariff, Portumna, and Athlone. He entered Hy Ronghaile, camped in the very middle of it, and sent his Irish allies past Tomgraney to drive prince Murchad O'Brien from the ford of Scariff; but they got the worst of it, and were driven back in great confusion upon De Clare's army, which fell into panic and retreated hastily to Bunratty. Kilconnell is "in the very middle of Hy Ronghaile."

#### 8. *Period 1318-1500.*

Popular guide-books always follow the *Four Masters*<sup>36</sup> in attributing the Franciscan convent of Quin to Sioda MacNamara in 1402. It was certainly largely rebuilt and ornamented at that time, but the many earlier features show that Wadding is right in placing its foundation before 1350. The fact that it was built on and out of the ruins of a great castle was noted by Sir Thomas Deane in 1884.<sup>37</sup> I first identified the castle,—which he attributed to Brian Boru, but which is an unmistakably Norman court, with great circular turrets at three angles,—with the "round-towery, strong castle" built by Thomas De Clare in 1280 at Cuinche. It is likely that the MacNamaras, after the fall of Bunratty in 1334 and before 1350, gave its site, as a thankoffering for their victory, to God and the monks of St. Francis, so I shall place the legends of the "Abbey" in this period. Tradition near Tulla points to some enclosures, a little over a mile from the village and in low ground at the foot of "Abbey Hill," as the place where "the MacNamaras began to build Quin Abbey." The quarry from which its stones were drawn is shown on the hillside.

<sup>36</sup> O'Donovan's enthusiastic belief in this late history has affected all Irish archaeology. "No other authority is heard, once the Four Masters have spoken!" seems still operative.

<sup>37</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. ii., Ser. II. (P.L.A.), p. 201.

At Quin it is said to have been built by the Gobbán saor, the famous legendary Master Builder, to whom so many Round Towers, churches, castles, and abbeys of the ninth to the fifteenth centuries are attributed. He twisted the spiral pillars in its beautiful cloister with his own hands. One of the builders fell from the roof and was killed, where an ancient tombstone, with an axe incised on it, marks the place of his burial. Several traditions are told about Sioda, near Kilkishen. He was said to have caught a water horse, and, after being ridden for many years, it ran away with him one day, dinting a rock with its hoofs as it sprang, with the chieftain on its back, into Cullaunytheeda Lake, thence called after his name "Heeda."<sup>38</sup> Another tale says that Sioda was not drowned, but sleeps beneath the waters, not to waken until summoned to the final battle for the independence of Ireland.

The peel towers rising so numerously in the country mostly date from about 1430 to 1480. Tradition attributes Rossroe Castle to Sioda MacNamara, who built Quin Abbey in 1402. Danganbrack and Ballymarkahan are also rightly assigned to the MacNamaras, after Quin Abbey was erected, as I was told about Ballymarkahan in 1906. Near Clonlara seven brothers built "seven" castles "against each other," and were "all" killed by their brothers. I heard the story first in 1868, when a mere child, and think that there was a princess or a beautiful lady in it about whom the brothers quarrelled, but I barely recollect it, and in 1889 could not recover more than "the seven brothers who killed each other."

Perhaps to this period should be attributed the tale of a certain monk of Ennis "Abbey" trying to cross the Fergus during a flood. The current being too strong, he called to some men to help him over, but they refused, and he cursed Ennis that no man of Ennis should ever be able to do any good for the place.<sup>39</sup>

The monks of Ennis told in the seventeenth century how Conor "Nasatus" (*i.e.* Conchobhar na Srona) O'Brien, Prince of Thomond from 1466, was on his death in 1496 seized by devils. Brother Fergal O'Trean, a man of holy life, when he saw them carrying off

<sup>38</sup> More probably after the O'Sheedy, a branch of his house.

<sup>39</sup> This story was told as a well-established one at a public meeting at Ennis about 1895.

the prince, prayed earnestly for him, and that very hour a holy hermit at Lismore, where no one had heard of Conor's death, announced that the prince's soul was saved by the prayers of a holy monk at Ennis.<sup>40</sup>

*O'Quin and the Swan-Maiden.*—The fullest and most beautiful of the Clare folk-tales is connected in its most popular versions with Tyge Ahood (*i.e.* Tadhg an Comhad) O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, who reigned from 1461-6. But it is not of his time, nor indeed of any historic time, but a local version of a world-wide myth.<sup>41</sup> The Inchiquin legend was first published by Dr. G. Petrie in 1840, and then in *Memorials of Adare* by Lord Dunraven, who claimed descent from the O'Quins of Inchiquin.<sup>42</sup> The best and fullest modern version is given by Dr. G. U. MacNamara, whose fields run down to the lake and have in view the castle of Inchiquin and the church of Coad. The *Ordnance Survey Letters* give a recension of the same date as Petrie's. I may add that the power of the O'Quins as a tribe was really broken long before 1460, in the opinion of some several generations before the Norman invasion, and in that of others as late as 1180. But at any rate the O'Quins were of good standing down to the Norman invasion. Edaom, daughter of O'Quin and Queen of Munster, died on a pilgrimage to Derry in 1188. The *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhagh* barely mentions the family as fighting at Corcomroe in 1317, when Mathgamhan O'Brien held Inchiquin and its island castle.

In 1839 the tale was located at the rock platform, at the upper end of the lake, called Doonaun, or, at that time, Duneán ui chuinn ("O'Quin's rock fort").<sup>43</sup> Conor O'Quin, the chief, walking by the lake, saw a lovely woman on the south shore, combing her hair. She vanished on his approach. This happened three times. O'Quin was consumed with love for her, and at last, seeing her

<sup>40</sup> L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. vii., p. 574.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 255-32, 337-52.

<sup>42</sup> See also *Irish Penny Journal*, 1840-1, pp. 122-3; *Antiquities of the Northern portion of Co. Clare*, p. 66 (republished by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1900 as *Antiquarian Handbook No. V.*).

<sup>43</sup> Dunán (Doonaun) is a rather rare component (Dun, Dunádh, and Duneen being more common), but occurs attached to two actual promontory forts at Doonaunroe and Doonaunmore in the county.

take off a dark hood, he succeeded in stealing upon her and catching up the hood so that she could not escape. He seized her "without even saying 'your servant, ma'am!' or any other decent good-morrow," and asked her to be his wife. She consented, and they were married and lived most happily for several years. At last O'Brien of Lemeneagh and others got up races at Coad, and O'Quin went to them, after promising his wife not to invite any guest nor to accept any man's invitation. He forgot his promise, asked O'Brien back to a sumptuous feast, and played cards with him. His wife took her hood, stole out, and disappeared. O'Quin staked all he had on the cards, and lost. He lived on, a lonely and miserable man, as a dependent of O'Brien, who allowed him to dwell in "De Clare's Court" or "O'Quin's Ruin" on the Fergus just above the lake.<sup>44</sup>

Petrie tells how a young chief of the O'Quins saw a number of lovely swans sporting on the western shore of the lake. He caught one and brought it to his home, where to his amazement it threw off its downy covering and appeared as a maid of the greatest beauty. Madly in love he proposed marriage, and she accepted him on the three conditions that (1) the marriage should be kept a secret, (2) he should never ask O'Brien to his house, and (3) he should avoid all games of chance. Some happy years passed by, and brought two children. Then there were races at Coad, O'Quin asked some O'Briens to his house, and his wife after preparing the feast resumed her swan dress, wept over her children, and plunged into the lake. O'Quin, ignorant of his loss, commenced gambling, and lost all his property to "Tiege an cood O'Brien," the most distinguished of his guests. Petrie is inclined to rationalize the tale, and to suppose that, in consequence of the chief's concealed and probably lowly marriage, the tribe repudiated him, pointing out that the O'Quin pedigree given by MacFirbis breaks off about 1460. But the widespread occurrence of the tale does not favour a local source, although it may have been locally adapted with that love for definite topographical and historic setting so characteristic of the Irish.

Dr. MacNamara took pains to get the best modern recension, so I give this in preference to my own scanty notes made in 1884

<sup>44</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., pp. 61-3.

at Kilnaboy.<sup>45</sup> The young chief of Clan Ifearnain was hunting deer on Keentlae, and in his eager pursuit of a stag got parted from his companions. As he wandered along the shore of the lake he saw five beautiful swans playing in the water. They came ashore, took off their plumage, and became maidens of exquisite beauty. After a moment's amazement he ran out. They threw on their feathered robes,—all save one,—and flew away. O'Quin had seized one dress, and the four other swans, with plaintive cries, disappeared, leaving their sister weeping. O'Quin led her back to his castle, comforted her, and won her love. But she asked two pledges before her marriage,—that it should be kept a secret, and that no O'Brien should be admitted under their roof. Seven years passed by, the pair and their two beautiful children living in ever-increasing happiness. Then, one fatal day, there were races at Coad, and O'Quin met Teigue an chomad O'Brien, brought him home, drank freely, commenced gambling, and lost all his lands and property. The ruined man rushed to his only remaining possessions, his wife and children, but to his horror found his wife in her swan dress with a cygnet held under each wing. She gave him one look of sorrowful reproach, flew out over the misty lake, and disappeared for ever.

Lord and Lady Dunraven have published an artificial-seeming story of the O'Quin's ruin, but neither Dr. MacNamará nor I ever found any trace of it among the people of Inchiquin.<sup>46</sup> According to this story, Rory the Black, son of Donal O'Quin, gets into the wilds while hunting, meets Merulan the wizard and revives him after a bad fall, and is given a magic jewel (a golden butterfly). He saves a girl from drowning, and finds that she is Enna, daughter of a wood kern but of rarest beauty. He marries her secretly, and then finds that his father has betrothed him to Maud, daughter of O'Brien, King of Thomond. He refuses the princess, and is imprisoned until weary of his dungeon, although the jewel lights it brilliantly. He yields, and determines to repudiate his

<sup>45</sup> "A young man found seven wild swans, and caught one on the lake. It became a girl and he married her, and when he was false to her she flew away again." I got a similar story at Lemaneagh, in the same visit.

<sup>46</sup> *Memorials of Adare* (1865), pp. 170-7; the tale in the *Irish Penny Journal* is also reproduced, p. 168.

low-born bride. As he rides to O'Brien's Court, he gets benighted, but no ray shines from the jewel; this awakes his conscience, and as he repents the light returns. He puts off his visit until his old father dies, and, as chief, avows his marriage. O'Brien hurls an army against him and seizes his territory, and the hapless chief flies with no other possessions than his talisman and the love of his wife. This tale seems to have been either invented, or recast from "a forgotten memory" of the real folk-tale, probably by Lady Dunraven.

In the versions which I heard of the genuine story in 1884 the number of the swans was seven, but, as will have been seen above, the older versions mention one and "a number," while Dr. MacNamara heard of five. The lake actually abounds in these beautiful birds. I have myself often seen more than forty wild swans at one time sailing or playing on the waters.

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

*(To be concluded.)*

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### INTERIM REPORT OF BRAND COMMITTEE TO COUNCIL.

(*Supra*, p. 111-9.)

Since the date of your Committee's published Report, readers have been found, and are at work, for the counties of Chester, Essex, and Norfolk. Mr. Carey Drake has undertaken to give six months' work on local books at the St. Helier's Library, Jersey. Canon MacCulloch is taking up work in Scotland, and Miss Legge is reading Scottish folklore at the Bodleian Library. A pupil of Sir Bertram Windle has undertaken to read in Ireland.

The Committee are sending out appeals to the Archaeological Societies of twenty English counties from which little or nothing has yet been received.

Few general works of any value still remain to be read. The students at University College Hall have undertaken to paste Thistleton Dyer's *British Popular Customs*, which contains various items not noted in other general collections.

The Committee have appointed Miss Burne as their Honorary Secretary.

H. B. WHEATLEY.

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### THE EVIL EYE IN SOMERSET (1902).

(*Communicated by Mrs. M. M. Banks.*)

To my personal knowledge the belief in the Evil Eye is not yet extinct in Somerset. Before I came to Sussex I spent many years in Somerset, where my late husband had in his employ a carter, a good enough fellow in a general way, but entirely illiterate. He



had a great fondness for dogs, and had always at his heels a harmless animal which was rather inclined to bark at game. This annoyed and really distressed a gamekeeper in the immediate neighbourhood, but the carter took offence at the keeper's remarks and refused to leave his dog at home. A bitter quarrel followed, and the carter and keeper were from that time sworn foes. Then came trouble in the carter's household, from which consumption claimed three victims (two fine tall sons, and a nice girl who had become a factory hand at Yeovil), and the keeper had rheumatism. The two men believed each that the other possessed the power to "will" their misfortunes. They never spoke to each other, and I have known them, if compelled to meet in the course of their duties, both to walk in the ditch to avoid contact.

They consulted a "wise woman," in the hope of getting the spells removed. The carter used to borrow a horse sometimes to visit her, as she lived at a distance. We did not know till afterwards for what he wanted the horse. Once he asked me for a pair of fowls, which I let him have. He had been ordered by the "wise woman" to bring her a couple of live hens and one live rabbit in order to work her spell.

After the third death in the carter's household, matters seemed to improve. The family being smaller, there was no overcrowding, and the more delicate members being gone, all were well and strong when I last heard of them. The keeper's ailment was cured by a good doctor, and was found to have been caused by lying on the ground in bad weather while tending his pheasants. Both men then seemed to awake to their folly, and ceased to make gifts to the "wise woman."

[MRS.] M. A. HARDY.

Guesses Farm, Wiston, Sussex.

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FOLK-MEDICINE IN THE REPORT OF THE HIGHLANDS AND  
ISLANDS MEDICAL SERVICE COMMITTEE.

Paragraph 21 of this Report reads thus:—" *Primitive Customs and Habits*. In some parts of the Highlands and Islands there

still remains a belief in inherited skill and traditional "cures." And, as might be expected, we found that this obtains the more firmly the more difficult it is to get proper medical attendance.

A witness from the remote island of Rona (Skye), which a doctor rarely visits, was particularly interesting in a description in Gaelic of some of the various "cures" which in default or disregard of medical advice are frequently resorted to. He told, for example, of a "cure" recently applied in the case of an epileptic. A black cock was buried alive beneath the spot where the patient had had the first attack of epilepsy. He also described the successful treatment of a woman suffering from the *tinneas an rìgh* ("king's evil," *i.e.* bone or gland tuberculosis) by a seventh son to whom she had gone all the way to the island of Scalpay, Harris.

Referring to the prevalence of this form of treatment Dr. Tolmie, South Harris, says:—"When they have bone disease they use the old remedies. There was a man suffering from keratitis and he was not getting well. It is a difficult disease to cure in an old person. He was not getting on, and I had to go over one very wild day to see him, and when I arrived he was away from home—it was a fearful day—and he had to drive nine miles and walk about another six to an old lady at Licisto. The old lady made up some rhyme, and mixed some grasses with water and sand, and sung. He came back and said he was a little better. The seventh son is supposed to be able to cure such diseases. I know of one case of a person who had a carbuncle on the back of his neck, and it did not heal, and he got a seventh son to come to his house, and every night for a long time he put cold water on it and a sixpence round his neck." It is in such a field of ignorant faith that the "skilly" woman can practise all her arts at will and with greatest danger when she is most in demand—and that is, in cases of maternity."

Paragraph 57 reads:—"The persistence of the traditional "cures" and superstitious practices in remote districts referred to in par. 21 is undoubtedly due largely to the want of medical attendance."

DAVID RORIE, M.D.

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## SIMULATED CHANGE OF SEX TO BAFFLE THE EVIL EYE.

Some correspondence has recently taken place in *Notes and Queries* on the subject of dressing boys in girls' clothes in order to baffle the Evil Eye.<sup>1</sup> The custom, as is well known, prevails in various parts of the world.<sup>2</sup> It is common in India.<sup>3</sup> When the birth of a son is anxiously desired, if a boy is born, it is often proclaimed that the child is a girl, in the belief that he will be safe from danger.<sup>4</sup> It was asserted in the correspondence in *Notes and Queries* that in the Aran Islands boys were dressed in girls' clothes. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister now denies that the custom prevails in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> "Mothers," he says, "dress young boys on the Aran Islands in costume apparently feminine for the sensible and sufficient reason that skirts are easier to make than trousers. I know the Aran Islands and their people fairly well, and can positively assure Mr. G. H. White that this prosaic explanation of the custom is the true one. I never saw a man more genuinely astonished than a native of the island to whom I told the "traveller's tale" about the gullible devil and his appetite for boys. As nearly as I can recollect his remarks on the subject, they would translate thus:—"Well, there isn't a man, woman, or child on the island that believes the like of that. But there was a man here with a notebook a while ago, and the people sent him away with it filled." He then proceeded to give me some entertaining details of the notebook in question." This information will interest collectors of folklore. I have a distinct recollection that the custom of thus simulating a change of sex prevailed in south-west Ireland. The question is of much interest, and I would now ask if any one can give facts to show that the custom did, or does, prevail in any part of the British Islands. I may add that it seems to have prevailed in Scotland. "The infant, if a male, [was] wrapped in a woman's shift; if a girl, in a man's shirt."<sup>6</sup>

W. CROOKE.

<sup>1</sup> 11th S., vol. ii., pp. 65, 137, 293; vol. vii., p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. ii., p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore etc.*, vol. ii., p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> T. D. Broughton, *Letters written in a Mahatta Camp* (1892), p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *N. & Q.*, 11th S., vol. viii., p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland from early to recent times* (1884-6), vol. i., p. 135.

## REVIEWS.

THE BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY AND THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.  
By J. G. FRAZER. Vol. I. The Belief among the Aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia. (The Gifford Lectures, St. Andrews, 1911-2.) Macmillan & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. xxi + 495. 10s. 2.

ALL Dr. Frazer's works are a source both of pleasure and profit to the reader; the present work is pleasant even to the reviewer. Unfatigued by his great work on the history and theory of totemism, Dr. Frazer has embarked on a still greater task, the exposition of the beliefs and practices of the primitive and advanced races of the earth in regard to the dead. As a master in the method and art of collecting, selecting, and grouping the facts upon which the great world-inductions of anthropology might be based, he has no rivals; and he shows himself here, as he has in his former achievements, capable of carrying a project through which might appear to demand a syndicate of collaborateurs, and of conducting it single-handed better than any syndicate could. In this new field, which promises to yield an inestimable harvest to social anthropology, his *prima vindemiatio* is this first volume. It displays all the best qualities, both in respect of style and matter, that characterise his former works, together with a certain reserve and sobriety in theorising that is sometimes lacking in certain chapters of *The Golden Bough*. The first object of this new *magnum opus* is to present us with the facts, to fill a great gap in what we may call sociological history: and the first necessary step is the survey of the existing or the recently recorded primitive races of mankind. Dr. Frazer has here presented us with the

relevant phenomena of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea, and Melanesia, a wide region full of varied and typical forms of savage life. What, perhaps, at first sight impresses us most is the remarkable monotony of the subject-matter, due to the close similarity in belief and funeral rites prevalent among so many societies far removed from each other. This monotony, which will probably be felt all the more strongly when the other volumes have come to light, is relieved by Dr. Frazer's clear and pleasant style, with its occasional humour and archness, and in any case would not repel the scientific reader. For it is a fact of high value for the general anthropologist that certain phenomena such as death, excite the same or similar feelings in the greater part of mankind, and that similarity of feeling suggests identical rites and customs. Also this prevailing monotony adds interest to the occasional and not unimportant diversities, which attest free thought and possibilities of progress.

It is not the object of this notice to question or to criticise the value or the authenticity of the sources from which Dr. Frazer draws. He himself is sufficiently careful in this matter, and the width of his reading fills us with wonder. Yet the investigator of a special field generally finds something to correct in the work of his predecessor. And our author might have dealt differently with the Fijian *Kalou*, a term which he interprets as "god" (p. 440), if he had read Mr. Hocart's excellent article in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1912. But the question of *Quellen-Kritik* will be most urgent when he comes to deal with the ancient advanced societies of the Mediterranean area. Here an easy-going and uncritical acceptance of all ancient authorities would be fatal. And this hint may not be untimely, in view of Dr. Frazer's statement on p. 159, "Every year the Peloponnesian lads lashed themselves on the grave of Pelops at Olympia, till the blood ran down their backs as a libation in honour of the dead man"; a rite which he compares with funeral mutilation in Western Australia. The Australian record is true: the Greek is entirely bogus, being one of the latest and most ignorant of the generally admirable and ancient scholia on Pindar, the invention probably of a late Byzantine scholiast who could not understand the word *αἵμακουργία*, but remembered the

Lycurgeoan flogging of the boys at Sparta, and may have thought that the ancient Peloponnesian was a political whole.

But the main object of the present notice is to estimate the value of the facts that Dr. Frazer has here set forth for general anthropology, and for the purposes of comparative religion. Much of his collection of data possesses undoubtedly a great intrinsic interest, whatever light it may throw on the development of some of the higher forms of faith and ritual. We are enabled to realise, for instance, how widespread is the fallacy that all sickness and death is an unnatural and abnormal event, due to the witchcraft of the enemy or the malevolence of the ghost. We may take such a belief as marking a line of cleavage between a civilised and an uncivilised people; yet it does not immediately vanish with the spread of civilisation; the Greek world had practically escaped from it by the dawn of the historical period, but the Babylonian remained susceptible to particular forms of the illusion. Its deadly social effects will be appreciated by Dr. Frazer's readers. According to the logic of the belief, every death, however timely and natural, involves the retributive murder of someone else; and the superstition is a force that tends to race-suicide. Fortunately some savage tribes show a progressive spirit even in such a hopeless situation as this: they find a way to avenge the vindictive ghost without kindling a tribal vendetta. Dr. Frazer's account on pp. 280-282 of the methods whereby the Kai tribe in German New Guinea combine murder with bogus-tricks to deceive the ghost is one of the most humorous passages in anthropological literature. He also discovers the same motive, the desire to deceive the ghost, in that interesting custom of arranging a sham fight, in which blood is sometimes shed, but not dangerously, between two parties of the same tribe or of adjacent tribes, on the occasion of the death of an important personage. He quotes three examples from Australia, German New Guinea, and Southern Melanesia. He probably has noted and will quote in another volume an example of the same rite among the Bangala people of the Upper Congo.<sup>1</sup> He suggests that this ritual, which is certainly not dramatic or commemorative of any story about the dead man, is a humane legal fiction, whereby the ghost is deluded into believing that his

<sup>1</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl. (1910), p. 378.

kinsfolk are avenging him very thoroughly, while they are merely amusing themselves with his supposed murderers. His suggestion of motive may be right in these cases; but it could not be naturally applied to two Hellenic parallels, of which he may be aware, though he has not mentioned them. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter the goddess promises in honour of her fosterling Demiphon, that "over him at fixed seasons as the years roll round the sons of the Eleusinians shall always join in battle and the fell war-shout."<sup>2</sup> I have pointed out what appears to be the only possible explanation of this mysterious blessing, that the Eleusinians are to institute a yearly ritual in honour of Demiphon, which is to include a sham-fight over his grave; and that another parallel is the Argive *λιθοβολία*, where the people joined in two parties and threw stones at each other in honour of the dead maidens Damia and Auxesia. Now Demiphon is no warlike figure of Epic Saga, but probably a peaceful vegetation-hero, and the mysterious maidens, Damia and Auxesia, are revealed by their names as vegetation-goddesses.<sup>3</sup> It is against all the evidence to explain these two ceremonies as dictated by the desire to avenge the vindictive ghost; they belong rather to the sphere of vegetation-magic: blood shed over the grave of vegetation-heroes or heroines quickens their powers of fertility.<sup>4</sup>

The savage illusion about death, from which we ourselves have not yet wholly escaped, engenders the belief that mankind were originally not intended to die, but that their doom of mortality was due to some accident, some mistake, or some malevolent trick of an animal or a human being. In fact a few savage myths, among the many that Dr. Frazer quotes (pp. 58-86), resemble the Biblical story of Genesis still more closely, and attribute the misfortune to some human disobedience of a divine behest (p. 79, the Baganda of Central Africa), or to some sin of mankind (p. 70, the Arawaks of British Guiana), and in many of the aboriginal stories it is a woman who causes the trouble. The death-myth of the

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *H. Dem.*, 265-267.

<sup>3</sup> Vide my *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii., pp. 93-94.

<sup>4</sup> Another type of mimic contests at funerals has been explained as a dramatic presentation of the conflict between good and evil spirits. Vide J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion*, vol. iv., p. 481.

Cherokee Indians (p. 77) is interesting as showing the type to which the Hesiodic story of Pandora's box belongs. Only, it is well worth remarking that the Hesiodic version is different from these aboriginal stories that were floating round the world; Pandora's opened box let out a number of evils, but not death, which had always been in the world of men, even in Hesiod's sinless and happiest generation of the golden men, to whom death comes as a sleep. There is no recorded Greek myth that explains the origin of death or that reveals such an illusion in the mythopoeic mind of Hellas as that death was not part of the cosmic human plan but came in as an unintended accident. Greek folklore possessed, long before Euripides, a personal Thanatos, such a figure as plays a part in the stories of the Baganda, the Bantu tribe, and the Melanesians of Banks' Island; and it could imagine a clever man like Sisyphos bottling up Death for a few years, during which time nobody died; but it rose above the savage level in that it did not delude itself about the general lot of mortality.

Nearly all the myths reflect the pathetic feeling that death is an evil. Only one, in vogue among the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands, rises in this respect to a higher point of view, and reflects the idea expressed by our most modern science, that death is a social-economic advantage to our species (p. 83).

The greater number of the funeral ceremonies, which are generally quaint and elaborate and occasionally most repulsive, are attributed by Dr. Frazer to one ruling motive, the fear of the ghost. This is certainly a very widespread, perhaps the predominating, sentiment in the savage mind. But sometimes it seems quite inadequate to explain the ceremony which he supposes it to inspire; for instance, the strange custom of the women scourging the men at the funeral of the Fijian chief (p. 452). Also, the critical reader may feel that he attributes too much to it as the ruling motive, and too little to affection and real sorrow. The violent and morbid outbursts of lamentation, accompanied with self-laceration need not be due to the hypocritical desire to persuade a formidable ghost that the relatives were really very sorry for him and loved him deeply in life, so that he may refrain from haunting them now: in view of the unstable emotional equilibrium of the savage, a simple feeling of sorrow may manifest itself in ritual



forms of violent exaggeration, just as in a weak person laughter tends to hysterics. That the fear of the dead, while being a coarser emotion, is also more primeval than the emotion of sorrow or affection in regard to them is not clearly proved by this treatise; and the not uncommon custom in savage communities of burying within or near the house of the living points to affection rather than fear; the various rites that appear to aim at effecting a communion with the dead are not normally explicable as prompted by fear (*e.g.* pp. 205, 315).

The sympathetic reader may also note at times a lacuna in Dr. Frazer's theoretic equipment, and may feel that the phenomena could be sometimes explained without the aid of any ghost-theory at all: for instance, the feeling of the impurity of death, the horror of bloodshed, which compel the relatives of the dead to be under a *tabu*, or the warriors returning from a victorious massacre to be purified, do not postulate the presence of the haunting ghost, but may arise from a preanimistic instinct of revulsion and may for long be sustained by it alone.

But from most points of view the exposition is broad-minded and well-balanced. Dr. Frazer emphasises eloquently the grim and devastating results of ghost-faith and ghost-ritual; but he is fully sensible of its social advantages as a bond of family union and the preservative of family morality (*e.g.* pp. 134, 175). Even savage eschatology, uncouth and barren of morality as it usually is, has occasionally a moral value; on one of the Banks' Islands we meet with an ethical theory of rewards and punishments after death higher than that of the Homeric Greek (p. 354). According to some of the Kai in German New Guinea the ghosts must be purified from stain before they enter the happy land; and we have here the germ of the Orphic-Christian concept of Purgatory.

The present volume already contributes much, either by way of positive or negative evidence, to certain current religious or anthropological controversies and problems. Dr. Frazer has collected sufficient evidence to show, (*a*), that the same people at the same period may practise such different modes of disposing of the dead as cremation and burial; therefore a certain ethnologic criterion much applied to the Mediterranean races loses its credit: (*b*), that the same people at the same period can hold entirely contradictory

ideas about the place and lot of the ghost, and that such self-contradiction is a mark of the primitive mind: therefore Rohde's view in his *Psyche* that Homer's picture of Hades and the fate of the ghost is irreconcilable with ghost-cult is untrue to human nature; (c), that a powerful ghost of a once-living man may often incarnate itself in an animal and that this animal will be temporarily revered; therefore theriolatry and theriomorphism is not a stage of religion that necessarily preceded anthropomorphism; the god may have been a man first, a beast afterwards, and simultaneously man and beast. Finally, the theory of the origin of Tragedy from the mimetic representations at the funerals of great men can draw no single piece of valid evidence from Dr. Frazer's book. Our author has wisely kept in reserve his own larger inductions: but one can discern the theory in his mind that ghost-cult has generated much of the ritual and forms of higher religion. We must wait for his later volumes before we try to test this question.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

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NOTES AND QUERIES ON ANTHROPOLOGY. Fourth Edition.

Edited by B. FREIRE-MARRECO and J. L. MYRES. The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1912. Sm. 8vo, pp. xii + 288. 5s. net.

WHILE reading the above book my regret was great that I did not meet with it twenty years ago, when I first began to take notes on anthropology. It would have aided me considerably in any work I have done, and would undoubtedly have enhanced the value of that work by helping to a more scientific investigation of the subject. I cannot speak too highly of the suggestions it offers to the student for consideration, nor can I commend it too heartily to my colleagues in Africa, or to those who are living and working, in one capacity or another, among primitive peoples in any part of the world. It will suggest topics for study, will keep the enquirer on the right lines, and help the student to arrive at the heart of things.

When the list of experts who prepared *Notes and Queries* is read down, it may seem most presumptuous either to criticise the

queries, or to suggest any additions. Yet I would, with all diffidence, step in where others may fear to tread; and my excuse for doing so is that, as I have read this book with its series of questions, I have imagined myself back in the wilds of Central Africa, with few books of reference and no means of ascertaining the meaning of some of the technicalities used, such as Keloids (called Peloids by others), etc. Most men of ordinary general knowledge know what anthropomorphic means, but the same cannot be said of phytomorphic and hylomorphic,—(Chambers' *Dictionary* gives neither),—and the men for whom I presume this book to have been prepared have had no special training in the nomenclature of anthropology, and are often cut off for years from a good reference library. A little etymology would have been helpful not only to the definition of the words, but also in fixing their meaning in the worker's memory.

I notice that the colour of the eye (or the iris), of the skin, etc. is to be noted, and in my experience scarcely two men will call an intermediate shade by the same name. I felt this difficulty some years ago, when collecting fish for the Natural History Museum. They asked me to describe the colours on the fish directly they were taken from the water. Now, although I am not colour-blind in the slightest degree, yet, not having served my time in a millinery establishment matching shades of colour, my vocabulary respecting colours was that of an ordinary man, and to what I called by one name an expert might have given a quite different name. I mentioned this difficulty,—a very real one,—and the authorities supplied me with a book of colours which was most helpful. I would, therefore, suggest that a page or two of the *Notes* should be devoted to examples of colours, with names or numbers to each, *i.e.* a page giving shades of colour for the iris, and another with the various tints of brown for the skin; it would make for accuracy. The names and illustrations given in the book of patterns and designs of the principal geometrical motives, and of decorative art, are very useful, and will help the student to say accurately in a word or two what would otherwise demand a descriptive paragraph or a drawing. Something on the same lines for colours would standardise them, and we should all mean the same thing when we mentioned a shade of colour.

The section on measurements coming at the beginning of the book is likely to appal the new student desirous of taking up the study of anthropology, for, in the first place, he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred lack the proper instruments for taking accurate measurements, and there is no note stating where he can procure them, or their probable cost. And, again, the novice sees about him in one and the same tribe men of all sizes, every one of whom will yield different measurements, and he cannot see the use of such elaborate details, and will be inclined to scoff at the whole study as utter nonsense. Those who think that anthropometry is the keystone of anthropology may be unwilling to consign this section on measurements to the appendix as a subsidiary subject, but it might have served its purpose there much better than where it is. At present it is an unnecessary hill for the student to climb into the kingdom of anthropology.

I should also like to suggest that the following phrases in italics should be incorporated in future editions. On page 3, under "colour of the skin": "*Is the skin of those people who live on the hills of a lighter shade than those who live in swampy valleys?*" Out of some fifty boys that lived in our school at San Salvador I noticed that those who came from the valleys had darker skins than those who came from the hills. It would be interesting to know if this is generally the case. Under "customary postures" on page 13, it would be useful to note *the position of ordinary folk before chiefs and men of importance*. On the Lower Congo an ordinary person is expected to sit cross-legged, or on his haunches, before his chief, and to stretch out his legs before him is regarded as an insult worthy of severe punishment, either by beating, slavery, or death. On page 15, in the paragraph on "throwing, tossing, and shooting," it would be helpful to know not only the difference between spear-throwing and stone-throwing, but also *the method of holding the spear*. Most white men, before throwing a spear, hold it with the tips of their fingers, but Congo natives hold the haft of the spear across the palm of the hand. This gives more force to the throw, and greater accuracy of aim. Is this method general among primitive peoples?

Under "personal cleanliness," on page 17, I think an observation respecting *the nearness or remoteness of streams suitable for*

*bathing* should be made. I have noticed that those who live near streams bathe regularly; but those living at a considerable distance from streams, who procure their supply of water from a spring issuing from the side of the high hill on which they live, very rarely take a bath, yet they belong to the same tribe as the others. There is no mention of the *pulling out of eyelashes* under the subject of personal appearance. It would be interesting to put on record *at what age is cicatrization begun?* (p. 25). In one tribe I noticed that the operation took place in very early infancy, during the first year; and in another tribe not until the fifth or sixth year. In the former case the whole face was scarred, and in the latter only a line down the forehead.

*Does each wife own a house for herself and children?* (appropriation of houses, p. 34); *are any relishes or sauces prepared, such as white ant relish, white-bait sauce, and a relish of red peppers and peanuts ground together?* (condiments, p. 43); *what is the effect of native wine and beer as compared with that of alcoholic drinks imported from Europe? Is old wine put with the new to hasten fermentation?* (p. 46). These are a few other questions that might be worth a place among the many others in the book.

On p. 51 several kinds of nets are mentioned, but the *box net* is not among them. This is oblong, with sides, ends, and bottom, but no top or lid, and varying in size up to fifty by twenty feet. One end and two sides are fastened by stakes driven in a suitable place in the river, and the other end is dropped to the bottom. The fishermen make a wide detour, and, beating and kicking the water, they drive the fish before them into the net, and then the loose end is raised and fixed, thus enclosing the fish. The Libinza Lake people were the only folk I saw on the Upper Congo employing a net of this shape.

The question, "What are the favourite colours?" is asked under dyes on page 87; but before that is put there should come another question, viz., "What colours are procurable in the locality?" for I have seen more than once colours that appeared to be favourites pass into disuse on the introduction of a greater variety of colours from outside sources; and I have seen the bright, gaudy colours of cheap trade cloth left untouched when more sober, and even sombre, colours were imported into the district.

There is one use for broken pottery not mentioned on p. 92, and that is eating it. The Boloki people preserved the broken pieces of their Libinza Lake pots for nibbling when they had a craving for eating clay. I would suggest under the heading of metal-working (p. 95), an enquiry as to *the position a smith holds in the community*; and *how do his neighbours regard the smithy, the anvil, and the fire*, etc.

To the question of "How many children had your father and mother?" (p. 120), there should be a note to warn the enquirer that primitive peoples are often averse to counting their children, lest the spirits should hear them and one or more of the children die; and for this reason absurd numbers are often given, not to mislead the friendly enquirer, but to deceive the evil spirits; and, again, certain cousins, nephews, nieces, etc., are frequently spoken of as children belonging to a person.

Upon the subject of "European Questions and Native Answers" (p. 111), I would like to sound a note of warning to the student entering on a fresh field of enquiry amongst a people whose language has not been reduced to writing, and that is to be sure that the native uses 'Yes' and 'No' in the same way as ourselves; e.g. ask a Lower Congo man the following question, *Kukwenda ko e?* (Will you not go?), and, if he is not going, he will answer *Elo* (Yes), where we should say 'No.' The European would understand by the answer that the native was going, but the native would have in his mind that the supposition of his not going was quite correct, and to that he answers 'Yes.' This view of negative questions causes many misunderstandings, and the only way to avoid them is by the employment of questions in the affirmative.

Having reduced to writing one African language, and helped to reduce another, I should not recommend the method suggested and illustrated on p. 196. Such a method would necessitate a great amount of unnecessary writing of slips, e.g. if there are, we will say, 2000 verbs in the language under consideration, the writing of a slip for every element underscored, as given in the illustration, would demand the writing of eight thousand slips, and the introduction of every new element would mean the writing of two thousand slips for each. I could give a Congo language

which has about twenty-five elements, or prefixes and suffixes, with which almost every verb combines, and to underscore and write a new slip for every element with every verb would entail a burden of work altogether unnecessary. It is better to take some examples of the prefixes and suffixes, find out the force of each, write each prefix and suffix on a separate slip with some illustrations of their uses, and write the root of the verb with its definition on a slip by itself, leaving room on the slip for any peculiar or idiomatic uses of the verb. With a very little practice it will be easy to separate the root from its accretions, and it will be necessary only to note any new roots on a single slip, and not all the elements with which it may combine. In this way, instead of using many thousands of slips, only 2025 will be necessary for the verbs. With the other remarks on learning a new language I agree, and think that they are most helpful. The learner must have a proper respect for the language he is studying, and must not think that, because the people are uncivilized, therefore they are talking a jargon like a lot of monkeys. A sincere respect for the language and the people who are using it will help him to burrow into its secrets; but a contemptuous attitude will result only in a very superficial skimming of the surface. In language work, as in other anthropological investigation, we need a kindly sympathy.

Missionaries possess unique opportunities for the furtherance of anthropological studies, and it is to be hoped that this book of *Notes and Queries* will be increasingly used by them, and that in the near future they will do for anthropology what they have already done for language. By knowing men's views of life and death, their conceptions of spirits and the spirit land, their view of "sin" in this life and of punishment in the spirit land to which they are hastening, a missionary can preach his doctrines more effectively, and for this reason, among many others, every missionary needs more than a mere superficial knowledge of his flock's customs, habits, and thoughts, and, until the *Handbook of Folklore* becomes accessible by a new edition, I know of no book better able to help him in systematic and scientific study than the one now under consideration.

JOHN H. WEEKS.

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LE FOLK-LORE: LITTÉRATURE ORALE ET ETHNOGRAPHIE TRADITIONNELLE. PAR PAUL SÉBILLOT. Paris: Octave Doin & Fils, 1913. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiv + 393. 5*f*.

THE indefatigable editor of the *Revue des Traditions Populaires* and author of *Le Folk-lore de France* has in this work produced a handbook and guide to the collector of folklore. His great experience in the collection of folklore in Upper Brittany and his wide anthropological learning render such a book specially authoritative. We open it with high expectations, nor are they disappointed. In an excellent introductory chapter he discusses the origin of the term Folklore, and defends its adoption, though a foreign word, as expressing more accurately than any other the extent and limitations of the subject. He divides its contents into two parts, which he calls respectively Oral Literature and Traditional Ethnography. Under the former head he ranks tales, ballads and songs, riddles, proverbs, and other sayings and formulae, infantine, social, magical, and so forth. The domain of Traditional Ethnography, on the other hand, is hard to trace with exactitude: its frontiers are so vague in the direction of ethnography properly so called and of anthropology other than physical. Any limitations, therefore, in these directions must be more or less arbitrary. In this country we have long since disregarded them. He enters a protest against the abuse of the term Folklore, a term of general import, by limiting it to folk-tales. English writers are, as he says, peculiarly guilty of this solecism. But it is not confined to them, as is proved by the examples he mentions of certain French authors. The chapter is concluded with some wise and useful observations on the collection and recording of folklore. Emphasis is laid on the necessity of alertness in collection and of meticulous accuracy in making the record, to the effacement, so far as possible, of the personal equation and the complete separation of commentary and interpretation from the report of the facts.

In the body of the work Oral Literature occupies much less space than Traditional Ethnography. This is not because the distinguished author undervalues Oral Literature, of which in his native Brittany he has been so ardent and successful a collector.



It is partly because the facts themselves lie in a smaller compass and are more readily seized, partly because he includes in Traditional Ethnography many things that we should classify as tales, and therefore Oral Literature. Of this kind are legends of creation, the origin of rivers, lakes, fountains, and other bodies of water, the heavenly bodies, plants and animals, and the cause of their several peculiarities. From legends such as these he proceeds to the relations of men with the various objects of the external world, and the superstitions which attach to them. The life of man is traced from or before birth to death, burial, the life after death, and the fear of the dead. M. Sébillot then proceeds to a section denominated Ethnographic Sociology, including the cultivation of the ground, hunting, fishing, commensal customs, building of dwellings and ships, industries, commercial relations, the administration of justice, gestures, war, ornaments and clothing, art in its various manifestations, and amusements, such as dramatic performances, dances, periodical and other celebrations, whether religious, magical, or purely recreational. It will thus be seen that a very wide area is covered. We miss, however, the subjects of social organization and of religion. Their want would perhaps be explicable if the work referred solely to European folklore. In fact it draws its illustrations from all quarters of the globe. Whether the omission be due to oversight or design, it is to be hoped that an early opportunity will be taken to repair it.

For in what he has included all M. Sébillot's great gifts of arrangement and exposition are displayed. He has known how to condense without allowing his account of the many branches of his subject to degenerate into a dry catalogue. He preserves the reader's interest, he directs the collector's attention, without committing himself to theories which new facts or the reexamination of old facts may bring to nought, and which in any event are better kept out of sight in a book intended as an introduction for the tyro and a guide to the collector. His references are carefully given; and a good bibliography and index are appended.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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FESTE UND BRÄUCHE DES SCHWEIZERVOLKES. KLEINES HANDBUCH DES SCHWEIZERISCHE VOLKSBRUCHS DER GEGENWART IN GEMEINFÄSSLICHER DARSTELLUNG. VON Prof. Dr. E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Zurich: Schulthess & Co., 1913. pp. xvi + 179.

PROFESSOR Hoffmann-Krayer has produced a very useful little handbook of Swiss folk-customs, to which the attention of the Folk-Lore Society, and especially of those members engaged in the work of revising Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, may well be directed. Though it is specially concerned with the present-day customs and those practised within living memory, earlier customs are not wholly left unmentioned. It is chiefly derived from the collections of the Swiss Folklore Society (the *Schweizerische Archiv für Volkskunde*, the *Schweizerische Volkskunde*, and the *Schweizerische Idiotikon*), in the pages of which further details are obtainable. Earlier publications on the subject are enumerated and discussed in the introduction, which is in effect an excellent summary guide to the literature.

The first chapter, dealing with the epochs of human life, is by Prof. Hoffmann-Krayer's pupil, Dr. Hanns Bächtold, who has had the advantage of consulting a large collection of material made (under the Professor's direction) by his fellow-students W. Mohr and Dr. P. Geiger, and moreover is preparing a work on the important subject of marriage customs. The remainder is by Professor Hoffmann-Krayer himself. It is in two chapters, dealing respectively with calendar customs and non-calendar customs, and affords numerous points of comparison with our own corresponding customs and superstitions.

The influence of Prof. Hoffmann-Krayer has resulted in much valuable work in Swiss folklore during the past few years; and the *Feste und Bräuche* will be found not the least interesting and important outcome of the enquiries he has been the means of setting on foot.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN. A Romantic Epic by SHOT'HA RUST'HAVELI. A close Rendering from the Georgian, attempted by MARJORY SCOTT WARDROP. (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., vol. xxi.) The Royal Asiatic Society, 1912. 8vo, pp. xviii + 273. 10s.

THE literature of the Georgians differs from that of other oriental Christian peoples, for example, of the Armenians who were their nearest neighbours geographically and ecclesiastically, of the Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians, in this, that over and above their Church literature they have preserved from the Middle Ages a literature of epic and romance. No doubt the Armenians also at one time possessed such a literature, but we already at the very beginning of the thirteenth century read of the attempts made by Armenian doctors like Mekhitar Gosh to suppress it. These efforts were successful, and nothing of it remains, much to the regret of moderns, who would have preferred a few hundred pages of pagan Armenia to all the dreary monastic stuff which has been preserved.

*The Man in the Panther's Skin* is a romantic epic, written or redacted in the form in which we read it to-day, at least as early as the year 1200, so belonging exactly to the period when the Armenian doctors began to interest themselves in the destruction of their national sagas. It is of some length, and contains 1576 stanzas of four lines each. Here is a specimen of how such a stanza reads in the original language :

Mzé ushénod vér ikmébis | rádgan shénkhar mísi tsíli  
 Gághanám-tza más iákhle | mísi etli árt'hu tsbíli  
 Múna gnákho mándve gsákho | gánminát'hlo gúli chrdíli  
 t'hu sitzótzkhle mtsáre mkóna | sicvdilimtza mkóndes tcbíli.

We are reminded of Burns' beautiful stanza :

Had we never loved so kindly,  
 Had we never loved so blindly,  
 Never met, or never parted,  
 We had ne'er been broken-hearted.

—which Duncan Forbes selected (in his Persian grammar of 1862) to illustrate the rhyme of old Persian poetry. It is nearly the

same metre as we meet with in the most ancient Armenian hymnody, for example in this stanza :

Khóstovánolq fólthatzárouq | Djánal áprel yávoorús mer  
Zi aur áhel káy arádji | Áhel ádean yév hour ánsheadj,

which begins a hymn ascribed to the Patriarch John of Mandak, c. 480. It in turn both in rhythm and contents reminds us of the *Dies iræ dies illa* of Latin Christianity.

The poem was translated by Miss Wardrop, who died at Bucharest in 1909. The reviewer has compared parts of her version with the original, and can testify to its accuracy and scholarship. There are not half a dozen people in Europe who could have accomplished such a work. Her brother, Mr. Oliver Wardrop of Balliol College, himself a well-known authority on all things Georgian, has seen it through the press. He observes in his preface that "when he wrote his poem, Rust'haveli had evidently no violent prejudice for one religion more than another, but was of a critical and eclectic turn of mind, and formed for himself a working philosophy of life, showing Persian and Arabian tendencies, but with so much of Christianity and Neo-Platonism as to bring it near to Occidental minds."

He also summarises the poet's outlook on life in the following (I omit the stanza references which he adds for each clause) :

"There is throughout the poem manifest joy in life and action : God createth not evil ; ill is fleeting ; since there is gladness in the world, why should any be sad ? It is after all a good world, fair to look upon despite its horrid deserts, a world to sing in either because one is happy or because one wishes to be so ; there are flowers to gaze on, good wine to drink, fair apparel and rich jewels to wear, beasts worth hunting, games worth playing, foes to be fought, and friends to be loved and helped. There are grievous troubles, but they are to be battled against ; it is a law with men that they should struggle and suffer ; for them is endeavour, and victory lies with God ; however black the outlook, there must be no shirking, for the one deed especially Satan's is suicide ; the game must be played to the end manfully, and God is generous, though the world be hard ; He will make all right in the end, and sorrow alone shows a man's mettle. The keynote is optimism

*quand même.* Life is a passing illusion, brief and untrustworthy, in itself nothing but a silly tale; we are gazers through a cloudy, distorting glass; our deeds are mere childish sports making for soul-fitness. The one way of escape from illusion is in the exercise of that essential part of ourselves which unites us with the choir of the heavenly hosts: love lifts us out of the mundane marsh; brother must act brotherly; we must loyally serve our chosen friends, those with whom we have formed a bond stronger than the ties of blood: for such we must die, if need be. The poem is a glorification of friendship, and the story is of the mutual aid of three starlike heroes wont to serve one another. . . . That women have their share in such friendship is shown by the fraternity between Asmath and Tariel, and it is a proof of the deep culture of the people that such bonds still exist; there is probably no country where men have so many pure ties with women, where they are bound by affection to so many with whom the idea of marriage is never permitted to present itself."

Rust'haveli's poem is unknown in Europe, yet, as Mr. Wardrop observes, "it has been in a unique manner the book of a nation for 700 years; down to our own days the young people learned it by heart; every woman was expected to know every word of it, and on her marriage to carry a copy of it to her new home." The one writer who was familiar with it, and closely imitated in parts its story and language, was the Italian, Ariosto, in his *Orlando Furioso*. Well may his patron, Cardinal Ippolito of Este, have asked him the question,—“Where did you find so many stories, Master Ludovico?” Ariosto must have gained access to it through one of the Vatican missionaries, who began to frequent Tiflis as early as the thirteenth century in the hope of persuading the Georgians to recognise the Pope of Rome.

But it is not known whence Rust'haveli derived his story, though the statement in stanza 16 that it was “a Persian tale, done into Georgian” indicates that it came from Persia. The poet continues thus: it “has hitherto been like a pearl of great price cast in play from hand to hand; now I have found it and mounted it in a setting of verse.” Such an avowal no more detracts from the poet's claim to originality than does the fact that Shakespeare took the stories of his plays from printed sources detract from his. In

Persian literature as we now have it, we find no trace of such a story, but there is much resemblance of Rust'haveli's imagery to that of Khakani, a Persian poet who died in Tabriz, close to Georgia, in 1186, and of Hafiz of Shiraz, who died in 1300.

To give the reader an idea of Rust'haveli's style, the first stanzas of the second canto,—a passage imitated by Ariosto,—are here transcribed :

“They saw a certain stranger knight; he sat weeping on the bank of the stream, he held his black horses by the rein, he looked like a lion and a hero; his bridle, armour and saddle were thickly bedight with pearls; the rose (of his cheek) was frozen in tears that welled up from his woestricken heart.

“His form was clad in a long coat, over which was thrown a panther's skin; his head, too, was covered with a cap of panther's skin; in his hand was held a whip thicker than a man's arm. They looked and liked to look at that wondrous sight.

“A slave went forth to speak to the knight of the woestricken heart, who, weeping with downcast head, seems not a spectacle for jesting; from a channel of jet (his eyelashes) rains a crystal shower. When (the slave) approached, he could by no means bring himself to speak a word (to Tariel).

“The slave was much perturbed; he dared not address him: a long time he gazed in wonder till his heart was strengthened; then he said: “(The king) commands thee (to attend him).” He (the slave) came near, (and) greeted him gently; he (Tariel) wept on and heard not, he knew not that the slave was there.

“He heard not a word of the slave, nor what he said; he was wholly unconscious of the shouting of the soldiers, he was sobbing strongly, his heart burnt up with fires; tears were mingled with blood, and flowed forth as from floodgates.”

F. C. CONYBEARE.

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ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGISCHE STUDIEN AN SUDSEEVÖLKERN AUF DEM BISMARCK-ARCHIPEL UND DEN SALOMO-INSELN. Von Dr. RICHARD THURNWALD. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung. No. 6.) Mit 21 Tafeln. Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1913. 8vo, pp. iv + 163. 9 m.

THIS volume contains some of the psychological results of Dr. Thurnwald's expedition to Melanesia during the years 1906-9. It is divided into five parts. The first is concerned with the usual

psychological experiments on tractive force, colour distinction, attention, suggestion, counting, association, and so forth. The second part is concerned with art, and it forms the most important section of the work. The twenty-one plates of native drawings and photographs of native objects which form section five are discussed at length in this part. Part three is inconsiderable, and is concerned with language. The fourth part deals with the mental life of the natives, and it forms a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the subject.

A striking feature of the native mind is its inertia. For example, a tree-trunk lying across the road will not be removed, but a great *détour* will be made to avoid it (p. 100). Again, in conversation, a subject will be discussed for interminable periods, and a joke will be repeated times without number and without any decrease of zest (p. 116). Corresponding to this inertia is a capacity for performing for interminable periods such appallingly monotonous tasks as, for example, hewing a drum with a stone adze out of a log of hard wood (p. 101). Dr. Thurnwald also states that the native becomes quickly tired when engaged upon any task requiring a constant exercise of attention. This may, however, be due to the fact that the native quickly becomes bored when not interested. Once a native is really interested in the discussion of a subject, he will often tire out a white man.

Another important mental characteristic of the native is his "egocentricity," *i.e.* "the identification of one's personal existence with that of others." Dr. Thurnwald's native "butler," Ungi, one day appeared to be ill, and spent the whole day loafing around doing nothing. The Doctor was quite unable to find out what was the matter, except that he did not feel well, and so gave him some aloe pills, but without result. He then discovered that Ungi was not really ill at all, but that his wife was. Dr. Thurnwald calls this "physiological sympathy." "This incident points to a probable origin of the so-called 'couvade'" (p. 103).

The native opinion of white men is most interesting. White men are magicians. "In general these mighty magicians are very dangerous, unfriendly and cunning beings, who carry off men and take away land, who can kill with "thunder and lightning," and who often burn villages and make everyone do just what they

wish. However they possess many useful and agreeable things, but it is hard to obtain them, and if you take a little from their superfluity then they become nasty, for they are pedantic, petty and narrow. They have no social feeling like the village folk who are always ready to share their superfluity. . . . The European is immensely rich and his speech eternally dwells upon what he buys and sells" (pp. 120-1).

W. J. PERRY.

THE FAMILY AMONG THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES. A sociological study. By B. MALINOWSKI. (University of London : Monographs on Sociology, vol. 2). University of London Press, 1913. 8vo, pp. xv + 326. With a biblio. 6s. net.

THE aim of this book is, as its author puts it, "to give a correct description of the Australian individual family." The subject is certainly novel and refreshing. Who has ever before given much interest to the individual family among a group of savages whose claim to sociological distinction rests chiefly on the institution of group marriage attributed to them by the leading authorities on their anthropology? "In all theoretical passages of works devoted to the social organization of the Australian tribes," says Dr. Malinowski, "the individual family is passed over in absolute silence." And yet it not only exists but plays a foremost part in the social life of these tribes; it has a very firm basis in their customs and ideas, and "by no means bears the features of anything like recent innovation, or a subordinate form subservient to the idea of group marriage." Wives are obtained in various ways. There are certain normal, pacific methods of acquiring them, such as exchange of relatives, promise in infancy, and betrothal, and at the same time there are other more or less violent methods—elopement and capture; but the latter, and especially capture, seem to be rather the exception than the rule, and in order to lead to a union recognized as legal the act of violence must be followed by some kind of expiation. "The idea of legality may be safely applied to Australian marriage in all its forms. For in all there



was the necessity of a previous or subsequent sanction of society, and if this were absent society used actually to interfere with the union" (p. 66).

How, then, do these facts agree with the group-marriage theory? If group marriage meant nothing but sexual licence, there would be no disagreement between them; for, although the Australian husband had generally a definite sexual "over-right" over his wife which secured to him the privilege of disposing of her, or at least of exercising a certain control over her conduct in sexual matters, this "over-right" did not, as a rule, amount to an exclusive right. There were customs like wife-lending, exchange of wives, ceremonial defloration of girls by old men, the different forms of licence practised at large tribal gatherings, and especially the *Pirrauru* relationship found in several of the southern central tribes. But all this does not constitute group marriage, the complete content of which does not consist in sexual relations alone. Dr. Malinowski duly emphasizes the fact that marriage cannot be detached from family life: "it is defined in all its aspects by the problems of the economic unity of the family, of the bonds created by common life in one wurley, through the common rearing of, and affection towards, the offspring." In nearly all these respects even the *Pirrauru* relationship essentially differs from marriage, and cannot, therefore, seriously encroach upon the individual family. Nor can we regard this relationship as a survival of previous group marriage; in this point Dr. Malinowski is in complete agreement with Mr. N. W. Thomas, although it lies outside the scope of his inquiry to speculate upon the past history of marriage in Australia.

In an interesting chapter, where he often refers to Mr. G. C. Wheeler's scholarly book on *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, the author demonstrates how the individuality of the family unit shows itself in the aboriginal mode of living. A single family is normally in contact with a few other families only, sometimes roaming alone over its own area. But, even when there are several families living together, the camp rulers keep them apart from each other in nearly every function of daily life, and the children, who live in intimate contact with their parents in the same hut, must necessarily set them apart from all their other

relatives. There are very close personal and individual bonds of union between parents and children. The parental relation seems to be a *régime* of love, and not of coercion. The father's authority is exercised over his children merely during their early childhood, "*i.e.* during a period when there is, in a general way, very little room for the display of any serious authority," and comes to an end when the girl marries and the boy is initiated.

Dr. Malinowski's conclusions derive their great value from the extremely careful manner in which he deals with his evidence. This book is a critical study of documents which contain many inconsistent statements, inaccuracies, and hypothetical assumptions represented as actual facts. On controversial points he has skilfully tried to eliminate the contradictions by applying textual criticism to the statements, or by pointing out the possible source of error, or by showing that the contradictions must be set down to local differences between the tribes. He has carefully disintegrated all that is hypothetical in the statements from the observed facts themselves; and he has pointed out which facts are well established and which are more or less uncertain or contradictory. But, in the first place, he has taken care to give us an explicit survey of the evidence, and he has drawn his conclusions in such a manner that his reasons for drawing them are perfectly clear to the reader. From a methodological point of view, Dr. Malinowski's book is a model which ought to be imitated in all future inquiries of a similar kind. Another point of general importance is his long and penetrating discussion of kinship, occupying no less than sixty-five pages, which will be found instructive and stimulating even by those who cannot, in every detail, agree with his views.

My general opinion about Dr. Malinowski's book is that it is one of the best sociological monographs which I have ever read.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

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# Folk=Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

VOL. XXIV.]

DECEMBER, 1913.

No. IV.

## THE RELIGION OF MANIPUR.

BY COL. J. SHAKESPEAR.

(*Read at Meeting, May 21st, 1913.*)

I PROPOSE to commence this paper by a statement of the position of affairs. As regards religion in Manipur at the present time, I shall not, except incidentally, refer to the religion of the many hill tribes who live round the lovely valley. Manipur figures as a Hindu state in the list of the Feudatory states of India, and Hinduism is the State religion, but when we have said this we have by no means stated the whole case, for alongside of Hinduism we have the worship of the *Umanglais* or Forest gods and various other distinctly non-Hindu cults, which are practised by good Hindus as well as by those who have not yet abandoned the faith of their forefathers. As a matter of fact even the best Hindus in Manipur, except perhaps a few of the most holy Brahmans, cannot be said to have abandoned the ancient faith; rather, they accepted the Hindu Pantheon in addition to the old gods of their own country.

The state of affairs is closely paralleled in Burma, in the Malay States, and in Java. The resemblance is closest in the case of Burma, for there, as in Manipur, only one conversion has taken place. We find the state religion, in Burma Buddhism, and in Manipur Hinduism, existing side by side with the more ancient faith. To quote from Sir J. George Scott's great book *The Burman his Life and Notions*<sup>1</sup>: "Notwithstanding that Buddhism has been the established religion in Burma since shortly after the third great council at Patalipootra in 241 B.C., and that the purest form of the faith exists, and is firmly believed in, yet, throughout the whole of A-shay Pyee [The Eastern Country] both in Independent and British Territory, the old geniolatry still retains a firm hold on the minds of the people. . . . As a simple matter of fact, it is undeniable that the propitiating of the nats is a question of daily concern to the lower class Burman, while the worship at the pagoda is only thought of once a week." Similarly, in Manipur, although most of the inhabitants of the valley profess Hinduism and are strict in observing many of its customs, they are also ardent supporters of the *Umanglais*, who seem practically identical with the Burmese *Nats*. As in Burma, the *phungyis* are respected and well looked after, and the images of Buddha never lack loving care, while, at the same time the little house of the village *nat* is duly decorated with flowers and replenished with simple offerings,<sup>2</sup> so in Manipur. Krishna is devoutly worshipped and Brahmans are maintained, while at the same time every village has at least one sacred grove, the abode of the local god, who has his own priests and priestesses. In the Malay States we find matters more complicated, for there, as Mr. Skeat says, "Just as in the language of the Malays it is possible by analysis to pick out words of Sanskrit and Arabic origin from amongst the main body of genuinely native words, so in their folklore one finds Hindu, Buddhist, and Muhammadan ideas

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i (1882), p. 276.   <sup>2</sup> H. Fielding Hall, *The Soul of the People*, p. 251.

overlying a mass of apparently original Malay notions."<sup>3</sup> But substituting Mahomedan for Hindu and Buddhist, the Malays seem to be in much the same position as the Manipuris and the Burmans, for Mr. Skeat remarks a little lower down:—"It is necessary to state that Malays of the Peninsular are Sunni Muhammadans of the school of Shafi'i, and that nothing, theoretically speaking, could be more orthodox (from the point of view of Islām) than the belief which they profess. But the beliefs which they actually hold are another matter altogether, and it must be admitted that the Muhammadan veneer which covers their ancient superstitions is often of the thinnest description."

In one particular the *Umanglais* of Manipur are better off than the *Nats* of Burma, for they are officially recognized and some of them receive tax-free lands for their maintenance, and are every bit as much honoured as the Hindu gods. Each set of divinities has its own ministers. Krishna and the other Hindu gods are served by Brahmans, while the local gods have their own priests and priestesses, known as *maibas* and *maibis*. The Raja is the recognized head of both religions. As a Hindu the Manipuri calls in the Brahman on occasions of births, marriages, and deaths, and observes the Hindu festivals, but in sickness he consults the *maiba* and he worships the gods of hills and rivers of his country as his forefathers did before him. I may here point out that Hinduism is far less antagonistic to the ancient faith of Manipur than Buddhism was to that of Burma or Mahomedanism to that of the Malays. To a Hindu, whose Pantheon contains an unlimited number of beings more or less divine, the inclusion of the godlings of any tribe with which he comes in contact is a matter of no great difficulty. Dr. Barnett has justly remarked,—“Hinduism is not one homogeneous growth of religious thought: it is neither a single tree nor a forest of trees sprung from

<sup>3</sup> *Malay Magic*, Preface, p. xii.

the same stock. It is on the contrary an aggregation of minor growths, some of cognate origin, some of foreign provenance, all grouped together under the shadow of one mighty tree. It is an influence which has taken possession of well nigh all the roads by which man approaches the unseen in India, its churches are as well the stately Cathedral, where scholars and princes worship, as the humble shrine where villagers offer wild flowers to some god born of their own rude hearts, or the wayside spot haunted by some random godling, who may have dwelt there long before the Hindus came into India, or may have arrived there last week." <sup>4</sup> The attitude of the Brahman towards the gods of the savage races with whom he comes in contact seems to me somewhat similar to that of the Vicar of Bray. Whatever they may be, and whatever the rites of their worship, he is ready to accept them as one or other of the Hindu gods or godlings and to instal himself as high priest.

The Manipur chronicle, which is a very interesting history of the State from the very earliest times, commences with a pedigree, thus: Naran begat Brahma, Brahma begat Marichi, and so on through five generations to Āchitraketu, who had one million wives and reigned in Mahendranagarh. The youngest of the million partners of Chitraketu had only one son, whose granddaughter Chitrangada became the wife of Arjun, the third son of Pandu, by whom she had only one son, Babrubahon, who changed the name of Mahendranagarh to Manipur. From Babrubahon the pedigree is carried through three generations to Hemanga, who died childless, but his widow Bhanumati worshipped the sun and obtained two divine eggs, one of which took the form of Taoroinai, known later as Pureiromba (of whom you will hear more when we come to the *Umanglais* or forest gods). Pureiromba, taking the other egg in his mouth, descended to earth. On the way he was asked by

<sup>4</sup> *Religions Ancient and Modern: Hinduism*, p. 1.

all the gods whither he was going, but, having the egg in his mouth, he could not speak clearly (whence the name Purei-romba, bringing -stammering). The place where Taoroinai descended is pointed out close to the entrance to the present Palace grounds. Bhanumati received this divine egg brought by Taoroinai and took great care of it, and from it issued Pakhangba, the divine ancestor of the present ruling family of Manipur, which is thus clearly descended from the ancient Lunar dynasty of Hindustan. The Manipuris therefore have an ancient Hindu pedigree, but the modern introduction of the Hindu religion, a revival as the Manipuris call it, occurred according to their chronicles in the year 1626 of the Shak era (equivalent to 1704-5 A.D.), when we read "A Brahman Goshami named Muni arrived from Assam with 22 men, and the Raja Chorairongba and all male and female members of the Royal family, with all the ministers and the Sirdars, fasted on the 5th Boisak, Wednesday, and performed the religious ceremony of taking advice of the spiritual guide, the holy man Muni Goshami." In 1708-9 we read of temples being built for Krishna and Kali, but in the following year we read of a masonry temple being built for Panthoibi, one of the best known of the Goddesses of the indigenous faith, and immediately after this the collapse of Kali's temple is recorded, and it was not rebuilt for five years. In 1717-8, Chorairongba's successor, who became known as Gharib Nawaz, is said to have performed the ceremony of taking advice from his *guru*, and in the next line we read that "he also performed some religious ceremonies at the house of the God Senamahi, with all his wives and servants," Senamahi being one of the *Umanglais* and to this day the household god of the Manipuris. In 1723-4 the same ruler ordered the destruction of the houses of the nine *Umanglais*, but six weeks later we find him detailing Brahmans to attend on four of these local gods. In the following year Gharib Nawaz dug up the bones of his ancestors and conveyed

them to the Chindwin and burnt them there, since which date cremation has been universally adopted. These vacillations of the rulers were evidently due, in part at least, to the unpopularity of the new religion, for we constantly read of the Raja and his ministers performing ceremonies to induce the people to take the holy thread, and thirty-five years after the first introduction of the new faith we read "Tungashai performed the ceremony of taking the holy thread, and on that auspicious day many, many villages also performed the same ceremony; even those who were unwilling to take the holy thread were forced to take it by royal order." It is clear that the spread of Hinduism was slow, and was only achieved by a compromise with the ancient faith. Doubtless the limitation of diet imposed on their followers by the Brahmans had much to do with the unpopularity of their doctrines, for previous to their conversion the Manipuris were evidently consumers of flesh and strong drinks. In 1630-1 we read of the Raja worshipping his god by sacrificing 100 goats, 100 rams, 100 mithan, 100 pigeons, 100 buffaloes, 100 hogs, 100 geese, 100 ducks, 100 fowls, and 100 dogs, and, judging from the practice in the case of sacrifices to the *Umanglais* at the present time, we may safely infer that the flesh of the victims was eaten by the worshippers. The Chronicle also contains social references to the consumption of intoxicants; for instance, in 1680-1 we read that the Raja spent the whole night drinking in the house of one of his officials, and during his absence his own house was burnt down. Prior to 1823 Manipur suffered much from raids made by the Burmese, who, according to the Chronicle, twice carried off 30,000 captives, and Colonel McCulloch writes, "of those not made captive, some escaped to British provinces, some managed to subsist themselves amongst the Hill people, and some amongst the marshes in the southern part of the valley."<sup>5</sup> The princes of the royal family, and probably many of the

<sup>5</sup> *Account of Munnipore and the Hill Tribes*, p. 11.



better-class Manipuris, escaped to Cachar, and I think this enforced sojourn in a country which had recently come under the influence of the Brahmans must have strengthened the hold of Hinduism on the exiles. I cannot refrain from quoting Mr. E. A. Gait's account of the conversion of the Raja of Cachar. "At Khāspur it [the process of Hinduization] proceeded rapidly, and in 1790, the formal act of conversion took place: the raja, Krishna Chandra, and his brother Govind Chandra, entered the body of a copper effigy of a cow. On emerging from it, they were proclaimed to be Hindus of the Kshatriya caste, and a genealogy of a hundred generations, reaching to Bhim, the hero of the *Mahābhārat*, was composed for them by the Brāhmans."<sup>6</sup>

I have made so many references to the Chronicles of the Manipur Kings that it seems necessary to say a few words regarding them and their value as history. When discussing this question with my friend Mr. Hodson he expressed an opinion that, while the Chronicle can not be considered history, it is certainly very good tradition. The Chronicle begins with a date equivalent to 392 A.D. Up to the year 1431 the entries are extremely brief, and I think that, as regards that portion, Mr. Hodson's estimate is too favourable; from 1431 to about 1700 his estimate seems very fair; but, after that, I think more credit may be given to the book. I have come across two striking proofs of the truth of the latter part of the Chronicle. The excavation and consecration of a large tank are recorded in the years 1725 and 1726, part of the ceremony being the placing of images of Krishna and Kali in the tank. In 1906 the tank was drained, and the images were found at the foot of the consecration post, exactly as recorded 180 years before. Again, in 1905, in the course of enlarging another tank, we found unmistakable evidence that the river had at some previous time run to the west of the royal enclosure instead of to the east, as it now does, and, on referring to the

<sup>6</sup> *A History of Assam*, p. 251.

Chronicle, I found two entries dated 1630-1 and 1662-3, the first describing the cutting of the present channel and the second the completion of the work by the filling up of the old bed. These are valuable evidence of the truth of the latter portion of the Chronicle, but almost more convincing are its contents, for, had it been entirely fictitious, written to order at a late period after the triumph of Hinduism, surely the records of the ancient religion and of the process of conversion to the new faith would not have been so full. I think therefore that we may safely place considerable reliance on the latter portion of the Chronicle.

I must now refer briefly to the form in which we find Hinduism in Manipur. Though the Manipuris have accepted the Vaishnavite doctrines, they have rejected entirely certain Hindu customs; for instance, child marriages are unknown, and women even of the highest classes go about freely, unveiled; widows are free to re-marry, and are subject to none of the restrictions imposed on them in other parts of India. I think you will agree with me that in rejecting these particular customs the Manipuris have shown great wisdom. I am sure that any one who knows anything of Manipur will admit that, had the observance of these customs been insisted on, Hinduism would have made no progress, for the Manipur woman has clear views as to her own importance and would never have submitted to being deprived of her liberty. In other respects also the Manipuris have introduced modifications. It is of course well known that on various occasions a good Hindu has to be ceremonially shaved; in fact, as Babu Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya in his great book on the Indian castes has said, "A Hindu cannot celebrate any religious ceremony without first shaving; the barber is an important functionary in Hindu society." Now, when the first Brahmans came to Manipur, they appear to have brought no barbers with them, so that a difficulty arose as to complying with the



1. CHILDREN DRESSED AS KRISHNA AND RADHA FOR *RĀS LĪLĀ* SACRED DANCE.
2. RAJA'S JAGANATH CAR AT *RATH JĀTRĀ* FESTIVAL.



requirements of the new religion in the matter of shaving. This was got over temporarily by importing five barbers, but, as the number of converts increased, it soon became impossible for five barbers, however diligent and expert, to attend to them all, and some new arrangement had to be made. Each of the barbers had a certain number of villages assigned to him, and to each of these he sent the implements of his trade and in return demanded a small fee in rice from each holder, and the payment of these fees is held to satisfy all the requirements of religion. This system exists still. The supremacy of the Raja is another point which must not be overlooked; although there is a Brahman Somaj to which all questions regarding Hindu rites are referred, yet its orders require the approval of the Raja before they become effective. In matters of diet the Manipuri is very orthodox, and in many matters is more particular than Hindus generally are in these days. This is due partly to the isolation in which, till recently, they lived, and partly to their desire to mark the difference between themselves and the Hill tribes, whom they despise.

The Manipuri is a very cheerful person, fond of any form of amusement, and he has accepted gladly all the festivals of the Hindu calendar, but to show his independence he observes them a day later than other Hindus. He indulges largely in religious plays and dances illustrating incidents in the life of Krishna (Plate VIII.). The fight with the Demon and the mighty crane sent by the wicked Kansa to slay the boy Krishna is a favourite subject. The first part of the ceremony is conducted indoors, and strangers are not admitted. At its conclusion the boy representatives of Krishna, Balaram, and their cowherd companions, in gorgeous costumes, march out into some open space where the images of Krishna and Radha have been placed on a stage before which the boys dance and play at ball as their prototypes are said to have done in days long gone by in the jungles of Brindaban. The crane and

several demons appear (Plate IX.). The former is a man wearing a huge framework covered with white cloth, bearing some resemblance to a crane. The demons have bull-headed masks and dresses made of ropes of jute. They burlesque the actions of the dancers, and indulge in rough play with each other. Finally, first the chief demon, and then the crane, are attacked by the boys, who belabour them so with their wands that they have to be rescued by the stage managers. There are many such religious plays and dances, and every temple has a dancing house attached to it. To build a temple and a dancing house, and maintain a Brahman, is the great object of a well-to-do Manipuri. Children are specially trained to dance these sacred measures correctly, and, as each festival approaches, the juvenile performers may be seen hard at work rehearsing under the supervision of professional teachers.

The Brahmans of Manipur are reputed to be learned and devout, and are distinctly conservative. Among the elderly people there are many really devout Hindus, and large numbers of them may be seen patiently plodding up and down the steep inclines of the road leading to Silchar, on their way to the various holy places of Hindustan. There is much genuine love of Krishna, and among the younger generation, which has had the advantage of a free education, a general desire to know more of the principles of the religion which they profess. I cannot agree with Mr. Hodson's verdict that, judging by what they do, we must class the Meitheis as animists.<sup>7</sup> Whether you call them Hindus or not depends entirely on which definition of a Hindu appeals to you. The difficulty of defining a Hindu is well known. To quote from *The Pioneer* of December 14, 1912,—“Mr. Gait suggested tests whereby Hindus might be detected from Animists, but it is a remarkable fact that the Census Superintendents of Mysore, Travan-

<sup>7</sup> *The Meitheis*, p. 97.



1. DEMONS AND BODY OF CRANE IN *SIA-JEYBA* COW-HERDING PLAY.
2. *LAI-SANGS* OF PUREIROMBA AND HIS SON CHINSONGBA AT ANDRO.





core, and Cochin are unanimous in rejecting these tests as an authoritative Shibboleth when applied to a South Indian population. Each has endeavoured to formulate his own test. As remarked in a previous article, the Cochin Superintendent decided that the crucial point was the recognition of caste as a socio-religious institution. The Travancore Superintendent seems to think that belief in Karma is the determining factor; and Mr. Thyāgaraja Aiyar lays down the following definition: "A Hindu is a Theist believing in the religious evolution which will some day, but surely, through worship of God in his various forms, (according to the worshipper's ideal) and through good works in his present life, or series of lives, land him in the Godhead, compared with whom nothing is real in this world." In a paper read before this Society on Nov. 15, 1911, Mr. Crooke stated that,—“On the whole, it may be said that reverence for the cow and passionate resistance to its slaughter are the most powerful links which bind together the chaotic complex of beliefs which we designate by the name of Hinduism” (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxiii., p. 279). The Manipuris certainly are Hindus according to the last test. I think that the educated among them would pass as Hindus by the tests of Travancore and Mr. Thyāgaraja Aiyar. As regards belief in caste, too, the Manipuri would pass as a Hindu, if you accept his own definition of caste.

In order to explain this, and to facilitate the following of the pre-Hindu beliefs which I am about to describe, I must briefly touch on the composition of the Manipuri population. Various clans fought for the supremacy of the valley; all these were closely allied, although constantly at war. Of these clans that called Meithei came out the conqueror, and that name is now applied to all the clans. But, besides the clans known now collectively as Meithei, there were other clans in the valley whom the Meithei conquered but did not admit into the Meithei confederacy. These are now known collectively as Loi, and, though all

the Meithei are now Hindus, many Loi villages still follow the ancient faith, and the Meithei worship the gods of these Loi villages as much as the Loi themselves. The Meithei population is subdivided into seven *salei*, which represent the original clans, and each *salei* is further subdivided into many *yumnaks* or families. The different clans included under the name of Loi are also subdivided into *yumnaks*. All Meithei consider themselves of one caste, and only intermarry with other Meithei, but breaches of this rule can be condoned, if not for the actual offenders certainly for their descendants. The trades of blacksmith, goldsmith, brassworker, and worker in bell metal and copper are each restricted to a particular family, but there is nothing to prevent a member of one of these families engaging in any other occupation. It is almost certain that all these are imported trades, and the founders of these families were either imported by former rulers or persons sent to Cachar and Assam to learn trades. The Chronicles record that in 1661-2 "Three men were sent to Cachar and two to Assam to see," *i.e.*, to pick up information, and we have seen that barbers were imported. None of the indigenous trades are restricted to any particular family; carpentry, fishing, weaving, etc. are open to all. Although the four trades mentioned are closed to the general public, they are not cut off as regards marriage or commensality. The blacksmiths are rather looked down on, and it is possible that in time they may be excluded from commensality. I am informed that all Meithei can eat together, but, as eating with strangers is dangerous, one Meithei seldom eats with another unless he knows him well and is sure that he is not in any way unclean. Whether two Meithei will eat together depends chiefly on the amount of friendship between them. Eating with any but Meithei is strictly prohibited. Outsiders, except Mahommedans and sweepers, can be admitted into the Meithei community with the approval of the Raja. In fact the approval of the

Raja is sufficient to cover most social and religious irregularities. No one who knows anything of the Manipuris and the tribes which surround them will deny that the introduction of Hinduism has done much for them. It has made them into a nation of teetotallers, cleanly in person and polite to the verge of ceremonious. After all, I think that a close study of the history of many other communities which are now considered of unsullied Hindu descent would reveal that they had all been through very much the same stages as the Meithei, and that their Hinduism is only better than that of the Manipuris because it is a little older.

I now come to the ancient religion of the country, the worship of the *Umanglais*, or Forest gods, and other lesser supernatural beings, such as the *Sa-roi-nga-roi*, evil spirits which are always on the lookout to injure human beings; the *Helloi*, beautiful female forms which lure foolish men into waste places and then disappear, leaving their victims bereft of reason; and *Hingchabis* or witches. Originally there were only nine of these Forest gods and seven goddesses, but these have now increased to 364, and the pundits claim that from their books they can trace the pedigree of every one of these 364 divinities back to one or other of the original nine gods or seven goddesses. It is said that the Raja Khāgenba, who reigned between 1597 and 1652, appointed five *gurus* to reduce to writing all that was known regarding these deities and other supernatural beings. The pundits own thick piles of unbound sheets of rough paper of local manufacture covered with archaic Manipuri characters, which are said to be the work of these old-world compilers, and it is from these records that I have obtained much of my information; but I have also picked up much of interest from the village folk, who are freer of Hindu influences than the learned men. The increase in the deities is said to have occurred in three ways. In some cases a god is said to have children; Wāngpurel, the guardian of the South, is said to have

fallen in love with a girl belonging to the Old Kuki clan called Anal, and to have assumed a human form and married her in the most prosaic way, after serving for her the customary three years. He carried her off to his golden palace in the river near Shuganu, where she bore him several sons. In other cases it seems that the same god or goddess may be worshipped under different names in different places, while some deities are said to be emanations from greater gods. There are cases in which Rajas have been deified after death, but the pundits maintain that their spirits were emanations from one of the original nine gods.

The pundits gave me the following names of the original nine gods: 1, Athingkho Guru sidaba, the creator of the world out of chaos. This god is said to have been the first great cause, whence all things and beings have emanated. He is said to be identical with Lai-ningthau-ahanba, *i.e.*, the eldest chief of the gods, and Pākhangba the mythical snake ancestor of the Meithei royal family. 2, Athiya Guru sidaba, god of the void above, also called Chāk-khāba. 3, 'Ashiba Guru sidaba, the controller of all living beings, said to be identical with Khumlangba, the god of the iron workers of Kakching. 4, Thāngjing, the great god of Moirang. 5, Mārjing. 6, Khong Ningthau, identical with Khobru, the guardian of the north, whose abode is on the top of a lofty peak, known by his name, which rises above the northern end of the valley. 7, Thongngārel. 8, Nong Ningthau, chief of the rain. 9, Senamahi, the household god of the Meithei. The word *guru* is an importation, and it seems to me that much of the contents of the pundits' books is of a considerably later date than that to which they are ascribed, and, in spite of the learned way in which they studied them, they were not always able to reconcile the statements they extracted from them; for instance, having given me Senamahi as one of the original nine gods, they told me on

another day that Senamahi was the son of Yumjau *Lairema*. However, the fact remains that the *Umanglais* are always spoken of as nine in number, and the *Lairemas*, or goddesses, as seven, and at every sacrifice offerings for these sixteen deities are laid out as I shall describe later.

The greatest of all the gods is Pākhangba. He is the mythical ancestor of the Meithei kings, and is the first king mentioned in the Chronicle. I have already given you his pedigree. He is said to have assumed the form of a god by day, and by night he used to be a man. He reigned 120 years. In describing the crest he has adopted, His Highness the present Raja speaks thus of this divine ancestor: "Pākhangba was an incarnation of God and born in the family of Babrubahon. He reigned for many years, and during the Burmese invasion, when Manipur was almost depopulated, he appeared once in Nunjing tank in the form of a snake, and thus destroyed the Burmese by some miraculous power. So the form of Pākhangba is given in the crest to show that he is the sole protector of this land." Pākhangba had the miraculous power of being able to sink into the ground and reappear at some spot many miles away; these places are known as *sarung*, and are held very sacred.

There are eight gods distinguished from the rest by the title of *Māgei-Ngākpa*, i.e., Watchers of directions. These include Khobru the guardian of the North, Wāngpuel the guardian of the South, Nongpok Ningthau chief of the East, and Hāng-goi Ningthau who guards the West. The remaining four are not placed at the intervening points of the compass, but two, Mārjing and Chingkei, have their abodes in the North-east, and two, Thāngjing and his son Santhong, have theirs in the South-west. Mārjing is the special god of horses, and, when worshipping him, a pony is offered, instead of a buffalo or pig as in the cases of other gods. These greater gods are supposed to exercise special protective powers over certain tracts

of country, and are therefore sometimes spoken of as *Lam-lai*, gods of the countryside.

In the good old days the eight *Māgei-Ngākpa* were worshipped annually on behalf of the Raja, and thus sickness and trouble were kept out of the valley of the Meithei. The custom was discontinued when the administration of the country was assumed by the British Government, and the present ruler has not revived it. Besides these gods there are others, whose name extends beyond the village in which they specially dwell. Such are Khumlangba, the god of the ironworkers of Kakching; Pureiromba and Panam Ningthau, gods of the Loi village of Andro; Sorārel, the god of the sky, who is specially worshipped at Phayeng, another Loi village; Panthoibi, a very popular goddess; and many others. In addition to these each *yumnak* or family has a special *Lai* or *Lairema*, who is worshipped by all its members. These are evidently deified ancestors, real or imaginary. I have referred to Pākhangba, the ancestor and god of the royal family. The Longjam *yumnak* worship Longjam *Lairema*, a girl of the family, who was carried up to the sky by Sorārel, who threw down her clothes, so that her relatives might know what had become of her. Konthaujam *Lairema*, the goddess of the Konthaujam family, was also carried off by the same amorous deity, who, to console her, promised that as long as she remained with him none of her kin should die. This promise in some way became known to her relations, and, in order to entice her to descend to earth, they killed a dog and cremated it with all ceremony beneath a sevenfold canopy, so that the girl was unable to detect the deception and became very distressed, fearing that some beloved relative had died. Sorārel tried to reassure her, but she would not be comforted, and insisted on returning to her home. In spite of being warned by Sorārel of the consequences, she shared in the family meal, and therefore could not rejoin her divine

spouse.<sup>8</sup> The Khumal Lambom worship Nautinkhong Ningthau, who married Keiru-hanbi, a daughter of the Khumal king, by whom he had two sons, from the elder of whom the Lambom claim descent. In Shuganu I found five *yunnaks*, the gods of which had no special names, being merely known as *Apokpa*, i.e. ancestor. In Andro, the Loi village to which Meithei were sometimes banished for various crimes, I found that the families of these exiles had no special gods. Though they kept the family name they were held to have lost all claim to share in the worship of the family god, and they are equally ineligible to join in that of one of the indigenous divinities of their new home. In some cases we find that *yunnaks* which are not in any way connected have the same god, and I think this is due to the desire, not unknown in other lands, to claim aristocratic descent.

I must now turn to the seven goddesses. The following are the names given in the pundits' books, but they are not generally known : 1, Lei-khak-bi-yā-rel, from whom sprang the Ningthaujau clan. She also gave birth to Sing-sing-yai-nu, from whom sprang all trees, grasses, etc. Thursday is her birthday. 2, Lai-i-bi-a-hum-nu, the ancestress of the Angom, mother of Ireima-thon-thangnu, from whom came water and cotton. Her birthday is Monday. 3, Thung-woibi Thoiyinu, ancestress of the Luang clan and mother of Priprinu, who produced gold and silver, and also Noinu Thumleima, the goddess of the salt wells. Her birthday is Friday. 4, Mangwoibi Thongthangnu, ancestress of the Khumal and mother of Lemlei-ngā-nā-nā-woibi, who produced iron and all fishes. Her birthday is Tuesday. 5, Chitnu-laima, ancestress of the Moirang clan and mother of Piyainu Pisamnu, who produced fire. Saturday is her birthday. 6, Theirei-longbam-chanu, ancestress of the Ngangba clan and also mother of the winds and

<sup>8</sup> In the Naga village Marām, I found several traditions of men being taken up by the sky god.

of Laimon-phau-woibi, the mother of rice. Sunday is her birthday. 7, La-phubi Leimanu, ancestress of the Chenglei clan and mother of the earth. She was born on Wednesday, on which day no land is sold. As I have said, the names of these ladies are not in general use, and, as Mr. Hodson has told us in his book on *The Meitheis*, these clans have also male gods. But every one knows that there are seven goddesses, and offerings for them are laid out whenever a sacrifice is made.

Every god and goddess has a *lai-pham*, i.e. a god's place, a spot specially sacred to him or her at which ceremonies in the deity's honour are performed. Most of the more important gods are said to reside on hilltops, but, for the convenience of their worshippers, they also have abodes in more accessible spots. Sacred spots are found on the tops of ridges, where a heap of stones or some other mark informs the passers-by that they are on holy ground, and each makes an offering, be it only a leaf from a bush beside the road. The greater gods have sacred groves near to the villages of their special worshippers; inside the grove is an open spot, at one end of which is the *lai-sang*, god's house (Plate IX.), and on either side are long open sheds in which the villagers sit, males on one side and females on the other, all arranged in due order of seniority, during the *lai-harauba* or "pleasing of the god," a ceremony which usually takes place once a year. There are various taboos connected with these groves and the *lai-sangs*. At Andro, Panam Ningthau's *lai-sang* can only be opened on Sunday, and repairs must also be done on that day. In case of repairs, or even entire rebuilding, the work must be finished entirely in one day. This rule is also observed in the case of Nongpok Ningthau's house at Lāngmeidong, but not in case of that of Panthoibi at Wāngu. During the time occupied in the repairs, the god has to be accommodated in a *lei-lul*, a bunch of sacred grasses and flowers, which he is persuaded to enter, and which is then placed in the grove at a short





1. LITTER WITH EMBLEM OF KHUMLANGBA.
2. MAIDEN DANCERS AT KHUMLANGBA'S *LAI-HARAUBA*.



distance from the house. None of the produce of these groves, not even the leaves or grass, may be removed or made use of, except in the service of the god, but at Andro I was told that Panam Ningthau objected to products of his grove being used even in his own service. No bird nor beast may be killed in one of these groves.<sup>9</sup> I was once requested to dismount, as the people said they did not know whether the *Lai* would like my pony to enter his grove; this struck me as curious, as the gods are polo-players, and a stick and ball are kept in every *lai-sang*, and occasionally, when the *Lai* takes possession of a priestess at the *lai-harauba*, he makes the old lady play a mock game all by herself. In some cases the gods are represented by images or some material object. Panthoibi at Wāngu resides in an image of wood, which I am told has some resemblance to a human form, but has horns. This is kept in a separate little house hidden in the interior of the grove, whence it is brought on the occasion of a *lai-harauba*. As a rule there is no sacred image, but at a "Pleasing" a brass mask draped with cloth is used to visualize the god to his worshippers. Khumlangba, the god of the ironworkers, is represented by a piece of iron, said to have been brought to Manipur by their ancestors (Plate X.). Panam Ningthau, of the Loi village of Andro, is a special guardian of the Meithei Raja, who, on the occasion of his *harauba*, sends a mithan or a buffalo, which is sacrificed, being killed by a blow of an axe. The villagers, who have not yet become Hindus, eat the flesh, after offering parts to the god. Besides his regular grove in the village, this deity has two other sacred places; one is a cane brake, and, should a tiger enter this and roar, some dire misfortune awaits the Raja, who, on being informed, sends a pig and a cock. The former is sacrificed, and the latter is taken by one of the Aheibom family, (whose members are servants of the god), to the cane brake and released a short distance

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 438.

within its mysterious precincts. Should the bird ascend a small mound, flap its wings, and crow lustily, all is well, but, if it remains quiet, the worst may be expected. This is the only occasion on which the sacred place may be entered; should any daring person enter at another time, he would assuredly be killed.<sup>10</sup> In years in which the *harauba* is not held, five pigs are offered to Panam Ningthau in his other grove, which is a little way outside the village. The lesser godlings, though they have each a *lai-pham*, have no grove or *lai-sang*.

The principal feature in the worship of these *Umanglais* and *Lairemas* is the *lai-harauba*, the "pleasing of the god." I have written elsewhere a full account of Khumlangba's "Pleasing,"<sup>11</sup> and therefore will not again describe the ceremonies in detail. The ceremonies differ considerably, but in every case the spirit of the god has to be enticed from some stream. As most of the gods are hill deities, it struck me as curious that they should have to be enticed from water, but my enquiries only elicited the reply that of course all *Umanglais* came from water. The object of this ceremony of enticing is to bring the god into a state of activity. I was told that the gods are eternal and ever-present, but that in ordinary times they are in a state of quiescence, and by this ceremony they are persuaded to show their power by taking possession of their favoured worshippers. The *harauba* is also thought to strengthen the god and make him more capable of helping his worshippers. Possession is described as the god mounting on the head. Any person may become possessed, but only while the gong is beating during a *harauba*, *i.e.* at the time when the worshippers are worked up to the highest pitch of excitement. The gods and goddesses prefer to be served by women, and, therefore, should a man become possessed

<sup>10</sup> Cf. H. Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, p. 255.

<sup>11</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, etc.*, vol. xl. (1910), pp. 349-59. Cf. Plates X. and XI.

while dancing at a *harauba*, he is styled a *maibi*, *i.e.* priestess, in contrast to *maiba*, a priest, and when dancing before the god he will wear woman's clothes. Such a person is subject to certain taboos; he may not eat any fish which has spines on its head, as such fish are offered to the god in place of the buffalo of pre-Hindu days. He must only use clean fire, *i.e.* fire made with flint and steel, or by friction of a band of cane drawn across a piece of dry wood. Should his fire go out and he have no means of making clean fire, he must take a light from the fire of a neighbour and ignite a small heap of sticks, and from that ignite another heap, and repeat the process seven times, the last fire being considered clean. The signs of possession are frantic dancing, wild babblings in an unknown tongue (which is called prophesying), and final collapse in a state of unconsciousness. On the occasion of the present Raja assuming the reins of government, a *lai-harauba* was held on a very large scale, and one of the many *maibis* present became possessed and prophesied at great length. It was clear that the matter was taken very seriously by all present, especially by His Highness, and great satisfaction was expressed when the aged pundit who alone was able to interpret the strange tongue announced that the meaning was favourable. A person who has been possessed is instructed by the older *maibis* and *maibas* in all the lore of the *Umanglais*. The *maibas* are responsible for the proper performance of all the rites, but do not actually take part in the *lai-harauba*, the gods preferring female dancers (Plate X.); yet the village officials dance before them. If a woman becomes possessed, she is enrolled among the *maibis*, and in token of her superiority she occupies henceforth the right side of the conjugal couch.

I have seen two methods of enticing, and there may be others. At Kakching, where the great god Khumlangba was being "pleased," the aged *maibi* entered the river holding in her hand a brass vessel containing the leaves of

two sacred plants, which had been previously offered to the god in his house. Having waded out into the centre of the stream, the *maibi* moved slowly to and fro, tinkling a small bell, while on the bank another *maibi* tinkled a bell and chanted in company with some *maibas*. Suddenly the priestess in the river stumbled and fell, and then rose with the brass vessel full of water. Khumlangba had come. The vessel with its sacred contents was placed in a litter, and carried up to the *lai-sang*. At Moirang, where dwells the god Thāngjing, the procedure was different. The Moirang *ningthau* and his wife were seated under umbrellas by the stream which runs through the village (Plate XI.). In the lap of each was an earthen vessel containing 20 gunmetal coins, a betel nut, and a *pān* leaf, the top being covered with leaves from which project bunches of leaves surmounted by white flowers. To the neck of each jar a cotton thread was attached, the remainder being wound upon a bobbin. The *maibis* sprinkled the water with rice flour and roasted rice called *puk-yu*, *wai-yu*. Seven short lengths of bamboo were stuck in the mud beside the water, and these were sprinkled with rice and water. This was an offering to the seven *Sa-roi-nga-roi*, evil spirits always on the look out to injure mankind. The chief *maibi* then came forward and entered the water, carrying a parcel wrapped in leaves containing a duck's egg, a little gold and silver, and a lime. She first flipped the water with her fingers thrice, to remove any evil influences, and then immersed the parcel. After withdrawing it she threw it into the stream. This operation was repeated with another parcel, and then with two together. The first two parcels were for the gods of the rivers and lakes, known as Ike Ningthau and Irai Leima. When the *maibi* threw the offerings, she murmured,—“We give you this to eat. We know you as Muba and Mubi (Black Ones).” Every Manipuri has a pet name, and the *maibi* used these nicknames of the god and goddess to show



1. ENTICING THANGJING AT MOIRANG.

2. KHUMLANGBA'S ORCHESTRAS WITH *PEAVAS*  
AND MARRIED DANCERS.





her affection. The two parcels which were thrown in together were for Thāngjing and his wife. The male *maiba* now took the two pots from the laps of the chief and his wife, and danced a measure on the bank in company with the female *maibi*, who held a bunch of sacred leaves, called *lāngterci*, in one hand while she tinkled a small bell with the other. The *pennas* (Plate XI.) were played while this dance was being executed. When it was concluded, the female *maibi* took the earthen pots, and entering the water moved them gently about, taking care that no water should enter the pots. She then sprinkled a little water on the upright leaves, and returned the pots to the chief and his wife, who rose and stood by the water, holding the pots in slings of white cloth which they wore round their necks. The bobbins were now taken by the female *maibi*, who held them with some *lāngterci* leaves in her right hand. The threads were unwound, and she advanced into the stream tinkling the little bell in her left hand, as shown in Plate XI.<sup>12</sup> Then she stooped and gently moved the *lāngterci* leaves about in the water, the male *maiba* holding up the threads so that they might not get wet. The female *maibi* now intoned a long incantation, interspersed with prayers to Thāngjing to manifest himself and bless the country. She got more and more excited, chanted quicker and quicker, and then suddenly stopped; Thāngjing had come. Rising, the *maibi* passed her hand up the strings, moistening them up to the earthen pots. The chief and his wife now got into their litters, holding the earthen pots in their laps. The *maiba* and *maibi* walked in front, holding the ends of the threads, which were further supported by two or three women. The procession went to the *lai-sang*, just before reaching which it passed over some rice placed on some leaves and some burning reeds to purify the performers. The earthen pots were taken into

<sup>12</sup>The seven little bamboo tubes stuck in the ground at the water's edge, on the extreme right of the Plate, contain the offerings to the *Sa-roi-nṅa-roi*, (p. 430).

the *lai-sang*, and placed before the god's seat. The *lāngterei* leaves were placed in the pot carried by the chief, and were kept in the *lai-sang* till the next *harauba*. (The threads are roads to facilitate the god's passage from the water to the pots.) During the *lai-harauba* all concerned in it must use clean fire, which is made by drawing a band of cane quickly backwards and forwards across a piece of dry wood, the hot dust being caught on a piece of tinder. Dancing before the god is a great feature of every *harauba* (Plate XII.), and there is always a processional dance, the performers circling round chanting the praises of the god and recounting the benefits he has conferred on mankind. The male and female performers, especially the clowns and the *maibis*, frequently indulge in an exchange of filthy abuse, which provokes much mirth, and is said to please the god. In Imphal, the capital town, the leaves or fruits into which the spirit of the god has been enticed are carried round by two old men, dressed in white, attended by umbrella bearers (Plate XII.), and by married women and girls carrying the *Lai's* utensils, and with the *maibi* dancing in front. Some gods are tricky and perverse, refusing to be conveyed quietly to their houses, and, taking possession of the bearers of their litters, they drive them hither and thither in a series of mad rushes. (Plate X. shows the bearers of such a litter, decorated with plumes of peacock's tail feathers, in which is carried the emblem of Khumlangba.) At the *harauba* of certain gods, who are supposed to have been spouses of the amorous goddess Panthoibi, a curious farce is enacted, which I have described fully elsewhere, in an account of Khumlangba's *lai-harauba*,<sup>13</sup> so I will not repeat it here.

Panthoibi is a very popular goddess in Manipur. In fact she is by far the best known of all the female divinities. The pundits tell me that she originated from the spot near the State Police ground in Imphal where three big inscribed stones now stand. Unfortunately the inscriptions are so

<sup>13</sup> See Note 11.



1. DANCE OF VILLAGE OFFICIALS AT THANGJING'S  
*LAI-HARAUBA.*
2. IMPHAL GOD-CARRIERS WITH UMBRELLA-  
BEARERS.



much worn that is impossible to decipher them. The Tangkhul Nāgas also claim this spot as their place of origin. The pundits admit the truth of this legend, and say that the common origin was the cause of associating a Tangkhul with Panthoibi in the farce I have just alluded to. They say that Panthoibi went in search of Nongpok Ningthau, and found him at the site of the present Tangkhul village known as Ukhrul, which they declare is a corruption of *okna-pham*, i.e. place of meeting. This admission of the pundits is interesting, as showing that there is some connection between the Tangkhuls and the Manipuris. Both physically and mentally the Tangkhuls resemble the Manipuris more closely than any other of the hill tribes do. The exchange of abuse between the sexes is said to have originated from the opprobrious epithets which Panthoibi bandied with Nongpok Ningthau. These two deities are gradually becoming identified with Durga and Mahadeo of the Hindu pantheon.

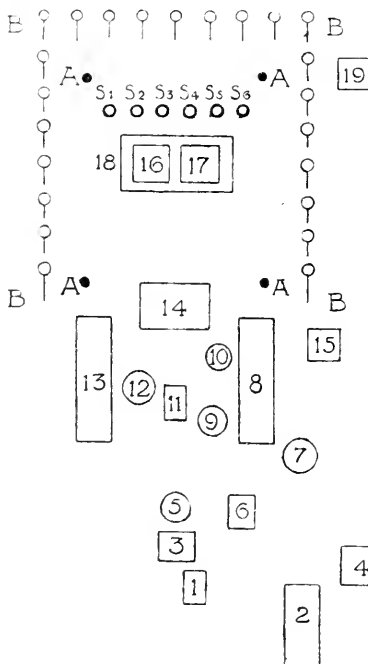
During a *lai-harauba* the sexes usually keep apart, in some cases the men all sleeping together throughout the festival. This is a taboo which is almost universal among the Nāga tribes. In some cases we find sacrifices still performed, but this generally occurs in Loi villages which have not yet embraced Hinduism. At the village of Langmeidong, though the inhabitants are Hindus, we find a pig killed at Pākhangba's *harauba*, and a pig and two fowls at that of Nongpok Ningthau, and there are also annual sacrifices to these deities, in connection with the crops, of a fowl and a goose. The flesh of these animals is eaten by children who have not yet taken the thread, and the people admit that before their conversion every one used to share in the feasts. The arrangements of Panam Ningthau's *harauba* are rather unusual. It takes place on a special ground situated on the northern edge of the village of Andro. There are five houses around this ground. In the *sanglen* or great house, which is the god's, a sacred fire is

kept constantly burning, whence the first fire in a new house must be lighted. In front of the *sanglen* is the dancing ground. The population of the village is divided into two sections, termed the Ahallup and the Naharup *pannas*. Each section has two houses, in one of which the married people collect, while in the other, called the *kāngjeng*, the young folk of both sexes assemble. The population, having assembled in the proper houses, proceeds in four processions to the dancing ground. The married people of the Naharup or younger *panna* must on no account pass immediately in front of the house of the Ahallup. At this *lai-harauba* only inhabitants of the village are allowed to be present. The unmarried girls stand in two rows and clap hands while the procession of the god marches round and round. This procession consists of two men carrying hollow bamboos, two men carrying large palm leaf fans, and two men carrying Panam Ningthau's *dahs*, followed by the married men singing. You will notice that this god prefers to be honoured by men. I could not get any explanation of this divergence from the custom of the other gods. Before the commencement of the *harauba* the Aseibom family carry the clothes of the god with some sacred flowers in a litter from his *lai-sang* to the *sanglen*, preceded by girls carrying his utensils and men carrying his *dahs*. *Kabok* or parched rice is piled up in the *sanglen* before the god's seat, and sometimes he scatters it, which portends sickness and trouble; the initiated profess to be able to trace the footsteps of the god in the scattered grain. At Moirang during the annual festival in honour of two female *Umanglais* known as Aiyang Leima, *kabok* is poured out of a basket in a conical heap which is left till the morning, when it is inspected by the *maibas*. If the top of the cone is found to have flattened, then there will be high winds; if narrow crooked channels appear on the sides of the cone, troubles and sickness will come; if the channels be straight, war is certain; but if the heap remains unaltered

all will be well. The *Umanglais* are credited with the power to cure sickness. The *maiba* is called on to specify to which particular god offerings had better be made, and then the patient, or some one acting on his behalf, takes some rice, plantains, sugar cane, and a cock or hen according to the sex of the sick person, to the *lai-pham*, and after praying to the god the fowl is released and the other articles left before the deity's abode.

Before leaving the *Umanglais* and *Lairemas* I will describe two interesting ceremonies which I witnessed last summer. The young Raja came to me in a state of considerable anxiety, saying that he feared that some serious misfortune was about to happen to him, as he had received information that a certain stone, which he had erected at Santhong's *lai-pham*, had got out of the perpendicular and that an iron plate covering certain articles buried at Kanachauba's *lai-pham* had come to the surface. After some conversation, I gathered that the Raja wished me to accompany him to see the ceremonies. All arrangements had been made for our journey when news was brought that the *hangjaba* of Shuganu had died of cholera. Wāngpurel, the great god of the South, whose shrine is at Shuganu, and who is sometimes spoken of as the father, and sometimes as another form of Kanachauba, is said to reside in the *hangjaba*, who is the secular and religious head of the village. Opinions were divided as to the meaning of this sudden death; some said that the god had taken him, and that no further misfortune was to be expected; others feared further catastrophes. After a delay of some days we started and went first to Moirang and thence to the sacred grove of Santhong, which is situated in the middle of rolling grass lands some three miles from that village. Before describing the ceremony, I must tell you something of the history of the stones. Khagenba, who first reduced the *Umanglai* lore to writing, is credited with having erected the first of the six stones, as he was advised by the five *gurus* that this act

would give him a long and prosperous reign, which he certainly had. Since his time five other Rajas have put up stones, burying a small gold cup beneath them. These stones are held to be closely connected with those who erect them, so that any accident happening to a living Raja's stone is thought to portend some evil happening to him personally. The stone placed by Surat Chandra was gnawed by a tiger, and shortly after he was deposed by his brothers; no wonder then that our Raja was anxious to do all he could to avert misfortune. The six stones (S1-6) stand just outside the grove on the southern side. Taking the stones from east to west, the names of those who put them up are: Surat Chandra, Kriti Chandra, Bhaggo Chandra, Khagenba, Nursingh, and Chura Chand (the present ruler). The accompanying plan shows how the properties and the actors were disposed:—



A, A, A, A. Bamboos supporting a white canopy.

B, B, B, B. A line of pine torches about 8 inches long.

S1-S6. Stones erected by the Rajas.

1. Basket of paddy, with 2 discs of local salt, and 2 local coins.
2. A white buffalo.
3. *Maiba's* position.
4. A pig and a cock.
5. A pot of holy water.
6. Bunch of plantains.
7. Earthen dish containing fire.
8. Offerings to the 9 *Umanglais*.
9. Pot containing rice covered with white cloth.
10. Small pot with vegetables and salt.
11. Four sorts of fishes.
12. Empty pot on tripod for the cooking of the offerings.
13. Offerings to the 7 *Lairemas*.
14. Vegetables for Santhong.
15. Moirang *ningthau*.
- 16, 17. Clothing of the *Lai* Santhong and his *Lairema*.
18. A white cloth.
19. The Raja.



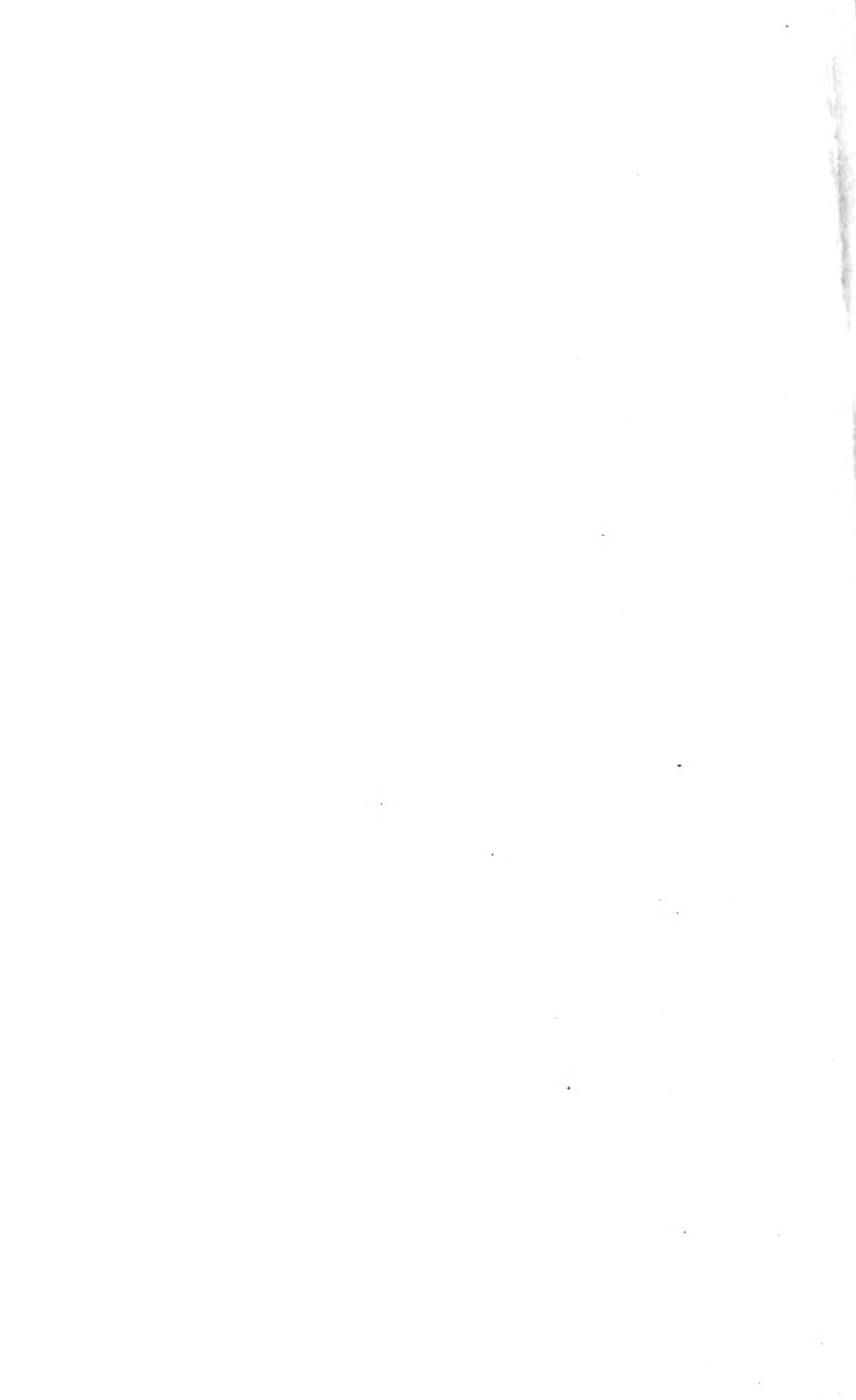
Beneath the cloth on which the clothes (16, 17) of Santhong and his wife were laid, two pieces of iron are said to be buried on which the feet of the god rest. The Raja, the Moirang *ningthau* (who is the chief pundit), and the *maiba* having taken the places assigned to them, a small piece of gold was affixed to the right horn of the buffalo, and a piece of silver to the left. Then the *maiba* commenced a long oration in praise of Santhong, and, calling for his assistance, at intervals he sprinkled water from the pot (5) in front of him to the right and left by means of a wisp of grass. When the *maiba* had finished, the Moirang *ningthau* rose and knelt by the stone of the present Raja, his grandson, and producing a little book read therefrom some secret charms. At intervals he smoothed the stone down with both hands. This completed, the offerings were removed, and the young Raja came forward, and, standing in front of the stones, tested his fortune by throwing two small discs, one of gold and one of silver, on to a plantain leaf. The first two throws were not very satisfactory, as the silver disc fell slightly nearer to the stones than the golden one, but on the third try the two discs fell quite close together, the golden being between the silver and the stones; this was said to be a very lucky throw, and the Raja was well satisfied. A small hole was now dug some three feet in front of the Raja's stone to a depth of six or eight inches, and when water welled up in the cavity every one was pleased; but, had milk taken the place of water, their satisfaction would have been greater, whereas, had a rush of air taken place when the hole was dug, the omen would have been bad. In this hole the *maiba* now placed two iron pegs with crutch-shaped tops, driving them a short distance into the ground and then, placing a small cross-bar of iron in the crutches, he placed a thin iron sheet about six inches square behind the pegs, and pressed it down till the top was level with the cross piece, which was a few inches below the ground

level; then he placed two more pegs, with a cross-bar, behind the iron plate to keep it in position. The hole was then carefully filled in, partly with earth taken out of it, and partly with fresh earth dug from a spot close by. (The object of placing the plate was to keep off evil influences.) The pig and the cock were now taken behind some bushes and killed there by two men of the Muntuk (Tikhup) clan. The entrails and liver were examined, for from them the future can be foretold. The discs used by the Raja were buried beside his stone. The *maiba* took all the offerings, including the buffalo, but the pig and the fowl were eaten by the two men who killed them. The ceremony of erecting a stone is the same, except that the stone is laid on a cloth beside the offerings to Santhong and his *Lairema*, and after the Moirang *ningthau's* oration it is placed in position by the Raja and the *maiba*. In Plate XIII. the six stones appear under the cloth, and the first three figures from left to right are the Raja, the Moirang *keirungba*, and the Moirang *ningthau*, with the cloth 18 in front of them.

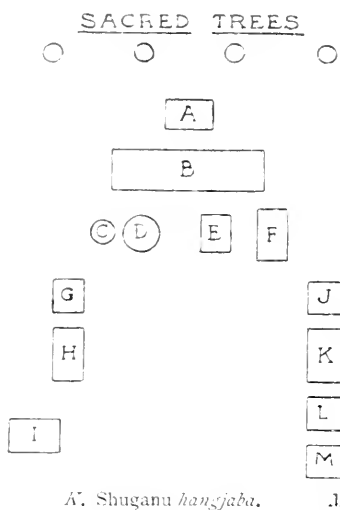
I was told that shortly after the performance of these ceremonies the Raja's stone rose about two inches out of the ground, which was looked on as a very good omen. The custom of erecting a stone or a post or some other object during one's lifetime, in order, as the people say, "to make your name big," is very common among the inhabitants of these hills, and I think these stones at Santhong's *lai-pham* must be classed among such memorials, though the ceremonies connected with them have a more distinctly religious flavour than is found among those of cognate clans. From Moirang we went to Shuganu. Before any ceremonies could take place, a new *hangjaba* had to be appointed, for Wāngpūrel is said to reside in the *hangjaba* of Shuganu and without his permission it is dangerous to approach the sacred places. I may here mention that every *Umanglai* is supposed to reside in



1. CEREMONY AT SANTHONGS L.II-PH.III.
2. MANIPUR STATE ARROW-THROWER.



some person, generally the head of the village or of the family which worships him in particular. These individuals must be treated with respect, and are subject to certain taboos. Until the present occasion, the reigning chief, or even his substitute for the time being, the Political Agent and Superintendent of the State, has appointed the *hangjaba*, without consulting the god, and I am told that the god has never expressed displeasure at the choice. But the Raja thought he would give the god a chance of expressing his own views; so the five principal officials of the village were paraded in front of Wāngpurel's *lai-sang*, and were enjoined to proceed circumspectly to the bamboo altar at the far end of the house and make obeisance to the god, and then to return. On their completion of the tour one was said to have been selected by the *Lai*, I think it was the one who was slightly in front when the party made its obeisance. Curiously enough the one chosen was the very man whom the Raja had told me he wished to appoint. The new *hangjaba* was now instructed to take proper care of the shrine, and not allow any Rajkumar to approach it, for, should one of the royal family contrive to worship there and offer gold and silver, he would certainly aspire to the throne, and might cause endless trouble. From Wāngpurel's grove we went by boat some three miles down stream, and after a somewhat rough scramble we arrived at Kanachauba's sacred place, which I should find it hard to identify again, for there was no clearing and nothing to distinguish it from any other spot in the jungle. Here we found all preparations made. Only a select few were allowed to approach the place, the remainder having to wait some distance off, out of sight and hearing. We had been strictly enjoined to keep silent, as, should any one except the officiating priests speak, the most dire consequences would ensue. The "lay out," to borrow a term from the game of patience, is shown in the following plan:—



1. Spot where golden models were buried.
- B. Cloth on which clothes of *Lai* and *Lairema* were laid.
- C. Pot of rice.
- D. Three dried plantain leaves containing rice, betel nut, *pin*, plantains, sugar cane, and some flowers and fruit, offered to the 5 *gurus*, and laid down first of all, to purify the spot.
- E. Plantain leaf on which are laid cucumbers and other vegetables offered to *Kana-chauba*.
- F. A cloth on which was a cloth knotted to represent a man (a sort of rag doll).
- G. Moirang *keirungba*.
- H. Moirang *ningthau*.
- I. The Raja.
- J. *Maiba*.

The various performers having taken up their positions, the head *maiba* commenced his long oration, which was the same as he pronounced at Santhong's shrine. This is mostly in obsolete Manipuri, and the Raja told me that he could not understand it. I caught the names of various animals coupled with numbers of months, and was told that the *maiba* enumerated all the animals and the number of months in which each was formed in its mother's womb by the power of the god. This oration is used on every occasion of sacrifice, without regard to which particular god is being addressed; from which we may infer that the *Umanglais* are thought only to be different forms of one almighty Creator. When the oration was completed, the Moirang *keirungba* produced three small models in gold of boats and paddles, and two discs, one of gold and one of silver. The models were placed on a brass tray beside the *hangjaba*, while the discs were given to the Raja. The Moirang *ningthau* now took up a position before the offerings, and from a paper read in a whisper a long charm of great power. When he had finished, he

took up the rag doll (F) and threw it over the edge of the level space on which the offerings were laid out. The iron plate, which had become displaced, was now pointed out, lying beside the left-hand tree. A hole was then dug just in front of the god's clothing, and in this the golden models were placed with the plate on top of them, and the hole was then refilled with earth. The Raja now placed an offering of five rupees on the cloths, and then threw for luck with the discs, his second throw being completely successful. The discs were placed beneath a stone just beyond the hole in which the models had been buried, and on top of it some leaves were placed. The release of the cock finished the ceremonies as far as we were concerned, but, after we had left in our boats, the *maiba*, the *hangjaba*, and the *lai-ma-nai* (i.e. slave of the god) remained behind to perform a dangerous rite. In this the *maiba*, holding in his hand an unbaked earthen pot, containing rice and vegetables, called on Kanachauba to accept it in place of the Raja and the country, and then entered the water, waded out some distance into the stream, and sat down. If all is well, the god gently takes the pot from his hand and he rises up and comes to shore, but if the god be angry he will hold the unfortunate priest below the water and, if he be not rescued by his friends on the bank, he will certainly be drowned. In order to know when to interfere, the *hangjaba* and *lai-ma-nai* hold their breath from the time they see their friend disappear below the water, and when they can hold it no longer they dash in and pull him out, thus saving his life. But he is often punished by the irate deity, who makes him vomit blood. Fortunately all went well, and the trio soon rejoined us in the village. In the evening the *lai-ma-nai* sacrificed a pig before Wāngpurel's shrine, killing it by compressing its windpipe between two pieces of wood. The liver was then taken out and examined. If black spots are found, the worst is to be expected; if much good red blood is

found, all is well. On this occasion a curious white veining resembling ears of rice was found, which was thought to be a good sign. The flesh of the animal was eaten by such people as had not become Hindus. The *hangjaba*, being a Hindu, may not eat, but he must smell the cooked flesh, thus ceremonially sharing in the feast. A buffalo is given to the god, and his servant the *lai-ma-nai* makes good use of it. With reference to the rag doll which is thrown away during the ceremony at Kanachauba's *lai-pham*, I was expressly told that it was meant to represent a man offered in place of the Raja, and may be symbolic of a human sacrifice. Some years ago in the course of my work I had to take down a statement of a man who had been made a *lai-ma-nai* or slave to this very god Wāngpurel. I repeat it exactly as I took it down. "I received twenty-six rupees and a buffalo about one or two years old. I am a Moirang man. I was taken to Shuganu by the Raja and the Senaputti. I was taken to Wāngpurel's *lai-sang*. Then the *maiba* and the Raja said many charms, and a little blood was drawn from my foot, from the sole, and some of my hair, finger and toe nails were cut off and laid before the *Lai* and buried in the *Lai's* place. I was then let go, but I was unable to walk, I had been sitting so long, from daybreak till sunset, in such an awkward position that I could not move. I was not tied. I was told that it would spoil matters if I moved. A letter came round asking who would become a *lai-ma-nai*. I was told that I would be exempt from land revenue, forced labour, etc. This happened when the Raja was first going to Ajmir." Further enquiries elicited the fact that in the good old days, before the State was taken over by Government in 1891, if matters were not going well, a consultation of the *maibas* would be held, and, if they decided that the god required food, men would be told off to seize some solitary wayfarer after dark, in some unfrequented spot, and draw from the sole of his foot a



little blood and clip his hair and nails, as was done to the *lai-ma-nai*. The victim would be then released, the blood etc. being buried in the *lai-pham*. Those on whom this operation was performed are said to have always died soon after of a wasting illness. I have also been told that once a man was actually killed, and his blood, hair, and nails taken to Tegnopal, on the Burma road, and buried there, beneath a stone, in order to strengthen the god of that place, so that he might be able to drive back the evil spirits from Burma, from whose onslaughts the country was thought to be suffering. This offering of the extremities of the victim to the god is common among all the clans in the neighbourhood of Manipur. You will remember that Pākhāngba, who is the Chief of all the *Umanglais*, is a snake divinity, so that in this particular the Manipur custom is wonderfully like that of the Khāsis when they worship the *thlen*, for a full description of which I refer to Colonel Gurdon's book *The Khasis*, from which I extract the following (pp. 98-100) : " There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning *U thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed." " Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family. . . . It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood . . . and offers these to the *thlen*." If the victim cannot be killed outright, " he cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*." The victim of such an outrage is said soon to fall ill, and gradually waste away and die.

The Manipuri has three household deities, the principal of which is Senamahi, to whom the south-west corner of each house is sacred. In this corner a mat and a bamboo

vessel are kept for the god's use. Although every Manipuri worships this god every day in his own house, yet for a Rajkumar to do so, offering gold at one of the regular *lai-phams*, is tantamount to claiming the throne, and in the old days, when a capability to seize and hold it was the chief qualification for the throne that a Rajkumar required, very strict precautions were taken that none should get a chance of approaching any of these shrines. Senamahi has already been mentioned as one of the original nine *Umanglais*, and also as the son of Yumjau *Lairema*, but why he is a special royal god I have not been able to find out. But he is not the only one; I have already mentioned Wāngpurel, to whom the same prohibition attaches, and there are some others. In the centre of the north wall of each Manipuri's house is the shrine of Yumjau *Lairema* or Laimaren. Here an earthen pot full of water, with a lid, is always kept. The third deity in the house is Phunga Lairu. In each house there are two fireplaces, one for cooking and one for warmth. The latter is called Phunga, and is placed in the centre of the house, and to the west of it is a hollow containing an earthen pot; the hollow is roofed over with a clay dome, in the centre of which is a small hole through which offerings of rice are dropped into the pot. At this place also offerings are made to Phunga Lairu in case any member of the household be sick.

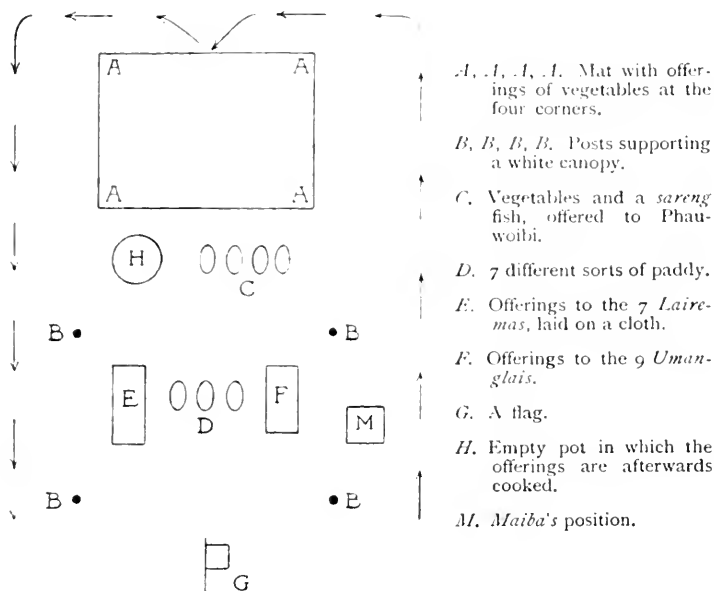
Sorārel, the sky god, is specially worshipped at the Loi village of Phayeng, where in April the *maiba* strangles a white duck and white pigeon in honour of this god. The flesh of the birds is cooked and eaten by four men who are chosen for the purity of their lives and who, for the day of the sacrifice and the preceding night, are isolated in a specially prepared house, where they cook their own meals, using "clean" fire made by flint and steel. During their isolation they must not touch any female, nor have any dealings with their families. Sorārel is claimed by the people of Phayeng as an ancestor, and in Andro, the people

of which admit relationship to those of Phayeng, we found a curious custom. During the Manipuri month of *Mera*, lights are hoisted every evening on long bamboos by some persons, but for very different reasons. In youth, when the blood runs warm, the ardent lover hoists his light as an appeal to Sorārel to take pity and soften the heart of his worshipper's coy mistress. You will remember that Sorārel himself is said to have had an eye for beauty and a way with the ladies, so that the lovers ought not to appeal in vain. Late in life, when the world is losing its attractions, an elderly worshipper hoists his light as a plea to the sky god to have mercy on his servant, who, to emphasize his devotion, abstains from eating fish during that month. Those who are acquainted with Hindu customs will note that the Manipuri month of *Mera* coincides with the Bengali month *Kartik*, when good Hindus for other reasons also hoist lights at night. In Andro also we find a monthly worship of the sun, moon, and stars. Eight households taken in rotation have to provide, on the last day of each moon, the following articles,—two pots of rice beer and two fowls (one of each for the sun and one for the moon), a sort of cake made of hard boiled eggs, an egg, and as much roasted fish as they can, some vegetables, and salad. At sunrise all the title holders of the village make obeisance to the rising sun, and then, after offering him the articles, proceed to eat them themselves, assisted by any who care to get up so early. The ceremony is called *thā-si-lātpā*, worship of moon and stars.

There are some interesting ceremonies connected with cultivation. Rice is the main article of food, not only of the Manipuris, but also of the hill folk, and therefore it is only natural that religion enters largely into the various processes of its cultivation. The special *Lai* of the rice is called Phau-woibi, which name is composed of *phau*, unhusked rice, and the verb *woiba*, to become, the final *a* being changed into the female termination *i*. Although

Phau-woibi is classed as a *Lai*, she is not reckoned among the *Umanglai*, and is really more the Spirit of the rice. Ploughing must commence on the Hindu festival of Panchanami. However unfit the ground may be for ploughing, a small area must be ploughed on that date. There is, nowadays, no special ceremony at this season, but the pundits from their books described to me the procedure which ought to be carried out by the Raja before ploughing is commenced. Phau-woibi is first invoked, and offerings of plantains and other fruits and vegetables are made to her at each corner of a specially prepared piece of land, which is divided into three plots, in each of which a little paddy is sown. If all plots flourish equally, the year will be uniformly good ; but, if the first plot sown thrives best, the latter portions of the year will not be so good as the first ; similarly, if that sown last does best, the cultivators are encouraged to hope that, however badly the year may begin, it will end well.

Before a cultivator cuts his crop he must place offerings of fruits and vegetables for Phau-woibi at each corner of his field, and the following ceremony should be performed. It is seldom carried out now, the cultivator contenting himself with calling his friends to help in the harvest and erecting a flag in the middle of the field. He has to provide food for all his helpers and, before they eat, one, the oldest present, is selected as *phau-rungba*, i.e. master of the rice, and he makes an offering of a portion of the eatables about to be consumed to Phau-woibi. The complete ceremony as given me by the pundits is as follows, referring to the plan :—



Everything having been prepared and correctly placed, the *maiba* takes up his position at M and pronounces the following *mantra* or invocation:—

“Yoibirok, mother of Nongda Lairen Pākhāngba, as to changing (the paddy) she can not change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Mahuiroi Laisna, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Mahuiroi Nongmainu Ahongbi, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Mahuiroi Haunukhu, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Mahuiroi Haunuhan, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Mahuiroi Laithong Khu, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. Laithonghan, as to changing she cannot change it, as to increasing she cannot increase it. By the *maibas*, the glorious heap of paddy becomes more

beautiful. You from Meyang Khulen (Cachar), let it increase, let it grow long. On this day of calling all we your grandchildren, offering a black hen to you our Lady Phau-woibi, addressing you as Loimonphau. What we leave of the cooked rice, let it not decrease but increase. What we leave of the *zu*,<sup>14</sup> let it ferment again. O Lady! make the paddy to increase on the threshing mat as the rising rivers fertilize the land. Taratongnu, Liksikharoi, Yaisen Yaiphau, Chājak Chāhow, Pumanbi Langmanba, Chauwaibi Phaudongba, Hamok Keigabi, Morsi Nauremton, Phaureima, Phauningthau, Irioya Keitekpaqa, Pokliba, to you we pray."

Yoibirok is Pākhāngba's mother, and the other six ladies mentioned at the commencement are the wives of the first six rulers mentioned in the Chronicles. The allusion to Meyang Khulen or Cachar refers to a legend that Phau-woibi once fled to Cachar, whence she was recalled by the skill of the *maibas*. The names in a long string at the end are other names of the goddess. The black fowl is no longer sacrificed, other articles being substituted.

After the invocation is finished, the cutting of the crop begins. The harvesters start from the mat, and follow the directions shown by the arrows. The offerings are taken to one side, and eaten by all present. Should any of the paddy be stolen or burnt before it is removed from the field, or should a cow walk over the threshing floor, Phau-woibi will run away unless the ceremony is repeated.

I have mentioned the *phau-rungba*, the owner or master of the paddy. Among the Manipuris nowadays he is simply an elderly person selected to offer her portion to the Spirit of the Rice; but among the Kabuis, who inhabit the hills to the west of the valley, every village must have a *nam-u-*

<sup>14</sup> Yu=zu=rice beer, no longer now drunk by the Hindu portion of the community.

*pau*, a title which exactly corresponds to and is always translated as *phau-rungba*. This person has no particular duties, but in connection with certain other officials is considered necessary to the wellbeing of the village. The *khul-lakpa* or head of the village, and the *khunpu* or headman, seem connected with the general welfare of the community, but the *phau-rungba* is only concerned with the rice. Before his house a sacrifice has to be performed before sowing can be commenced. He seems to be the person in whom the spirit of the rice lives, just as the spirits of the *Umanglais* are supposed to reside in certain persons. Cultivation in the valley has extended, and persons own land beyond the boundaries of the village in which they live. What wonder, then, if the processes of cultivation have ceased to be communal acts, and if the *phau-rungba* has deteriorated into any elderly person among the reapers?

I must now describe briefly the other supernatural beings believed in by the Manipuris. There are certain spirits called *Sa-roi-nga-roi*, *i.e.* those who accompany beasts and fishes. These are evil spirits, always on the look-out to injure mankind, and seem very closely to correspond to the demons called by the Hill tribes *Huai*, *Rampu*, *Thihla*, and various other names. The pundits' version of the origin of these beings is that the great *guru* married Leimarel, and during his absence from home a son was born. On his return she asked him to name the infant, and the *guru* said Pu. This name did not please the lady, who refused absolutely to accept it, and the *guru* (wise man!) did not argue the point, but, having given a name, he could not take it back. So he created a being to bear it, and then gave the name Ra for the child. But this also did not suit the mother, so the *guru* created another being to bear it, and pronounced the name Isam. But the lady was still not satisfied, and four more names were pronounced and rejected, and for each a being had to be created.

Finally, the name Mahirel Sena or Senamahi was approved of. The seven beings which had thus been brought into existence each produced twenty-one more, and all these demanded food of their creator, who, to appease them, told them that he was about to create men, and that, if these did not feed them, the *Sa-roi-nga-roi* might inflict all sorts of troubles on the human race. This story is far from satisfactory, as it fails to account for the name *Sa-roi-nga-roi*, and I think that, in common with much of the pundits' lore, it is a late invention, probably after the introduction of Hinduism. When any large concourse of people takes place, these troublesome spirits collect in great numbers, and if a person is brought home from a journey ill, the demons follow him. On such occasions, therefore, it is necessary to feed them, and this is also particularly requisite on the two Saturdays preceding the Hindu festival known as the *Holi*, the spring festival of general license. Old women go round from house to house collecting all sorts of food, and some cotton to represent the clothing of the people, and also *puk-yu*, *wai-yu*, yeast cakes used in making rice beer. They then go to each point where a road crosses the village boundary, and there strew the articles in a thin line composed of seven parts, one for each of the original beings whence the *Sa-roi-nga-roi* are said to have sprung. On the first of these two Saturdays, all sorts of food are offered to Senamahi, and then cooked and eaten by each household, portions being placed on the boundaries of the homestead. On that day the luck of each person for the ensuing year is tested. A *ngāmu* fish for each is procured, and the *maiba*, having placed tiny pieces of gold and silver in the mouth of each fish, releases it in a pond, and from the vigour of its movements the health of the person concerned is foretold. These fishes are said to carry off ill-luck. This ceremony is also performed on the night of the *Chei-tāba*, which is that preceding the Manipuri New Year's Day. On that night



the gods settle the fate of every one for the next year. To diminish the chance of dying during the year, it is well to keep awake throughout that night. A safer method is to give a piece of reed the length of the width of the palm of your right hand to the *maiba*, who will pronounce a charm over it, and lay it before the god Hei-pok, saying, "Here is So-and-So's stick; do him no harm." The following morning the stick is returned.

There are various other interesting ceremonies connected with the *Chei-tāba*, but I must pass on to the *Helloi*, another class of being. These *Helloi* are beautiful Sirens who lure young men into waste places, and then disappear and leave their victims in a state of insanity. They are said to have been the seven daughters of a hero who killed the Great Snake; they were so lovely that no names were good enough for them; they were more beautiful than Sorārel's dancers. They asked their father what they were to live on, and he told them to live in waste places; any one meeting them would go mad, and they would live on the offerings given to cure their victims. When a person is thought to be a victim of one of these fair ladies, the village *maiba* lays out offerings consisting of seven sorts of animals or birds, seven sorts of fruits, and seven sorts of fishes. Formerly the animals and birds were sacrificed, but now a few hairs or feathers are pulled out and given to the *Helloi*, who are asked to accept them and let the victim go. Some foolish men are said to be able by charms to summon the *Helloi* and become intimate with them, but such persons do not prosper, and their wives die. Before a Hindu can summon a *Helloi* in this way, he must take off his sacred thread.

More dreaded than the *Helloi* are the *Hingchābi* (*hing*, alive, *chāba*, to eat). Of these also there were originally seven, but the number has now increased. *Hingchābis*, as the termination denotes, are all females. They are spirits which enter into women, and the daughter of one so afflicted

will inherit the affliction, but not till after her mother's death. If a *Hingchābi* stares at the food you are eating grasp both your knees quickly and abuse her roundly, and she will not be able to enter into you. If you have any doubt as to whether a friend of yours is possessed of such an evil spirit, ask her casually to sit down on a stool of *khoirao* wood; if she makes excuses and departs, she is a witch. At the beginning of each year, stir your first pot of rice with a stick made of this wood, to drive off such evil spirits. The evil spirit passes from the woman in which she ordinarily resides and enters another person, who becomes delirious and mentions the name of the woman whose spirit is troubling her. To expel the spirit in former days a mithan used to be sacrificed, but now a *ngākra* fish is substituted. This is cooked alive and placed on top of a plate of rice and offered to the patient, and then thrown away outside the homestead after the seven original *Hingchābis* have been called by name. You will observe that the *Hingchābi* is not a witch as we understand the term. She does not control nature by her spells; she exactly corresponds with the *Khawhring* of the Lushais.<sup>15</sup>

The belief in witchcraft is firmly established, and a fairly well educated man assured me that he, and indeed most Manipuris, always carried a charm to preserve them from the danger of being bewitched. The same person solemnly attributed a sudden death to witchcraft. Tree worship is not unknown. A certain shrub called *u-hal*, i.e. oldest tree, is said to have the power of curing sickness. The *maiba* takes some of the sick person's clothing and places it on the *u-hal*, and then, offering *pān* and betel nut to the shrub, asks it to take the disease of the patient on itself. The *maiba* then appropriates the clothing. (Is not the labourer worthy of his hire?) To his credit be it said that, if the person be poor, a little cotton thread may be made

<sup>15</sup> *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, pp. 111-2.

to serve as clothing. A certain tree, on the bark of which are markings supposed to resemble a troublesome skin complaint, is believed to be the cause of this disease, or at least to be the special abode of the *Lai* which causes it. If a sufferer hangs his clothes on the tree, and after dancing before it departs home without looking back, and leaving his rags on the tree, he will get well. Should he not recover, he concludes that his particular complaint is not due to that *Lai*, and consults a *maiba*, or goes to hospital.

A short note of mine on the subject of Rain-stopping appeared in *Folk-Lore* for September, 1911,<sup>16</sup> and Mr. Hodson in *The Meithwis*<sup>17</sup> has given various rain-compelling ceremonies. The following is from my friends the pundits. A certain woman, who had no children, worshipped Sorārel, and asked for nine sons. Shortly after this she gave birth to four stone children. Being ashamed of her progeny, she left her home and came to the Iril, carrying the four stone infants. Finding the river in flood, she left the children and crossed alone, and the abandoned ones cried loudly, whence that place is called Nunглаubi (stone crying). Subsequently the full number of nine children was born to her, but all were of stone, and she left them in the places where they were born and returned to look after the first four. She asked Sorārel on what she was to feed these strange children, and was told that the god would stop the rain and her progeny could live on the offerings made by men to procure rain. I must admit that this explanation comes rather too frequently in the pundits' book. Having got this promise the woman joined her four children, and changed herself into a stone. She and her offspring are still to be seen in a small cave in the Nongmaijing hill. The stone resembling the mother is said to have some resemblance to the human form, but the four others are merely round stones from a river bed. There is considerable disinclination to touch these stones, as handling them

<sup>16</sup> Vol. xxii. pp. 348-50.

<sup>17</sup> Pp. 107-8.

produces sickness. The two *yumnaks* known as Hijam and Salam are the guardians of the mother and her four children. In each family there is a *nonglamba*, who has to keep himself undefiled, attending no cremations, always using "clean" fire, and doing no cultivation. When a rain *puja* has to be performed, these two men must keep away from women for five days, and then they go to the cave in clean clothes, with some men of their families carrying the rain shields used by Nāgas. A "lay-out" somewhat similar to those already described is made, and then, after a long invocation, one of the *nonglambais*, with the help of a hoe and a *dah*, removes one of the stone children and rolls it into a cloth used by women for carrying children. In this he conveys it to the Iril, and submerges it. He will not touch the stone on any account. The stone child will cry to be returned to its mother, and Sorārel will send the rain. Should he, however, not do so, the ceremony may be repeated twice more, but on no account may all four stones be taken from the mother. That would be too cruel. After the rain has come the stones are replaced.

While the Raja's raceboats are in the river rain is sure to fall. Just outside the sacred enclosure in the old palace there was a spot in which the heads of enemies were buried; to pour water on this through bamboo pipes from the top of the *kaugla*, or throne room, for five days, was certain to produce rain. Another method was for the Raja and all his wives, with their servants and followers, to pour water on to Yumjao *Lairema's* shrine, and thoroughly deluge the whole house and each other, exchanging filthy abuse all the time.

The invocation used when calling rain is very lengthy. It commences with an enumeration of all the hills in the neighbourhood whence the rain is supposed to come, and calls on them to send rain and make the rivers increase. It then goes through a long list of insects, which it says are stretching themselves, with stiff backbones and wide open

eyes, and challenging the rain. "Therefore, O! Rain, fall, and increase the waters." Next, a number of animals, and, lastly, a number of birds, are mentioned, which are said to be defying the rain in the same way, and it is therefore invited to descend.

I have now given an account of the religion of the Manipuri of the present day. You will observe that I have carefully abstained from applying a name to the worship of the *Umanglais* and other local cults. Mr. Hodson has called the Manipuris animists.<sup>18</sup> I leave the question in your hands.<sup>19</sup>

J. SHAKESPEAR.

<sup>18</sup> See pp. 518-23 below.

<sup>19</sup> The lower part of Plate XIII. shows the Manipur State Arrow-thrower, with an arrow in his hand. See vol. xxi., p. 79.

## POKOMO FOLKLORE.

BY ALICE WERNER.

*(Read at Meeting, May 21st, 1913.)*

THE Wapokomo are a Bantu tribe inhabiting both banks of the Tana river, from Chara (a few miles from the sea) to within a short distance of the Equator. They are, (unless we count the few outlying Swahili to be found along the coast beyond Lamu), the furthest outpost of the Bantu race in this direction. Beyond them, on the north-east, are the Somali, and, on the north, various Galla tribes, or tribes allied to them, such as the Rendile. The Galla are also interspersed here and there among the Pokomo on the western bank of the Tana, and the Wasanye and Waboni (probably allied to, if not identical with the hunter tribes called Dorobo by the Masai) range over parts of the district. Pokomo, the name by which this tribe is usually known, represents the Swahili pronunciation: they call themselves Wa-fokomo (f representing the peculiar sound of "bilabial f").

The Wapokomo are divided into thirteen tribes, each of which occupies a fairly well-defined area, though parts of some have migrated and settled in the territory belonging to others. The names of the tribes and districts are identical, and I have not yet been able to ascertain satisfactorily to which the name was first applied. So far the balance of testimony seems to be in favour of the names belonging to the districts and being adopted by the tribes when they settled there ; but one old man (at Kulesa) said

that the Buu and Ngatana tribes received their names from God (Muungu) before they migrated into the Tana valley from the north-east. (The Tana, by the bye, is called by them Tsana, which is the Pokomo word for a river of any size,—a smaller stream being *muho*, or, in Swahili, *moto*.)

The names of the tribes are as follows, the first eight being known collectively as *Wantu wa dzuu* (people of above, *i.e.* of the Upper Tana) and the rest as *Wantu wa ninsi* (people of below). They are given in geographical order, going from north to south:—

Korokoro. <sup>1</sup>	Kinakomba.	Ngatana.
Malinkote.	Gwano.	Dzunza.
Malalulu.	Ndera.	Buu.
Zubaki.	Mwina.	Kalindi.
Ndura.		

The Ndera are the last of the up-river tribes, the boundary between them and the Mwina being a short distance south of the second southern parallel.

I can throw no light on the etymology of these names, save that I am told Buu is the name of a kind of fish, and Kalindi is derived from Dindi (a hole or pit), from the pits in which, according to an obscure tradition, the ancestors of the Pokomo at one time lived underground. This seems to imply that the name Kalindi, at any rate, was not taken from the place where the people settled, and falls in with a statement obtained independently at another place,—according to which the Mwina, Dzunza, and Kalindi were the three aboriginal tribes and “lived here on the Tana first of all.” Possibly, too, Korokoro may be connected with Chikorokoro (elbow), and refer to the bend of the Tana near which that tribe is located. A village some miles below Kulesa, on a bend of the river, is called Chunoni (at the hip).

Each of these tribes, (*kyeti*, plural of *kyeti*), consists of

<sup>1</sup> Individuals of these tribes are called Mu-Korokoro, Mu-Malinkote, etc.; plural, Wa-Korokoro.

several exogamous clans, (*masindo*, plural of *sindo*). The pedigrees I have collected show that descent is counted through the father, and that both sons and daughters belong to his clan. They not infrequently marry into another tribe; but no marriages take place, (or, at any rate, none did till recently), between the Wantu wa dzuu and the Wantu na nsini, and the distinction, not to say antagonism, is still kept up in other ways.

One curious point is that the names of several Pokomo *masindo* are also the names of Galla clans, e.g. the Meta, Nta, Ilani, Karayu, and Garijela of the Zubaki tribe. The Garijela, according to one informant, is another name for the Kinakaliani clan, so possibly the Galla designations were aliases, or alternative names. This is rendered more likely by the fact that the Korokoro tribe have even discarded their own language for that of their oppressors; but I cannot learn that intermarriage has taken place to any appreciable extent, or that Pokomo customs have been modified by Galla influence. But it would be premature to express any opinion on these points. The physical type, at any rate, is perfectly distinct.

So far I have been unable to discover anything which could fairly be described as totemism. The few *miiko* (prohibitions) of which I have heard do not necessarily bear that interpretation,—but as yet my information is too vague to suggest any conclusion. The Mbaji clan of the Mwina tribe does not eat the fish called *mukungu* or *fyoka*, which is elsewhere considered very palatable, but I have not learnt any reason for this abstinence. The Pokomo are among the few peoples (I have not heard of any others) who eat crocodile from choice; they have been known to protest against the destruction of crocodiles' eggs, lest the supply of their meat should run short. But some clans abstain from the dainty,—again I know not why. Rats (*mpanya*) are forbidden food to all Pokomo “from the Wakalindi to the Wakorokoro”; so are the leopard, wild



dog, baboon, and small monkey called *ngoto*; but half the nation eats the monkey called *chima*, and half also eat lion,—which half not specified. The hippopotamus is eaten by some and avoided by others of the same tribe, e.g. the Wabuu.

The names of the clans, with rare exceptions, suggest nothing in this respect. Many of them are compounded with *kina*. This, I am told, is a word of the Upper Tana dialect. I could get no explanation of it, but suppose it to have the same meaning as it has in Swahili, viz. "relations, family, kin." Sometimes the second half of the compound has a recognizable meaning in present-day Pokomo,—and I hope by further enquiry to increase the number of these examples; sometimes one can get no other explanation than "*sindo tu*" ("it is only a clan name"). *Mbare*, in *Kinambare*, is the up-river equivalent to *nzare*, the name by which the Kulesa and Ngao people designate two kinds of wading birds, (the smaller, I think, is a white ibis). But no one seems to be aware of anything which might lead us to suppose that it was the totem of the Kinambare. My informants denied that they abstain from eating it, and I could not elicit the smallest hint that they have any special ideas about it at all. Kinangombe, Kinamongo, and Kinahafa are compounded with words meaning, respectively, "cattle," "back" (or, more probably, "the further side" of the Tana), and "here." There is another clan (of the Wakilindi) called Mamboo, which seems to mean "people of the hither bank" (*mboo*). Gomeni is the name of a place; *Uta*, I thought, was "people of the bow," but bow is *uha*, not *uta*, in Pokomo, and I now find that *Uta* is also a Galla clan. A little light is thrown on this matter by the statement that many clans have alternative names, one of which is Galla. The Galla were for many years the tyrants of the Wapokomo, continually raiding and harassing, when not actually enslaving them, and,—as is the case with some tribes exposed to the incursions of the

Masai,—dread of the conquering race was not unmingled with admiration, resulting in the sincerest form of flattery. It thus seems probable that the names of Galla clans were adopted by Pokomo *masindo*, at first in addition to their own, and afterwards in place of them.

I do not yet know enough of Galla customs and institutions to say whether the Pokomo have been appreciably influenced by them; but it does not appear that their tribal organization differs appreciably from that of the Wanyika tribes, who are evidently sprung from the same stock. For instance, I have been unable to trace anything like the twofold division of the Galla clans into Irdida and Barietuma, the members of the first only marrying into the second, and *vice versa*. A Pokomo, so far as I can make out, is free to marry into any clan he likes, provided he avoids his own. He must not, however, marry relations who belong to other clans, such as the daughter of his father's sister, or of any of his mother's brothers or sisters. All these are called *waimbu* (sisters). Like the Giriyama, and unlike the Duruna and Digo, the Pokomo, whatever they may have done in the remote past, now reckon descent in the male line, the children, both sons and daughters, belonging to the father's *sindo*.

There is a twofold division of *each Pokomo tribe*, however, of the existence of which I have just become aware, and which necessitates further enquiry. These sections are called *Mperuya* and *Magomba*, and the chiefs of the tribes are chosen from them alternately. "Just now," says my informant, "the children of the Mperuya are ruling. Afterwards the children of the Magomba will rule." Chiefs (*haju*, which seems to be a Galla title), are not succeeded by their sons, but chosen by the tribe. Their power and standing seem to be much the same as with the Giriyama, the real authority being in the hands of the old men, or, properly speaking, the highest grade of elders, who form a close corporation. The various grades have each their own

*ngadzi* or friction-drum, which is never allowed to be seen except by the initiated, and never, under any circumstances, by women.

Concerning these grades I must await further information. As they begin in early childhood, (a man's father purchasing for him admission into the Makombe, Nchere, and Kundyia in succession, before arranging his marriage), they would seem to correspond to age-classes. The fees for initiation into each successive grade are heavy, and,—as is said to be the case in Freemasonry,—the higher you go the more expensive the process becomes. The highest order, the Wakicho, have the right to levy contributions on the rest of the tribe, in cattle, goats, rice, honey-beer, etc., and the German missionaries are very severe on their aldermanic banquets, which one missionary designated by the graphic but untranslatable term *fresserei*. Herr Krafft's informant drew the distinction between the Wakicho and the Wagan-gana or sorcerers, that the former distribute their superfluous property among the people of the village, which the latter never do. How this corporation of the sorcerers stands with regard to the Wakicho is one of the things I have not yet been able to enquire into.

The Buu tribe trace their descent from a man named Vere, a Melchizedek-like being without father or mother, who made his appearance in the district now occupied by the tribe at a period which I have as yet been unable to ascertain even approximately. But, as Mpongwa, the Government elder of Ngao, tells me that people were living on the coast when Vere came here, the mystery probably reduces itself to the not very recondite fact that he arrived here by himself and no one has ever heard anything about his belongings. He was unacquainted with the use of fire, till shown how to make it with two sticks by one Mitso-tsozini, whose status and *provenance* are not yet clear to me; he comes abruptly into the story (like "Miss Meadows") as "his (Vere's) companion."

Vere had a son named Sango<sup>2</sup> and three daughters. The eldest of these, called Mkabuu (wife of Buu), married Buu, the eponymous ancestor, one supposes, of the Buu tribe. Her two sisters, Habunc and Habuya, lived at their brother's village, and did not marry, but formed irregular connections with strangers from a distance; their children were *wana wa haramu* (illegitimate). Mpongwa, who is of the Karya clan, says he is descended from Habunc, so, unless the descent was on the mother's side, it looks as if Buu were not responsible for the whole of the tribe called after him. Again, it would seem that the Katsoo, Kale, and Deno clans came in later,—but here the ground becomes so very uncertain that it seems better to say no more till I have sifted my information.

Passing from the question of origins, I may remark that the Pokomo have been estimated at about 15,000, though the German missionaries at Ngao are disposed to think that this is too high, and also that their numbers are diminishing. Infant mortality is terribly high, chiefly owing to malarial fever, from which all natives in the Tana valley suffer more or less, though the disease is not so acute as among Europeans. Elephantiasis also is not uncommon, and a disease called *buba*, which appears to be that known to science as *frambesia*, while the small community of Ngao possesses two lepers. The present year (1912) has been one of great scarcity,—first, through an unusually high flood of the Tana, which swept away the crops, and then through the drought which has affected all the coast districts.<sup>3</sup>

The Pokomo live by agriculture and fishing. Their principal crop in former times was rice, which,—since the

<sup>2</sup> Böcking and Kraft, in *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und ozeanische Sprachen* (Berlin, 1896), iii. i. p. 33, and *Pokomo-Grammatik* (Neukirchen, 1908), p. 133, seem erroneously to have made the two into one, and call the parentless ancestor Sangovere.

<sup>3</sup> Since writing the above I find that last year's land-tax returns give their numbers as about 18,000. I am inclined to think that the view of the missionaries is unnecessarily pessimistic.

Tana has had a wider outlet to the sea and its two annual inundations cover less ground than formerly,<sup>4</sup>—is more and more giving place to maize. They are expert canoemen, manipulating their dug-outs (*waho*, plural *maho*) with great skill, by means of short, leaf-shaped paddles and forked punting-poles, and pass a great deal of their time on the river. Sometimes one sees a *waho* with the husband punting at the bow and the wife paddling at the stern, or *vice versa*, and a baby and a pile of baskets amidships. Both men and women are good swimmers, using the hand-over-hand stroke like, I believe, all Africans. The Tana is infested by crocodiles, though the numbers are kept down by the popularity of the reptile as an article of food. The natives seem singularly fearless as regards crocodiles. "Why, we eat each other!" they sometimes say,—*à la guerre comme à la guerre*. A Pokomo once said to me that the Swahili are sometimes caught by crocodiles "because they are afraid of them. But we,—we simply don't pay any attention to them. We know they are there in the water, like the fish, but we never trouble our heads about them." Accidents, however, sometimes happen. A woman is occasionally seized and dragged in when incautiously filling her water jar at the river's edge, instead of dipping it from the higher bank with the long-handled gourd in general use.

Fishing is done either with rod and line or with *miono* (plural of *mono*), baskets like magnified lobster-pots, about five feet long by two wide. During flood-time, *i.e.* generally in November or December, and again in April or May, fishing is carried on in the Tana itself, but, when the water

<sup>4</sup> The Tana formerly reached the sea through a channel still traceable near Chara and containing water in places, known to the Swahili as *Alto Tana*. The Tana and the Ozi, (a small river with a large estuary somewhat to the north-east), were long ago connected by the so-called "Belezoni Canal," probably the work of the Arabs, but scarcely more than a ditch. Mr. Anderssen, Commissioner of Tanaland in 1902, had the Belezoni cleared out and widened, and since then the volume of water entering the sea by way of the Ozi is so great as to lower the level of the river at flood-time.

is low, chiefly in the lakes to be found at either side of it,—Shaka Babo, Sumiti, Gweiti, etc. These lakes receive the water of the Tana when it is high, and the fish then enter them, remaining behind when the river falls and communication is cut off. Fish are also speared with the *yutsoma*, a pole some twelve or fifteen feet long, with a sharp, awl-shaped spike, perhaps ten inches in length, fixed into its end. The fish most usually speared are the *mamba* and *nswi*, both having broad heads and cat-like whiskers and no scales, (or some apology for them which I am not ichthyologist enough to describe). The *mamba*, which is sometimes over three feet long and proportionately thick, makes itself a hole in the mud when the dry season comes on and lies there, torpid and sealed up like the legendary toad, till the rains come, or till his repose is rudely broken by the thrust of a *yutsoma*, (for the Pokomo often spear them at this season). There is a very large number of edible species of fish, though at this season of the year, that of low water, they do not seem to be caught in great abundance.

The large white water-lily, which grows freely on all pools and backwaters of the river, as well as on the lakes mentioned above, is also a stand-by in time of scarcity; the seed-vessels containing the unripe seeds, and the tuberous roots, are both boiled and eaten, and the ripe seeds are pounded and made into sauce, eaten with fish. Probably the roots are very indigestible, as people complain of pains and intestinal disturbances when reduced to feeding largely on them. Another alimentary stop-gap is the fruit of the *mkoma* or dum-palm (*Hyphæne*), which has been aptly compared to a mixture of sugar and sawdust; children are fond of it at all times, and it is hawked about in the streets of Lamu at two for a cent.

The Pokomo grass hut is more accurately described by the term beehive-shaped than many to which that term has been applied. It is round, with no separation of roof and wall,—but not hemispherical like the Zulu,—and slightly

pointed at the top. The breadth at the bottom is about equal to the height in the centre. The thatch is cut off, near the top, in three or more concentric ridges, which gives a peculiar cachet to the general effect. The doorway is a narrow opening just wide and high enough to admit one person in a stooping position. There is no door, but one or more dried fronds of the wild date-palm are used to close the entrance, and lean against the house beside it when not in use. The principal interior features are the central fireplace and two bedsteads, made of palm-leaf ribs lashed together over a rough wooden framework. The husband's bedstead is high,—three feet six or so,—but the wife's only one foot or under, in case of the babies rolling off, for the smallest children share it with their mother. As boys and girls grow older, they are drafted off to the youth's house and the maids' house respectively. Polygamists have a hut for each wife and her children.

The genealogies I have collected seem to show that polygamy is, comparatively speaking, not very frequent. Most men have one wife, occasionally one has two, but three are rare. Probably, as the old jest has it, matrimony is a matter of money, *i.e.* of inability to raise the bride-price a second time. Girls are often bespoken in infancy, or even (conditionally) before birth, and one sometimes hears it said,—“So-and-so has a wife, but she is not grown up yet.” The arrangement is not always rigidly carried out. It would be surprising if it were among so good-natured a people as the Pokomo, who certainly do not err in the direction of severity towards their children. If, on reaching years of discretion, the girl finds that she does not like the destined suitor or prefers another, the matter can always be arranged by returning to the former the payments he has already made on account. If there is another young man, he, of course, has to do the paying.

The dress of the non-mission Wapokomo consists chiefly of one or more pieces of cotton cloth, beads, and a mixture of

*zazi* (red oxide of iron) and sesamum oil, with which they anoint all the exposed parts of their person,—hair and all,—acquiring a ruddy tinge which is not unpleasing. The bead ornaments are many, and often involve a great deal of work; they include a girdle (*silipi*) usually an inch and a half broad, a fillet worn round the head, a straight necklet (*kit-side*) about half an inch wide, a more elaborate necklace (*tsambaa*) with oblong pendant in front, fringed with beads and small cowries and sometimes having a further fringe of small iron chains reaching to the waist, etc., etc. The girdle is supposed to be worn by married women only. Sometimes they wear a belt of palm-leaf or leather, or, if within reach of civilization, a strap and buckle. My own leather belt was remarked on at Kulesa, in connection with the usual enquiries as to my status,—“Oh no! she can't be unmarried, she has a belt on,—*that* would never do,” etc.

On the whole I must say that the Pokomo make a pleasant impression. Physically, they are fairly well-grown and well-made, though not, as a rule, very tall. They are dark-brown in colour and have often, to an eye accustomed to the African type, very pleasing faces, which they do not, like some other tribes, disfigure by pulling out their eyebrows and eyelashes. They have the usual splendid teeth of the African natives, though unable, it seems, to leave them to their own unaided effect. They usually extract the two middle incisors of the lower jaw, though this is by no means universal; some have a small gap between the two middle upper teeth, which looks as if it were made rather by inserting some instrument between them, and gradually working them apart, than by chipping off any part,—but in this I may be mistaken. Some have a similar gap in the lower jaw.

In the following desultory notes, of which the sole merit is that of being compiled *in situ*, it has chiefly been my aim to set down such scraps of belief and tradition as I



have heard from the natives themselves. Some of these notes were made at Kulesa, and some at Ngao.

Various fabulous beings appear to be firmly believed in. The following account was given in all seriousness by a very intelligent Christian at Kulesa, who pointed out the spot where the incident occurred. His father, when a young man, was walking by night from Chunoni to Kulesa,—about three miles by land, cutting across a bend of the river,—when, just after passing the old bed of the Tana, he saw before him, as he thought, a huge leafless tree, quite white, high up on which were two bright lights,—“like these,” he said, pointing to the brilliant yellow flowers of a small hibiscus, which I had just gathered and was carrying in my hand. When Jonathan’s father approached the tree, he found that it was no tree, but a huge snake, the lights being, *not* its eyes, but, curiously enough, its ears. It lifted up its voice and made such a noise that the percipient was deaf for two weeks after. He was terrified and fled, but “the snake remained where it was.” It appears to be called *ngoloko*, so, though no one else saw it on that occasion, it must have been previously known, at any rate by hearsay.

On the same occasion, Jonathan pointed out a small bird on the wing, which, he said, was much dreaded by mothers of children, present or prospective. He called it *mpungu*. I could not see it distinctly, but it seemed to be about the size of a thrush. If a pregnant woman sees this bird, it is supposed that her child, when born, will be seized and devoured by some animal, unless she works the counter-charm by plucking a piece of green grass,—any kind of grass will do,—tying a knot in it, and sticking it into her hair. My informant picked and knotted a blade in illustration. “*Mani marwitsi ni kintu cha kuvothya*” (Green grass is a sacred thing), he added, “and will prevent the creature from doing any harm.” This belief, it is well known, is held by the Masai and also by the Galla. I am

not aware of its existence among any Bantu tribe, unless it is the Kikuyu, who would have borrowed it from the Masai. A song sung by children to this bird runs as follows:—

“*Nzooni muyowe, huyu ndiye mpungu*  
*Mpungu mulenji kwa baba, nzooni muyowe.*  
*Huyu ndiye mpungu, bibi, nzooni muyowe,*  
*Huyu ndiye mpungu, mpungu mulenji huyu.”*

*i.e.* “Come and see, this is the *mpungu*, the *mpungu* who flies on high at my father’s, come and see. This is the *mpungu*, grandfather, come and see. This is the *mpungu*, the *mpungu* who flies on high.”

Another very unlucky bird is the *hoymbc*, seemingly a kind of ibis or heron, which is not eaten by any tribe of Pokomo, apparently because it lives on fish. If men see it in front of them, when going to fish, they at once turn back.

I should add that I have hitherto failed to identify the *mpungu*. All enquiries at Ngao, which is about a day’s journey below Kulesa, have elicited only the fact that the people know the *mpungu*, but, by their description, it must be an entirely different bird from the above, being like the *chalikoko* (fish-eagle, *Haliaetus vocifer*), but larger and also different in colouring. Nor do they seem to be aware of any sinister reputation attaching to a bird of the name.

I find that the *mpungu* song of which I have a phonograph record is not the same as the one given above, which was dictated to me by the singer at my request, after taking the record. Many natives seem to find a difficulty in remembering the words of a song unless they are actually singing it, (when it requires a good deal of practice to be able to catch and take them down). In the same way, I found that some Kikuyu young men could not, so they said, sing the song of which I wanted a record, without going through the motions of the dance which it usually accompanied, and they were unable to do this in the absence of the other performers. Whether this was

Jonathan's reason or not, I did not succeed in taking down the words when repeating the record, and cannot now try it again until a permanent duplicate is made.

Other more or less fabulous beings are the *kodoile*, the *ngojama*,<sup>5</sup> and the *kitunusi*. The first-named, one informant told me, was "a bear,"—an animal, I believe, quite unknown in Africa; but it appears that the translators of the Pokomo New Testament have used *kodoile* as an equivalent for "bear" in Rev., cap. xiii., v. 2. ("Dragon" in the preceding chapter is rendered by *ngojama*.) The accounts of it are somewhat vague. The old men at Ngao tell me that it is like a leopard, but its colour is that of "a kind of cat"; it is much dreaded, but its attributes seem at present somewhat obscure. The *ngojama* and *kitunusi* are both human or quasi-human in aspect, but the former has a long steel claw in the palm of his hand, which he strikes into people, should they be so unfortunate as to come within his reach, and then drinks their blood. He speaks, and his language is Galla. He is mostly solitary, but sometimes has a wife and children; they live in the bush, but neither make shelters nor climb into trees. Possibly some solitary outcast Galla, rendered misanthropical by his experiences and armed with a spiked bracelet, or possibly with a weapon similar to the "tiger's claw" of India, originated the myth.

The following story about the *ngojama*, which was told me at Kulesa by Yonatan Kopo of the Ngatana tribe, was hardly intelligible at the time, but I have since obtained explanations and the continuation from Isaya, a Pokomo of the Denu clan (Buu tribe) from Ngao. The legendary hero of the story, Bombe, is said to have been a real man belonging to the Katsoo clan of the Buu tribe.

"Long ago a man [Bombe] was on the plains (*yuanda*, the open steppe which skirts the Tana forest), and the

<sup>5</sup>So far as I can trust my ear, the Pokomo say *ngojama* and the Galla *godyama*.

*ngojama* lived in the bush at Mifuneni (on the north-east bank of the Tana); and the man and his wife, once upon a time, went to the bush, and they separated, taking different paths, and the wife called out "Bombe, *imbaa*? Bombe, *imbaa*?" (Bombe, which way are you coming out (of the bushes)?,—*imbaa* being a Galla word). The *ngojama* repeated her words, saying "Bombe, *imbaa*?"

Here Yonatan broke off, adding, somewhat inconsequently, "His weapon is [a steel spike] in [the palm of] his right hand, and people fear him." Isaya continues the story as follows:—

"Then the man in his turn called his wife, saying "Nanguri! Nanguri!" [He was not quite sure of the name, but thought this was it.] "The woman was silent when she heard the shout, thinking it was not her husband's voice, and she called him again,—"Bombe! Bombe! who is it that is calling?" Then the man came to his wife, and they came out on to the open plain. Suddenly the *ngojama* too came out, and called "Bombe, where are you coming out?" Bombe answered "God will bring me out." The *ngojama* asked "Is your God the black cloud?" [The words are partly Galla.] He answered "Yes." Then Bombe and his wife ran away, and the *ngojama* pursued them as far as the Tana."

Another story told by Isaya is as follows:—"Long ago Bombe arose and took his *saka* [a gourd supported by a string netting], and went to climb a [tree containing a] beehive. While he was climbing, the *ngojama* came, and stood at the foot of the tree calling "Bombe! Bombe!", and Bombe answered, "*Woi!*" [the usual hail of the Galla]. "Is it you?" "It is I!" "Can you escape?" "I can." "Where can you get out?" "God will take me out." "Where is this God of yours? Show him to me that I may see him who is going to deliver you to-day." Bombe answered "He lives up there?" "Is this God of yours that black cloud?" "Yes!"

[*Dumansa*, the word used, is the Pokomo pronunciation of the Galla *dumens* (a cloud), but my Pokomo informant insisted that it means "that black thing." *Gurách* is the Galla word for "black," and *Wak* for "God"; the usual expression for the sky is *Waka gurach*. But Gallas, by the way in which they speak of *Wak*, seem often, if not always, to identify him with the sky.]

"Thereupon the *ngojama* said "*Un himbou lakis.*" [These words purport to be Galla, and to mean "You will never get away at all."] Bombe climbed up (to get) his honey, and, when he had finished, said, "Go aside a little while I come down." The *ngojama* went apart, and Bombe came down, took out some of the best honeycombs and put them on leaves for him, and then hastened on. The *ngojama* came and stopped to eat the honey. Bombe was running away all this time. The *ngojama* raised his head and saw him, and said,—“A! A! Run as fast as you like,—I shall catch you even now.” Bombe ran very fast, and had nearly reached the Tana when the *ngojama* started after him. He pursued him on foot until Bombe reached the Tana, and put his gourd into a canoe, and cut the rope quickly, and pushed the canoe out into the river. The *ngojama* stood on the bank and, seeing that he had failed to catch him a second time, he cried,—“Wai! wai! If I had known, I would not have eaten the honey! Well, Bombe, go! It is you who are the (better) man.” Bombe said,—“Did I not tell you that my God would deliver me?” He answered,—“Go, you are a man! But another day we shall meet!”

The Galla seem to hold a somewhat different view of the *ngojama*. According to Abarea of Kurawa he is nothing more nor less than a man-eating lion,—a lion “who has become accustomed to human flesh and will no longer eat animals.” This view is emphatically repudiated by my Pokomo informant. The Galla-speaking Wasanye (Wat) of Malindi district, again, recognize the name of *ngojama*,

but give yet another account of him. Unfortunately I was not able to take it down verbatim, and could not always follow the narrator, nor get him to repeat what was not clear, but the gist of it is that the *ngojama*, though quasi-human in shape, is an animal and has a tail. He used to roam through the bush, eating raw flesh, till he met with a Wat named Abalefe, who showed him how to make fire and cook, and tamed him to some extent. But one day the savage nature broke out; he turned on Abalefe and ate him, and then went back to the bush.

The theological discussion between Bombe and the *ngojama* has a curious parallel in a bit of Galla tradition which I owe to the kindness of the Rev. W. B. Griffiths of the United Methodist Mission. A Galla,—(one of "our Galla," presumably the Barareta or Kofira),—when sending out his son to herd the cattle said,—“Go and herd together with the son of God” (Gurba Wakatin). The spies of the Bworana Galla followed the boy, and asked him what his father had said. On being told, they asked,—“Where is this God your father speaks of.” The boy answered and said,—“God is he who is above.” They answered,—“We are now going to kill you,—let the God whom your father and mother speak of save you!” When they had finished saying this, those Bworana surrounded that youth on this side and on that, and flung their spears at him. But they could not hit him. They missed him (every time), and (finally) they fought and killed each other.

Of the *kitunusi* there are two kinds; one walks upright, like a child of Adam (*binadamu*); the other moves about,—most uncomfortably, one would think,—in a sitting position, and in this way only attains a height of about two and a half feet. He has legs, though he does not use them and, apparently, does not need them. He wears a cloth (*kitambaa*) of *kaniki* (black, or dark-blue, cotton stuff). As to the clothing (or non-clothing) of the *ngojama* I have no information at present. It is very dangerous to meet him; some

who do so are seized with illness (*wanapata ujwazi*), and some (if I have rightly apprehended the explanation of the verb *ku disama-disama*), become paralysed and lose the use of their limbs. But some have boldly grappled with him, and if, in wrestling, a man can tear off a bit of the *kitumusi's* cloth, his fortune is made. "He puts it away in his *kidzamanda* and becomes rich." *Kidzamanda* is explained at Ngao as being a covered basket made of *miraa* (leaves of the *Hyphae* palm); no one makes them now, but "our grandfathers used to keep their cloth and things in them." This seems to show that no one in this generation has successfully wrestled with the *kitumusi*. One wonders if he is akin to the *chiruwi* of Nyasaland, with whom the lonely traveller must wrestle, if he would pass him in safety; but the advantage gained by overcoming the *chiruwi* is that he shows you all sorts of medicinal herbs and teaches you their uses.

The Wapokomo appear to have a large stock of the usual Bantu folk-tales, in which, as elsewhere, the hare (*kitunguwe*) plays the principal part. They have not as yet been collected, the only texts hitherto published being the traditions of tribal origins already referred to and the legends of Liongo Fumo, printed by Böcking in the *Zeitschrift für afrikanische und ozeanische Sprachen*, II. i. pp. 33-9, and by Krafft in his *Pokomo-Grammatik*. The old man of whom I first enquired said that there were such stories, but, since the people had taken to reading, they had forgotten them; and the missionaries whom I asked said at once that they had never troubled to enquire into such things. However, with a little coaxing, the old man just referred to (Abadula) dictated the chameleon story of which the translation is given below, and one of the teachers, (Andrea or Bwashehe, from whom I have obtained a good deal of useful information), followed it up with a hare story, which seems to be a variant of the Yao "Roasted Seeds."<sup>6</sup> I think that there are

<sup>6</sup> Duff Macdonald, *Africana*, vol. ii., pp. 340-1.

a good many other variants, but am unable to give them from memory. The chameleon story resembles the one current among the Wasanye, and published by Capt. Barrett in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.<sup>7</sup> The Pokomo version is as follows:—

“The chameleon (*rumwi*) and the dog had a dispute. God (Muungu) had invited them to a feast, and, when they got ready for the journey, the dog said to the chameleon,—“How will you be able to go? I shall go first, and by the time you get there I shall be sitting on the chair (of honour).” The chameleon replied,—“Yes! if it please God, I shall arrive.” They slept. In the morning they started. But, when the dog sprang (forward), the chameleon climbed up his tail. Well! the dog ran quickly, in order to get ahead of the chameleon; and, when he arrived, he saw that, at the (places of the) feast, there were bones on the ground. As he was looking on the ground, (his attention absorbed by the bones), his tail came close to the chair, and the chameleon climbed on to it and said,—“Here I am, sir!” (*Ndimi huyu, Bwana*, lit. “It is I, this one”). And the dog began to pant till his tongue hung out, and the chameleon was a great (person) and sat on the chair. And so the dog went on eating bones on the ground to this day.”

Having asked Andrea to write out some more stories for me, and supplied him with an exercise book for the purpose, I was considerably disappointed when he brought me two tales in Swahili and certainly not indigenous,—indeed one was no other than the Merchant of Venice! As he had spent some time at the training-school carried on by the Neukirchen Mission at Lamu (now given up), and can read a little English, I thought it possible that he might have become acquainted with the story of Shakespeare’s play through the medium of some elementary reading-book; but he tells me that he heard it from a Banyan at Kipini, and that it is certainly “a story of theirs” (*i.e.* the Hindus).

<sup>7</sup> Vol. xli. (1911), p. 39.



If really quite independent of European contact, this variant should not be without interest.

I was more successful with old Mpongwa, the non-mission elder of Ngao, where there are two villages side by side,—the Christian, which is being built with rectangular thatched houses of sun-dried bricks on either side of a broad street running away from the river,—and the ‘*Heidendorf*,’ a cluster of beehive huts a little lower down on the river-bank. The Christians have their own elder, Nicodemus, but the *moro* or “palaver-house,” which is also the equivalent of the American “corner grocery,” or the churchyard wall at Thrums, seems to be common to both. Mpongwa told me the tale of Mwakatsoo (*alias* Kitunguwe) and Muzee Nsimba, or “Old Man Lion.” This is, I think, found in almost every collection of Bantu folk-tales that has yet been made, but I am writing at a distance from books and cannot give references from memory. The best-known is probably that to be found in Jacottet’s *Contes Populaires des Bassoutos*. I believe that Mr. Walter Jekyll’s “Annancy in Crab Country” is a far-off echo of the same original.<sup>8</sup> I give the story as nearly as possible in the old man’s own words:—

“Old Lion built a stone house, and his kinsman was Mwakatsoo. Lion was hungry, and searched for all the beasts of the bush [*bara*, open bush country] and the forest. Mwakatsoo called all the animals together, elephant, hippopotamus, antelopes, giraffe, and the pig too, and the big palm-rat too. “Come, there is a *nyambura* dance at uncle’s. There is a big dance. Let us play.”

All the animals came and stayed outside. Mwakatsoo said to them,—“Come, dance, there is nothing [*i.e.* no danger].” And [as for] the Lion, Mwakatsoo had buried him in the sand, leaving only one tooth sticking out.

They came in. The house had a big *baraza*, as long as from here [Ngao] to Meli [Chara]. All the animals went in. So the

<sup>8</sup> *Jamaican Song and Story*, p. 70.

rhino said to Mwakatsoo,—“Come! strike up the song of the dance!” He struck up the song, and said:—

“All you elephants, all you hippos, when you dance, you will dance in the inner house.

All you buffalos, etc., etc.

All you crocodiles, etc., etc.

This is the tooth, the tooth, the tooth, the tooth of a camel!

As for me and the civet-cat, we will dance in the outer house.

Come, all you elephants, etc. (*da capo*).”

All the animals believed him, and went on singing, “This is the tooth, the tooth of a camel,” etc.”

The singing was continued for some time, the above words being repeated indefinitely. Then the old man showed in pantomime how the Lion burst from the ground with a ‘R-R-R-R!’ Then a young man sitting by took up the tale, and he, Mpongwa, and the rest somehow finished it between them.

“While they were singing this, the Lion came out from the sand and sprang on the animals, seized them, and killed them. Mwakatsoo had shut the door, and he and the civet-cat ran away. Afterwards, when the Lion had finished eating the animals, Mwakatsoo came and opened the door for him, and he came out.”

This story was also told me in Swahili by Muhamadi bin Abubakari at Lamu, but with the hyæna in place of the lion. One hears curiously little about the hyæna among the Pokomo,—but this is a subject which would require a paper to itself!

A. WERNER.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### THE GILYAKS AND THEIR SONGS.

THE Island of Sakhalin, of which so much was written and spoken after the end of the war between Russia and Japan, and which is now divided between the two Powers, was formerly during several decades used by the Russian Government as a place of exile for both political and criminal offenders. Its name was held in awe and spoken with bated breath all over Russia. When I was sent as a political exile to the terrible Island, I set out as to the land of the dead, in which there is no hope, and from which there is no return. But, in reality, the Island is not so much naturally terrible as spoilt by white men. Though bleak and stern it is picturesque, and though so much detested by its white inhabitants it is the beloved home of three small, primitive tribes, who live on the products of its abundant fauna and flora.

The first of these tribes whom I met was that of the Gilyaks.<sup>1</sup> At first they were afraid of me, as they had suffered from the neighbourhood of common criminal exiles, and feared that I might be one of them. Finding, however, that I was harmless, they came in time to regard me almost as an elder brother to whom they could confide their joys and sorrows. They sweetened for me many a bitter hour with their trust, their sympathy, and their songs.

The difficult circumstances which followed the reckless invasion of their land by a more cultivated nation had a bad influence upon

<sup>1</sup>[A recent account of the Gilyaks will be found in *In the Uttermost East* (Harper, 1903), by Mr. C. H. Hawes, who met Mr. Pilsudski when the latter was a political exile in Sakhalin (pp. 229, 263-4), and obtained from him the original and translation of one song and the story of another (pp. 264-8). ED.]

the literature of the inhabitants of Sakhalin. They have been ruined by the colonists, who burned down the forests, hunted out the game, appropriated the best lands and fisheries, and even often stole the scanty movables of the natives. Sheer hunger and fear have practically destroyed the mental life of the Gilyaks.

Many cultivated men, doctors, engineers, naval officers, and civil servants have employed Gilyaks as guides or escorts during their travels, and they all praise their skill, fearlessness, and domestic life, but they share the opinion of a well-known Russian geographer, who stated that the Gilyaks stand on so low an intellectual level that nothing interests them except the mere struggle for material existence.

In the beginning I also held this opinion, but a more intimate acquaintance with this physically unattractive, dirty, and hard-working tribe caused me to change my opinion upon the subject, and allowed me to collect a large number of the poems and songs in which the Gilyaks take refuge from the sad realities of their lives.

The chief wealth of Gilyak prose literature consists of tales called *Tylgund*. They are epic in character, and are transmitted from generation to generation. They deal mainly with religious beliefs and superstitions, together with their reflections upon the surrounding nature and animals.

Somewhat less numerous are the historical tales about not very ancient wars amongst the "clans," caused chiefly by the stealing of women and by blood feuds.

To these we must add the very popular puzzles and puns (*leren tuhus*) set down in rhythmical prose, occasionally witty, but often rather cynical and coarse.

Much of the poetry consists of *nastund* full of mythological fancies, but always having as a background descriptions of the miraculous adventures of a hero. But I propose to limit myself in the present communication to the lyrics (*alaktund*), which contain tragedy, pathos, melancholy humour, and occasionally exaggerated satire.

The Gilyaks distinguish between their old and new songs, though there is no fundamental difference between them. In both cases joy, pain, allegories, satire, and especially the pangs of

love suffered by the poet form the subject. The names of older poets are generally forgotten, except sometimes in the surroundings amongst which the events described took place. More modern bards are well known to the whole tribe.

Before dictating a song every Gilyak would explain who wrote it, in what circumstances, and who are the persons concerned in it. This has a double purpose, firstly to note a fact, and secondly to inform the hearers who are the persons before whom they must not repeat the song.

The Gilyaks sing their songs in a rather low voice. They modulate them almost exclusively in the throat, with occasional chest notes. After the dull and throaty sounds comes a stop, which marks the end of each measure. It is occasionally preceded by a long-drawn haphazard note.

The lack of louder, higher, or lower tones, gradations, and variety renders these songs unpleasant to a European ear, and hinders the understanding of the text.

The musical construction of the songs will probably be studied by specialists interested in primitive music. I think it is akin to the falsetto "intoning" of the Chinese, which also makes upon us a disagreeable impression. Some of the songs are accompanied on a sort of violin with one string.

Love songs form the bulk of the lyrics. These *alakhtund* do not evince any influence from the folklore of the neighbouring tribes, as is the case with the other poetical works of the Gilyaks, but reflect the individual characteristics of the tribe. It is only amongst the Gilyaks that love between two persons is so intense that they prefer death to separation. The lot of the woman in the Gilyak family is very hard. In childhood she is sold to a strange family, and is not allowed to remain among her own people nor to marry a man of her father's clan. From these circumstances often result tragedies; the woman, usually quite a young girl, feels a repulsion from the unknown house and family of the husband for whom she is destined by her parents, sometimes from the day of her birth; and some of these songs have been the precursors of suicide.

A frequent theme of Gilyak lyrics is the history of two lovers who cannot marry because the girl is already promised to another

man. They decide to die together, for, according to Gilyak belief, such a simultaneous death will bind them together for ever in the other world. Sometimes it happens that the girl falls in love with a man of her own clan : if her relatives find it out they avenge this awful crime by compelling the girl to commit suicide.

### I. *The Suicide's Song.*

“With two boats tied together I float down the river. The water foams in the shallows, and I float past. By the Upper Mask I will pause to rest and smoke three pipes. I will get into the boat again. Tears fall from my left eye on to the toe of my left shoe ; they sound like raindrops falling. My right-hand plait swings in the wind, as I float on the heaving surface of the water, with my two ricketty boats broken at the rudder. By the Lower Mask brook I will rest and smoke two pipes. My right knee gives way and will not bear me. “Ah, I am unhappy ; how shall I live? I shall kill myself ; for I am guilty of a great sin. I must kill myself ; and yet I have no strength to do it. I will float down as far as the storehouse of the Orok tribe, and there I will land. When I have rested a little while, I will float down to my home. Where shall I hide my face? I must turn my back on everyone. I shall feed only on my tears, and strangle myself with a three-stranded rope.””

Such songs are favourites amongst the Gilyaks, who, as a people, are very prone to suicide.

In other songs the poet describes a journey to his beloved one, giving many vivid descriptions of nature. Another popular subject is the longing of a girl for her beloved, who does not come for a long time, or who passes near without coming to greet her. In yet other songs a woman prays to be taken away by a young man who pleased her while staying in her village.

The poet compares his beloved to the iris, which the Gilyaks consider to be the most beautiful flower of their country. Her cheeks are likened to the bark of the birch, as everything which is white and shiny is considered beautiful. The beloved “bends her head on one side” (the Gilyak idea of grace). “Her plait is

undone." "Her lover is so weary without her" that he cannot eat or lie down to sleep or work. "I have made thee alone the object of my desire, but thou dost thou not think of me when many eyes gaze on thee."

## II. *A Song of Farewell.*

"I am sad at leaving you, I could not lift my left foot; it hung back when I crossed the threshold. I was so sad at leaving you. Will you remember me? I raised my left hand and I covered my eyes, and long I held them covered. I cannot forget you. But you know nothing of that. I stretched out my right hand, I would have caught your shadow. When at last I moved I went to the picking of whortleberries. But still with my right hand I covered my eyes, always remembering you. When I returned home to the Larevo village, I landed from the boat. Do you remember me? If you have seen another woman, surely you have forgotten me. I cannot work for grief, and you have no thought of me."

Sometimes humorous sentences are introduced. A girl says of her lover that he rows with so much strength that at every stroke he knocks against the bench in the boat. Another asks her lover to step carefully over the floor of the hut, and try not to break the planks, for she saw when he walked from the sea-shore to the houses how his legs sunk deeply into the sand, (strength and decision being the characteristics of good hunters). Occasionally the jokes become somewhat harsh:—"When I heard thy voice I thought thou wert a good man, but when I saw thee with my eyes thou ceased to please me." A man mocks the plait of his girl, comparing it to the teeth of a fork, and then adds,—“don't smile at me, don't wink at me, for I love another." Another poet says that the legs of his beloved are as thin as those of a mosquito, and her face is as flat as a board.

In the rhythmical descriptions of nature, one meets with images not used in ordinary prose. Troubled water is compared to soup, and the swiftness of a torrent to the hoops with which children play. A large village is compared to a thick forest, and an open

glade to a carpet laid on the floor. A tree to which dogs are tied during a journey waves and bends towards the earth.

The Gilyak poet lacks many sentiments which we are used to find amongst European poets. He is wanting in sympathy with other people's troubles, and in understanding of the feeling of others. I could hardly find in the songs any passages in which the poet pictures the mental states of other persons. A simple life with no class differences allows no play for that sense of social injustice which arises wherever there is friction between two classes within a nation.

It is true that the tribes, formerly sole lords in their island, regard the domination of white men as a misfortune which has ruined the normal life of the whole race. But the Gilyaks have accepted conquest and subjection with a passive and permanent sorrow which kills any sort of protest. Their lips utter no words of revolt. I was able to write down but one short song which complains of oppression on the part of the conquerors. The Gilyak, who dictated it to me before I left the country, asked me to repeat it to the "Great Master." (See song iv. below.)

The Gilyak poet is generally either a shaman or the bard of his tribe. He speaks a richer language than other men, with a finer voice, and is endowed with a greater memory. I will sketch here a few Gilyak poets whom I have personally known, beginning with my first friend, Nispayn, a boy of fourteen who at the time I made his acquaintance was wandering about with his father, an old beggar, half a shaman, of bad reputation. He would sit silent while his father told fortunes, and it seemed to me that he was ashamed of this open swindle. A few years later Nispayn had grown into a very handsome and highly sensitive young man. After his father's death he became a bard. He did not live in one place, but wandered from hut to hut and paid for hospitality with songs and tales. Amongst others he lived in my hut and dictated to me the poems of his tribe. He was as gentle as a well-bred girl. His life among strangers taught him unobtrusiveness, a virtue unknown to the Gilyaks in general. He was not absorbed by material cares, as is generally the case with even quite young Gilyaks, but I knew a whole series of his love-affairs, which always moved him deeply. Once, on returning from a long



journey, he came to me and said "Akan: advise me what to do, I want to marry a Russian." He then told me that he knew a Russian girl who was lame. She was the daughter of a settler, whose acquaintance he had made when going with his father from the Tymi valley to the sea-shore. She had always been kind to him, instead of making fun of him, as young Russians generally do with Gilyaks. The young bard told me he wanted to marry her, and, blushing violently, added that he was sure of her affection as she had kissed him,—a thing which among the Gilyaks occurs only between lovers. I succeeded in explaining to him that amongst white people a kiss is not always of such importance, and the daughter of the settler was doubtless prompted by playfulness, rather than by affection. In a short time he forgot her and fell in love with the young wife of a Gilyak, whom I knew well. He wanted to be christened with her, so as to escape the wrath of her husband and family. I forbade him to play this trick, which would have estranged him from all his fellow tribesmen. Soon afterwards, according to the custom of the Gilyaks, Nispayn married the wife of his deceased brother.

I met my second poet friend when he was a boy. He was sent to my friend, Mr. Sternberg the ethnologist, and myself, during the hard winter. The young orphan, whose name was Koinyt, made friends with another pupil of mine, Indyn. Every day he used to play a musical instrument, and to show us how Gilyak women dance, amuse their children, etc. Koinyt possessed a great talent for imitating. He would imitate the doctor, myself, or anyone. He was generally very gay, and used to tell long stories to his friend Indyn. One night Koinyt sprang up from his sleep with a shriek, gesticulated with his hands, and began to improvise. He was pale, and wore an expression of pain and terror. Indyn understood what was going on, and after his friend had fallen on the bed from sheer nervous exhaustion he explained that Koinyt was not going to remain an ordinary Gilyak, but that the "shaman's spirits" had taken possession of him. A few years later Koinyt had become a celebrated shaman.

The gift of improvisation is characteristic of all Gilyak poets. In 1899 I left the place where I had lived for twelve years. Several Gilyaks came to take leave of me and sing farewell songs, which

they composed upon the spot, and which they dictated to me. Amongst these was an old woman who was known for her wisdom and the way in which she ruled her numerous children, and even her husband. I knew that she had composed songs in her youth; indeed, I had written down some of them, but had never heard her sing; it would have been beneath her dignity. I was even obliged to remember never to read her songs in the presence of her sons, who would have felt ashamed had I done so. In fact, in order to avoid unpleasant situations, I used to note on the margin of every song the list of the persons who must not hear it. This poetess came of a well-to-do family. In youth her parents wished her to marry the man to whom they had betrothed her: she threatened suicide and won her point. After her marriage to the man of her choice, she left off caring for poetry and devoted herself to the duties of wife, mother, and housekeeper with such great zeal that she was noted as a courageous, industrious, and economical head of a family. She exacted so much from other women that her two daughters-in-law ran away from her, being unable to fulfil her ideal of the modest and virtuous woman who thinks of nothing but her home duties.

However I knew two women who after marriage still kept their love for poetry. Both were very poor, and therefore were not much respected by their countrymen. The life of one of them (Vunit) was particularly hard. Her father shortly before his death promised her in marriage to his friend. She might have been the daughter of her old husband, who brought her up with her brothers and sisters. He soon became paralysed and unable to work. All his relatives were dead, so he could get no help from his family, and led the life of a beggar. The unhappy woman not only worked incessantly to support her helpless husband, but had also much trouble with her children, who, born in such misery, did not live long. In spite of her hard life she retained her sensitiveness and the gift of rising above the wretchedness of her daily existence. She had also a good memory and real eloquence and was in no way ashamed of her gift, but considered it as her glory, distinguishing her from other women.

III. *A Farewell Song* (improvised by Vunit, a beggar's wife).

"You, when you go to far off lands, will not think of us. But I, when you are gone, shall think only of you. Where you loved to walk, there I will walk. When I see your paths, I will think,— "There, there, I see him." When I see men walking there, I shall take them for you; but they will not be you. When I meet a man who is like you, I shall remember you. When I see that he is another man I shall be sad. You are better than a good Gilyak, even as when I look at many trees the tallest one pleases me more than the others, for you are kinder than other men.

If you go far, if you go near, take with you the words of my mouth. When you say them aloud, listen and you will be glad, and will remember us. Live happy; carry my words into strange places, and into strange villages. Carry them that many men may hear them. Let young and old and all hear them. I have given to you all the words of my mouth. I will forget you only when I sleep; when I awake I will think of you again, of how you live there far away. I shall hear no more of you, or maybe only once. I see you now for the last time. You will never hear of me; if I am frozen or some other thing should happen to me, or if I should die, you will not know. I may hear once of you, but you will know nothing of me."

The Gilyaks love their poetry, but leave the making of it to individuals who are unfit for the material struggles of life. Once a very rich Gilyak was my guest, and I rejoiced at the thought of hearing a song which would give me an idea of the sentiments of a successful man. As I insisted on hearing one from him, the man half amused and half offended, gave me a good lesson:—"What do you think of me? Ask of me how, when, and where one should fish or hunt; ask me about training dogs, or building summer or winter huts; but my head isn't filled with that sort of rubbish. I don't understand how a sensible man like you can bother about such silly songs."

IV. *Farewell Song* (improvised by Sanykh, a rich man, during a year of famine).

"Long ago when the Russians were not here there was much fish, there were many reindeer and sables, and there were many

bears. The Gilyaks were rich. Now there are many Russians here and we are hungry, almost we die. Sables are few, bears are few, reindeer are few. Perhaps we shall die soon. We asked the Russians for help, and they gave us straw to eat. When you go to your lord tell him all our wrongs."

The spirit which inspires poetical improvisations lives on the tip of the tongue and can easily fly away, doing great harm to the singer. Therefore the audience feel it their duty to excite the spirit with their shouts.

I shall never forget the impression of one night in my journey from the south to the north of Sakhalin. We were in two boats, (three Oroks, two Gilyaks, and myself) going up the river Poronay. We had been travelling twelve days, and had stopped two days and nights on account of the rain. We had reached the nearest Russian colony, and from there it was possible for us to continue our journey on foot. We spent the last night in the fir forest, as it was beautiful July weather. Fearing the convicts, thieves, and vagabonds in the near neighbourhood, we determined not to sleep till daybreak. After supper our conversation became less and less animated, and some of us began to doze after the day's hard work, when someone proposed that we should persuade a young man, who knew many poems by heart, to sing them to us. We arranged a little tent for the singer. Some of our companions sat near him, and others at the opening of the tent. I and one of the Oroks (who did not understand the Gilyak language) lay down under a fir-tree near the tent. I soon fell asleep, lulled by the monotonous guttural voice of the Gilyak. I often woke up, and each time the interminable recitative would reach my ears. Now and again, when the singer paused to take breath, I heard loud cries of admiration. When dawn came the Orok and I got up and made tea, but the concert continued without any change. The listeners did not notice us in the least, so absorbed were they in the fate of the hero of whom the young Gilyak was singing as he lay on his back in the tent with both hands under his head. When at last he sang the last words of the epilogue he arose pale with fatigue, and drank his tea in silence. It was some time before he began to speak to me and my companions. He seemed to be still living through the adventures of the hero.

The next song was sung to me by an old woman supposed to be a shaman. I was spending a summer night as a guest in the hut of some Gilyak neighbours of mine. We slept on benches with our day clothes over us for coverings. The fire went out, and the moonlight shining through a hole in the roof lit up the heads of the people. A figure with tangled white hair,—(she was in mourning for her husband and therefore could not comb her hair),—began to sing in a low voice. “Sister of ‘Milk’ is singing,” whispered to me a young friend who lay beside me. All conversation at once ceased, the listeners even holding their breath. At times the song dropped to a whisper or a smothered cry; then from all corners voices of encouragement would come, to show the singer that the listeners were awake and interested in her song. The encouragement certainly acted upon her; by and by the song grew louder, the time quickened, and the words were clearer. The moon went down and the hut was in darkness. Through the hole in the roof I could see only a few twinkling stars in a clear but dark sky. The mournful tones beat against the roof. The strained attention of the listeners did not waver, and I heard from time to time deep sighs of emotion. Next day I asked the old woman to dictate the song to me.

“By the sea, in the place where is now the Russian Colony Alexandrovsk, was formerly a Gilyak village, situated in the middle of a larch wood. Fifty years ago the singer, then a child of ten years, met a girl of fifteen, the wife of a rich Gilyak, to whom she had been sold in her childhood. Forced to live with a man she hated, she could not hide her loathing of her husband; this angered him, and sometimes he beat her. She could not hope for any help from her relatives, for her father had deserted her and her mother. She therefore gathered together her companions, mostly unmarried girls, and sang to them a farewell song; then put an end to her life by hanging.” This is the song as the old woman remembered it:—

#### V. *The Suicidè's Song.*

“The larch tree is smooth and tall. When I go to cut the grass it trembles from the summit to the very roots, and its branches bow

to the ground. I look up at it: "Thou art like a dying man. I look at thee still to-day, but it is for the last time. Thou art gazing at my throat. With a plaited rope I shall hang myself upon thee." From my left eye the tears fall and rain upon the ground. (Unhappy one!) I look around me and cease to cry. But again the tears flow from my right eye and rain upon the ground. The grass which I have cut has come untied and the dry grass rustles. I cook a fish before the fire and try to eat it, but my throat is strangled and I cannot eat. I brew tea from my tears and try to drink, but I can neither eat nor drink. I will go back. I will go home. I will enter my hut, and will not cease to think upon my death. I have but one wish, to bind myself upon my chosen larch. (Oh, my sorrow!) My elder sister will not let me go out. Do not tell me that thou grievest for me. I will take my little knife with me and I will hang myself. I will unwind my left plait and will sink down upon the comb. I will kill myself. My mother and her sisters, and the wife of my uncle, will hear about me and will weep for me. They will hasten here to see me. But they will only hear my voice from the distance. They will hear me wail and sing from the land of Death. When my throat will ache from moaning I will make a flute from the rushes and will play upon it. Listen to my mournful songs. (Oh, my sorrow!) I will change my thoughts to thoughts of death. When you eat fish now you will eat it alone. My food will be frogs.<sup>2</sup> (Oh, my sorrow!) My dear mother will weep and come out of the hut. Why dost thou weep for me, Mother? She weeps again and goes back into the hut. She grieves, but yet for me she will not kill herself. When she comes to seek me she will sing this song:—  
"Against the current of swift water I go to seek my daughter. The Gilyaks lead me through the high and low valleys of the river. My lamentations are heard. On all sides the echoes are spreading. In the heart of the mountain and beneath it the echoes will resound. My dog Tlacr I will take with me, and will slay him upon the grave of my daughter. I shall have no dog left. I am poor. I have nothing in which to clothe my daughter. I have no cloth to make her grave-clothes. I have no funeral meats to give

<sup>2</sup>The suicide cannot go to Mlyvo, the spirit-world of the Gilyaks, but is forced to wander in the swamps and lakes, and to feed upon frogs.

the guests. The tears from my right eye will rain upon the face of my child, and the sound of their fall will be heard. Thou hadst no father, and I could not feed thee, my orphan, my little child. And now from the other world I hear thy voice. Thy father rejected thee, and I sought high and low for food wherewith to nourish my daughter. The burden was heavy, and now, even after death, I shall be parted from her. Wandering along the banks of the river to the villages high and low I gathered fragments into my dish, and with these I fed my daughter. I nourished her but to throw her to the water of the swamps." Thus will she sing of her daughter. My mothers<sup>3</sup> will ask news of me, and they will know that I am dead, and from the swamp they will hear my voice. Thou, my eldest sister, in my place wilt cherish the dog I reared with eyes of two colours, and tell my kindred of my death. And you, my fathers,<sup>4</sup> keep the great cauldron that was paid for me at my marriage, for I know that my husband and his clan will try to take it back again after my death. Keep it. Do not give it to him. My dear sister, cast my big ear-rings in the place of my burial. I have nothing more that I wish to take with me. But yet, break in half the knife with which I cleaned the fish, and throw it into my grave. I will go away. I will get into my boat; but my knees are limp and they will not support me. I cannot stand in the prow of the boat. My slender willow-stem bends, and I cannot move the boat. Listen, my father, as I sing sitting in my boat. Thou wilt be sorry for me to-day when I shall die. Thou wilt see me no more. To-morrow I shall be dead. I unbind my left plait and I sit and think. My needle sheath, my little knife, I will bind to the rope. My weeping will resound to the furthest mountains. I will raise my left hand to wipe my tears. Listen, dear mother, although I die sing to the young girls, and tell them and the little children about me. Tell my story to all the young. I dread the water of the swamps, and yet I think about it always, when I enter my hut and when I leave it. Life is so sad. My path is cut short. Far and wide on the lakes I shall wander, seeking the frogs for my food. From my steps will arise a sound like that of thunder. I shall catch frogs instead

<sup>3</sup> The Gilyaks call "Mothers" all the sisters of their mother.

<sup>4</sup> "Fathers," the brothers of their father.

of fish, and shall starve. Without hands, without feet I shall roam. (Oh, my sorrow!)”

The old woman finished her dirge-like song, and became deeply thoughtful. The rest were deeply moved, and the silence which had fallen remained unbroken. Suddenly, from afar, a faint cry was heard, probably that of a bird. I heard one of the boys whisper:—“Hark! It is the cry of the woman!”

BRONISLAW PILSUDSKI.

COUNTY CLARE FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS, IV. (*Concluded*).

9. *The Sixteenth Century.*

THE great religious changes of this period, although ever since constantly before the people in religious teaching and polemical literature, have left no clear independent tradition. It is usually “Cromwell,” not Henry the Eighth, “who destroyed the Abbeys,” just as in County Limerick the Cromwellian war has obliterated the remembrance of the far more cruel Desmond wars. The stories of Henry and Luther were usually comic, pretending to no historic character and of no wide acceptance. The only curious, and probably native, tale is that already told about “Anne Bulling” winning and keeping the love of Henry by means of the pennywort.<sup>1</sup> Her enemies put her in prison where she could not get it, and Henry turned against her and hanged her, “as she deserved.” This I heard both near Sixmilebridge about 1877, and some five years later near Carrigounnell in County Limerick, but the penalties incurred by me for inadvised introduction of anti-Protestant stories and rebel songs (gathered from my kind friends among the peasantry) into my very Protestant and loyal family circle have obliterated the little I heard before my juvenile researches were nipped in the bud. Queen Mary had no place in Clare story, but Queen Elizabeth was widely remembered as the *Cailleach* or “Hag,” and as “The Red Hag,” but I can recall no

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 456.



definite story about her. The tale of a battle at Dysert Castle is almost certainly about that of 1562; Professor O'Looney thought it to relate to De Clare, but could not be certain that "Claraghmore" was actually named by his informant. The "flagstone of the breaking of bones," near Quin Abbey, as I have noted,<sup>2</sup> was, if not a modern "book legend," perhaps a reminiscence of the horrible execution of Domnall beg O'Brien by Sir John Perrot in 1582; I never heard the name near Quin myself, and the incident has no similarity to the stabbing of the earlier Domnall O'Brien.

The only tangible stories relate to the Armada late in Elizabeth's reign (1588). The fishermen at Kilkee told my people in 1868-72 of the screams and wailing of the Spaniards lost in the "Big Ships" in the mist, or by night, at sea off the coast. In 1878 I heard round Doolin, to the north of the Cliffs of Moher, tales of the Big Ships and the Spaniards wrecked at Doolin, and how at the mound of Knock na croghery (*cuocán na crocaire*, "Gallows Hill"), at St. Catherine's, somewhat inland, "Bœōshius O'Clanshy hung the Spanish grandee." In later years I heard further that a Spanish nobleman got leave to fetch away the body of his only son, but it was indistinguishable from the others "in one red burial blent," whose bones are often found at the hillock. Near Miltown, Kilfarboy church was said to be the burial-place of the yellow men (*fear buidhe*) from the Big Ships. Kilfarboy is, however, really "the church of Febrath," the Beal an febrath or Belfarboy pass running to the upland behind it, so that the false interpretation has evidently given rise to the story, just as Killaspluglonane has become Killsprunane ("Gooseberry Church"), and Cnoc uar coill ("Cold Wood Hill") Cnocfuarchoill or Spansel Hill. There were graves called Teampul na Spanigg at two places, one near Doolin and one near Miltown Malbay. I heard the name last near Miltown in 1887, when the graves were almost obliterated, but could find no trace of it by diligent search in 1908. From the eighteenth century to the present day Spanish Point has been connected with the wreck of a Spanish ship (or ships)<sup>3</sup>. A carving

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> There was actually no wreck there, but to this day wreckage and drowned bodies are swept up there by the prevailing current from Mutton Island, near which one of the Armada was really wrecked.

of a cornucopia, flowers, and bales (Plate VII),<sup>4</sup> long preserved by the Morony family as a relic of the Armada, is considered by Count Lorenzo Salazar, the Italian consul in Dublin, as very probably of the proper period and comparable to other Spanish work.<sup>5</sup>

In 1887 I was told of another Spanish wreck near Mutton Island, and "its guns" were shown faintly blue through the clear water in a rock pool. The wreck was, however, that of a "coast-guard vessel" in or soon after the Napoleonic wars, which had attracted to itself the older tale. There were faint traditions of the wreck of the Big Ships from Dunbeg to Killard in 1894, and of the ghosts of the crews at Kilkee.

A remarkable ancient table at Dromoland, figured by Count Salazar,<sup>6</sup> was according to tradition given to the then O'Brien of Lemanagh by his brother-in-law, Boethius Clancy. It is certainly Spanish, and the tradition may probably be true. I heard no tale in Moyarta of the Big Ship really lost there, but found similar tales along the Kerry coast beyond, as I did in Mayo and on the Ulster coast. In 1878 the *Calendar of State Papers* was unknown, and no local history told the true story, so that the mention of "Boeōshius O'Clanshy" seems like genuine tradition. No wreck is recorded at Doolin, but, when the Zuniga took shelter in Liscannor Bay, not far to the south, wreckage and an oil jar floated in,<sup>7</sup> so a wreck is not impossible. A ship was wrecked opposite Tromra Castle in the Sound, near Mutton Island, and another at Dunbeg; a third was set on fire by its crew and allowed to drift on shore in Moyarta Parish on the Shannon. The letters of Boethius MacClanshy, the sheriff of Clare, and others give very full details.

A second tale, evidently old but less authentic, is told of Dullicka and Carrigaholt Castles in nearly identical forms. The older is given by the Rev. John Graham of Kilrush in 1816.<sup>8</sup> Teig MacMahon of Carrigaholt being implicated in the Desmond rising and absent in Kerry, his followers committed outrages on

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xli., p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. xxx., p. 93.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland (1588-92)*, pp. 29-30, 38.

<sup>8</sup> W. S. Mason, *A Statistical Account etc.*, vol. ii., pp. 443 *et seq.*

some collectors of the chief rents. The Earl of Thomond sent his brother, Henry O'Brien of Trummera Castle, to complain to MacMahon. While waiting for MacMahon's return, Henry fell in love with the chief's beautiful daughter, and the lovers agreed that, if MacMahon on his return showed hostility to Henry, the lady should hoist a black handkerchief on the west side of the Castle. O'Brien, returning from hunting, forgot to look for the signal, and was attacked on entering the courtyard, the gate being shut behind him. He rode his horse into the river, and swam across the creek, but was again attacked and wounded, his servant being killed. He laid a complaint before the Queen in person, and she outlawed MacMahon, and granted all his estate to O'Brien. Meantime MacMahon had fled to Dunboy, where he was accidentally shot by his own son.<sup>9</sup> So O'Brien on his return found all opposition at an end, and married the lady of his choice. This tale differs too much from history to be "book legend." It is true that MacMahon got into trouble for capturing Daniel O'Brien (brother of the Earl of Thomond), and that the estates were eventually granted to his prisoner, but the anger of the Crown against MacMahon arose from his capture of an English ship, and his relations with the rebel James "Sugan Earl" of Desmond. Teig MacMahon died in 1601.

In 1875 I heard a similar story about Dunlicka Castle from some of my brother's tenants at Moveen, near Kilkee. O'Brien of Carrigaholt fell in love with the daughter of MacMahon of Dunlicka. She used to hoist a flag on the Castle when her father was away, but the chief heard of it and himself gave the signal. O'Brien rode into the Castle and was attacked, but leaped his horse over the chasm of Poulmagat to the north of the Castle and escaped unhurt.

#### 10. *The Seventeenth Century.*

The only tale referring to the early years of this century is a bald one of Knockalough Castle on an islet in the lake of the same name near Kilmilie. "Torlough Roe MacMahon of Knockalough killed his wife and child with one blow."<sup>10</sup> The "hero" was living in 1611.

<sup>9</sup>This is probably an explanatory remark by Graham, and not local tradition.

<sup>10</sup>*Ordinance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 45.

*Maura Rhue*.—The most interesting group of tales is attached to Lemaneagh Castle, a fine, but bare, old mansion, with curious gardens, courtyards, fishpond, and outbuildings, between Inchiquin and Kilfenora.<sup>11</sup> An inscription over a gateway kept the remembrance green of Conor O'Brien and his wife Mary MacMahon, but the gateway has recently been carried off and rebuilt in a modern garden at Dromoland. The garden near the fishpond has a sort of summerhouse in one wall, with a niche on each side of the door, and tradition says that Maura Rhue (Mary O'Brien) built it for a famous blind stallion, so fierce that, when his grooms let him out, they had to spring up into the niches for safety.<sup>12</sup> Conor O'Brien built the gates to shut in the people of Burren, (for a road through the enclosures leads into that extraordinary mountain wilderness), and would let no one through who did not ask leave of him and of his wife; but one of the Burren gentry gathered a band of the inhabitants, broke the gates, and forced O'Brien to promise free right of way for ever.<sup>13</sup> "Maura,"—or, as she is known in East Clare, "Maureen" Rhue (Little Mary), or, by some English-speakers, "Moll Roo,"—used to hang her maids by their hair from the corbels on the old peel tower,<sup>14</sup> (the nucleus of the building). Others said that she cut off the breasts of her maids. I was told in 1878-81 that she married 25 husbands, all the later ones for a year and a day, after which either of the pair could divorce the other. She used to put her servants into all the houses of her temporary husband, and then suddenly divorce him and exclude him from his property.<sup>15</sup> She was a MacMahon and had red hair (whence her name), and she and Conor O'Brien used to ride at the head of their troops in the wars.<sup>16</sup>

Her descendants at Dromoland and elsewhere told, in 1839 and later, a curious story of her and Conor. General Ireton was

<sup>11</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxx., pp. 403-7.

<sup>12</sup> Collected by Dr. G. U. MacNamara.

<sup>13</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> At Lemaneagh in 1884, and also told by the Stacpooles.

<sup>15</sup> So Dr. W. H. Stacpoole Westropp in 1878, and Rev. Philip Dwyer in 1881.

<sup>16</sup> At Lemaneagh in 1884.

attacked by Conor O'Brien, who fell mortally wounded but would not surrender. His servants brought him back, nearly dead, to his wife at Lemaneagh. "She neither spoke nor wept," but shouted to them from the top of the tower,—“What do I want with dead men here?” Hearing that he was still alive, she nursed him tenderly till he died. Then she put on a magnificent dress, called her coach, and set off at once to Limerick, which was besieged by Ireton. At the outposts she was stopped by a sentinel, and roared, and shouted, and cursed at him until Ireton and his officers, who were at dinner, heard the noise and came out. On their asking who was the woman, she replied,—“I was Conor O'Brien's wife yesterday, and his widow to-day.” “He fought us yesterday. How can you prove he is dead?” “I'll marry any of your officers that asks me.” Captain Cooper, a brave man, at once took her at her word, and they were married, so that she saved the O'Brien property for her son, Sir Donat.<sup>17</sup>

Lady Chatterton's account in 1839<sup>18</sup> tallies with that above. She says that Ireton sent five of his best men, disguised as sportsmen, to shoot Conor O'Brien, and one of them succeeded in wounding him. Mary captured and hanged the man, called her sons and advised them to surrender to the Parliament, and set off in her coach and six as described above, the rest of the tale being closely like the Carnelly version.

At Lemaneagh it is added that one morning, after her marriage to Cooper, they quarrelled while he was shaving, and he spoke slightly of Conor O'Brien. The affectionate relict, unable to bear any slur on the one husband she had loved, jumped out of bed and gave Cooper a kick in the stomach from which he died.<sup>19</sup>

At Carnelly, in 1873 and later, it was told that Maureen Rhue was taken by her enemies, after killing the last of her 25 husbands, and was fastened up in a hollow tree, of which the site and, I think, the alleged roots were still shown. Her red-haired

<sup>17</sup> So Mrs. Stamer of Carnelly and others down to 1883. The tale was generally known to the various O'Briens and MacNamaras, and was kept alive by Maura's portrait still at Ennistymon, and a copy of it at Dromoland.

<sup>18</sup> *Rambles in the South of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 183.

<sup>19</sup> So Dr. G. U. MacNamara.

ghost was reputed to haunt the long front avenue, near the "Druids' altar" already noted,<sup>20</sup> when I was a child.

Cromwell (who was never nearer to Clare than the extreme southern border of County Limerick, fifty miles away) is said to have marched to attack Limerick along "Crummil's Road,"—not the road so named on the Ordnance Survey maps, but an old hollow lane, evidently of great antiquity, a little above it and on the top of the long ridge from Ardnataggle House to Ahareinagh Castle, to the west of Clonlara and to the north-east of Limerick City. He is reputed to have destroyed most of the ruined castles in south-east Clare, and to have knocked down Kilnaboy round tower with his guns. His men cut down the trees and killed the deer in the Deer Park of Lemaneagh. General Irayton (Ireton) was remembered for many acts of cruelty and violence in eastern Clare. Cromwell, or "an army of Cromwell," attacked the very curious stone fort called "the Doon" at Ballydonohan between Bodyke and Broadford; the army destroyed it, and went on to Galway by way of Scariff, and a sword was found there (Ballydonohan).<sup>21</sup> I believe I gave offence locally by saying that Cromwell had never been in Clare.

In 1877 Mrs. Stamer, who was then 77, told me that, when a girl, she had heard how the wife of Col. George Stamer, about 1650, was standing on the battlements of Clare Castle when her baby sprang from her arms into the river and was swept away. Ever since on dark and stormy nights the mother's ghost could be seen frantically searching along the bank. There is no basis for this story in the family records and pedigree.

Charles the Second has no place in Clare folk-tales, but the story I have already told<sup>22</sup> about the Westropp ring may be placed about 1670. Lady Wilde tells a legend of Querin<sup>23</sup> (which I have myself never heard in Moyarta parish), dated in 1670, but, if genuine, evidently of far earlier origin. On November

<sup>20</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> So Messrs. Denis Boulton and Daniel O'Callaghan at Ballydonohan. See also *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. (c), p. 395.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 52.

<sup>23</sup> *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (1888), pp. 27-9.

Eve a kern went to shoot wild fowl on the shore, and saw four men carrying a bier on which lay a body wrapped in white. He fired and the bearers ran away, and he found a beautiful girl apparently asleep. She neither spoke nor took food or drink for a year, and on the following November Eve her preserver overheard the fairies talking in Lisnafallainge fort, and learned that she was daughter of O'Conor Kerry and could not recover till she ate off her bier covering, which was her father's tablecloth. The kern broke the spell accordingly, and ultimately won her for his bride.

Sir Donat O'Brien of Lemaneagh looms large in the popular memory. He made the old straggling lane-way, traceable in fragments sometimes a mile apart, from Lemaneagh over Roughan hill and north-eastward through the barony of Inchiquin, and it is known as "Sir Donat's road." He bought Moghane Hill near his property at Dromoland for threescore cows and twenty bullocks.<sup>24</sup> His mother, Maureen Rhue, apprenticed him to a London goldsmith. When the later Civil War broke out, Sir Donat and his (apparently elder) brother, Teigie O'Brien, doubted sorely which side to support. At last Donat suggested that the brothers should take opposite sides, so that, whichever won, the family would have a friend at Court.<sup>25</sup>

The unfortunate James the Second was the object to the peasantry of contempt and dislike far stronger in story than aversion to his triumphant son-in-law. In Moyarta the loyal Lord Clare and his yellow dragoons (*Dragon buidh*) were remembered, and in 1816 a proverb ran,—“Stop! Stop! Yellow Dragoon,—not till we come to the Bridge of Clare, not till we come to the pass of Moyarta!” It was believed that the ghost of Lord Clare nightly drilled his phantom army before Carrigaholt, and the belief was not forgotten round Kilkee in 1875. Graham<sup>26</sup> heard that the ghostly dragoons were seen “to traverse “The West” in the winter nights, and plunge at the dawning of the day into the surge that foams round the ruins of Carrigaholt.” The drill field was said to have been to the east of the Castle, where the harbour lies and the great river breaks against the low banks, all having now

<sup>24</sup> Prof. Brian O'Looney, 1891.      <sup>25</sup> Chatterton, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 184.

<sup>26</sup> W. S. Mason, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 430.

been swept away. The Barclay family of Ballyartney had in Graham's time (1816) a definite legend of the war. Their ancestor, a clergyman, was expelled from his living, and his successor, a priest, was very strict in exacting security from Barclay for the payment of his tithe. In the summer of 1691 the priest objected to the securities offered, and Barclay left for home in low spirits. On his way he heard from Captain O'Brien of Ennistymon that the Irish army had been defeated at Aughrim. So he returned to the priest and offered as his security "the great King William," and threatened that if his tithe books were not returned in ten minutes he would have the intruder hanged on the high road of Kilmurry. Lord Clare's dragoons galloped through the village in confusion, confirming the news, and Barclay was reinstated.<sup>27</sup>

A ferryman at Kilquane named Macadam helped the Williamite "Dutch" army over the Shannon in 1691. He was richly rewarded, but, when he died, people cut on his tomb "Here lies Philip who lived a fisherman and died a deceiver." Down to about 1850 pious old people, when visiting Kilquane graveyard, used to pray at the Macadam tomb for the soul of the man "who sold the pass." An old poem on the stone exists,—“If all that were killed, O stone! by the dead man under thee were alive!”<sup>28</sup> There is no other documentary or epigraphical evidence to support the popular tradition. The place where William's army crossed the river, and shut off the city from Clare, is well-known. A great stone called Carrigatloura (*carraic an t slabhra*, the rock of the chain) is shown to which the pontoon bridge was fastened on the Clare shore.

William of Orange is in popular memory identified with the "violated treaty" of Limerick. The table on which that document was actually signed was long preserved, but ultimately the present treaty stone (an old mounting-block by the roadside),<sup>29</sup> became the subject of bogus tradition and undeserved tourist interest.

<sup>27</sup> W. S. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-2.

<sup>28</sup> Mss. *Royal Irish Academy*, 24, M 37. In fact the family of Macadam now in Clare was of good birth and fortune at the time.

<sup>29</sup> Capt. Ralph Westropp often used it when riding out of Limerick, and he and others often told me of their amazement when the treaty myth grew up.



Mrs. Stamer, of Stamer Park and Carnelly, heard from her husband's aunts, granddaughters of William Stamer, that the latter and his brother Henry Stamer of Lattoo, with a few soldiers, swooped down on Quin Abbey, surprising the monks and the people at vespers. The laity fled, but the priest continued the service till Henry Stamer dragged him away. The old man clung to the altar for a moment, praying that Henry might have no family and that William's name might die out in three generations of one male each. The Stamers then expelled the monks and burned the Abbey. The prophecy was not made *ex post facto*, as Mrs. Stamer assured me, but her only son predeceased her husband, who was William's grandson. The monks survived at Drim, in the neighbourhood of the Abbey, until 1828, when the last, Father John Hogan, died. I knew two persons who remembered him; he was buried in the cloister, where a long epitaph records his life, ending with the pathetic text, "*Qui seminat in lachrymis exultatione metet.*"

There was a tradition in the Ross Lewin family of Fortfergus and Ross Hill that the French landed at the former place, took all the butter out of the dairy, wrapped it in sheets, and burnt it and other things on the lawn. This agrees with an early deed of Du Guai Trouin, who, when a mere lad of twenty in 1692, entered the Shannon, sacked a *chateau* in Clare, and did not retire until a detachment of the Limerick garrison was sent against him.<sup>30</sup>

#### 11. *The Eighteenth Century.*

In 1839 it was told in Querin that, after King William had prevailed, MacMahon, one of Lord Clare's kerns, used to make plundering excursions to harry the English settlers. After many years spent thus, he robbed a retired soldier named John Meade, who gathered his neighbours and tracked the plunderers to a house in the woods. The pursuers tore off the thatch and leaped in, and a fierce fight ensued in the narrow interior. Meade was engaged with one of the bandits when MacMahon stabbed him in the side with a long spear, and he fell. The wounded man, however, in

<sup>30</sup> *Memoirs of Du Guai Trouin*, p. 6. Fortfergus (or Liskilloge) is a low picturesque ivied house near the Fergus.

his agony sprang up thrice as high as the cross beam of the roof before he fell dead. The other English were slain, and their bodies buried near the bank of the Shannon at Temple Meegh or Mead (*Teampul Meadhach*) near Querin, which since that time has only been used for the burial of strangers and unbaptized children.

Jack Cusack, "the priest taker," lived about the same time. He was High Sheriff in 1708, and became that most hated of persons,— a "protestant discoverer" under the penal laws in his own interests. But his only daughter married a Studdert and died childless, and all the lands Cusack had acquired passed then out of the hands of his family. When Cusack was buried at Clonlea near Kilkishen, according to tradition an enemy cut on his tomb,—

" God is pleased when man does cease to sin.  
Satan is pleased when he a soul doth win.  
Mankind are pleased when e'er a villain dies.  
Now *all* are pleased, for here Jack Cusack lies."<sup>31</sup>

The stone is said to have been broken or thrown into the lake near the church.

Tradition preserved the recollection of good as well as of ill, for I remember old people blessing the various families who had acted as friendly "protestant discoverers" and trustees, thus saving the lands of the O'Briens and of the MacNamaras. The tradition was true, for I have unearthed amongst long-forgotten papers<sup>32</sup> an account how Marcus Paterson befriended the Barretts, and F. Drew of Drewsborough and J. Westropp of Lismehan the O'Briens.<sup>33</sup> I have not been able to verify the saving of certain MacNamara

<sup>31</sup> M. Lenihan. *Limerick* (1866), p. 308. This verse has other attributions.

<sup>32</sup> At Edenvale and Coolreagh. It is only from private papers that the true character of a "protestant discovery" can be ascertained. The Law and its records, of course, regarded the trustee as the actual owner, and it depended entirely upon the personal integrity of him and of his successors whether the Roman Catholic owners enjoyed the benefits. However, such a trust was rarely broken, and its breach was never forgotten nor forgiven.

<sup>33</sup> Drew and Westropp took counsel's opinion, got a Dublin wigmaker to act as discoverer, bought up his rights, and then each leased the lands to the family for which he acted. When the Penal Laws were repealed, the trustees sold their rights to the true owners for small sums. The Barretts then repudiated sales made in their interest by Paterson, and so caused litigation lasting even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

estates by the Westropp's of Fortanne, as told in 1877, but the family papers there were burned.

To close my chronological series of tales I will tell, less fully than I have often heard it, a very horrible story of the period after 1700. A replica of Maura Rhue in the east of Clare used to dress as a man and rob and murder travellers on lonely roads through the woods and hills, sometimes shooting them from trees and throwing their bodies into a lake which was still pointed out by the peasantry some forty years ago. Her niece was suspected of admiring a handsome young Englishman who was their servant, and the family, fearing a love affair, consulted and, at the instigation of the virago (who had had a personal experience in her youth), determined to send away the young man. The fiendish woman advocated stronger measures, and at last carried her point. All the other servants and retainers were allowed to go to the great "pattern" at Holy Island, and the stranger was set to pull down the middle of a turf rick. As he was stooping to remove the last few sods, the aunt shot him with a pistol, and he fell senseless. The conspirators proceeded to cover him with the peats, but he made a feeble struggle and thrust out his hand. His murderess, on seeking to cover the hand, saw upon it a ring which she had given long before to her own lover to place on their son's hand when he grew up. She knew then that she had killed her own son, and dropped unconscious upon his body. Her brain gave way, and she remained imbecile until upon her deathbed, when she cursed her abettors. A terrible destiny, with many an untimely death, has followed down to our own time the family, which has long since left its old abode. Local tradition said that the skeleton of the son was found "some generations after, a hundred years ago" (from 1870), when peat was scarce and the rick was used up.<sup>34</sup> Round Tulla, however, it was said that the family burned the rick to get rid of the corpse, but that a storm arose and blew away the white ashes, so that the unconsumed skull and the ring carved with the family shield were exposed.

<sup>34</sup> See vol. xxi., p. 348. Ricks often remained for a long time, the upper part being replaced each season.

12. *Undated Tales.*

There are, of course, a number of tales that cannot be located in time, although sometimes attached to definite places, and other tales of a vague description.

Lisheencroneen, a splendid earthen fort with a deep fosse and high rings, lying near Doonaha in south-west Clare,<sup>35</sup> bore in 1815 the names of *Dun Athairre* (Doon Aheirc) and *Lios na fuadh*. Despite a very definite letter of Eugene O'Curry in 1835, the Ordnance Survey saw fit to give the name Lisfuadnaheirka to another ring fort, for which the peasantry knew no name, but I heard a vague tale of "a horned ghost" at the former.<sup>36</sup>

Knockaun Mountain, to the north-west of Lisdoonvarna, was called *Sliabh oighe h Airim* (or Slievyharrim, O'Harrim's mountain), say the *Ordnance Survey Letters*, after "Arim," a supposed son of Finn mac Cumhail, otherwise unknown.

The Matal (wild boar) and Faracat (a huge wild cat with a moon mark of white hair), already mentioned as appearing in a tale by Comyn in 1750,<sup>37</sup> possibly founded on folk-tales, have no place in present-day local story.

The lady Gillagreine<sup>38</sup> was the daughter of a mortal father and a sunbeam, and, when told of her ill-matched parents, sprang into Lough Graney, floated down the river Graney to Derrygraney, and was buried at Tomgraney (*i.e.* Loch Greine, Doire Greine, and Tuam Greine).

Near Sixmilebridge the tale ran that, in early days, Meihan mac Enerheny, a famous warrior, made the huge fort, or rather hill town, of Moghane<sup>39</sup> as a "fighting-ring" for himself. He

<sup>35</sup> *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxix., p. 121; *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, vol. i., p. 225. The original papers belong to Col. O'Callaghan Westropp of Lismehane.

<sup>36</sup> Vol. xxi., p. 343; *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., pp. 371 *et seq.* (Aug. 21st, 1835). Fuad is a personal name in the Dind Senchas (*Sliabh Fuad*, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvi., p. 51); but St. Moling was once pursued by a *fuad* or spectre (*Martyrology of Donegal*, s. June 17).

<sup>37</sup> Vol. xxi., pp. 183, 479.

<sup>38</sup> Vol. xxii., p. 186; *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. ii., p. 241.

<sup>39</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii.

would never allow his tribe to go to war until he had himself challenged and defeated all the enemy's chiefs. He reigned in great esteem from the Fergus to the Owennagarna river. In his fighting-ring he always gave his opponents the choice of the sun and wind, in despite of which he overthrew them all. There was no king, nor soldier, nor monster that he feared to fight. His admiring tribe gave him a gold-embroidered cap, and the name of Oircheannach (Golden Head), and he died unconquered.<sup>40</sup> I never heard this tale in the neighbourhood of the fort. It seems artificial, and based on a folk-derivation to flatter the MacInerneys; it is perhaps genuine, though late.

The tale in *The Monks of Kilcrea*, about the country from Inchiquin to Moher, is not found amongst the people, and is, I think, a pure invention by the anonymous author<sup>41</sup> of that pleasing poem.

One townland was transferred from Kilrush to Kilmurry parish, although embedded in the former. Tradition said that this was done because the abbot of Iniscatha, and his vicar at Kilrush, did not attend there during a pestilence to administer the last sacraments to the dying. The vicar of Kilmurry, hearing this, faithfully attended the victims, and the bishop afterwards assigned the townland to him and his successors as a reward.<sup>42</sup>

The little stone circles and little cairns on Creganagh Hill in the Burren were, from the name, the centre of an early *Aenach*, (fair, or tribal assembly), but Borlase<sup>43</sup> heard that they were memorials of a battle. Neither Dr. MacNamara nor I were told this at Castletown or Cruchwill, near the hill. The historic battles of Clare (with the exception of Corcomroe, Dysert, Clare Abbey, and Kilconnell) have no legends, so the battle-fields of Luchid, Magh Eir, Craglea, the Callow, Drumgrencha, Bunratty, Spansel Hill, Beal an chip, and Quin do not figure in this paper, nor do the sieges of Bunratty or Ballyalla.

The octagonal pillar called the "Leacht" of Donoughmore O'Daly stands on the shore of Oyster Creek opposite to Muck-

<sup>40</sup> Collected by Prof. Brian O'Looney, 1860-70.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Fitzgerald Geoghegan.

<sup>42</sup> W. S. Mason, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 493.

<sup>43</sup> *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 809.

innish. Tradition in 1839 made O'Daly a brother of the sorcerer Macamh of Iniscreamha, County Galway.<sup>44</sup> I heard that he was the head of Corcomroe Abbey, and he was probably one of the Finvarra O'Dalys of the seventeenth century.

I have now set out all the quasi-historic tales of County Clare that have come within my reach, but, although I have collected them from childhood, and with careful diligence during the last thirty years, I am sure that many more might still be gathered. I have even heard of "probable people" near Carrigaholt and in the hills between Tomgraney and Killaloe who had stores of "old tales" (though I fancy *stories* rather than histories), but whom I have been unable to approach.

To record carefully and without leading questions is very slow work, but the result, even if bald, is of course far more valuable than matter polished into attractive shapes or procured through intermediaries possibly untrustworthy.

There is a great temptation to "tell a good story," and I have always discounted the testimony of those who appeared to yield to it, while regarding as invaluable the old people who repeated simply and crudely what had been handed down to them. I have indicated my sources as far as possible, and, where manuscripts and books have been used, I have tried to help the reader to assess their value. I may add that my feeling is to distrust the form, rather than the substance, of the tales supplied by Croker<sup>45</sup> and Lady Wilde, but to trust Graham. The *Ordnance Survey Letters* I believe to be most reliable. My own collected material is only employed when I consider it trustworthy. So I have now brought home the sheaves I have reaped in the hope that others may be impelled to garner what is still left standing before it perishes or is trampled down.

THOS. J. WESTROPP.

<sup>44</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 32. The tale perhaps arose from a certain Donough O'Daly writing a poem to the shade of a sorcerer who was one of the Tuatha Dé Danann.

<sup>45</sup> Except the "soul cages," for which see *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, 1914, pp. 122-3.

## BRECONSHIRE VILLAGE FOLKLORE.

Most of the tales and old sayings related below by Miss E. B. Thomas of Llanthomas, Llanigon, were told to her, exactly as given, by Anne Thomas, wife of the gardener of Llanthomas, a native of Llanigon, who died in 1905, aged 81 years.

Llanigon is a parish in the county of Brecon, and extends from the summit of the Black Mountains almost to the banks of the Wye. The range of the Mountains separates it from Monmouthshire, and Herefordshire forms another boundary. The two nearest towns, Hereford and Brecon, are each about 18 miles away. The land is entirely agricultural, cut up into small farms, which become sheep-runs on the higher slopes of the mountain. The village is a cluster of houses around the church and school. The population has decreased from 596 in 1821 to 323 in 1911. As might be expected, education is very backward, owing to the isolated position of the houses and the distance which many of the children have to come to school. The Welsh language has not been spoken for nearly a hundred years, although the inhabitants have all the physical and mental characteristics of the Welsh people, and the names of the places are universally Welsh or of Welsh origin,—such as “Wenallt” (white height), “Tymawr” (great house), “The Celyn” (holly), “Penlan” (the high place), “Maesygarn” (meadow of the cairn), etc. It has been claimed that Llanigon is derived from “Llan” (a church) and “Eigen,” daughter of Caractacus, who is said to have lived at the close of the first century at Trefynys, (now Llanthomas). There is a well at the end of Mr. Connop’s workshop, not far from the church, called still St. Eigen’s well.

Superstition dies very slowly in the place. The laws now prevent tampering with graves, so that the several forms known of “laying a ghost” are no longer practised. Miss George told me that this could be done by turning the corpse in its coffin with the face downwards. There seemed a general belief that the ghost of Joseph Arndell troubled the parish. His tombstone is in the churchyard, and inscribed “Joseph Arndell, died Aug. 27, 1768, aged 60 years.” During his life he had the reputation of being an unbeliever, and spent his Sundays in irrigating his property of

Penywrlodd. Six neighbouring clergy therefore met after his death, armed with candles and books, "to read him down." A form of spell was read to bring the ghost to the spot. It arrived in the form of a bellowing bull, which frightened five of the parsons into fainting-fits. The sixth continued his incantation, whereupon the bull dwindled in size. "Why are you so fierce, Mr. Arndell?" said the parson. "Fierce I was when I was a man, but ten times fiercer now that I am a devil," replied the bull. The ghost continued to dwindle in size until it became as small as a fly. Whereupon the parson secured it in a box, and threw it into a well in the wood above Penywrlodd. Then the parish had peace.<sup>1</sup>

On the banks of the brook Cilonow a tall plant of medicinal properties, with large yellow blossoms, called Elecampane (*Inula Helenium*), grows in masses. An old woman selling salves in the streets of Brecon was heard to sing the following rhyme, about fifty years ago, by Mr. Jones, the farmer of Llanthomas,—

"Elicampane sy'n gwella i'r hen  
 Eli Trefynnon a'i gwella yn union  
 Eli Treflint a'i gwella yn gynt."  
 (Elicampane will cure the old.  
 Eli (the salve) of Trefynnon (Holywell) will cure directly.  
 Eli (the salve) of Treflint (the town of Flint) will cure sooner.)

The belief in charms is still universal. One person, however, usually claims only to have power over one, or perhaps two, diseases, and they all declare themselves powerless over rheumatic affections. Neither thanks nor payment in money are permitted. Faith on the part of the patient is the one thing required, and it is not always necessary that the patient should see the charmer. The spell may be exercised if the name and description of the person and of the disease be given. A gift in kind generally finds its way to the home of the charmer later on. Williams, a gardener who has been for some years in America, told me that he got rid of 150 warts by stealing a piece of meat, rubbing the warts with it, and then burying it. The warts disappeared within six months. He was cured of hernia by a man named Alcott, although a doctor (whose name he gave) had failed to cure him. This man

<sup>1</sup> Rev. W. E. T. Morgan, *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, 1898, p. 39.



rubbed the place, repeating the Lord's Prayer. A trussed chicken was despatched later to Alcott's house.

Williams also claimed to have the power of finding water with the aid of a hazel stick. He said that he found water for two farmers in America, and that this nearly resulted in a lawsuit. When the second farmer sank his well, the water from the first farmer's well disappeared. On investigation, it turned out that water from the same source supplied both wells.

Mr. Phillips, wheelwright, of Brookside, Llanigon, claimed to have cured Alice Lewis' toothache by giving her the following charm to wear round her neck :—"As Peter stood at the gate of Jerusalem, Jesus saith unto him, "What aileth thee?" He said, "My teeth do ache." Jesus said, "Whosoever carrieth these lines about them, or beareth them in memory, shall never have the toothache any more, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen! and Amen! So be it according to thy faith. Alice Ann Lewis." This written charm was brought to me by Mr. Connop, a son-in-law of Mr. Phillips.

I was told the names of several men now living,—James Greenhow, and Mr. Howells of Peterchurch, for example,—who claimed to have the power, and still exercised it, of stopping the flow of blood, and curing the sprained limb of an animal.

Crishowell was a cluster of houses in the parish, now in ruins.

M. E. HARTLAND.

*Crishowell People and their Nicknames.*

Above Brynglessy's house, right side of lane, "Old Birdie Peggy." A garden between two houses. Mrs. "Shake-rags" lived; four boys and husband. Well! then you go on up to top of Crishowell. There Mrs. Job [Sarah Evans] did keep shop. Then Hannah Thee lived next; five sons, three daughters, husband. You do go on to old Pally and old Nancy, and John her brother. (They was living together.)

Left was old Jenny Toulsin, and Jack Toulsin her husband, and one daughter. And old Toddy lived next; one daughter. Mrs. Hobby and husband lived next, more higher than old Toddy. And the next, Mrs. Perrett, and William Walker; her did keep a servant,—name Jane Dolly, of Dolly's Plock. Old Mrs. Perrett

kep' Walker as a Bailie. Jenny Toulsin made an oven of clay to make bread, and, if it cracked, she would dab another wet lump on it; and Jenny Toulsin did make balls of wood-ashes to make lye to wash, and people did buy 'em of her. Mrs. Hobby was a lady, she kep' a school. She wore white satin shoes at the christening of Henry Prothero [Anne Thomas' brother].

There was old John Jones, and Jenny Jones, for his wife. Kitty Davies also. Betsy, Jenny Jones' daughter, married Toddy. He was a wicked man, because he cut down all the young birches and nut-trees on a Sunday. What sprigs were over, poor old Jenny would burn 'em and make nice white ashes. The children all about Crishowell sang this song about "The Green Jiner," as old Toddy was called. (The Green Jiner used to cut birches, and make whiskets and besoms.)

"On Crishowell the Green Jiner did dwell,  
By his neighbours he's known very well,  
Lying and canting, and kicking up strife,  
Beware of the Duke and the Duchess his wife!"

Old Sarah Evans, who kept the shop at Crishowell, did use the Blue-freestone from Crishowell quarry, and *stone* [*i.e.* draw patterns of] all manner of birds, and old women, and strokes, and diamonds.

There's a noted well at Crishowell, called "The Stockett Well." There is no well there now, I doubt! There was a Pound at Crishowell.

#### *Moll Toot.*

There was Moll Toot. She lived up the village, where Lettice Bowen used to. She made an agreement with her husband before she married him that she would never do a single thing for him; no more she did. She used to wear a very large poke bonnet, covered over with black silk which had got grey with age; it was nearly as big as an umbrella. The poke was nearly half a yard long in front, and the head at the back was long, like a man's hat, and touched the poke in front. Her hair was sandy and twisted in loops in front. She had a neat little white cap on all round the face, and a white muslin handkerchief tied across in front. She wore a yellow buff dress, and always had bright polished shoes

tied with string, and she wore pattens if it was the driest day in summer. She always kept a brush in her pocket for the purpose of keeping her shoes bright, and when any one passed her door she always shook a white cloth after them, to shake off the dust. She was always a neat little body.

*Sayings.*

Them as do wear a hole in the middle of the shoe, they'll never want bread.

He is a lawyer! As sharp as a needle with two points.

The boldest person is the one that gets on in the world the best; they didn't use to; they have no dew on their tongue.

Of a little take a little, for you're welcome to,  
Of a little leave a little, 'tis manners so to do.

There's plenty of mushrooms for an old song now.

It do fill their eyes just for a moment, and something will come and take it away, [said when damsons were stolen].

A galloping horse will see no hole in it, [said of an old shawl with holes in it].

It's a sorrowful wind that'll blow nothing.

The Radnorshires are peacocks when they come, but like pigeons at home, [said of Radnorshire people].

Price of the Wenallt did say,—“I trod on a lucky stone when I come over the Wye.”

Once good, twice bad.

Never push a man when he's going down the hill.

He who takes what isn't his'n, when he's cotched is sent to prison. [Almost universal in England.]

Mrs. L. of Llanigon village met Mrs. M. and saw she had a red flower in her hat, and told Mrs. M. to take it out, saying,—“We belong to the Mothers' Union, and must dress quietly. You are like an ould yow dressed lamb-fashion.” [A Yorkshire saying.]

A rum old saying, but I believe it is true,—“Them as isn't to do, shan't do!” I can prove it to be true! If I do sit up late and rise yarly, and work all the hours the Lord have sent for me, I shall never get rich. I've read that in the Tracts too, and mother did say if her did get up to three-pence halfpenny, her

was back to threepence, her never could get to a groat. Her'd lose a caulve or something.

She must have the bean for the pea, [in bargains].

She would skin a flint, and spoil a sixpenny knife by it.

Down with the lambs, up with the lark,  
Run to bed, children, before it is dark !

Out of the fashion, out of the nation.

A dainty little dame,—you canna touch her with a hop-pole !

A rotten chip can run downhill easy enough, but coming back is the main !

I wonder what they are doing in London to-day, for we are very busy here.

When any one is slow and don't look sharp, it is "Jack behind Mary !"

The *folied* [foolish people] from Capel-y-ffyn did go out with bags to catch the moon. They said it was a cheese.

Anne Prothero and her brothers and sisters used to say of a peony,—“The ould hen is dropping her feathers.”

A good contriver is an early riser.

A little help is worth a lot o' pity.

A timber-man [who loads a timber-waggon] has never need of a lawyer to make his will.

I must speak well of the bridge as do carry me safe over,—like the old man said.

Nothing is too hot or too heavy for a thief.

He that will steal a pin will take a bigger thing. [Universal.]

Keeping a [servant] girl and finding her food, that'll take the shine out of the gingerbread.

It is the yarly crow<sup>2</sup> that eats the late un's breakfast.

She'll do where the crows do starve.

Where there are three children,—two to fight, and one to part 'em,—that's nice.

Whatever is young learnt is never old forgot.

The cold wind in March was called Heirloom. There was a man went to a cottage to ask for a bit to eat, and she said she had a bit of cheese in the house. Her husband had kep' it for Heirloom. The man said,—“My name is Heirloom.” The poor

<sup>2</sup> Pron. to rhyme with row (a quarrel).

woman was took in, a bit. The husband was keeping it for bad weather.

I should think we should have no more snow, unless it is some lamb-snow, [meaning snow coming in April].

When the mist is hanging up on the Allt wood, the children used to say,—“Old Rhys [of] the Bwlch is boiling his pot, and it will soon boil over.”

The sun and the wind do meet at three o'clock. [Sign of rain.]

New Year's tide, the days lengthen a cock's stride.

Candlemas Day, all candles away.

Where the wind was on the 21st of March, there it would be till the 21st of June.

Ould March is never out till the 12th of April.

A cold May makes a full barn.

If her [missel-thrush] do sing in January, her'll cry afore May.

The first cock of hay, the cuckoo goes away.

I went away on Michaelmas Day,  
And left my barn full of corn and hay.

I came again at May,  
And it was all cliterdy, cloterdy, all gone away! (Of the swallow.)

Never come Lent, never come winter.

The wasps leave their nests on the 26th of August.

December, the dark month afore Christmas.

Plant and prune,—the increase of the moon.

“I love to marry while the bloom is on my face.” Girls used to say that. “She have left the sun gone over the hill.”

You mustn't tread hard on a bear's foot, else er'll turn on you by and by, [said of a wife keeping away from her husband too much].

#### *Funeral Custom.*

When the mother-in-law of Mrs. Lewis of the Celyn was buried,—she lived in a funny old house on the left-hand side before you go to the bridge beyond Celyn,—they was pulling the plum-cake out of the oven, which was out of doors, and breaking lumps and giving it to everybody. Anne Thomas was then a tiny girl, and had a piece given her which she dropped, as it was too hot, but afterwards put it into her pinafore.

*Flowers.*

The Rose de Meaux was all over picks [thorns]. Anne Thomas' mother used to say to the children,—“Don't you touch that rose. It killed one lady.” A young lady had the choice of three husbands to marry, and she wouldn't do as her father did wish her, so he did put the gardener to choose for her. The gardener said,—“I will choose you the violet, the lily, and the pink.” (She had one in her eye besides those three.) Then she said,—“I refuse the three, but in June the red rose buds, and that is the flower for me. The willow-tree did twist and the willow-tree did twine, and I wish I was in the arms of the young man that has the heart of mine.” She married him, but he wasn't good to her. She wasn't happy, and so she died.

An old carpenter named Phillips, who died in 1903, told me that old people call monkshood “mother's nightcap,” and the corn blue-bottle (*centaurea cyanus*) “devil-in-the-bush”—(his body surrounded with scales, the scales of the old serpent, brimstone torches, plain enough too! And his brazen face in the midst!)

*Calendar Customs.*

Rhymes sung at the New Year :—

New's gift, New's gift,  
 I wish you merry Christmas and a happy New Year.  
 A pocket full of money, And a cellar full of beer,  
 A good fat pig to last you all the year !  
 The roads are very muddy, My shoes are very thin,  
 I've got a little pocket to put a penny in.  
 If you've not got a penny, a ha'penny will do.  
 If you've not got a ha'penny, God bless you !

The cock is in the holly-bush, the hen came clucking by.  
 Please give me a New's gift, or a Christmas pie.

*May Day.*—When Anne Thomas was a *lump* [good-sized child], the oak-boughs was by the Swan. Boughs was put up each side the door, two sprays, and above the porch. Spillman was there then. The same thing was at public-houses up the street. “Agin the First of May,” old women, and Anne Thomas' mother, and even herself, ran about after whittun-tree [mountain ash] and

birch, and put it above every door, even the beast house, to keep the witch out ; and every outside must have a bit of a sprig. At the works in Llanigon parish there would be a large tub of water, with rosy-cheeked apples in ; and boys had to try and catch them.

*Harvest.*—Stephens of the Sheepphouse used to try and get his wheat in before others had hardly begun, and gave his men bottles of drink to go on the Tump above Penglommen and holloa “Harvest home !” About ten men went after the first load was brought in, and they’d echo the whole parish, shouting “Harvest home !” If the last load did slip, there was no goose for the men’s dinner.

*Parsnip Day.*—William Thomas called the twenty-first day of December “Parsnip Day,” and remembers, when he was a boy, his mother always gave them parsnips on that day. It was an old Welsh custom. Mrs. Davies remembered an old aunt of hers always had parsnips on Parsnip Day.

*Llanigon’s Feast.*—This Feast took place on the first Sunday after the 20th of September. Farmers ’ud give milk on Saturday in earthen jars, according to what they could spare. At Pot Street (village lane) there was a biggish arch, going down to the two houses, and a big oven facing the road ; two women ’ould bake in it at a time, and heps of rice puddings and apple tarts were made there agin the Feast, and if you had any ducks before the Feast, they was gone, unless they was locked up. The blacksmith’s shop was then a public, and seats were all round the wych-elm there, and a table with drink, and a woman would come up with cakes and nuts from Hay, and sell them. All this went on on a Sunday. Cakes and nuts were sold again on Monday. Young people mostly came on the Sunday, and every servant would come home to the Feast. On Monday night farmers and married people would go and dance,—old Betty Humphreys and old Rhoda Newell ; the latter would bring servant-fellers from Court O’Llowes. People would come from the two publics, and begin to wrestle and fight. The orchard at the blacksmith’s shop was just full with men. At one fight old Nancy Walker carried her husband a quart of beer, and said,—“Fight on, Jack, I’ll carry thee bones home in my apron, before thee be beaten.”

Old blind Ukin played the fiddle at these Feasts for the people to dance, and his daughter did carry it and often played at the

Swan. A blind harper from the Harp at Glasbury played the harp also at these Feasts, and carried it by a string on his back.

#### *Dances.*

Quarterly dances in Llanigon parish took place in the time of Anne Thomas' mother. "It did go round. Mother was at the old Veralt-house by Pencaecock. She was there at a dance. There was young people going there. Old Tom Masta did fasten the door, as they couldn't come out. There was a window, but no cagement. He was angry, because his sweetheart was there. Him did holloa,—“Herrings for breakfast to-day!” Some one let them out.

Four or five places they had dances in,—Cilcovereth one, Llwynmaddy, “The old Veralt,” The old Public. For the dance, six men one side, six girls the other. In the dance, “Haste to the Wedding,” old blind Ukin stamped his feet. “Up the middle and down the sides,” he said. The girls had short-sleeved frocks, and arms as red as roses, and frocks half-way down the leg. They had low-necked dresses with a white handkerchief under, up to the neck. For the dance Anne's mother and all the women wore bob-tail dresses, two breadths, and tied up behind, in a bob-tail, and a good petticoat to show, which cost more than the dress. All married people would go on a Monday evening to the dance, but wait till old Mrs. Lewis, [of] the Celyn, did come down to open the ball,—sometimes with old Rhoda, who was then young and smart. Old Mrs. Lewis used to dance on her toes. Miss Lewis was a *lump* then,—ten or twelve years old. It was like the rule of the country: they must all go to the Monday dance. They had “Bonnets of Blue,” “Swansea Hornpipe,” and “The Cushion Dance.” For this last one, a young man and a young woman kneeled down on the cushion, and kissed one another before every one, and they always locked the door, else the girls would be running out. The fiddler would lock the door to have his sixpence or threepence all round. For the “Bonnets of Blue,” it was “Hays-round, three turns round, and gig-like.” Old Nancy Walker used to come in and say,—“Hooray for the Bonnets of Blue!” The old fiddler did stamp his feet, and say,—“A cross out and a figure in, and round me and back again.”



*Custom when some old women got behindhand with their rent.*

“An old widow, say Mary Jenkins, would come round we servants at the farm-houses, and ask we to come and have a cup of tea at one shilling apiece, servant-girls and servant-men, and bring the whistle-pipes, and dance after our tea. Then they'd count the money up, and see if enough to pay rent, and, if not enough, they would go round and say,—“Sixpence, please.” And some would have shaking dice for a couple of fowls. They was jolly good servant-men in those days. Some married people would come too, to help the ole woman on,—Nancy Walker and old Betty Hemp, from Cilcovereth. At Llwynmaddy there would be a tea-party. There was a tea-party at Fforddilas at Jones' (Tregoyd bailie's) house, where Mrs. Bounds lived, and they did bring nine gallon of beer there. Betty Hemp had a bottle of gin, and they gave her a sixpence apiece for some; her husband was always making hemp; he was called Harry Hemp. A dozen places tea would be at. They would have a bit of plumcake hot out of oven, and bread and butter.

*Fairies.*

When Anne Thomas was a girl, the children and she were all warned never to go inside a fairy-ring. “When we was going to school, in the Celyn's meadow, there was fairy-rings, and grand-father did say we must mind and not put our foot inside the fairy-rings, else the fairies would have us. And we was afeard in our heart to put our foot inside, afeard the fairies would get hold of we. And they said there was music and dancing and fiddles at night. A man did come home from the Hay fair, drunk, and had cakes in his pocket; and, hearing the music, he stepped in the ring to them, and there he danced. And he would not tell how many years he had been inside there. And when he came out he came to where he thought his home was, and they was all gone, and there was no-one there.”

*Folk-Tales.*

*Story of old Tyucha.*—Old Tyucha,<sup>3</sup> as she was always called, lived at Graswell. She used to go to the market at Hay, so had

<sup>3</sup> *Ty ucha* (the upper house) was the place where the old lady lived, not her personal name. It is quite common in Wales to speak of a person by the name of his residence.

to pass the Boiling Well. She always came with a tall stick in her hand. She used to wear an old close-fitting calico cap, and the border did come to pin under her chin, and a sort of a straw hat on her head. She always came to Hay in a greatcoat with a cape on it, and used to wear a shawl over her shoulders as well in the winter. The hair of the horse used to come off on the greatcoat; no skirt was seen. Old Tyucha had to pass the Boiling Well, where the spirit was always to be seen, dressed in white. She always left Hay in good time, so as not to pass the Well when it was dark, for fear she should see the spirit. The white lady used to jump on her horse with her at the Boiling Well till she did ride to her own house with her. Then she did lose her at once.

*Story of Stoke Edith.*—Two ladies wished to buy Stoke Edith, and could not decide, so got two wood-lice and put them to race together on a table. One lady tried to push on hers with a pin to win the race, but the wood-louse turned over on its back, so the other won the Stoke Edith estate. They kept a clown,—Will-fool-a-ham,—to amuse them, and he used to swing up and down on a tree-bough over a pool of water. And one day the carpenter sawed nearly through the bough, so that, when the clown got on to amuse the people, he fell into the pool, and was so angry he determined to revenge himself. He went on when the carpenter was asleep, and caught hold of an axe and cut his head off, and said “he did not know where the carpenter would find his head when he awoke, as he had hidden it in the shavings.” Then he hid himself in a bolting of straw. And the pursuers came after him, and one called out,—“I can see you, Will,” and he said,—“You are a liar, you can’t!” Then they collared him, and took him before the judge. But they could make nothing of him, and thought him out of his mind. And the judge ordered one of the warders to reach him a knife, and said,—“Hand me that knife, my man,” and he pushed the blade at the judge, and they judged him insane. And he saved his head!

*Story of a Serpent at Mordiford (Herefordshire).*—At Mordiford a serpent came out of the wood, and used to go to the river to drink, and people was afraid of him, and put a reward for any one who should kill him. And one man volunteered to do it, and

got into a hogshead, and put the end back, and his gun through the small hole. And waited till he came, and shot him, but did not kill him outright. And the serpent put his venom into the hogshead, and killed the man. This happened about 150 years ago.<sup>4</sup>

*The Mouse and the Basin.*—There was an old man breaking stone, and a gentleman did come by, and the man told him he was bound to work, as he had ten children to keep, and the gentleman asked him,—“How did ’er find a living for them all?” “By making much of the youngest always.” “That is too hard a work for you. I will keep you.” Well! then he said he should come away to his seat, and then he would send money for his wife and children. And, when the poor man came to the seat, the gentleman did charge him he was not to touch that basin. And the poor man did rise it to see what was under him, and off goes the live mouse, and the gentleman couldn’t trust him, and then him had to go back to his stone again.<sup>5</sup>

#### Miscellaneous.

*Ladybird.*—Anne Thomas used to count the spots on a lady-bird’s back, to see how many years she should be married. William Thomas used to call it “Little Red Cow.” As a boy he used to put one on his hand, and say,—“Are you going to fly, or are you going to fall?” If it flew away, it was going to be fine; if it fell, it was going to rain.

*Marriage.*—Young men wanting to find out the savingest wife did go and see all the kneading-troughs, and that one as he could find no waste on it, that was the savingest one.

*Handsel.*—In selling a pig or something, say,—“Please to give me a Honsal for luck. You must gie me a Honsal.” Old Duffee used to say,—“If I’d give him a halfpenny, he’d be lucky all day, her’d sell.” “I shall go well all day,” her’d say.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mrs. E. M. Leather, *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Jacobs, *More English Fairy Tales*, p. 109.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### THE RELIGION OF MANIPUR.

(*Supra*, pp. 409-55.)

Colonel Shakespear raises two questions in his paper on which I venture a comment. He appears to consider that I estimate wrongly the value of the Meithei Chronicles, and he differs from my statement that the real nature of the religion of the Meitheis is animistic.

First, what have I said about the Meithei Chronicles? In a note to vol. iii. pt. iii., p. 21, of the *Linguistic Survey of India* it is stated that "Mr. T. C. Hodson mentions the Ning-thau-vol [vol is correct], or history of the kings of Manipur, in which the first touch of history is dated 1432." In *The Meitheis* (p. 9) I describe the period about 1000 A.D. as a period before history of any real authenticity begins. As to traditions, I find that in *The Nāga Tribes* I use the expression, "we may regard as very largely true anything that tells against their pretensions. There can be no doubt that much of what we find in the chronicles is hopelessly exaggerated." In my paper on "Meithei Literature" in *Folk-Lore* (vol. xxiii. p. 2) I say of the Chronicles that "Their historical value is really much greater than many people are willing to allow. . . . I am profoundly convinced that by the strictest modern tests there is plenty of good history here, and much of it is good direct history. There are dates, precise dates,—year, month, and day,—to satisfy the most exigent modern dryasdust historian." I find nothing here to vary or to modify, so I will leave the matter, only adding the remark that I agree with those who find it necessary to call us back to more cautious methods in dealing with traditions and myths. Too often are legends accepted at their face value as

conclusive evidence of actual occurrences. What they do prove is the habit of mind of the people who invent them and accept them as gospel truth. They indicate that the institution or custom which the legend explains and justifies has come to be recognized as standing in need of an explanation or of justification. What has forced this on their notice is not infrequently contact with some alien culture.

I now come to the second and much more difficult matter. Let me quote a passage from *The Meitheis* (p. 96), where I said that "It is not sound to regard these beliefs as "survivals" despite the official superstratum of Hinduism which exists in Manipur, solely in its exoteric form, without any of the subtle metaphysical doctrines which have been elaborated by the masters of esoteric Hinduism. The adherence of the people to the Vaishnavite doctrines which originated in Bengal is maintained by the constant intercourse with the leaders of the community at Nadia. It is difficult to estimate the precise effect of Hinduism on the civilisation of the people, for to the outward observer they seem to have adopted only the festivals, the outward ritual, the caste marks, and the exclusiveness of Hinduism, while all unmindful of its spirit and inward essentials." Finally, after a passage which I quote with complete agreement from the high authority of Colonel McCulloch, for 27 years Political Agent at Manipur, who married a Manipuri lady and was a most competent linguist, I make the statement to which Colonel Shakespear objects, that "In Manipur, where Hinduism is a mark of respectability, it is never safe to rely on what men tell of their religion; the only test is to ascertain what they do, and by this test we are justified in holding them to be still animists."

In order to demonstrate to me the error of my ways Colonel Shakespear has collected a singularly valuable mass of facts, some entirely new to me. He admits that the Manipuris differ from the orthodoxy of Hinduism in : (i) child marriage, (ii) widow marriage, and (iii) the freedom of women. Divorce is common in Manipur. After all, Hinduism still attaches great importance to these points. Only on their own definition of caste can the Manipuris be considered within caste. Babu Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya in his great book on Indian castes does not mention the Manipuris,

which is rather important as evidence of the position they really hold in the 'caste' system. The Raja, not the Brahman, is the supreme source of authority in matters of social discipline, a fact for which there are parallels from elsewhere in India. I have expressed as strongly as I knew how the view that the Manipuri reverences the cow, which is almost the only point where practice and theory are in accord in Manipur. I admit the acceptance by the Meitheis of Hindu practices in regard to food (*op. cit.*, p. 47), and I agree with the dictum that the Manipuris readily adhere to these food rules because they "desire to mark the difference between themselves and the Hill Tribes whom they despise." Quite so. Hinduism is respectable.

Colonel Shakespear and I are not likely to agree because our point of view is naturally different. He came to Manipur from the Lushai Hills, but I came comparatively fresh from the plains. What struck us both was the difference between the religions of the people with whom we were familiar. Colonel Shakespear attributes the difference to Hinduism, and he is of course perfectly right. I attribute it equally to the prevalence and persistence of animism, and I think that I no less certainly am right. Another factor is that the social polity of the Manipuris is well advanced, and is reflected in the superior organisation of their divinities. But I am not going to run away from the difficulty of defining the essentials of Hinduism. I have read the actual census reports, which discuss the question. A passage from Dr. Barnett's suggestive little book on Hinduism is quoted, but Colonel Shakespear does not quote Dr. Barnett's assertion which follows on the same page, that "The kernel of Hinduism consists of two groups of ideas. The first of these is the conception of a social order or caste system, at the head of which stand the Brahmins as completest incarnation of the Godhead and authoritative exponents of its revelation. Secondly, we have a series of ideas which may be summed up in three words—'Works' (*karma*), wandering (*samsara*) and release (*moksha*)." Sir Herbert Risley's famous epigram that "Hinduism is animism more or less transformed by philosophy or magic tempered by metaphysics,"<sup>1</sup> is also quoted by Dr. Barnett, only a page further on. If philosophy and metaphysics are of the

<sup>1</sup> *J. C. R. J.* (1901), p. 357.

essence of Hinduism they are absent from Manipur; at least they are not touched upon in Colonel Shakespear's paper, save by the statement that the educated Manipuri would come up to the Travancore standard of the belief in *karma* and up to the theism of the Mysore Census Report. Are we to regard only the educated class of Meithei as Hindu? Thanks to Colonel Shakespear education has made great progress in Manipur since I left the State twelve years ago, and I am prepared to believe that there are more people there now than then who understand the meaning of *karma* and are theists. But even yet they are surely a small minority,<sup>2</sup> and I can well imagine that a man may understand and believe the doctrine of *karma* and remain at heart and in practice an animist. Neither the belief in *karma* nor in reincarnation are after all characteristic of Hinduism. What is characteristic is the social ideal of *mukti*, the orientation of the belief in reincarnation, its importance in the scheme of life, and that again is after all an expression of social ideals in another mode.

The only scrap of evidence of theism in Manipur in the paper is the statement that the enumeration by the *maiba* of all the animals used on every occasion of sacrifice without regard to which particular god is being addressed permits the inference that the *Umanglais* are thought only to be different forms of one almighty Creator. That ingenious argument I have heard used by Hindus in like case, but it is an error. The real, and much the simpler, explanation is, I think, that, as any evil can be averted by naming the proper spirit, it is essential that "the roll of spirits should have no omissions." One can "make assurance doubly sure by naming all."<sup>3</sup>

Animism in India is described by Sir Herbert Risley as "an essentially materialistic theory of things which seeks by means of magic to ward off or to forestall physical diseases, which looks no further than the world of sense and seeks to make that as tolerable

<sup>2</sup> The Hindus of Manipur are the least literate of all Hindu groups in Assam. See table in *Assam Census Report* (1911), p. 92, Subsidiary Table III.

<sup>3</sup> See F. B. Jevons, Introduction to *Plutarch's Romane Questions*, p. lvii., and E. Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, p. 177 and footnote to p. 178.

as the conditions will permit.”<sup>4</sup> As a definition it will do. It fits the facts collected by Colonel Shakespear admirably.

I note with interest that in Burma, where the state of affairs is very similar to that in Manipur, the *Census Report* quotes Mr. Lewis to the effect that “Animism supplies the solid constituents that hold the faith together, Buddhism the superficial polish. Far be it from me to underrate the value of that philosophic veneer. It has done all that a polish can do to smooth, to beautify, and to brighten, but to the end of things it will never be anything more than a polish. In the hour of great heart-searchings it is profitless as the Apostle’s sounding brass. It is then that the Burman falls back upon his primaeval beliefs. Let but the veneer be scratched, the crude animism that lurks must out. Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Burman stands forth an animist confessed.”<sup>5</sup> I do not commend this picturesque persuasive style, and I prefer my own way of putting it,—that what the Manipuri does shows him to be an animist. Colonel Shakespear tells us that H.H. The Raja exhibited the same consternation when his stone at Santhong’s *lai-pham* shifted from the perpendicular as did the Nāgas of Marām when the Public Works Department began to break up some of their memorial stones for roadmetal.<sup>6</sup> So, then, H.H. The Raja reverts “in the hour of great heart-searchings” to non-Hindu practices, employs a non-Hindu priest to set things straight to prevent disaster, and, in fact, displays the faith and the imagination of a Nāga. In Hinduism itself there is a large amount of animism. “It would be fruitless,” says Sir Herbert Risley,<sup>7</sup> “to attempt to distinguish the two streams of magical usage, the Vedic and the Animistic.” “The Vedas themselves are one source of the manifold Animistic practices which may now be traced all through popular Hinduism.”

But, thanks to Colonel Shakespear and to the official maintenance of the old religion, we can distinguish in Manipur with some degree of accuracy between the elements which the life of

<sup>4</sup> Other definitions are to be found in E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i., p. 426, in *Indian Census Reports*, 1901, pp. 350 *et seq.*, *Bengal Census Report*, 1901, p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Burma Census Report*, 1911, p. 94. <sup>6</sup> *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 188.

<sup>7</sup> *Indian Census Reports*, 1901, p. 358.



the people has received from Hinduism and those which it has retained from the days when their forefathers were as the Hill people now are. As regards the things that are seen, the Manipuri is—to a great extent—a Hindu, but when we get below the surface, to the real man, I firmly assert that “Let but his inmost vital depths be touched, the Manipuri—like the Burman—stands forth an Animist confessed.”

There are one or two minor matters which I venture to criticise, but only in a spirit of very great gratitude for the care and sympathy with which the facts have been collected and the skill with which they are recorded and presented to us. I was not wrong when I said that “There is yet a rich harvest to be gathered in, and, if the workers are few, their labour will be justified by its reward.”

The names of the goddesses and their offspring preserve the archaic form of the feminine, *nu*, which is found in cognate dialects to this day.<sup>8</sup> *Bi* (or *pi*) is not only used in modern Meithei as the feminine suffix, but as in other dialects it is the honorific or magnitive suffix.<sup>9</sup>

The details of the human sacrifice recorded by Colonel Shakespear have great interest for me, because I failed to elicit any definite information on this very point. Some parallels between the Meithei belief in Pākhangba and the Khasi belief in U Thlen were noted by me.<sup>10</sup> I stated, too, that I had been told that in dire extremity the blood of some captive would bring rain.<sup>11</sup>

I cannot agree with the orthography of *chei-taba*. It should, I think, be *chahi taba*.<sup>12</sup> The main thing, surely, is the selection of the person who gives his name to the year, and for that year (*chahi*, year) determines the fortune of the State. No doubt all sorts of methods of divination are employed on this occasion, rhabdomancy among them, but without stronger reasons than those that are advanced here I am not prepared to abandon a form which, though difficult of explanation, has behind it the great authority of Colonel McCulloch.

T. C. HODSON.

<sup>8</sup> *Lushei Grammar*, p. 154, s.7.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *The Mikirs*, p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> *The Meitheis*, p. 101.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> See McCulloch, *Account of Munnipore etc.*, p. 57, and *The Meitheis*, pp. 104 *et seq.*

## SILBURY HILL.

It is, I believe, a generally accepted fact that Silbury Hill, in Wilts, not far distant from Avebury, is an artificial mound. But the following account of its origin may be new to many of the readers of *Folk-Lore*. It was told me by a native of Melksham, whose family has been settled thereabouts for at least three centuries, and has handed on the tradition from generation to generation:

“When Stonehenge was builded, a goodish bit after Avebury, the devil was in a rare taking. “There’s getting a vast deal too much religion in these here parts,” he says, “summat must be done.” So he picks up his shovel, and cuts a slice out of Salisbury Plain, and sets off for to smother up Avebury. But the priests saw him coming and set to work with their charms and incusstations, and they fixed him while he was yet a nice way off, till at last he flings down his shovelful just where he was stood. And THAT’S Silbury.”

Only those who have seen Silbury can appreciate the size of that shovelful.

ROBT. M. HEANLEY.

## VEHICLE MASCOTS.

The hundreds of volumes of specifications of patents for inventions seem such an unpromising field of search for folklore, even in its twentieth-century forms, that two inventions for vehicle mascots, of which specifications were printed in 1910 and 1912 respectively, are probably worthy of record in *Folk-Lore*.

Specification No. 29301 of 1909 describes mascots consisting of lay figures or articles, (such as figures of policemen, soldiers, eagles, dragons, and lighthouses), in which the eyes or other parts are illuminated by electric light and may change colour, while the heads, arms, or other parts may be adapted to move.

Specification No. 980 of 1912 describes means whereby mechanical action is imparted to movable members of mascots representing policemen, soldiers, etc.

A. R. WRIGHT.

## REVIEWS.

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LES FORMES ÉLÉMENTAIRES DE LA VIE RELIGIEUSE. Le Système Totémique en Australie. (Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine.) Par E. DURKHEIM. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912. 8vo, pp. 647. Carte. 10 fr.

It is superfluous to draw the attention of students to the importance of Prof. Durkheim's new work, for the appearance of a large volume from the pen of the leader of the French sociological school is a scientific event. The group of savants connected with *l'Année Sociologique* has achieved remarkable success in dealing with problems in primitive religion, and we have to thank it especially for the essays of MM. Hubert and Mauss on Sacrifice and Magic, and the articles of M. Durkheim on the Definition of Religious Phenomena, Classifications in Primitive Thought, and Totemism, and of M. Hertz on Funerary Rites.

To Prof. Durkheim the religious is the social *par excellence*. The distinctive characters of social and religious phenomena practically coincide. The social is defined, in *Règles de la méthode sociologique*, by its "exteriority to individual minds," by its "coercive action" upon individual minds; the religious, which is also "external" to individual minds, by its "obligatoriness."<sup>1</sup> It is obvious, therefore, that the present volume is of special importance, being the systematic and final expression of the best organized sociological school extant on a subject specially important to, and specially well-mastered by, this school.

There is yet another reason why this book should particularly arouse the interest of the sociologist. It is Prof. Durkheim's first

<sup>1</sup> See "Sur la Définition des phénomènes religieux," in *l'Année Sociologique* vol. ii.

attempt to treat a "problem of origins" of such a fundamental and general social phenomenon as religion. In his methodological work, *Règles de la méthode sociologique*, he has strenuously insisted upon the treatment of social phenomena "as things," upon the necessity of excluding all forms of psychological explanations from sociology.<sup>2</sup> This postulate undoubtedly appears to many a rule rather artificial and barren in its practical applications,—and especially to British anthropologists, who prefer psychological explanations of origins; and this volume enables us to judge as to the success of his method.

The book has several aspects and aims. It attempts to state the essential and fundamental elements of religion, being thus a revision of the author's former definition of *the religious*; it investigates the origins of religion; it gives a theory of totemism; and it is designed as a substantial contribution to philosophy.

All these problems M. Durkheim seeks to solve by an analysis of the beliefs of practically one single tribe, the Arunta. His keen eye detects in the facts we owe to Messrs. Spencer and Gillen much that is not patent to a less acute mind, and his researches through their two volumes, completed by the records made by Mr. Strehlow, yield him an abundant crop of theoretical results. Nevertheless, to base most far-reaching conclusions upon practically a single instance seems open to very serious objections. It is extremely dangerous to accept any people as "the absolutely primitive type of mankind," or as "the best example of elementary forms of social organization and creed," and to forego the verification of conclusions by other available instances. For example, when M. Durkheim, in trying to determine the fundamental aspect of religion, finds it in an universal and absolute bipartition of men, things, and ideas into "sacré et profane," (pp. 50 *et seq.*), he may refer to a well-known passage by the Australian ethnographers,<sup>3</sup> and, in fact, a sharp division of all things into religious and non-religious seems to be a very marked feature of the social life of Central Australian natives. But is it universal? I feel by no means persuaded. In reading the detailed monograph by Dr. and Mrs. Seligmann about the Veddas, no such division is suggested as exist-

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Table of Contents, cap. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 33.

ing among that extremely primitive people. Again, it would be difficult to maintain the existence of such a separation amongst the Melanesian peoples of whom we have very copious records. This may be due to a gap in our information, but, anyhow, it is not admissible to base a system upon a mere assumption, instead of on certain knowledge.

One does not feel quite easy, also, about the assumption of totemism being the elementary form of religion (liv. I, cap. iv.), especially as here again we find the investigation limited to the beliefs of the Central Australians.

Prof. Durkheim's theory of totemism is that the essence of totemism lies in the totemic symbol and badge, and that the sacredness of the totem is derived from the sacredness of the badge. A reconsideration, from this new point of view, of the problem of totemism, grown slightly wearisome owing to "totemic hyper-production" in recent times, cannot fail to be stimulating. M. Durkheim and his school accept, as is well-known, Dr. Marett's theory of preanimism. The totemic principle, the totemic force, is for Prof. Durkheim akin in nature to *mana*. This principle, inherent in the first place in the totemic badge and symbol, then in the species, and then in the clansmen, is thus explained:—"Le dieu du clan, le principe totémique, ne peut donc être autre chose que le clan lui-même, mais hypostasié et représenté aux imaginations sous les espèces sensibles du végétal ou de l'animal qui sert de totem" (p. 295). Undoubtedly this is a very interesting conception of religion, foreshadowed in our author's former works, in which so much stress is laid on the social nature of the religious,—but here plainly expressed for the first time.

M. Durkheim proceeds to show how it comes about that society is the real substance, the *materia prima*, of the human conception of divinity. "Une société a tout ce qu'il faut pour éveiller dans les esprits, par la seule action qu'elle exerce sur eux, la sensation du divin; car elle est à ses membres ce qu'un dieu est à ses fidèles" (*Ibid.*). Again, "parce qu'elle a une nature qui lui est propre, différente de notre nature d'individu, elle poursuit des fins qui lui sont également spéciales; mais, comme elle ne peut les atteindre que par notre intermédiaire, elle réclame impérieusement notre concours" (*Ibid.*). Let us note that here society is

conceived to be the *logical subject* of the statement; an active being endowed with will, aims, and desires. If we are not to take it as a figure of speech (and M. Durkheim decidedly does not give it as such), we must label it an entirely metaphysical conception. Society conceived as a collective being, endowed with all properties of individual consciousness, will be rejected even by those sociologists who accept a "collective consciousness" in the sense of a sum of conscious states (as it is accepted, for example, by Messrs. McDougall, Ellwood, Davis, and, partly, by Simmel and Wundt). But, a few pages further, we read a statement which seems to allow of another interpretation. Speaking of "*manières d'agir auxquelles la société est assez fortement attachée pour les imposer à ses membres,*" he says, "*Les représentations qui les expriment en chacun de nous ont donc un intensité à laquelle des états de conscience purement privés ne sauraient atteindre; car elles sont fortes des innombrables représentations individuelles qui ont servi à former chacune d'elles. C'est la société qui parle par la bouche de ceux qui les affirment en notre présence*" (p. 297). Here we stand before a dilemma: either this phrase means that "social ideas" possess a specific character, because the individual who conceives them has the consciousness of being backed up by society in his opinion, in which case the statement is perfectly empirical; or the statement implies the conception of a non-empirical action of society upon the individual consciousness, in which case it conveys no scientific meaning.

The writer expresses himself again on the subject, from the genetic point of view,—"*En un mot, quand une chose est l'objet d'un état de l'opinion, la représentation qu'en a chaque individu tient de ses origines, des conditions dans lesquelles elle a pris naissance, une puissance d'action que sentent ceux-là mêmes qui ne s'y soumettent pas*" (p. 297). Here the author stands in front of the real problem. What are these specific social conditions in which arise "social consciousness," and consequently religious ideas? His answer is that these conditions are realized whenever society is actually gathered, in all big social gatherings:—"*Au sein d'une assemblée qu'échauffe une passion commune, nous devenons susceptibles de sentiments et d'actes dont nous sommes incapables quand nous sommes réduits à nos seules forces, et quand l'assem-*

blée est dissoute, quand, nous retrouvant seul avec nous-mêmes, nous retombons à notre niveau ordinaire, nous pouvons mesurer alors toute la hauteur dont nous avons été soulevé au-dessus de nous-même" (p. 299).

This answer is somewhat disappointing. First of all, we feel a little suspicious of a theory which sees the origins of religion in crowd phenomena. Again, from the point of view of method, we are at a loss. Above we had been dealing (with some difficulties) with a transcendental collective subject, with a "society which was the creator of religious ideas": "Au reste, tant dans le présent que dans l'histoire, nous voyons sans cesse la société créer de toutes pièces des choses sacrées" (p. 304). Then society was the divinity itself, *i.e.* it was not only creator, but the object of its creation, or at least reflected in this object. But here society is no more the logical and grammatical subject of the metaphysical assertions, but not even the object of these assertions. It only furnishes the external conditions, in which ideas about the divine may and must originate. Thus Prof. Durkheim's views present fundamental inconsistencies. Society is the source of religion, the origin of the divine; but is it "origin" in the sense that "the collective subject . . . thinks and creates the religious ideas"? This would be a metaphysical conception deprived of any empirical meaning; or is society itself the "god," as is implied in the statement that the "totemic principle is the clan," thought under the aspect of a totem? That reminds one somewhat of Hegel's Absolute, "thinking itself" under one aspect or another. Or, finally, is society, in its crowd-aspect, nothing more than the atmosphere in which *individuals* create religious ideas? The last is the only scientifically admissible interpretation of the obscure manner in which M. Durkheim expounds the essence of his theories.

Let us see how our author grapples with actual and concrete problems, and which of the three versions of "origins" just mentioned he applies to the actual facts of Australian totemism. He starts with the remark already quoted about the double form of the social life of the Central Australian tribesman. The natives go through two periodically changing phases of dispersion and agglomeration. The latter consist chiefly, indeed, almost ex-

clusively, of religious festivities. This corresponds to the above-mentioned statement that crowd originates religion: "Or, le seul fait de l'agglomération agit comme un excitant exceptionnellement puissant. Une fois les individus rassemblés, il se dégage de leur rapprochement une sorte d'électricité qui les transporte vite à un degré extraordinaire d'exaltation. . . . On conçoit sans peine que, parvenu à cet état d'exaltation . . . l'homme ne se connaisse plus. Se sentant dominé, entraîné par une sorte de pouvoir extérieur qui le fait penser et agir autrement qu'en temps normal, il a naturellement l'impression de n'être plus lui-même. Il lui semble être devenu un être nouveau: les décorations dont il s'affuble, les sortes de masques dont il se recouvre le visage figurent matériellement cette transformation intérieure, plus encore qu'ils ne contribuent à la déterminer . . . tout se passe, comme s'il était réellement transporté dans un monde spécial, entièrement différent de celui où il vit d'ordinaire. . . . C'est donc dans ces milieux sociaux effervescents et de cette effervescence même que paraît être née l'idée religieuse. Et ce qui tend à confirmer que telle en est bien l'origine, c'est que, en Australie, l'activité proprement religieuse est presque tout entière concentrée dans les moments où se tiennent ces assemblées" (pp. 308, 312, 313).

To sum up, theories concerning one of the most fundamental aspects of religion cannot be safely based on an analysis of a single tribe, as described in practically a single ethnographical work. It should be noted that the really empirical version of this theory of origins is by no means a realization of the "objective" method, in which M. Durkheim enjoins treating social facts as things and avoiding individual psychological interpretations. In his actual theory he uses throughout individual psychological explanations. It is the modification of the individual consciousness in big gatherings, the "mental effervescence," which is assumed to be the source of "the religious." The sacred and divine are the psychological categories governing ideas originated in religiously inspired crowds. These ideas are collective only in so far as they are general, *i.e.* common in all members of the crowd. None the less we arrive at understanding their nature by individual analysis, by psychological introspection, and not by treating those phenomena as "things." Finally, to trace back the



origins of all religious phenomena to crowd manifestations seems to narrow down extremely both the forms of social influence upon religion, and the sources from which man can draw his religious inspiration. "Mental effervescence" in large gatherings can hardly be accepted as the only source of religion.

But, while one is bound to criticize certain points of principle in Prof. Durkheim's work, it must be added that the work contains in a relatively small bulk such thorough analyses of theories of religious facts,—several of which, of first-rate importance, are original contributions by Prof. Durkheim or his school,—as could only be given by one of the acutest and most brilliant living sociologists, and that these by themselves would make the book a contribution to science of the greatest importance.

B. MALINOWSKI.

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THE LOST LANGUAGE OF SYMBOLISM. An enquiry into the origin of certain letters, words, names, fairy-tales, folk-lore, and mythologies. By HAROLD BAYLEY. 2 vols. Williams & Norgate, 1912. Svo, pp. x + 375, viii + 388. Ill. 25s. *n*.

A RECENT Chinese minister to this country contended, in a magazine article, that Europe would soon follow the example of China, abandon all attempts to represent by writing the temporary sound of words, and base a universal written language of the future upon pure symbols of ideas. However this may be, it is certainly the case that in the last generation and a half there have appeared a host of works on emblems and symbols, of which the best-known are those of Inman, Goblet d'Alviella, and F. E. Hulme. During the current year several additions have been made of books on animal and floral symbolism in architecture and art. The present volumes have a much more ambitious aim than these departmental studies, for their publishers claim that they "will be for Symbolism what Frazer's *Golden Bough* is for Religious Anthropology"!

To many minds symbolism is a fascinating study, and to some it is a dangerous one by its temptation to read recondite meanings into simple signs and scribbles, and to find a lofty philosophy in the crude designs of the savage. Where the symbol-users are far

removed from ourselves in time or culture, or are unknown, we may grope for their intentions without much reason to expect success, and cup-and-ring markings and other ancient patterns will long supply us with material for dubious discussions and lengthy (and very dull) dissertations.

In his first chapters Mr. Bayley seeks to show that paper marks and printers' marks were originally not merely trade-signs but hieroglyphs embodying a mystic tradition of vast antiquity. In chap. viii. we arrive at the tales in Miss Cox's *Cinderella*, which are continually referred to throughout the rest of the work. (In view of this frequent quotation it is odd that one of the few misprints we have noticed is in Miss Cox's Christian name, p. 179). *Cinderella* is held to be a solar allegory, of which there are indications and parallels in *The Song of Solomon*, and in chap. ix. we have a study of *Cinderella's* changes of raiment. After *Cinderella* come discussions of the worship of the Queen of Heaven; eye symbols; bull and other animal symbols; the Heavenly Twins; horses, pigs, and dogs in symbolism, mythology, and tales; the sign of the cross; the tale of Atlantis and fire customs; stones and rocks; plant and tree symbols; dragons, hands, crowns, etc. Throughout all this are distributed over 1400 text illustrations of paper and printers' marks (mainly from the 16,000 examples in Briquet's *Les Filigranes*), and the author, taking all knowledge for his parish and ranging from the arms of Marylebone to Peruvian sun festivals, gives us a riot of suggested roots, and derivations, and comparisons. He allies Peru to the Slavonian god Perun or Perkunas (vol. i. p. 311), and equates the Spanish Perez with the Old Testament Perizzites (p. 311), and Frazer with Pharaoh (p. 320); Pankhurst is compared with the town name of Panuca or Panca in ancient Mexico. It is a pity that the author should treat Mr. F. W. Bain's charming stories as if they were real translations of Hindu Mss., and frequently quote Churchward's *Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man*<sup>1</sup> and Le Plongeon's extraordinary Maya derivations.

Such a book as this it would be unjust to dismiss with a few words of casual criticism or of easy ridicule of some of its innumerable details, while it is obviously impossible to discuss

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. xxi., pp. 525-7.

within reasonable limits such an enormous mass of classified material. It is a monument of painstaking industry like Higgins' *Anaclypsis* or Donnelly's *Atlantis* and *Ragnarok*. No one interested in symbolism can afford to neglect it, and it should appeal alike to seekers after something new by its startling speculations, and to serious students as a quarry of laboriously-accumulated facts.

ISLANDICA. An Annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University Library. Vol. V. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MYTHICAL-HEROIC SAGAS. By HALLDÓR HERMANSSON. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Lib., 1912. Pp. ix + 73.

THE very useful bibliography of Icelandic material issued by the Cornell University Library is continued in this volume, which adds the legendary sagas to the Icelandic, Greenland, and Norse historical sagas, and the Laws, dealt with in the previous volumes. These Fornaldar Sögur, belonging to the decadence of saga-writing, contain a large spurious romantic element; but there is much genuine mythological material to be sifted out, and the tales of foreign origin often provide interesting variants. The bibliography is very thorough, and the arrangement admirably clear.

L. W. F.

ETHNOGRAPHY (TRIBES AND CASTES). By Sir ATHELSTANE BAINES, (in *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*). Strassburg: Trubner & Co., 1912. 8vo, pp. 211. 10s. *n*.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE MANTRAS. By P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR. Madras: Srinivasa Varadachari, 1912. Sm. 8vo, pp. x + 140. 2s. 6d.

TANTRA OF THE GREAT LIBERATION (Mahānirvāna Tantra). A Trans. from the Sanskrit, with Intro. and Comm. By A. AVALON. Luzac & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. cxlvi + 360. 10s. *n*.

HYMNS TO THE GODDESS. Translated from the Sanskrit. By A. and E. AVALON. Luzac & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. xii + 180. 4s. *n.*

THE HOLY LAND OF THE HINDUS. By the Rev. R. L. LACEY. Robert Scott, 1913. Large cr. 8vo, pp. xii + 246. Map + 24 ill. 3s. 6d. *n.*

THE long-felt want of a compendious account of the ethnography of India is, to a large extent, satisfied by the work of Sir A. Baines. He is well qualified to undertake the arduous task, having been in charge of the Census of the Bombay Presidency in 1881 and of the India Empire in 1891. Beginning with a brief ethnological introduction, he passes on to a historical and descriptive account of the social organization. He then considers the Castes and Caste-Groups under the heads of Brāhmins, Rājputs, Trading Classes, and Writer Castes. Turning to the village community, he discusses in turn Landholders, Specialized Cultivators, Cattle-Breeders, and Village Craftsmen. Then come the Subsidiary Professional Castes, such as Bards, Astrologers, and Priests. Then he takes up the Urban and Nomadic Castes, and Hill Tribes, and ends with the Mohammedans. The book thus gives a bird's-eye view of the Indian people. It suffers under the disadvantage that these groups are not homogeneous,—for a certain class of artizan in the Panjab may be of very different rank from the same workmen in Madras. It contains a large amount of well-arranged material, which is naturally more complete in the region,—Bombay and the Deccan,—with which he is best acquainted. In other parts of the Empire he has consulted the best authorities, of which Mr. W. Siegling has provided an excellent bibliography. Needless to say, the book is full of valuable comments on ethnographical problems, but in the text there is a complete absence of references, and, strangely enough, the reader is forced to wade through a mass of detail without the aid of an index or ethnographical map.

Mr. Srinivas Iyengar's book is an excellent example of the useful work which native scholars are qualified to undertake. It may best be described as a summary of the religion and sociology of the Vedic Age. The writer brings together under each head of

his subject translations of the original texts, with adequate references. I do not know of any other book which does the same service in so clear a way. The author, a South Indian scholar, of course writes from the Dravidian point of view, and tries to show that the contributions of the Aryans to Indian culture and belief were inconsiderable. He is thus in direct conflict with the school of Max Müller and Risley. If it may be argued that he has perhaps overstated the Dravidian case, it is much to the purpose that the excessive pretensions of Aryanism should be discounted. The writer promises to extend the survey to the later periods of Indian history. If this future work maintains the high standard of the present book, he will have done good service to students of Indian religion and sociology.

Mr. Avalon is greatly daring in attempting an English version of the Tantrik literature describing the beliefs of the Śākta sect, worshippers of the Mother-Goddess. This body of literature is little known to European students, partly because the subject is repulsive, and partly because its followers are reticent in communicating or interpreting their sacred books. In the present volume, amidst much verbiage and puerility, the reader will find valuable accounts of domestic and temple ritual. A full introduction and commentary clear up most of the difficulties. In the Hymns there is some tolerable poetry, and, as the authors say, no translation can reproduce the rhythm of the original. We know so little of the cult of the goddess Devī that this version of the hymns in her honour is welcome.

Mr. Lacey served for twenty-one years in the Baptist Mission to Orissa. In his foreword he promises "a little religious folklore"; but what he does give is not of much interest. Most of his space is occupied in describing mission work and in denouncing the idolatrous worship of Jagannāth and other local deities. Orissa is one of the strongholds of orthodox Hinduism, and, as might be expected, mission work is carried on under serious difficulties. It is to be regretted that the writer gives so little from his own stores of information. He knows Puri well, but he is content to quote largely, with due acknowledgment, from Sir W. Hunter's work on Orissa. He notices with regret that the god at Serampore has recently been provided with a new iron car,

built by an European firm in Calcutta, and we are therefore not surprised to hear of a suggestion that the temple of Jagannāth should be furnished with electric light. The old god is clearly very much alive, and determined to keep his concern up to date!

W. CROOKE.

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SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

MANNIN. A Journal of Matters Past and Present relating to Mann. Nos. 1-2. Douglas: S. K. Broadbent & Co., 1913. Ill. 2s. 3d. *p.a.*

ALL folklorists with pleasant memories of delightful Man, and all who wish to aid the collection of fast-vanishing British folklore, should subscribe to this admirable journal, the first numbers of which include charms, old Manx airs, folk-songs, and other folklore.

THE JĀTAKA, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. INDEX VOLUME. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1913. 8vo, pp. 63. 5s. *n.*

MANY large collections of tales lose much of their usefulness because they have no index, or, like Burton's *Arabian Nights*, an index which does little more than ring the changes on story titles which often give no suggestion of the tale itself. The six volumes of the splendid Cambridge translation of the *Jātaka* are made enormously more valuable by this index volume. It appears to satisfy most ordinary requirements, and all storyologists should be deeply grateful for this excellent example of the work of that ill-requested, and often unthanked, benefactor, the indexer.

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 THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
 c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON,  
 3 ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

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1898. Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W., per J. H. Quinn, Esq.
1890. Chicago Public Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1898. Chicago University Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1890. Cincinnati Public Library, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1912. College Hall Library, Byng Place, Gordon Sq., W.C., per Miss Eileen O'Rourke.
1894. Columbia College, New York, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1879. Congress, The Library of, Washington, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1890. Cornell University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1890. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1906. Dundee Free Library, per A. W. Steven, Esq., 95 Commercial St., Dundee.

1894. Edinburgh Public Library, per Hew Morrison, Esq., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
1890. Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore City, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1893. Erlangen University Library, per W. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1911. Fulham Public Library, Fulham Rd., S.W., per W. S. Rae, Esq., Librarian.
1901. Giessen University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1883. Glasgow University Library, per J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.
1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per E. M. Barrajo, Esq., Librarian.
1878. Harvard College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1904. Helsingfors University Library.
1904. Hiersemann, K., 3 Königstrasse, Leipzig.
1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.
1911. Illinois University Library, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Imperial University Library, St. Petersburg, per Voss Sortiment (Herr G. W. Sergenfray), Leipzig.
1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
1901. Institut de France, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 31 and 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.
1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1904. Jersey City Free Public Library, New Jersey, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Johannesburg Public Library, per J. F. Cadenhead, Esq., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, per S. J. Tennant, Esq., Treasurer.
1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.

1911. Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A., per Mrs. C. W. Whitney.
1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per H. Jones, Esq., Central Library, Kensington, W.
1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per G. F. Stevenson, Esq., LL.B., 11 New St., Leicester.
1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33<sup>o</sup>, etc., 10 Duke Street, St. James', S.W., per J. C. F. Tower, Esq., Secretary.
1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.
1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A.
1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.
1913. Malvern Public Library, per H. L. Whatley, Esq., Council Offices, Malvern.
1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.
1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey Street, W.C.
1908. Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, U.S.A., 10th St. Above Chestnut St., Philadelphia, U.S.A., per T. Wilson Hedley, Esq.
1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1905. Minneapolis Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, North St., Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian (per J. D. Borthwick, Esq., City Chamberlain).
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, Pallazo Dell Esposizione, via Nazionale, Rome, Italy, per Dr. Lamberto Loria, Secretary and Librarian.
1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.



1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per Walter K. Jewett, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1913. Nordiska Museet, Stockholm, 14, Sweden, per Visen Lewin, Esq.
1911. North Staffordshire Field Club, per W. Wells Bladen, Esq., Fairlie, Stone, Staffs.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.
1911. Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Neb., U.S.A., per Miss E. Tobitt.
1911. Oriental Institute, Vladivostock, per Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., W.C.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.
1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per C. S. Jago, Esq., 18 Seaton Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

1903. Portsmouth Public Library, per A. E. Bone, Esq., Borough Treasurer.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.
1894. Röhrscheid, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1908. Royal Dublin Society, per Arthur H. Foord, Esq., Leinster Ho., Dublin.
1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
1888. St. Helens Corporation Free Library, per A. Lancaster, Esq., Librarian, Town Hall, St. Helens.
1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
1908. San Francisco Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. H. Limbrick, Esq., Sub-Librarian.
1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
1891. Swansea Public Library, per S. E. Thompson, Esq., Librarian.
1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.
1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.

1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per A. R. Elwes, Esq., Hon. Sec.
1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.
1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.
1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria, Melbourne Place, Strand, W.C.
1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F. Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.
1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.
1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A., per W. J. James, Esq., Librarian.
1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.
1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per E. B. Baker, Esq., Librarian.
1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.

ADDENDA OF MEMBERS (*March*, 1913).

1913. Bussell, The Rev. F. W., B.Mus., D.D., Brazenose College, Oxford.  
1913. Cornford, Francis M., Esq., Conduit Head, Madingley Rd., Cambridge.  
1913. Harrison, Miss Jane, Newnham College, Cambridge.  
1913. Humphreys, John, Esq., F.S.A., 26 Clarendon Rd., Edgbaston, Birmingham.  
1913. Keiller, Alexander, Esq., 13 Hyde Park Gardens, W.  
1913. Kipling, Rudyard, Esq., The Athenæum Club, S.W.  
1913. Langdon, Stephen, Esq., 17 Northmore Rd., Oxford.  
1913. Legge, Miss, 3 Grove St., Oxford.  
1913. Marett, Miss J. M., La Haule Manor, St. Aubin's, Jersey.  
1913. Morrison, Miss Sophia, Manx Language Society, Peel, Isle of Man.  
1913. Murray, Prof. George Gilbert, M.A., 82 Woodstock Rd., Oxford.  
1913. Porter, Miss Grace Cleveland, Whitehall Hotel, 18 Montague St., Russell Sq., W.C.  
1913. Roscoe, F., Esq., M.A., Sec., Teachers' Registration Council, College of Preceptors, Bloomsbury Sq., W.C.  
1913. Urquhart, F. F., Esq., Balliol College, Oxford





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