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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. XXXII.—1921



Alter et Idem

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# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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VOL. XXXII.]

MARCH, 1921.

[No. I.

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**WEDNESDAY, 17th NOVEMBER, 1920.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE  
CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Prof. F. Boas and Dr. Oscar Montelius as Hon. Members, and of Prof. Stanley Roberts, Mr. H. Lewis, Mr. H. C. Holder, Major T. Reay, Miss Ryder, Mr. W. J. Perry, and Mr. W. O. Beaumont as Ordinary Members was announced.

The resignations of Lord Algernon Percy, Mr. W. R. Halliday and Mr. T. H. Vines were also announced.

The President read a paper entitled "The Statues of Easter Island," and a short discussion followed, in which Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge took part.

The meeting terminated with the usual vote of thanks.

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**WEDNESDAY, 15th DECEMBER, 1920.**

MR. A. R. WRIGHT (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Joce, Dr. Ernest Jones and Mr. Kino Yanagito as members of the Society, and the enrolment

of the Manchester University Library as a subscriber was announced.

The resignations of the Countess of Caithness and Mr. Jarman and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Institut de France were also announced.

Mr. G. R. Carline exhibited an Egyptian box with a figure resembling a snake on the top and something in the nature of a mummy cloth enclosed.

Miss A. Werner read a paper entitled "Some Notes on Zulu Religion from the MSS. of the late Bishop Callaway," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, the Rev. T. Lewis, Prof. Baudis and Mr. Josiah T. Gumede took part.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Werner for her paper and to Mr. Carline for exhibiting his Egyptian box.

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## FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

DURING the year the attendance at the meetings has been well maintained. The meetings have continued to be held at 8 p.m., as in pre-war days ; and experience has shown that a larger attendance is secured at that hour than in the afternoon.

Twenty-one new members have been enrolled during the year, and four libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Five members have died, including Dr. W. H. Furness of Delaware and Professor Paul Postel of Vienna. There have been fourteen resignations. The number of names on the roll of the Society should, therefore, be 402, as against 396 a year ago ; but the subscriptions of some of those whose names appear upon the roll are three or more years in arrear, and many of the 1920 subscriptions are still outstanding, so that it is difficult to state with any degree of accuracy what the effective strength of the Society at present is. The Council earnestly appeal to all those who are in default to remit to the Secretary what is due from them at the earliest opportunity.

In view of the continued high cost of paper and labour, and the consequent inability of the Council to issue an additional volume each year, as had been their invariable custom down to and including the year 1914, it is of vital importance that the numbers of the Society should be increased if it is to continue to carry on its work as efficiently as in the past. The Council are therefore about to issue a circular letter setting out the aims and objects

of the Society with the view of making its work more widely known, not only at home, but throughout the British Empire, and also in the United States of America; and it is hoped that their appeal may be crowned with some measure of success in the near future.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year was £376 19s.—£4 4s. more than in 1919. Interest on investments and on money on deposit amounted to £35 13s. 10d.; and the income of the Society from all sources to £531 15s. 8d. It is a matter for congratulation that sales of the Society's publications realized £90 16s. 9d., as against £32 os. 11d. in 1919; and it is hoped that the revenue from this source may during the year 1921 considerably exceed the pre-war level. *Folk-Lore* cost £316 8s. 2d., as against £243 os. 3d. The Society's investments remain unchanged, but their value, as at December 31, 1920, was £615, as against £695 on the 31st December, 1919. The balance to the credit of the Society, however, has fallen only £43 3s. 0d., viz. from £1010 os. 9d. to £966 17s. 9d., so that the financial position is perfectly sound.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows :

- 21st January. "Some Experiences in the Reproduction of Folk Stories." F. C. Bartlett.
- 18th February. Annual Meeting. Presidential Address.
- 17th March. "Mother-right in Ancient Italy." H. J. Rose.
- 21st April. "Psychology in Relation to the Folk Story." F. C. Bartlett.
- 19th May. "Constitution of the Witch Culture in Great Britain." Miss Murray.
- 16th June. "A Note concerning the use of Megalithic Circles." Miss E. Richardson.
- "The Comparative and Literary Study of the Ballad." Joseph J. MacSweeney.
- "Cairene and Upper Egyptian Folk Lore." The Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce.
- 17th November. "The Statues of Easter Island." The President.
- 15th December. "Some Notes on Zulu Religion from the MSS. of the late Bishop Callaway." Miss A. Werner.

More objects have been exhibited at these meetings than has been the case for many years past, thanks to the energy and foresight of Mr. G. R. Carline, who has seldom attended a meeting without bringing some objects of interest with him. At the meetings in May and June, Col. Shakespeare very kindly exhibited and explained a number of paintings illustrative of Manipuri festivals and costumes, which were of unusual interest.

Several additions have been made to the Society's Library at University College during the year, particulars of which have been duly chronicled in *Folk-Lore*; and the Council have recently accepted an offer from Mr. G. Kiddell of Sidcup to hand over to the Society the phonograph records taken at the International Folk-Lore Congress, 1891.

Members are again reminded that they are at liberty to borrow books from the Library. Particulars of the regulations subject to which they may be borrowed may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Dr. R. W. Chambers at the College.

The thirty-first volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year; but for the reasons already pointed out it has been impossible to issue an additional volume. The General Index of the Society's publications has been taken in hand, and the Council has had several MSS. offered to them; but in existing circumstances it is impossible to make any definite promise as to the date of their publication.

The work of the Brand Committee still continues in abeyance; but it is hoped that Dr. E. S. Hartland, who has very kindly undertaken to act as Editor-in-Chief, will at an early date be able to arrange a meeting with the sub-editors, after which the work of the Committee will no doubt be restarted on a satisfactory footing. The Council much regret that there is no likelihood of Miss Burne ever being well enough to resume any active work either as

Editor or as a member of the Committee. Her services in the past have been invaluable.

The meeting of the British Association in September was attended by the President, Dr. Sidney Hartland, Dr. Haddon, Prof. Myres, Rev. E. O. James, Mr. Bartlett, and Mr. Malcolm.

The Council have it in contemplation to issue a new Prospectus, and in doing so they will consider whether the price charged to non-members for pre-war publications of the Society should not be increased, and the same observation applies to the salvage stock, a considerable part of which still remains unsold.

Messrs. Sidgwick & Jackson, the former publishers of the Society, determined their contract with the Council in June, and Messrs. Glaiser Ltd., of 265 High Holborn, W.C., have been appointed in their place. The Council are confident that the new publishers will do all in their power to further the interests of the Society, and anticipate that as a result of their enterprise the revenue from sales will be materially augmented during the coming year.

Intending purchasers of salvage stock may inspect the same at Messrs. H. F. Fayers & Son's warehouse, 17 and 18 Bishop's Court, Old Bailey, E.C., where it is stored. Mr. C. J. Tabor, of The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex, has kindly undertaken to be responsible for its sale. The *present* price is 4s. per volume or 21s. for six volumes, with all faults, carriage paid.

The Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

W. H. R. RIVERS,  
*President.*

*January 28, 1921.*

CASH ACCOUNT.

# CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1920.

	RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.
By Balance brought down, - - - - -	£459 10 2		
" Subscriptions for 1920 (324), - - - - -	£340 4 0		£129 19 0
" " " 1919 and earlier years (21), 22 1 0	14 14 0		235 11 0
" " " 1921 (14), - - - - -	376 19 0		£365 10 0
" Interest on Investments, - - - - -	£26 5 0		5 12 0
" " Money on deposit, - - - - -	9 8 10		12 14 11
" Income Tax refunded, - - - - -	35 13 10		£13 9 6
" Composition Fee, - - - - -	11 5 0		18 14 9
" Sales, 1919, - - - - -	5 5 0		2 12 6
" " 1920, to Sept. 30, - - - - -	£40 3 0		15 0 0
	62 9 10		0 10 0
	102 12 10		60 4 0
			0 7 10
			110 18 7
			£21 18 5
			50 19 4
			£222 1 1
			200 0 0
			1 11 6
			423 12 7

£991 5 10

£991 5 10

# BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1920.

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.		
ESTIMATED AND LIQUIDATED.			
To Sundry Creditors, - - - - -	£121 3 1	By Cash at Bankers, - - - - -	£422 1 1
" Brand Committee, - - - - -	26 15 8	" " in hands of Secretary, - - - - -	I 11 6
" Composition Fees, - - - - -	/ 27 8 0	" W. Glaisher, Ltd., Sales 1920, six months - - -	£423 12 7
" Less written off, - - - - -	10 10 0	" Subscriptions in arrear, 1920 (44), - - -	28 6 11
	16 18 0	" " " earlier years (37), - - -	38 17 0
" Secretary's Pounding, - - - - -	20 6 0	" Investments as at Dec. 31st, 1920 :-	
" Balance to credit of Society,* - - - - -	966 17 9	£500 Canada, 3½% Stock at 61, - - -	£305 0 0
		£500 Natal, 3½% Stock at 62, - - -	310 0 0
		615 0 0	
	<u>£1,152 0 6</u>	<u>£1,152 0 6</u>	

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also bound copies of the Salvage Stock, of which no account is taken.

\* No allowance has been made for additional volumes, 1915 to 1920 inclusive.

Examined with Vouchers and Pass Book and found correct.

I again call attention to the large amount of subscriptions in arrear, £46 4s. for 1920, and £38 17s. for earlier years. I consider that the whole of the latter should be deleted from the Assets, and that no more than 50% of the 1920 subscriptions are good value. I consider that the Council should deal with this matter promptly as it gives a false impression of the Society's Assets.

I am in full agreement with the Auditor's comments.  
**EDWARD CLODD, Hon. Treasurer.**

C. J. TABOR, Hon. Auditor.  
 February 8th, 1921.

## *PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.*

---

### CONSERVATISM AND PLASTICITY.

BEFORE I enter upon the consideration of the topic I have chosen as the subject of this address I should like to call the attention of members of the Society to a grave situation which has arisen in our affairs through the great increase in the cost of printing and the price of paper. When this situation was considered by the Council during the past year it seemed at first as if only two alternatives lay before us; either to raise the subscription of the Society or to cut down extensively the amount of our publications. Without an increase in the subscription we cannot expect to return to the pre-war extent of our publications, but the Council has decided to attempt to keep the decrease within as small bounds as possible by starting a movement to strengthen our membership, and it is to be hoped that every member of the Society will do his best to help this movement. The cost of printing, which is the most serious item in our expenditure, is constant whatever the number of our members, so that every increase in membership will help to make possible an increase in the most important part of our activity, the diffusion of the knowledge of primitive belief and custom. It is a bitter tragedy that just at the moment when the spread of civilisation has made the need for the collection of vanishing knowledge especially acute, and when new students are entering upon the work of collection with enthusiasm greater perhaps than

at any previous period in the history of our science, there is the danger that it may be impossible to give to the world the fruit of the work to which so much energy is being devoted. Our Society can fulfil no more useful function than that of assisting the diffusion of this knowledge, but this will only be possible if we can greatly increase the proportion of our funds devoted to publication.

In the choice of a subject for the customary Presidential Address it seems natural that one who has come to the study of folk-lore from psychology should deal with the relation between these two subjects, a relation already brought prominently before us during the last year by the two important papers published in our Journal by Mr. Bartlett. Two chief possibilities presented themselves when I decided to take this course. I could deal with the general relation of recent psychological developments to folk-lore, or I could take up some special problem, interesting to folk-lorists and ethnologists, to the solution of which psychology can contribute.

Of these two alternatives I have chosen the latter, and propose to consider how psychology can contribute to the solution of a problem which confronts the student of any form of human culture, but particularly when he turns to those lowly societies found in parts of the earth now being so greatly affected by the spread of our modern civilisation. The problem to which I refer is that presented by the combination of conservatism and plasticity; by the combination of an intense clinging to old customs and beliefs side by side with a readiness to accept new ideas and new customs founded upon those ideas.

I must begin by justifying the statement that men, and especially those varieties of mankind we call savage or barbarous, are at the same time conservative and plastic.

I do not propose to deal at any length with man's conservatism. The volumes of the journal of our Society form a long record of the persistence of customs and beliefs

of past ages which are of a different order from, often even in direct contradiction with, those of the society as a whole in which the customs and beliefs persist. There is general agreement that this conservatism is even greater among savage and barbarous peoples than in civilised communities. It is now widely accepted that the savage, once supposed to be free and untrammelled, is far more the slave of custom than ourselves. Moreover, the whole doctrine of survival in culture which is one of the most firmly established of the conclusions of anthropology,<sup>1</sup> and one of our most valuable instruments of inquiry, would be wholly unintelligible without such conservatism, without the presence of a character of human nature upon which this persistence depends. I do not propose, therefore, to consume time by giving evidence for conservatism. We may differ concerning its psychological or sociological bases, but no one can doubt its existence.

It is necessary to dwell at somewhat greater length upon man's plasticity, for though the immense variety of belief and custom makes it obvious that this plasticity exists, it has attracted less attention and is less often explicitly recognised than his conservatism. I must be content to illustrate this plasticity by reference to only one group of customs from one part of the earth. I choose as a means of illustrating social plasticity the modes of disposing of the bodies of the dead in Melanesia.

A survey of the funeral customs of Melanesia shows that the people of this region practise nearly every form of disposal of the bodies of the dead which is known throughout the world. They inter the body in various ways, in the contracted and extended positions, or in positions intermediate between the two. When in the extended position, the body may be lying on its back or standing upright; when contracted, it is usually placed in the

<sup>1</sup> See W. H. R. Rivers, "Survival in Sociology," *Sociological Review*, vol. vi. 1913, p. 293.

grave sitting, and we do not know definitely of cases in which the body lies on its side as is so frequently the practice in other parts of the world. The place of interment may be within or immediately in front of the house, or in a mound of earth or stone which may be circular or pyramidal in form. The grave may be of a simple kind or the corpse may be placed in a recess shut off from the main part of the grave. The body may be covered with earth from which it is sometimes separated by a stone slab, or it may be placed in a grave which is not filled in, or buried with the head projecting above the ground.

In another variety of disposal the body is artificially preserved. In these cases it may be dried either by the heat of the sun or more frequently by means of a fire burning beneath a platform upon which the body is placed. Preservation may also be effected by packing the body with chalk. Sometimes the process of preservation is assisted by evisceration, but we have no definite evidence of any practice in this region which can be called embalming. When the preservation is ensured, the body may be placed in a canoe, in a wooden bowl, or in a vessel having the form of a human being, fish, or other animal.

In some parts of Melanesia only the head is preserved, no care being taken concerning the rest of the body, and this preservation of the head also follows that mode of interment in which the head is left above the ground. Other modes of disposal are to place the body in a cave or hollow tree : or to throw it into the sea, while there are traces of the Polynesian practice of sending the body to sea in a canoe. Lastly, certain parts of Melanesia are the seats of the practice of cremation.

Not infrequently two or more of these customs may be combined. Thus, after cremation the ashes may be interred or thrown into the sea, or after a body has been buried, the bones may be disinterred and placed in a cave or tree, while the custom according to which a body is

interred with the head above the ground seems to be a combination of interment with preservation of the skull, for this custom occurs in the island of Ysabel in the Solomons, lying between a region where interment is practised and one where the orthodox custom is to neglect the body and keep the skull in a shrine as a relic of the dead.

At the present time the anthropological world is divided in opinion concerning the reasons for this great diversity in funeral custom. According to some it is held to be the result of processes taking place in Melanesia independently of those which have produced the similar practices of other parts of the world. According to the opposed view, the diversity is due to the adoption at various times of modes of disposal of the dead which have come into being elsewhere and have then been brought to Melanesia by migrant or travelling peoples. If we take the former view we have to assume a very high degree of originality and power of invention of the Melanesian mind. If, on the other hand, we refer the variety to transmission, we have to acknowledge a receptiveness for new ideas and readiness to adopt new modes of behaviour in a department of social activity where we might expect conservatism and rigidity of custom. It is the purpose of this address to inquire whether modern psychology will help us in deciding between these two alternatives, and in either case to look for an explanation of the apparent contradiction furnished by this combination of conservatism and plasticity.

When in a difficulty of this kind we can look to the science of psychology with far brighter prospects of success than would have been the case a few years ago. The last twenty years have been a time of great progress in our knowledge of those affective aspects of mental process which take so prominent a place in determining social conduct. In dealing with the disposal of the dead we have a case of social behaviour in which no one can well dispute

the preponderant part taken by fear, awe, reverence and other emotions which are aroused when man is brought into contact with death. I shall begin by describing some of the leading conclusions reached by the modern psychologist and shall consider whether they will help us to decide between the rival views, and at the same time enable us to solve the apparent contradiction presented by the combination of conservatism and plasticity with which we are confronted whichever view we may adopt.

The first conclusion of modern psychology which I shall mention is one which will meet with general acceptance by all who have any practical acquaintance with the work upon which modern psychology is founded. It has become certain that the experience of early childhood has a vast influence on the formation of character and personality. As we might naturally expect, the investigation of the influences of early life has shown that the parents are especially potent in this respect, and psycho-analytic researches lay special stress on the rôle of the father.

There is much reason to believe that his influence is especially important in relation to the features of conservatism and plasticity with which we are now concerned. It is a prominent feature of the rôle of the father in the civilised family that he is the chief dispenser of authority, and we have reason to believe that the attitude of a person towards authority in later years is largely determined by the nature of the relation between father and child in early life. In our own civilisation the father is one of the chief agents, acting both directly and indirectly, by whom the ideals and traditions of the group are brought to bear upon the child, and so determine his attitude towards the society of which he or she is to be a member.

Innate disposition almost certainly contributes to determine whether a person readily follows the accepted custom of his group or rebels against it, but his attitude, and certainly the details of his attitude and the nature of

the affects accompanying it, are largely determined by the relation of the child to those who exert authority over it in its early years. And owing to the nature of the institution of the family, the father occupies a most important position among these persons. Owing to special circumstances his place may be taken by another, and influences derived from the mother and other members of the family are, of course, of great importance, but in any case the chief influences which affect the child are derived from a relatively small group of persons, among whom recent work is tending to show the especial importance of the father. The behaviour of everyone, especially in his social relations, is largely determined by what may, for short, be called the father-ideal.

The next view of modern psychology to be noticed is one which will not, I believe, meet with such wide acceptance as the influence of the father-ideal, though it is one upon which the psycho-analytic school of psychology lays great emphasis. According to this school the attitude towards the father or corresponding person is capable of transference to another person. Those with experience in psychotherapeutics believe that other persons can be put into the position of the father, that the body of dispositions, and especially affective dispositions, which bind a person to his father-ideal can be transferred to the personality of another. According to the present view of Freud and his followers the success of the psycho-analytic treatment of nervous disorder depends essentially on this phenomenon of transference. It is believed that for treatment to succeed it is necessary that the physician shall become the object of the affective dispositions which have hitherto been connected with the father. Whether the psycho-analytic school be right in this view may be doubted, but no one who has had any experience in psychological medicine can doubt the strength of the tendency to put the physician into a position of authority which

bears a striking resemblance to that exerted in childhood by the father.

It may be objected that such transference, if it exists, is pathological and belongs to the long chain of events which have produced the attitude towards the self and its environment determining the special form of disorder which the physician is treating. There is little doubt, however, that a similar process of transference is prominent in connection with religion, especially in those forms of religious cult in which the priest takes an important place. In this case there is a tendency, or more than a tendency, to put the priest into just such a position of authority as is occupied in childhood by the father, the two relations resembling each other so closely as to lead in our own culture to the frequent identification of the two in nomenclature.

In the case in which a person hands over the regulation of his life to a priest we have a definite example of transference closely, if not exactly, comparable with that which is liable to be a result of psycho-therapeutic treatment. There is reason to believe that a process of a somewhat similar kind forms an element in the success of all those movements in the world which depend on the influence of personality. The great teacher and the great social reformer, perhaps even the successful charlatan and swindler, owe their success to the capacity of the human being to transfer the body of affects associated with his father-ideal to some other person.

A third finding of modern psychology, and one which is well established, is that conflict is an essential factor in the production of new or exceptional mental products, whether these be the symptom of a psycho-neurosis, the strange elaborations of the dream, or, less certainly perhaps, the artistic productions of the poet or the painter. Especially striking is the outcome of conflict in new formations in which each side in the conflict maintains its

conservatism while ceding to the opposing forces perhaps far more than it maintains, leading to new products which are now usually known as compromise-formations. Thus, when the father-ideal comes into conflict with opposing influences in later life, the outcome is usually a new formation which is a compromise between the old and deeply seated, often unconscious, set of dispositions determined by the father-ideal and the new forces which conflict with this ideal. Such new formation may have a symbolic or dramatic character which often serves to obscure, if not to disguise, the conflicting elements out of which it has arisen.

Let us now take these three concepts of modern psychology; the father-ideal, its capacity for transference, and the occurrence of compromise-formations as the result of conflict, and consider how far they help us to understand the difficulties raised by the co-existence of conservatism and receptivity for innovation in the social relations of Mankind. It will first be necessary to examine how far the concept of the father-ideal can be utilised when we are dealing with mankind in general, and I propose to take as an example such a people as the Melanesians who differ widely from ourselves in the nature of their social system.

The concept of the "father-ideal" formulated by modern psychology has been reached through evidence derived from people possessing the institution of the family in its most definite and simple form, hardly complicated at all by the presence of other forms of domestic organisation. We have to inquire into the modifications which are necessary when we consider Melanesian society. It is true that the institution of the family exists in Melanesia, but in a form often widely different from that of our own, and in all cases so complicated by the presence of social groupings of a different kind, that if there is anything corresponding with the father-ideal of our psychologists it must differ from it greatly in nature. In many parts of Melanesia one great difference is due to the fact that the

chief dispenser of authority is not the father, but the mother's brother, the social position occupied by this relative corresponding very closely with that taken among ourselves by the father. Again, the social organisation with its many communistic features brings the child into intimate relations with a much larger number of senior persons than among ourselves. There is reason to believe that, in many parts of Melanesia at least, the place of the father is taken by the old men of the community in general. The old men occupy a commanding position of authority, and are so intimately related to the whole of the small community they dominate that they count as much as, if not more than, the father or the mother's brother as the wielders of authority and influence.

This wide relation of a child to its elders would almost certainly tend to enhance the potency of the childhood-ideal in the production of a conservative attitude, or at least of an attitude which would tend to lead men to act in the same way as their elders. The smallness of the community, and consequent influence of the general body of the old men upon each child, would tend to produce a uniformity of social behaviour far greater than could be expected in such a society as our own in which individual differences among fathers and differences in family life would assist the occurrence or acceptance of innovation. The fact that the father-ideal of our own society is replaced in savage society by the ideal imposed by the elders of the community will help to explain the fact, to which I have already referred, that the force of custom is far stronger among peoples of rude culture than it is among ourselves.

Among many peoples, of whom the Melanesian is a striking example, the influence of the old men is greatly strengthened by the nature of the religious cult, a cult of ancestors. The ghosts of the father and grandfather are beings as real to the Melanesian as were their human representatives when alive. The ghosts of these relatives

are the recipients of offerings and prayer, and are thought of constantly as taking part in the shaping of the careers of their descendants. It is evident that this belief must greatly strengthen the ideal which among the Melanesians corresponds with the father-ideal of our own society. The obstacles in the way of change must be especially great when the sentiment which corresponds to our father-ideal has come to be clothed in the ritual and beliefs of a religion as real and influential as is the ancestor-cult of the Melanesian. Moreover, the close association of this cult with death and the ceremonial of death would seem to make it peculiarly difficult to produce modifications in just that branch of culture which nevertheless, as we have seen, provides such evidence of plasticity.

According to the view here put forward, the differences between the social environment of a Melanesian and that of a civilised person are such as would naturally tend to produce a degree of conservatism greater than our own. The complex influences which correspond with that of the father-ideal among ourselves provide an all-sufficient foundation for the conservatism of the Melanesian. In dealing with the father-ideal of our own culture, I have suggested that the father is the embodiment of the opinion of the group, that he is the exponent of what may be called the "group-ideal." In Melanesian society, on the other hand, the group-ideal would seem to be more directly brought to bear upon the child, or in so far as it has special representatives, these are the old men of the community, reinforced by the power of the ancestral ghosts. When dealing with Melanesia, it will be convenient to speak of the ancestor-ideal as taking the place occupied by the father-ideal of our own culture.

The result of our inquiry into the nature of the substitute for the father-ideal has been to provide a psychological basis for the great conservatism of the Melanesian. In proceeding to inquire how there has come about the readi-

ness to accept innovation shown by the variety of his funeral rites which exists side by side with this conservatism, let us ask how far there is evidence for the phenomenon of transference to which the psycho-analytic school of modern psychology attaches so great an importance in the case of the individual. I will first consider the possibilities for transference in a Melanesian community in the absence of external influence. We have seen that one feature of authority in Melanesia is its generalised character. We have not to do with the transference of affective dispositions from one individual to another, but it would be necessary to transfer a body of dispositions already directed towards a number of persons, either to some person or persons not included among them or to some special member or members of the community who stand for the group-ideal. When we consider this necessity as it arises in a group presenting relatively few differentiations in social position, we see that there would be few opportunities for transference. If the physician, the priest and the teacher, who are the chief vehicles for transferred affects and dispositions among ourselves, exist at all in Melanesia, they are members of the group of old men who are already the dispensers of authority and the upholders of the group-ideal. In the absence of external influence it is difficult to see any opportunity for transference except through the appearance of some highly exceptional person as a sport. I have evidence from Melanesia that men join the ranks of the ruling class of old men at different ages. A relatively young man who shows superior powers may come to be regarded as one of the elders when he would hardly be classed as an old man in years. But all the evidence is against such acceptance of a relatively young man as the result of reforming tendencies or tendencies in opposition to the general leanings of the elders.

We have no evidence whatever for the view that such sports as might become the recipients of transferred dis-

positions occur among such people as the Melanesians, or for the view that, if they occur, they would be able to acquire any influence, though such a possibility cannot be absolutely excluded. Leaving this remote possibility on one side, however, let us return to the conditions which would be present if the arrival of people from outside gave openings for transference. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> dealt at length with the state of affairs which is present when people of a superior culture, even in very small numbers, settle among a people inferior to themselves in mental and material endowment. The view that they would be capable of exerting a profound influence is based on our knowledge of the effect produced by representatives of our own civilisation who, during the last century, have settled among so many peoples of lowly culture. I have assumed that the process we can now observe, and have been observing for the last century, is only a repetition of a process which must always take place whenever a people of superior culture, and especially of superior material equipment, settle among those inferior in these respects to themselves. This view, based on the assumption that the features characterising the contact of peoples in the present day have also held good in the past, receives a psychological foundation if transference is a social as well as an individual process. In the case of the individual, transference of the father-ideal to another person only takes place under exceptional circumstances. It requires the special relation in which a physician stands towards a patient, the power of religious conversion, or the effect which the striking personality of a teacher is able to exert upon an adolescent, to bring the process of transference into action in its most definite forms. I have given reason to believe that the group-ideal is even stronger in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Contact of Peoples*, Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1913, p. 474; also *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

Melanesian than is the father-ideal among ourselves, and we can only expect transference to occur in him under conditions even more exceptional. There is evidence of many kinds that the arrival of strangers among a people who have never before seen anyone unlike themselves gives just such an occasion as we should expect to produce the process of transference. There is even one piece of evidence which points to the reinforcement of transference by one of the forms in which, as we have seen, the group-ideal has found expression. When the white man first reached Melanesia and adjoining regions, such as Australia and New Guinea, he was supposed by the natives to be one of their own ghosts who, according to tradition, are lighter in colour than the living. It would not, of course, be justifiable to assume that a similar belief was held concerning earlier visitors, but the identification of strangers with the all-powerful dead in the present day shows a mental attitude towards mysterious visitors which would give a motive for transference of the most powerful kind. In view of the strength of the ancestor-ideal, reinforced by the religious cult of ancestral ghosts, we can be confident that transference would only take place under circumstances of the most exceptional kind, and the available evidence points to the arrival of strangers with a culture, and especially a material culture, greatly superior to their own as an occasion which would furnish just those exceptional conditions.

I have here used the concept of transference in a way which is open to criticism. As understood by the psychoanalysts to whom we owe the concept, transference is a process concerning individuals; the affects and dispositions centring round the father are believed to be transferred to another person, the physician or the analyst. I have extended the concept by supposing that transference may also be a social process, affects and dispositions arising out of the influence of one social group being transferred

to another social group. It would take too long to attempt to defend this position here. I believe it can be justified, even by evidence from our own society, and that the individual transference of the psycho-analytic school is only a specialised case of a concept of wide application. I must be content to point out here that in the case of Melanesia we are dealing with a people whose group or communal life is far more highly developed than our own,<sup>1</sup> while individual relations bulk less largely in the social life. If the Melanesians show the process of transference at all, we might expect it to be predominantly of the social kind. And the simple nature of their society would only allow transference from group to group under such special circumstances as those attendant on external influence.

Before I leave the subject of transference it may be worth while to consider a little more closely the mechanisms by which we may suppose that the strangers would succeed in modifying customs, such as those connected with death, to which native conservatism might be expected to offer the utmost resistance. In the first place, the strangers would bring with them religious beliefs very different from those of the people among whom they settled. If the attitude of our own migrants to-day gives any guide to that of migrants in the past, the visitors would have shown a contempt for the religious beliefs and rites of the natives which must have seriously undermined any support given by religion to the indigenous ancestor-ideal or other influence of the group. Moreover, we can be confident that when one of the immigrants died his fellow migrants would deal with his body according to their own beliefs and rites, and the more imposing these rites, the more would they impress the native population. If we take the spread of European culture at the present time as a guide to the past, we find that one of the earliest effects of the spread of

<sup>1</sup> See W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 94.

Christianity is the adoption of its mode of disposal of the dead by interment in the extended position in a coffin. It is possible that changes in the past may have been equally rapid and complete, but there is much more reason to believe that the process was, in many cases at least, gradual and was the result of a conflict between the beliefs and ideals of the settlers and their children with the practices and traditions of the indigenous inhabitants.

This leads me to the third finding of modern psychology in its relation to our subject. We have seen reason to believe that in the case of the individual many mental products are the result of conflict, usually conflict between early beliefs and dispositions formed in childhood and later ideas derived from contact with peoples different from those of the immediate family circle where the earlier group of beliefs and ideals had been formed. One result of this conflict is the production of compromise-formations, products which while satisfying to some degree, perhaps only in a symbolic manner, the demands of the father-ideal, enable the individual to adjust his behaviour to the different conditions of the environment of his later life.

If now we turn to the modes of treating the dead in such a region as Melanesia, we find behaviour which strongly suggests the presence of similar compromise-formations. We find that people who practise cremation collect the ashes and, either then or after an interval of time, inter them or throw them into water. When evidence of other kinds points to cremation as the more recently introduced practice, and neighbouring peoples, who seem to represent the earlier inhabitants, inter the dead or throw their bodies into the sea, the most reasonable hypothesis is that cremation was adopted as the result of external influence, but that the demands of the old ideal were met by a more or less symbolic interment or by throwing into water the ashes which serve as the representative or symbol of the body. Again, if the ideals of a people who inter their

dead in the sitting position come into conflict with an introduced practice according to which the head should be preserved in a shrine, we have a motive for the practice of the island of Ysabel in which the body is interred in the sitting position but with the head above the ground so that it can be easily removed. These modes of disposing of the bodies of the dead may be regarded as compromise-formations of a more or less symbolic kind, comparable with those which spring out of conflict between early ideals and later influences in the life of the individual.

I have in this address sought to show that while the special constitution of savage society, when isolated, makes it peculiarly difficult to account for any profound modification of custom by means of transference, external influence provides an occasion for the occurrence of this process. Moreover, the concept of compromise-formation as the result of conflict serves to explain the vast variety of custom with which we are presented by the comparative study of human culture. The burden of my argument is that in rude society external influence is the chief, if not the only, condition which can set up a process of social transference similar to that which among ourselves falls to the lot of a great social or religious reformer. The feature of my argument which I should like especially to stress is that, whereas among ourselves the group-ideal is exerted through the intermediation of an individual person or the small group of persons making up the family, this ideal is brought to bear upon the child of savage culture more directly, but in a more generalised manner, through the community as a whole, and especially through its elders. This more generalised character, combined with the low degree of specialisation of social function, makes it peculiarly difficult to produce modification of custom or belief so long as the community is isolated. Some new condition fundamentally different from those of ordinary times is needed to set up the process of transference which, among our-

selves, is capable of being brought about by a special personality.

The stimulus to my choice of a subject for this address came from my desire to solve a problem confronting those who believe that a preponderant part has been taken in the history of human culture by the factor of transmission. The position of those who believe that social development depends on external influence must be insecure until they have explained how the migrating peoples whom they believe to have been the carriers of custom and belief came to have so profound and far-reaching an influence on the peoples among whom they settled. The combination of conservatism and plasticity presents itself among every people of the earth, savage, barbarous and civilised, and in all cases needs explanation. But this need is especially urgent in connection with the transmission of culture, and in this address I have sought to satisfy this need by utilising some of the concepts of modern psychology.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

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## SOME NOTES ON ZULU RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

BY A. WERNER.

I HAVE been asked to examine some MS. notes discovered among the papers of the late Dr. Callaway, Bishop of St. John's, Kaffraria, from 1873 to 1886. Most of them are dated and were written between January and July, 1876, while two undated fragments probably—to judge by the handwriting—belong to the same period: these are, therefore, subsequent to the publication of the *Religious System of the Amazulu*—the third part of which was issued in 1870. There remain two longer undated MSS., one (11 pp. not numbered) dealing with the custom of *uku-hlonipa*, the other evidently cut from a note-book of which the pages had been numbered, and proving, on examination, to contain three separate texts. The first of these (numbered 296-303) is headed "Unkulunkulu," and is in substance the same (except for one or two points, to be noted later) as various passages in the published work—though not, so far as I have been able to examine the latter, precisely identical with any single one. Probably it formed part of the material collected for that work, and was left out of the final redaction, because all the essential points were contained in other accounts.

The second passage, occupying five pages (evidently cut from another part of the same book, as it begins on p. 339), is a note on *hlonipa*, not identical with any part of the larger one previously mentioned; and this is followed by another fragment concerning Unkulunkulu—also not contained in the published work.

Returning to the dated fragments, we find that they can be roughly classified as follows :

- (1) Notes on *Unkulunkulu*, *Qamata* and other divine, or quasi-divine names.
- (2) Information about Pondo, Xesibe and Gaika chiefs.
- (3) A note on the initiation of doctors (*amagqwira*).

In going over these MSS., I have been greatly helped by Mr. Josiah Gumede, a Natal Zulu, who has explained many difficult points.

The notes on *Unkulunkulu*, as already stated, do not appear to add much to what is already in print ; but the name *Qamata* does not occur anywhere in the *Religious System*. Mr. Gumede tells me it is a name which is used by the Amaxosa, but not known to the Zulus proper. Bishop Callaway's informants quote traditional sayings which show that it was used as the name of a Being regarded as Preserver and Provider, if not Creator. One expressly states that it is equivalent to *Umdali* = "Creator" ; this man says that his own tribe, the Amanqika, recognised three names : *Umdali*, *Utixo* and *Qamata*. The second of these was borrowed from the Amalau (Hottentots), who pronounced it *Utiqwa*. This is confirmed by other informants, who say that the Bantu tribes only adopted this name after they had "become mixed up with the Amalau," and that the latter say *Utixo* when referring to *Qamata*. It may be remembered that Ulangeni<sup>1</sup> expressly repudiated this view : "Utixo is not a Hottentot word. . . . We have learnt nothing of them." Callaway's note points out that this man's belief was mistaken and probably inspired by contempt for the "Amalau."

Equally mistaken, it seems to me, is the derivation from *Deus* or *Dio*—I do not know who originally suggested it, but I heard it from Mr. Alfred Mangena, who belongs to one of the Pondo tribes. The word (in the form "Thukwa," "Thik-qua" or "Tiqva") is vouched for by Valentijn

<sup>1</sup> Callaway, *Relig. System*, p. 65.

(1705) and Kolbe (1719) as in use among the Hottentots ; and, though some of them had come in contact with Christian teaching, it is extremely unlikely that they would have heard from the Dutch any divine name except the Teutonic " God," while no missionaries of the Roman Church entered the Cape territories before the nineteenth century. (If due to Portuguese influence, say at Delagoa Bay, it would have reached the Hottentots from the Bantu, and not *vice versa*.)

Before passing on to deal with Qamata, I would like to say a few words about this name Utixo. Callaway's excursus on the subject <sup>1</sup> is still worth reading, especially in the light of the later information now available. He came to the conclusion that " the word Utixo is the laud-giving name of an ancient hero, and that it was given in consequence of some conflict in which he repulsed enemies more powerful in numbers than himself, by the stratagem of kneeling and so causing them to approach him under the impression that they could make an easy prey of him."

Theophilus Hahn, writing some ten years later, under the influence of Max Müller's solar mythology, strongly objected to the " Wounded-Knee " derivation of the name Tsui-xuap (which Moffat and Bleck had already identified with Tiqwa = Utixo). He brought forward, and supported with many learned and ingenious arguments, an etymology which would make the being in question the personification of the " Red Dawn." It was reserved for Professor Meinhof <sup>2</sup> to perceive the connection between Tsui-xuap's " wounded knee " and some half-forgotten fragments of myth current among the Masai and Nandi of East Africa. (The North African origin of the Hottentot tribes, long ago suspected, has now been demonstrated on linguistic grounds ; and, similarly, language, folklore and customs,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 105-116.

<sup>2</sup> *Dichtung der Afrikaner* (Berlin, 1911), pp. 34, 35.

indicate a real if remote relationship between them and the Masai, who so long remained an ethnological puzzle.) "Amongst the Moi clan" [of the Nandi] says Mr. Hollis,<sup>1</sup> "there is a tradition that the first Dorobo gave birth to a boy and a girl. His leg swelled up one day and became pregnant. At length it burst, and a boy issued from the inner side of his calf, whilst a girl issued from the outer side. These two in course of time had children, who were the ancestors of all the people upon earth."

With the Masai,<sup>2</sup> the myth has passed into a folk-tale, in which all connection with the origin of mankind is lost. An old man, "who was unmarried and lived alone in his hut," produced two children in the manner above indicated and lived happily with them till they were stolen by a cannibal: the story developing on the familiar Red-Riding-hood" or "Tselanc" lines. (The end shows some confusion with a different type of story; but that does not concern us just now.)

A curious echo of this myth is found among the Wakuluwe at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika:<sup>3</sup> "Ngulwe caused the first woman to bring forth a child, Kanga Masala, from her knee."—Further, I have come across two remarkable traces of it in folk-tales—once in connection with the hero promised before birth to an animal (or demon), who frustrates all the devices employed for his destruction; and once in a Delagoa Bay version of the "Swallowing Monster" myth. The first is found in Mr. Rattray's collection from Nyasaland,<sup>4</sup> where the mother of Kachirambe, after promising the hyaena, whose "egg" she had destroyed, "When I have a child, you shall eat him," "saw a boil in her shin-bone, . . . and it burst, and there

<sup>1</sup> *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Melland and Cholmeley, *Through the Heart of Africa* (Constable, 1912), p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Some Folk-lore, Stories and Songs in Chinyanja* (S.P.C.K., 1907).

came forth a child." In the Ronga tale of *Ngumbanguмба*,<sup>1</sup> the only woman of the tribe left unswallowed by the monster produces, from an abscess on her leg, a child who becomes the deliverer.

Coming back to Qamata, it may be of interest to examine the sayings in connection with which the name appears to be chiefly remembered. Utesi Mboni, a Gaika, says that, when a man is hopelessly ill, his friends say, "(The matter) is now with (*i.e.* in the hands of) Qamata." If any one has narrowly escaped from a great danger, they say "He has escaped through Qamata." And when they are about to appoint a chief: "Let him be chosen by Qamata." Another informant states that the men of old, when they acquired possession of anything, used to say, "We have got it from Qamata." And when they met with food (this refers, no doubt, to a time when supplies were precarious), they would say, "We have obtained food from Qamata." Or if they had lost cattle and found them again: "We have got them from Qamata." Or if a man had escaped with his life in battle, or if he had received a present of a beast from his chief, he would say, "Qamata has been keeping an eye on me." This man, Jeremiah Mtila, of the Amangqika tribe, is positive that the name Qamata was handed down to them from their ancestors, not borrowed from any other tribe, and that the Hottentots never used it.

Prayers are offered to Qamata—*e.g.* when a man is ill, they kill a bullock, and an old man rises up and calls on Qamata, saying, "O Qamata! look on thy son and raise him up from his sickness!" When the sacrifice is eaten, a small piece of meat is set aside and called the share (*isabelo*) of Qamata.

It is said that Qamata is also called *Luqwitela*, a word which means "a whirlwind," and is also applied to the spirits of the dead. The language used almost seems to

<sup>1</sup> Junod, *Chants et Contes des Baronga* (Neufchâtel, 1897), p. 201.

imply the identity of these latter with Qamata. If you ask a man where the Luqwitela lives, he will say, "It goes along with me, but nevertheless I cannot see it." When the spirits (*Izinqwitela*, pl. of *Luqwitela*) come out of men at death, they are said to go to Qamata, but no one knows the place where he lives. "The dead body (*isidumbu*) does not go to Qamata; only the Luqwitela goes to him; the body remains in the earth."

In all this—except in the mention of *Umdali* as an equivalent for Qamata, there is no reference to a Creator; and indeed, in another MS., we get a distinct statement that "Qamata is like Utixo, but he is not the Creator."

Other notes indicate the well-known confusion between High God and First Ancestor. Sometimes Uhlanga, usually treated impersonally as "the origin of things," if not an actual reed, or reed-bed,<sup>1</sup> is spoken of as if a person. "Uhlanga is Utixo," says one, and another, "Uhlanga was the creator, according to the Xosas." The word Udaba also seems to have been used by some people; but the notes on this head are scanty, and further inquiry would appear to be necessary—if, indeed, it is still possible, for two generations have passed since Callaway wrote.

With regard to "doctors," there are three "orders" (*izindidi*): those who deal in medicine proper (*inyanga*), those who divine (*bulula*—more especially applied to discovering hidden poisons), and those who recover lost property (*vumisa*). They go through a period of initiation during which the ancestral spirits appear to them in the form of animals—the elephant, lion, leopard and crocodile, as well as the fabulous lightning-bird, are mentioned—and reveal to them (we are not told how) the mysteries of the art. The lightning-bird is here called *Impundulu*, a name which, Mr. Gumede tells me, is peculiar to the

<sup>1</sup> I am more and more inclined, since considering the evidence adduced from various quarters by Casalis, Junod and others, to think that *originally*, at least, an actual reed was meant.

Southern tribes—the Zulus calling it simply *Inyoni yezulu*, “the bird of heaven.”

The doctor usually begins his career by a serious illness—no distinction is drawn here between the different orders, but one gathers from other sources that this statement applies more especially to the *isanusi*, the “diviner,” who appears, in many cases at least, to be possessed of *clair-voyant* and hypnotic powers. The herbalist, on the other hand, learns his art by means of an ordinary apprenticeship to a recognised practitioner—unless, indeed, he belongs to a family in which such knowledge is hereditary, and is instructed by his father. The thrower of the “bones,” or caster of lots also has to serve his apprenticeship—at least it is so reported by Junod of the Baronga,<sup>1</sup> and I imagine that the Zulu practice is not very different. It must be remembered, however, that the three branches of the profession, though quite distinct, may sometimes be practised by the same individual.

When the illness has lasted for some time and—we may suppose, though this is not expressly stated—refuses to yield to ordinary treatment, an *igqwiŕa* is called in. He diagnoses the case as one of possession by spirits (*imishologu*) and perhaps directs a beast to be slaughtered; he then inquires after the patient’s dreams and (guided, it is implied, by the answers) gives him directions how to use the spirit which has entered him to the best advantage and ensure its affecting him favourably. He then instructs him as to drugs (*amayeza*) and finally puts him through the initiation-ceremony known as *ukupehlela*, of which, unfortunately, no particulars are given.

Coming now to the notes on *hlonipa*, the main points are as follows: Sons, or daughters, even grown up, are not supposed to mention the name of their father, unless absolutely necessary, *e.g.* if they are asked by a stranger, “Whose children are you?” This applies more especially

<sup>1</sup> *Les Baronga*, p. 463.

to the "great name," that given at birth by the father or grandfather. If a son lightly mentions this name of his father, it is said that "he takes himself out from his birth; he makes himself as one that has not been born." But sons are allowed to mention other names of their father, such as the "regimental name" (*igama lobuqawe*), given as a mark of special distinction by his chief—such a name, for instance, as *Umlamula-inkunzi-zilwako*—"Separator of Fighting Bulls." Grown-up sons address their father by this name, when they have a special favour to ask of him—but it appears that this would not be permitted to children. A man's wives and daughters also may call him by this name and usually do so in times of domestic stress, in order to soothe his wounded feelings, "because he is reminded by that name of his actions and his valour." A woman is debarred from pronouncing the name of her father, her husband, or her son. A mother has her own names for her boys, at least as long as they are children—it is the name bestowed by the father—the "great name," which she has to avoid.

A married woman addresses her husband's father as *Baba*, as her husband does, or as *Mezala*, or *Mamezala*<sup>1</sup> = father-in-law.

If a woman mentions her husband's "great name," she is supposed to be abnegating her status as his wife and putting herself on an equality with his father, who gave him that name. "She departs from the position of a daughter-in-law and becomes a sister of the man who begot her husband . . . if she calls him by that name, it seems she is no longer his wife, but has generated him, like his father"—that is, she is putting herself into the position, not of his mother, who would not be allowed, any more than herself, to utter his name, but of his father.

<sup>1</sup> *Mamezala* (or, when spoken of by a third party, *uninazala*) is used of both the husband's parents, but, if it is necessary to draw a distinction between the two, the father is *mezala* and the wife *mamezala*.

Besides the rules of *hlonipa* in speech, there are certain rules of action which apply more especially to young wives. A son's wife must never appear before her father-in-law with uncovered breast, or without the bead fillet which seems to be a kind of symbolic substitute for a veil—at any rate the woman who wears one on her head is supposed to be "covered" as far as the interests of propriety demand. In coming out of the kraal gateway, she must always turn her skin petticoat (*isikaka*) round, front to back; but, should her father-in-law be seated by the gate, she must turn it so that the front comes to one side. She must never enter the cattle-kraal: this prohibition is sometimes held to apply to all women—but this is not universally the case; at any rate Mr. Gumede tells me that it is only the sons' wives who are under the *tabu*. If she requires fresh cow-dung (*ubulongwe*) for smearing the floor of her hut, she stands at the doorway and calls one of the children to fetch it for her; if no child is handy, she calls one of the women who have the right to enter—*i.e.* her husband's mother, or one of his sisters—and, if they are not within reach, she sends her husband. Another prohibition applies to the *isilili* of the father-in-law—*i.e.* the recess on the right side of the hut which serves as his sleeping-place. (His wife has a corresponding recess on the left side, each being separated from the main apartment by three posts.) This may be approached by his own wife only. Even after his death, should the hut be occupied by the son's wife, she must not set foot in this recess. How long this prohibition holds, there is no information, but as huts do not last an unlimited time and are rarely, if ever, re-erected on exactly the same spot, the question has no practical bearing.

People are apt to fancy that, where clothing is scanty, rules of propriety are absent, whereas anthropologists are aware that they are more numerous and perhaps more stringent in primitive than in civilized society. To Euro-

pean eyes, a Zulu clad in a skin kilt only, is so nearly naked as makes little if any difference ; but were he to omit that minimum, he would be branded by his own people as a shameless fellow and no better than the beasts of the field. The requirements of modesty are especially strict between a man and his daughters-in-law. Should he be bathing in the river and see his son's wife, he calls out to warn her and ask her to look the other way till he is dressed. Should she see him first, she hides herself till he has gone away. Should they meet on the road, even if both are fully dressed, the woman will make a wide circuit to avoid him.

As she must not call him by his name, so, too, he must be careful to avoid calling her by the name of her girlhood, though it may be so familiar to him that he has to watch lest his tongue should slip into it in general conversation. Still less must he allow himself to address her as *mfazi*, "woman"—a word also used for "wife." This is an insult which provokes the retort, "Father, am I your wife or not?"—whereupon, "if he is a decent man (*uma elungile*), he says, "I have done wrong, my child," and at once pays a fine of a goat or a quantity of beads, "that the evil in the heart (*i.e.* the hurt feelings) may go no further." Should a man so far forget himself as to lift his hand to a daughter-in-law, she will take off her headband and lay it on the ground, and then lay aside her petticoat, as a token that he has forfeited all claim to respect on her part. If he is not lost to all right feeling, this will overwhelm him with shame and contrition, so that he cannot rest till he has made atonement by a substantial fine.

This account says nothing about *hlonipa* between a man and his wife's mother ; but no doubt the cases are parallel, though we might expect that different localities vary as to the degree of affinity on which most stress is laid.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Baronga *hlonipa* more especially the

<sup>1</sup> Junod, *Baronga*, p. 80.

wife's brother's wife, while the *Baila*<sup>1</sup> include all the wife's relations as *tabu* to the husband, and *vice versa*.

The following is a translation, as literal as possible, of the Zulu text referred to on p. 28:

#### THE AVOIDANCE OF NAMES.

(As to) the matter of *hlonipa* among the black people : A man begets sons—now those sons are not able to utter the name of their father, because they were begotten of him. The name of their father is a great thing to his children ; it is not merely a name, it is their father's very self ; but they mention it if they are asked by a man who does not know them, saying, " Whose sons are you ? " So they say, " We are the sons of So and So." It is not said that it is to be avoided, if the children are asked the name of their father : there is no disgrace in that ; it is good that they should mention the name of their father, if they are asked, and it is wanted (to know who they are) that they may be known, where their father is known.

Because the name of their father will prepare for them a good place, so that, there where the children are not known, they may be known by means of their father and eat well, sleep well and travel well. But it is not permitted that a child should lightly bandy about the name of his father, as he might that of any one else ; and they (*i.e.* other people) are not permitted to use it carelessly when they are discussing matters with him ; they say, " So and So " (*Bani*) when they refer to him. But sons, when they address their father say, " Father " (*Baba*) even if they are grown up ; they have not been released by their growing-up from treating their father's name with respect, as if they should say, " Since we are now grown up, we can call our father just like (any other) man who is not our father, we should incur no blame." But it is not so : [on the contrary], it is

<sup>1</sup> Smith, *Ila-speaking Peoples* (Macmillan, 1920), vol. i. p. 341.

feared that blame will fall upon that son who calls his father by his name ; <sup>1</sup> there is blame, according to our custom, if the son says to his father, " So and So," mentioning his great name, that son takes himself out from his birth ; he makes himself (as one) who has not been born ; he is a foreigner to his father ; it is not at all fitting that a son should call his father by his name, just as he might call his friend (of his own age).

Again—daughters, for their part, are restrained from (uttering) the name of their father, just as sons are. Women are called by the name of their father, in the place where they have gone to (to be married), it is said (to such an one) " Umabani," that is to say, " Daughter of So and So," that she may be known there where she marries, and they may know her there, knowing her father : they say, " Whose daughter are you ? who is that So and So after whom you are called ? " She says, " So and So, son of So and So," mentioning her grandfather who begot her father.

But sons very often call their father by a new name, such as that of their grandfather, or a name which has been bestowed on him for his bravery, a name of weapons. Thus there is (the name of) Umlamula-nkunzi-zilwako.<sup>2</sup> That name, the sons do not fear it ; if they want to ask anything of their father, they appease him with it, to the end that they may get what they want. Not the little ones—they do not say it ; only those who are already grown up, they have power to call their father by it ; and if they are pleading in a case, they are not restrained from (using) that name. Because, as to that name, it is not fitting that they should call their father by it, when there is no trouble (but) all is going well ; (when there is trouble, however,) let it appease him, because he is reminded by that name

<sup>1</sup> The text is not very clear here : the above would seem to be the sense of it ; or it might be so rendered as to convey that the son is not blamed if he mentions any name other than the " great " one.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* The separator of fighting bulls.

of his actions and his valour. Both sons and daughters call their father by that name : so do his wives.

But women have no power to pronounce the name of their father ; they too are under the same obligation as the sons. The mothers of the sons are, like them, prohibited from uttering the name of their husband. And the mothers (of the man himself) are also prohibited from using it, because the name which was bestowed on a man by his father is *tabu (uninazala)* to women. But women, even when they are speaking to their husband's father, say *Baba*, just as the husband says *Baba* ; but the name of their husband they are not permitted to mention, because it issued from the mouth of their father-in-law (*uninazala*) who begot their husband. If they mention it, they depart from the position of daughters-in-law (*abalokazana*) and become sisters of the man who begot their husband. And thus there is a distinction in women calling a man by the name bestowed on him by his father, if they call him by that name, it seems they are no longer his wives, but they have given birth to him, like his father. The father-in-law (*uninazala*) is the husband's father, the daughters-in-law address him as *Mezala*, because he begot their husband (*zala*=beget, bear : used of either parent) ; they address their husband's mother as *Mamezala*, because their husband was generated by both those two. "Mamezala" is not used in addressing the wife alone ; it is also said to the husband, but if we wish to distinguish between the husband and wife, to the husband there is said "Mezala" and to the wife "Mamezala." Again, children<sup>1</sup> say to the man who begot their father, "Grandfather" (*Baba-mkulu*), and their mothers say to him, "Mezala." That man says to the children of his son, "Grandchildren" (*Bazukulu*, or *Bazukulwana*)—if there is one (only), he says *Muzukulu*. Those names, if we interpret them, mean "Child of my child."

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* sons or daughters, who may or may not be adult.

Again, the wives of a man, if his father is still living, do not show him respect with their mouth only ; there are many acts which must not be performed on account of *hlonipa* ; thus : if a woman comes from (somewhere) outside the kraal, when she is in the act of entering the gateway, she turns her petticoat round (*i.e.* the front to the back) and (also) hides her breasts and her chest, because, it is said, it is a disgrace that the father of a man should see the breast of his daughter-in-law, she going near him with her breasts (uncovered) just as a young woman might do with her husband. When she comes out, she has to turn her petticoat round so that it comes to her back ; but if her husband's father is seated beside the gateway, she must turn it in like manner to the side. And she must put on her head a fillet of beads, out of respect for her husband's father. Again, she must not enter the cattle-kraal, because of her father-in-law entering it, lest they enter it both together. If the daughter-in-law requires fresh cow-dung (*ubulongwe*—for smearing the hut-floors) she stands at the doorway and calls one of the children to give her some ; if there is no child on the spot, she calls one of the women who are entitled to enter ; and if there is none, she sends her husband to fetch some for her. Furthermore, the daughter-in-law, if she enters the hut of her husband's father, does not go to the *isilili* of her father-in-law ; she goes to sit on that of her husband's mother, because the seat of the father-in-law is gone to by the husband's mother, he (the husband) having married the daughter-in-law only. And even if the husband's father is dead, the daughters-in-law do not occupy the whole house, they know still that it was the father-in-law's place while he was yet living ; even though he is now no longer there, it is still his place. After this fashion is the *hlonipa* of the black men.

Furthermore, the husband's brothers are treated with great respect by his wife, especially the elder ones by the

same mother ; the younger ones need not be avoided ; they are just called by their names, because they are younger.

Again, children are not allowed to call their mother by her name : she is only called by her husband and other people "Mabani" (mother of So and So), or Nobani, as the case may be :<sup>1</sup> if they say Mabani, (if) they mention the name by which their mother is called by their father since they (the children) were born, (it would be) as though they had married their mother just as their father has married her. Also, if they say, "Nobani," it is the same thing : it is shameful that children should call their mother by her great name, just as though she were a stranger (*umuntu nje* = "just anybody") to them.

As to the *tabus* observed by the husband's father, he respects his daughters-in-law in the same way, because, among the black people, if a man is not in the presence of his daughters-in-law in the midst of his own kraal, he may walk naked, wearing his *umncwado*<sup>2</sup> only, though it be by day, not girt with his kilt, walking naked (*bunqunu*) in the midst of his kraal. But, if his daughters-in-law are there, there is an end of this, because he does not want to walk naked in their presence, that they may see the shame of their father-in-law. Furthermore, if the father-in-law is bathing in a river, and is seen by his daughter-in-law secretly (*i.e.* without his seeing her), she hides herself and goes secretly to another place ; and that man, if he sees that he has been come upon by his daughter-in-law, shouts, saying, "Softly, my child ! I am not fit to be seen—look the other way !" Then the woman must turn her back till her father-in-law has come out of the water and dressed himself decently, when he says, "You can go on now."

And if a daughter-in-law meets her husband's father on

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* Mabani if addressed—Nobani if spoken of by a third person—in both cases the actual name of her child to be supplied instead of *bani*.

<sup>2</sup> The "sheath" worn under the kilt (*umutoba*).

the road, she must turn aside (when still) a long way off, so that they may not meet face to face ; she must walk outside the road while her father-in-law walks in the road, so that he may pass ; and then let the daughter-in-law come (back) into the road. Further, the father-in-law does not call his daughters-in-law by the names of their maidenhood, which were given them by their fathers who begot them ; he strictly avoids them ; even if he is speaking about any matter at all (which does not directly concern her), he has to look out that his tongue may not slip and call his daughter-in-law by name ; and likewise the daughter-in-law has to look out carefully lest her tongue, when speaking of matters in general, should slip and mention the name of her father-in-law ; this is the custom of mutual avoidance among the black people. And a man also suffers inconvenience through having to avoid his daughters-in-law ; and they too, in like manner, through having to avoid their husband's father. But if their husband's father is a decent man, who behaves well to all his children, there is no hardship in paying him great respect ; it is sweet to the daughters-in-law, because he (in his turn) shows great respect to them : it is very sweet to the hearts of the daughters-in-law to say, " Father " to the father of their husband. And he could not say that they are *wives*, just as they cannot say that he is a *husband* ; for, if he says, " Bafazi," he has done wrong ; they will no longer want to respect him, because he has taken the position of their husband, who says, " Wife," there being no blame (attaching) to the woman because he has married her ; but to the husband's father there is blame, if he says to his daughter-in-law " Mfazi " ; (in which case) the daughter-in-law will say : " Father, am I your wife or not ? " If the father is a decent man, he will say, " I have done wrong, my child," and he will at once pay her a fine of a goat or some beads, so that the evil (bitter) feeling may stop there. But if the father of the husband is not a good man, and does

not respect his daughters-in-law, but treats them badly, they will no longer respect him gladly, but only so far as they are compelled. So, if the father-in-law strikes a daughter-in-law, he will have to pay a fine—even with a cow or a goat. It is not pleasant to show respect to a man who acts like that towards women. It is very bad, and they hate him greatly—they will never get over their grudge (against him), if they see that he treats them as if they were his own wives. And they too, in their turn, by the doing away with the respect (they would feel for him), it being destroyed by the father, then they say, “This husband,” speaking to the father, therefore the sons very soon separate from their father, through not respecting one another. Then, if the father lifts his hand to a daughter-in-law, the daughter-in-law will say: “To-day it is at an end to say ‘Father’ because my father-in-law has taken off my fillet (=veil, which hides her face from him)” ; she takes the fillet from her head and puts it down on the ground ; she unties her *isikaka* and puts it on the ground, she says, “Now you have become a husband to me here.” It is like that. If the father is a respectable man, he goes out, feeling remorseful and ashamed, until he has made atonement with something to the daughter-in-law, that he may finish that matter, so that it may be (considered) settled.

A. WERNER.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### LEGENDS FROM TONGA.

#### THE MAUI.

##### *How Fire was brought to this World.*

THE Maui were four and lived in the Underworld. Their names were Maui Motua (Maui Senior), Maui Loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), and Maui Atalanga (perhaps Maui Air-propper, or Air-erecter), and there was also a son of the last-named, Maui Kijikiji (Mischievous Maui). For long they lived together in the Underworld, but at last Atalanga was filled with desire to go up and live on the surface of the earth. With his brothers' approval he departed, promising that he would often return to see them and to attend to his garden, and do whatever work might be necessary. Atalanga, accompanied by his son Kijikiji, on emerging into the upper air settled at Koloa, the oldest part of Vavau. To this district the name of Haafuluhao properly belongs, but it is applied indiscriminately to the whole country. The whole country is correctly called Vavau; Koloa is the original part of the land, and this is correctly Haafuluhao. The two Maui dwelt in Koloa, and Atalanga married a woman of the place. Their homestead was called Atalanga. Maui did not garden in Koloa, which is said to have been too small for the purpose, but he still cultivated his garden in the Underworld. In his frequent excursions to the nether regions he never took his son with him, but left him at home to keep his wife company. The lad, moreover, was so annoying and mischievous that his father did not desire his companionship. On the days when he went to the Underworld to tend his garden Atalanga used to steal quietly off before daylight,

strictly enjoining upon his wife not to wake the urchin lest he should follow and discover the road. Naturally Kijikiji's curiosity was whetted, and for long he sought in vain his father's garden, but coming finally to the conclusion that it must be in the Underworld, he determined to keep a close watch upon his elder's comings and goings. For some time he discovered nothing, but one night, happening to wake, he saw his father take his spade (digging stick) and go out, whereupon he got up and followed, taking care to avoid discovery. The entrance to the Underworld was concealed by a clump of reed, and on reaching this Atalanga looked carefully round, but Kijikiji was discreetly hidden at a safe distance, eagerly watching his father's every movement, though unseen himself. Atalanga seized the reeds, pulled them up by the roots, went down through the opening the plant had concealed, and then reached up his hand and replaced it. After an interval sufficient to allow his father to get well on his way Kijikiji went and pulled up the reed and flung it away, then descended and followed Atalanga. The place where Maui went down is called Tuahalakaho (apparently Behind the road of the reed). Kijikiji followed his father down into the Underworld, taking care that he was not observed, and at last they came to the garden. When the youth reached the place there was his father hard at work, but he himself climbed up a nonu tree, plucked one of the fruit, bit it and threw it at his father. Atalanga picked up the nonu, and looking at it thought that he recognised the tooth marks as his mischievous son's; but, looking all around and seeing nobody, he resumed his work, only to be again disturbed by a tooth-marked nonu. On examining this second missile all doubts vanished. "This," he said, "is in truth the tooth-mark of that imp of a boy." Kijikiji then no longer attempted concealment, but called out, "Here I am father." To his father's question as to how he had come there he replied that he had followed him, and further questioned as to whether he had closed the opening he replied less truthfully that he had. Atalanga then called to Kijikiji to come and cut the weeds with him, warning him that he must not look round as he worked. It is almost needless to say that the youth did look round, and

thereupon as quickly as he cut down the weeds they sprang up again behind him. His father did the work over again, and reprimanded his son, but in spite of all, the boy, regardless of the tabu, continued to look behind, and at last his father in disgust told him to stop hoeing weeds, and to go and build a fire. Kijikiji had never seen fire, and asked his father what it was. Atalanga told him to go to yonder house, where he would see an old man sitting by a fire. He must get some of it, and bring it to prepare food. When Kijikiji entered the house he found there an old man whom he did not know, but who was Maui Motua, Atalanga's father. He asked for fire and received it, but as soon as he got outside he extinguished it, and returned for more. He again received fire, and again extinguished it outside; but on his entering the house the third time for fire the old man was angry; moreover, only one brand was left, a great casuarina log. Maui Motua, however, jestingly told the boy that if he could carry the log he could have it, never dreaming that he would be able to take it, as Maui Atalanga alone was able to lift it. Kijikiji, however, picked it up and started to carry it off with one hand. Maui Motua at once called to Kijikiji to put down his fire, and when the lad had obeyed he challenged him to wrestle. The challenge showed more spirit than wit on the part of the old man, for Kijikiji dashed him again and again to the ground, and leaving him for dead picked up the casuarina log and bore it off. When he reached his father Atalanga inquired what mischief he had been doing to Maui Motua that he was so long in coming, but Kijikiji merely replied that the fire kept going out, and so he had to return several times. Further questioning elicited information about the wrestling match and its fatal termination. On hearing this Atalanga felled his son to the earth with his spade, and covered his body with the grass called mohuku vai (water grass, literally). It is said that on account of having covered Kijikiji's body it does not die when cut out of the ground. Atalanga then went to see his father, and found that he had revived. The old man then for the first time learnt that it was his own grandson with whom he had quarrelled, and told Atalanga to pluck nonu leaves (*morinda citrifolia*), and place them on the body to bring

it to life again. This was done, and the lad recovered. This species of nonu does not grow in this world, but only in heaven and the Underworld. Then the two of them ate food, and prepared to return to the upper air. Atalanga, fearful of his son's mischievous propensities, wished him to go on ahead, but Kijikiji finally prevailed in his insistence that his father should lead the way. As they set off Kijikiji seized a burning brand to take with him, hiding it behind his back. Presently his father came to a standstill, and said, "Where's that smell of burning? Are you bringing any fire with you?" "No," answered the boy, "it's probably the smell from the place where we cooked our food." The father seemed scarcely convinced, but they resumed their journey. Presently he turned round again; "Boy, where is this smell of fire from?" "Don't know," responded Kijikiji. "Boy, haven't you brought some fire with you?" again asked Atalanga. Just then the father saw smoke from the fire which his son was concealing, and rushing at him he snatched the brand and extinguished it, bitterly upbraiding Kijikiji for his disobedience and mischievousness. Then they ascended to the upper world, but all unknown to his father the end of Kijikiji's loincloth was ignited, trailing behind him out of sight. On reaching the surface of the earth Atalanga went on ahead and hid to see if his son had brought anything up from below, and when Kijikiji emerged he saw the smoke from the burning waistcloth. At once Atalanga called on the rain to fall, but, although a copious downpour ensued, the boy was not to be outdone, for he cried to the fire to flee to the coconut-tree and the breadfruit-tree and the hibiscus and tou (cordia) and all the trees. This is the manner in which fire was introduced amongst men who had previously eaten their food uncooked, and because the fire resides in the trees it is obtained by rubbing one stick on another.

[Vaváu is the northernmost of the three groups which comprise the Tonga Islands.]

*How the Sky was placed at a Distance from the Earth.*

Maui Atalanga and his son then returned to their home Atalanga, and lived there. It happened that one day Maui

Atalanga was out walking and met in the road a woman named Fuiloa, who was crawling along with water from the well called Tofoa. Maui stopped the woman and asked her for water to drink; a request which she refused. Maui again asked her, adding the promise that after drinking he would shove the sky so high that she would be able to stand upright, for at that time earth and sky were so close that man had to crawl about on all fours. Fuiloa was at first sceptical of the god's good faith, but on his repeating his assurances she at length complied. After he had drunk Atalanga gave the sky a great heave. "How's that?" he asked the woman. "Further yet," she replied. So he heaved again. "How's that?" "Further yet; put your strength into it, and get it a long way up." So Maui heaved again with all his force, and with a tremendous shove got the sky into its present position. From that time man has been able to stand and walk upright, and not go on all fours like the dog and pig and other four-footed animals, as he formerly did. The place where this beneficent deed was accomplished is a road called Tekenakilagi (Pushed to the sky).

*Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji rid the Earth of Certain Dangerous Creatures.*

Time went on and Maui Atalanga and his son heard stories of ravenous animals and trees, and the numerous people whom they slew. They discussed the situation, and determined to hunt the destroyers. They set out, and went first to Haalaufuli, and then to Taanea, both places being in Vavau. In Taanea dwelt a fierce rat in a burrow. When they reached the place the rat, who was walking about at the mouth of his burrow, at once rushed at them, but they struck it, and it fled and took refuge in the hole. Now this voracious rodent had eaten so many people that nobody could live in its vicinity, and the Maui's resolved to dig it out and slay it; but there was little unanimity as to how they should set about the task. Atalanga suggested that his son should dig at the mouth of the hole, whilst he went and waited at the breathing-vent. Maui Kijikiji preferred that his father do the digging whilst he awaited the animal's emergence at the back door. The dispute waxed warmer and

warmer, till at length Atalanga, with an expression of anger and disgust got to work digging, and Kijikiji went and took his station at the breathing-vent, where presently the rat ran out, and was at once seized by the younger Maui and choked to death. After this the Maui's returned to Haalaufuli, and lived there; but after a while they heard of the ravages committed in Eua, by the moa (moa at present used for the ordinary barn-door fowl, but this is obviously a great bird, perhaps not unlike the New Zealand moa, although I know of no traces of any large birds in these islands), and the lizard, and the paper-mulberry tree, and the toto eitu (a tree). Accordingly they again set forth, and went to Eua, where they first met and slew the lizard. They next encountered the paper-mulberry, who, as was its wont, at once bent down to bite them, but Kijikiji seized it, and snapped it, and pulled it up by the roots. On resuming their quest they lighted next on the toto eitu, who also attempted to bite them, but was frustrated and destroyed by Kijikiji as summarily as the paper-mulberry had been. They went on in search of the moa, whom at length they saw in the distance, bigger than a house, a great mountain of a bird. Again the discussion of a plan of campaign revealed a lack of agreement. Atalanga proposed that his son should drive the bird towards him, till it was close enough to throw a stone at. Kijikiji was insistent that he have the privilege of throwing the stone. "No, father," he said, "do you go and chase it towards me, and I'll stone it." "What an undutiful child you are," the father angrily retorted, "you indeed, you stone it." "Oh, just wait here," responded Kijikiji, "whilst I go and chuck a stone at this great fowl." The discussion was becoming perilous, as meanwhile the bird had seen them, and they had all the while been drawing nearer to it. Now each of the Maui's had a stone in either hand, and as they got within range Atalanga added a last remonstrance against his son's being the marksman, expressing his fear of the consequences should the shot miss its aim. Kijikiji curtly replied, "Father, I'll throw," and straightway let fly, realising at least part of his father's fears, for the stone merely grazed the moa; but the pain made him timid instead of fierce, for he flew off at once towards Tonga.

Kijikiji threw again, and this time struck with crushing force the leg and wing of the bird, who fell into the sea between Eua and Tonga, and continued its flight, swimming with its uninjured leg and wing. It managed to reach Tonga, but fell dead on the beach. The Maui, ignorant of its fate, stood in Eua throwing stones after it, which stones the incredulous may see for himself strewn on the shore of Tonga unto this present day.

The place where the waves break in Toloa is named after the moa, as that is reputed to be where he made the land. On one side is a line of breakers where the uninjured leg and wing fluttered ashore, and on the other side the sea does not break, where the wounded leg and wing passed inertly along. A hill in Eua is said to be formed of the bird's excrement.

Then the Maui called together the people of Eua, who had fled to the bush, and were dwelling in the caves and inaccessible places, and told them to return and cultivate their lands, for they had rid the country of its destroyers. Then the people rejoiced, and with glad hearts they built them houses and cultivated their gardens.

[Eua is a large high island separated from Tonga or Tongatabu (the southern and largest of the Tonga Islands) by a deep, narrow strait.]

### *The Great Dog in Fiji.*

The two Maui, hearing reports from Fiji of a great fierce dog (kuli, very widely spread Polynesian word, used to-day for the dog). Accordingly they boarded a boat, and sailed to Fiji, reaching land at the island of Motuliki, which was the very place where the dog lived. This dog, whose name was Fulu-bubuta, was a monstrous animal, as large as, or larger than, a horse. Small wonder that the people regarded him as a god. He had eaten all the people of Motuliki, and if a boat chanced to put in there he made short work of the visitors. It is not quite correct to say that he had eaten all the inhabitants of Motuliki, for three survivors were concealed in the woods, two brothers, Alusa and Tuitavake, and their sister Sinailele. They

dwelt in a cave in a rough inaccessible place, and eluded the destroyer by always doing their cooking at night. The dog lived in a cave closed by a rock, which opened and shut of its own accord. When the Maui's arrived they pulled their boat ashore, and set to work to find the dog, but fruitlessly. So they returned to their boat on the beach, which, as it happened, was drawn up close to the dog's hiding-place, and refreshed themselves with bathing and sporting in the surf. Atalanga's older blood was chilled sooner than that of his vigorous son, and he presently left the water to warm himself on the sunny beach, whilst Kijikiji continued his sport in the surf. The father sat down on the warm sand, knees drawn up to his chin, his body revelling in the genial sunshine. By degrees drowsiness overpowered him, and soon he was fast asleep, sitting as before, with knees drawn up to his chin. Kijikiji went on playing in the waves, and as he swam about and shot the breakers a man-eating shark darted at him. Unafraid the boy grasped the monster, and seizing its head, slew it with his bare hands. Then with a dexterous fling he threw it ashore, calling out, "Father, there's a fish for you." But Atalanga slept on. Kijikiji resumed his sport in the breakers, but soon another shark (of a variety not so fierce as the first) darted at him, and met a like fate with the first attacker. This time Kijikiji noticed that his father did not answer his call, and looking he saw that he had disappeared. Whilst he was swimming about the dog's cave had opened, and the beast had slunk quietly up behind Atalanga, and gulped him down whole at a single mouthful. Then he had gone back and lain down in his cave, and the door had shut. Kijikiji, suspecting that the notorious dog was at the bottom of this mysterious disappearance, at once went ashore, and, on examining the place where Atalanga had been sitting, found the animal's footprints and traces of blood. "Hang it all," he exclaimed, "here's a fine how-d'ye-do. Dad's come to grief with this dog." Then he started tracking the foot and blood marks to find where his father had been taken to and eaten. Presently he lost the scent; the tracks led to a dead wall of rock, and there stopped. He climbed on top of the rock. He could find nothing. So giving

up that method of investigation he returned to the place where his father had sat, and placed himself in the same position as that in which he had last seen Atalanga. He drew his knees up to his chin, and rested his cheek in his hand just as Atalanga had done ; but instead of sleeping he peered out under his arm with watchful eye. Again the rock door opened, and the great beast came slinking quietly up. Kijikiji watched his approach, not without admiration. " It's a pity to kill this dog," he thought to himself, " but still he killed my father." The animal came on, and when within striking distance sprang at Kijikiji. Quick as lightning the lad's hand shot out, and seized the beast's head ; but springing back he wrenched free, and made for his cave, with Kijikiji in hot pursuit. The dog darted into his lair, and the rock door shut to before Kijikiji reached the spot, but with a terrific kick he shivered the door and part of the cavern wall, and rushing in he laid hold of the beast's head, and broke its neck, and so killed it. Then he picked up the dog, with his father in its belly, and bore it to the open grassy place near by, which had been the town green. There he cut the animal open, and took out the body of his father. The dog he burnt, and then selecting a suitable spot he carpeted it with various sorts of leaves and laid his father thereon. Then he chose another place, on which he also strewed leaves, and lay there himself, for now that his father was dead he had no more desire to live. So he lay there, neither eating nor drinking, and his splendid body wasted away, and he died for love of his father. In course of time all that was left of them both was two heaps of bones on the green.

#### *Sinailele.*

It will be remembered that of the inhabitants of Motuliki three had escaped the ravages of the dog by hiding in the bush, Sinailele, and her two brothers Alusa (or Balusa) and Tuitavake. They were still living in their cave in the forest, and after a time noticed that they no longer heard the baying of the great dog. They discussed the matter together, wondering what could be the reason, until Sinailele volunteered to make a personal investigation. She conjectured that the beast must

be either dead or have swum off to some other country. So the woman went off to fish, passing down through the green where were the two heaps of bones. On seeing them she stood, and exclaimed in astonishment, "My word, these bones belonged to two little beauties." Of the dog, however, she found no trace, and quite unaware of its fate she stepped over the bones, for they were lying in her way, went on down to the beach, and out on to the reef to gather shell-fish, keeping a watchful eye about for signs of the great beast. Having gathered sufficient shell-fish, but without discovering anything concerning the dog, she returned to her brothers, and told them of the bones of two tremendous men lying on the green. On the next day Sinailele again went down to the sea, stepping over the bones as before, collected her shell-fish, and returned home. Shortly afterwards Sinailele discovered that she was pregnant, but she said nothing about it to her brothers. When at length her condition became evident to them each imputed it to his brother. They said nothing, but each in silence nursed his suspicion against the other. Sinailele noticing their mutual distrust and resentment, reconciled them, saying, "Brothers, bear each other no ill-will because of my pregnancy, for you are both entirely blameless. I think I am pregnant to the heaps of bones on the green, which I have been accustomed to step over on my way to the sea. Do you live in amity, for there has nothing occurred which should mar our happy relations." And so the two brothers were comforted by her words. In course of time Sinailele gave birth to her child, a son, who, however, was nothing but bones and sinews, being quite devoid of flesh. His body was all full of hollows, and loose, and thus the paternity of the Mauis' bones was established. The mother took her child down to the sea, and bathed and massaged his body in the water. Then she went and gathered shell-fish on the reef. On the following day she again massaged the child in the sea, and as she was doing so the flesh came on the bones, and the body filled out and was covered with skin. On the next day Sinailele again took her child to the beach and massaged him in the sea, and then placed him in a little pool, lying on his back on a leaf of kape (*arum costatum*), with his head resting

on the little ridge of sand at the pool's edge, and his buttocks and legs in the water. There she left him whilst she went about her usual task of shell-fishing. As she was returning to him a young mullet came and jumped about on his body, which she caught with a cast of her net. Thereupon the child said, "Mother that is my fish. No man may eat it, for it is tabu to me; if a man eats it let him do it secretly. Women only may eat it." The mother replied, "Let us get off home with our shell-fish, and cook them for us all to eat." "Yes," said the child, "let us go, for I'm cold." Now, when on this occasion they returned home from the beach, the child, whose name was Tuimotuliki, was not carried, as would be expected at his tender age, but ran along by himself, for he was very strong, like his fathers, the two Maui. It is said that he set fire to forest and houses to warm himself, and there was constantly a column of smoke and flame in some place or other, whereat his mother and uncles were angry and reprimanded him, fearing that he might attract the attention of Bau or other neighbouring places. But the boy merely replied, "Mother, I'm just warming myself, for I'm cold"; to which his mother retorted, "Alas, you are as unkind as a boy can be; why involve us in such risks? You with your warming yourself will bring somebody or another along to kill us all." "Mother," said the boy, "don't worry about that. Just let me get warm." The elders' fears were justified, for the people of Bau noticed the smoke, and sent off boats to see who had come to populate the land which was thought to be deserted. Sinailele, looking out to sea, discovered the boats, and counted them, ten in all. Then in deep distress she said to her son, "I hope you are satisfied my boy. Here are the boats coming to slay us." But Tuimotuliki merely told them not to worry, but let the boats come on. He knew that he was possessed of amazing strength which far surpassed that of his two fathers. When the boats were close Tuimotuliki went and broke off a coconut tree and snapped it in two, and stuck the two halves in the sand. Then he went and got another coconut tree and snapped that in two, and stuck up the two halves, and so on, until he had a goodly battery of this heavy artillery, ready close at hand. The first boat, on approaching

the shore, was smashed, and her people slain, by a doughty blow with one of the coconut-tree beams. And so with the second and third, right up to the ninth. But the tenth Tuimotuliki spared, and calling to Sinailele and her two brothers to come with him, they boarded her and sailed off to Bau. When they reached Bau they found its chief, a young lad, sailing a canoe. Tuimotuliki bade his companions seize the young chief, whose name was Nokelevu, and bring him into their boat and sail off with him. Nokelevu was flung into the boat, and they sailed off; but his father and mother and kinsfolk, discovering the violence that was being done to their chief, raised a hue and cry and gave chase. Tuimotuliki told the pursuers that he would not release Nokelevu, but was going to take him to Tonga. The others demanded that he be returned to them. After considerable dispute the young chief's relatives asked that at least they be permitted to put on board his personal belongings and provision for the voyage. This was granted, and Nokelevu's baggage was put on board, together with a food supply, which consisted solely of human beings, ready to be slaughtered for the table. Throughout the voyage, as often as food was prepared, they were regaled on human flesh. This, in fact, seems to have been their only article of diet. Their purpose was on reaching Tonga to find the Tuitonga and live with him. They made the land at the western end of Tongatabu, and, on going ashore, asked where the Tuitonga was. On being told that he was at a place called Heketa, they sailed round to the beach at Mata'utu, where Tuimotuliki leapt ashore to fix the mooring-stake. He did not bore it into the sand, but smote it into the solid rock, making a great hole, the token of his might and strength. They went to the Tuitonga, who received them gladly, rejoicing at this foreign accession to his court. Then the Tuitonga's fishing net, called the Great Net, was hauled ashore with its catch, amongst which happened to be the mullet sacred to Tuimotuliki. When the fish was distributed they each had their share of mullet, and sat down to their meal. Nokelevu and some of the people ate, but Tuimotuliki ate nothing. So it went on. Mullet would be brought, but Tuimotuliki just sat

without eating. At length the Tuitonga noticed this, and asked the reason. Tuimotuliki explained that he could not eat the mullet, for it was made tabu to him when he was bathed at home in his own country in Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga requested that the tabu might be given to him too, that he might share in it. But Tuimotuliki demurred, saying, "Why my lord should you be tabued, seeing that you catch that fish in your net? Why should you be prevented from eating it?" But the Tuitonga insisted. "Is there any lack of fish?" he retorted. "Why should I be so anxious to eat that fish? Let me share your tabu, and we can eat other sorts of fish." So Tuimotuliki gave way, and admitted the Tuitonga to his tabu, as a sign of his affection for Fiji. Thereupon the Tuitonga sent word to the different parts of the Tongan group, announcing that the mullet was tabu to the men, and that those who ate it would suffer from blindness, and ulceration, and pox, and baldness, and leprosy. The women alone were exempted from the tabu. (I have never seen or heard anything of such a tabu. The mullet is freely eaten to-day, both in Tonga, and I think in Fiji. Of course the old tabus are largely things of the past, but I have not seen any indications of a recollection of such a tabu. I have not, however, made special inquiries relative to this particular one. Recollections of some old food tabus, no longer practised are preserved amongst some of the people who have interested themselves in these matters, but all I have so far encountered have been of local operation, and I have not found any of such universality as the statement in the text would seem to imply. The mullet at any rate is eaten with freedom and relish).

Thereafter the crew of the boat from Fiji multiplied and became numerous. The descendants of Tuimotuliki are the folk called the Tuitalau, their names being Fainga'a, Tuitavake, Mo'ungatonga, Mapu, Siliika, and Tulukava, the last being a female name. The descendants of Nokelevu are Soakai, Kavakavalangi, Havea, Tukuafu, Funaki-oe-langi. And the descendants of Balusa, who was called Alusa in Tonga, are Ahio, Fakahafua, and Veamatahau. This is the descent of those who are sacred, and who are called the Pure. They

it is who handle the sacred things pertaining to the Tuitonga.

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CATALAN FOLKLORE.

It will be interesting to members of the Society to know that an attempt has lately been made in Catalonia to organize the collection and study of the folklore of that province. Dr. Carreras i Artau, Professor of Ethics at Barcelona, has, in connection with his chair, started a periodical for the purpose "of searching for, collecting and systematizing the phenomena spontaneous and popular, actual or historical, which reveal the moral psychology of the Catalan people in its relations with the other peoples of Spain," and among these phenomena folklore, in its various forms, takes the chief place. He endeavours to attract and concentrate around his chair not merely the students and others within the University, but all students of folklore and other valuable elements of the Catalan people who are interested in the subject. He offers to the associates the right of studying in the library of the organization, the right of being present at its sessions and of receiving its publications. Their questions will be answered in the journal; and generally their studies will be assisted and directed, and communications between those who are interested in any branch of folklore will be facilitated. Finally, the results of original investigation will be published from time to time. His programme is wide and, as he recognizes, only to be realised gradually. It extends to the collection of a library, the establishment of relations with the principal ethnographic centres at home and abroad, periodical meetings, the publication of the materials collected and of treatises upon folklore matters, and finally the formation of a museum of the ethnography and folklore of Catalonia. I miss, however, a statement of the subscription asked for, or any mention of the manner in which the necessary funds are to be raised. This, doubtless, can be learned on enquiry;

but in England, where the state contributes little or nothing to such scientific objects, it would be put in the forefront of the prospectus.

Meanwhile the first two numbers of the *Archive of the Ethnography and Folklore of Catalonia : Studies and Materials* (*Arxiu d' Etnografia i Folklore de Catalunya : Estudis i Materials*) have been published, comprising the programme of the organization, the report of the initial meetings and of lectures and addresses delivered, and some useful bibliographical information on the articles and works published in recent years on the subject, many of which are little known to British readers, and would (I speak from experience) repay looking into. A lecture, given at length, by Prof. Carreras i Artau on Joaquim Costa, a Spanish jurist, who directed attention to folk-custom as a source of law, is well worth reading. In addition there are several questionaries on different branches of folklore which are well conceived ; and associates contemplating work are carefully warned that the most rigorous scrupulousness in details is required, but that they need not obtain categorical answers to the questions, and on the contrary that they should obtain information on any other point which may arise, though not explicitly figuring in the questionnaire. Hitherto the folk-songs (many of which are given with the music) seem to have attracted most attention among collectors.

It will perhaps repel some British students to find that the volumes are chiefly in Catalan. But they will need little perseverance to find that Catalan will very easily yield to a small knowledge of Spanish and French, and a mine of folklore will be opened to them. The volumes are beautifully printed in good type on excellent paper and consequently pleasant to read. The members of the Folklore Society will heartily congratulate Prof. Carreras and his colleagues (among them many eminent men in various departments and well-known writers on folklore) on their auspicious beginning and wish them success in their enterprise.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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## REVIEWS.

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INSTINCT AND THE UNCONSCIOUS: A CONTRIBUTION TO A BIOLOGICAL THEORY OF THE PSYCHO-NEUROSES. By W. H. R. RIVERS. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 16s. net.

THIS important study is based on a first-hand experience of cases of mental disorder caused by the war. Many of these were successfully treated by means of a psychotherapy based on a theory of the "unconscious"; and the object of the present work is to elucidate that theory, and more especially to explore its biological foundations. Incidentally, a great deal of attention is paid to nomenclature. The proposed terminology is primarily intended for the pathologist, and it may be therefore that it will not always prove equally suitable for the psychologist whose interest is in the normal as distinguished from the morbid features of mental action. Again, it must be remembered that the subject of the unconscious is treated almost exclusively in the light of the special characteristics of the war-neuroses; so that, possibly, an enlarged base of observation—one, for instance, that considered aberrations of the sex-instinct side by side with those of the fear-impulses—might introduce complications into the scheme of categories here employed. Regarded, however, as a contribution to mental science from a limited but well-defined point of view, the book is a masterpiece of clear thinking. As such it will help greatly to overcome the natural obscurity of the subject, providing as it were a night-glass that brings out sharp outlines in a crepuscular region.

The very word "unconscious" notoriously lends itself to ambiguity. All must admit, however, that mind includes

more than present consciousness, as for instance the memories that we can recall at will. Such memories, then, belong to a dormant or potential form of consciousness. For his purpose, however, which is chiefly to assist pathology, Dr. Rivers would limit the unconscious to that body of potential experience which it is not possible to recall by ordinary means. Conditions either morbid or at least involving, as does sleep, a certain suppression of full consciousness, must be there to enable the latent consciousness to emerge beyond the "threshold." A rather confusing result of this terminology is that we are asked to allow that, in certain cases covered by the term "dissociation," the unconscious may be conscious—may, in other words, exert an independent or "alternate" consciousness, which is, however, shut off from the normal consciousness or ego. We can, indeed, hardly refuse to credit with consciousness a secondary "personality" with whom, under the artificial conditions produced by hypnotism, we can actually converse. If, therefore, the verbal contradiction involved in the conception of a conscious unconscious is to be resolved, it must be by substituting some other term for the unconscious such as the "subliminal"; or, perhaps, *transliminal* might be used to express the variety of the subliminal not subject to ordinary means of recall.

Meanwhile, the unconscious, in Dr. Rivers' sense of the word, is always in a state termed "suppression." This state in its turn implies a process of suppression which falls likewise within the sphere of the unconscious, in so far as it is a spontaneous, non-voluntary, or, as Dr. Rivers would have us say, "unwitting" process. The analogous process which is voluntary is distinguished as one of "repression." Of course such a word as suppression is taken over from the language applicable to consciousness, and originally implies a will to suppress. Even in its transferred sense the term bears a teleological implication, since the suppressed experience is assumed to be shut off in the biological interest of the organism, or, as one might say, by its will to live. Considered from this wide biological standpoint, suppression is found to occur even at the low level of cutaneous sensibility. Here a "protopathic" variety of sensibility,

very crude and wholesale, can be shown by experiment to be partly suppressed—though not abolished, since it remains latent in its entirety—by a supervening variety termed “epicritic” inasmuch as it is altogether more discriminating and capable of fine grades or shades. So too, then, at the higher levels of mind a like process is supposed to take place, the “unconscious” being a store-house or dump of relatively protopathic tendencies which more refined tendencies have superseded after partial assimilation has taken place. There in their subterranean cavern the ancient dethroned gods cower, stripped of much vitality, yet capable of freakish resurrection in the glimpses of the moon. This account of the biological import of suppression is very plausible; though there are difficulties of detail, more especially as regards the attribution to certain forms of the unconscious of epicritic powers barely distinguishable in practice from those usually taken as the differentia of conscious intelligence. It is a stratigraphic theory of mind, we may say. Normally, the later deposit keeps the earlier down; but sometimes there are volcanic upheavals.

A good instance of such an upheaval is that of the soldier who after shell-shock loses the power of speech. According to Dr. Rivers, this type of neurosis is due to the recrudescence of the earliest of the fear-impulses, that which leads a group of gregarious animals to sham dead together. The common soldier—*gregarius miles*—was especially liable to hysterical seizures of this order. This fact Dr. Rivers attributes to the effects of a discipline that enhances suggestibility; mutual suggestion in his view being essentially the process by which the gregarious instinct works. In another typical set of cases, however, namely the anxiety-neuroses to which the officer is more especially liable, the atavistic explanation, as one might almost call it, seems less probable, seeing that in extreme forms there appears to be an absence of any organised and protective reaction, however primitive in type. Or, again, if we regard such neuroses as aggravated by repression, that is, control from the highest level of consciousness, it is hard to understand on the atavistic theory how spontaneous suppression, an older and lower kind of mechanism can be expected to bring about

a genuine reintegration of consciousness. Surely help ought rather to lie in the direction of a more intelligent repression. In any case a biological treatment is bound to throw more light on the nature of the malady than on that of its cure, since the former spells regression to the brute, while the latter demands that the patient play the man. Finally, the unconscious, viewed from the standpoint of pathology, is a mere rubbish-heap of obsolete tendencies. But, as Dr. Rivers hints in his chapter on "sublimation," there is another side to its activity, if it be true that the genius, or one kind of genius, draws his energy from the conflict engendered in his soul by promptings from the depths. One may be level-headed, perhaps, at the price of shallowness. Thus, as the best scientific work always does, this interesting book, while solving many problems, raises more.

R. R. MARETT.

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SPIEGELZAUBER. Von DR. GÉZA RÓHEIM, Budapest. Leipzig and Wien. 1919. Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Ges. M.B.H.

THIS interesting work on mirror-magic by Dr. Géza Róheim of Budapest is one of the early results of an institution established to advocate the methods and processes of Freud's investigations into psychic activities. It begins by laying down that "one of the weightiest results of Freud's enquiries is the three-steps theory of the development of sexual desire." The first stage of this development is the simple childish Narcissism, in which no ulterior object than the self is mingled. In the second stage the self is still the object; but it is an ego personified, or rather its image, that is loved. The third and last stage is that of fully developed normal sexuality, which seeks its object in the external world and in the other sex. This thesis is expanded and illustrated throughout the work.

But apart from psychical theory the author has from a wide reading compiled a very full collection of facts concerning the superstitions, magical beliefs and practices connected with mirrors, crystals, pools of water and other objects used for

scrying and analogous or derived purposes. In the course of the work he discusses taboos of various kinds, positive rites, such as the rites of divination especially connected with philtres and love-divination, and death-rites (breaking or covering mirrors at a death, and so forth), the belief in the life after death, the journey of the soul and reincarnation, in so far as these are related to mirror-magic. His examples include both tales and practices, and are drawn often from the most unexpected quarters. With the English literature of anthropology he has an acquaintance much more intimate than writers in the German language have in the past sometimes cultivated. He attaches greater value to the Freudian theory and symbolism than I should be disposed to do; but I have not closely followed the recent developments in psychology. Outside this, however, his comments are sane enough, displaying on occasion considerable insight; and the student of folklore will find here an abundance of useful information on the subjects treated of.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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LES ORIGINES DE LA MÉDECINE: EMPIRISME OU MAGIE ?  
P. SAINTYVES. Paris: Emile Nourry. 1920.

WRITING under his familiar pseudonym of P. Saintyves, M. Nourry sets out to investigate the obscure subject of the origin (or origins) of the art and science of medicine. Asking the question whether it is, as many historians and philosophers have believed, purely empirical, his answer is that chance may have played some part, though not a very great one, but that, judging by the conduct of the lower animals, the human instinct, the appetites and aversions manifested by us from time to time, according to our state of health, age and other conditions, must have often determined our conduct, and being observed have led by experience to more or less systematic empirical treatment of the sick. This course, however, has been diverted by magical and sacerdotal practice and theory; and the cradle of medicine has been surrounded by mystical influence, rather magical than religious. He discusses the three chief magical

theories of sickness, which attribute its cause to spirits, including those of the dead, or to the witchcraft, the *mana*, of some living human being, or ascribe it to the loss of the soul or some part of the soul. In so far as it is ascribed to demonical possession he distinguishes three phases. In the first all sickness of whatever nature is attributed to possession. The Sakalava of Madagascar, in the first phase, explain by the Tromba, or intrusion of an ancestor into the body of the patient, rheumatism, chronic bronchitis, asthma, blood-spitting, erysipelas, marsh-fever and many other diseases. This possession in the second phase is limited to intellectual disorders and to those manifested by convulsive movements or displaying a lack of internal control; and among these he numbers epilepsy, idiotcy, madness, delirium, and uncontrollable rage. In the third place, while some of these are recognised as of natural origin, patients suffering from deep-seated nervous trouble, generally hysterical, and holding themselves to be possessed, are still so recognized. But the author looks forward to a time when the scientific spirit will have so far triumphed that in no civilized land will any malady be explained by possession. Under the influence of the three theories described the attempt is everywhere made to combat disease by mystical means. Sorcerers and shamans devote themselves to driving out the intrusive spirit, or conquering the malign influence, or finally fetching back the missing soul; and while most of the means they employ are useless, sometimes they fall back on plants and other substances which have a really curative power, sedative or otherwise.

The most valuable part of the work is, however, to be found in his analysis of the means employed in sacerdotal therapeutics. He considers with some care the remedies and processes of the priests of Æsculapius and other sacerdotal physicians of classical and pre-classical antiquity, discusses incubation, autoscopy (in which the patient in a somnambulous condition divines his own disease and prescribes for himself), and heteroscopy (in which he does the like for others). Dismissing these as charlatanism he insists that observation and the accumulation of experiences must have led to the empirical treatment of the

sick, and must have been the main source of the art and science of medicine. He notes that the ancient priests, bound as they were to traditional methods, to the explanation of divine interference and to obedience to divine commands, still undoubtedly profited by experience, their organization issued in schools of medicine, cures were recorded—not merely after the fashion of votive tablets but records of the remedies and diet found useful in particular cases—and many of the priest-physicians became eminent throughout the Greco-Roman world. Their practice gradually broadened and was laicized, though the sacred tradition still attached to many plants, and, in Egypt at least, had the force of law, so that if the physician did not succeed in saving a patient by the means prescribed in the sacred books he was declared innocent and without reproach, while if he acted in defiance of the sacred precepts he was liable to be accused and condemned to death. The author's ultimate conclusion is that, from the beginning of the art, remedies have been chosen and administered in consequence of hypothetic reasoning or preconceived theories, and that it is impossible to hope for progress without recurring to principles, either expressed or implied. Invention, intuition and reason are convertible terms. Contrary to M. Lévy-Bruhl's opinion, there is no prelogical mentality. What may be called the instinctive reason is a reason which has not yet learned to criticize itself, or hardly so; but it is still reason. It is a precritical reason, but not an alogical reason.

There are many hints in M. Nourry's book which students will be glad to take; and they are expressed in his limpid and elegant French. As a study of the *origins* of medicine, however, it might be usefully extended. A more detailed and elaborate consideration of the three chief magical theories of disease would show that they are not successive stages, but are dependent on the views of the magico-religious organization of the world, severally held by different "primitive" peoples; and a closer investigation of their causes and of the results that flow from each of them in the views of life and death entertained would probably lead to the clearing up of many unsolved problems in the processes of treatment, not to mention those

wider questions of early mentality and the interaction of cultures that still puzzle us. I commend the subject to M. Nourry's further study.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE BA-ILA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA.  
By EDWIN W. SMITH and A. MURRAY DALE. 2 Vols.  
London: Macmillan & Co. 1920.

THIS important monograph on a tribe in Northern Rhodesia is the result of the collaboration of two writers, a missionary and a magistrate. It is much to be regretted that the latter, Captain Dale, died as the result of illness, contracted in war service, before the work in which he took a leading share was published. The missionary is often tied down by engagements at his station, and sees only one side of native life. The magistrate brings to the work a more intimate acquaintance with the people on the practical side, and is able to use the experience gained by periodical tours and the study of the more seamy side of native life gained in the course of judicial work.

The Ba-ila, formerly known as the Mashukulumbe, were visited by Livingstone, and Selous in the course of his hunting expeditions saw much of them. They derive their name from their distinctive coiffure, being known as those with "a built-up mass of hair," to the adornment of which, as appears from many photographs, they devote enormous care. They are supposed to have been originally emigrants from the Southern Sudan, but they now constitute a conglomerate of many different peoples, forming a fighting, aggressive community, occupying the fertile plains watered by the Kafue river, about one hundred miles north of Victoria Falls. Early explorers describe them as a savage, treacherous race, but the writers of this work, while fully noticing the defects of their character, do not despair of their improvement under strict but sympathetic government. Their country abounds in game, and sport is one of their chief occupations, the only drawback being malaria, spread by a plague of mosquitoes which infest the low-lying lands at certain seasons. At present they number about 100,000 souls, and,

as they occupy a well-defined area, they form a promising field for intensive study, the results of which are set forth in these volumes. One of their remarkable customs is that, for some not fully understood reason, they remove the four upper incisor teeth of the youths of the tribe. Their industries include ivory-turning, basketry, pottery and iron work.

On the sociological side the headings of the chapters indicate the care with which the survey has been made: leechcraft, social organisation, terms of relationship, regulation of the communal life, etiquette, rights of property, slavery, regard for life. Then follows an account of the family life, from birth to puberty. The question of the relation of the sexes has been examined at length, and the analysis discloses the intensity of their animal passions, with many details which, if not suited for the general reader, are full of interest for the anthropologist.

The chapters on religion deal with the doctrine of souls, death and funerary customs, the fate of the dead, metempsychosis, ghosts, dreams, spirit possession, reincarnation, the genius or guardian spirit. These beliefs show obvious marks of intermixture, and one is often tempted to suppose that there is much which may be explained by Egyptian influence, and perhaps much which may be usefully employed in the elucidation of Egyptian beliefs. The work ends with a series of miscellaneous notes on time-reckoning, animals and plants, colour, number, games, music and dancing, proverbs and riddles, with an account of the tribal language.

As a whole, the survey has been conducted with much care and ability, while the results of it are displayed in an interesting, scholarly way, and the fine series of photographs admirably illustrates the people and their country. The work must take high rank as an authoritative source of information. The book is most creditable to the writers, and the publishers have contributed to its success by the style in which the volumes have been printed and the photographs reproduced.

W. CROCKE.

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THE NATIVES OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF THE GOLD COAST: THEIR CUSTOMS, RELIGION AND FOLKLORE. By A. W. CARDINALL. London: Routledge. 1920.

MR. CARDINALL has made good use of his opportunities, as an official employed on the Gold Coast, to collect much interesting information. But his treatment of the subject is discursive, and his proneness to digression makes it difficult to follow his conclusions. He is obviously familiar with the people and their ways, but he is not a scientific investigator, and his work thus loses some of its value for the serious student. But he has collected much that is curious in native life, and if his book had been arranged under more definite headings and furnished with an index its value would have been increased. The most interesting part is his discussion of spirit-possession, which often results in madness. His photographs are interesting, but they were not invariably taken to illustrate his subject.

L. H. D. BUXTOR.

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A GARDEN OF HERBS. By ELEANOUR SINCLAIR ROHDE. Medici Society, London. 1920.

MISS ROHDE, from her wide knowledge of early Herbals and Cookery Books has compiled a charming account of old herb gardens, their products, and the uses for which they are employed. The book begins with an appeal for the development of the cultivation and use of herbs. It describes in alphabetical order the chief varieties of herbs, with notes on the belief associated with them, and their uses. It then describes Sallets, Herb Pottages, Puddings, Drink and home-made Wines, the picking and drying of herbs and sweet scents. Finally, a full bibliography is appended. There is much folklore scattered through the book, but, in the absence of references, the value of this is diminished for the scientific worker.

W. CROOKE.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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### THE STATUES OF EASTER ISLAND.

SIR,—I have read with much interest the article by Dr. Rivers upon "The Statues of Easter Island" in the December number of *Folk-Lore*, and welcome the expression of his views upon these striking and puzzling monolithic effigies. There are certain points in his paper which invite further discussion, and to these I wish briefly to refer. In the first place, Dr. Rivers, in comparing the Marquisan stone statue seen by F. W. Christian on Hiva-oa and figured by him, with the statues of Easter Island, is surely over-sanguine when he says, "This was about eight feet high and in the position of the arms and *general character of the features* definitely resembled the statues of Easter Island" (the italics are mine). The position of the arms certainly does suggest such resemblance, as, indeed, it does to renderings of the human form from many other regions. But it is difficult to trace any such correspondence in the facial features, the rendering of which is characteristically and peculiarly Marquisan and differs in nearly all its details from the facial type characteristic of the Easter Island monoliths. The Hiva-oa statue, moreover, has the legs represented, and this is not characteristic of those from Easter Island. Apart from its being monolithic and of large size (8 feet high), and having arms and hands which recall those of the Easter Island carvings, the close resemblance to the latter is by no means obvious; in fact, very divergent 'schools of art' are suggested by the comparison. A definite correspondence between the monolithic statues of the Marquisan Islands and of Easter Island would have been welcomed by me, since I am, and long have been, a firm believer in a Melanesian culture influence in the former group, as I pointed out in *Folk-*

Lore (December, 1917, p. 379), and have frequently urged on other occasions. It is the *dissimilarity* in the facial type of the Marquisan and Easter Island statues which strikes me as remarkable, in view of their possibly common origin. Dr. Rivers states (on the authority of Tautain) that "in the Marquesas a great stone is placed as a sign of mourning on the head of the image representing a dead man." We may gather, however, that Tautain was by no means sure of this, since he expressly prefaces his statement by saying "J'ai appris, mais d'un seul informateur . . .," showing that he did not regard the evidence as in any way conclusive.

Next, let me touch upon the "hat" *versus* "hair" theory of the 'crowns' of red vesicular tufa placed upon the heads of some of the Easter Island statues. I will not repeat the reasons which I gave for believing that, *possibly*, they might represent hair, lime-bleached after the Melanesian fashion. I stated those reasons fully in the paper above referred to. Dr. Rivers urges emphatically that these red 'crowns' were intended to represent symbolic hats, but the evidence which he adduces in support of this theory is not as yet sufficiently convincing to warrant the final adoption of his view.

The figures of symbolic 'hats' from the Banks Islands and Santa Maria (*Hist. of Melanesian Society*, i. p. 91, and Pl. iii. Fig. 1), to which he specially refers, bear no resemblance to the Easter Island 'crowns.' He adds, it is true, that "some of the hats are more or less cylindrical," but these he does not figure, so that comparison cannot be made with the special form of crowning stones from Easter Island; and the expression "*more or less cylindrical*" does not suggest any very close resemblance. If Dr. Rivers will publish figures of Melanesian symbolic hats which *do* exhibit the peculiar features of the Easter Island 'crowns,' he may carry conviction. I am no blind adherent to the suggestion which I put forward quite tentatively; all I am anxious for in this connection is the satisfactory diagnosis of the 'crowns,' based upon convincing evidence. Until such evidence is forthcoming, I must continue to recognize the *possibility* of their having been intended to represent hair (or possibly wigs, as suggested by Sir Everard

im Thurn), and that the cylindrical shape was adopted in order to facilitate transport (by rolling) of the huge masses of specially selected red volcanic tufa over the considerable distance intervening between the tufa-quarry and the sites of the statues.

Lastly, Dr. Rivers admits the possible validity of Moerenhout's suggestion that the great statues may have represented minor deities whose duty it was to prevent encroachment of the sea over the land, at any rate as regards the 'hatless' statues erected along the road. But it should be noted that these aligned effigies are situated at a considerable distance from the sea, and that they do not appear to have faced seaward. As for the images erected on the *ahu* along the shore, the fact that all had their backs to the sea seems to militate against Moerenhout's theory as regards *them*. To be effective they should surely have *faced* the encroaching enemy.

I refer to these points in no controversial spirit, but in the hope that, by viewing the available facts as they are and in true perspective, some definite conclusions may be arrived at. I am gratified to find that so distinguished an ethnologist as Dr. Rivers has adopted my *main* point, which I first put forward at the Royal Geographical Society's meeting on 20th November, 1916, during the discussion on Mrs. Routledge's lecture (*Geographical Journal*, May, 1917, p. 345), which I developed in *Folk-Lore* (December, 1917), and which Mrs. Routledge has incorporated in her book (*The Mystery of Easter Island*). This point is that in the Easter Island culture there is evidence of a very strong Melanesian element, and that the Solomon Islands especially furnish valuable clues to that culture affinity.

HENRY BALFOUR.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
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*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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## **EVENING MEETINGS.**

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16th, 1921.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.  
THE minutes of the January Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Dr. M. Nicoll, Mrs. Goldston Hills, and Mr. N. Wolf as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the Pennsylvania University Museum as a subscriber were announced. The resignation of Miss Eyre was also announced.

Mr. G. R. Carline exhibited a biscuit and cake mould of the eighteenth century (probably German) obtained in Switzerland, and casts of some of the figures upon it; and also a hand of Fatima, made of copper, probably from Northern Africa.

Miss Edith Durham read a paper entitled "Albanian Beliefs and Customs"; and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Dr. Hildburgh, Mrs. Coot Lake, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Banks, Mr. Wright and Mr. Carline took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Durham for her paper and to Mr. Carline for exhibiting his objects.

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**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20th, 1921.**

DR. HILDBURGH IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss E. H. Blane, Mr. Hugh E. A. Rose and the Rev. F. Ozanne as members of the Society was announced.

The resignations of the Rev. Dr. Bussell and Mr. T. Fairman Ordish were also announced.

Mr. R. Grant Brown read a paper entitled "Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides; and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Murray and Prof. Baudis took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Grant Brown for his paper.

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**WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th, 1921.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. Philip A. S. Foster and Sr. José Miguel de Barandiaran as members of the Society, and the enrolment of the University of London and the Ohio State University Library as subscribers was announced.

Mr. G. R. Carline exhibited (a) three metal tram tokens, each of the value of one fare (30 centimes), and used as currency in Milan for that amount, 1920; (b) two similar

tram tokens from Lyons, 1920, for 20 and 25 centimes each; and (c) two cardboard tram tokens for 15 centimes each, used as currency in Marseilles.

Dr. Paul Radin read a paper entitled "Religious Dualism in America"; and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Prof. Elliott Smith and Dr. Hildburgh took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Radin for his paper.



## THE PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGION OF THE BURMESE.

BY R. GRANT BROWN.

*Object of paper.*—The object of this paper is to gather together and co-ordinate the information regarding the pre-Buddhist religion of the Burmese which is now scattered through numerous records, and to add to it some hitherto unpublished results of my own observation. The information is still very incomplete, and such as there is has been difficult to obtain owing to the natural reluctance of Buddhists to admit the existence of beliefs and practices condemned by their own religious teachers.

I propose to limit myself to religious survivals, other than Buddhist, among the Burmese themselves; that is, among a civilized people speaking Burmese and professing Buddhism. The religion of other and less civilized communities living in Burma will only be referred to for purposes of comparison. I also propose to exclude as far as may be, after a short discussion, such survivals of primitive religion as appear to have been imported from India along with the Buddhist faith.

*Burmese origins and affinities.*—In order to understand the subject it is necessary to realize who the Burmese are. They live within the Indian Empire. They are Buddhists, and have received their religion, their sacred language, their sacred books, and to a great extent their civilization from India. But they belong to the yellow race, and their characteristics are those of the yellow

race and often in sharp contrast with those of the mass of the people of India. They are separated from India by a broad barrier of mountains inhabited by wild tribes, across which there is hardly any communication. A succession of mountain ranges also divides them from China, but over these there is far more intercourse, and their affinities are on the whole with the Chinese, whom they regard with respect and commonly refer to as "the great nation." Indeed Mr. Taw Sein Ko, the late Government Archaeologist, has pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the Burmese words for the fundamental acts of the Buddhist religion are not Indian but Chinese in origin, and he suggests that the first Buddhist missionaries may have come to Burma from China. Moreover, as mentioned by me in *Man* for February 1916, a Burman always turns to the east in offering Buddhist prayers if there is no symbol of his religion in the neighbourhood, in spite of the fact that Gotama's country lies to the west. He must sleep with his head to the east or south, never to the west or north, and he is invariably buried with his head to the east. This may conceivably be due to the tribe which eventually imposed its language and customs on the inhabitants of the Burma plains having come from the east,<sup>2</sup> or in other words from China, where there are still tribes speaking languages closely allied to Burmese. The Tamans, as will presently be seen, certainly came from China, and they are but a tribe which happens to have retained its individuality while others have lost theirs.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1906, pp. 211-12, and plate, nos. 13, 15, 16. See, however, Mr. Blagden's criticism in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* for April 1915.

<sup>2</sup> See W. J. Perry, "The Orientation of the Dead in Indonesia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for the second half of 1914. By orientation, however, Mr. Perry seems to mean usually burial with the *face* turned in a particular direction. He gives no instance of burial with the *head* in the east indicating migration from that quarter.

On the other hand there is said to be a tradition<sup>1</sup> that the Burmese came from the region of Tibet, and this view is supported on linguistic grounds by Mr. Bernard Houghton in his *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palaeontology* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1896.<sup>2</sup>

*Buddhist animism.*—Burmese Buddhism, as practised by the people, contains, though to a much less degree than the Buddhism of some other countries, some animistic beliefs which are probably inconsistent with the pure philosophy of Buddha, so far as that can be deduced from the texts which have come down to us. It may perhaps be presumed that these beliefs were brought into Burma with the Mahayanist or northern form of Buddhism, which is called corrupt because it incorporated within itself, to a far greater extent than the southern form which now prevails, the ancient beliefs and ceremonies of the people. They survive in the dragon-embraced pagodas, of which there are several beautiful examples; in the frequent representation of a cobra's hood over the head of Buddha; in the reverence paid to the Indian god Indra or Sakra, who has been converted into a kind of Buddhist archangel; and in such ceremonies as the libations of water offered to the Earth-god Wāthôn-dāye (Vasundhara) at feasts and funerals, in which monks take part and which are regarded almost as an integral part of Buddhism. Before the time of the great Burman king Nawyāta (Anuruddha) of Pāgan, who reigned in the eleventh century, the Mahayanist form of Buddhism seems to have been prevalent, though to what extent it was accepted by the people can only be guessed. It appears to have been overgrown by the animistic beliefs and practices incorporated in it, some of them no doubt

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Parker, *Burma*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The question of the origin of the Burmese was discussed by me in an article under that title in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* for June 1912.

indigenous, for snake-worship was common to all the countries through which Buddhism passed.<sup>1</sup>

*Animism as a distinct religion.*—But the animism with which this paper deals, and which I have called the pre-Buddhist religion of Burma, is something altogether apart from the Buddhist religion as now practised in Burma. It is frowned on by the monks, who keep away from its ceremonies. Yet its votaries, if they call themselves Burmans, are all professing Buddhists, and it must not be supposed that their professions are false because they think it prudent to propitiate the old gods. It has often been said that a Burman's Buddhism is a veneer overlying his real religion, which is animism. So far as this implies that his Buddhism is superficial to a greater degree than is the religion of the Christian, or than Buddhism itself in other countries, I think the statement is misleading. The Burman Buddhist is at least as much influenced by his religion in his daily life as is the average Christian. The monks are probably as strict in their religious observances as any large religious body in the world, and compare very favourably with those of other Buddhist countries. Most laymen, too, obey the commands against alcohol and the taking of animal life, though these run counter both to strong human instincts and to animistic practice. The suppression of these habits, while animistic beliefs remain and order the Burman's daily life, is surely a remarkable proof of the power of the Buddhist ethic as a moral force and the depth of its influence on the people.

To the ordinary European mind it seems strange that there should thus be two religions existing amicably side by side. Not only do the votaries of the one not persecute those of the other, but they may actually be the same

<sup>1</sup> See the valuable article on "The Art of Burma and Tantric Buddhism," by Mr. Duroiselle, now Government Archaeologist, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1915-16.

individuals. The phenomenon, however, is widespread in the yellow race—witness the existence of Taoism and Buddhism along with Confucianism in China, and Buddhism with Shintoism in Japan—and only disappeared from Europe with the advent of Christianity. It is well known, for instance, that the Romans worshipped the gods of both Greece and Egypt side by side with their own. After the downfall of Roman political power there seems to have been a general craving for unity and universal government, as the only known means of obtaining and preserving peace. Religious dissenters disturbed the desired unity, and were regarded as the enemies of mankind, for whom mere destruction was too mild a punishment. The notion of a supreme and universal ruler in the political world seems to have been paralleled by that of a supreme deity and an exclusive form of worship in the religious world.

In Burma the position is reversed. Both in politics and in religion the natural tendency is towards decentralization and individual freedom. It is true that Burma had a king, but he was regarded as a necessary evil. The central government was very weak, and hardly interfered at all with the life of the people. There was no feudal system, and no aristocracy. The real rulers were the village headmen, who were elected, though preference was usually given to the natural heir. When a headman became unbearably oppressive his people, in some parts of the country at least, packed up their few belongings and built themselves new houses with bamboos from the forest in the domain of another headman.<sup>1</sup>

So in religious matters the people had their own little gods, and the idea of a supreme deity was unknown to them. Whether, as has happened in some other religions,

<sup>1</sup> When on tour in the Chindwin I came upon a village-tract which had contained several villages, but in which only one house was left,—the headman's.

one god would have gradually assumed more importance than the rest, and perhaps even have ousted them, we cannot tell; for the advent of Buddhism, and from its establishment as the State religion in the eleventh century, checked the natural development of the native cult, and destroyed the power of its priests. It is possible that the Hindu god Sakra or Indra, who, as already mentioned, became a kind of Buddhist archangel, was identified with, and therefore obliterated, a native god of the sky. His connection with the Burmese new year and water-festival do not seem to be traceable to any Indian source.

*The Burmese nat.*—The Burmese word *nat* is usually translated "spirit," or "disembodied spirit." These terms, however, are much too wide. The spirits of the dead may remain in the house where death took place until bidden to depart, or may annoy the living by returning to the occupations they followed in life, or may hover about cemeteries and frighten the wits out of passers-by, but that does not make them *nats*. When they are visible they are called ghosts by us and *tāse* by the Burmese. A *nat* is something quite different. The word is the equivalent of our word god, in the sense in which we speak of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome. How exactly a spirit becomes a *nat* it would be difficult to say, though it seems often to have been by royal decree.

Whether every *nat* was once a human being is another question. The term is applied to the spirits or gods of mountains, of rivers, of whirlpools, of trees, of villages, of houses, of earth and sky, of rain and wind, of a hundred other things. When I have heard it so used of a local spirit I have always asked who the spirit was in life, and have always been told that this was not known. Professor Ridgeway, differing from Sir James Frazer, would doubtless say that its identity has been forgotten. This is confirmed by some of the legends which I shall tell. There seems nothing improbable in the explanation.

There are many houses in this country which the local people say are haunted without being able to give the story of any particular person who died there; yet no one would suggest that the ghost is the spirit of the house, or anything but the disembodied spirit of a dead man.

The spirits which represent the forces of nature, however, are naturally further removed from human origins than those which are assigned to local landmarks. Moreover there is a tendency with the Burmese to merge the identity of their own gods of this class with Indian gods imported with Buddhism.

Some light may be thrown on this question by the legend of the Môngdaing Nat, whose image is in one of the Buddhist temples at Pāgan, a former capital. *Môngdaing* is one word for whirlwind, and one naturally thinks that the Môngdaing Nat is the Storm Spirit,—one of the personified forces of nature dwelt on by Sir James Frazer. But the legend, contained in a Burmese manuscript sent to me some years ago by Mr. Duroiselle, now Government Archaeologist, says that Nga Môn Daing was a citizen of Pāgan who on his death, for some reason not mentioned, became a *nat*, and interfered with the building of a pagoda which was then being erected. A *natwin*, or spirit-medium, on being consulted said the pagoda could be finished if a crocodile and an elephant were offered to the *nat*. This was done, and an image of the *nat* attended by an elephant placed in the temple. The component parts of *môn-daing* cannot be assigned any suitable meaning, and look more like a man's name than a word for whirlwind, the ordinary term for which is *le-bwe* (*le*, wind, and *pwe*, whirl). It seems quite possible that this word for storm owes its origin to the legend and the individual round whom it is woven, just as our words *boycott* and *macintosh* are derived from men's names.

No account of the Burmese gods could omit to mention the Thirty-seven Nats, and there has been a great deal

of discussion as to which *nats* have a right to be included in the Thirty-seven. I do not think the point is of any importance. The Burmese have a curious fondness for using numbers loosely as a mere description of a group, just as I said, a few moments ago, "a hundred other things," without meaning that the number of Burmese nature-gods was exactly a hundred in addition to those mentioned. Territorial areas are constantly named "The Nine Demesnes," "The Twenty-seven Villages," and so on, though the actual number may be nothing like nine or twenty-seven. And as a matter of fact the list given by Sir Richard Temple in his sumptuous work entitled *The Thirty-seven Nats* actually contains thirty-eight, if not thirty-nine, as may be seen from the description of those numbered thirteen and thirty-two.<sup>1</sup>

The list includes all kinds of gods, from the lord of heaven, through princes who died of drink, down to a tea-dealer who was killed by a tiger in comparatively modern times, and seems curiously out of place in this august assembly. Few of them are worshipped now, and some gods whose images are kept in Burman houses are not in the list. Most remarkable of all, not one of the great Burmese kings is included, though many minor royalties are.

At the Taungbyôn festival, described later, is a long line of booths occupied by women to whom is given the appellation *natkădaw*, or wife of a *nat*. They may be found in any part of Burma, and are more or less professional fortune-tellers; or rather spirit-mediums, for they tell fortunes only after working themselves into a trance. Before they can practise they must go through a ceremony of marriage with some *nat* whom they believe to have fallen in love with them in their dreams or trances. The ceremony may be conducted by another *natkădaw*,

<sup>1</sup> See the same author's translation of a Burmese MS. giving an account of each *nat*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1906, p. 217.

but every bride, no matter where she lives, must report in person to the *nat-ôk*, or high priest. Each *natkădaw* attending the Taungbyôn festival brings with her the images of the gods she worships, and ranges these on a shelf in her booth, where she tells the fortune of anyone who pays the fee demanded.

Mr. Rodway Swinhoe, of Mandalay, has a beautiful golden image of a naked boy in an attitude of prayer, said to be one of twelve which surrounded King Thibaw's bed. No doubt these represented the twelve spirits, six good and six evil, which are believed to watch over the life of every Burman. It is for fear of offending the good spirits that a Burman always avoids stripping himself naked, even when changing his clothes in a closed room.<sup>1</sup>

*Sacrifices.*—The practice of sacrificing individual lives for the good of the community, which is so utterly opposed to Buddhist teaching, may be traced in Burma at the present day in all its stages, from the slaughter of a human victim to the mere offer of plantains at a shrine. A few miles beyond the administrative border of the Upper Chindwin District a boy or girl is annually bought from a distant village and killed with much ceremony, the blood being sprinkled on the rice which is to be used as seed.<sup>2</sup> The people here are Nagas, but they are indistinguishable from Burmans when they wear similar clothing, and speak an allied language. Farther south, where civilized influences have made themselves felt, the Nagas have substituted cattle for human beings. In villages along the Chindwin people calling themselves Burman Buddhists still sacrifice fowls annually to the god of the harvest, though the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly, and if enquiries are made from a villager

<sup>1</sup> Compare my note on "Burman Modesty" in *Man* for September 1915 with *The Burman*, by Shway Yoe (Sir George Scott), i. 280.

<sup>2</sup> See my "Human Sacrifices near the Upper Chindwin" in the first number of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, June 1911.

he will very likely say that the practice exists in some other village but not in his. Before the Taungbyôn festival, which will shortly be described, two hares are caught and killed, and their sun-dried carcasses borne in procession through the streets and placed before the images of the Brothers. At the foot of Kyauksè Hill, south of Mandalay, are two mighty boulders called the Brother and Sister. If there is sickness in a house a dead fowl is bought in the market and offered to each of these. In most villages, though the custom has begun to decay, offerings of meat, fish, or other food are made to the village god on certain occasions. Lastly, every Burman offers food (including sometimes fish but not meat) at least once a year to the spirit of Min Māgāyi, the mighty Blacksmith, who watches over every house in the country; and an offering to the same divinity is placed at the top of the first post erected for a monastery. This offering may consist of fruit, cakes, a silk kerchief, or leaves of the sacred *eugenia*; and here we have the principle of sacrifice in its most attenuated form.

In the past no town was founded, and no great building erected, without the sacrifice of one or more human beings, whose death was believed to be necessary to the success of the work, and whose spirits afterwards guarded it. Even at the founding of Mandalay in 1857, it was popularly believed that a pregnant woman was slain at night in order that her spirit might be guardian of the city, and the pious King Mindon is said to have openly made offerings of fruit and food to the spirit, which was supposed to have taken the form of a snake.<sup>1</sup> One of the gates of Kalembo, in the Chindwin, is called the Koyin Gate, because a *koyin*, or acolyte, who happened to be passing, was seized and killed, and his body buried under it. There is a tradition that the architect of the Ananda Pagoda at

<sup>1</sup> Burma Census Report, 1892, quoted in *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, l. ii. 35.

Păgan, the finest in the country, sacrificed his own son to ensure the success of his work.

To Nawyăta, the great Buddhist king of the eleventh century, is given the credit of founding the extensive irrigation-works in what is now Kyauksè District, to the south of Mandalay. According to the legend, a victim was about to be taken for each weir, when the sister of the Shan king of Myodyi, one of Nawyăta's queens, asked whether her death would not suffice for all. So she was slain, and at every weir was placed her likeness in a wooden figure overlaid with gold-leaf.<sup>1</sup> The king of Myodyi himself had a tragic death. He regarded himself as the equal in rank of the great Burmese king, but when Nawyăta sent for him to render homage he sank his pride and started for Păgan rather than drag his people into war. When he reached the whirlpool in the Zawdyi River, where it enters Burma, he was so overcome with shame that he threw himself in and was drowned. The boulders called the Brother and Sister, already mentioned, are popularly identified with this unhappy pair.

The Tamans, a remnant of a people living on the Chindwin River, have in most respects adopted Burmese customs, and profess Buddhism, while retaining their own language. Their tradition is that they came from China, and this is confirmed by the use of chopsticks for food set apart for their guardian deity at an annual religious ceremony in which a pig is sacrificed. The pig is slain with a club, and its blood sprinkled on the worshippers by a priest of the cult. The Buddhist monks, as usual, keep away. In the sacrificial shed are certain objects made of bamboo which are evidently a conventional representation of human heads. The wild Nagas of the hills near by are head-hunters, and, as remarked by Sir George Scott, head-collecting is merely a form of recruiting spirits as

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of this and other figures see my "Lady of the Weir," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1916.

local defenders. The Tamans are believed to have supernatural powers, and in particular to be able to turn themselves at will into tigers.<sup>1</sup>

Though Christianity has made but little headway among the Burmese, it has not escaped them that it is founded on the idea of sacrifice. Perhaps this knowledge, added to the secrecy with which Freemason rites are performed, accounts for the almost universal belief that the Freemasons kidnap children and sacrifice them at their meetings. An intelligent Burman once told me that he did not believe the tales about this being done at every meeting, but that there was no doubt it took place at Christmas, at which season careful mothers did not let their children go out of their sight.

The eating of the god is a rite with which we are familiar in our churches, and we ought not to be surprised at finding traces of cannibalism among the Burmese. It is recorded in the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*<sup>2</sup> that when a rebel leader, who had been a monk and had a great name as a sorcerer, was killed, his body was dug up by a Shan chief (not, it is true, a Burman, but the Shans are as pious Buddhists as the Burmese) and the head and other parts of the body boiled down into a potent decoction. The Burmese legend of Tilat, still represented on the stage, tells how he was prompted by the spirit of Maung Min Dyaw, a victim of one of the kings of Pāgan, to disembowel his pregnant wife and eat the unborn child, thus attaining the power of making himself invisible. In 1914, when I was at Bassein, a Burman was convicted of desecrating a grave in the town cemetery, and sentenced, I think, to imprisonment. He was found disinterring a corpse, no doubt with some such object as that above mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> See my "Tamans of the Upper Chindwin, Burma," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for the second half of 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Part i., vol. ii. p. 37.

Closely connected with the idea of sacrifice is the deification, or at least promotion to the rank of spirit with power over men, of those who have died a violent death; and especially of those who have been put to death by rulers, not in order to raise up guardian spirits, but to serve their own end, or what they believe to be those of the community. Within this category fall the greatest of the Burman national gods,—the Blacksmith of Tagaung and the Brothers of Taungbyôn.

The Blacksmith has already been referred to as the divinity who watches over every Burman household. As a man he was called Maung Tin Dè; as a spirit, the Māhagiri Nat, or Min Magāyi. According to the legend as told me, he was a man of prodigious strength, and when he struck his anvil the whole city shook. This offended the king, who ordered his arrest. Maung Tin Dè fled to the hills, and the king sent for his sister Saw Mè Ya, and, making her his queen, induced the blacksmith to return, and then ordered him to be burnt alive in a champac-tree. His sister threw herself into the flames, and became the Taungdyiyin Nat. The story as told in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*<sup>1</sup> adds that the two heads were taken out uninjured. The spirits thereafter abode in the tree, and ate anyone who came near. The king, therefore, had the tree uprooted and thrown into the river. It floated down to the royal city of Pāgan, whose king, to prevent similar harm to his people, gave the spirits a temple on the great lone mountain of Pōppa, visible from the city. An annual festival was held in their honour, and until the sixteenth century, when the practice was suppressed, oxen and buffaloes were sacrificed to them. A coconut, surmounted by a piece of red cloth, is still hung in every Burman house as an offering to the spirit of Maung Tin Dè.

A version of the Blacksmith legend differing altogether from the ordinary one is worth recording, as it was told

<sup>1</sup> Part i., vol. ii. p. 19.

me by the lessee of a neighbouring fishery and is the only version which accounts for the peculiar position of Min Magāyi as the universal house-spirit. The king, he told me, was Thādo Nāgānaing, the slayer of the Dragon, of whom more hereafter. He took Dwe Hla and Dwe Byu, Maung Tin Dè's sisters, into his palace. Tin Dè tried to recover them, and being unsuccessful smote his anvil such a mighty blow that the whole city trembled. As a punishment for this he was hanged on a *malla*-tree and then burnt in a smith's furnace, while his sisters were beaten to death. After becoming a *nat* Tin Dè asked his sisters for a kingdom to rule over, and they gave him the right of entry into any house in the country.

The Brothers belong to a much later date, having lived under King Nawyāta in the eleventh century. They are said to have been the sons of an Indian (possibly an Arab) and a female *bilu*, or ogress, who lived on Mount Pôppa. Through their mother they inherited magic powers. Nawyāta, who was an ardent proselytizer for the Buddhist religion, and is credited with having made southern Buddhism the faith of Upper Burma, ordered each of his subjects to contribute a brick to a pagoda which he built at Taung-byôn, near Mandalay. The Brothers failed to contribute bricks, and were put to death. They became *nats*, and an annual festival, attended by thousands of Burmans, is still held in their honour. Their golden images are kept in a shrine close to the pagoda which was the occasion of their death. Here is enacted an elaborate ceremony, lasting several days. On the last day two branches of the coffeewort tree, one for each brother, are set up near the shrine. The topmost twig of each is cut by a priest or priestess of the cult, and the crowd fall on the tree and tear it to pieces. The fragments are taken home and planted in the fields to bring a good harvest.

The coffeewort tree is not, as far as I know, otherwise regarded as sacred, and in my description of the ceremony

in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for the latter half of 1915 I have suggested, following Professor Ridgeway,<sup>1</sup> that such a tree may have happened to grow on or near the graves of the Brothers, and have been, in the belief of the people, impregnated with their virtue. "The original tree may have been cut up and distributed, and when it failed a tree or branch brought from the forest may have been treated in the same way, as is done now. The sacrifice of human life has already taken place, once for all, and the tree is dismembered, not in substitution for a man, but because the virtue of this particular man has entered it."<sup>2</sup>

Another royal victim who became a *nat* was Ngã Pyi, servant of a prince of the twelfth century. His master was sent away by the king to a distant part of the country, and compelled to leave his beautiful wife behind him. He instructed Ngã Pyi to come to him at once if the king sent for his wife. The king did send for her, and Ngã Pyi rode to his master, but slept a night on the way, and was put to death for his negligence.

In the fortune-tellers' booths at the Taungbyôn festival, already mentioned, the images I saw most frequently were those of the Brothers, Yeyingãdaw, Tibyuzaung, and Maung Po Tu.

Yeyingãdaw seems to be a kind of evil spirit dwelling in the wild country to the west of the ancient shrine of Powundaung in the Chindwin. I could get no other information about her at the festival, perhaps owing to the fear with which she was regarded. I have since heard that she must be propitiated if cattle are to be kept free from attacks by tigers.

<sup>1</sup> *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.I.*, 1915, p. 362. For a fuller version of the story of the Brothers see the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, pt. ii. vol. ii. p. 104. When I wrote my account for the *J.R.A.I.* I had seen neither this version nor Mr. J. A. Stewart's description of the ceremony on pp. 387 sq. of Professor Ridgeway's book.

The title Tibyuzauṅ means bearer of a white umbrella, the mark of kingship. It was borne by Kunzaw, the last king but one before Nawyāta. He was deposed by his son and successor Sökkāde. A deposed monarch has a right to retain the white umbrella. He became a monk, and appears in the ancient costume of the Buddhist order.

Maung Po Tu was a trader of Ava, who was killed by a tiger when he was going to buy tea from the Palaungs in the Shan States. He had the misfortune to offend the *nat* of the Kālādaung ("Indians' Hill") by sticking upright in the ground the spoon with which he stirred the contents of his rice-pot. The story, seemingly modern, may possibly be connected with phallic worship, of which there are survivals in the Tai country.<sup>1</sup>

*Snake-worship.*—Snake worship, as already mentioned, has left traces even in the purer form of Buddhism now practised in Burma, but it is not of these that I now propose to treat. There is a very remarkable shrine at Tāgaung on the Irrawaddy, a hundred and twenty four miles north of Mandalay; now a mere village, but regarded by the Burmese as their most ancient capital. Buried deep in the ground is a huge log, the upper part of which is carved into the semblance of a head measuring, with the headdress, over four feet in height, and covered with gold-leaf. The features are grotesque: bulging eyes, a long-bridged nose with exaggerated nostrils, a very short chin, and no mouth. Between the eyes are leaf-like ornaments suggestive of a dragon's crest, and there are conventional ears somewhat in the shape of tails. Once a year the doors of the shrine are thrown open, and adults permitted to see the image, if they dare to look, and make offerings to it. Children are not allowed to

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of some of these images, and of the tree-cutting ceremony, see the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for the second half of 1915, quoted above. The actual headdress worn by one of the priestesses at the ceremony witnessed by me is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

see it at any time, lest its grotesque features excite their laughter, and the god be offended. Men take off their shoes or dismount from their ponies when passing the shrine, and it is said that those who omit to do so are thrown violently to the ground, and vomit and sometimes die.

The story of this forbidding image, as told to me on the spot, was repeated in an article entitled *The Dragon of Tagaung* which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1917. Thādo Saw was king of Tāgaung, and his queen was Kin Saw U. From a knot in the foundation-post of their palace sprang a dragon, which took the form of a man; and he was loved by the queen, and slew her husband with a prick from his poisoned fang; and the king's brother Thādo Pya reigned in his stead, and took Kin Saw U to wife. But he also was slain by the dragon, and likewise all the rest of six brothers in turn. Then the ministers sought for a king, and sent out a magic car to bring him. Now Kin Saw U had a son Pauk Tyaing, who was lost in the forest when a boy, and was brought up by others; and from his foster-parents he learnt these sayings: "To reach your end, travel. To attain wisdom, ask. To live long, watch." With this learning he set out in obedience to the first precept, and was met by the magic car, and taken to the palace, and offered the kingdom. But he bethought him of the second, and asked what had become of the former kings and husbands of Kin Saw U; and he heard that the reason of their death was unknown, but that each one had the mark of a single tooth upon him. Yet he took the kingdom, and Kin Saw U as his queen. Then the dragon came to him in the night to kill him, but he was awake and ready in accordance with the third precept, and slew the dragon with his sword. So the dragon became a *nat*, and is worshipped under the name of Bodawdyi, the Great Father.

The story goes on to say that the queen gave Pauk Tyaing a riddle to guess, and that he was to die if he failed to give the right answer. But he guessed the riddle, having heard the answer from a crow. Afterwards the queen bore him two sons, whom the emanation of the dragon within her womb caused to be born blind. So they were set adrift on a raft down the river; but they recovered their sight, and founded the city of Prome. A succession of legends follows that of the dragon, and these are favourite subjects for the Burmese drama.

The legend appears in another form in the apocryphal book of Tobit, and is very fully dealt with (though the Burmese version is not mentioned) under the name of *The Poison Maiden* in a book called *The Grateful Dead*, published by the Folk-lore Society in 1907.<sup>1</sup> The author thinks that the story, which in combination with that of *The Grateful Dead* reached several countries of Europe, came originally from India by way of Persia. He refers<sup>2</sup> to parallels in Lal Behari Day's *Folk-tales of Bengal* and Knowles' *Folk-tales of Kashmir*, in both of which the snake comes from the queen's nostrils. The legend does not seem to have been traced further east than Burma, and the version I have given appears to be the fullest form of the story yet published.

The Dragon is not one of the Thirty-seven Nats. His status is indicated by four shrines I saw at a fishery higher up the river, for the former ruling prince, the Thirty-seven Nats, the Dragon, and the spirit of the founder of the fishery.

Among the Thirty-seven, however, is the Snake-woman Shwenäbe, whom the blacksmith Maung Tin Dè met during his wanderings in the mountains, and who on his departure laid two eggs and dropped them in the river. From these, according to one version of the story,<sup>3</sup> came

<sup>1</sup> See especially Chap. IV. and p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See the third footnote on p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, August 1906, p. 222.

the Black and White Brothers, who boxed before King Duttābaung of Prome till both died from exhaustion and were numbered among the Thirty-seven.<sup>1</sup>

*Tree-worship.*—Sacred trees, supposed to be inhabited by spirits but not now connected in the popular idea with the dead, abound all over Burma. The legends of the Blacksmith and the Brothers suggest that they derive their virtue from dead men whose names have been forgotten, and thus confirm the theories of Mr. Grant Allen and Professor Ridgeway. The latter also, on p. 387 of the work quoted, suggests the legend of the Brothers as the origin of the tree which used always to mark the centre of the piece of ground set apart for the players at an open-air theatrical performance. As to this I think the evidence is inconclusive. Several factors may have contributed to perpetuate the custom: the fact that a growing tree was used as shelter where possible, the frequency of forest scenes, and the necessity for setting up some sort of a mark to show where the performance is to take place. But there is one piece of evidence which does not seem to have been noticed before. When a *nat* appears on the stage the fact that he is a *nat* is always indicated by leaves held in the hand or stuck in the hair or over the ears. When I was asked the reason I was told that the *nat* was supposed to live in the forest.

The Burmese story of Udeinna the Elephant-tamer seems to be connected with tree worship. Udeinna's mother is said to have been carried off before his birth from the palace at Kosambi, where she was queen, by a monstrous bird, and dropped into a banyan-tree (which was still in existence five years ago) at Indaing, two miles north of Kyauksè in Upper Burma. Here she gave birth

<sup>1</sup> For an illustration of the dragon's head (a model of which is in my possession) see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October 1917; and for an illustration of an image of Shwenābe, photographed by me at the Taungbyôn festival, see the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for the latter half of 1915.

to the boy, who acquired the art of calling wild elephants from the forest, and afterwards became king of his father's dominions. Udeinna is clearly the Sanskrit Udayana. The Indian story, as told by Wilson in his *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*,<sup>1</sup> tells how King Udayana's mother was carried off from Kosambi by a *garuda* bird, but says nothing about a banyan-tree or wild elephants, and of course does not mention Burma. Possibly the spirit of the tree was that of a local celebrity, famous for his power over wild elephants, who was somehow identified with the Indian king. If so we have one more example of the interweaving of local with Indian legend.<sup>2</sup>

*Phallic worship.*—In the north-west corner of Burma, among villages where the religion is Buddhism and the prevailing language Shan, there are often to be seen posts with a head of the conventional lotus-bud shape, painted in vermilion and gold and surrounded by a fence. These are placed over the bones of Buddhist monks who have been cremated. No one, however, who has seen the phallic emblem in the compound of the principal monastery at Bangkok can doubt that they are a survival of phallic worship, the very existence of which has long since been forgotten. The frequent obscene carvings on the outside of Buddhist monasteries, which seem so singularly out of place in view of the asceticism of their occupants, have no doubt a similar origin.

The Taungbyôn Brothers, already mentioned, are said to have been of an amorous disposition, and it is suggested in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (I. ii. 24 and II. ii. 106) that the method of their execution, a peculiarly painful form of a castration, is a hint at phallic worship. However this may be, there can be no question about the fertility-rite performed at Pyindaung fishery and described by me in *Man* for July 1919.

<sup>1</sup> P. 191, ed. 1864.

<sup>2</sup> For photograph see "The Lady of the Weir," *J.R.A.S.*, July 1916.

Fertility-rites seem to have survived also in the custom by which young people pelt each other with fruit during the night of the full moon of Tazaungmôn, which occurs usually in November. During the same night there is a general licence to pluck and eat one's neighbour's fruit, so long as it is done without his knowledge. It was suggested in my note on "Thieves' Night at Mandalay" in Part iii. of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* for 1914 that the remarkable custom described therein, by which the people surreptitiously remove each other's furniture and pile it up in another street, may be merely an urban extension of the other.

*Rain-making.*—There can hardly be any doubt that the custom by which the young men and maidens throw water over each other at the new year, which is in April, a little before the rains are due, had its origin in a desire to produce rain, though the fact is now forgotten. In Central Celebes also the young people throw water at each other, but this is not done at the new year, but only when there is a drought.<sup>1</sup>

A similar origin (though this also is now forgotten) may be assigned to the annual festival at Shwezāyan on the Myitngè River, a tributary of the Irrawaddy. Here large fish come up in shoals and are fed by the crowd, some being so tame as to allow their heads to be plastered with gold-leaf. According to the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (II. ii. 30), when rain is scarce in the Meiktila district a certain kind of fish is caught and placed in a bowl, offerings made to it, and gold-leaf stuck on its head. It is then let loose in water.

The usual method of producing rain, however, is now a tug of war, in which both sexes join. The object being to keep up the fun as long as possible, or till the rope breaks, the onlookers help the weaker side when it shows signs of giving way. In my note on this subject in *Man*

<sup>1</sup> *The Magic Art*, i. 277.

for October 1908 I said I had been unable to find any explanation of the custom. This is supplied by Dr. Francis Buchanan in *Asiatick Researches for 1779*, vol. vi., p. 193 sq.

In some of the *Burma* writings it is said, that when the sun is in the path of the goat, these *nat* do not chuse to leave their houses on account of the great heat, whence there is then no rain. For this reason, the inhabitants of the *Burma* Empire, in times of drought, are wont to assemble in great numbers, with drums and a long cable. Dividing themselves into two parties, with a vast shouting and noise, they drag the cable contrary ways, the one party endeavouring to get the better of the other: and they think, by this means, to invite the *nat* to come out from their houses, and to sport in the air. The thunder and lightning, which frequently precede rain, are the clashing and shining of the arms of these *nat*, who sometimes sport in mock-battles.

So in *The Shans at Home*, p. 207, Mrs. Leslie Milne mentions a poetic fancy of the Shans that thunder is caused by the gods playing polo and galloping their horses over the clouds: lightning flashes from their hoofs as they strike them against the stars.

A less common way of producing rain is to take the image of Shin Upägök (Upagupta) and put it in the sun; just as St. Joseph was put in the sun at Palermo and told that he would be kept where he was till rain fell.<sup>1</sup> Upagupta was a Buddhist saint and missionary in India who seems to have been identified with the Burmese rain-god. In Burma his image is sometimes to be found in a Buddhist temple, looking up to the sky. He is said to live in a many roofed pavilion surrounded with water. Anyone who wishes to invoke his aid must send him a message in a golden bowl. There is also a legend of his having been compelled to remain naked as a punishment for having,

<sup>1</sup> *The Magic Art*, p. 300. For Shin Upägök see my note in *Man* for October 1908.

as a boy, run off with another boy's clothes while bathing. I can find no trace of these legends in Indian records.

While on tour in 1908 on the Irrawaddy River I found a raft floating unattended towards the sea. In each of the two shrines built upon it was an image of Shin Upägôk, so thickly plastered with gold that the features were partly obliterated. It was said to have come from Upper Burma. In such fear was the god held that no one dared steal the images.

The *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (I. ii. 100) mentions an image of the *nat* of rain in human form as having been thrown into the Irrawaddy in a palace ceremony before the British annexation. I have not had an opportunity of enquiring whether this was Shin Upägôk.

It is a common practice to wash the images of Buddha in the temples during a drought.

A curious story is told in *The Indian Antiquary* (1896, p. 112) about an imperfect harrow which was supposed to be keeping off rain. It had to be decked with flowers, broken, and thrown into the river.

*Treatment of disease.*—The *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (I. ii. 29) describes a class of healer called *natsäya*, or wizard, who is called in when ordinary means fail, and treats the patient by dancing before the image of a *nat* and working himself up into a state of ecstasy. He is distinct from the ordinary native doctor, and seemingly also from the spirit-medium or fortune-teller already described, but I have no personal knowledge of his class.

An attempt to deceive Death himself and induce him to pass over a sick boy was described by me in *Man* for February 1909. A bamboo was cut to his exact length, and cuttings from his hair, finger-nails, and toe-nails placed in it. The bamboo was then clothed and put in a coffin, which was carried through the streets in a procession of mourners and interred at the cemetery with the usual funeral rites.

I have several times entered a village and found the houses surrounded with white thread, to which were attached Buddhist texts or leaves of the sacred *eugenia*, also employed in the Buddhist ceremony of initiation in the monkhood. This was with the idea of preventing the cholera demon from entering during an epidemic. More practical was a custom which I witnessed in Akyab in 1891 of segregating a whole quarter of the town by means of a rope over which townsmen stood as guards, no one being allowed to pass in or out. I was told then that many years before a European Inspector of Police roughly insisted on passing the cordon, and was cut down and killed.

*Death and burial.*—The subject of death and burial has been so fully treated in the last chapter of *The Burman*,<sup>1</sup> to which my notes in *Man* for February 1916 may be regarded as a supplement, that it is unnecessary to deal with it here.

<sup>1</sup> *The Burman*, by Shway Yoe (Sir George Scott), 1882.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### A STUDY OF FOLKLORE ON THE COASTS OF CONNACHT, IRELAND.

THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX., p. 319.)

#### IV. (continued). *Fairies and Fairymounds.*

“TRANSLATION” AND CHANGELINGS. Probably long before the “dukedom” of Theseus, when the famous weaver was “translated,” men and women were reputed to be carried off by spirits to supernatural palaces, caves and wilds. In my study of Co. Clare such stories were nearly absent, but they are far more plentiful in the islands of Connacht, notably Cliara (Clare), Bofin and Shark.

A Munster chief settled on Inishark (Shark) with his wife, children and nurse. One day the boy dreamed of a lovely land under the sea; his nurse was asleep and he induced the two other children to go to the shore, where they were drowned. The nurse, in her deep sorrow and self-reproach for her carelessness, secluded herself in a shore cave and spent her time in prayer and mourning. At last one day she found a bunch of strange, lovely flowers placed in her hand, and she at once died.<sup>1</sup> The children evidently had been spirited away to “Ladra” or some other under-sea paradise, for children who die young are really alive in the fairy hills.

On Bofin it is considered very dangerous for young girls to be let go about by themselves, as there is a very splendid fairy

<sup>1</sup> Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland*, 1919, i. p. 64.

court on the island. Should any one have the misfortune to be carried away, like Proserpina, to the underworld, he must be careful to eat no fairy food or the kidnapped person is held prisoner to the end of the world. One young man incautiously slept under a rick on a Friday night and was carried off to the palace and told to help the cook. To his horror he saw that the fairies were preparing as meat for the feast an old woman, whom they were skinning as she hung from a hook. He was told she was a miser and had a bitter tongue, hence her fate. When the feast was served he excused himself from eating on the pretence that no priest was there to bless the food, but, tempted by the wine, he drank off a cupful, became insensible, and (when he awoke) found himself under the rick. He never recovered, but pined away and died.

Another story on Inishark told how a girl whose lover had been killed was weeping for his loss one sunset when a woman approached. The stranger made her look through a ring of herbs<sup>1</sup> and a wreath, off which she was to pluck a leaf, without signing the cross. One day her mother saw her doing the spell and broke into prayer, when the girl screamed that the dead were coming for her and fell senseless. The priest was hastily brought and sprinkled her with holy water, when the evil spirits left her, but, like the hero of the Bofin tale, she withered away and soon died. The looking through a ring reminds one of a tale of the goddess fairy Aine at Knockaine, Co. Limerick, who showed a girl a ring through which she saw the holy hill covered with fairies.<sup>2</sup>

Otway<sup>3</sup> tells of a man at Portacloy on the north coast of Mayo, who, returning to it from Porturlin, followed a guiding line of white stones over the intervening upland, a wild heathery plateau, even in my time haunted by eagles and regarded with awe. Despite his forebodings of danger from "Pookies" he got unmolested for half his journey to a hollow called the Granny Glen, a beautiful little lonely stream gully, as I saw it one

<sup>1</sup> I heard a very similar tale on Galway Bay before 1886. I think over the Clare border.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Celtique*, iv. p. 287; *Proc. R.I. Academy*, xxxiv. pp. 59-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly* (1838), p. 134.

summer morning, in 1911, but weird and haunted in the gloom. He suddenly saw lights in every direction and could distinguish a great castle. He entered it and found large rooms lit by rainbow hues, as bright as the sun. A feast and rich plate were laid out in one and a crowd of servants and guests welcomed him to the table. He remembered that if he ate their food he should remain for seven years. So tempting seemed the food that he was about to yield when a woman stopped him, telling him she had flown from Donegal to save him. Then his host said, "I hope your friend O'Donnell liked his ramble the other night. Pray be so good as to present Capt. Green's compliments to Capt. — and tell him he hopes to have the pleasure of his company before many nights shall have passed." The man on his return to Portacloy told everyone, and great excitement was felt as to what might befall Capt. —; the latter, when telling it to Otway, said that, if he had happened to be lost, all the natives would have believed that he was carried off by the fairies.<sup>1</sup>

Near Ballycastle, in Tirawley Barony, eastward from Portacloy, is a "giant's grave" of unusual form—a *vesica* of large stones with a small circle at each point; near it lay another circle. The peasantry believed that "some big body belonging to Finn mac Coul" was laid there. Lieut. Henri, before 1838, heard how a weaver, who lived between it and Beldearg, had married a young and pretty girl. She sickened and died unaccountably, and, as her sorrowing husband sat alone, he heard her voice. She told him she had been carried off by the "gentry," but if he came at full moon to the giant's grave and drove out of it a brindled cow and her calf, she would be restored to him. He came, the cow lowed, and so horrible an uproar arose of cursing and hooting that he ran home, and his wife, who had been taken to nurse the fairy children, was never seen again, whether in her own form or that of the brindled cow.<sup>2</sup>

Otway in *A Tour in Connaught*<sup>3</sup> also notes beliefs among the people of Inishbofin which I found flourishing over seventy years later in that primitive place. It was firmly believed that the

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 395.

hills were full of fairies, " romping and carousing within," and that they carried off children and robbed milk and butter. The sprites could exercise malignant power on infants especially before baptism, stealing the handsome ones and replacing them by puny withered changelings. The only way to get rid of these was to set a pot on the fire and threaten to boil the fairy child, who then vanishes and the real child was brought back. Women who die in childbirth are believed to have been carried off to fairyland.

I met everywhere, from Ballycastle to Inishbofin, beliefs as to the existence of changelings. Lady Wilde gives several from Inishark which seem to be good local tales.<sup>1</sup> I must only give the shortest condensation of the beliefs. (1) An old woman came into a house and looked at a child without saying " God bless you "; it got ill, a strange " wise woman " told the parents that it had been changed and directed them to get a bit of the old woman's cloak. This made the elf sneeze and the true child was brought back. (2) A man saw the fairies carrying off a boy, and, signing the cross, rescued the infant. He found the mother weeping over the supposed corpse, which he made her throw into the fire, where it came to life and flew up the chimney. He then gave her the real baby. (3) A man, whose young wife had long been childless, taunted her, and she soon after bore a lovely boy. One day to his horror it suddenly grew a long beard, and he beat his wife, at whose screams two red-capped women came and beat him till he asked pardon. The real child sent a tuft of rushes to the mother, and she was able to enter the fairy palace. An old woman brought her to the king and said she was the nurse of his own son. He restored her own child and said the man who beat her was a fairy disguised as her husband. She invoked God's name and fell senseless, eventually recovering and returning home to find she had been three years absent. She found that her husband had detected the changeling and put it on the fire, when it shrieked and flew up the chimney. (4) Mary Callan of Shark while sitting alone with her

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Cures, Charms and Usages of Ireland* (1890), p. 141; *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland* (1887), vol. i. pp. 38, 73, 119.

newborn child was wrapped in a cloak by two men and carried away to the Fairy Hall. She touched her eye with the fairies' ointment and saw a crowd of her neighbours' supposed-dead children who told her that they could not return till Doomsday. One also told her that the men were waiting to steal her child till the candle she had lit should go out, and bade her tell his mother that he was alive. He gave her a leaf to crush when in trouble, and she found herself outside of the Hill, returning home, to find her child dying, she crushed the leaf and the infant recovered. The leaf was put into an amulet. (5) A changeling, found playing pipes behind a tub of meal, was put on a shovel over the fire and vanished. (6) The wife of a man named Dermot<sup>1</sup> seemed to die of a fever; her daughter died a year and a day after and eventually her son got ill of a similar fever. A girl went to the well to get water for him and saw a dark shadow resembling the boy's mother. The shade told her to go home and she would see a black cock on the bed. She was to get the blood of a crowing hen (I hope to give some notes on these ominous birds in Section XVIII.) gather ten straws, throw away one and stir the blood and lay it by the boy. This was done and the child recovered. (7) A wilder tale was told where a similar charm was done; the child's mother had killed a kitten to use its blood as a cure. Then two great black cats appeared asking how the woman dared kill their only child to save her own. They attacked and tore the family and some neighbours who came to help in a fierce fray and routed them badly torn. Suddenly the cats stopped and said, "You are punished enough, your baby will live, for death can only take one child, and this we swear by the blood and by the power of the great king of the cats"—they vanished, and the child recovered. I found no similar story in the islands, but, in a Co. Limerick tale, weasels attempt to avenge their young and yet act with strict moderation and justice. Supernatural cats are common in Irish mythology, and I have found belief in "King Cats," one dwelling in the *sidh* or holy mound of Rathcroaghan in Co. Roscommon and one in the tumulus of Dowth in Co. Meath. The first appears to have been worshipped, like the divine horse, at a mound in

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Cures*, p. 151.

eastern Co. Louth, but much can be found in early Irish literature about such beings.

FAIRY KINGS. Fiachra and Finvarra seem to be the chief fairy kings in Co. Mayo and Galway, as Donn Dumhach is in Co. Clare and Donn Firinne in Co. Limerick. I have noted no outstanding banshee, such as Aibinn, Aine and Clidna are in Munster or the Hag of Black Head in Co. Clare. Fiachra may be the famous king Fiachra Foltsnatach (a semi-historic prince, late in the fourth century) or Fiachra, of the fort of Dun Fiachrach in the Mullet named in the wars of Queen Medbh in the *Tain bó Flidhais*.<sup>1</sup> He protects ancient hawthorns and "forts" and loves those who do the same. At Dun Fiachrach he is the owner of a remarkable water horse on which he used to leap over the chasm of that promontory fort. In the poem Fiachra (in one text Fiacha) "of the keen blade, son of Faobhar," was summoned, just before our era, to the aid of Oilioll Finn, husband of Flidais Foltchain,<sup>2</sup> against the great invasion of Medbh to release Fergus and carry off the famous cow from Dundomhnaill. The cliff forts of the Mullet and its neighbourhood are all named there—Port, Dunmore (Dunnamo), Dun an Aeinphir, Dunaneanir and Dundearg, Dunkirtaan and Duniver.<sup>3</sup>

The "high king," Finvarra,<sup>4</sup> with his queen and court was seen on November Eve (*Samain*, when the *Sid* mounds open) by a fisherman on Inishark. Among the train were a girl and other deceased friends of the spectator. The man was (very imprudently on such a night) standing in an old rath or circle and fell insensible; a similar sight came to a poor woman at the same place, but she died of the shock. Finvarra rides on a horse with fiery red nostrils and is on special terms of friendship

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Roy. Soc. Ant. Ir.*, vol. xlii. p. 197; vol. xliii. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Flidais Foltchain was regarded as mother of the "siabra" (earth god) Nia Segamon (B.C. 150 to 70) in the ninth century pedigrees of the Cashel and Thomond princes. She was probably a mother goddess or milk goddess famous for a wonderful cow.

<sup>3</sup> Most of these forts are described *Journal Roy. Soc. Anth. Ireland*, xlii. pp. 132-139, 197-216; for the tale see Professor Mackinnon's version in *Celtic Review*, i.-iv.

<sup>4</sup> He is named in the *Leabhar Gabhala* in its present form of the eleventh century but in substance far earlier.

with the Kirwans of Castle Hackett, who claim descent from a beautiful fairy, whose loveliness is sometimes renewed in the family. Finvarra helps himself freely to wine, but he cannot be called an extravagant guest as he keeps the cask full to the brim. The story is alluded to (1839) in the Ordnance Survey Letters, and I found a variant on Galway Bay.<sup>1</sup>

In one version it is the fairies of *Cnoc Meadha* near Burrishoole, Co. Mayo, that are friends with the Kirwans, not Finvarra of the southern *Cnoc Meadha* or Knockmaa near Tuam.

PUCA. The *Púca*, or Phuca, is generally suspected, from his name and his absence from our ancient literature, to be a parvenu in Ireland, for his origin and provenance have never been established. The name *Pook* of goatish shape and the mischievous *Puck* immortalized by Shakespeare, appear in English sources.<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere than in our district he is a shaggy goat or black horse, who bewilders and carries off belated persons. Here (and it supports the suspicion of his late introduction) he is of human shape, some even confuse him with the Banshee.<sup>3</sup> James Hardiman publishes an old poem *Abhann an phuca*, by a bard MacSweeney, of Doon Castle, the foundations of a peel tower on a high rock on the mainland opposite to Omey Island. In a note, the editor says that it is believed that the *Púca* survived the deluge and is a mischievous, hairy spirit, who exerts his power on November Eve (*Samain*) whence many avoid going out that night after sunset.

Lochaunaphuca on Cliara<sup>4</sup> is haunted (I heard) by "a sort of spirit"; Professor Eoin MacNeill heard that "the *Púca* was seen there and might be seen yet." On Achill, "Puca" was one of four human tyrants who broke a stone cross on

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Cures, etc.*, p. 148; *Ancient Legends, etc.*, i. pp. 145, 149; ii. pp. 102, 217, cf. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> "The Pouke nor other evil sprite" in Spenser; "that same Pooke hath goatish body" in Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, 1587, p. 126; Croker's *Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland*, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> As on Clare Island, Mayo. "Pook" is not uncommon in place names, but in at least some is a "buck goat."

<sup>4</sup> Misprinted "Sochaunaphuca" *supra*, xxix. p. 307; the other names are Owennaphuca near Omey Island, Galway, and Foheraphuca in Achill.

Slievemore. Iron, fire and salt are the surest weapons against the *Púca* on November Eve among the people of North Mayo. Everywhere there I heard of him as a ghostly man, never as of animal form. His usual place is taken by the Water Horse.

SÍD MOUNDS. I have hope that the very important subject of the *síd* or god's mounds of the ancient Irish may be studied scientifically and as it deserves.<sup>1</sup> There is much information accessible, and when it is brought together (it and its kindred subject, the early *óenach* and "cemetery" of each district) we shall begin to know the distribution of the religious centres or "temples"<sup>2</sup> of later Irish paganism. The gods having degenerated to fairies I include this note with the other fairy lore of Western Connacht.

Cnoc Meadha, or *Síodh Murbhagh*, was a levelled mound on Clew Bay and, unlike most of its congeners, enjoyed the best reputation, for its inmates were "the gentlest and kindest of the good people" of Umhall or indeed in Connacht. "Síd hurbhagh of the waves, a *síd* never guilty of treachery; a delightful *síd* of fair haired damsels."<sup>3</sup>

"Cruikeen na sheehoge," near Portacloy, is known to the old people, but, in that lonely place, I failed to find it, though I was evidently close to the site; one said it was a natural mound. There are two mounds, each reputedly a *sidéan* or fairy place, on Cliara (Clare Island); one yielded a bronze sword. On Inishturk are two more, which I shall describe; Inishbofin had one "full of fairies" which I could not get located, but suspect to be a small ring mound near Dunmore fort. In 1878, I was told that the large tumulus on the lake shore opposite to Recess Hotel was a "fairy mound." In the *Life of St. Cormac* we hear of *Sith Badha* (? *Badbha*) in Tirawley<sup>4</sup>; the exploded school of antiquaries who follow Henry O'Brien in their dis-

<sup>1</sup> See my various attempts to elucidate it in *Journal Roy. Soc. Anth. Ireland*, vol. xl. p. 291; *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, xxxiv. pp. 57-67 and pp. 152-3; xxxv. pp. 372-5, 382. For those of the god Lug's famous sanctuary at Tailltiu, Co. Meath, see *Folk-Lore*, xxxi. pp. 138-9.

<sup>2</sup> Sanctuaries and platforms for sacred rites not actual temples, *i.e.* buildings.

<sup>3</sup> "Ordnance Survey Letters," *R.I. Acad.*, Mayo, vol. ii. p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Sanctorum Hib.*, Colgan, p. 754.

covery of the worship of Buddha and the phallus or *Bod* call this Sith Budha! Another important sacred mound was the inauguration place of *Forradh mac n Amalgadh* in Tirawley. A cairn or tumulus and stone circle near Killala and Rathfran is still called "Forry." The cairn at Kilgallighan near Dookegan and a mound in Aranmore may be of this nature. I was told as much of the last, but on uncertain "authority."

On Inishturk <sup>1</sup> Mr. Tim Toole (Austin) in 1911 showed me two fairy palaces. The first (called Shee or *Síd*) was a hill fort of large blocks, on a bold rocky knoll, like the fairy fort of Croaghateeaun (*Cruach an t sidéan*) near Ballinalackin, Co. Clare.<sup>2</sup> Only part of the foundation of the ring wall of great white quartz blocks remains. The second *síd* is a notable natural rock called "Campulnamuckagh." It has been asserted that this is *Teampul na muice*, but I was told on the spot "no, there was no church here," so leave the word "campul" for further discussion by philologists. The pig may be supernatural, like the "boar" from which the island (Turk Island and Inishturk) seems to be named.<sup>3</sup>

There were two shallow lakes down a long slope, the outer first cut a drain through its lower ridge, then a stream cut down the inner ridge, in a straight face with a doorway-like recess. The whole is strangely artificial in aspect; I hear there is a chimney-like shaft on the top of the pinnacle above the "door." A young man foolishly threw some sods of turf (peat) down the first in bravado. Not long after his leg began to swell and a dull pain developed. He had to take to bed and was pining away in cruel agony. A poor "wise woman" called to ask for charity, and being well treated (when do the Irish peasants refuse to aid those poorer than themselves?), she undertook to cure the lad. She went out gathering herbs, made a hot poultice and soon the swelling broke open and "she took out a thing like a blade of grass," bound up the limb and he soon

<sup>1</sup> Described fully in "Clare Island Survey," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. xxxi. part 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xxi. p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Or the Matal wild boar from which Inismatal or Illaunmattle on the coast of Co. Clare was named.

recovered. Similar cases of necrosis of the bone have been treated elsewhere without suggestion of fairy origin or cure!<sup>1</sup>

Over thirty years before (about 1880) a young man had his coat left at Campulnamuckagh saying he would fetch it away by night. He set off in the dark, but got a sudden panic and fled to a friend's house. "Whatever he saw," his terror was so evident that no one dared go and tell his relatives that he was safe. Meanwhile, alarmed at his non-appearance, his people set out in a crowd to rescue him—they only found the coat and hurried home regarding him as carried off into the *Síd*. He returned by daylight, a sadder and wiser man, and I could see that jest or defiance of the powers of the air in the Campulnamuckagh was even still regarded as dangerous in the extreme.

Near Ballycroy we heard of a man who built an addition to his house which encroached on a fairy hill. Soon afterwards he was drowned and his brother died, for the "gentry" love to dwell in these old earthworks, and it is most unlucky to injure an old rath even when in the midst of cultivated land.

I will only add that on Galway Bay, about Ards and Carna, I found in 1899 beliefs that the good people were the less wicked of the fallen angels and caused diseases in infants and cattle, playing mischievous tricks and substituting changelings for human children. The people carry a lit pipe or a "coal" of burning turf in the dark for security. Mr. P. Mongan of Carna and Mr. Cahill at Mace Harbour told us several stories. Unfortunately on the occasion of our stay a local "fairy man" saw fit to warn his clients against answering our enquiries, so we got less information than usual. However, at Gorumna and Lettermullen, not far to the east, on the same bay, Dr. C. Browne got fuller particulars of all these beliefs and a few others already given. Aran has ceased to be safe ground since my early visit in 1878; even by 1885 caution was very necessary, and, since then, a crowd of tourists and students of Irish have overlaid the genuine tradition, and it seems almost a point of honour among the peasantry to mislead incautious enquirers.

<sup>1</sup> I recall a nearly disastrous "cure" by an herb doctor and astrologer in N.E. Co. Limerick about 1886.

V. *Will o' the Wisps and Corpse Lights.*

There can be no doubt but that luminous natural phenomena are very common on the islands and in the Mullet. Luminous insects and the St. Elmo's fire, balls of light at sea and on the hillside or blue phosphorescent sparks clinging to a mast, or whip, or horse's mane, have been seen by some persons with whom I have spoken,<sup>1</sup> indeed (but I speak with reserve) I have seen unaccounted lights out at sea myself from the shore.

Though true fire is everywhere so inimical to fairies and ghosts, its imitation often accompanies them. About 1838 Otway tells how Mr. George Crampton and a clergyman, Rev. Mr. Stack, were riding in the sandhills near Termoncarra glebe in the Mullet on a stormy winter evening when the darkness was lit up and their horses, Crampton's stick and Mr. Stack's clothes were fringed with fire. Lieut. Henri had seen a ball of fire light on his flagstaff at Dookeeghan and throw out innumerable pencillings of brilliant rays. A fairy ball appeared on a ship's mast in Blacksod Bay, and several floated through the sandhills near Binghamstown in recent times. There are said to be luminous insects<sup>2</sup> in the bogs above Portacloy and on to Beldearg in Erris and "humming globes" of pale flame have been seen, and are mentioned in many tales from Portacloy to Binghamstown. Sometimes travellers in the dark have seen their feet covered with light. Belief in Cliara rather inclines to regard such fires as of worse origin "got by the Devil himself." They are sometimes corpse candles foreboding death, usually at sea, but as a rule they are attributed to fairies<sup>3</sup> both in the Mullet and on Cliara.

VI. *Satan.*

The Prince of all evil spirits may be reckoned among the supernatural beings seen in Co. Mayo. Satan appeared as a

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 94. For bog-mirage see *ibid.* p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Like the "luminous owls" attested on the "Drum" ridge in Decies Barony, Co. Waterford.

<sup>3</sup> "Ethnography of the Mullet, etc.," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 632; "Ethnography of Clare Island and Inishturk," *ibid.* vol. v. p. 63.

black ram to St. Brendan on Inisglora. The saint rushed at his ghostly enemy, who ran away, assuming his proper form in the flight. The saint, who had been praying and blessing the ground as he ran, was startled and stopped, so the last spots on which Satan sprang are burned bare patches to this day. Once the Devil had the hardihood to appear to a woman in a chapel (I think at Ballycroy—somewhere near Achill), but he explained that he went to the church because people were so careless and the women went to criticize each other's clothes. Demoniacal possession is a matter of practical belief, and a circumstantial tale is told of one case, between Portacloy and Bangor Erris, at Mount Jubilee, about a possessed man.<sup>1</sup> Most of the appearances of the Devil are connected with local saints; he is more usually there, as in the less retired parts of the earth, seen in the works of evil. Despite the piety and usual kindness of the peasantry, malignant rites have been performed in his name. Roderic O'Flaherty in 1684 records such usage of the *Caslán Flainin* (or *Plemínhin*) to wreck a boat; usually it is an innocent charm for fishing. On Inishark a woman went to St. Leo's well because she had been called a bad name by a neighbour. She poured water on the ground in the Devil's name, with the terrible malediction "so may he be poured out like water," and went round it "against the sun." She then threw a stone at each station ejaculating "so may the curse fall upon him and the power of the devil crush him." The victim soon after was lost at sea in a gale. The woman had little cause to rejoice at her unhallowed success for, as she stood on a rock, gloating over her victim's end, his corpse rose in the water and she was blown into the sea and never seen again.

Another woman, by a similar charm, broke her enemy's leg. I was told of "winnowing weights of nothing in the Devil's name" somewhere in Connemara, but not on good authority, or with details, or the actual place. I see no reason to believe the statement that boys are dressed in petticoats to deceive the Devil as to their sex. The people of Inishturk denounce with horror charms done in the Devil's name by smiths' turning

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iv. ser. iii. pp. 104-5.

an anvil and boring a hole in a coin. I reserve a case of dealing with the Devil on one of the islands of North Galway, probably Shark or Bofin, and connected with the *dubh dael* beetle or "Devil's coachhorse."

#### VII. *Underground Folk.*

It seems as if some of the mound dwellers are not true fairies, but, as in my notes on Co. Clare, I have little to bear this out, and merely mark the section to attract the better study of local workers to that point.

#### VIII. *Water Spirits and Mer Folk.*

Greatest of all the water spirits, the sea god, Manannán mac Lir, has occasionally appeared, usually on some errand of mercy on the coast of Co. Mayo and he, or his son (or double), Oirbsen,<sup>1</sup> of Loch Oirbsen (Loch Corrib), on the coast of Galway Bay. He has sometimes come to warn of the approach of a storm. No doubt the pagan ancestors of the shore dwellers worshipped him of old; and his reverence lingered when his godhead was forgotten. The people live by the gifts of the sea, its fish, timber and seaweed, so naturally the gracious side of the god was most felt, but there are also suggestions that his fierce cruelty was once felt. Anything that falls into the sea should not be retrieved: a hat blows off and Aran boatmen have refused to go after it. A curious ceremony where young men naked on horseback are driven into Galway Bay and for some time kept from coming to land is very suggestive of a symbolic sacrifice. I am told that this has been in use near Spiddal, to the west of Galway, in very recent years. Some fifty years ago I heard from Lord Kilannin that his father and others had to go to the rescue of some shipwrecked men whom the peasantry would neither help nor permit to land. His relatives were

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the god Nuada Necht and his son Nechtan so Manannán and Oirbsen vary as father and son, or as the same person in the folk tales. I would refer to a note on Manannán in *Proc. R.I. Academy*, xxxiv. pp. 149-151.

eagerly warned of the disasters<sup>3</sup> to which they might be liable for saving anyone from the sea.<sup>1</sup>

There are several tales about storm spirits collected by Lady Wilde and by Otway, but I found none in my journeyings on that coast.

Of the mer-folk, most of the tales merge into those about seals, under which heading they are best treated. A local wise woman, Bidy Toole, near Portacloy, living at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, used to tell how she got some fishermen to row her to a rocky islet to gather *duileasg* (edible seaweed, "dulse" or "dillisk"). They carried her out to sea for mischief and to enjoy her sarcastic and witty talk, she being a very merry and pleasant woman. They let down their lines, got a strong bite and pulled up a green "fishy looking child," a boy, in every respect save its colour like a human child. The terrified captor, when all had looked at his "catch," threw back the creature into the water, but, whether from imagination or some other cause, he pined and died before the end of the year, though apparently in robust health<sup>2</sup> on the ill-fated expedition. The fishermen at Lettermullen and Gorumna on Galway Bay tell much of a local merman.<sup>1</sup> He was a drowned fisherman, and more than one person claimed to have seen him. He had long black hair, a flat face, a double chin and webbed hands. Far more attractive seems to have been a local mermaid who came to the more western coast to announce the coming of the three magic cows *Bo finn* (whence *Inishbofin*), *Bo ruad* (whence the "Red Cow's path," a spear's-cast wide, along the coast and the "Borua well"<sup>3</sup> on *Ardillán*), and the "Bo duff," of which I heard no local legends. She was very beautiful and named "Berooch."

At *Inishark* low music is heard under the water before an accident or a wreck. The best preservative is for the fishers

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Miss Matilda Redington of Kilcornan for several notes on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Some fifty years since I often heard my mother argue girls among the Limerick peasantry into hope and recovery from some imagination or superstition, a simple "remedy" and much faith sufficed.

<sup>3</sup> "Brian Boru's well" is a surveyor's "little learning" foisted on to the maps both in *Ardillan* and near *Corofin*, Co. Clare.

to sing, or have music on board the boat, as the sea people love to hear men sing and forget to perform their spells till the fated moment has gone by.

IX. *Ghosts and Haunted Houses.*

In treating of the important subject of ghosts, I intend to include ghostly animals for, in local folk-lore, the people regard such as equal to the human phantom. This seems to imply that the beliefs are of very great, if not pre-Christian, antiquity in origin, just as the beliefs in magical stones are most archaic. Going round the Mayo coast from Ballina (Balliná) it is hardly surprising to find that the beautiful "Abbey" of Moyne is haunted, though its lesser sisters of Rosserk and Rathfran (so far as I am aware) have no such tales. The Moyne story is a variant of "Mary the maid of the inn," which was a "loved terror" of my childhood. Peter Cumming, among convivial friends, in Killala, wagered a guinea that he would go to the Abbey and fetch a skull from it that night. The company accepted the bet and he set off alone on his long dark walk. Sobered and nervous he entered the aisle and finding a heap of bones groped for a skull and took one. A sickly groaning voice asked, "What are ye doing with my skull?" and he saw his grandfather's ghost, resembling the man in his last illness, even to the tobacco stains on his chin! The perturbed spirit rebuked the drunken descendant. Peter summoned up courage and asked for a loan of the skull to win the bet, and promising to bury it decently in his parents' grave and to pay for masses for the repose of its soul. The ghost vanished. "Silence gives consent," and Peter won the bet, telling his awesome tale and being famous ever after for bravery and clever mendacity.<sup>1</sup>

Lieut. Henri told Otway how he himself had seen a Brocken spectre in a fog, which accounts for the ghost tales near Portacloy and Dookeghan about 1838. In my time a ghostly black dog had also been seen near the former place. Two ghosts of drowned men appear near Belmullet, one on Blacksod Bay; the latter ghostly sailor was seen as late as 1894. A ghost of

<sup>1</sup> *Erris*, pp. 181-250.

a headless young man is seen near this, sitting on a fence, near the little mound on the Mullet, where it is said certain peasants, massacred by the yeomanry, were buried in 1798. It glides from the fence to the mound, into which it vanishes. The ghost of Major Bingham (of equivocal legendary repute) rides on a ghostly horse and makes rings on the sward at Carn, not far to the west. Bingham is said to have lived and died hated, early in the last century. I also heard of his and other ghosts in the sandhills from Termoncarra to Binghamstown in 1910, and the place is indeed lonely and weird enough for ghostly gatherings.

Ghosts are often spoken of on Cliara and Inishturk, but I heard no details, even at the Abbey on the former island. Some belief in the ghost of Grania Uaile (Grainne O'Mailley) attaches to her castle there; one got the impression that the tales were dying out with the older people.

Some farmers, driving cattle from the fair of Ballina, into Erris, one evening, saw a crowd of people and cattle going in the same direction. One of the men named Paddy MacCormick was astonished to recognize in the crowd two of his own bullocks which had been lost in a boghole some time before, even seeing his own brand clearly marked on them. He separated them and was driving them from the rest of the herd when a man ran up and asked him what he was doing. The drover saw to his terror that it was one Terry Barrett, the first husband of his own wife. Despite MacCormick's terror he was angry at being called a thief, and pointing to his brand said Barrett had no right to the beasts. The ghost replied that MacCormick was an ignorant fellow for "I have as good a right to your cattle who died honestly in the boghole of Poulesare as you have to my living wife." He struck the drover, who struck back, and a crowd of dead neighbours ran up and beat him soundly. Otway was told this near Bangor Erris in 1838, and his driver added that Pat was still alive but had not done much good since.<sup>1</sup>

Near Ballycroy, Dr. Charles Browne was told that the ghosts of some people, who were killed in a faction fight, appear in a field between the two townlands of the name. They usually

<sup>1</sup> *Erris*, p. 33.

appear to the families of their slayers, who therefore fear to pass the spot in the dark.<sup>1</sup>

In Connemara it is said that no Mayo man need fear a ghost or be harmed by it "on account of St. Patrick." At Carna I heard of several ghosts in 1899; a spectral horse and a black dog haunted two spots in that wild region. Two ghosts of policemen have appeared, one near the castle-like barrack, the other is seen on Loch Skannive, sinking in a spectral boat, showing how the missing man died. At Lettermullen we found the familiar belief that the ghost of the last person buried in a graveyard must keep watch till relieved by that of the next buried person. I am told this is believed of certain graveyards on the Mayo coast, but did not hear of it in those which I visited. It often leads to serious quarrels if two funerals arrive at the same time at a graveyard. This was told to Mr. Michael Lavelle, about 1894.

William Larminie was told by Michael Faherty of Renvyle, on the west coast of Co. Galway, opposite to Bofin, a strange story. A ghost left its skull on a lonely road near Renvyle, and a traveller despite his fear at the startling sight brought it to a neighbouring graveyard. As he returned a gentleman met him who said he was testing him and would reward him for his good-hearted act. He was brought to the graveyard and told to lift a stone, which he did, disclosing steps. The ghost brought him down to his house; two old women brought poor food and a beautiful woman richly dressed who gave them rich fare. Each had been wife to the ghost and had the food they gave to the poor till the Day of Judgment comes.<sup>2</sup>

The ghosts of drowned people are heard singing at sea in misty days off the Mayo Islands, and I think off Connemara. I have elsewhere told the tale of the ghostly nuns in Galway city.<sup>3</sup>

As I have as far as possible confined myself to the band of country a few miles deep round the coast I am precluded from

<sup>1</sup> "Ethnography of Ballycroy," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iv. ser. iii. p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk Tales and Romances*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, vol. xxviii. p. 446. A tale of the expulsion of the monks from Cong Abbey is given by Frank Buckland, *Curiosities of Natural History*, ser. iv (1900), p. 316.

telling of the haunted houses in southern Co. Galway. No old houses of the gentry lie along the shores of which I heard tales of haunting, nor (strange to say) did I, among the freely told stories of the supernatural, hear of any haunted house among the peasantry. Those who live in the districts may be able to correct my impression.<sup>1</sup>

#### X. *Supernatural Animals. Seals.*

I need not repeat any allusions to ghostly swans,<sup>2</sup> cattle, dogs and horses, and (as I have said) all tales of the *Púca* regarded him as of human shape. I will, however, separate the folk-lore and stories of the supernatural animals from the ordinary lore of nature about plants and animals in the case of the seals.

SEALS. On this wild coast with its shelving shores and endless reefs and skerries, it is natural that the seal (so familiar an object) should excite attention, and that, like all creatures that hover on the edge of two modes of life (like the bats, night birds and otters), it has gained a supernatural reputation.

Seals are accredited with human intelligence and more than human prescience. The MacConeely family claimed descent from a seal woman,<sup>3</sup> and I have found this belief all down the coasts of Mayo, Galway and Co. Clare. Some fancy that seals were the people drowned in Noah's flood.

In 1839 Otway found that seal hunting had been stopped in N.E. Co. Mayo from Downpatrick Head to Kilcummin. Two boys had declared that, when killing seals in one of the caves of that reach of coast, a white seal sat up and cried, "Spare your old grandfather, Daniel O'Dowd"! They were naturally astonished, for O'Dowd had long before died and been buried in Dunfeeny (a venerable church with a lofty pillar in an earth-work and near a famous earthen *rath* of the O'Dowds famous

<sup>1</sup> I hope the members of the Galway Archaeological Society may now try to collect their traditions and folk-lore.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, xxvii, p. 182, where I give the tale of the god Lir and his swan children briefly. I may note by an unaccountable oversight I omitted the very interesting tale of Lug and Balor (told by Larminie), one of the versions of the very ancient story found from Achill to Torry.

<sup>3</sup> "H Iar Connaught," James Hardiman's notes, p. 27.

now for its fairy dwellers),<sup>1</sup> so they argued with the seal who, however, convinced them that he was their relative. He had for his sins done in the body been condemned for a certain time to walk the night as a seal. He bade them to give up murdering seals "who may be nearer to yourselves than you think." The boys, especially his grandson, Tim O'Dowd, firmly believed all this and so convinced their neighbours that they gave the best proof of the faith that was in them by giving up their lucrative seal trade.<sup>2</sup>

One Owen Gallagher ("Tim") before that time used to go seal shooting and got lost at sea in a fog near Portacloy. As he deemed he drew near to some island, which he supposed to be Iniskea, he reached an unknown rock. An old man met him and accused him of being the cause of all his misery, having shot at and blinded him when in the form of a seal. The seal man further explained that his race was under enchantment, but could resume their human form on the island, he warned him (with more than Christian forgiveness) that he should leave before the seal's sons returned as they might avenge their parent's wrongs. "Tim" put out to sea, the fog cleared and he reached Portacloy in safety, ever after warning his neighbours to be cautious what they did for "seals were not natural."

The Portacloy caves, especially those at the great fortified headland of Dunminulla, are full of seals, and a quarter of a century since, Dr. Charles Browne heard there that a man was about to kill a seal in one of them when it turned into a large frog and escaped. His informant was a relative of the hunter, and told it to show how unlucky it was to kill a seal.<sup>3</sup> I found the belief flourishing in 1911, but my hosts the Dohertys and others did not hesitate to kill seals as destructive to fish.

Maxwell tells us, in *Wild Sports of the West*,<sup>4</sup> in 1832, of a noted seal in Erris called "Shawn a tra buoy," or "John of the yellow strand," who, like the "master otter," used to foretell the weather and bore a charmed life.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Roy. Soc. Anth. Ireland*, xlii. pp. 113-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Erris*, pp. 229, 400.

<sup>3</sup> "Ethnography of Portacloy," etc., *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, iii. ser. iii. p. 631; see also *Journal Roy. Soc. Anth. Ireland*, xlii. p. 126.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 61.

If we can trust the Halls (who, unlike Otway's friends and Maxwell, burned to "make a good story" of everything and rarely tell one naturally), there was a wild seal legend on Achill. Its resemblance to genuine legends inclines me to accept it at least in outline. Hall premises that seals embody the souls of those lost in the Deluge, doomed to bear this purgation till the world is burned, when they shall be purged and fit for Heaven. People in Achill believe that the animals can resume their human form once in a century. Usually, however, they are believed to be able to change always or at frequent intervals, usually in the dusk or night. John O'Glin of Achill hearing singing on the shore looked over a rock and saw a score of people dancing with a heap of sealskins beside them. A screeching arose and he and they ran to the skins, of which he secured one. Its owner, a fine and beautiful girl, in a loose dress, tied with golden strings, being unable to escape into the sea, was left weeping in his power. He cheered and comforted her, brought her home and got her to consent to marry him. They had several children; she used to eat raw fish, but cooked food for him and the children; she made him promise never to shoot at one of her people, and used to go and talk long with seals on the shore. One day, in his absence, she disappeared; the children grew up "yellow but clever," and the husband used to hear the lost wife singing to him under the sea. He used to sing back to her but, though she used to sob and cry at his song, he never saw her again.<sup>1</sup>

People on Galway Bay, on Inishbofin and on Inishark believe firmly in the Mac Conghaile, or Coneelys, being of seal blood, and regard shooting a seal as murder and eating its flesh as cannibalism. The belief is strong at Lettermullen, Gorumna, Carna and Mace, but it does not (as I have seen) prevent anyone from firing at a seal.

In Aran we also find the belief, but folk wear a strip of sealskin against colic, to which they are very liable from their food. *The Book of Lismore*,<sup>2</sup> p. 57, tells a curious legend of St. Brigid

<sup>1</sup> *Ireland: its Scenery and Character*, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, iii. (Mayo), p. 408. The story is of course of the star maiden or swan maiden type. See Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Saints from The Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes.

sending a man to harpoon seals for seven holy bishops and of his perilous adventures when he strikes one of these animals.

### XI. *Spectral Land and Cities.*

Each of the counties on the west of Ireland has its spectral island. Donegal has Tir Hudi; Mayo, the "Great Sunken Land" and Ladra; Co. Galway has Skerd; Co. Clare has Kilstuitheen and Kilstapheen; Kerry has the Island at Ballyheigue, while all have Hy Brasil.

LADRA. Opposite to Annagh and Scotch Port in the Mullet is a rocky shoal called Edye on which the sea boils at low water. Some called it Monaster Ladra, or Letteragh. The first name recalls the mythical Ladra who ("A.M. 1599," say some, B.C. 2348),<sup>1</sup> just before the Deluge, escorted Cesair, Noah's niece, to Ireland. He died and was the first person buried on the island. It is seen once in seven years, covered with houses and churches; no one has seen it a third time. Crampton calls it a "druid land." Its monarch was "King of the three kingdoms behind" (*i.e.* beyond Ireland). Some saw a great peak crowned with a castle on it. If anyone can drop a lighted coal on it it will become firm and habitable as Bofin has done.

THE SUNKEN LAND. This in the Mullet is now confused with Ladra. In 1839 it was reputed to lie between Donegal and Mayo from Teelin to the Stags and halfway to America. A woman named Lavelle saw it with its pleasant hills and valleys and cattle and sheep. A boatman at Ballycastle said he had seen it twice and he believed that if he saw it the third time, fourteen years after its first appearance, he could disenchant it. He became idle and useless and died, out of actual excitement, on the very eve of its expected appearance. Lieut. Henri's servant told him of one Gallagher who had landed on it in a fog. We have an account in 1636 of its appearance beyond Killybegs and Teelin.

It may be *Imaire Buidhe*, the cod bank, forty miles from land, which was believed to be an enchanted island and lay opposite

<sup>1</sup> Of course such chronology is not only late but contradictory, and was largely confected after A.D. 1050 by Giolla Coemhain and other synchronizers.

to O'Maille's country. Some Bofin fishers used to tell of how they heard bleating of sheep and lambs and saw leaves of apples and oaks till the mist cleared and they only saw open sea and the porpoises rolling.

SKERD. In 1684 Roderic O'Flaherty tells of the apparition of a great city, full of flames and smoke, great ships and stacks or ricks, seen at the Skerd Rocks in Galway Bay. I heard no late legends of this. They are probably merged in those about Hy Brazil. But it closely resembles the towers I saw on the apparent island from Kilkee, Co. Clare, in 1872 and 1918.

BRASIL. The most famous of all the phantom islands is Hy Brazil or Brasil. It appears on the early Portolan maps from 1320 and was not removed from all later maps till after 1865. It is called "Berzel Island, an Island of Ireland called the Fortunate," in the map of Fra Mauro. I heard of it in Aran in 1878. I attest it of my own knowledge, but several deny that it was known to these islands, probably not finding it in later years. I did not hear of it in the Mayo Islands, but was told that in Aran it appeared once in seven years. Mention of it abounds, and I have collected what I could find in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*; so will not repeat the matter here any further.<sup>1</sup>

INISHBOFIN is said to have been once a spectral island. It was approached in a mist by certain fishermen who dropped a burning coal on it and disenchanting it. Giraldus Cambrensis tells a similar story, save that the western island "Phantastica" was pursued by fisherfolk in a boat and a red-hot arrow shot at it. The island then became stationary and habitable, for "fire is hostile to everything phantasmal." It used to appear as a heap of clouds. Since I wrote this paper, I saw again on June 18th, 1918, the dark hills, the southern falling steeply to the sea, and three towers against the setting sun from Kilkee, Co. Clare. It was certainly a bank of cloud and lay on the sea, as in 1878, when it was nearer than the horizon, and the

<sup>1</sup> For this section I refer to "Brasil and the Legendary Islands," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. xxx. p. 223; O'Flaherty's *H Iar Connaught* (ed. Hardiman), pp. 68, 69, 72; Rev. Caesar Otway's *Ervis and Tyrawly*, pp. 247, 400.

sky was clear but the illusion of a city was perfect. I especially noted the curls of smoke between the towers such as O'Flaherty saw at Skerd. I have sketches taken in July or August, 1872, and in June, 1918. I do not recall the date or appearance of the first occasions when I saw it from 1868 to 1872.

T. J. WESTROPP.

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SCHEME FOR THE COLLECTION OF RURAL LORE IN WALES: THE  
WELSH DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF EDUCATION, LONDON,  
1920.

A WELCOME indication of the increasing desire to collect, before it is too late, the scattered folklore of the rural districts is the publication of this official scheme for investigation in Wales. The plan has been well conceived, and the syllabus defining the questions on which information is required from students in colleges and schools seems to have been judiciously prepared. The pamphlet should be in the hands of all who are interested in the subject, and we hope that the scheme will be adopted throughout the British Islands.

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RAIN-MAKING IN INDIA.

THE following extract from a letter just received from an old pupil, Mr. Christopher Gimson, I.C.S., now in Manipur (between Assam and Burma), may interest you :

“ Last year was a time of drought in Manipur, and the highly civilised and Hinduised Manipuris, headed by their English educated Maharaja, set to work to produce rain. One of the earliest attempts was the ordinary *pujā* on Nonmaijing Hill, where stands a stone shaped like an umbrella—the obvious residence of a rain god. This ceremony only resulted in about .05 inch of rain, and much more was needed. So 108 cows were collected and brought to the Palace, where they were milked on the ground in front of the temple of Govinda-ji. For some reason or other, this expensive remedy was a total

failure. Meanwhile, in the south of the Imphal valley, a wicked old man who lives at Moirang had produced copious local rainfall by catching a local deity and shutting him up in a stone which he fastened to the bottom of the river with bamboo stakes. But these local showers did not extend to the capital, and things were growing serious. The last resort in such cases is to drown a member of the royal family. The Angom Ningthon, a princeling always useful on such occasions, was held under water for some seconds, and within 24 hours heavy rain fell. At this last ceremony, H.H. the Maharaja ought to have smeared his face with mud, but (such are the results of an English education) he refused to sacrifice himself even to this extent for the common good. It seems probable that in the good old days of faith, the Maharaja would have been solemnly drowned in order to bring about the expected showers. Does this throw any light on the 'slaying of the priest'?"

J. D. ANDERSON.

#### CANADIAN FOLKLORE.

THE following notes were mostly gathered from various students of McGill University, Montreal, during the last two or three years before the war. They are supplemented by a few from my own experience.

##### 1. *Fishing Population of Nova Scotia.*

*Diseases.*—To cure an ailment in any part of the body; put five, seven, or any odd number of coins into a basin of water from a running brook; then sprinkle the patient with the water. Turn the basin upside down; if any of the coins adhere to it, the cure is effected.

*To cure a flow of blood.*—Move the fingers of the right hand thrice from left to right over the part affected, and blow three times on the part. Repeat both operations three times, using a certain form of words. (My informant did not know what the words were.)

*Witches.*—A horseshoe hung over the door will keep them out. Another charm was to collect pieces of mountain ash before sunrise on May 1. The gatherer must leave the house in silence, speak to no one, and not look back. The mountain ash was then put up over the doors of barns and outhouses to keep witches from souring milk, keeping cream from rising, and stealing hay. (From my informant's use of the past tense I gather that this once common practice has gone out.)

If bewitched, draw a figure of the witch on a board and fire a charge of shot into it. This, done before sunrise, will break the spell.

If the cattle are bewitched, take the milk of one of the cows, put pins in it, and boil it. This makes the witch suffer, and she will come to the house to ask about the cows. She may thus be detected.

*A charm for infants born with hernia.*—Let the father and mother of the child stand out of doors by the side of the house with a ladder between them. The midwife must then pass the child between the father's legs, through the rungs of the ladder, and so into the hands of the mother, and then back again, repeating the operation three times and reciting at each passage the names of the Trinity.

*Calendar customs.*—Do not let any of your possessions leave the house on New Year's Day. First foot—the name is used—must be dark, as a fair first foot is very unlucky.

*Travel.*—If a boat or ship is obliged to change course, she should do it sun-wise, to bring good luck. Bad luck is presaged if at the commencement of a journey a crow flies across the bow of the vessel.

*Sweeping.*—To sweep the floor after dark brings bad luck.

The population from whom the above beliefs are drawn were said by my informant to be part English, part Dutch. I gathered that he used the word "Dutch" correctly, and did not mean "German."

*Cape Breton.*—The above belief in "first foot" is especially prevalent there.

A Cape Breton miner if he meets a rabbit on his way to work will turn back and do no work that day.

2. *Prince Edward Island.*

The following beliefs are reported from the Scots population of this Province :

When visiting a new-born baby, put a piece of silver into its hand. This will bring luck to the baby and also to the giver. Neglect of the observance means bad luck for both, but especially for the visitor.

Fairies are said to plait the tails of horses.

The following tale of second sight, or rather, so to call it, second hearing, was told me by a Prince Edward Islander of Highland descent as having occurred in his own family. One of his uncles when a boy was unable to sleep throughout one night owing to being disturbed by the noise of the sawmill, belonging to the family and adjoining the house, mingled with screams of pain. No one else heard anything. The next day, Sunday, all the family save one, a brother of the seer, went to church. When they returned they found him dead and horribly mangled. He had gone into the mill, and by some accident started the machinery going and been caught by the saw.

*Prince Edward Island, English Population.*

At midnight on Christmas and Easter Eve cattle and sheep kneel down. (Cf. the Ontario belief, *infra*.)

If bewitched, make a potato into the shape of an old woman, to represent the witch. Fill it with pins and put it on the fire. This makes the witch suffer and breaks the spell.

3. *Quebec.*

*Hallowe'en customs, Montreal.*—Here, as in many parts of Canada, it has been the custom as long as I can remember for children to dress up in grotesque costumes, or simply to wear masks, on Hallowe'en. In 1911-13 they went about from door to door asking for apples. This I do not remember in my own childhood. They sometimes simply ask for "Hallowe'en apples," but in 1913 two or three small parties of children came to our door dressed up in old clothes, with

their faces blackened (not masked), pretending to be beggars and asking for "charity, please." What they wanted and got was of course apples and nuts. Formerly Hallowe'en was the occasion of rather noisy and rowdy processions of students and other young people, who sometimes did damage to property,—shopkeepers' signs, etc. This was discountenanced by the University authorities, and has now, I think, stopped completely. Another observance common about 1890-1900, but now rare, was for the boys to go about with peashooters bombarding windows. Various other amusements, some of them traditional, are kept up more or less—bobbing for apples, making jack-o'-lanthorns out of pumpkins with a candle inside, and the like—mostly at "Hallowe'en parties," a fairly common form of social entertainment. The disguised children are often called, or call themselves, goblins or witches.

These, I think, are definitely customs of the country rather than of the city. Few of our people comparatively have been city-dwellers for more than about a generation. They are also British-Canadian, not French-Canadian.

*French beliefs.*—The informant is the same *habitant* girl from whom the former series of Quebec folklore notes was derived.

*Rats and mice.*—To get rid of them, catch one, set its fur on fire, and let it go. If this is not effectual, send for a rat-charmer, of whom there are still a good many in the province.

*Weather sign.*—A cold Advent, especially Advent Sunday, foretells a mild winter, and *vice versa*.

*Pregnancy.*—The health of the expectant mother and that of the child vary inversely. The informant cited from her own experience an extremely healthy woman of whose thirteen children only three survived, and another who was quite pleased at the death of her two children in infancy, because it meant that her own health would improve, and "it couldn't hurt the babies just to be born and die."

If the lid is accidentally left off a kettle on the fire, company is coming.

*Ontario.*—The following notes were communicated to me in March, 1914, by the same informant from whom I had the earlier notes (see *Folk-Lore*, xxiv. pp. 219 ff.):

*Dowsing.*—A divining-rod should be of witch-hazel, but the wood of any tree whose fruit has a pip will do. It should be held, very firmly, by an only son, and for choice by the only son of an only son. It is of the usual Y-shape, and when it begins to turn, the distance from that spot to the point at which the lower stroke of the Y turns straight down should be measured, as this indicates the depth at which the water lies. Water so found will never dry up. This is a living belief.

*Folk-medicine.*—The following beliefs were met with among his patients by a practising physician in Napanee, Ont. :

*Night sweats.*—To prevent, put a pail of water under the bed.

*Pleurisy.*—Use a poultice of cow-dung.

*Earache.*—Put a drop of the patient's urine in the ear.

*Christmas Eve.*—At midnight all the beasts in the stable rise to their feet and look to the east for the Star of Bethlehem.

At the same hour the horses have human speech for a few minutes. The usual story is, or was, told about one "Pat," who hid in the stable to hear what the beasts thought of him, and heard them foretell his own death. The explanation is given, however, that it was a practical joke played by two men who had hidden in the manger.

These two beliefs my informant had many years ago from his mother.

It is lucky for the boys of a family to resemble their mother and the girls their father.

If a nursing woman conceives, her suckling will die. (Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 125, *concupere nutrices exitiosum est*. This appears to me not so much a piece of genuine folk-lore as an inheritance from the older medical ideas. It has some foundation in fact, as the food-value of the breast-milk would be lowered in such a case.)

*Toronto and the neighbourhood.*—About fifty years ago a horse-chestnut in each trouser-pocket was considered a good cure for rheumatism and lumbago; this was explained by its "electrical" properties.

*Weather.*—If the moon at the beginning of a quarter is high and to the north, the quarter will be cold; if low and to the south, it will not. (Cf. vol. xxiv. p. 220.)

Friday is the "governing day" for Sunday in regard to weather.

"Love-apples," *i.e.* tomatoes, are not fit to eat, as they give cancer.

The last four items I had from my father; the one about tomatoes his mother believed in. However, their ill repute is now, I think, completely gone, and they are a very popular article of diet.

*Hastings County.*—It is bad luck to meet a funeral; to avoid this, stop and let the funeral meet you.

A woman after any illness (not merely after childbirth) should step up before she steps down. A ladder will serve the purpose.

*Westport.*—Plant crops in accordance with the phases of the moon. (I could get no details of this; cf. vol. xxiv. I. c.)

*Locality uncertain, probably near the Quebec border, possibly in the Province of Quebec.* *Marriage divination.*—A girl may find out whether she will marry or not as follows. She should take a piece of wedding cake and put it in an envelope together with seven slips of paper, having written on them five names and the words "stranger" and "old maid." This she should put under her pillow every night for seven nights, and every morning draw out one slip. The one drawn on the last morning will be her "fate." ("Fate" is the regular term in this connection.) To find out whether any particular man loves her or not, she may put a lump of sugar into a spoon and dip the spoon into a teacup till the sugar begins to melt. The answer is favourable or otherwise according as the lump falls towards or away from her. If she sits on a table, she will not marry for seven years (contrast vol. xxiv. p. 222).

*Teeth.*—When a child's tooth comes out, if he swallows the blood, a large tooth will grow in. If he never puts his tongue in the gap left by the tooth, a gold tooth will replace it; if he does so but once, a silver tooth will come.

*Canadian, no particular province.*—Besides the usual belief that a toad will give warts to anyone who handles it, it is generally held that the juice of milkweed will do so.

Belief in a potato carried in the pocket as a cure for rheumatism is reported from several places.

In connection with the beliefs reported above from Nova Scotia, it is worth noting that the *Montreal Gazette* of Mar. 10, 1915, reported the trial, on a charge of pretending to use witchcraft, of an old negress, one Fanny Dismal, at Guysboro in that province. "The evidence taken at the preliminary hearing showed that the belief in witches and witchcraft is still strong at Guysboro. If anyone became stricken with disease that did not immediately respond to medical treatment, the friends of the patient began to think 'the witches are at work' and Fanny Dismal was called in to 'take witches off.'

"The woman's efforts were directed to discover if the patient were bewitched, who it was bewitched him, and if she could make a cure. The *modus operandi* of her incantations . . . was given in evidence to the court. It included the use of a Bible and a key.

"The distinction of 'putting the witches on' and 'taking them off' was repeatedly impressed upon the magistrate. Her witnesses claimed that Fanny only took the witches off, and that therefore her incantations were praiseworthy."

*American beliefs. Devil child.*—The same paper, on Oct. 30, gave an account of the excitement aroused "among thousands of the less enlightened residents of Chicago" by the supposed advent of a devil-child, "duly equipped with horns and a tail." The story, as told to Miss Jane Addams, was that an Italian woman in a slum district had announced that she "would rather have a devil than a baby," as she already had seven children. When the infant arrived, "it had horns and a tail, and could talk. When the baby saw its mother it shook its finger at her and said, 'You wanted a devil, and you have got one. If you kill me six others will come.'" "Whatever its origin," the paper adds, "the report is credited by thousands, and the 'devil child's' powers are dreaded. According to one version, the father was killed at the sight of it." (Cf. vol. xxiv. p. 360.)

*Dream divination, Virginia.*—The *McGill Daily* of Jan. 9, 1914, quoted from the *Washington Post* the following saying as being current in Virginia :

“Friday night’s dream on Saturday told  
Is sure to come true, no matter how old.”

H. J. ROSE.

University College, Aberystwyth.

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GLASTONBURY AND THE HOLY GRAIL.

(Vol. xxxi. p. 307.)

I HAVE read Miss Berkeley’s notes on Glastonbury with great interest. I agree with her that the locality was most probably an early centre of Nature worship, but that it can be identified as the “High Place,” the Grail Castle of the romances, I very much doubt.

It is worth noting that the only one of the romances that can be directly connected with Glastonbury, *i.e.* the *Perlesvaus*, appears to be interested in the Abbey as the burial place of Arthur and Guenevere, not as the home of the Grail. In fact, there is reason to believe that the romance was composed with the direct intention of exploiting the supposed discovery of the tomb in 1191. (Cf. Dr. Nitze’s “Notes on the Chronology of the Grail Romances,” *Modern Philology*, 1919-20, and my article, “The *Perlesvaus* and the prose Lancelot,” *Romania*, Dec. 1920.) It is by no means clear where the author located the Grail Castle; it is certainly not in Avalon, and the final home of the Grail is in a sea-girt island.

Before these cults became banned by the advance of orthodox Christianity, there must certainly have been more than one place of celebration, and the topography of Grail Castle, Perilous Chapel, etc., may well vary as the result of surviving traditions of different localities; but when our romances were composed I imagine that the tradition of one secret sanctuary where the banished ritual still survived was dominant. Where that sanctuary was located it is hard to say. The Grail Castle seems to be generally connected with *living* water, sea, as in the *Bleheris-Gawain* version, and the *Queste*, or river, as in Chrétien, “Didot” *Perceval*, and *Perlesvaus*, not with a lake, or marshes.

I should be inclined to look for it on the Welsh coast, but Dr. Brugger would place it in Scotland.

I do not think the identification of Corbenic with Glastonbury Tor can be maintained. In the first place, the correct form of the name has not yet been determined; it is written Corbenic, Corberic, or Carbonek. Secondly, it only occurs in the final, cyclic, redaction, where it seems to have been introduced from the *Grand Saint Graal*, which says that the name is Chaldaean. It may quite well have come from the *Acts of St. Thaddaeus*, to which I referred in my letter in the same number, and therefore really be Oriental, as Miss Murray contends. The connection of the *Lit Merveil* with the Grail Castle also comes from the same romance, and is equally "suspect"; Chrétien and Wolfram place it in the Chastel Merveilleus, which has nothing to do with the Grail.

The *Balin and Balan* story certainly contains Grail elements, but in a very confused form, and requires further study. Professor Brown has drawn attention to the parallels with the earliest *Gawain* version.

The *Owain* story is, of course, allied to this group of ideas, but I know no version of the Grail story where the hero has to slay the guardian of bridge or ford before arriving at the Castle. Such a feat, which would involve his taking the place of the slain knight for an indefinite period, would have formed a most inconvenient hindrance to initiation. The adventures which provide us with variants of the theme, such as Perceval's adventure at the Ford Amorous, are isolated from the main theme of the Grail Quest. Miss Berkeley introduces too many elements into her enquiry. The Nature ritual, with its accompanying initiation ceremonies, is a simple concrete actual fact; *it happened*, and it seems a pity to mix it up with "Other-world" speculations, Gods of the Head, of the Sea, etc. Such may be local, but are they *Grail* traditions? With regard to the Cauldrons, I have expressed my opinion in the book referred to; I do not believe they belong to the same line of tradition at all.

I purposely made no use of the Dionysiac, or Orphic, mysteries. All these Life Cults possess certain elements in common, but

the later, and specifically Greek, rituals do not furnish us with the close parallels to the *mise-en-scène* of the Grail stories which we find in their Asiatic prototypes, and I was desirous of simplifying my argument as much as possible.

Finally, I would point out that in the second paragraph of my letter I wrote *direct*, not *different*, affiliation. My readers have, doubtless, made the correction for themselves.

JESSIE L. WESTON.

#### GARO MARRIAGES.

It may help to remove misunderstandings if this examination of Garo marriages begins with a transcript of the exact text of the passage in the *Assam Census Report for 1891*, on which Sir James Frazer bases his view that "among the Garos marriage with a mother's brother's widow appears to be a simple consequence of previous marriage with her daughter."<sup>1</sup> The text is as follows: "Mr. Teunon informs me of a case in which a man refused to marry the widow who was in this instance a second wife, and not his wife's own mother; and the old lady then gave herself and her own daughter in marriage to another man. In a dispute regarding the property which followed, the *Jaskar* reported that the first man having failed to do his duty, the second was entitled to the greater part of the property."<sup>2</sup> In this case, therefore, the marriage with the daughter followed as a consequence of the marriage with the widow. This case is described by Sir James Frazer as a case "in which a recalcitrant son-in-law flatly declined to lead his aged mother-in-law to the altar, whereupon the old lady in a huff bestowed not only her own hand but that of her daughter to boot on another man, thus depriving her ungallant son-in-law of an estate and two wives at one fell swoop."<sup>3</sup> The "plain tale from the hills" may be interpreted in a different manner when we remember that the mother-in-law becomes the chief wife of

<sup>1</sup> *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii. 454.

<sup>2</sup> *Assam Census Report*, 1891, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> *Folklore in the Old Testament*, ii. 453.

the son-in-law,<sup>1</sup> so that in this case, the widow, who was a second wife (and not the man's mother-in-law), would have ranked in social precedence above the daughter already married. The "recalcitrant and ungallant" son-in-law doubtless realised with Sir James Frazer that marriage with the daughter involved marriage with the daughter's mother in order to secure the enjoyment of the estate. But the tale is not quite clear. It does not say definitely that the mother of the girl he had married was still alive and available. This may have been, and probably was not, the case, since the man refused to marry a second wife, having married the daughter of the senior wife. It is not very probable that he would have refused had he not believed that he had good grounds for refusing to marry the second widow. But what the statement in the *Census Report* does prove is that in the case cited marriage with the daughter was a consequence, not a cause, of the marriage with the widow.

Further reference to Major Playfair's account shows that we have three definite marriage schemes in vogue among the Garos, each of which turns on marriage with the widow. In the first, the cross-cousin marriage, there is a male cousin available, and he has to marry the daughter of his father's sister, ultimately marrying the widow, often therefore his own aunt, as is noted in the *Assam Census Report*. Then there is the institution known as the *nokrom* marriage.<sup>2</sup> By this, when no cousin is available, a man of her father's group is chosen and marries the daughter, with the ultimate liability of the mother-in-law. Finally, when there is no *nokrom* available for a widow to marry, "she is governed by the law of *akim*, which lays down that a widow or widower may not marry again without the permission of the family of the deceased husband or wife, and then only into their respective motherhoods. . . . The law is especially hard on the women. They are the owners of all property, and the relations of a deceased husband will often keep his widow waiting for years for a mere child. By the time the child is of marriageable age the woman is already old. In such a case the young husband is always allowed to marry a young girl as well, so the widow is kept unmarried for

<sup>1</sup> Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Playfair, *ibid.* pp. 72, 73.

years for the sake of her property.”<sup>1</sup> The *nokrom* and the cousin live in the house of the father-in-law.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly economic motives govern the present method of working this system, by which provision is made for a consort to replace the father-in-law. It is clear that the man settles in enjoyment of the property, as the successor of his father-in-law in possession of the mother-in-law, not as son-in-law and husband of the daughter. These facts, taken with the precedence allowed to the widow in the new *ménage*, indicate that the marriage with the widow is the key to the system which notably creates “a sort of dual control over all property, the balance being in favour of the wife’s *machong*” (motherhood).<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of note that the motherhood of the deceased husband exercises rights over the succession, and as “husband and wife must belong to different septs and motherhoods,”<sup>4</sup> the duality of the social structure is an essential feature of Garo polity.<sup>5</sup>

T. C. HODSON.

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#### THE SUCCESSION OF SAINTS.

IN Dr. Rendel Harris’s *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* the following pairs of names are mentioned as twin or brother saints in Christian hagiolatry :

Cantius, Cantianus (and Cantianella).

Crispin and Crispinian.

Rogatus and Rogatianus.

In the case of these pairs, the termination (-anus) of the second name suggests that its bearer was not the brother by *birth* of the saint who bore the first name, but that he was his *adoptive* brother. Is there anything in the histories of these or of any other pairs to throw light on this conjecture? If any reader of *Folk-Lore* comes across any passage bearing on the point raised would he communicate it to the Editor or to

H. A. ROSE, Milton Ho., La Haule, Jersey, Ch. Is.

<sup>1</sup> Playfair, *ibid.* pp. 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Playfair, *ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Playfair, *ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> Playfair, *ibid.* pp. 64, 66.

<sup>5</sup> *India Census Report*, 1911, p. 253.

## REVIEWS.

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ISLANDS FAR AWAY. By AGNES GARDNER KING. With an Introduction by SIR EVERARD IM THURN, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B. Sifton, Praed & Co. London, 1920. 18s. net.

THIS book is the result of a journey to the Fijian Islands undertaken by Miss King for the sake of health and recreation, and makes no claim to being in any sense of the word a scientific account of the regions visited. It contains much, however, that is of interest to anthropologists, such as the description of the *meké* or war dance, and the preparation and ceremonial drinking of *yangona*, and an account of the initiation of the warriors obtained from an eye-witness of one of the ceremonies. Miss King's notes on the structure of the native canoes and houses in some of the more remote islands, and of the Fijian method of catching and cooking the shark, and the making of *tapa* or native cloth, show her to be an efficient and sympathetic observer. She was fortunate in having as a fellow-traveller one who had lived for many years among the Fijians and had a thorough knowledge of their language.

Miss King attributes the lack of initiative and ambition, so characteristic of the natives, to the survival of the Fijian custom of *keri-keri*, which grants to certain chiefs, as a birth-right, the power to claim and take possession of anything belonging to another person should they feel disposed to do so. Although this is contrary to British rule, it remains an unwritten law of the people, who regard the right as a sacred one, and make no attempt to evade its demands. On the other hand, the persistence of certain superstitious beliefs has assisted the Government's efforts for the maintenance of village hygiene, since the natives bury or destroy all food refuse and other

rubbish in the belief that they thus avoid becoming the victims of evil magic. "It is believed that if an enemy should get hold of any personal rubbish, or half-eaten food, and were to curse it, the individual to whom it had belonged would suffer and perhaps die. Hence the cuttings of hair and parings of nails and scraps of worn-out clothing are immediately burned and never allowed to lie about. The remnants of a meal are given to the fowls, or burned, not a crumb is allowed to stay" (p. 50).

An interesting account is given of the very primitive method of making pots in Rewd; but the statement that "no pottery was made in the Pacific, by natives, except in Fiji" (p. 216) needs qualification. Fragments of pottery have been excavated in the south-east of New Guinea, and pots of an inferior quality are made by the Motu people of New Guinea. While it is true that many islands in Melanesia are without pottery, it is made, however, in New Caledonia, Espirito Santo (New Hebrides), and in the Western Solomons.

The book is well illustrated by pleasing sketches drawn by the authoress, and there are in addition two maps and a glossary.

C. JENKINSON.

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#### FOLKLORE IN BENGAL.

THE BENGALI RAMAYANAS: LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY IN 1916. By RAI SAHIB DINESH-CHANDRA SEN, B.A. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1920.

THE FOLK-LITERATURE OF BENGAL: LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY IN 1917. By the same Author. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1920.

It is a matter of congratulation that the author of these two volumes of lectures, an eminent Bengali scholar and author of an important work, *The History of Bengali Language and Literature*, has devoted his attention to the folklore of his country,

and that a lectureship on this subject has been founded in the University of Calcutta. In the first series of lectures he considers the questions connected with the Bengali versions of the great Indian epic, the "Ramayana," the work of Vālmīki. The first result of his analysis of the poem is that, as might have been anticipated, the poet used much of the current folk-tradition. Many incidents in the epic closely resemble tales in the Buddhist Jātaka. The second theory suggested is that originally the cycle of legends connected with the demigod Rāma and the demon Rāvana were distinct, and that it was left for the poet to combine them into one consistent narrative.

The second course of lectures deals with a series of folk-tales current among Musalmāns in Bengal, which evidently embody early Hindu tradition. The influence of women in preserving these tales, and particularly the scraps of poetry embodied in them, is illustrated in an interesting way, and he makes an important suggestion that tales of the Middle Kingdom, or the Upper Ganges Valley, were conveyed by the crews of ships sailing from the coast of Bengal to Persia, and thus were communicated to the people of the West long before any translations of collections like the Panchatantra or Hitopadesa were available.

The learned author of these lectures is doing admirable work in a field hitherto unexplored, and the University of Calcutta deserves hearty commendation in its efforts to encourage the study of Indian folklore.

W. CROOKE.

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THE NORTHERN D'ENTRECASTEAUX. By D. JENNESS, M.A., and the late REV. A. BALLANTYNE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

THE D'Entrecasteaux are a small archipelago off the south-east coast of New Guinea bearing the name of their French discoverer. They are inhabited by a people of Melanesian race who, until recent years, have been left very much to themselves by the white intruders into southern seas. Mr. Jenness,

having obtained the Oxford diploma in anthropology, determined to do some field-work, and was appointed a Research Student by the Committee of Anthropology. Aided by contributions from the University and from several colleges and some private friends, he set out for the Northern D'Entrecasteaux Islands, where his brother-in-law, the Rev. A. Ballantyne, had been working as a missionary for several years, and the knowledge and standing with the natives thus gained provided a footing for Mr. Jenness' work. To Mr. Ballantyne's zealous and enthusiastic help this record of the condition of the natives owes very much; Mr. Jenness modestly says that "any merit that may be found in it is due almost entirely to Ballantyne," who unfortunately died of blackwater fever in 1915 after the former had left the islands. The volume deals only with two islands, namely, Goodenough, where Mr. Ballantyne's station was, and the neighbouring island of Fergusson, with which he was also well acquainted.

And a very interesting and valuable record it is. On Goodenough (to which only the details apply, but the opposite island of Fergusson is presumably similar in most respects) the unit of society is the family, consisting of husband and wife with their descendants. Beyond these it is organized, not in tribes or clans, but in hamlets. The hamlet is inhabited by families closely connected with one another by ties of kinship; and an immigrant family settling in a hamlet hastens to connect itself by marriage with the other families as soon as possible. There is no restriction limiting the hamlets from which a man may take a wife, but usually he does so from adjacent hamlets within the same district. The effect is to unite the families of the hamlets within a given district in close bonds of common interest and relationship. Thus the organization is not far removed from a tribal organization of society, in which it probably originated. The authors have apparently not investigated the history, as, for instance, has Dr. Rivers; they content themselves with depicting society as it now is.

The headman of a hamlet is the recognized head of the families inhabiting it; but he has no power beyond the influence which a man of experience and reputation commands every-

where. He cannot decide a dispute or govern. Disputes are settled by force or by agreement between the parties themselves, but presumably the headman of a community may mediate. The final sanction is that of public opinion and the fear of social ostracism. The islanders are therefore in somewhat the same stage as the Ifugao of Luzon, of whom we read that they are without political government and without courts or judges: their law is based upon taboos and custom, and preserved by the unity of the family. This unity indeed seems to bear more emphasis than among the Goodenough islanders, where its importance has passed rather to the hamlet. Land tenure points in the same direction. Land is owned not by a family as such, still less by the individual, but by the hamlet, and cannot be alienated without the consent of the entire district—a consent very rarely given.

There is said to be no trace of a matrilineal system, such as is found elsewhere in Melanesia, or of which have indications at least been discovered by Dr. Rivers. It does not follow, of course, that a matrilineal system never existed among the ancestors of the present population: to decide this point we must know the history of the population. At present a husband brings his wife to his own hamlet. Kinship is reckoned according to the so-called classificatory system, and the kindred on both sides are recognized, kinsfolk being grouped by generations. An institution which our authors call totemism exists. If totemism, it is a degenerate form, being merely manifested as a taboo for all the kin of certain articles of food—a bird, a fish, a land animal or a plant, or sometimes more than one of these. Generally, on the subject of totems it may be said that a certain confusion seems to affect the native mind.

There are puberty rites for boys and girls, bachelors' and spinsters' huts; sexual relations before marriage are rare. Courses of wooing are the rule, in which the jews' harp, magic, tobacco and betel-nut play a considerable part; but the suggestion of marriage as an end to the courtship must be made by the girl. Marriage is celebrated by feasts; and polygyny is permitted. Childbirth is usually easy. No special notice is taken of twins; they may be due to the eating of a double

banana, or to magic; indeed, magical rites are an assistance to conception. The rites of death and mourning are described, and are interesting, as are also the journey of the soul and the life after death. Death is attributed to evil magic. Certain things beside human beings have souls. In addition there are spirits who often do much harm. They are fought with arms and with light; but it does not appear that they are the objects of any regular worship. Incantations are, however, addressed to them to foster the growth of yams, taro, sweet potatoes and bananas, which are main articles of consumption. There are no gods properly so called. Myths and tales are treated in a short and not very satisfactory chapter. Probably Mr. Jenness had too little time on Goodenough to collect much of this material: it is not to be done in a hurry.

On the whole the impression is left that the people are by no means unattractive—certainly interesting. A number of problems are suggested by the information here supplied. They cannot, however, be solved without much more work. Dr. Rivers' researches suggest the lines of the enquiry and the methods of solution. The population is probably not homogeneous; hence perhaps its progress towards a political structure of society. There is no mention of many phenomena usual in Melanesia. Its history must be studied and an effort made to ascertain specifically whence it came and what are the ingredients that compose it. All this needs careful work and is not to be compressed within the compass of a twelvemonth. Meanwhile a foundation is here laid for the student who may undertake it.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE ELDER EDDA AND ANCIENT SCANDINAVIAN DRAMA. By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, O.B.E., Litt.D. Cambridge University Press. 1920.

No student, who is interested either in the study of mediaeval plays or in the problem of the origins of Greek drama, can afford to neglect the consideration of this interesting book. It

falls into two parts, of which the first rests inevitably upon surer foundations than the second, as indeed the author herself frankly recognises. For the demonstration of the dramatic origin of the older Eddic poems proceeds by close and clear reasoning upon definite ascertainable facts, but it is an unavoidable condition of the wider enquiry into the origin of drama that the evidence consists for the most part of hypotheses and analogies.

Miss Phillpotts examines the Eddic poems from the aspect of their literary form and content, though with a full knowledge and use of the conclusions of philological research. She finds that the poems, written in a native strophic metre unknown outside Scandinavia and never popular in Iceland, deal with native mythological and legendary subjects which they present, not in narrative form, but through the direct speech of the characters whose action is otherwise elucidated only by stage directions in prose. These poems differ *in toto* from the skaldic lays, which are aristocratic in tone, employ a highly artificial poetic terminology, and are of the nature of narrative eulogies of a patron or his family. The chant-metre poems are shown to precede not only the lays upon the borrowed themes of the Nibelungen and Ermanaric cycles, but also the poems written in the old-lore metre, which in some cases betray the existence of chant-metre prototypes. Miss Phillpotts contends that the oldest parts of the Edda are the poems in chant-metre, that they are popular in character with their roots in native and local tradition, and that their characteristic feature, the use of direct speech, betrays a dramatic origin. The disintegrating effect of the Icelandic migration may account for the decline of this older Scandinavian poetry in the struggle for existence. The plays, severed from their roots in local tradition, ceased to be acted or indeed to be readily intelligible to the new communities, which were destitute of a common historical tradition, because their individual members were drawn, not from any single locality, but from all parts of the Scandinavian world. Under these conditions the "narrative-plus-speech" poetry was bound to win.

In points of detail one may differ from the author. The

alleged significance of supernumerary characters in the chant-metre poems is in itself a legitimate point, but is perhaps too definitely pressed. Narrative stories no less than dramatic quite normally contain supernumerary characters. Nor am I quite persuaded that incremental repetitions are necessarily indications of improvisation. They are frequently to be met with in popular poetry other than the Eddic.<sup>1</sup> Often they may be due simply to that love of cliché which is characteristic of the popular muse and even of our duller minded friends in ordinary life; sometimes they have a definite artistic value in the emphasis given by repetition. Miss Phillpotts' main arguments, however, appear unassailable, and they are marshalled with a clarity of arrangement and style which accompanies logical and precise thinking.

The second part of the book attempts to trace to a fertility ritual of the type made familiar by *The Golden Bough*, the origin of the Scandinavian popular drama of which the older Eddic poems are the legacy. These poems are found to deal with the slaying of gods or the slaying of opponents by gods, with wooings and marriages of more than mortal brides, and with flytings across a strip of sea. Stories of a king who marries a divine bride, and of a royal fratricide who marries his brother's wife and is himself slain, are themes repeated in these dramatic poems, in the legendary history of the Swedish kings, and in the family relations of Odin.

The names Helgi, "Holy One," and Hethin, "One clad in beast skins," have themselves a ritual appearance. It all works beautifully out, and it must be confessed that Miss

<sup>1</sup> I take a genuinely random example, the first ballad at which my *Oxford Book of English Verse* opens, No. 370 :

"O are ye come to drink the wine  
As ye hae doon before, O?  
Or are ye come to wield the brand  
On the dowie banks o' Yarrow?"

"I am no come to drink the wine  
As I hae don before, O,  
But I am come to wield the brand  
On the dowie houms o' Yarrow."

It is difficult to trace evidence of improvisation here in what is surely a literary device or, if you will convention.

Phillpotts makes a far stronger case for Scandinavia than can be made for ancient Greece. It is possible to doubt whether the last scene of the *Lay of Helgi Hundingsbane*, where Helgi's ghost claims Sigrun to join him in the funeral vault, is a very convincing example of resurrection, and the dead lover's return to claim his still living bride is a theme common to the romantic popular poetry of many countries. But it is seldom that Miss Phillpotts allows zeal to outrun discretion; in general, she shows an admirable and judicial restraint, and is careful to shun the temptations of the Procrustean method.

There is but one serious protest to be made, and that is to the statement that "this ritual points back . . . ultimately to totemism." Totemism is a red herring which has been drawn across many trails to the detriment of progress. In Greece it is certain that there is no sufficient evidence to justify the assumption of a totemic system having ever existed either among the Bronze Age peoples or among the invading Indo-Europeans. I do not know the evidence for Scandinavia, but I suspect Miss Phillpotts, who has not stated it, of lightly assuming an universal totemistic stage of religion. This assumption is, however, quite unwarranted by the evidence, unless so wide a connotation is attached to the word totemism as to deprive it of all practical value, as a definite label of a definite type of social and religious organisation.

In view of the main controversy over the origins of Greek drama, it is interesting to notice the association of Scandinavian drama with grave mounds, though Miss Phillpotts definitely, and I think rightly, denies tomb ritual or the placation of ghosts a primary importance in its development. On the whole, the Scandinavian evidence appears to side with Prof. Ridgeway's opponents. It should, however, be observed that the conditions of the literary problems in Scandinavia and Greece do not exactly coincide. In the older poems of the Edda there is a form of literature, dramatic in character and possessing certain tragic qualities, but in no sense comparable to the dramatic literature, which for us begins full-fledged with Aeschylus. This Northern literature springs directly from its yet ruder prototype, popular ritual drama, and as a form of

literary expression appears first in the field. Greek drama, on the other hand, whatever its associations with popular ritual may have been, was developed by a people already possessing an epic and lyrical poetry of the very finest quality, and its earliest known examples are literary masterpieces.

I confess to the heresy of regarding the problem of the origin of Greek drama as a conundrum interesting indeed—but relatively unimportant. The product is so different in character from the sources from which its derivation is sought, that, could the question be solved with certainty, it would not, I think, throw any considerable light upon the work of Aeschylus, Sophocles or Euripides, nor help to its appreciation. And that the question is capable of solution, I doubt. There is, in fact, no evidence except that of analogies, the exactness of the correspondence of which with the Greek circumstances is imperfectly known, and the interpretation of the structure of plots, where the degree of relative emphasis laid upon individual features is liable to be more certainly in accordance with the investigator's prepossessions than with the dramatist's intentions.

I can only hope that this common failing of the critic has not been too markedly exemplified above, for, when all is said and done, Miss Phillipotts has given us a thoroughly scholarly piece of work, rich in interesting information and full of suggestive *obiter dicta*, to which no sufficient justice can be done within the compass of a brief review.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

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IN *Yorkshire Legends and Traditions*, by Rev. T. Parkinson, published in 1888, the writer tells the tale of the Gray Palmer and Hylda, the Nun of Nun-Appleton on the Wharfe. The nunnery was dedicated to God and St. Mary, and was an important foundation. In 1281 the Lady Abbess invoked the aid of the Archbishop of York to lay at rest the ghost of Sister Hylda, who had haunted the place for seven years. A wild storm rolled over the place when the Archbishop began his service. Then a Palmer, in penitential dress, appeared and confessed his sin. When he reached the altar the seven candles on it were extinguished, and by the Palmer stood the ghost of Sister Hylda, and he was known to be Friar John. At the appeal of the Archbishop the spirit of the Nun relenting said, "Seek the middle pavement of the vault for the relics of a soul purified by the blood of the Redeemer," and then she and the Palmer vanished for ever.

I shall feel obliged for further particulars regarding the Nunnery and the spirit which haunted it.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
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## **EVENING MEETING.**

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15th, 1921.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Ethel B. G. Rivington and the enrolment of the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, as a subscriber were announced.

Mr. A. R. Wright exhibited a mussel shell from the neighbourhood of Canton containing eight small lead figures of Buddha.

Mr. A. Grimble read a paper entitled "Myths from the Gilbert Islands," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, Mr. A. R. Wright and Mrs. Coote Lake took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Grimble for his paper, and to Mr. Wright for his exhibit.

## THE ISLES OF THE BLEST.

BY W. J. PERRY.

THE theme of this paper is familiar to members of the Folk-Lore Society. So many of its distinguished members have studied the literature of the Isles of the Blest and kindred themes that it would almost seem to have established a claim in this region of study. In view of the amount of research that has been lavished upon this topic, and of the ability and ingenuity thereby displayed, it is presumptive, not to say daring, of anyone who has not followed closely in their footsteps to offer any remarks in the hope of helping on the matter to its conclusion. As Miss Weston remarks in the current number of the *Journal*, "a little knowledge (of the literature of the Grail legend) is a dangerous thing." So is a little knowledge of the work that has been done on certain aspects of the Isles of the Blest. But it is in the hope that the presentation of another point of view may perhaps be of some use to specialists that I venture to offer these few remarks. Sometimes a student who approaches a well-known topic from a new angle may be able to add his small quota to the sum total of knowledge.

Whether or not you believe in the immense effect of climatic and other external natural conditions on the development of human society, it is certain that innate tendencies in man have led him to construct the complex organisation that we call civilisation; and it is the ultimate aim of all who study human society in any of its aspects

to discover these tendencies, and to evaluate their several contributions to the final result. One of the most important, and certainly the most fundamental, inquiry that can be entered upon in this connection is that concerned with the distribution of different forms and degrees of civilisation. How comes it that in certain countries peoples have remained at a low stage of culture, while in others they have progressed far on the road toward the full complement of civilisation? How comes it that in some places we observe a succession of civilisations, often markedly different from one another, while on others the land, although apparently well suited for occupation, has been left to tribes in the pure hunting stage? These are some of the questions that must occupy those who wish to understand how civilisation arose and grew.

The relationship of inquiry into geographical features of culture to that into the Isles of the Blest does not seem to be close. How can there be, it might be said, any association between the belief in certain wonderful islands in the far ocean and the distribution of culture in the world? My aim is to show that there is reason to believe in an intimate connection between the two.

The Isles of the Blest bulk large in the study of Celtic literature, especially that of Ireland. Apparently the most important text relating to them is that of the *Voyage of Bran*, which has been translated by Professor Kuno Meyer—with Mr. Alfred Nutt in the rôle of commentator—in two volumes published by this Society. There is no need to go into details about these isles. A mysterious woman comes one day to Bran, son of Febal, “when the royal house was full of kings,” and describes to him the Isles of the Blest. She bare a branch of apple-blossom.

“A branch of the apple-tree from Emain  
I bring, like those one knows ;  
Twigs of white silver are on it,  
Crystal brows with blossoms.

There is a distant isle,  
 Around which sea-horses glisten ;  
 A fair course against the white-swelling surge,  
 Four feet uphold it.

Unknown is wailing or treachery  
 In the familiar cultivated land.  
 There is nothing rough or harsh,  
 But sweet music striking the ear.

Wealth, treasure of every hue,  
 Are in Ciuin, a beauty of freshness,  
 Listening to sweet music,  
 Drinking the best of wine."

There are thrice fifty of these isles, lying distant to the west of Ireland. Bran and his followers set out thither and arrive at the Isle of Joy, where one of them is left behind. Then they reach the Isle of Women, the queen of which draws Bran's boat to shore. The wanderers stay there until longing seizes them to go home. They find on arrival that they have been absent for centuries. Bran, after telling of his adventures, disappears from mortal ken.<sup>1</sup>

These isles, where men live for ever and enjoy immortal youth, were not invented by the Celts of Ireland: the belief was probably brought by them from the Continent, or else borrowed from some people whom they found in Ireland on their arrival. That being so, the proper appreciation of the belief cannot have been arrived at until it is tracked down to its place and time of origin. That is a task which I do not propose to attempt in this paper.

The earliest record of the Isles of the Blest occurs in the Pyramid Texts of Egypt, which are dated at about 3000 B.C. The Sumerians also had a tradition of an earthly paradise, situated probably somewhere in the Persian Gulf,

<sup>1</sup> H. Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, i. pp. 2, 4, 143.

which plays an important part in the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh of a somewhat later date. Hesiod mentions the Isles of the Blest ; and the Chinese and Japanese writings, as well as the post-Vedic literature of India, contain accounts of them. In other parts of the world, in Polynesia for example, there are ideas with regard to island paradises in the possession of peoples of the lower culture, but I do not propose to discuss them. The relationship between more civilised and less civilised peoples has not yet been fully determined. To assume that peoples of the lower culture invariably represent an earlier stage in the development of civilisation is, to my mind, to beg the whole question. It can be shown in many cases that such peoples have sprung from those with a more developed culture, and, until the whole matter has been thrashed out in detail, I prefer to ignore the beliefs found among less advanced peoples, beliefs which can be claimed as rudimentary or vestigial according to the point of view, being, as they are, much less developed than those which we shall examine. An immense amount of harm has been done in the past by assuming that what is found among people of lower culture is always rudimentary. It has prevented many an able scholar from seeing the proper relationships of phenomena, and has caused many to expend vast labour and ability in attempting to reconcile what cannot be reconciled. My attitude, therefore, will be that of examining beliefs in the Isles of the Blest which are recorded among the more highly civilised peoples of antiquity, and I shall leave on one side the question of the origin of these beliefs, confining myself to the endeavour to estimate some of their consequences when once they had come into existence among such peoples.

Beginning at the earliest possible point, we find the belief in the Isles of the Blest in the Pyramid Texts of Egypt. The Pyramid Texts represent an amalgamation between two sets of beliefs, one centred round Osiris, and

the other round Rē, the sun-god. Unfortunately we cannot get from Egyptian sources any clear conception of these two cults prior to their amalgamation.<sup>1</sup> This is to be deplored, for if it were only possible to disentangle them, many problems in comparative study would immediately be solved. The Pyramid Texts are the work of the priesthood of Heliopolis, the headquarters of the Sun-cult, and they are mainly concerned with the sky, the abode of Rē and his cycle of deities, to which the kings of the Pyramid Age believed themselves to go after death to live in the company of the sky-gods. In the description of this world it is said that the dead king goes, in company with the Morning Star, to seek the Tree of Life in the mysterious isle in the midst of the Field of Offerings. This place is also called the Field of Life, the birthplace of Rē, the sun-god, in the sky.<sup>2</sup> This, so far as I am aware, is the first historical reference to the Isles of the Blest. But it is possible that the idea is not directly associated with the sun-cult, but is part of the Osirian beliefs. There is much discussion as to whether the Osirian religion of Egypt is prior to the solar cult. At any rate the two were distinct to a great extent at the time of their amalgamation, whatever their original relationships. Osiris was associated with the Tuat, which was, apparently, ultimately believed to be situated to the north of Egypt and to be separated from it by a long mountain range which supported the sky. The Tuat was a long narrow valley with a river running through it.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the different nomes of Egypt had their own divisions of the Tuat. That associated with Osiris' kingdom was called the Sekhet-

<sup>1</sup> The study of Sumerian texts will probably be much more fruitful for this purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, J. H., *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1912, 32, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, E. A. Wallis, *The Book of the Dead, The Papyrus of Ani*, London, 1895, p. civ.

Hetep,<sup>1</sup> a division of which, called Sekhet-Aaru, ultimately absorbed the whole. The name Sekhet-Hetep means the Field of Peace, and Sekhet-Aaru means the Field of Reed Plants, and originally they seem to have been situated in the Delta to which Osiris belonged.<sup>2</sup>

“The followers of Osiris believed that the righteous dead could find their everlasting abode in the kingdom of that god, and would enjoy in a fertile land, with running streams, a life very like that which the well-to-do Egyptians lived on earth.”<sup>3</sup> Sekhet-Hetep was rectangular in shape and intersected by canals from the stream that encircled the region. A place was set apart for the birthplace of the god of the region, and another for the great company of the gods.<sup>4</sup> It sounds strange that a region of the Delta should be described as the Isles of the Blest. But it seems that the dead were supposed to live, in Sekhet-Hetep, on the eyots made by the intersecting canals, or else on oases which appeared as green islands in an ocean of sand.<sup>3</sup>

In a Sumerian legend the survivor of the Flood, Ziusiddu, is transplanted to an earthly paradise on an island in Dilmun, which is in all probability situated in the Persian Gulf.<sup>4</sup> In the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, the hero visits his ancestor on this island. Gilgamesh has incurred the wrath of the great goddess. His companion, Eabani, dies and goes to the dread underworld. Gilgamesh is smitten with a foul disease, but is determined not to die, as was the fate of all Babylonians. He remembered that his ancestor, here called Sit-napishtim, lived in the Isles of the Blest, where he had been transported by the gods after the Flood that destroyed all mankind except himself and his wife. Sit-napishtim had attained “the

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, London, 1902, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* 1895, pp. cv, cxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, 1906, pp. 20, 43-4, 58.

<sup>4</sup> Langdon, S., *Le poème Sumérien du paradis, du déluge et de la chute de l'homme*, Paris, 1919, p. 214.

longed-for life in the assembly of the gods," and has the power to "interpret life or death."<sup>1</sup> Gilgamesh sets out to find these Isles. He goes by Mt. Mashu, guarded by the scorpion men, and at last reaches an enchanted garden in which there is a divine tree: "Precious stones it bears as fruit—the branches were hung with them, lapis-lazuli it bears, fruit it bears, choice (?) to look upon." When he gets to the shore, which is supposed to be that of the Persian Gulf, he meets a divine mermaid whom he persuades to allow him to cross the sea to the Isles of the Blest, where dwells Sit-napishtim. He reaches them, and his ancestor promises to make him immortal. He cures him of illness and sends him back with a magic plant, of which we are told that "whoever ate of it regained the strength of his youth." On his way back it is snatched from him by the serpent called "Earth Lion."<sup>1</sup>

The idea of the Isles of the Blest also occurs among the Greeks, for Hesiod first mentions them in his *Works and Days* as set apart for the descendants of gods.

One of the interesting features of the history of civilisation in India is the influence that the non-Aryan peoples exerted on the later developments of religion. In the Vedas themselves there is no mention of an earthly paradise. We are told that "the idea, that the brave and the virtuous go to such a place on their decease, seems not to have been current in ancient India. For already in the Rig-Veda the abode of the dead who in life have done pious deeds is said to be in heaven above, and, according to the Atharva-veda, the wicked receive their punishment in the hell below."

The earthly paradise is first mentioned in the Aitareya-Brahmana, but it is in the great epic of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana that the idea first comes into prominence. In those works are described various lands lying

<sup>1</sup> Jeremias, A., *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, London, 1902, pp. 35-7.

to the north. The northernmost of all is Uttarakuru, the place where dwell the Siddhas, men who by their virtues have attained to immortality. This land, although in Central Asia, appears similar to the Sekhet-Hetep of the Egyptians. The multiplicity of rivers that exist there points to numerous islands on which lived the blessed, so I have no hesitation in including it under the heading of this paper. It is said to lie in the farthest north, where the sun and moon cease to shine. Journeying on northward you come ultimately to the river Sailoda, whose water petrifies those who touch it. "On either bank of that river grow reeds called Kichaka, which carry the blessed (Siddhas) to the opposite bank, and back. There is Uttarakuru, the abode of the pious, watered by lakes with golden lotuses. There are rivers by thousands, full of leaves of the colour of sapphire and lapis-lazuli, and the lakes resplendent like the morning sun, are adorned with costly jewels and produce precious stones, with gay beds of lotuses of golden petals. Instead of sand, round pearls, costly jewels, and gold form the banks of the rivers, which are covered with trees of precious stones, trees of gold shining like fire. The trees always bear flowers and fruits, they swarm with birds, they are of a heavenly smell and touch, and yield all desires; other trees bring forth clothes of various shapes. . . . All the inhabitants do pious deeds, all are given to love, all dwelling together with their wives, have their desires fulfilled. There one always hears the sound of song and music mixed with gay laughter, pleasant to all creatures. There is none who does not rejoice, none whose desires are not fulfilled; and every day these pleasant qualities grow brighter." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi, Art. "Blest, Abode of the (India)," Hastings, *Ency. of Rel. and Eth*

The Isles of the Blest occur also in the Tantras. Cf. *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, Avalon, London, 1913, pp. xxiv-v, where Devi, the great goddess, is mentioned "on the jewelled island . . . set in the Sea of Ambrosia."

In the old Persian literature there is mention of certain places for the blest made by Yima, the first mortal and king, but there is no mention of the Isles of the Blest. In China the idea is present in a definite form. This is a description of these places, dating from about the fourth century B.C., which is quoted by Major Yetts: "To the east of the Gulf (*i.e.* the Gulf of Chili)—it is not known how many myriads of *li* distant—there is an ocean, vast in extent, and, in very truth, bottomless. In its fathomless depths is the so-called 'Abyss of Assembly,' to which the waters from the eight points of the compass, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, and from the streams of the Milky Way all flow. And this they do without causing any appreciable change in the depth of the Abyss.

"Here lie the Five Isles, named Tai Yu, Yuan Chiao, Fang Hu, Ying Chou, and P'eng Lai. In height and round its base each island measures 30,000 *li*, and the circumference of the plateau on the summit of each is 9,000 *li*. Each is separated from its neighbours by a distance of 70,000 *li*. Upon their shores the terraces and pleasure-towers are built of unblemished white. Thick groves there are, laden with pearls and gems, and not a flower but gives forth a fragrant perfume, nor a fruit but has delicious flavour. On those who eat thereof is conferred the boon of youth and immortality. The inhabitants are all *hsien* and holy sages, who pass their days in happy companionship, which the intervening ocean channels do not interrupt, for they float through the air from isle to isle in countless numbers.

"Now originally the bases of these Five Islands were not anchored in any spot, and in consequence they always followed the movements of the tides, up and down and to and fro, so that never for a moment were they firmly fixed." Finally the islands were fixed by being supported on the backs of five gigantic turtles.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yetts, W. P., "The Chinese Isles of the Blest," *Folk-Lore*, xxx. 1919, 39, 40.

The Japanese also have traditions concerning the Isles of the Blest. The place where they are is called Horaisan, "the land of everlasting life, where is the mountain of immortality. On it grows a wonderful tree with roots of silver, a trunk of gold, and fruits of rare jewels. The finest flowers and fruits, all unfailing, grow there; eternal spring reigns; the air is always sweet, the sky always blue. The place is rarely found by mortals, though many have sought for it, for it is visible only for a moment afar-off." <sup>1</sup>

The Isles of the Blest are extraordinary places, and it is evident that much time would be necessary to explain all the details about them. I wish for the present to confine myself to one point only. There is a resemblance between the description of Uttarakuru of India and Sekhet-Aaru of the Egyptians. Both are far to the north—both are intersected by many canals; lotuses grow in both places; both are situated in a valley through which runs a river; both are reserved for the Blest. But there is one great difference. In Sekhet-Aaru the dead live a life similar to that of men on earth: they sow and reap, and enjoy all the luxuries that they have been accustomed to in an environment entirely to their liking. But in Uttarakuru, the land is unfamiliar. You have trees bearing jewels, the banks of the rivers consist of pearls, jewels and gold, and the whole place seems to sparkle with precious stones like a jeweller's shop. This emphasis on precious substances is not confined to the Indian stories, for the Chinese, Japanese, Babylonians, and the Celts apparently had similar ideas with regard to this other world. Apparently in all cases the Isles of the Blest are places of youth, and usually the people are immortal. The Tree of Life is constantly mentioned, and this is sufficient to account for the fact that immortal life is to be found there. But what are all these

<sup>1</sup> Macculloch, Art. "Blest, Abode of the," Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

jewels doing in such places? They must have some meaning that is essential to the story, for otherwise they would not occur so constantly or so emphatically.

Anyone familiar with the study of alchemy will know that gold, pearls, and other precious substances have been for many centuries and among many peoples looked upon as potent in magic.<sup>1</sup> They have always stood high among the "givers of life" for which men have so long sought,<sup>2</sup> and the countries which have these tales of the Isles of the Blest, Egypt, Babylonia, China, India, Japan, are those which have been most prominent in this connection. In these countries we find a well-developed system of alchemy centred round these and other "givers of life."<sup>3</sup> It would appear, indeed, as if alchemy was elaborated among these peoples of advanced culture. For many peoples of the lower culture pay no attention whatever to gold. Paleolithic man seems to have settled where he found flint for his implements or caverns that he could live in.<sup>4</sup> He must have traversed on innumerable occasions, in France and elsewhere, regions where the rivers contained vast stores of gold that were subsequently used by men of later days. And the less advanced peoples of later date, such as those

<sup>1</sup> It must not be thought that I claim that alchemy as a pseudo-science existed in the days when the Isles of the Blest first came to be believed in. This is not necessary. We have seen that in Egypt there were no gems in Sekhet-Aaru, so that there is no necessary connection between the Isles of the Blest and gold, pearls, etc. The belief in the life-giving properties of gold and other substances existed long before alchemy as such, and it is on the existence of this belief that I am basing my argument, not on the formal development that took place later.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot Smith, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Lippmann, E. O. v., *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin, 1919, 275 *e.s.* He derives the system from Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> H. F. Osborne, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, New York, 1915, pp. 24, 31, 120, 131, 151, 155. Compare his distribution maps with the geological maps of France. This shows that the paleolithic settlements were on the chalk or later deposits. They do not seem to occur on deposits of earlier date than the flint-bearing chalk.

of New Guinea who pay no attention to gold, live in regions the gold of which had undoubtedly been worked in the past.<sup>1</sup>

In Egypt and Babylonia gold and precious stones played an important part in magic: they were also identified with the chief deities, and many amulets were made of them. In the age in India when the tales of the northern home of the Blest were written, it was believed that gold was endowed with the most potent qualities. Listen to the words of the Atharva Veda, which was written just as the later ideas were beginning to become prominent.

“The gold that, born out of the fire, immortal, maintains itself over mortals—whoso knows it, he verily merits it; one that dies of old age becomes he that wears it.

“The gold, of beauteous colour of the sun, that men of old with their progeny sought—that, shining, shall unite thee with splendour; of long life becomes he that wears it.

“For life-time thee, for splendour thee, and for force and for strength—that with brilliancy of gold thou mayest shine out among the people.”<sup>2</sup>

Again, we are told that “gold, doubtless, is a form of the gods . . . gold is immortal life . . . gold, indeed is fire, light and immortality.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly the pearl was endowed with life-giving properties.<sup>4</sup> These statements do not leave any room to doubt the attitude of such men towards gold, pearls and other substances: they were regarded as forms of immortal life; and desired as such.

The ideas of the Chinese are similar. In their Tao system, which includes the belief in the Isles of the Blest, there is much mention made of various “givers of life,” prominent among them being gold, jade, pearls and other

<sup>1</sup> Chinnery, E. W. P., “Stone-work and Goldfields in New Guinea,” *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, xlix. 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney, W. D., *Atharva Veda Samhita*, xix. 26, p. 937 (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 7, 8, Cambridge, Mass. 1905).

<sup>3</sup> *Satapatha-Brahmana*, pt. v. “Sacred Books of the East,” xliv. 1900, pp. 187, 203, 236, 239, 348-50.

<sup>4</sup> H. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, S.B.E. xlii. 1897, iv. 10.

substances. Taoism is largely similar to the alchemy of Europe and Arabia, and one of the main preoccupations of the Chinese Taoist philosophers has been to concoct elixirs of life of the most extraordinary materials. They believed that there were substances capable of preserving life, giving immortality, and after death preventing the body from putrefying. Prominent among these objects was a certain class of minerals akin to jasper or jade, nephrite and agate. Jade and gold seem to have been the two most powerful magical substances known to the Chinese. In very early times they were identified with the heavens, the source of all life. It is said, "Heaven is jade, is gold . . . jade and gold naturally endow with vitality all persons who swallow them . . . and they hold at a distance from the dead corruption and decay, thus furthering their return to life." As an example of the lengths that they went in their endeavours to obtain immortality by means of these and other substances, the following may be quoted. Ku Koh Sung, an alchemist of the fourth century B.C., says, "Grease of jade is formed inside the mountains which contain jade. It is always to be found in steep and dangerous spots. The jade-juice, after issuing from these mountains, coagulated into such grease after more than ten thousand years. This grease is fresh and limpid like crystal. If you find it, pulverize it and mix it with the juice of herbs that have no pith, it immediately liquefies; drink one pint of it then, and you will live a thousand years. He who swallows gold will exist as long as gold; he who swallows jade will exist as long as jade. Those who swallow the real essence of the dark sphere (heavens) will enjoy an everlasting existence; the real essence of the dark sphere is another name for jade. . . . Bits of jade, swallowed or taken with water, can in both these cases render man immortal."<sup>1</sup> Another extract: "Plant

<sup>1</sup> J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leiden, 1892 *e.s.*, i. 269, 273.

the Yang and grow the Yin ; cultivate and cherish the precious seed. When it springs up, it shows a yellow bud ; the bud produces mercury, and the mercury crystallizes into granules like grains of golden millet. One grain is to be taken at a dose, and the doses repeated for a hundred days, when the body will be transformed and the bones converted into gold. Body and spirit will both be endowed with miraculous properties, and their duration will have no end." <sup>1</sup> It is not to be wondered at that these experiments often ended disastrously, and the drinker of the concoction, instead of attaining immortal life on this earth, departed thence in a great hurry.

Both the Chinese and the people of India considered the centre of Asia to be a wonderful region. The traditions concerning the Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 140 to B.C. 86, says that there were immortal beings in the Kwenlun mountains, ruled over by the immortal queen of the west, who possessed a peach tree that only bore fruit once in three thousand years. The peach was a symbol of longevity among the Chinese, and those who possessed the fruit of this marvellous tree were assured of long life.<sup>2</sup> It is significant to find that in this case, as among the Celts, that the place where givers of life were to be found was said to be ruled over by a queen.

The Japanese had also ideas about the life-giving powers of precious stones and metals.<sup>3</sup>

A significant summary of some of the effects of the belief in the life-giving properties of various substances has been given by Mr. Martin in his work on *The Lore of Cathay*. He says, "Man's first desire is long life—his second is to be rich. The Taoist commenced with the former, but was

<sup>1</sup> W. A. P. Martin, *The Lore of Cathay*, London, 1901, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> De Groot, *op. cit.* i. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Revon, *Le Shinntoisme*, Paris, 1907, pp. 207, 211 ; Satow, *Trans. As. Soc. Japan*, vii. p. 120.

not long in finding his way to the latter. As it was possible by physical discipline to lengthen the period of life, he conceived that the process might be carried far enough to result in corporeal immortality, accompanied by a mastery of matter and all its potencies. The success of the process, though, like the quest of the Holy Grail, involving certain moral qualifications, depended mainly on diet and medicine ; and in quest of these he ransacked the forest, penetrated the earth, and explored distant seas. The natural longing for immortality was thus made, under the guidance of Taoism, to impart a powerful impulse to the progress of discovery in three departments of science—botany, mineralogy, and geography. Nor did the other great object of pursuit remain far in the rear. A few simple experiments, such as the precipitation of copper from the oil of vitriol by the application of iron, and the blanching of metals by the fumes of mercury, suggested the possibility of transforming the baser metals into gold.”<sup>1</sup> This brought on the stage another, and, if possible, a more energetic, motive for investigation. The bare idea of acquiring untold riches by such easy means inspired with a kind of frenzy minds that were hardly capable of the loftier conception of immortality. It had, moreover, the effect of diverting attention particularly to the study of minerals, the most prolific field for chemical discovery.<sup>2</sup>

These remarks, although made of the Chinese, apply to other countries where alchemy came to be practised. They show what potentialities lie in the pursuit of the elixir of life, and what an important part it must have played in the advancement of knowledge. We are only now beginning to realise the effects upon men’s minds of the

<sup>1</sup> It does not follow that Mr. Martin is right in claiming that the Chinese began the pursuit of alchemy. There is no need to discuss here the place and manner of origin of alchemy. The aim of this quotation is to show the close relationship between alchemy and other sciences.

<sup>2</sup> Martin, *op. cit.* 53-4.

belief that certain substances are "givers of life," and it is to Dr. Elliot Smith that we owe, so far as I am aware, the first appreciation of the importance of this belief in the building up of civilisation. In his work on *The Evolution of the Dragon* he says, "In delving into the remotely distant past history of our species we cannot fail to be impressed with the persistence with which, throughout the whole of his career, man (of the species *Sapiens*) has been seeking for an elixir of life, to give added 'vitality' to the dead (whose existence was not consciously regarded as ended), to prolong the days of active life to the living, to restore youth, and to protect his own life from all assaults, not merely of time, but also of circumstance. In other words, the elixir he sought was something that would bring 'good luck' in all the events of his life and its continuation. Most of the amulets, even of modern times, the lucky trinkets, the averters of the 'Evil Eye,' the practices and devices for securing good luck in love and sport, in curing bodily ills or mental diseases, distress, in attaining material prosperity, or a continuance of existence after death, are survivals of this ancient and persistent striving after those objects which our earliest forefathers called collectively 'givers of life.'"<sup>1</sup>

I feel convinced that this is one of the most important generalisations made in the study of human history. It has served to throw a flood of light upon many dark places in early beliefs, and it enables one to group together vast masses of facts that previously seemed to be entirely independent and inexplicable. You have heard what have been some of the consequences of this search: it has caused men to examine into the nature of minerals and plants, and to seek far and wide for "givers of life." Men in search of magical substances covered vast stretches of country. They even went across the seas on the same errand. You have heard that Gilgamesh, in the Baby-

<sup>1</sup> P. 145.

lonian epic, went across the sea to visit his ancestor and thereby gain immortality by means of the magic herb. That and similar tales may be set down as mythology; if you so choose. But we know that the Chinese actually did go in search of the Isles of the Blest where they would find givers of life in abundance. Major Yetts, in his paper on the Chinese Isles of the Blest, has made it clear that the Chinese sent out expeditions to seek for them. He says, "In the fourth century B.C. the notion was sufficiently established to lead a feudal prince to make search for the Isles of the Blest." Again he says, "at that time when China had become united under the rule of Shih Huang of the Ch'in dynasty, the Emperor travelled to the sea coast. Then magicians in countless numbers discussed the Three Enchanted Islands. The Emperor feared lest, if he himself embarked upon the sea, he might not succeed in reaching them. So he commissioned some one to make the search, whom he provided with a band of young folks, boys and maidens. Their ship sailed across the mid-ocean. The excuse they gave for failure was the plea of contrary winds, declaring that they had been unable to get to the isles, though they had seen them from afar."<sup>1</sup> Other emperors that succeeded him were likewise obsessed with the desire to find the way to the place where they could obtain immortality by virtue of the magical substances there to be found. It is claimed that colonies were thus formed by the Chinese in the Philippines and Japan.<sup>1</sup> The Japanese have a story of one Wasobiowe who reached the Isles of the Blest after long voyages, and found there another mortal, Joiuku, who had fled from a tyrannical emperor under the pretext of seeking for the herb of immortality. It was a land of immortality, without sickness or decay. The men were wise and the women beautiful, and there was much music, song and laughter. After a time, however, he, like Bran of Ireland, returned home.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Yetts, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Macculloch, *op. cit.*

In the West there is ample evidence of a similar search for the Isles of the Blest.<sup>1</sup> In the Celtic literature of Ireland the voyage of Bran has persisted in the form of the tale of the voyage of St. Brandan to the west in search of the Isles of the Blest. Mr. Nutt has the following significant comments on this. He says, "the voyage of Saint Brandan, which touched so profoundly the imagination of mediæval man, which was translated into every European tongue, which drove forth adventurers into the Western Sea, and was one of the contributory causes of the discovery of the New World,—the voyage of Saint Brandan is but the latest and definitely Christian example of a genre of story-telling which had already flourished for centuries in Ireland, when it seemed good to an unknown writer to dress the old half-Pagan marvels in orthodox monkish garb, and thus start them afresh on their triumphal march through the literature of the world."<sup>2</sup>

You will all feel sympathy with those men of old who set out across unknown seas and braved unknown dangers in their search for the elixir of life, for I feel quite certain that in like circumstances many of us would have done precisely the same thing. Nowadays, when a big discovery of gold is made, there is a wild rush to the spot in the hope of gaining wealth, and no obstacles serve to prevent men from trying to get to the place. What would be the nature of the rush if, in addition to being a source of luxury in this life, the substance also procured immortality and eternal youth for its lucky possessor? The gold rushes of California in 1849, of Ballarat, of Klondike would be as nothing compared with it. The desire for life and wealth are two of the strongest that possess man. In antiquity it is very certain that they were as potent as they are now, and the most civilised peoples were then the most given to magic and alchemy. We have seen that there is every reason to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, xxxviii. *e.s.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 161, 284.

believe that the men of old were actively seeking for the earthly paradise where existed "givers of life" that could confer all sorts of benefits on man. We know further that these givers of life, gold, precious stones, pearls, plants, actually exist in many parts of the world. If men were seeking for them, they must in certain cases have found them. So it is legitimate to examine the early settlements of civilised men in various parts of the world to see if there be any signs that they were determined in their movements by the desire to obtain possession of givers of life. To begin with the first example that was mentioned, that of Ireland. The Celts imagined that there was an earthly paradise over the seas that was full of wealth. But what was the place where they had settled, Ireland itself, but a region that must in early times have been full of givers of life in the shape of gold, pearls, and other substances? Although the matter is not yet capable of exact proof, there is good reason to believe that the first civilised people who arrived there, the kitchen-midden people and the dolmen-builders, were seeking for gold and pearls as well as other substances.<sup>1</sup> They settled also in Devon and

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. Wilfrid Jackson of the Manchester Museum, Hon. Sec. of the Conchological Society, tells me that the distribution of the kitchen-middens of Ireland agrees well with that of the pearl mussel. If on the map of dolmens given by Borlase in the first volume of his *Dolmens of Ireland* be plotted the distribution of kitchen-middens, it will be found that, of the 56 middens recorded in the 1914 volume of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Institute of Antiquaries*, only six are more than five miles distant from a dolmen, and as many as 29 of them are within one mile of a dolmen. Moreover, as Mr. Robert Standen of the Manchester Museum has shown, the kitchen-midden people of Dogs' Bay, Connemara, were engaged in extracting purple, hardly an occupation of degraded savages. If on the same map be plotted the distribution of pearl-bearing mussels, as well as gold, silver, lead and copper, and flint, which the dolmen-builders and kitchen-midden peoples used for their implements, it will be seen that there is a close correspondence between the distributions. I propose shortly to lay before the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society the results of an examination into the distribution of megalithic monuments, which will go to show that the earliest civilised peoples were attracted thither by the gold

Cornwall and Wales, again sources of gold and other valuable substances. And it is curious to note that the tales of the Isles of the Blest and of the search for the Grail and kindred cycles are apparently connected with these gold-producing regions, and not with the parts of Britain that are barren of such "givers of life." It looks as if the seekers for the Isles of the Blest in western Europe had already found them.

In Central Asia there is likewise good reason for concluding that the first civilised people were attracted there by the stores of gold. They were irrigators, and the ruins of their irrigation systems are to be found along the banks of the rivers whose gravels contained gold: those rivers barren of gold are devoid of irrigation systems.<sup>1</sup> It is known, also, that these irrigators used gold.<sup>2</sup> So there is reason for believing that the distribution of this precious substance mainly determined their settlements. Unfortunately we know little of these early people, for the Zoroastrian reform seems to have made an almost complete break with the past. But we do know the beliefs of two peoples who came, or claim to have derived their civilisation, from Central Asia, the Chinese and the Indians of Vedic times, and a study of their beliefs shows what an important part has been played by gold in their civilisation. The Chinese themselves are incapable of explaining why heaven is jade and gold, why, that is, jade and gold are identified with the source of life. They apparently did not of Devon and Cornwall, and that their subsequent movements and settlements were determined by their needs in the way of flint, red ochre, red haematite, various sorts of stone for implements, and so on, and not by the height of the land or the absence of forests.

<sup>1</sup> This can be shown by plotting on the same map the irrigation distribution of Moser, "Irrigation en Asie centrale," and "The Gold-distribution of Mouchketoff," *Les richesses minerales du Turkestan russe*, Paris, 1878. Cf. also the *Oxford Economic Atlas*; Lock, *Gold*; Maclaren, *Gold*.

<sup>2</sup> Geiger, W., *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, 1885-6.

elaborate the idea themselves, and their past history goes to show that they must have brought it with them. The first place where Chinese civilisation can be detected is in the valley of the Wei, a tributary of the Hoang Ho or Yellow River. Their capital in early times was Siang-fu on the banks of the Wei, situated, so we are told by Laufer, near to important gold and jade mines.<sup>1</sup> This makes it possible to suggest that the bearers of civilisation to China came there in search of gold and other precious substances. That these men came from elsewhere is strongly suggested by the fact that at Siang-fu there are some enormous pyramids, presumably of earth, with square bases of sides three hundred feet, monuments utterly unlike any others in China, except in Shantung, where there are also signs of early foreign influence.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese, moreover, looked back to the Kwen-lun mountains as the place where lived the immortal queen of the west who had the magic peach-tree, and these mountains have long been the most important source of jade as well as containing much gold. So another people that believed in the Isles of the Blest and in the life-giving properties of certain substances appear to have chosen for their early settlements a region containing givers of life. This affords a natural explanation of the immense importance attached by them to gold and jade as well as to pearls and other substances.

If on a map be plotted out the early settlements of the Aryans in India and Afghanistan, as is given in Hopkins' *Religions of India* and the gold-bearing rivers in Lock's *Gold*, it will be found that the two coincide. We know further that the Aryans made their early settlements by the sides of the rivers.<sup>3</sup> When therefore it is said in the Atharva Veda that gold was what "the men of old and their progeny sought," the writer was apparently only

<sup>1</sup> Laufer, *Jade*.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholls, *Through Hidden Shensi*, London, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Zimmer, *Altindische Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 3.

voicing tradition. Gold and cattle were their chief sources of wealth, and both were closely connected with the gods and immortality. Once again the desire for "givers of life" appears to have had some influence on the movements of the people. But it is probable that the Aryans were not first to get to the Panjab and Afghanistan. They were probably anticipated by the people called Asuras, or Nagas, with whom they fought, peoples apparently above them in the level of culture, who wrought the profound modifications in their religion that we observe at the end of the Vedic period.<sup>1</sup> It is with these people that the idea of the Isles of the Blest are especially associated, and not with the Aryans, for they are not mentioned in the Vedas. Patala, the capital of the Asuras, is said to have its soil of gold.<sup>2</sup> In these later days there were current in India beliefs about islands with immense stores of wealth. They had mountains that are decked with jewels, and that are mines of gems and precious stones.<sup>3</sup> One of them, Cakadwipa, was an earthly paradise. All the other descriptions given go to show that the writer was obsessed with the idea that these islands were noteworthy principally on account of their stores of "givers of life," of gold, gems, etc. It is not surprising to find that, when the Hindus have moved out from India, they have chosen such places in which to settle, among them being Burma, Assam, Cambodia, Sumatra, and perhaps Java. It is, moreover, significant to find that in a place such as the East Indian Archipelago, those regions which contain supplies of givers of life of any sort have been visited by strangers apparently possessed of a relatively high civilisation. This is the case in Central Celebes, Timor, Borneo, the Moluccas and the Philippines.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Chinnery has lately shown also that in

<sup>1</sup> Oldham, C. F., *The Sun and the Serpent*, London, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Vishnu Purana*, Wilson's translation, London, 1840, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahabharata*, Ray's translation, Calcutta, 1893; *Bhumi Parva*, xi. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Perry, W. J., *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, Manchester, 1918.

British and German New Guinea the region of the gold-fields and pearl-beds has been occupied at some time in the past by unknown people who evidently were seeking these forms of wealth.<sup>1</sup> We can go still further back in the history of India and find a similar desire at work. Major Munn, the Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderabad, in a paper published by the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, states that the dolmen-builders of Hyderabad located their settlements round the mines of gold, diamonds, copper and iron which are so numerous there.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it seems from a comparison of the distribution of neolithic settlements in South India and the gold-bearing rocks of that region, that the neolithic people lived in close proximity to supplies of gold.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore possible that the civilisation of South India owes its origin to the search for givers of life.

It would therefore seem that peoples who believed in the existence of the Isles of the Blest also looked upon certain substances, such as gold, as givers of life, and in addition they sought for the earthly paradise far and wide. Although the Isles of the Blest contained the Tree of Life, it does not seem that it was the chief aim of the search. The evidence quoted with regard to the localisation of the early sites goes to show that gold was principally sought in antiquity. This is probably because it had come to acquire an arbitrary value as currency, in addition to being beautiful and of use for jewellery. It was also the colour of the sun and much used in connection with the sun-cult, which was so closely bound up in antiquity with the search for precious metals. For these reasons gold seems to have acquired a pre-eminent place, and the Isles of the Blest

<sup>1</sup> Chinnery, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Munn, "Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad," *Manchester Memoirs*, vol. lxiv. 1921, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Foote, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities*, Madras, 1916, map; Maclaren, *Gold*, p. 243.

are expressly mentioned as containing vast stores of gold and jewels.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the practical outcome of the possession of these beliefs has been to cause men to form their settlements where they found gold and other givers of life. And it is important to find that the highly civilised peoples of antiquity possessed these ideas in common. For this reason it is necessary to turn to one region of the earth where there formerly were important civilisations in order to inquire whether similar ideas existed in the past. The ancient civilisations of Central and South America were comparable with those of Europe, Asia and Africa. The pre-Columbian Mexicans were skilled metal-workers, and Cortes saw in the market of Mexico city baskets of gold, silver, tin, copper and lead waiting to be sold. The Mexicans associated gold with the sun and silver with the moon, as did the astrologers and alchemists of Europe and elsewhere. They also believe in the possibility of concocting an elixir of life.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps no question in ethnology is more hotly disputed than that of the origin of American civilisation. It is a question that cannot be left alone, especially nowadays when the whole foundation of the theory of independent development of culture is being sapped. In such circumstances as these, when speaking of movements of people about the earth, it is necessary to inquire what happens in the case of America. We find that the people of pre-Columbian Mexico had ideas concerning the elixir of life, and that they worked metals. These peoples had traditions with regard to the origin of their civilisation. One of them quoted by Brasseur de Bourbourg has been recorded by their historian Sahagun. Sahagun is speaking of the ancestors of the Nahua, the mythical or traditional

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered, moreover, that the rôle of Tree of Life was filled by many different kinds of trees, and thus could hardly have played so important a part as gold.

<sup>2</sup> Lippmann, *op. cit.* p. 519.

founders of Mexican civilisation. These men are said to have come across the sea in vessels in search of the Earthly Paradise. "In coming southward to seek the earthly paradise," the historian says, "these men certainly did not deceive themselves, for it is the opinion of those who know that it is under the equinoctial line: and in thinking that it ought to be a high mountain they are also not mistaken, for, so say the writers, the earthly paradise is under the equinoctial line, and it is a very high mountain, whose summit almost touches the moon. It appears that these men or their ancestors had consulted an oracle on this matter, either a god or a demon, or they possessed an ancient tradition that had been handed down." Apparently they found the place, which was named Tollan, and in the subsequent movements of these Nahua peoples the memory of Tollan is faithfully preserved. These strangers who were seeking the earthly paradise, as we are told by Torquemada, worked gold and silver, and were in every way great artists. They arrived at Tollan, a land of abundance of wealth, the earthly paradise. All sorts of food grew there in the greatest abundance, and cottons of all colours. There were birds with rich plumage and beautiful melodious voices. There grew the best cocoa, as well as the black gum that was so highly prized. It is also, we are told, the place where are found emeralds, turquoises, gold and silver. So these people had an idea of the earthly paradise that agrees with those of the nations of the Old World in making it a place where gold and precious stones exist in abundance.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that expeditions set out from Ireland and China to find the Isles of the Blest. We find also that, on the American side, there are traditions that strangers came in search of the earthly paradise. We find, moreover, that the traditions of the peoples of Mexico speak of an earthly

<sup>1</sup> Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, Paris, 1861, pp. lvii, lviii, lxxiv, cliii.

paradise where there were gold, silver and precious stones. Can we go one step further and examine the places where civilisation first sprang up in Central America? The first civilisation that we know of in this region is that of the Maya, who founded cities in Southern Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras. These people seem to have chosen extraordinary places in which to build their first cities. "To-day," we are told by Professor Huntington, "the most progressive and energetic people of Guatemala, its densest population, its greatest towns, its center of wealth, learning and culture, so far as these things exist, are all greatest in the relatively open, healthful, easily accessible and easily tillable highlands; in the past these same things were localised in the most inaccessible, unhealthful, and untillable low lands . . . the greatest civilisation grew up in the densely forested, highly feverish, and almost untillable lowlands of Peten and Eastern Guatemala." He says further that "in their achievements in overcoming an adverse environment, we are perhaps obliged to put them on a pinnacle above any other race that ever lived. . . . They certainly were a remarkable people."<sup>1</sup> Professor Huntington, as you know, suggests that in former times the climate was far different in many parts of the earth from what it is now, and he tends to explain the vicissitudes of civilisation in this area, as in others, as the result of climatic changes. I have no time to examine here the thesis of Professor Huntington. It is sufficient to remark that, in founding Copan on a tributary of the Motagua river, the Maya have chosen what is now the most important gold-producing river of Central America.<sup>2</sup> Practically all the other great Maya cities lie in the Peten strip of the Atlantic forest, and in Chiapas, Tabasco, and Campeche, provinces of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Elliot Smith tells me

<sup>1</sup> Huntington, E., *The Climatic Factor*, Washington, D.C., 1914, pp. 215, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Maclaren, *Gold*, London, 1908, p. 608.

<sup>3</sup> Huntington, *op. cit.* 217.

that this is a region containing gold and other precious substances. The facts that we possess about the beginnings of Mexican civilisation are therefore such as to suggest that its founders possessed ideas similar to those which actuated the Chinese and other highly civilised peoples. They sought especially gold and other precious substances, and their early settlements seem to have been chosen as the result of this search. In their subsequent wanderings the descendants of the Maya looked back upon their homeland as a place abounding in life-giving substances. In other parts of North America the earliest civilised peoples that we have traces of appear to have settled in places where they could obtain supplies of gold, silver, turquoise and so forth. And the beliefs of the peoples living in those regions in post-Columbian times, which are doubtless founded upon those of the earlier inhabitants, show clearly that such substances as turquoise, pearls and so on were looked upon by the first colonists as givers of life.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the migration legends of the Pueblo Indians, mention is constantly made of the search for the middle, the navel of the earth, which when found seems to have been located with reference to life-giving substances.

Some will object to the suggestion that American civilisation was founded by strangers. But it must be admitted that the hypothesis of the search for the Isles of the Blest provides a plausible explanation of the fact that the first civilised settlements that we know of in Central and North America were in places where there were givers of life. This explanation at least serves to confirm the tradition of men coming in search of the earthly paradise, and the claim made by later American peoples that their first home was such a paradise. It looks as if there were a continuity in the process of the development of Mexican

<sup>1</sup> The justification of these statements would take too long here. I shall put forward the evidence in detail in the work on development of religion on which I am at present engaged.

civilisation, that the wanderers went from one paradise to another, that is to say, from one locality where there were gold and other precious substances to another. But who is going to point out the beginnings of these ideas in America, seeing that the post-Columbian Indians, the remnants of this early civilisation, have lost them to a great extent? The question that we must face is, Whence came the men who made the first civilised settlements, and how did they get their ideas about the earthly paradise? The hypothesis that they came from the outside is eminently reasonable in view of the fact that, as Mr. Nutt tells us, the leading motive of Columbus was that of finding the earthly paradise. It is thus not wise to dismiss this suggestion with contempt as unscientific, for what is termed as such is often nothing more than an opinion that does not tally with one's own preconceived view. We know that in the early centuries of our era men were actively seeking for the earthly paradise; they were influenced by a tradition handed down for thousands of years that retained enough vitality to incite them to action. How much more powerful must have been this belief in days when men were more prone to believe in marvels. We can be quite certain that the voyage of Christopher Columbus and the others of which we know only constitute a small part of the expeditions that must have set out during long ages. That being so, how can we deny the possibility that one of these expeditions actually reached America from some civilised country and started the civilisation that we know of? I know full well that many objections can be made to the idea, but they seem to me to weigh but little in the balance against the objections to the theory of the indigenous origin of American civilisation. Also many of these objections to the theory of outside influence are founded on an insufficient appreciation of the known facts concerning culture movements in other parts of the earth.

There are many features of the topic of the earthly

paradise that must be left over for future treatment. The aim has been to correlate the facts concerning the localisation of early centres of civilisation with the cycle of myths concerning the Isles of the Blest. That involves the jettisoning of the discussion of many features of these places, and the concentration on one aspect only. It has also prevented any extended discussion of the topic of givers of life in general, fruitful as it is in all its ramifications. But before closing the paper it would be profitable to consider briefly one more topic. We have on this earth communities that are progressive and others that are not. What are the causes of this difference in mentality, often between peoples of the same stock? Many factors have been adduced in the past to account for this diversity, among which race and climate have played a conspicuous part. But it is surely now time that we should turn rather to man himself, possessed of the most wonderful thing in the world, the human mind, as the prime cause of the development of civilisation. The chief problem is that of accounting for the dynamic attitude towards life that is characteristic of certain peoples and states. I venture to suggest that, in the possession of ideas with regard to the life-giving properties of gold and other substances, we have one such motive which will help to account in part for the development of civilisation.

In order to establish the truth of this suggestion it would be necessary to show that the unprogressive races had not these ideas. I think that it can be shown without much trouble that the story of the Isles of the Blest and of earthly paradises in general, with stores of gold and precious substances, have not formed part of the beliefs of peoples of the lower culture of the unprogressive races of mankind. Indeed, as has been stated, it can be shown that many such peoples have been in contact with men who attached such ideas to gold and other substances and have remained entirely indifferent to these ideas.

Dr. Elliot Smith has claimed that the search for the elixir of life has been one of the main preoccupations of man since the earliest historical times. In this paper I have tried to show that this search has been a real thing, and not merely a theme for poets and story-tellers. There has been in the minds of those who studied alchemy, who sought far and wide for givers of life and fitted out expeditions for the Isles of the Blest, a drive that impelled them onwards. What was the real nature of this drive? It undoubtedly must have owed its existence to the instinctive desire that we all have to preserve our lives, to escape death, and to obtain for ourselves all that will add to our comfort and well-being. This desire is possessed by all human beings, and when men began to build up beliefs about "givers of life," the drive would soon get to work to impel them to apply them in a practical manner.

In adopting the point of view that certain people of antiquity have possessed a drive that impelled them forward, while others who had it not have remained stagnant, we are falling into line with modern psychology. Our President has lately published a work<sup>1</sup> in which he emphasises the part played in our lives by the instinct of self-preservation. It would seem that in the search for givers of life we have another example of the workings of this instinct. In certain ways this drive has been beneficial to men: in others it has been a tragedy of the first order. We owe to it much of our modern science. But we owe to it also the consequences of the efforts of men to catch a will-o'-the-wisp, and to-day are suffering from the effects of the consequent wrong building up of civilisation in the turmoil and misery that surround us. Nevertheless, the recognition of the real nature of the processes that have built up civilisation will in the end prove beneficial. We shall be able to examine the behaviour of man in the past in a similar manner to that in which we study the

<sup>1</sup> *Instinct and the Unconscious.* Cambridge, 1920.

neurasthenic. Recognising that unconscious motives have played an important part in the process of building up the fabric of civilisation, we shall be able to bring real self-knowledge to men, to enable them to correct the evil tendencies in civilisation, and attain to the true mental health that is so sorely needed in our times. For this reason alone, the study of such matters as the Isles of the Blest is of prime importance to every student of man. They bring to light the unconscious motives that have led men on to build up civilisation, and thus too much stress cannot be laid upon the studies of societies such as that of which we have the honour to be members.<sup>1</sup>

W. J. PERRY.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Haddon has called my attention to an article on "Toteninseln und verwandte geographischen Mythen," by Dr. J. Zemmrich, in vol. iv. (1891) of the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. I regret having overlooked this monograph, for it contains a multitude of facts that illuminate the subject. Herr Zemmrich reproduces a map which constitutes important evidence for the spread of peoples. (Cf. in this connection Perry, *Folk-Lore*, 1915.)

THE DERBYSHIRE MUMMING PLAY OF  
*ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON*;

OR, AS IT IS SOMETIMES CALLED,  
*THE PACE EGG.*

COLLECTED BY GWEN JOHN.

*Taken down in North-East Derbyshire in 1921. Mainly supplied by five boys living in different villages or towns; very slightly supplemented by personal recollection.*

CHARACTERS.

THE FOOL (OLD BOLD BEN). Comic dress, probably patchwork, painted face, sometimes carries a bladder.

ST. GEORGE. White garment with red cross or red rosettes on chest.

SLASHER. Green and red. As gay as possible. Sometimes a red coat.

DOCTOR. Tall hat, black cardboard spectacles, medicine bottle, tail-coat.

BLACK PRINCE. Cloak, hat with feather; or any bright pink and yellow clothing, black face.

KING OF EGYPT. Yellow and red: black face.

HECTOR. Pink or purple.

BEELZEBUB, all black; black face. Or SLIP-SLOP, woman's skirt and blouse and bonnet.

LITTLE DEVIL DOUBT. All black, blacked face, carrying broom.  
" Jack " is a term of familiarity applied indiscriminately.

(*Note.*—A black face means a face with a few smears of burnt cork on it.)

## INTRODUCTION.

OLD FOOL *begins.*

*Fool.* I open the door, I enter in  
To see a merry act begin :  
Whether I stand, or whether I fall,  
I'll do my duty to please you all.

*(An alternative to the above lines is :*

In comes I who's never been yit,  
With my big head and little wit :  
Although my wit it is so small,  
I've got enough to please you all.)

Stir up the fire and give us light,  
For in this house there will be a fight.

*(Or, And let us act our noble fight.)*

Room, room, brave gallants, give us room to sport,  
For in this room we wish for to resort ;  
To resort and to repeat to you our merry rhyme,  
For remember, good sirs, this is Christmas time.  
Time to cut up goose-pie now doth appear,  
So we have come to act our merry Christmas here.  
At the sound of the trumpet, and the beat of the drum,  
Make room, brave gentlemen, and let our merry actors  
come.

*(All together.)*

We are the merry actors that travel the street,  
We are the merry actors that fight for our meat,  
We are the merry actors that show pleasant play,  
Step in, St. George, thou champion bold, and clear the  
way.

*[Exit OLD FOOL.*

*(Enter ST. GEORGE.)*

PART I.

*St. George.* I am St. George, who from Old England sprung,  
My famous name throughout the world hath rung :  
Many gory deeds and wonders have I made known,  
And made the giants tremble on their throne.  
I followed a fair lady to a castle gate,  
Confined in dungeons deep, there to meet her fate,  
When I resolved with true knight-errantry  
To burst the door, and set the prisoner free ;  
When a giant almost struck me dead,  
But with my sword by valour I cut off his head.  
I've searched the whole world round and round,  
But a man to equal me has not been found.

(*Enter SLASHER.*)

*Slasher.* I'm the man to equal thee.

*St. George.* Who art thou ?

*Slasher.* I am a valiant soldier, and Slasher is my name :  
With sword and buckler by my side, I hope to win the  
game.

And for to fight with me I see thou art not able,  
So with my trusty broadsword I soon will thee disable.

*St. George.* Disable, disable, it lies not in thy power,  
For with my glittering sword and spear I soon will thee  
devour ;

Stand off, Slasher, and let no more be said,  
For if I draw my sword I'm sure to break thy head.

*Slasher.* How canst thou break my head ?

Since my head is made of iron,  
My body made of steel,  
My legs and arms are made of brass,  
No man can make me feel.

(*Then they sham fight with their swords. SLASHER  
is slain.*)

(Enter OLD FOOL.)

*Fool.* Alas, alas, my chiefest son is slain !  
 What must I do to raise him up again ?  
 Here he lies in the presence of you all.  
 I willingly for a doctor call.  
 A doctor, a doctor, ten pounds for a doctor !  
 I'll go and fetch a doctor.

(Enter DOCTOR.)

*Doctor.* Here am I.

*Fool.* Are you the doctor ?

*Doctor.* Yes ; that you may plainly see  
 By my art and activity.

*Fool.* By your heart and the cap of your knee ?

*Doctor.* Oh, no ; you foolish blockhead. By my art and  
 activity.

*Fool.* Well, what's your fee to cure this poor man ?

*Doctor.* Ten pounds is my fee ; but Jack, if thou be an  
 honest man, I'll only take five off thee.

*Fool.* Tha'll be wondrous cunning if tha gets any.

*Doctor.* Good-bye, Jack.

*Fool.* Here, how far have you travelled in doctrianship ?

*Doctor.* Italy, Tytaly, High Germany, France and Spain,  
 And over the hills and back again.

(Or, instead of last line.)

And now have returned to cure the diseases of Old  
 England again.

(Or, England, Ireland, Europe and Syrup. I went into  
 Ireland and saw such sights I never seen in my life  
 before : Churches made of penny loaves ; Black  
 Puddings for bell-ropes ; Little Pigs running about  
 with a knife and fork sticking in them, crying out  
 Who will eat me ?)

*Fool.* So far and no further ?

*Doctor.* O yes ; a great deal further.

*Fool.* How far ?

*Doctor.* From the fireside, cupboard-head,  
Upstairs, and into bed.

*Fool.* What diseases canst thou cure ?

*Doctor.* All sorts : I can cure a dead man.

*Fool.* What's all sorts ?

*Doctor.* The itch, the pitch, the palsy and the gout,  
The pains within and the pains without,  
And the pains that lie all round about.  
If a man has nineteen devils in his skull, I can cast  
twenty of them out.

I have here in my pocket crutches for lame ducks,  
spectacles for blind humble-bees, pack-saddles and  
panniards for grasshoppers, and plasters for broken-  
backed mice. I cured Sir Harry of a nag-nail almost  
fifty-five yards long. Surely I can cure this poor man.  
Here, Jack, take a drop out of my bottle,  
And let it run down thy throttle ;  
Then, if thou be not quite slain,  
Rise up, Jack, and fight again.

*Slasher (sitting up).* Oh, my back !

*Doctor.* What's amiss with thy back ?

*Slasher.* Oh, my back is wounded,  
My heart confounded :  
Oh, to be knocked out of seven senses into seven  
score ;  
The like was never seen in Old England before.

*(Rising.)*

Oh hark, St. George, I hear the silver trumpet sound  
That summons us from off this gory ground.

Farewell, St. George, I can no longer stay :

*(Pointing.)* Down yonder is the way.

[*Exit* BOLD SLASHER.]

## PART II.

*St. George.* I am St. George, that noble champion bold,  
 And with my glittering sword and spear I won ten  
 thousand pounds in gold ;  
 'Twas I that fought the fiery dragon, and brought him  
 to the slaughter,  
 And by those means I won the King of Egypt's  
 daughter.

(*Enter BLACK PRINCE.*)

*Black Prince.* I am Black Prince of Paradise, born of high  
 renown,  
 Soon will I fetch St. George's lofty courage down.  
 Before St. George shall be received by me,  
 St. George shall die to all eternity.  
 Draw out thy sword and slay, pull out thy purse and  
 pay,  
 For I will have a recompense before I go away.

*St. George.* Now, Black Prince of Paradise, where hast  
 thou been ?  
 Pray, what fine sights hast thou seen ?  
 Dost think no man of the age  
 Dare such a black as thee engage ?  
 Lay down thy sword, take up to me a spear,  
 I'll fight thee without dread or fear.—  
 Stand back, thou black Morocco dog,  
 Or, by my sword, thou'lt die ;  
 I'll fill thy body full of pellets,  
 And make thy buttons fly !

(*They fight ; the BLACK PRINCE is killed.*)

*St. George.* Now Prince of Paradise is dead,  
 And all his joys entirely fled,  
 Take him and give him to the flies,  
 Let him no more come near my eyes.

(*Enter the KING OF EGYPT.*)

*King of Egypt.* I am the King of Egypt, as plainly doth appear,

I've come to seek my only son, my only son and heir.  
Where is he ?

*St. George.* He is slain.

*King of Egypt.* Who did him slay, and who did him kill,  
And on the ground his precious blood did spill ?

*St. George.* I did him slay, and I did him kill,  
And on this ground his precious blood did spill.  
Please you, my liege, my honour to maintain ;  
Had thou been here, thou might have fared the same.

*King of Egypt (rushing with upraised dagger).* Curséd  
Christian, what is this thou'st done ;  
Thou hast ruined and slain my only son.

*St. George.* He gave me a challenge, who now it denies ?  
As high as he was, but see how low he lies.

*King of Egypt.* O Hector, Hector, help me with speed,  
For in life I never stood in more need ;  
And stand not there with sword in hand,  
But rise, and fight at my command.

(*Enter HECTOR.*)

*Hector.* Yes, yes, my liege, I will obey,  
And by my sword I hope to win the day.  
If that be he who doth stand there  
Who slew my master's son and heir,  
If he be sprung from royal blood,  
I'll make it run like Noah's flood.

*St. George.* Hold, Hector, do not be so hot,  
For here thou knowest not what thou has got ;  
For I can tame thee of thy pride  
And lay thine anger to aside,  
Inch thee, lynch thee, cut thee as small as flies,  
And send thee over the sea to make mince-pies :

Mince-pies hot, mince-pies cold, I'll send thee to the  
devil before thou art three days old.

*Hector.* How canst thou tame me of my pride, and lay  
mine anger to aside,

Inch me, lynch me, cut me as small as flies,  
And send me over the sea to make mince-pies,

Mince-pies hot, mince-pies cold,

How canst thou send me to the devil before I am three  
days old,

Since my head is made of iron,

My body made of steel,

My hands and feet of knuckle-bone ?

—I challenge thee to field !

*(Then they fight ; HECTOR is wounded.)*

*(Enter DOCTOR.)*

*Doctor.* Hector is wounded, give him a pill,  
And let him fight a little longer, if he will.

*Hector.* I am a valiant knight, and Hector is my name ;  
Many gory battles have I fought, and always won the  
same.

But from St. George I received this gory wound.

Oh hark, St. George, I hear the silver trumpet sound  
That summons us from off this ground.

Farewell, St. George, I can no longer stay.

*(Pointing.)* Down yonder is the way.

*[Exit HECTOR.]*

*(Enter FOOL, or sometimes in this portion of the  
play the part is made into another character called  
OLD BOLD BEN.)*

*Fool.* In comes I, post, Old Bold Ben.

Why, master, did I ever take you to be my friend ?

*St. George.* Why, Jack, did I ever do thee any harm ?

Thou proud saucy coxcomb, begone.

*Fool.* Coxcomb? I defy that name,  
And with a sword thou ought to be stabbed for the  
same.

*St. George.* To be stabbed is the least I fear.  
Mark me the time and place, and I'll meet you there.

*Fool.* I'll cross the water at the hour of five;  
I'll meet thee there, sir, if I be alive.  
And if you don't believe the words I say,  
Step in, Beelzebub, and clear the way.

(*Enter BEELZEBUB.*)

*Beelzebub.* In comes I, old Beelzebub,  
Over my shoulder I carry a club,  
In my right hand a dripping-pan;  
And I reckon mysen a jolly old man.  
If you don't believe the words I say,  
Step in, Devil Doubt, and clear the way.

(*Or, in place of BEELZEBUB, there is a man with  
blacked face dressed in woman's clothes, called  
SLIP-SLOP.*)

*Slip-Slop.* Here comes I, old Slip-Slop,  
My mother turned me out for stealing mop:  
Stealing mop is a very bad trick,  
She sent me to Old Nick  
To lead coal and stick.  
Now, ladies and gentlemen, if you don't believe the  
words I say,  
Enter Little Devil Doubt and clear the way.

(*Enter DEVIL DOUBT with a brush.*)

*Devil Doubt.* In comes I, Little Devil Doubt,  
If you don't give me money I'll sweep you all out:  
Money I want and money I crave,  
If you don't give me money I'll sweep you all to your  
grave.

*St. George* (*re-entering, to Fool*). Sing a song, Jack.

*Fool*. Sing it theesen.

*St. George*. Why so ?

*Fool*. Because it is so.

*St. George*. Pull out your box and a-begging go.

(*All characters sing together.*)

THE SONG.

*1st verse.*

Come, all ye jolly mummers that mum at Christmas-time,

Come join us in chorus, come join us in rhyme.

*Chorus.*

And a-mumming we will go, we'll go,

A-mumming we will go :

With a blue cockade all in our hats

We'll go to the Garland Show.

*2nd verse.*

It's of St. George's valour, so loudly let us sing,

He's an honour to his country and a credit to his king.

*Chorus.*

*3rd verse.*

Bold Slasher he came up, St. George to attack,

He made him roar a ri-oh, and he cried out O my back !

*Chorus.*

*4th verse.*

It's of that Black Morocco Dog who fought in famous battle ;

He blacked his face with a diamond soot, and he made his sword a-rattle.

*Chorus.*

*5th verse.*

The King of Egypt he came up to seek his only son,

St. George plainly told him he'd slain him on the ground.

*Chorus.*

*6th verse.*

He called out for Hector to come and use his sword,  
And do the very best he could to stab and slay St.  
George.

*Chorus.*

*7th verse.*

I wish you A Merry Christmas and A Happy New Year  
To friend and relations that live both far and near.

*Chorus.*

And a-mumming we will go, we'll go,  
A-mumming we will go,  
With a blue cockade all in our hats  
We'll go to the Garland Show.

THE END.

Some versions have only the one incident of the fight with, and slaying of, Slasher, and his healing by the Doctor, introduced of course by the Fool (Vice, Harlequin?) and closed by the Doctor's saying :

And now, gentlemen, I have cured this man, and made  
him safe and sound  
As any man on England's ground :  
And if you can't believe the words I say,  
Step in, Beelzebub, and clear the way.

Then follow in turn Beelzebub (clown? club for toasting-fork, and the frying-pan for souls) and Little Devil Doubt with broom. (Puck: "I am come with broom before To sweep the dust behind the door.") The frying-pan is of course used for begging. The Garland Show is, presumably, the May Festival which is still celebrated with a Garland at Castleton: probably this play was given at the same time, though I believe it is now only given at Christmas.

The text was collected this year (1921) in the colliery district. It is possible that in less sophisticated parts,

such as the Peak, a completer text could be collected. Three boys from different localities supplied the greater part of it, and their renderings were almost identical. Two other boys supplied the single incident of the fight, death, and resurrection. So far as I know, it is now only played by boys, usually of about twelve or thirteen years.

It is noticeable that one character may be elaborated into several, as Beelzebub, Devil Doubt, Slip-Slop, or Slasher and Hector. And sometimes lines will be reft from the one and given to another. So to find such close agreement in three renderings shows some tenacity of tradition. According to one boy, however, Devil Doubt becomes Little Chucker Out, and the Fool may become Father Christmas; St. George may become King George, and the slain man may have a mother instead of a father. A rather delightful rendering is when the saint becomes King George of Paradise. There would seem to be the elements of three plays in this one text: the original Nature drama of life, death and re-birth, with the powers of day and night, winter and summer, or good and evil, typified by the white or black faces of the players, or, as they call themselves, "guisers"; the play of the Seven Champions of Christendom reduced to a solitary representative; and the play of the Nine Worthies, of which only Hector remains to remind us of the masque in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Until fairly lately the Hobby-horse figured in this same colliery district, but now I fear "the Hobby-horse is forgot." But the town of Derby specialises in an animal called "The Old Tup."

It is a common sight at Christmas to see groups of little boys with blacked and painted faces and scraps of fancy dress "guising," but I was agreeably surprised to find so full a text forthcoming from the heart of strikeland and social upheaval. Nothing later than the Crusades seems to have shaped the story. According to one boy the Black Prince should be called the Black Prince of Paladine (Paladin? or Palestine?). Slasher seems to be the Green

Man who appears commonly on inn signs, sometimes in connection with the Black's, or Moor's, Head. The Peak-land ritual dances preserve this character as a May or Morris King, while the Black is usually a witch with a broom.

When the Black Prince is called the Prince of Turkey, he is perhaps, not unnaturally, confused with Christmas fare.

(Application to use this play must be made to the Incorporated Society of Authors, Playrights and Composers, 1 Central Buildings, Tothill Street, S.W. 1, as all rights are reserved.—G. J.)

## THE PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN NEGRO FOLK-TALES.

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

### IV.

#### *Missing Tongues.*

ONE of the best known tales of the Hispanic Peninsula is the tale of the disproof of the false claim to the rescue of the princess from the dragon by means of the tongues or tongue tips which the true rescuer had preserved.<sup>1</sup> The tale is often found in the Peninsula and elsewhere in Europe imbedded in the tale generally known as "The Two Brothers."<sup>2</sup> Among the Cape Verde Islanders in New England I have found the tale both associated with that of "The Two Brothers" and independently narrated. Of the latter form of presentation is the following tale which I heard in Newport, Rhode Island.

There was a city where a king lived. In this city was a well whose water came from a place where lived seven robbers. Every household that wanted water had to give them a person. Now there were no more households to give a person but the king's. In this city was a man named Jõa Porcero. He was the herd of all the pigs in the city, and he was so used to being with pigs, he looked like a pig. There was a boy so knowing that, in all the colleges of

<sup>1</sup> De Soto, S. G., *Cuentos populares de Extremadura*; Biblioteca de las Tradiciones Populares Españoles, x. No. 21; Braga, T., *Contos tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*, lii. Porto, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Bolte, J. u. Polivka, G., *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder u. Hausmärchen der Bruder Grimm*, i. 528-556, and cxi. Leipzig, 1913.

France and Lisbon and England and America, no boy was more knowing than he. He came to the king's house the day the princess was to be sent to the robbers at the well. (As soon as she should reach the well, the water would flow; but the robbers would keep her three days before killing her.) The king's house was covered with black. The boy asked why the king's house was in mourning. They told him there was a well in that city and seven robbers. And when they wanted the water to flow, they had to send them a person. The time had come to send the king's daughter. The boy asked the king for a gun and a bag to go to war, he did not tell him that he was going to save his daughter. He went to the house of the robbers. They were out, and the princess opened the door. "You had better go from here," she said. "Seven robbers live here. Six of them are bad enough; but the seventh is the worst of all, and, if he catches you, he will kill you."—"Let me stay. I'm not afraid of their killing me." The seven robbers arrived. They said, "Yesterday there was one. To-day there are two." With his cutlass the boy slashed at the robbers, and slashed and slashed until he had killed them all. He cut off the tips of their tongues and tied them in a handkerchief. He sent the girl home; he told her not to tell who had saved her. She became dumb.

Next day, early in the morning, Jõa Porcero went to the well and found the dead robbers. He cut off the tips of the tongues of seven pigs; he took them to the king; he said it was he who had killed the robbers. The king sent his soldiers to find out if this was true. The soldiers found the robbers with the tips of their tongues cut off; they reported to the king that it was true. So the king made Jõa Porcero one of his house servants. In spite of his position, the princess always looked at him askance. When she had been dumb a year or more, the king had the drum beaten in his fortifications to announce that whoever

should make his daughter speak or laugh, to him he would give half of his kingdom.

Meanwhile the boy had gone off to war, to make war on seven nations. In each country he lost a horse, except in the seventh where he had a horse that could run twenty miles without a drop of sweat. On his way back to the country of the princess he met a shepherd, from whom he bought a goatskin to make a drum. Arrived in the city, he beat his drum to proclaim that he had returned victorious from the wars. The princess, who for over a year had not stirred, had only slept and eaten, as soon as she heard the drum, began to move about as if she were crazy. As the boy approached, she moved faster and faster. When the drum stopped, she stopped. The king noticed the effect on her of the drum, and he sent his soldiers to bring the drummer to his house. When he arrived, she went and embraced him, saying that was her husband, the man who had saved her from the robbers. To convince the king, he showed him the tongue tips; and the king and his soldiers went and fitted them into the mouths of the robbers. The boy married the princess, and enjoyed half of the kingdom. Jõa Porcero the king sent back to his pigsty. The pigs began to bite him. Their teeth had grown long, and they bit, and bit, and bit him into pieces.

The only other African version which I know comes from Quilimane, Portuguese East Africa. It is narrated as part of the tale of the Two Brothers of which the latter portion has dropped out. The elder brother Rombao encounters a whale which he kills, cutting out its tongue. The chief, who has given up his daughter to buy water from the whale, sends a captain and soldiers to see whether or not the girl has been killed. The captain brings the girl back and claims that he has killed the whale. On the day the captain is to marry the girl, Rombao sends his younger brother to the wedding. "The marriage feast is

ready," reports the younger brother. Rombao goes to the assemblage and challenges the captain to produce the tongue of the whale. "The whale has not a tongue—it is rotten," declare the soldiers. Whereupon Rombao produces the tongue which he has salted, and the chief gives him his daughter, killing the captain and the soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

In America "Missing Tongues" is found among both Indians<sup>2</sup> and Negroes. Two Negro variants have been recorded in the United States, the Cape Verde Islands tale already given and a tale I heard in one of the Sea Islands of the Carolina coast; from the West Indies there are several variants, three from Jamaica, two from Antigua and one from the Bahamas.

The Carolinian version has been spliced into the tale of *Escape Up the Tree*, another tale of Hispanic provenience, and in the splicing the pattern has become considerably obscured.—John take his dawg an' gone. Walk twenty mile. Meet up wid a sign: any man dat enter de city an' kill de mighty beas' would marry de king daughter. . . . De beas' had been done ten or twelve mans cou'tin' de king daughter. So John an' his dawg enter into de city an' make right fo' de king house. An' when John get up on de step, put his firs' step, de beas' caught his laig. John cry, "Cut-His-T'roat, cut his t'roat!" De dawg cut his t'roat. John say, "Suck-his-Blood, suck his blood!" De dawg suck his blood. John now wen' into de house. Saw all de mans in de house. Had no pertection, glad when John come an' kill de beas'. John didn' know de king daughter, but de king daughter walk right to John, hug him an' kiss him, said, "Dis my husban'." Said, "Now, befo' we married, you got a sister, go get yer sister. Tell

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald, Duff, *Africana*, ii. 341-344. London, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> For its distribution among Indians, see *Journal American Folk-Lore*, xxv. 258, n. 4.

my fader hitch up de fas'es' horse he got in his stable." An' so dey did, go de twenty mile, get back dat night. When John get back to de do' dat night, de weddin' was goin' on. Dese big man couldn' kill de beas', but dey could have de weddin'. John get mad 'bout dat. John didn' go into de house. John sent his dawg into de house clear 'way de house fo' him. John dawg take all dem big man an' t'row dem outdoor. . . .

The West Indian tales I will give or summarize in the order of, so to speak, their integrity. Least disintegrated and closest to the European version is one of the two Antigua variants, set in a variant of the "Two Brothers," called "Black Jack and White Jack."

"Black Jack heard of a king dat had a daughter. An' every year a lion come dere to destroy dat girl. Any man who could kill dat lion could have the girl to be his wife. So Black Jack made his way to the king palace. . . . The next day the king send his daughter in a coach out to the woods where dis lion was. . . . An' Black Jack was in ambush. When the lion come out after the girl, Black Jack said to his beast, 'Hold on me lion, me unicorn an' me bear.' An' his t'ree beast tear up dis lion. . . . Black Jack told the girl not to tell the fader it was he dat killed the lion. So whiles dey was goin' back, the coachman tell the girl to say to the fader it was he dat kill the lion. He threaten to kill her if she do not. So the girl tell the fader it was the coachman dat killed the lion. So the king agreed to have the girl marry to dis coachman. On da next day Black Jack was passin' by the palace. The girl was looking out of the veranda. She saw Black Jack, an' den she say, 'Ah Papa, Papa, dat was the man who saved me from the lion.' An' the king called him in. An' dey hang the coachman for tellin' a lie. Two days after Black Jack marry to dis girl." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, J. H., "Folk-Lore from Antigua," to be published in the next number of the *American Folk Lore Journal*.

The other Antiguan variant and one of the Jamaica variants have an animal cast. The Jamaican variant is the more complete.

“Once there was a bird in the wood name Man-crow, an’ the world was in darkness because of that bird. So the king offer thousands of pounds to kill him to make the world in light again. An’ the king have t’ree daughter, an’ he promise that, if any one kill Man-crow, he will make them a very rich man an’ give one of his daughter to marry. So t’ousands of soldiers go in the wood to kill Man-crow. An’ they found him on one of the tallest trees in the woods. An’ no one could kill him, an’ they come home back. So there was a little yawzy fellah call Soliday. An’ he say to his grandmother :—‘ Gran’mother I am very poor. I am going in the wood to see if I can kill Man-crow.’ ” . . .

Soliday sings to the bird and the bird sings back. With every shot from Soliday’s bow Man-crow looses two feathers and drops one bough down in the tree. At the sixth arrow Man-crow drops off the tree dead. Soliday takes from the bird his golden tongue and golden teeth, and goes home to his grandmother. Now Annancy, who has been up in a tree looking on, comes down, shoulders the bird and goes to the king’s gate claiming to be the man who killed Man-crow. . . . During Annancy’s wedding feast Soliday arrives and makes his claim.

“An’ they said : ‘ No, impossible ! Mr. Annancy kill Man-crow.’ An’ he take out the golden tongue an’ teeth an’ show it to the king, an’ ask the question :—‘ How can a bird live without teeth an’ tongue ? ’ So they look in the bird mouth an’ found it was true. An’ they call Annancy. An’ Annancy give answer :—‘ I will soon be there.’ An’ they call him again. An’ he shut the kitchen door an’ said :—‘ Me no feel well.’ All this time Brother Annancy shame, take him own time fe make hole in the shingle get ’way. . . . Annancy lost in the shingle up to to-day. An’ the king marry Soliday to his

daughter an' make him to be one of the richest man in the world." <sup>1</sup>

In the second Antiguan variant the prey creature is also a bird, a great bird of the forest called Big Garee. "Dis Big Garee t'ink dat he always rule. No oder bird try to dispute him as de bigges'. An' all de oders have a hatred for dis Big Garee." After an exchange of songs, Big Garee is killed by Little Garee, and on the front of the court house Big Garee "is stick up so dat all might see." . . . "Now dat de bird dead, Bra' Nancy dress himself up. He get he little coat, he little stick an' he dress hat. Come to where dis Big Garee was an' tell all dat he was de one kill him. Say, 'Yes, I kill him. See dat bird? I kill him.' Dey t'ink he big fellow. . . . Now come Little Garee along. Nancy not know he de one kill dis bird, an' he say, 'See what I do? Yes, I kill dat bird.' . . . Little Garee say, 'All right.' If it is so he ask Nancy to raise up de bird wid his little finger. Nancy try an' can't raise even de wing a dis Big Garee. Den Little Garee try an' he raise de whole bird up. Dat prove he is de one an' he got da whole reward."

The other Jamaican variant has a personnel part human, part animal. "One little boy going to school ebery day, he going har dem say, 'Oh, it mek so harm!'" referring to Garshan Bull. So from his grandmother he gets three Johnny cakes and climbs a tree above the bull.<sup>2</sup> . . . On killing the bull magically with the cakes as weapons, the little boy descends from the tree and cuts out the golden tongue. . . . *After* he marries the king's daughter, "Anansi pick up all de little bits and say *him* kill de bull, an' de debbel run away wid de 'Nansi."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Jekyll, *Jamaican Song and Story*, xvii. Pub. Folk-Lore Society, 55. London, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Again note combination with "Escape Up the Tree."

<sup>3</sup> Milne-Howe, M. P., *Mamma's Black Nurse Stories*, pp. 67-69. Edinburgh and London, 1890.

The Jamaica variant in its concluding deceit incident were unintelligible without knowledge of the source tales. Even more true is this of the Bahama variant I published under the title "The Predatory Eagle."<sup>1</sup> In fact not until I read the Antigua variant, and learned that in a St. Kitts variant heard<sup>2</sup> likewise by Mr. Johnson in New York from which the deceit incident was dropped altogether, did I recognize the provenience of "The Predatory Eagle." In this mere remnant of the tale an eagle destroys everybody's cattle. When he came, "de whole worl' was dark . . . he lights on de wall to look for beas'es." . . . He sings and sings. The next day he comes again. Then every man takes his gun and shoots.

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<sup>1</sup> "Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas," p. 125, *Memoirs American Folk Lore Society*, xiii. 1918.

<sup>2</sup> But not recorded.

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## GARO MARRIAGES.

BY SIR J. G. FRAZER.

IN an article under this heading in the last number of *Folk-Lore*<sup>1</sup> Mr. T. C. Hodson says: "It may help to remove misunderstandings if this examination of Garo marriages begins with a transcript of the exact text of the passage in the *Assam Census Report for 1891*, on which Sir James Frazer bases his view that 'among the Garos marriage with a mother's brother's widow appears to be a simple consequence of previous marriage with her daughter.' The text is as follows: 'Mr. Teunon informs me of a case in which a man refused to marry the widow who was in this instance a second wife, and not his wife's own mother; and the old lady then gave herself and her own daughter in marriage to another man. In a dispute regarding the property which followed, the *laskar* reported that the first man having failed to do his duty, the second was entitled to the greater part of the property.' In this case, therefore, the marriage with the daughter followed as a consequence of the marriage with the widow."

On this I have to observe that my view, which Mr. Hodson quotes quite correctly, was not based, as he seems to think, on the single passage of the *Assam Census Report for 1891*; but that it was based on five passages of four different writers, all of them high authorities on Indian ethnology—the late Colonel E. T. Dalton, the late Sir W. W. Hunter, Sir Edward A. Gait, and Major A. Playfair. The passages are not quoted by me in my book, but exact

<sup>1</sup> June 30th, 1921, p. 133.

references are there given to them all in a footnote to the passage on which Mr. Hodson comments.<sup>1</sup> I have again consulted all five passages, and, as they seem to me to be relevant and to confirm the view which Mr. Hodson criticizes, I will here quote them for the sake of readers who may be interested in the question, and to whom the works from which the quotations are made may not be easily accessible. I will take the passages in the order in which I have referred to them, which is also the chronological order.

(1) Colonel E. T. Dalton writes thus :

“ The Garó laws of inheritance and intermarriage are singular and intricate, and it was after many enquiries in different quarters and testing the information received in various ways that I recorded the following note on the subject :

“ The clans are divided into different houses called *maháris* (Buchanan calls them *chatsibak*) which may be translated *motherhoods*. A man cannot take to wife a girl of his own *mahári*, but must select from one of the *maháris* with whom his family have from time immemorial exclusively allied themselves. In some of the now noblest families there is but one *mahári* with which, as a rule, they can intermarry. This however is not irrefragable, and should maidens of that particular house be wanting, the young men may choose, or more correctly speaking, be chosen by a daughter of some other. If it be not on this account necessary to look elsewhere, a man's sister should

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 254 (not 454, as cited by Mr. Hodson). The footnote runs as follows : “ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 63 ; (Sir) W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 154 ; *Census of India*, 1891, *Assam*, by (Sir) E. A. Gait, vol. i. *Report* (Shillong, 1892), p. 229 ; Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), pp. 68, 72 sq. According to Sir E. A. Gait, it is the husband of the *youngest* daughter who is bound to marry his widowed mother-in-law, and this is natural enough, since it is the *youngest* daughter who is her mother's heir among the Garos ” (*Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 253 sq.).

marry a son of the house of which his wife is daughter, his son may marry a daughter of that sister, *and his daughter may marry his sister's son who, in such case, comes to reside with his father-in-law and succeeds to the property in right of his wife and her mother.* Inherent in males there is no right to succeed to property of any description, and this is all to secure a transmission of pure blood; but though a son cannot inherit his father's property, his mother cannot be ejected from the position she enjoyed conjointly with her husband. The successor must recognize in her the mistress of the house not only as his mother-in-law, should she stand in that relation to him, but also as his wife, though the marital rights be shared with her own daughter. It is consequently not uncommon to see a young Garo introducing as his wife a woman who, as regards age, might be his mother, and in fact is his mother-in-law and his aunt." <sup>1</sup>

In this passage the words which I have printed in italics ("who, in such case, comes to reside with his father-in-law and succeeds to the property in right of his wife and her mother") clearly imply that a man marries his cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, and comes to reside with his wife in the house of his father-in-law (his mother's brother) during the life-time of his father-in-law: it is not until after his father-in-law's death that the son-in-law succeeds to his father-in-law's widow, who, in the case contemplated by Colonel Dalton, is both his mother-in-law and his aunt (his father's sister). Thus a man's marriage with his cross-cousin (the daughter of his mother's brother) necessarily precedes his marriage with his widowed mother-in-law; he marries his mother-in-law because he had first married her daughter; the marriage with the mother-in-law is a consequence and effect of a previous marriage with her daughter.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 63.

(2) Sir W. W. Hunter writes thus :

“ *Right of Succession.*—A remarkable custom among the Garos is that a man who marries the favourite daughter of a household has to marry his mother-in-law in the event of the death of his father-in-law, and through her succeeds to all the property, which thus descends through the female line. The sons receive nothing, but have to look to the family into which they marry for their establishment in life.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir W. W. Hunter does not mention the marriage with a cross-cousin, but the words which I have printed in italics make it quite clear that the marriage with the mother-in-law follows the marriage with her daughter and is a consequence of it : a man marries his mother-in-law because he had first married her daughter.

(3) Sir Edward A. Gait, speaking of the Garos, writes thus :

“ *There is a curious custom, by which the husband of the youngest daughter has to marry his mother-in-law (who is often his own aunt) when she becomes a widow and failing to do this, he loses his claim to share in the family property.* Mr. Teunon informs me of a case in which a man refused to marry the widow, who was in this instance a second wife, and not his wife's own mother ; and the old lady then gave herself and her own daughter in marriage to another man. In a dispute regarding the property which followed, the *laskar* reported that the first man having failed to do his duty, the second was entitled to the greater part of the property.”<sup>2</sup>

This is the passage quoted by Mr. Hodson, but in quoting it he has omitted the opening sentences, which I have printed in italics. Yet these sentences are essential to the passage, the remainder of which cannot be

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam* (London, 1879), ii. 154.

<sup>2</sup> *Census of India, 1891*, by (Sir) E. A. Gait, vol. i. *Report* (Shillong, 1892), p. 229.

fully understood without them ; for they describe the general custom, while the part quoted by Mr. Hodson deals only with one particular case of the custom. The words omitted by Mr. Hodson clearly imply that marriage with the daughter precedes marriage with her mother ; a man marries the youngest daughter of the house, and afterwards, when his father-in-law dies, he marries his widowed mother-in-law in order to enjoy her share of the family property. This is entirely in accordance with the view which I have adopted, that among the Garos marriage with a widowed mother-in-law is a simple consequence of a previous marriage with her daughter.

When we examine the particular case of the custom reported by Mr. Teunon, we find that it does not entirely conform to the general rule laid down by Sir Edward Gait ; for in it the widow, whom the man was expected to marry, was not, as Mr. Hodson has rightly pointed out, his mother-in-law, since we are told that she was " not his wife's own mother," and that she was a second wife. Apparently we are left to infer that the man had married a daughter of the first wife, that the first wife, his real mother-in-law, was dead, and that in default of her he was bound to marry the second wife, the step-mother of his own wife. Only, it seems, on this hypothesis can the particular case be found to conform to the general rule. Thus the widow whom, in this case, the man was bound to marry was not his mother-in-law but his step-mother-in-law. In referring to the case in my book <sup>1</sup> I overlooked the exact relationship between the parties and erroneously spoke of them as mother-in-law and son-in-law respectively, whereas I should rather have described them as step-mother-in-law and stepson-in-law. I am obliged to Mr. Hodson for indicating the mistake, and I will take care to have it corrected in future editions. But while the particular case is so far exceptional, it appears not to affect

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 253.

the general rule that a son-in-law is bound to marry his father-in-law's widow for the sake of enjoying her property; indeed, it extends the rule by showing that the obligation exists even when the widow is not the mother, but only the stepmother of the man's own wife.

But the case in question is exceptional in another respect in so far as it seems to imply that, when the widow has an unmarried daughter, the man who marries the widow is bound to marry her daughter also. This obligation, so far as I remember, is not mentioned by any other of our authorities on Garó law. It is with reference to this obligation, implied, but not definitely stated, in a single instance, that Mr. Hodson can affirm, quite correctly, that "in the case cited marriage with the daughter was a consequence, not a cause, of the marriage with the widow." But in saying so he has overlooked the general custom (clearly implied in the sentences which he has omitted from his quotation) that marriage with a man's widow is a consequence of a previous marriage with his daughter. Hence, if my interpretation of the particular case under discussion is correct, we may say that in this case both the marriage with the widow and the marriage with her daughter were, or rather would have been, if the man had consented to them, direct consequences of his previous marriage with a daughter of the deceased first wife. But, as Mr. Hodson observes, the story is not quite clear; hence any interpretation of it is necessarily somewhat precarious.

(4) Major A. Playfair, our highest authority on Garó law and custom, writes as follows:

"I have mentioned that there is an exception to the rule that a girl may choose her husband. This exception occurs when one daughter of a family is given in marriage to the son of her father's sister. Should she not have such a cousin, she must marry a man of her father's 'motherhood,' who is chosen for a substitute. The daughter's husband then becomes his father-in-law's

*nokrom*, a term which I have fully explained in the chapter on inheritance. When a girl is thus given in marriage to her cousin, the couple take up their abode with the former's parents. At the death of his father-in-law the *nokrom* marries the widow, thus assuming the anomalous position of husband to both mother and daughter." <sup>1</sup>

Here, again, it is plain that marriage with the widowed mother-in-law follows, and does not precede, marriage with her daughter ; a man first marries his cousin and takes up his abode with her parents ; afterwards, when his father-in-law dies, he marries the widow, his mother-in-law.

(5) Further, Major A. Playfair, in treating of inheritance among the Garos, writes as follows :

" Although a man cannot inherit property, his *machong* [motherhood] assumes a right to control what his wife has brought him. In order that the control shall not die out in the event, for instance, of the husband's death, he has the right to choose a male member of his clan to represent him. This representative is known as his *nokrom*. He is not an heir, for as a male he cannot inherit, and the person whose *nokrom* he is has nothing to leave, but he is the channel through which the 'motherhood' of the husband maintains its hold on the property of the wife. When possible, this *nokrom* is the son of the man's sister, and he is expected to marry his uncle's daughter, and the widow also when his uncle dies. In the event of there being no sister's son, a member of the man's *machong* [motherhood] is adopted as *nokrom*." <sup>2</sup>

From this passage we learn that a man is expected to marry his cross-cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, in the lifetime of his uncle, and that on his uncle's death he is expected to marry the widow, his mother-in-law. Thus once more we are informed, on the best authority, that marriage with a mother-in-law, the widow of a mother's

<sup>1</sup> Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 72 sq.

brother, follows as a consequence from a previous marriage with a cross-cousin, her daughter.

I have now quoted all the passages to which in *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* I referred in support of the conclusion which Mr. Hodson has criticized. They seem to me unanimously to confirm that conclusion, which accordingly, for the sake of readers who do not possess my book, I will here repeat unchanged :

“ Thus among the Garos marriage with a mother’s brother’s widow appears to be a simple consequence of previous marriage with her daughter ; in other words, it is the effect, not the cause of the cross-cousin marriage, and is determined by the purely economic, not to say mercenary, motive of obtaining those material advantages which are inseparably attached to the hand of the widow. Hence a study of Garo customary law seems peculiarly fitted to explain the origin and meaning of cross-cousin marriage ; for it enjoins, first, the exchange of sisters in marriage,<sup>1</sup> second, the marriage of a man with his cross-cousin, the daughter of his mother’s brother, and, third, marriage with the widow of the mother’s brother. If I am right, these three customs are related to each other in a chain of cause and effect. The exchange of sisters in marriage produced as its natural consequence the marriage of cross-cousins ; and the marriage of cross-cousins in its turn produced by a natural consequence the marriage with the mother’s brother’s widow. All three customs arose simply and naturally through economic motives. Men exchanged their sisters in marriage because that was the cheapest way of getting a wife ; men married their cross-cousins for a similar reason ; and men married their widowed mothers-in-law because that was the only way of enjoying the old ladies’ property.”<sup>2</sup> J. G. FRAZER.

<sup>1</sup> This is stated by Colonel Dalton in the first of the passages quoted above, p. 203 *et seq.* (“ a man’s sister should marry a son of the house of which his wife is daughter ”).

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 254.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### THE MYSTERY OF THE LAMB'S HEAD.

#### *Witchcraft Story from Naples.*

A STRANGE story comes from Naples showing how old beliefs and superstitions still linger among the people, and with what passion they will cling to them. The old belief of the common Neapolitan people in witchcraft has been reaffirmed by an incident which took place there the other day. Some Customs officers on duty at an *octroi* station near the port noticed an old woman dressed in rags carrying something in a black cloth which she seemed anxious to hide from examination. The Customs officials naturally asked her to declare the contents of the parcel, but, as she refused, they were obliged to open it by force. The package contained a lamb's head wrapped round with a woman's hair, which was attached to the former by a kind of steel comb and forty-three large nails driven into the head.

As soon as rumour of what was in the parcel got about among the populace of the quarter, the cry of "She is a witch" was raised. With difficulty the Customs officers, with the assistance of some police, rescued the old woman from the fury of the mob. Interrogated by an inspector, she refused any information about herself; only asking repeatedly that the lamb's head should be returned to her.

To keep the crowd quiet, the inspector agreed to hand over the lamb's head to a commission of citizens. The suggestion to destroy it on the spot was vetoed by those more learned in the ancient stories of witchcraft. A procession, composed of several hundreds of people, set out for the church of Sant

Onofrio. Here a priest was obliged, much against his will, to satisfy the superstitions of the crowd and to celebrate a kind of ceremony to nullify the evil effect of the old woman's witchery. The priest had to extract the forty-three nails one by one, while the people prayed in the church. After this had been done, the lamb's head was taken outside the church and burnt.

*The Observer*, 15th May, 1921.

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#### THE TABOO OF IRON IN CHILDBIRTH.

With reference to the taboo of iron discussed by Sir James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," 225 *seqq.*) it may be worth recording that my grandmother was not allowed by her midwife to touch knives, scissors, etc. I remember hearing my grandmother say how much annoyed she was, sixty-four years ago, at having all her food cut up for her, and when later she objected, she had to have the handles of the knives and scissors tied up in flannel bags.

Referring to a pregnant woman being prohibited from certain actions for fear of the unborn child being affected by them, I was told by a woman living near here that if she turned the handle of a sewing machine, each turn of the handle would twist the umbilical cord round the child's neck. The same woman told me that when hanging up the washing on the line a charm must be employed to avert a "breech presentation."

M. C. PADDON.

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#### FOLK-TALES FROM THE PANJAB.

The following is one of a collection of folk-tales recorded by Sir Lucas W. King, C.S.I., when he was Deputy Commissioner of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, about thirty years ago :

#### I.

##### *The Sultana of Ghazni.*

A certain Sultan of Ghazni suspected his wife of unfaithfulness and so he determined to watch her. He went out one day

under the pretence that he was going to spend a few days' hunting. When the party had left the town behind, the Sultan ordered his attendants to pitch the tents and they would begin the hunt next morning.

During the evening the Sultan mounted his horse and came back to the town unobserved, put his horse in the stable and hid himself near the house. When the Sultana had finished her household duties for the day, she came out to the stables, saddled her horse and rode off. The Sultan pursued her, and she went to a thick jungle in the centre of which was a shrine. There was a large fire near the shrine and before it sat a Malang (a keeper of a temple). When the Malang saw her he beat her with a stick, breaking her *chura* (glass bangles worn by native women), and asked her what she meant by coming so late. She replied that her husband had gone out hunting with his followers and she could not leave home until after he had departed. The Malang then gave her a lesson in witchcraft, and afterwards she returned home. The Sultan instead of going to his palace went to the camp he had left early in the evening.

After a few days the Sultan came home and noticed that his wife the Sultana had bought a new glass bangle in place of the one the old Malang had broken. The first day of his arrival he did not say anything about her midnight visit to the shrine, but the second day he asked her about it, when, in an instant, she turned him into a dog by means of the magic she had learned. The Sultana then caused a proclamation to be issued that whoever saw the dog should pelt it with lumps of earth, so the dog was soon obliged to leave the town. He went to a certain village and stayed in a house occupied by a barber and a butcher, whose two virtuous daughters used to feed him.

One day the barber and butcher had a dispute as to the ownership of some property, and they decided it in this way. They would both call the dog at the same time, and whoever the dog went to should have the whole property. The dog, who quite understood all that was said, went to the butcher, when called, and always lived with him.

One day the butcher asked his daughter why the dog was so

tame when with her. She replied that for some time she had secretly been taking lessons from a great magician and that in two or three days she would be perfected if her father allowed her to continue the lessons. She also added that the dog seemed to her to be a human being, as his eyes were unlike that of a dog and that he resembled the Sultan of Ghazni.

Her father, the butcher, allowed her to finish her lessons in magic, which she did in a few days. She then told the dog that if he would marry her and make her his Sultana she would change him back again into a man. This of course he promised to do, and he was restored to his natural shape instantly.

The Sultan married the butcher's daughter and took her with him to his palace, where she turned his former wife into a mule. The Sultan ordered that everyone who saw the mule was to load her with heavy burdens, and being always overladen she very soon expired. When the Sultan heard she was dead he gave a hundred rupees to the man in whose possession the mule died.

LUCAS W. KING.

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ROUMANIAN TALES.

*Killing of the Old Men.*

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. XXX. p. 136.)

I HAVE just received the last number of the Roumanian Folk-Lore Review, *Ion Creanga*, of Nov.-Dec. 1919. On pages 106-107 there is a curious parallel to the story of which I have already given two other Roumanian parallels in the pages of our *Journal*. This new variant differs entirely from all the others known, hence my reason for reproducing it here in a somewhat abridged form. The Roumanian writer is rather prolix. The essential features of the tale are as follows :

In olden times in some distant country the young folk had come together and decided to get rid of the old men. They did not want their wisdom and their advice, for they were just as clever. They had lived their lives and that was an end of it.

Over that country there ruled a young king who gladly accepted the decision of the young people and gave strict orders that all the old men should be killed. The orders were carried out with the utmost severity. But there lived among these people a young man who had not the heart to kill his old father. Frightened at the consequences of disobeying the king's orders, he took his old father and hid him in the cellar under the house. There he fed him and looked after him, carefully visiting him only by night.

For a while things went well. The country was prosperous, the earth yielded its produce, vineyards flourished and the orchards were laden with fruit. But things did not remain in that state of prosperity. A summer came. There was such drought that for months not a drop of rain fell. The crops were burnt off the face of the earth. The trees withered, and there was dearth and famine in the land. This was followed by a severe winter so cold as the people had never experienced in their life. Heavy snow fell and covered the fields. No food was left, nay not even seed for sowing the field in the spring-time; starvation had set in and the people did not know what to do, for they saw death before their eyes, for themselves and for their starved cattle. One night, when the son came as usual to his father, he could not bring more than a morsel of food. His father asked him what was the matter and why he looked so sad. The son told him what had happened. They had no seed to sow and did not know where to get any, there was nothing for them but rank starvation. They were all at their wits' end and had nowhere to turn for counsel or advice how to save themselves, and the father said, "My son, fear not, take a plough and plough up the road in front of the house and the adjoining road and do not reply to any questions." The son did as his father had bidden. The earth which had become moist and soft through the melting snow was easily ploughed up, when lo! to their great amazement, when the time came all kinds of grains seemed to sprout and to grow up from the ground which had been tilled, maize and corn and wheat were all growing up, and as the weather was favourable yielded a very good crop. His neighbours were greatly

astonished at what they saw, and went and told the king what had happened. The king called the young man and said to him. "This doing is not of your own wisdom. No doubt your father has told you whom you have kept alive. Speak the truth and I will spare thy life." The young man owned that his father had advised him to plough up the thoroughfares and roads close to their house. The young king then sent for the old man and asked him what was the meaning of his advice. The old man replied: "All throughout the year carts laden with all manner of seeds and corn are passing to and fro, some of the corn falls to the ground, and not a few of the seeds fall on the ground and are trodden into the earth by the passers-by. Left in that state they usually rot, but if the ground is ploughed up, and is moist and favourable for the growth, no one passing over that part of the ground, some of the corn has a chance of growing. It is upon that chance that I relied, and thus it has come to pass that we have now a rich crop, not only for our necessities, but also to provide you all with enough necessary seed for your own fields in the future." When the king and the young people heard what the old man had to tell and saw his deep wisdom, they recognised their folly, they rescinded that resolution, and decided henceforth to allow the old people to live in peace and honour.

And henceforth the old men are allowed to live to the end of their days.

M. GASTER.

#### THE CORN BABY IN INDIA.

WE are indebted to the kindness of Sir James Frazer and Dr. Rendel Harris for a photograph of a Corn Baby used by cultivators in the Sohagpur District, Central Provinces, India. The photograph, which we are unfortunately unable to reproduce, was taken by a missionary, Rev. F. Kilbey, who writes: "I am sending you enclosed a photograph of a Corn Baby, in which I know you are very interested. The Corn Baby is a general institution in India, and excepting Muhammadan

farmers, I suppose every farmer in this land would not dare to winnow his crops without first having installed the Corn Baby. I understand from enquiry that the Baby is made from the last corn reaped. It is tied to a bamboo pole, and erected in the heap of corn ready for winnowing. The grain has been trodden out of the husk by the cattle, and the mass is heaped up on the threshing floor. On a favourable day, when the wind is blowing strongly, the mass is poured out before the wind, the chaff carried to a distance, and the clean grain falls at the winnowers' feet. In the picture you see the mass ready for winnowing and the Corn Baby standing in the midst. This picture was taken at Sohagpur about a mile from the Mission bungalow."

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## REVIEWS.

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PSYCHOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE, by R. R. MARETT, M.A., D.Sc.  
London : Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1920. Price 7s. 6d. net.

DR. MARETT has done well to republish in permanent book-form the addresses he delivered to the Folk-Lore Society during his term as President of the Society. It enables the members to get a complete view of the thought which inspired his utterances, and to appreciate the total effect. In a period of unrest in the world of politics, and a similar unrest in the world of anthropological science, a master speaks with a steadying effect. He recalls us to our principles and to our true course. An authority on psychology, he reminds us that folk-lore is something more than sociology. We must go right down through the framework of society to find its soul, its inner essence, its dynamic power. To understand survivals of a past stage of culture, we must regard them not as dead and fossilized remains ; we must recognize that they survive, and we must know how and why they survive. If they survive, it is because there is life in them. It may be a decaying life ; on the other hand, there may be a possibility of renewed life, a spark which may kindle a glow in favouring circumstances. In short, we must study them as human phenomena which once had their place in a society with which they were all of a piece, and we must know why society has changed, what were the influences of change, whence those influences came, whither they tended, and what was the resisting force that amid those changes kept the survivals, and keeps them still—alive. This will enable us to hold a straight course amid the strife of theories. Only thus can we understand the history on which one school of students

so strongly insists. No society stands still, no society is in a watertight compartment, it moves and is acted upon from without as well as within, just because it is living. And it is that life that we must seize and understand.

Taking this view of folk-lore and the science of survivals he was able to grasp the true significance of the work of both Tylor and Gomme, which might have been so easily misconceived and misrepresented—placed in opposition to one another rather than in apposition—and was able to show how each was complementary to the other, and to plead for their recognition in union as a combination necessary for the advance of the study their lives were given to promote. This thought animated all these addresses and is, in fact, his chief contribution to the social side of anthropology. It enables him to stride victoriously over the whole field, where a narrower view might have led us, if not him, to disaster at this crisis.

Details may be open to criticism. The opposition, for instance, suggested between "the old and the merely old-fashioned" on his own principles does not exist. If the old-fashioned be not "typologically primitive," it is merely a question of time; the antiquated speedily and insensibly becomes the archaic. But such criticisms are perhaps quibbles. We need not dwell on them: they detract nothing from the debt we owe him. The other essays—the reviews of *The Golden Bough* and *Folklore in the Old Testament*, and the remaining articles and addresses—even when they seem least relevant, are all germane to the theme and carry on the main contention. The plea for a larger and more liberal provision for the teaching of anthropology with which he winds up sums the need for a deeper and wider study of the science, both for theoretical and practical purposes. A nation whose political and commercial interests cover all continents and are bound up with islands of every sea cannot afford to be outstripped in its studies of mankind by peoples whose practical needs are confined within a smaller area, whose responsibilities are fewer and less insistent than ours.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

PRIMITIVE SOCIETY: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE FAMILY AND THE RECKONING OF DESCENT, by EDWIN SIDNEY HARTLAND, LL.D., F.S.A., Hon. F.R.S.A. (Ireland). London: Methuen & Co. 1921. Pp. v, 180. Price 6s. net.

IN this little book Dr. Hartland aims at a "brief restatement in popular form of the facts and arguments leading to the conclusion that the earliest ascertainable method of deriving human kinship and descent is through the woman only, and that patrilineal reckoning is a subsequent development."

Dr. Hartland's survey of the evidence is conducted on a geographical basis. Beginning with Australia and ending with America, he analyses the systems of descent found in each area, and indicates how far we are justified in inferring from the practices of patrilineal systems the previous existence of matrilineal descent. It would be beyond the purpose of this brief notice to examine in detail the mass of facts which the author has here set forth with admirable lucidity in support of the priority of the matrilineal system. The crucial test of the conclusion must be sought in its applicability to the evidence from the Australian continent. The Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia have been adduced as an example of communities of a most primitive type who, nevertheless, reckon descent through the father. If the primitive character of Arunta institutions be accepted, it involves the rejection of the priority, in all cases at least, of matrilineal institutions. Dr. Hartland, however, supports the view which denies the primitive character of the Arunta; he maintains that their totemic institutions have broken down and that they have advanced further in the evolution of descent than other tribes. He finds further support for this view in the fact that the custom of reckoning descent through the father is spreading to other tribes, among some of whom the process of change from the matrilineal to the patrilineal system can be observed as it takes place. In this connexion it may be noted that Dr. Hartland describes as rudimentary the social organisation found, for instance, among the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, the Polar Eskimo, and similar peoples, some of whom recognise descent through both father and mother. He suggests that their

organisation contains elements which might have developed in favourable circumstances into a matrilineal system. But might it not be equally open to conjecture that the influence of the environment, by giving unusual prominence to the strength and skill of the male in preserving the group of his descendants, has "forced" the development of the patrilineal system, while repressing advance in other directions. It is at any rate interesting to note that ignorance of the physiological relation of male parent and child is recorded of the Polar Eskimo who recognise descent through both father and mother.

If Dr. Hartland's very able summary of the present state of our knowledge stood in need of any recommendation to those who are interested in the fascinating problems of the early forms of society, it would be found in the comprehensive bibliography with which he concludes the volume.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

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THE ORIGIN OF MAN AND OF HIS SUPERSTITIONS, by CARVETH READ. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 18s. net.

MR. CARVETH READ has set himself a difficult problem, but it is one of perennial interest which requires to be attacked from time to time and from different points of view. Being a psychologist, Mr. Read, naturally, has tackled the problem on psychological lines, and therefore he deals only in passing with its geological and morphological aspects. His primary and main thesis is that nascent man must have been a hunting animal. The change from a fruit-eating to a hunting life subserved the great utility of opening fresh supplies of food; and, possibly, a failure of the normal supply of the old customary food was the direct cause of the new habit. He suggests that if our ape lived near the northern limits of the tropical forest, a fall of temperature, by producing famine, might have driven him to attack other animals; whilst more southerly anthropoids, not suffering from the change of climate, continued in their ancient manner of life. The last statement may be accepted as probably correct. The erect gait, he argues, was attained because

the most successful hunters followed their prey afoot upon the ground and specialisation perfected the mechanism. A more plausible hypothesis seems to be that the precursor was forced, rather than induced, to acquire terrestrial progression. This would be accomplished if the group of human anthropoids lived in an area that became desiccated, forest conditions would give way to park-land, the trees being scattered as in the African bush-veld, and in time might virtually disappear. Under such conditions our ancestors must have taken to the ground, and thus a hunting life may have practically been forced on them. Though the large anthropoids are not gregarious, monkeys mostly are, and the ancestor of man either became gregarious or retained the social habit, and if he, as was probably the case, was incapable of killing enough prey single-handed, he would have profited by being both social and co-operative as a hunter, like the wolves and dogs. The pack was a means of increasing the supply of food per unit, and gregariousness increased by natural selection up to the limit set by utility. Hence man is in character more like a dog or a wolf than he is like any other animal. Mr. Read is convinced that of the four or five types of mammalian societies, which he enumerates, our own primitive society resembled that of the hunting-pack. He then proceeds to describe with some detail the psychology of the hunting-pack of wolves, such as: (1) The master-interest of every member of the pack lies in the chase, because success in it is necessary to life. (2) The gregariousness of the pack is variable. (3) With gregariousness went (*a*) perceptive sympathy, (*b*) contagious sympathy, and (*c*) effective, *i.e.* defensive, sympathy. (4) The pack has a disposition to aggression upon every sort of animal outside the pack. (5) A hunting-pack, probably, always claims a certain territory; this is the first ground of the sense of property. (6) A pack must have a leader, and must devotedly follow him as long as he is manifestly the best of the pack; and here we have a rudimentary loyalty. (7) Every individual must be subservient to the pack, as long as it works together. (8) The members of the pack must be full of emulation; in order that, when the present leader fails, others may be ready to take his place. (9) For the internal

cohesion of the pack, there must be the equivalent of a recognised table of precedence amongst its members, which is gained by fighting. (10) A pack of wolves relies not merely upon running down its prey, but resorts to various stratagems to secure it. Such devices imply intelligent co-operation, some means of communicating ideas, patience, self-control and perseverance. Primitive man, beginning with more brains than a wolf, may be supposed soon to have discovered such arts and to have improved upon them. (11) When prey has been killed by a pack of wolves, there follows a greedy struggle over the carcass. But the strong instinct of parental care in Primates, the long youth of children, and the greater relative inferiority of females to males than is found amongst dogs and wolves, must have made the human pack from the first differ in many ways from a pack of wolves. So much, then, as to the traits of character established in primitive man by his having resorted to co-operative hunting: they all plainly persist in ourselves.

Mr. Read then proceeds to discuss some further consequences of the hunting-life, and here he follows clues offered by the most backward of existing savages and by what may be observed of the individual development of our children; these are: (*a*) the constructive impulse, (*b*) language, (*c*) custom, (*d*) the claim to property, (*e*) wars, originally, probably, for hunting-grounds, later for aggressiveness and insatiable greed. Nothing has been so influential as war in the development of society; it strengthened internal sympathies and loyalties, and its external antipathies, and extended the range and influence of the more virile and capable tribes. (*f*) Most of the amusements, as well as the occupations of mankind, depend for their zest upon the spirit of hunting and fighting. (*g*) The great amusement and pastime of feeding has, no doubt, descended to us in unbroken tradition, through harvest and vintage festivals, from the unbridled indulgence that followed a successful hunt, and, he suggests, that the origin of laughter and the enjoyment of broad humour may be traced to these occasions of riotous exhilaration and licence.

The earliest growth of magnanimity, friendliness, compassion,

general benevolence and other virtues cannot be explained merely by the hunting life; conditions favourable to the development of these qualities are discussed, as is also the influence of the imaginary environment. Savages, like anthropoids, live by common sense, and have more of it, but at the same time they have imagination beliefs which depend chiefly upon the influence of desire and fear, suggestibility, hasty generalisation, and the seduction of reasoning from analogy. The inevitable development of illusionary imaginations along with common sense, assisted early and also later culture because they preserved order and cohesion by re-arousing the ancient submission and loyalty of the pack. Even imaginations utterly false have had their share in promoting "progress."

The remaining three-fourths of the book are devoted to a consideration of belief and superstition, magic, animism, the relation between magic and animism, omens, the mind of the wizard, totemism, and magic and science. Magic is grouped into "direct" and "indirect." The former is a simple and direct defence against persons or things or phenomena, or a direct attack upon such hostile powers by means of charms, spells or rites; an influential outgrowth of primitive magic is the taboo; the dangerousness may either lie in the nature of a person or thing, or be imposed upon it. The latter, indirect or dramatic magic, operates not upon persons or things themselves, but upon imitations of them, or upon detached parts or appurtenances. The indirectness of a rite makes it more mysterious and magical. Mr. Read recognises two kinds of indirect magic—the sympathetic and the exemplary. Religion, he believes, very probably is of later growth than magic; but whether animism, as a belief in separable (or separate) spirits, human or other, is later than magic, there is insufficient evidence. At any rate, their origins are independent. His own preference is for the priority of magic. Omens took possession of men's minds, not in an age of reason, but when beliefs were freely born of hope and fear, were entirely practical, were never thought out and never verified. Whether the connection of omen with event was conceived of magically or animistically, it was always mysterious, and on that account was the more

impressive and acceptable. There is nothing in the chapter on Totemism with which most students are not acquainted.

This is a very interesting and clearly written treatise, the earlier part of which is especially stimulating, as in it the author develops the logical conclusions which result from his main thesis.

A. C. HADDON.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY (Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920), by RAI BAHUDUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A. Patna, 1920. 5 Rs.

It is very satisfactory to find that Anthropology is steadily making progress in India, and is being studied and taught by Indian scholars. Sarat Chandra Roy, who is well known to all interested in Ethnology by his excellent monographs on *The Mundas and their Country* (1912) and *The Orāons of Chota Nagpur* (1915), has recently been appointed Reader in Ethnology in the Patna University, and, finding that he could not put in the hands of his students a succinct account of the general methods of physical anthropology, he has now published his first course of lectures in convenient form and with many references. The titles of his lectures will best indicate the nature of the book: "The Scope, Divisions and Methods of Anthropology and Man's Place in Nature"; "The Antiquity of Man"; "The Evolution Theory"; "The Evolution Theory as applied to Man"; "Man's First Home and Early Migrations"; "Evolution of the Human Races and their Classification." Various schemes of classification of the existing races of man are given in an Appendix.

The book does not profess to contain original matter, and the author has borrowed from reliable sources, which are duly acknowledged, often making allusion to Indian ethnography by way of example. The third lecture is largely historical. The author is quite up-to-date in his reading; thus he alludes to the effect upon growth, etc., of the internal secretion of the pituitary, pineal, interstitial, and other glands, and adds,

quoting from Dr. A. Keith, "Alterations in the relative impractone of these glands may well be the cause of the qualities that differentiate the three racial types of man." He also refers to the blood-test, which shows the ape's close blood-relationship with man.

Taken as a whole the book gives an accurate epitomised survey of our present knowledge of the subject treated; naturally, specialists may demur to certain statements and conclusions—but that is the fate of most books. Indian students are to be congratulated on having an instructor so learned, broad-minded and sane.

A. C. HADDON.

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## THE MINGLING OF FAIRY AND WITCH BELIEFS IN SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND.

*A Paper read before the Anthropological Section of the British  
Association, September, 1921.*

BY CANON J. A. MACCULLOCH, D.D.

FOLK-LORE is now a recognized field for scientific research, and though fairies may seem at first sight to be at the opposite pole from science, yet the origin and nature of a belief held so widely are not without interest to the student of the byways of human opinion. At all events the British Association has more than once taken note of them, and has not gone so far as the Russian Commissary of Education, who has announced that all mention of fairies, angels, or devils in fairy tales is to be supplanted by the words "scientists and technicians who have served humanity." Whether these partake the nature of angels or of devils, or incline more to that of fairies, I leave you to judge.

Everyone who has studied the various sets of beings, more or less supernatural, in which humanity has believed, is aware that a large number of characteristics is common to all. They have their own personality and name, they are quite distinct from each other, yet many things attributed to one set are attributed to others. So much so that it would almost seem as if, from very far-distant times, a stock of incidents existed which could be assigned indifferently to various denizens of the world of fancy, just as certain stories are told, now of this, now of the other, outstanding personality. Most of the matters alleged regarding witches can be found in savage sorcery, and this shows that the roots of classical, mediaeval, and later witchcraft go deep into the soil of humanity. To savage spirits and demons of all kinds, Arabian Jinn, Greek Nereids, the spirit foxes of Japan and China, to ghosts, fairies, and dwarfs, can be applied now this, now that incident, or manner of acting, or characteristic.<sup>1</sup> We need not be surprised, then, when we find that many similar things are told both of fairies and witches. Their origin is widely different. Witchcraft is rooted in primitive magic and in the human *rapport* with spirits of a kind with which the average man has always thought the less he had to do the better. The fairy belief is formed of many strands—the belief in divinities, in nature spirits, in ghosts, and, as far as dwarfs are concerned, in dim memories of older races, probably of a pigmy kind; while dream-experiences, hallucinations, and human fancy and imagination have aided in creating it.<sup>2</sup>

Widely separate in origin and personality as fairies and witches may be, nevertheless the beliefs regarding both are often altogether or nearly the same, and are also often ascribed to other groups of beings. The supernatural

<sup>1</sup> See the art. "Fairy" by the writer in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, iv. 678 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

powers possessed by both are the same—invisibility and shape-shifting, as well as that of taking the substance of food-stuffs from their rightful owners—the *toradh*, as it is called in Gaelic, the essence of milk or corn or of an animal. Both steal children or exchange them for their own kind, and both are apt to extract the soul or heart of a man, leaving him with none or with a fairy or demon soul, or a heart made of straw. Both do serious injury to horses or cattle, riding them by night to exhaustion, twisting their manes or tails, or shooting at them with a deadly invisible arrow—the elf-bolt, the flint arrow-head of neolithic man, *ylfagescot* and *haegtessan-gescot*, the elf-shot and witch-shot of early Anglo-Saxon formulae. The times of their activity are the same, especially May-eve, Midsummer-eve, and Hallowe'en, as well as certain days of the week. Fairies travel through the air in an eddy of dust or a whirlwind. Witches do the same, no less than demons, ghosts, and other eldritch folk in all parts of the world. Fairies delight in dancing and feasting by night: these formed great part of the occult joys of the witch-Sabbat, and the dances of both are probably an imaginative exaggeration of actual orgiastic folk-dances. The intruder on fairy or witch revels was likely to fare badly. He must pipe for them until he could pipe no longer, or, drawn into the whirling dance, he capered till he fell exhausted, awaking next morning to find his nocturnal companions gone, and himself often witless. Greater dangers sometimes befell him. Yet if he accidentally or with presence of mind uttered a sacred name or formula, the revel and the feast vanished and left "not a wrack behind." The circles or rings in the meadow ascribed popularly to the fairies' round dances, were sometimes also supposed to be caused by the similar dances of witches and demons. Many other parallels might be cited, but as a final one we may point to the story, embodied by the Ettrick Shepherd in his *Witch of Fife*, and told both of witches and fairies in different

regions. Some one sees witches or fairies preparing for a distant night flight by getting astride of twigs, or ragwort stalks, and then by means of a formula—"Horse and hattock," or the like, transforming these into serviceable steeds. He imitates their actions and is speedily transported with them over land and sea to a far-off wine cellar where he joins their revels and, being overcome by his potations, is left behind, to be found next morning and arrested as a thief. The same story formula is thus applied to one set of beings or the other, but its first occurrence in a sort of promptuary for preachers compiled by Etienne de Bourbon in the thirteenth century, makes the revellers neither witches nor fairies, but the *bonae res*, the "Good Things," the supernatural or mortal followers of Diana, Herodias, or Abundia, according to a widespread mediaeval myth. The "Good Things" were perhaps nearer akin to fairies than sorceresses, though, as the witch superstition increased, they became more assimilated to witches.<sup>1</sup>

But besides this assigning of parallel attributes and actions to different orders of beings, there was a tendency also to mingle both the two groups. Clear evidence of this exists in sixteenth and seventeenth century Scotland. Elsewhere the evidence is only occasional, but it is probable that Scottish superstition was not alone in this assimilation of two quite different groups, fairies and witches, or three, if we include the devil and his demoniac train, with whom all witchcraft had officially been associated. The official, ecclesiastical orthodoxy of Europe had long regarded all

<sup>1</sup> T. Heywood, *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, London, 1635, p. 257; P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, *ib.*, 1866, p. 166; R. Burns, notes to "Tam o' Shanter," *Life and Works* (ed. Chambers, 1896), iii. 222. These refer to witches. The companion of the fairy flight occurs, e.g. in J. Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1870, iii. 46; J. Jacobs, *Celtic Fairy Tales*, *ib.* 1895, p. 5 f.; Thackeray, *Irish Sketch Book*, ch. 16; Sir W. Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, London, 1839, p. 220 (from Aubrey, *Miscellanies*). *Anecdotes historiques, Légendes, et Apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, Paris, 1877, p. 88.

spirits as either angelic or demoniac. Fairies, elves, brownies, water-sprites, forest and woodland folk, were certainly not angels; therefore they must be demons. To the orthodox theologian the world was full of such demons; and it mattered not what the folk called them. In all the writings of the mediaeval period they are demons, pure and simple. Many of the ecclesiastical or semi-ecclesiastical authors of that age, Etienne de Bourbon, Caesarius of Heisterbach, Gervase of Tilbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, must have been folk-lorists without knowing it, for they sought far and wide for stories illustrating the doings of the demons. Their pages are full of these highly entertaining stories, and in many of these it is not difficult to recognize elfin beings masquerading as demons through no fault of their own. Fairy-land and its denizens had become a real part of Satan's kingdom of darkness. It was therefore inevitable that in course of time, and especially after the witchcraft prosecutions began in the fourteenth century, the folk themselves should more or less accept a view of their own creations which was imposed upon them by their spiritual pastors and masters. They did not accept it wholly, but in so far as they did, and in so far as the common aspects of the beliefs in fairies and witchcraft also aided, the common ban under which both were placed would inevitably tend to mix both together in their minds. The theological view of both matters was quite clear and straightforward, and both fairies and the mediaeval and post-Reformation witches were regarded as of Satan's train.

In a letter of 1787 Burns speaks of the numerous tales current in Scotland, and told him by an old woman in his childhood, "concerning devils, ghosts, fairies, brownies, witches, warlocks, spunkies, kelpies, elf-candles, dead-lights, wraiths, apparitions, cantraips, giants, enchanted towns, dragons, and other trumpery," and describes the effect which these still had upon him in his later years as well as upon his poetry. Scotland has, in fact, always been a

peculiar haunt of such beings. "The Lord guide us," says Mistress Baby in Scott's *Pirate*, "what kind of a country of guisards and gyre-carlines is this!" Perhaps for this reason the mingling of fairy and witch beliefs was rendered more easy. At all events, the evidence from three sources is clear enough regarding it. These are: (1) certain poems of the Reformation period; (2) the copious evidence of several witch-trials; (3) King James VI.'s book on *Daemonologie* (1598).

(1) Even the greater Scots poets of the sixteenth century were content to lay aside the splendid singing robes required by the courtly tradition of poetry, and to condescend upon the matters of popular belief. Although treated by literary and learned men, these show clearly what poets like Dunbar, Lindsay, and Montgomery could make of the traditions of the folk, well known to them in their early years from the teachings of the credulous, kindly, if masterful Scottish nurse of the old school, like Burns's old woman. They treated this traditional lore in a burlesque fashion, it is true, as Burns himself did; but their witness to it is none the less valuable, and they show that fairies, fiends, and witches were in close communion. It will suffice to refer to one of these poems: *The Flyting of Montgomery and Polwart*, by Alexander Montgomery (1556-1610). With the coarse humour of the time Montgomery's aim is to show that Polwart was child of an elf and an ape: Polwart responds in equally ribald fashion. The poem opens with a description of the fairy ride or procession on Hallowe'en, but the constituents of this procession are significant.

"In the hinder-end of harvest, on All Hallows even,  
 When our Good Neighbours doe ryd, gif I read right,  
 Some buckled on a buneward [ragwort], and some on a  
 been,  
 Ay trottrand in trupes from the twilight;  
 Some sadleand a she-ape, all graithed in green,

Some hobland on ane hempstalk, hovrand [ascending]  
to the height ;  
The King of Pharie and his court, with the Elfe Queen,  
With many elfish Incubus was rydand that night."

There followed these "the Weird Sisters"—the three Fates or the three Fairies who attend on a birth, the prophetic weird women who became the witches of *Macbeth*. Then came "Nicneven with her nymphs, in number nine" skilled in charms—"venerable virgins, whom the world calls witches," riding on swine, on dogs, or on monks.<sup>1</sup> Fairies, the Weird Sisters, and Nicneven and her train are thus conjoined in the great Hallowmas riding, which combines the fairy ride and the witches' jaunt.

Nic-neven is the well-known Gyre-carline regarded at once as a fairy-queen and a Hecate or mother-witch, well known to the peasantry and to literature, and of whom Sir David Lindsay, as he relates in the prologue to his *Dream*, told stories to his little pupil James V. "when that I saw thee sory." Elfin beings followed in her train, and though witch-like in all her aspects, she is constantly associated with the fairy world.<sup>2</sup>

(2) We turn now to the records of the witch trials. The Inquisition never reached Scotland, and it is to the credit of the pre-Reformation clergy that trials for sorcery were few in number, when these were matters of everyday experience in Europe; and, moreover, the witch Sabbath and its horrors was never in question before the beginning of the sixteenth century. Regular trials for witchcraft came in with the Reformation and the predominance of

<sup>1</sup> A. Montgomery, *Poems*, ed. J. Cranstoun (Scottish Text Society), Edinburgh, 1887, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For Nic-Neven and the Gyre-Carline see Leyden's Introduction to *The Complaynt of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1801, ii. 318; D. Laing, *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland*, London, 1885, p. 272; Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 199; Heron, in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, ii. 227; R. H. Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, London, 1810, p. 293.

Calvin's gloomy creed, and James VI., who, in spite of his scholarship and vast learning, was as superstitious as a savage and as cruel, took a sinister interest in these matters. The first act against witchcraft was passed in 1563: thenceforward trials of witches became common. These witches might be mere "spae-wives" or healers; or they might be participants in the more Satanic aspects of the craft and the witch Sabbath. Let us remember this distinction in referring to some of the trials.

The earliest recorded trial in which the mingling of witch and fairy, as well as the ghost world, occurs is that of Bessie Dunlop of Dalry, Ayrshire, in 1576. She was a healer, and alleged that her skill came from the ghost of Thome Reid, slain at Pinkie in 1547. He was the intermediary between her and the fairy-queen, who also visited her with others of the fairy-folk. The queen was far from regal—a stout carline who begged for a drink. Thomas alternately besought Bessie to go with the "gude wychtis" and dissuaded her, and he also gave her messages to relatives and friends still living—I commend this to our modern scientific necromancers. He was invisible to all but herself. For these communings with the ghost and fairy world—not however with Satan—Bessie was convicted and burned, probably on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.<sup>1</sup>

Alisoun Pearson, a young woman, was tried in 1588 for "haunting and communing with the gude neighbours and the queen of Elfland," as well as with a ghostly familiar, William Sympsoun. She had been carried off by the fairies, and had seen their revels, and because she had revealed these, she was struck by them, the blow leaving an insensible spot on her body, like the well-known witch mark. The ghost usually appeared immediately before the fairies' coming, and he told her how he had been carried off by them, his relatives supposing him to be dead. From

<sup>1</sup>R. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials in Scotland* (Bannatyne Club), Edinburgh, 1833, i. 49 ff.

the fairies, who would frequently transport her to a distance and cause her to ride with them, and from the ghostly William, she had learned all her powers of healing, for exercising which she also was burned. Her fame as a healer had been far spread, and even Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was said to have consulted her. This was made the matter of a satirical poem, prompted if not written by the credulous and bigoted James Melville, who also refers to the affair in his *Diary*. The poem describes Alisoun's riding through Breadalbane with the elf-queen and her company, along with men supposed to be dead, among others Buccleuch and Maitland of Lethington, both of Queen Mary's party, and obnoxious to the reformers. They had died violent deaths, and people who so died were commonly believed to be carried off by the fairies, a semblance of their bodies being left behind.<sup>1</sup>

Passing over other trials in which powers of healing had been obtained by the so-called witches from the fairies, we come to curious evidence in that of Andro Man and others tried at Aberdeen in 1597. Andro, an old man, had first been visited sixty years before by the fairy-queen—the devil in the form of a woman, and had been familiar with her then and since, she giving him the power of healing and secret knowledge. Andro's real master was Satan, who appeared as an angel, asserting that he was God's son, and that his name was Christsonday. "The queen has a grip of all the craft, but Christsonday is the gudeman and has all power under God." The appearance of Christsonday as a stag and riding with the elf-queen and others to their feasting and revels, in which Andro joined, is described. He would believe himself to be in a fair room, but like other mortals who join the fairy revels, would find himself next morning in a moss. He had seen "sundrie

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn, i. 162 ff.; *Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation*, ed. J. Cranstoun (Scottish Text Society), 1891, i. 365; James Melville's *Diary*, p. 137.

deid men" with the fairies—James V. and Thomas the Rymour, whose *amour* with the fairy queen was the subject of a mediaeval poem, as well as the well-known ballad, and who has been associated with elfland in Scottish tradition ever since. The doings at the fairy revels resembled these at the witch Sabbat: they are described graphically, and the language is coarse, though the meaning is *not* obscure. Andro added some details of a curious eschatology, gained from Christsonday, who showed him the fires of hell. Christsonday—a name otherwise unexplained, occurs in the evidence of other Aberdeenshire witches, who spoke of his dancing with them and with the fairy queen.<sup>1</sup> Fairy revels were thus being transmuted into the witch Sabbat; we are in elfland, but the cloven hoof is showing itself.

A series of trials which took place in Orkney in 1615-1616 shows the same mingling of beliefs. Katherine Carey, a healer, admitted that at sundown among the hills, "ane great number of fairie men mett her," among them "a "maister man," perhaps the devil. Another woman, Janet Drever, found guilty of sorcery, had caused the removal of a child into a fairy hill and had conversation with the fairies for twenty-five years. A third, Katherine Jonesdochter, who was able to transfer disease, had seen the trows come out of their hills and knew too much about them. Elspeth Reoch had been taught her craft by a man in green tartan who appeared to her with another man in black. The latter, who called himself "a farie man," was the spirit of a dead relative, neither dead nor living, and doomed for ever to go betwixt the heaven and the earth, *i.e.* he was with the fairies. Her sapient judges regarded him as the devil. A fifth woman, Isobel Sinclair, was under fairy control, as a result of which she had second sight.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, Aberdeen, 1841, i. 119 ff., 170 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1835, pp. 470, 532, 635 (Katherine Carey, Katherine Jonesdochter, Isobel Sinclair); *Maitland Club Miscellany*, ii. 167 f., 187 f. (Janet Drever, Elspeth Reoch).

In 1623 Isobel Haldane, who was both a healer and a witch, when asked if she had dealings with the fairy folk, said that one night she had been carried, whether by God or devil she did not know, to a hill which opened. Within it she remained three days, until a gray-bearded man brought her out again.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been a kind of familiar or ghost, like Thomas Reid and William Simpson, and on later occasions she had invoked his aid. These different ghostly familiars dwelt in fairy-land, according to their own account; the Presbyterian inquisitors gave them another address!

The fairy hill comes into much greater prominence in the trial of Isobel Gowdie of Auldearne, Nairn, in 1662. The evidence in this trial is most copious, and abounds in details of current folk-lore and fairy beliefs and of the methods of witchcraft. Isobel had a lively imagination as well as the gift of the gab, and her clerical judges drank in the vivid accounts given by her of the methods of sorcery, of the Sabbat, of the witch-flight, and of elf-land. On one of her flights she and others had entered the Dounie Hills and came to a "fair and lairge brow room," guarded by elf-bulls, which resemble the water bulls of Highland folk-lore. The devil roughly shaped the elf arrow-heads, and the elf boys wrought them to a finer point within the "elfis howsses." Then the devil gave them to the witches, who, on their flight through the air, "spang" or flicked them from their thumbs at their victims, who fell dead. This method of using the elf-arrows by witches is found in most of the witch trials of this period. They were also shot by fairies in their flight through the air, or they caused a mortal carried off by them in their flight to make a similar use of them. The elf boys are described as small and "boss-backed," and as speaking "gowstie-like," *i.e.* in a hollow voice, and they suggest the misshapen dwarfs of other lands. The fairy queen, on the other hand, was

<sup>1</sup> Pitcairn, ii. 537.

clad in white and the king was well-favoured. "I got meat ther from the Queen of Fearrie mor than I could eat," said Isobel. One of the ministers, who revelled in the delusions and erotic ravings of this poor woman, had been shot at by her, but the elf-bolt unfortunately fell short of this credulous parson.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time (1662) a trial in Bute revealed curious evidence. Here the devil seems to be in opposition to the fairies, giving the witch knowledge of their ill deeds, while she herself cured the "blasting" of their human victims, caused by a whirlwind raised about them by the fairy folk. Fifteen years later two men were tried at Inveraray, and one of them, Donald MacMichael, told how he had entered a fairy hill, where dancing was going on. The fairy king was like "ane large tall corporal Gardman, and ruddie." One of the fairy women engaged Donald to return eight nights after. He obeyed and was in the hill for a month, playing the "trumps" while the fairies danced. At other times and places he had met them, but received a stroke from them for having revealed his dealings with them to a friend. They gave him secret knowledge about various stolen goods; for this and for consulting with evil spirits, Donald was hanged. The judges regarded the fairy revels as diabolical and full of sorcery.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a pious schoolmaster called Brown at Jedburgh was afflicted with a wife who was a witch. His godly remonstrances were as obnoxious to her as Mrs. Cruncher's "floppings" were to her husband Jerry, and they so annoyed her that she and her associates drowned him in the Jed. While this was going on fairies had been seen dancing on the steeples of the abbey. They were then joined by the witches,

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* iii. 603 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Highland Papers*, ed. J. R. M. MacPhail (Scottish History Society, ser. 2, vol. xx.), iii. 23 f., 36 ff.

and a banquet of ale and wine stolen from a locked cellar, was celebrated. Mrs. Brown was hanged for her evil deeds. In this district of Teviotdale the friendship of fairies and witches appears in many folk traditions existing at a much later period.<sup>1</sup>

The last example which I shall give concerns the notorious Major Weir and his sister, whose dealings with Satan cast a horror over Edinburgh in 1670 and for long after. At the trial Jean Weir associated her alleged sorceries with the fairy world. As a younger woman she had kept a school at Dalkeith, and one day a woman had entered the school desiring her to speak with the "Queen of Farie," and "strik and battle with the said queen on her behalf." Next day, a little woman appeared, and gave her the root of a herb, telling her that she would be able to do whatever she desired by its means. This little woman, apparently the fairy queen, laid a cloth on the floor, and caused her to stand on it, with her hand on the crown of her head, and say thrice: "All my cross and my troubles goe to the door with thee." When next Miss Jean span, she found more and better yarn on her pirns than could be spun in such a time—a true fairy gift, though it frightened her, and she believed that she had renounced her baptism—the fairy rite having some resemblance to the traditional Satanic renunciation of Christianity at the Sabbat, and her indictment so regards it. The evidence at the trial of the Weirs is full of *diablerie* and horror; for our purpose it is interesting as showing how fairydom is mixed up with Satan's craft.<sup>2</sup>

(3) King James VI. was deeply read in the works of the demonologists. His own book recapitulates the current ideas, but it also shows the tendency to make fairyland a

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Magazine*, vi. [1820], 533 ff.

<sup>2</sup> G. Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, Edinburgh, 1789, pp. 150 ff.; R. Law, *Memorials*, ed. C. K. Sharpe, Edinburgh, 1819, p. 27; *Books of Adjournal*, in Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 206 f.

province of Satan's kingdom. Its author had carefully attended to the evidence of Scottish witch trials, as some passages of his show. One of the interlocutors asks how it is that witches have confessed that "they have been transported with the Phairie to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who gave them a stone which had sundrie virtues, which at sundrie times hath been produced in judgment."<sup>1</sup> The other replies that it is a delusion of the devil, who, when the witches' senses are asleep, presents to their fantasy such hills and houses within them, such glistening courts and trains, and, their bodies being senseless, places in their hand a stone or such like thing, which he makes them believe to have received in such a place. This is sound enough reasoning, granting the existence of the devil, but it is strange that the British Solomon should still believe in an actual bodily transport to the Sabbat. The fairies, in his opinion, were delusive creations of the devil. The foretelling by witches of the death of persons seen by them in fairyland, not persons already dead, is either a mistake or a diabolical prompting. Rather unreasonably, while James pities those, not being witches, to whom fairies appear, he thinks that witches, seeing them in fantasy, ought to be punished. They were willing victims of the father of lies. Some speak of their traffic with fairies in order that ignorant magistrates may not punish them, as they would punish witches leagued with the devil. This is possible, and, while some of the "witches" made no pretension to alliance with the devil, it was certainly a widespread belief that fairies could give supernatural power to their favourites. It may partly explain the mingling of the two beliefs; but if so, we have not met with such magistrates as would have accepted this milder origin of the witches' power, and clearly the king would not have tolerated them.

<sup>1</sup> James VI., *Daemonologie*, bk. iii. cap. 5. cf. iii. 4.

Thus in Scotland the connexion between fairy, witch, ghost, and devil tended to be a close one. There are many pieces of subsidiary evidence which must be passed over, and the evidence for this mingling of beliefs is less copious elsewhere. Yet we find it in sporadic trials or traditions in England and in Germany. Fiends, fairies, and hags are classed together by English poets, divines, and enquirers into the supernatural. Yet the trial of an English healer cited by Webster in his *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (1677), while it bears a close resemblance to certain incidents of the Scottish trials, shows how enlightenment was beginning to influence those in authority. A man who professed the art of healing was arrested on suspicion of witchcraft. He healed by means of a white powder which he obtained in the following manner. Troubled in mind about providing for his wife and children, he was met one night by "a fair woman in fine cloaths" who enquired what his grief was, and, on learning it, promised to help him to gain money by healing. Next night he met her by appointment, and she led him to a hillock at which she knocked thrice. The hill opened; they entered, and reached a hall where sat a queen in great state with many people about her. His friend presented him to this queen, who bade her give him a box of the powder with directions for its use, after which he was led outside the hill. This hall, he alleged, was no lighter than with us at twilight—a common description of the light of elf-land. When he required more of the powder, he went to the hill, knocked thrice, and said: "I am coming! I am coming!" when it opened to receive him. As there was no proof of sorcery the judge took the sensible course of dismissing the man with an admonition, regarding the whole matter as a delusion. Webster had been present at this trial, but the account he gives of it is from the pen of Durant Hotham, in his epistle prefaced to a work of Behmen's. By this time there was a reaction

against witchcraft trials in England, and this doubtless accounts for the mild treatment of this man. Hotham himself, however, held that the man really obtained the powder from an evil spirit as the result of a pact between them.<sup>1</sup>

In France fairies are still sometimes regarded in popular belief as sorceresses, or their revels are and were participated in by these as well as by demons, while many centuries ago the trial of Joan of Arc shows that her judges, if not the folk, were determined to regard the *fées* as evil spirits, and to connect them with the devil and the Sabbat.<sup>2</sup> In Germany the names given to the witches' devils are sometimes of an elfin kind; the spells of witches concern elfins, dwarfs, and the like, rather than devils; and the goblins sent forth by sorceresses to do mischief were known by fairy names—*elbe*, *holden*, *holderchen*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

As far as Scotland was concerned the mingling of belief occurred in the Lowlands, in Perthshire, in Moray, in Aberdeenshire, in the Western Isles, and in Orkney. Some of the alleged witches were mere healers, their craft gained from the fairies. Others were accused or accused themselves of more sinister aspects of sorcery and devildom as well as of dealings with the fairies. Both came under the same condemnation. Judges and ecclesiastics under the sway of the current demonology shared the terrors of the time, and were ready to regard the most harmless

<sup>1</sup> F. Hutchinson, *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, London, 1718, p. 125; J. Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, London, 1677, p. 300 f.; M. Pitt, *Account of Anne Jefferies*, 1696, in J. Morgan, *Phoenix Britannicus*, London, 1732, p. 545 f.

<sup>2</sup> P. Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904-7, i. 202, 229; *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. J. Quicherat, Paris, 1841-9, i. 67, 187, 209 ff., ii. 390, 404, 450; M. Del Rio, *Disq. Magicæ*, 1612, lib. v. app. 2. p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882-8, pp. 1041, 1061 ff., 1073 f., 1621.

nonsense as evidence of Satanic power. The Rev. Robert Kirk of Aberfoyle (*ob.* 1692) seems to have been alone in that age in regarding fairies as outside Satan's kingdom, to have a real existence which is not demoniacal, and to be worthy of a scientific examination. All this is found in his delightful book, *The Secret Commonwealth, i.e.* of the elves, fauns, and fairies, which appears to have remained in MS. until Sir Walter Scott published it in 1815. It was later edited by Andrew Lang in 1893. Kirk refused to believe that the arrow-heads were made by devils and not by fairies, for the continual torments of devils would not allow them so much leisure.

The evidence of the victims shows how easily pre-conceptions and vivid belief in current superstitions may give rise to dreams or hallucinations, regarded then as real experiences, or how actual events can be interpreted in terms of such beliefs. None of the judges seems to have seen that the matters alleged were delusions and that the victims were to be pitied. Rather they accepted these delusions as fact, and by leading questions, usually in combination with the application of torture, confirmed the victims in their delusions, and induced them to admit what they were asked. Ignorant, simple-minded, and half-witted as the victims were, they only too readily yielded what their accusers suggested or demanded of them. The mingling of really separate beliefs was perhaps thus also brought about by the determination of the judges to find Satan's craft everywhere, quite as much as by the folk themselves and their attribution of similar things to different orders of beings. The boastings and ravings of half-crazy and self-conscious as well as self-deluded persons, the hallucinations of women dominated by the superstitions of the time, the admissions of victims madened by torture, were alike accepted as evidence, and that evidence was regarded as fact by men of learning and knowledge sitting in the seat of judgment. All this throws

a singular light upon the mental outlook of the time. It also helps us to understand why some scientific minds accept, and encourage by their acceptance, these superstitions which for, one reason or another, are enjoying a recrudescence in our own time.

## MYSTICAL AND CEREMONIAL AVOIDANCE OF CONTACT WITH INANIMATE OBJECTS.<sup>1</sup>

*Read before the Anthropological Section of the British Association  
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BY F. W. H. MIGEOD.

IN many primitive tribes there exists the idea that contact of the human body with an inanimate object, and especially with the ground, must be avoided on certain occasions for either a ceremonial or a mystical reason. The thought seems to be that there is a loss of power or virtue should such contact take place. There must, therefore, be interposed some other material body, which in practice is usually something of special value ; and the most valuable and efficacious of all is another human body. There are, it is true, other reasons than a loss of power or virtue to be assigned to such practices ; but they are less common, and will be noted as they come up in the course of this paper.

A great many and very varied examples of avoidance of contact are to be found in Africa, where I have principally enquired into this subject. They are not, however, confined to Africa alone. Many other semi-civilised or totally uncivilised countries furnish examples also. Among them are Australia, in connection with the aboriginal inhabitants of course, the South Sea Islands, Borneo and India, and their comparison with each other is useful towards finding a clue to the underlying principle which is often the same

<sup>1</sup> [Attention may be drawn to the discussion of this question by Sir James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, "Balder the Beautiful," vol. i. chap. i.) with which the writer seems not to have been acquainted.—ED.]

in far distant countries. Whether there was anything similar among the aboriginal American tribes or nations I have been unable to ascertain.

The avoidance-of-contact idea is found in connection with the following persons :

1. Boys on initiation to manhood.
2. Brides.
3. Persons initiated into secret societies.
4. Chiefs.
5. Dancers.
6. Sacred inanimate objects.

#### NO. I. INITIATION TO MANHOOD.

In Australia the practice existed among the initiation rites of boys to manhood. (Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, quoting Collins.)<sup>1</sup> One of the necessary ceremonies was the removal of a tooth from the youth, which tooth was afterwards worn as an ornament. The ceremony of removal, which was effected by a sharp blow on a chisel, was performed whilst the youth was not in direct contact with the ground. One of the men of the tribe knelt down, and the youth sat on his shoulders holding on tightly while the percussion was done, and until the tooth was at last broken off. Thereafter the patient added the name of his bearer to his own. This was witnessed in the early days at Port Jackson, but in other parts of the continent it appears that the youth was simply laid on his back on the ground and the tooth knocked out, a much quicker and surer method.

Another ceremony was the introduction of the youths to the presumed chiefs of the initiation rites. Two men sat on tree stumps, each with another seated on his shoulders.

<sup>1</sup>W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, 170: Sir B. Spencer, F. I. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 236.

All the rest of the men lay on the ground, face downwards close together, and the boys walked on this living pavement to approach the seated figures.

Further, in other stages of the initiation the boys were carried.

In British New Guinea (A. C. Haddon, "Migrations of Cultures in British New Guinea," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1920) among the initiation rites of boys to manhood we also find examples of non-contact with the ground. At one stage, the terminal feast of initiation among the Mawai, each boy stands on a dead pig, and whilst so standing is decorated emblematically. Again, after a probationary period of a month, the boy is steamed, and his mother tells him to stand on a dead pig, and he is invested with a loin cloth, and the initiation is complete. Among the Goi-efu, on reaching puberty the boy, in the presence of the community, stands on a dead pig which his father has to provide, and whilst so standing is given moral and social instruction, as well as invested with a token of his manhood. New weapons are given him, and he is obliged to celebrate his initiation by killing a man or a wild pig afterwards. The same is found among the Binandele, in which tribe girls also stand on pigs; and similarly among other New Guinea tribes as well. This use of a pig, which at first sight seems a peculiar custom, is explained by the relationship of human flesh to pig flesh among the South Sea Islanders generally, the former being commonly called "long pig." There is also the legend of Dabadaba in support of this. It was he who persuaded the people to substitute pigs for men at sacrifices. The Goi-efu alternative of killing a man or a pig is further support for this theory. It is thus permissible to deduce, though there may be no surviving example of the practice, that in former times at initiation festivals the initiate stood on a human being. The old Australian aboriginal ceremonies witnessed by Collins seem to show that it was so. In other stages of the

initiation ceremonies the boys are carried to the "buek" or "medicine" house on the shoulders of their fathers and uncles. The full description in Haddon's article is as follows: "The persons carrying the boys wait outside the 'buek' till all the other men have entered. The men form a line across the hall and dance. Other men blow the flutes from behind the row of dancers. When the boys are brought into the hall, the pipers burst through the rows of dancers and press the flutes upon the navels of the boys. After further ceremonies the boys are placed not on the bare ground but upon a piece of sago bark and taught to play the instruments. In a subsequent ceremony of going down to the river the boys are also carried by their fathers or uncles, and put into the water."

It is not unimportant to notice that those who carry the boys are their fathers or uncles, and to compare it with the Australian practice of the boy who has his tooth knocked out being carried by the man whose name he subsequently adds to his own, and, further, to compare it with the African example which is given below of the initiate into a secret society walking on the body of the chief of that society. In all cases the sat-upon or walked-upon person is an elder or one in a higher position, and not an inferior.

## No. 2. THE BRIDE.<sup>1</sup>

Coming now to marriage ceremonies it is not uncommon to find steps taken to guard the purity of the bride. In ancient times among the Romans it was the duty of the bridegroom to lift the bride over the threshold as she entered her husband's house for the first time. In looking to see if there was anything of this nature among African tribes I was told that among the Mende some, but I do not think all, the chiefs observe this custom by carrying the bride into the house and laying her on the bed. Those that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folk-lore*, xiii. 226 et seqq.

are not chiefs simply run more or less boisterously into the house without any ceremony. In any case I do not feel very sure about it as my informant was not a chief, and another man with whom I discussed it said there was no such ceremony. Nevertheless, it is probably observed at times, as among the Mandingo, to whom the Mende are related, the bride rides from her own house to that of the bridegroom on the shoulders of one of the bridegroom's friends.

In British New Guinea there is a similar custom. On Goaribari Island the bride is brought from her house to the bridegroom's father's house standing on a piece of bark supported on an oblong piece of heavy wood, which is carried by means of transverse sticks by her relations. The lower board is left there, and the bark board is taken by the bride's brother to the married men's house, and all the small boys go there and shoot arrows into it. (H. J. Ryan, quoted by Haddon.) In this it must not be overlooked that importance attaches to the object on which the girl stood.

There is an amplification of this custom in Africa. Among the Nkundo of the Juapa River, commonly called the High Nkundo in distinction with those lower down the river when it joins the Congo, when a big chief's daughter is going to be married she is shut up in a hut for two months before the ceremony. This probation is called "Luburu." A fire is kept burning in the hut. When she goes outside for any purpose she must not walk on the ground. She must walk on "Mosolo," which is the name given to any article of value. So knives, anklets, bracelets, etc., I was informed, are laid on the ground, and on these she steps. Inside she is still supposed not to touch the ground, but sits with her feet resting on something. When the two months have expired she is carried through the town on a wooden bedstead by eight men, and dances all the time. The suitor then pays his headmoney and she is handed over.

Among the Baganda, before marriage the bride was in the old days kept shut up for two weeks. If she went outside she put on sandals. On the marriage day the meeting with her husband took place halfway between the two houses. The bride was escorted on foot to this point. Here the bridegroom and his party met hers. On meeting, the bride was picked up by one of the husband's friends and carried on his shoulder to the husband's house. Here she was set down and crossed the threshold herself. After marriage she stayed indoors three weeks. In this it must be noted that, as with the Mandingo, it is not the bridegroom who carries the bride but one of his friends.

Great care used to be exercised by the Baganda lest a pregnant woman come in contact with another man. She used to be told the child would die, so as to frighten her. She must not shake hands with a man, nor should even his cloth touch her in passing. So far was the non-intercourse idea extended, to say nothing of non-contact, that whilst a woman's husband was away travelling she was not allowed to speak to another man under pain of something terrible happening. No doubt this last restriction was no more than one that had its origin in male jealousy.

Another case of which I have collected only one example may be mentioned here, although it is dissimilar. It is in relation to widows, and was observed by me in Ashanti. It was in the town of Ejura. It was dusk, and the dancing after the funeral was finished for the time being. The widow, with her face whitened with clay was about to go home. She was not allowed to walk, but one of the young men present took her on his shoulders, and so she went to her house, a man on each side of her steadying her. I was told this was the widow, but there may have been a mistake, and she may have been a fetish-woman, who among other tribes are sometimes so carried.

With brides perhaps the reason may be that she is regarded as a very precious object for which much in the

way of goods has been paid. She must, therefore, be taken great care of, and accordingly is honoured in many ways, even to the extent of being kept clear of contact with such a soiling thing as the ground. These ceremonies, therefore, have grown up and attach to her as an object of high value.

### NO. 3. INITIATION INTO SECRET SOCIETIES.

For initiation into secret societies, or into "medicine" as it may be called, there is a similar practice to that of initiating boys to manhood in Australia, though in this case it is in Africa.

Among the Baluba (R. P. Collet on the Baluba) near the Lualaba River, as the Upper Congo is called, there is a society called the Bakangala. The initiate meets the head of the society lying in the path and covered with branches of trees, and must walk on his body. In another society initiation is completed by the head of the society lying on the initiate head to feet, the same practice being adopted if the initiate be a woman. Among the Baluba also the women of a certain society were treated with great respect. There were many special observances with regard to them, among which was the one that they were not to walk about in public. If the fetish-woman went anywhere a special man attached to the society carried her on his shoulders, and, as in other tribes, he received special privileges. Among the Mende I am informed that a necessary accompaniment of a certain initiation is being walked upon. In Borneo, among the Sea Dyaks, in the initiation to the third grade of Manang there is a waving over the initiate, followed in the fourth by the Manang desiring promotion being stamped upon. It can be seen in these examples quoted that whereas the action in all is not very dissimilar the reason is totally distinct. In the Mende and Sea Dyak practices the reason may possibly be to stamp out any evil spirit, and so serve as an act of purification. The Baluba

practice on the other hand is akin to the Australian and New Guinea practice in boys' initiation of the superior person being in the lower position. The lying on the body of the initiate is quite apart, and possibly indicates a transference of powers by a different method.

#### NO. 4. CHIEFS.

The many customs and ceremonial observances attached to the office of chief in Africa as well as elsewhere are exceedingly curious, and their meaning, to say nothing of their origin, is always not easy to explain in one way or another. It can only be by accumulating a great number of observed facts bearing on one particular practice and comparing them that any reasonable explanation can be arrived at, especially if immature or incomplete customs, if I may so call them, can be discovered.

In regard to the carrying of the chiefs, it may be put down generally to the desire to enhance their dignity. For instance, in the old days among the Ashanti there was a regular scale. The biggest chiefs had four men to carry their cradle, secondary chiefs only two, while subordinate chiefs were entitled to one man only and rode on his shoulders. Among the Baganda the duty of carrying the king and royal family on their shoulders rested with one clan only. It was regarded as a privilege which was jealously guarded by them, and they would allow no one else to do this.

When the South Sea Islands were first explored there were found to be in some of them chiefs who were regarded as sacred beings. They were held to be descended from the gods, and received much the same attention as if they were the gods themselves. In Tahiti this was especially noticeable. Everything in connection with the king and queen were sacred—their cloths, houses, canoes and their bearers. Ground on which they accidentally trod, any

house they might enter became at once sacred and belonged to the king thenceforward, and in the case of the house the owner had to leave it never to return. Nobody might touch the king and queen, and anybody who stood over them or passed his hands above their heads was at once put to death. Great care had therefore to be exercised lest the royal pair should put their feet on any land not included in the royal domain, that is, in their own inherited district. When they went abroad they rode on the shoulders of certain attendants, who became sacred and were specially privileged men accordingly. If they were going far and one became tired, the king and queen passed on the neck of another man without descending, such a descent implying that the place would become sacred. In eating, too, on occasion the food had to be put into their mouths, by a sacred person, of course.

The carrying of chiefs by their attendants is common in various parts of Africa, but I do not gather that there is any underlying reason of sanctity in it. It seems to have its vogue from enhanced dignity and disinclination to walk. With the Tahiti chiefs the reason is quite different. It is because the chiefs are supposed to be descended from the gods, which may mean no more than that by origin they are descendants of some ancient conquering race, and may still possess a minute strain of foreign blood. It is noticeable that carrying by their own followers is not met with in countries where there are horses or other animals. On the whole, except in regard to the South Seas, no special significance attaches to riding or being carried. It is a common custom throughout the world, as also is the accompanying assumption that the person who walks is in an inferior social position to one who rides.

Of a different nature, and one which may be ascribed in its origin to purely intolerant arrogance, is the custom among some primitive chiefs ruling over a very subdued or slave population that one of them is the most suitable

object to furnish him with a seat. For instance, the chief of the Bushongo in southern Congoland would never sit on anything less important than one of his attendants or slaves. Another chief seemed to have used his wives for this purpose. These were powerful and warlike chiefs, and chiefs of authority. Among the High Nkundo was the same practice, and the privilege pertained to the head chief alone, except that on very special occasions apparently the head wife was also allowed a male slave to sit on. These privileges were undoubtedly intended to give some idea to all observers of the power and importance of the holders of the right, which certainly could not have been exercised without these attributes.

When the custom has died out perhaps its memory may be traced in the wooden seats carved in the shape of a man on all fours, such as have been found in some of the West India islands and supposed to be of Carib origin, an example of which is in the British Museum, and similar ones of present-day make which are made in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

Of somewhat different significance was the habit of a former big chief residing at Kasongo Nyembo in the headwaters region of the Congo, who made use of some of his wives to sleep on. Twelve of them were laid out alternately head and feet, and he lay on the top. No doubt this was only an example of an elderly man's search for a new sensation. Another custom of the same chief has again a different significance, though what it is cannot be deduced with any degree of certainty unless some similar practices can be reported. If the chief dreamed of his ancestors he was not allowed to go outside the enclosure of his house all day; and if he emerged from his hut his female slaves had to lie on the ground for him to walk on. We have seen that a betrothed girl among the Nkundo had to step on objects of value, because, possibly, before marriage she was an object of high value. Dreaming of his ancestors

may clothe the chief temporarily with a special sanctity, and therefore he is only to be permitted to put his feet on objects of value also. It must not be overlooked that a fetish-priest may devise any sort of fanciful performance to meet any new case which may arise and be referred to him to advise on. There is no saying how many curious things may not have their origin in the past in the fertile brain of some old priest.

In any case, walking on a living pavement is not confined to savage Africa nor to Australia. It is part of the ceremony of Doseh, which is or used to be performed in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> It is only the chief of the two dervish orders of Saadites and Rifaites who has the right to pass on horse-back along a human road. The dervishes lie down side by side, and the road is made perfectly straight. The horse is led by two men at its head, and the journey terminates at the house which is the sheikh's objective. As soon as the horse has passed the men who had lain down get up and are mixed up again in the crowd of sightseers.

Fortunately there is a history to this ceremony. Whether it is the true one is, of course, always an objection that can be raised.

The story is that a great saint and miracle-worker, once upon a time, came to Cairo and pitched his camp outside. The sultan went out to meet the saint, named Saad-ed-Din. He invited him to come into the town. After many refusals he at last agreed, but said he must perform a miracle so that all Mussulmans might listen to his word and repent of their sins forthwith. To do this he called upon all the inhabitants to bring all their valuable glass ware and spread it on his road, and when he made his entry into Cairo did it riding on the glasses, and legend has it without breaking a single one. It is in commemoration of this miracle that the Doseh is performed, only at the present

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. ii. 176 *et seqq.*

day in lieu of glasses and bottles human beings are substituted.

This ceremony, on account of there being a historical reason assigned, is one of very considerable importance when one endeavours to explain similar ceremonies in other lands, even though they may differ in some particulars.

There is a curious custom similar to the foregoing among the Watusi in Ruanda, which is between lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, but with the addition of bloodshed. In addition to many human sacrifices being performed on the accession of a new king there used to be a very special one. A man, presumably of one of the subordinate tribes, was laid on the ground and covered with bark cloths. Then a herd of cattle was driven over him till he was pounded to death. The newly succeeding king had then to walk on the body its full length.

Perhaps if it were possible to observe all the surrounding rites on such a rare occasion it might be possible to arrive at some explanation of this central rite. It may be emblematic of the high position of the king with regard to his subjects, whom he can tread in the dust and at the same time kill with impunity. If, however, the sacrificed man is invariably a member of one of the subordinate tribes, as there is every reason to suppose, it may be emblematic and equally a warning to all subjects that the Watusi and their cattle are all equally superior to the subject agricultural aborigines whose country they invaded in remote times, and that the latter must regard the cattle as sacred.

It must not be overlooked that one of the prerogatives of kingship, at all events in Africa, is to have the power to take life at will and with no reason assigned. No king is a great king who has not the absolute power of life and death. He is not great if there are any limitations to his caprice. The treading on the corpse indicates this, and the means of doing it, namely employing cattle, further indicates the

high position these animals occupy in the life history of a cattle-tribe.

Akin to the avoidance of contact with a harmful object by means of interposing a body is the interposing of something as a protection against hurtful rays from another person's eyes. In other words, to be seen performing certain actions may be hurtful, and something must be put between. This is found commonly in connection with drinking.

The old kings of Dahomey always had a cloth or several handkerchiefs held round their face if they drank anything at a time when anybody except their wives or other personal attendants were present. The same custom prevails among the far distant Baluba, and also, I think, among their neighbours the Basonge as well. Nobody is allowed to be present when the chief's water is drawn from the stream. Nobody must see it carried up to the chief's house, so a boy goes on ahead to clear the way; and the pot has to be covered with a cloth so that nobody may see the water. As the custom of a chief not being seen drinking prevails also among the Banyoro, I believe, it must be a very widespread one, and no doubt prevails among many intervening tribes.

A last note on this subject I may make is that early travellers relate that the King of Uganda was never allowed to touch any object, not even a present, until it had been exorcised. Such a practice can only indicate that the king was possessed of a special sanctity, and accordingly had to be protected from any defilement.

In connection with the chiefly office, therefore, non-contact may be classified under three heads:

1. Sanctity of his person.
2. His dignity.
3. His arrogance.

## No. 5. DANCERS.

With regard to dancers, avoidance of contact with the ground or other object is found among African tribes. Seeing that all primitive peoples are much given to dancing, both young and old and of both sexes, whenever any special safeguarding of the dancer is observed it must imply that there is special sanctity, or, if not sanctity, skill in that individual. Generally it is the former, as the dancing is connected with religious practices. Complete concealment of the body is found in some religious dances, and the dancer in such cases is usually a woman.

Among the Mende there is a female society of which the leading women are called *Sowo-isia* (the second part of the word being the plural termination). These women when dancing have no part of the body uncovered. The head is covered with a mask, and the feet are also fully bandaged, so that it is difficult to call the motions of the figure dancing, at least not graceful dancing. When the performance is over they retire to a hut to unrobe unseen, so that in theory they remain unknown to the spectators. By this dress contact with any outside object is effectually guarded against. Other dancing girls in the same tribe when resting go straight to the line of lookers-on and sit on the knees of some other woman, with their feet resting on the feet of the person beneath, so that no part touches the ground. If they touch the ground it is thought that some of their skill, "*Hale*," medicine, in the wider application of the word, will leave them. I am not sure, however, that this practice is by any means of general application.

There seems nothing of this nature that applies to men-dancers. It is true that after a dance a dancer who has danced well may be carried home by a friend on his shoulders, but it is simply a fancy proceeding, something like "*chairing*" a winner in England, and there is no

significance in it as regards the retention or loss of "medicine."

That the custom of lifting dancers off the ground is far spread may be seen from the custom of a tribe on the upper Mubangi River in Belgian Congo. (A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*.) Between the dances the girls are carried on the shoulders of the spectators or of specially appointed persons amongst them, usually standing upright. As there is no rest in such a position, such a motive cannot apply. It may therefore be so that they can be seen by everybody, and be done with the idea of honouring them.

Among the Nkundo on the Juapa River there is a dancing girl who is called a Kanga. She must not be touched or washed immediately before the dance, I gather, but palm oil and the red dye of the camwood tree are rubbed all over her. In some way she is sacred, and apparently a touch from an unauthorised person is held to be sure to spoil her dancing.

Though not an example of a similar nature I may mention a case of protection being accorded to a male dancer. In passing through the native part of the town of Lusambo on the Sankuru River (the inhabitants of which are largely Baluba, but many tribes are mixed there) I met accidentally an important dancer in his dancing dress, which, especially the headdress, was of very superior manufacture. I wanted to photograph him, but in a moment a woman was interposed. Judging by the proximity of the woman when required, and by her taking her place without any hesitation, I am inclined to think that the procedure was a customary and frequent one so as to ward off any noxious influence. Incidentally I was much struck with this dancer in the few moments I saw him, he seemed of a very special type, although his face was absolutely expressionless.

On the whole it does not seem to be widely and generally

understood that a dancer when not dancing needs to be specially guarded against direct contact with other material objects, unless their being completely covered indicates the necessity in itself and is not merely due to secrecy. In most tribes there is little or no ceremony. A dancer walks to the dancing place and returns without ceremony as a rule, for everybody in the tribe at some time or other dances.

#### NO. 6. SACRED INANIMATE OBJECTS.

Sanctity when applied to inanimate objects necessitates their being guarded from pollution or hurt. The care bestowed on idols by idolatrous races is well known to all readers and observers. I will only mention here, therefore, two rather unusual cases.

In New Guinea there is the cult of the mango tree. A tree is selected and becomes at once sacred. It is cut down by fasting men with a special stone adze. Iron must not be used. All the chips, etc., are caught on new mats. The tree is wrapped in mats with all the chips and fallen leaves and carried to a certain place by the fasting men. There it is tied to the central pole of the platform inside the special house built for the fasting men. No part of the tree may ever touch the ground, and sacrifices of pigs are made to it. (A. C. Haddon, *Migration of Culture*.)

Finally, I may refer to the old Fiji custom of launching a new war canoe on the bodies of captured enemies instead of on wooden rollers. It may be with the idea of guarding the sanctity of the canoe, or perhaps the spirit of the canoe, against contamination. Or it may be no other than an additional and specially thought out fiendish device to render the launching sacrifice as attractive as possible to the jaded spirits of the spectators. Simple sacrifices usually accompanied a launch, and the idea is not lost in modern Europe, but is represented by a bottle of wine being broken on the vessel's bows.

The common underlying principle in all these practices is, therefore, for the most part in connection with sacredness, and as a safeguarding of the person concerned against the loss of that sacredness. In a few cases, as we have seen, it is to acquire a special virtue.

F. W. H. MIGEOD.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### SNAKE STONES.

THE belief in snake stones, which have magical properties, particularly the power of curing snake-bite or acting as an antidote to poison, is widely distributed. In tropical climates, where venomous reptiles abound in great variety and man under more primitive conditions of living is less protected against attack, the absorbing terror of snake-bite is intelligible enough. In Western Europe, however, where snakes are less numerous, and poisonous varieties comparatively infrequent, the pre-occupation with snake-bite is more surprising. None the less, medieval medicine and modern folklore testify to the deep impression made by terror of the snake upon popular imagination, and it is significant that Pliny gives to snake-bite the place of honour in his list of ills which may be remedied by simples.<sup>1</sup> For this preoccupation the instinctive horror inspired by reptiles, to which classical poets plead guilty,<sup>2</sup> and only the impartial man of science rises superior,<sup>3</sup> may in part account, together with the awe-inspiring disproportion between the size and insignificance of the serpent and the speedy and fatal results of its attack.

<sup>1</sup> Verum et effectus ususque dicendi sunt ordiendumque a malorum omnium pessimo est, serpentium ictu. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. (55), 99. Cf. *ib.* xxviii. (42), 149.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, iii. 33-35; Theocritus, xv. 58.

<sup>3</sup> "I cannot start at the presence of a Serpent, Scorpion, Lizard or Salamander: at the sight of a Toad or Viper I find no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in myself those common Antipathies that I can discover in others." Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, ii. 1.

Of snake stones various kinds may be distinguished. Stones or marbles, which in their shape or markings suggest a resemblance to snakes, have been thought to have the property of curing snake-bite. Among these may be reckoned various fossils, such as ammonites or the fossil shark's teeth which in the Middle Ages went by the name of "snakes' tongues."<sup>1</sup> Serpentine and ophite, which owe their names to the markings of waving lines or spots with which they are variegated, equally with stones which resembled snakes in shape, were used as antidotes.<sup>2</sup> In Pliny's time varieties of these marbles, which were in secular demand for the purposes of architectural decoration,<sup>3</sup> were worn as amulets and used to cure headache or snake-bite.<sup>4</sup> In the fourth century A.D. the Orphic *Lithica* recommends the rubbing of ophite into unmixed wine as an infallible potion, and alleges that Philoctetes was thus healed by Machaon.<sup>5</sup> A rival theory suggested that Philoctetes was cured by *Lemnian Earth*,<sup>6</sup> which already in the time of Pliny was sold in sealed packets and hence called *sphragis*.<sup>7</sup> It is therefore worth noticing that Pliny remarks of it that in the native mass it is red, but "is spotted on the exterior."<sup>8</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> W. Skeat, "Snakestones and Stone Thunderbolts," *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. pp. 45-80. America may be added to the area over which the belief in the ammonite snake stone is distributed. A fragment of an ammonite presented by a Sioux chief as "good medicine" was exhibited at the Folk-Lore Congress of 1891. *International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly in Malta pebbles which resemble in colour the eyes, heart, liver, or tongue of snakes are worn as amulets or used for steeping as an antidote. Like *Maltese Earth* (for which see Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 228) they are connected with the traditional cave of St. Paul. Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Martial, vi. 42. 12-15; Statius, *Silvae*, i. 5. 35. Cf. Dionysius Periegetes, 1013.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. (11), 55-56.

<sup>5</sup> Orphic, *Lithica*, x. 335 f., 11. The story that Philoctetes was cured by means of ophite is repeated by Tzetzes, *ad Lycophron.*, 911.

<sup>6</sup> Philostratus, *Heroica*, vi. 2. For the history of Lemnian Earth see Hasluck, "Terra Lemnia," *B.S.A.*, xvi. pp. 221 foll.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. (14), 33-35.

<sup>8</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. (13), 31. *Glaebis suis colos, extra maculosus.*

suggests that originally, like ophite, it may have owed its reputation in part to its spotted appearance resembling the markings of a snake. In part, no doubt, the adhesive and absorbent qualities of the earth, which were palpable to the touch,<sup>1</sup> suggested and maintained the belief in its efficacy as an agent which sucked poison out of the patient.

Stones of this type, which by their shape or markings resemble snakes, are naturally thought to be curative in virtue of homoeopathy. Just as the application of the body or fat of a dead snake<sup>2</sup> or a draught of viper wine<sup>3</sup> are sovereign against snake-bite or poison, so the application of a stone resembling a snake or the drinking of a concoction, in which it has been steeped, will produce similarly desirable results. Analogous is the use of the herb *dracunculus*, which, being spotted like a viper's skin, enjoyed a reputation as a specific against snake-bite.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus in a letter written between 1603 and 1607 a Yorkshire squire is recommended to put a local earth on the market as a rival to the expensive *Terra Sigillata*. (The revival of the use of Lemnian Earth in sixteenth century was followed by the exploitation of substitutes in many countries of Europe (Hasluck, *op. cit.* pp. 226 foll.), and they were eagerly sought in the New World. Thomas Heriot, *Report of Virginia*, 1588, in Hakluyt, *Voyages* (Glasgow, 1904), viii. p. 354). It "might in my conceyte be employed in makinge of such red pottes as come from Venice, which are sold very deare, by reason of the vertue ascribed unto them, what secret operatyon is in these pottes I know not, but I am well assured that this earth, both the white and the red, beinge put to one's lippes, will stycke fast to them, even as those pottes doe." "A Description of Cleveland in a Letter addressed by H. Tr. to Sir T. Chaloner," quoted in Gutch, *County Folk-Lore, II., The North Riding, etc.*, p. 176. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, ii. cap. iii. The Palestinian earth from which the body of Adam was supposed to have been formed was exported to the East in the seventeenth century on account of its magical and medicinal qualities. This too was reddish in colour and like wax to handle. Zuallardo, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, Rome, 1587, pp. 262-263.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. (22), 71; Hunt, *Romances and Drolls of the West of England*, 2nd series, p. 215; *Folk-Lore*, xxii. p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *loc. cit.*; Skeat, *Folk-Lore*, xxxiii. p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. (6), 18. Cf. the similar use of Viper's Bugloss (*Echium Vulgare*), the seed of which resembles a serpent's head. Bilson, *County Folk-Lore, III., Leicester and Rutland*, p. 33.

The jewelled appearance of some of the more venomous species and the phenomenon of fascination, by which snakes paralyze their victims, may have suggested the almost universal belief that snakes possess a jewel or stone, or that a stone is to be found in their head or body which possesses magical properties. The sorcerers of the Roro-speaking peoples of New Guinea get a stone from the black snake which possesses such power that they can kill a man by touching him with it.<sup>1</sup> The Cherokee of North America believe in a great snake of fabulous size, with a blazing crest like a diamond upon its forehead with which it dazzles its victims. This diamond has only once been obtained, but it confers upon the possessor enormous power. It is described as like a large transparent crystal, shaped like a cartridge bullet, with a blood-red streak running through the centre from top to bottom. The owner keeps it hidden in a secret cave, and feeds it every seven days upon the blood of game to prevent its flying out at night and taking the blood of the conjuror or some of his people.<sup>2</sup> In Wales, whenever a snake is found under or near a hazel tree on which the mistletoe grows, the creature has a precious stone in its head.<sup>3</sup> According to the Malays the cobra has a bright jewel on its head which shines at night, and snakes carry a jewel in their mouths for the possession of which they fight.<sup>4</sup> Chinese dragons are said similarly to fight for a pearl.<sup>5</sup> The Sinhalese believe that certain serpents possess a jewel which is sovereign against snake-bite, and that snakes at night vomit up luminous stones

<sup>1</sup> Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 282-283. These snake-stones can be rendered innocuous by immersion in a bowl of salt water, which will then hiss and bubble as though boiling. When no more bubbles are to be seen, the stone is "dead."

<sup>2</sup> Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 297-298. There is record of the existence of this stone in the eighteenth century (*Timberlake's Memoirs* (1765), quoted in *Folk-Lore*, i. p. 278).

<sup>3</sup> Trevelyan, *Folklore and Folkstories of Wales*, p. 171. For the connection of the snake with the hazel cf. below, p. 268, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 303-304.

<sup>5</sup> Skeat, *loc. cit.*

which give them light.<sup>1</sup> Certain varieties of snake on the Lower Niger possess similar stones which they vomit up. They are supposed to give a brilliant light, which attracts the snake's prey. Though specific against other poisons, these stones are of no use against snake-bite; they are mainly employed as a charm to attract game by those hunters, who are sufficiently adroit to kill a snake before it has had time to re-swallow the stone.<sup>2</sup>

Major Leonard reports that "the stone is so small or illusory that it has never been found in any of the specimens which have been killed," but although no doubt many of the stones in use are of questionable origin, the phenomenon of "hard and lapideous concretions" actually to be found in the bodies of some snakes may well have contributed to the belief.<sup>3</sup> The Malays obtain calculi of this nature sometimes from snakes, but principally from the red monkey or porcupine, and use them as antidotes to poison or as remedies for various diseases.<sup>4</sup> The stony secretions of the lynx were used in antiquity to cure falling sickness and to alleviate pains in the kidney,<sup>5</sup> and the Byzantine Philes asserts that calculi from the ostrich are an excellent remedy for ophthalmia.<sup>6</sup> To such calculi, which are not in fact of resplendent appearance nor in the least like diamonds, appears to belong the *dracontia lapis* of Solinus, an authority upon whom the medieval lapidaries drew. It must be cut out of the head of a living snake, for, if the snake dies before it is procured, the stone dissolves. Though much prized by kings of the East, it is of ignoble appearance, does not

<sup>1</sup> Hildburgh, *Journal of R. Anth. Inst.* xxxviii. pp. 188-200. These luminous snake-stones, the method of acquiring which is described, have general magical properties and are also specific against snake-bite.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tributaries*, p. 192. The stone is described as round and smooth, blue by day and like fire by night.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sir Thomas Browne on the Toad Stone, *Pseudodoxia*, iii. cap. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 275, 303-304.

<sup>5</sup> Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Mirabilium*, ii. 38-39, on the authority of Theophrastus.

<sup>6</sup> Philes (ed. Dübner), 150. I have not traced this in Aelian from whom Philes is mainly derived.

reflect artificial light, and is too soft to allow of carving or ornament. The perilous task of procuring it is carried out by performing the operation after the serpents have been drugged with medicated herbs.<sup>1</sup> The dragon stone acquired by Dieudonné de Gozon—as the result of his combat with the Rhodian dragon—and still preserved by his descendants as a family heirloom at the end of the sixteenth century, was alleged to have been cut from the forehead of the monster.<sup>2</sup> The doctrine that the stone must be taken from the brain of the dragon while it still lived also persisted through the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> The *dracontia lapis* appears to have reached Rome from the East; the West had also its snake stone, the vogue of which has been perpetuated by the authority of the written text of Pliny, in spite of that author's scornful scepticism as to its virtues. His account of the *ovum anguinum* Pliny had from the Druids of Gaul,<sup>4</sup> through the *Natural History* it passed to the medieval lapidaries<sup>5</sup> and thence back, perhaps to reinforce a continuous local tradition, to the popular superstition of France and the British Isles.<sup>6</sup> This adder stone, named a *milpreve* in Cornwall and *Maen Magi* or *Glain Neidr* in Wales, was formed by in-

<sup>1</sup> Solinus, xxx. 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> Hasluck, "Dieudonné de Gozon and the Dragon of Rhodes," *B.S.A.*, xx. pp. 75, 79. It was described as a crystal of the size and shape of an olive and of varied colour. Water in which it was placed bubbled violently while absorbing the virtue of the stone (cf. the Melanesian stone above), and was afterwards given to the patient to drink. A sixteenth century witness describes how a patient after this treatment vomited up a serpent 1½ palms long.

<sup>3</sup> Conrad von Megenburg, *Buch der Natur* (ed. Pfeiffer), 444, § 29, cited by Hasluck, *op. cit.* p. 75, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. (12), 52-54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the account of the stone *Dreconides* given by the fourteenth century *Lapidaire* of de Mandeville quoted by Hasluck, *B.S.A.* xx. p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> Sebillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, ii. 217. Brand, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (ed. Ellis, London, 1893). iii. pp. 286 and 369 foll.; Hunt, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221, 222; Trevelyan, *op. cit.* pp. 170 foll.; Henderson, *Northern Counties of England and the Border*, p. 165; Johnson, *Folk Memory*, p. 148; Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 131 and 141 foll.; Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, ii. p. 385.

numerable snakes meeting together in a kind of congress which was supposed to take place on Midsummer Eve or May Eve.<sup>1</sup> From the general hissing at this meeting of snakes, amicably interlocked, or, in a Welsh version, engaged in a desperate struggle,<sup>2</sup> a kind of bubble of frothy slime was formed which hardened into stone.<sup>3</sup>

The objects which passed for snake stones of this kind seem for the most part to have been fossil sea-urchins, pieces of coral or most frequently of all the glass beads found in barrows of an earlier age.<sup>4</sup> These latter, it may be noticed, were often doubly snake stones, for the lines with which they are sometimes marked suggested a snake imprisoned in the stone.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in

<sup>1</sup> Some authorities less definitely say spring or summer. Pliny's Druids put the congress of snakes in summer and at a particular phase of the moon.

<sup>2</sup> Trevelyan, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Pliny reports that the stone was projected into the air by the hissing. It had to be caught in a cloak before touching the ground, and the fortunate captor fled on horseback pursued by the snakes until he crossed running water.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny's example seems to be an echinus. Fossil sea urchins are sometimes called "cock knee stones" and used for magical purposes in Scotland (Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 141). For echinites as "thunderstones" see Blinkenberg, *The Thunder Weapon in Religion and Folklore*, pp. 74, 77-83, 95. Pliny's adder-egg may have resembled the early Danish amulet figured by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* p. 85. An eye-witness described a *milpreve* as a piece of coral the size of a pigeon's egg (Hunt, *op. cit.* p. 220). A Welsh specimen is described as "a perfectly round and highly polished pebble, a soft pink shade blended with lilac. The tints resemble those of an opal; it is very cold to the touch, especially if placed against the eyes, lips or temples." Sometimes these stones are of a pale terra-cotta, sometimes light green and often of a soft azure blue (Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 171).

<sup>5</sup> "They are small glass amulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger rings but much thicker, usually of a green colour, though some are blue and others curiously waved with blue, red and white" (Brand, *op. cit.* iii. p. 370, quoting Gough's *Camden* (1789), ii. p. 571). Carew in the seventeenth century says that "snakes by breathing upon a hazel wand doe make a stone ring of blue colour in which there appeareth the yellow figure of a snake" (*Survey of Cornwall*, quoted Hunt, *op. cit.* p. 221). Cf. the blood red streak in the Cherokee snake-stone mentioned above.

Caithness and the Hebrides ancient spindle whorls are thought to have been made by seven vipers who worked them into shape with their teeth, and as they were finished the king of the vipers carried them off upon his tail.<sup>1</sup> In the north of England almost any kind of perforated stone, such as is suspended as a charm against nightmare or to prevent night-sweating in the stable, is called an adder stone.<sup>2</sup>

The fortunate possessor of a genuine adder stone<sup>3</sup> was assured of success in all his undertakings, particularly, according to Pliny's informants, in law-suits and royal audiences.<sup>4</sup> According to more modern authorities, in addition to the general good fortune which it guarantees to the possessor, the adder stone has specific qualities, among which its use as prophylactic against the attack of snakes or as an antidote against their poison is almost universal. The method of cure is usually to dip the stone in water, which is then given to the patient to drink.

In Wales the curative properties of the adder stone are specially efficacious in diseases of the eye,<sup>5</sup> and Aelian recommends the application of the slough of an adder for such ailments.<sup>6</sup> The origin of this superstition can be explained. Aristotle gave authority for the belief that if the eyes of young swallows or serpents were put out they grew again.<sup>7</sup> In one

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xvi. p. 336. Cf. Sir John Evans, *Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., p. 437; Johnson, *Folk Memory*, pp. 1, 7, 158. Such whorls are also called "Pixy grindstones," "Pixy wheels" or "Fairy mill-stones" in various parts of England and Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *Denham Tracts* (Folk-Lore Society), ii. p. 43; Balfour and Thomas, *County Folk-Lore, IV., Northumberland*, pp. 51-52. For Perforated Stone Amulets see Elworthy in *Man*, 1903, No. 8, pp. 17-20.

<sup>3</sup> A genuine adder-stone will float upstream even if set with gold (Pliny, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>4</sup> Though Pliny tells us that it did not help a Roman equestrian who was put to death by Claudius.

<sup>5</sup> Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> Aelian, *Nat. An.* ix. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Aristotle, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 17, vi. 5; *De Gen. An.* iv. 6. Cf. Antigonus Carystius, *Historiarum Mirabilium Collectanea*, lxxviii.; Aelian, *Nat. An.* ii. 3, xvii. 20; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. (55), 153.

version the parent swallows effected the cure by the application of celandine (*chelidonia*), which in consequence was a specific for sore eyes.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice that by an intelligible transference the flesh of swallows<sup>2</sup> and the swallow plant<sup>3</sup> come to be recommended not only for ophthalmia, but also for snake-bite.

Among the magical stones which were catalogued in later classical times there are some which enjoy the reputation of putting serpents to flight or curing the victims of snake-bite, which cannot with certainty be brought under any of the above categories of so-called snake stones.<sup>4</sup> And mention should be made of a class of snake stone which appears to derive its name not from its serpentine shape, markings or origin, but from its function of extracting poison, for which it is qualified by its adhesive properties.<sup>5</sup> Thus among the Malays snake stones are manufactured by magicians out of a mixture of metals. They are described as about an inch long, oval in shape and perforated. They are placed upon the wound, to which they adhere and will not fall off until they have sucked out the poison.<sup>6</sup> In the Eastern Levant a rare kind of yellow porous stone was similarly used to absorb "every particle of venom from the wound."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. (41), 98, xxv. 89 (50), 89. Lizards similarly cured their blinded young with an unknown herb and hence an agate stone with a lizard carved on it cured ophthalmia (Aelian, *Nat. An.* v. 47). In modern folk-lore the swallow uses a magic stone which in consequence provides an infallible remedy for ophthalmia. (In Pliny the swallow-stone is used for epilepsy. Cf. "Seventeenth Century Charm," Wright, *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. p. 235.) Swainson, *The Folklore of British Birds*, pp. 51-52. Swainson quotes a reference to the use of celandine from Chester's *Love's Martyr*, but it is possible that this may be derived directly from Pliny rather than from popular belief.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. (26), 81.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. (55), 101. It is administered in wine.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the stone from the river Pontius (Aelian, *Nat. An.* ix. 20) or the purple stone of Indian origin mentioned by Philes (No. 77, I. 1424), which like the Scotch adder-stone was remedial in child-birth and also curative of snake-bite.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lemnian Earth, above, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 303.

<sup>7</sup> Kelly, *Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 127, quoted Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 165.

No doubt it was snake-stones of this kind which Paul Lucas brought home, for among the rarities secured by him are catalogued "Plusieurs de ces Pierres, qu'on nomme Pierres de Serpent, parce qu'elles ont la vertu, étant mises sur la morsure des bêtes vermineuses, d'attirer tout le venin. Elles s'attachent sur la plaie et ne tombent que quand le venin est évaporé. On les fait ensuite tremper dans du lait, où elles laissent le poison dont elles s'étoient chargées."<sup>1</sup>

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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FOLK-TALES FROM THE PANJAB.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. p. 211 *et seqq.*)

II.

*The Prince and his Clever Wife.*

It is said that a certain Prince had six wives, whom he used to beat twelve times with his slippers every morning. One day a Mālin (female gardener) who brought flowers to the royal palace every morning heard of this habit of the Prince from a maid servant employed in the palace, and she said, "If I were married to the Prince he should prepare my *hukka* (tobacco-pipe) for me every day instead of beating me."

The Prince overheard this conversation, and immediately sent word to the gardener that he wished to marry his daughter. The gardener readily gave his consent, and after a few days the marriage was celebrated. In the morning the Prince wanted to beat his newly-made wife—but she said that as it was the first day after their wedding all the royal ladies would come to see her, and if they saw she had been beaten they would come to the conclusion that the husband and wife were on bad terms with each other already, and this would be a disgrace to him. "Wait a few days," she added, "and then you may inflict punishment on me."

The Prince waited for a week or so, and then suggested beating her; but she excused herself by saying that up to the present time they had been living on an allowance made to him

<sup>1</sup> Lucas, *Voyage en 1714* (edition published at Rouen, 1719), iii. p. 342.

by his father: if he had earned the money himself, she said that nothing would give her so much pleasure as to be beaten with the Prince's shoes. This made a deep impression on his mind, and he went to the King, his father, and requested that he might be allowed to earn his living by trade. His father objected, and said that it was a dangerous and uncertain way of gaining wealth. The Prince, however, disregarded the advice of his father, and after purchasing a good deal of merchandise started on his travels. After journeying for many days he came to a town in which lived a beautiful harlot, who was most clever at playing the game of chess.

The Prince went to see her, and asked her to play a game with him. She consented, and they sat down to the board. Now this woman had trained a mouse which at a given signal would overturn the piece indicated, unnoticed by her opponent, and thus alter the game in her favour. The Prince played many games with her, and lost all he possessed and last of all himself. The harlot then made him her slave, his duty being to prepare her *hukka* for her.

Time rolled on, and the Prince's wife, finding her husband did not return, disguised herself as a prince and set out in search of him. After traversing many countries and suffering much hardships, she at last found him in the house of the harlot in a state of abject misery. She then learnt from him all that had happened and the story of the mouse, without letting him know that she was his wife in disguise. She then began to bring up a cat, and when it was properly trained the disguised Prince came to the harlot and asked her to play a few games. While they were playing the Prince as a slave replenished the *hukka* for them. The harlot soon began to lose, as her mouse could not approach the chess board for fear of the cat, and finally she lost all that she had won from the Prince and from others. Having thus won a great deal of money the disguised Princess purchased the slave, her husband, and many curiosities and valuables of the town. She then set out for home, the Prince performing the same offices for her as when he had been the slave of the harlot.

One day, when they had almost reached their home, she

ordered the Prince to put off his ragged clothes and wear garments suitable to his rank. She then appointed him head over all her servants, and left all she possessed in his charge, requesting him to enter the town two days after herself.

The disguised Princess went on ahead, and arriving at the palace changed her clothes to those befitting a princess awaiting the return of her husband. The Prince arrived the second day with all the Princess had won and left in his charge. Coming to his father he saluted him, and showing him his wealth told him this was the profit on the capital with which he had started some months before: his plan being that if the real owner presented himself to claim his own, he would have him seized and sent to jail. The King was very much pleased to see his son again safe and sound bringing with him the proofs of his industry.

He then came to his wife, and requested that now at least she might allow him to beat her with his slippers. The Princess, however, objected again, and going into her own apartment brought out the dirty clothes the Prince had worn when her slave, showed them to him and reminded him of all that had happened.

The Prince was much abashed, begged her pardon, and never again suggested beating his clever wife with his slippers.

L. W. KING.

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GARO MARRIAGES.

*Folk-Lore*, xxxii. p. 202 *et seqq.*)

I AM glad Sir James Frazer accepts my contention that "in the case cited marriage with the daughter was a consequence not a cause of the marriage with the widow." I repeat that the case is not clear, and I had not overlooked the general custom as reference to my note will show. It is also clear from the citations from Dalton, Gait, Hunter, and Playfair, that the man succeeds to enjoyment of the property as husband of the widow (his aunt in so many cases). Thus "material advantages are inseparably attached to the hand of the widow." That is my point.

T. C. HODSON.

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## A CHILDREN'S GAME AND THE LYKE WAKE.

1. On Jan. 20 and Feb. 24 of the present year, two letters of mine appeared in the *Literary Supplement* of the *Times*. Their immediate purpose was to deal with traces of the Lyke Wake in Shakespeare's tragedies. I began from a game which I used to play as a very small boy, and from the words that were spoken in the game. Out of these letters, a considerable correspondence arose. From many quarters, persons to whom grateful acknowledgments are due, wrote sending similar rhymes and furnishing other evidence in agreement with the childish tradition. I have before me some twenty versions of an old ballad which seems to go back to the Lyke Wake, and a version of a ballad in the Robin Hood cycle. At the request of the Editor I have put together a short summary of my material, and have added some comments which suggest themselves.

2. And first as to the game. The players—young boys and girls, I myself was not more than nine—sembled in winter evenings in a dark place or passage. One of our number lay supine on the ground. The company then joined hands and went round in a ring reciting and not singing—this is important—reciting a dirge. The verses rose to a climax with the words, “and the worms crept out and the worms crept in.” At this point the dead person came to life, and amid general shrieks, seized upon a chance member of the ring, who in turn lay dead. I have not been able to find an exact parallel to the game. It seems to imitate the Lyke Wake with the addition of the raising of the dead man. The scientific character of this magazine must excuse my quoting a partial, though gruesome, parallel. At some Irish wakes, so the story goes, the neighbours come in and drink beer round the corpse. They end by throwing bottles at him and challenging him to drink as though he could be brought to life. The Dance of Death itself, for which the reader may be referred to a fine description in the twenty-seventh chapter of *John Inglesant*, may be regarded as arising from a similar origin, but not as identical with our game. The ballad about which something is said below is probably related to the Dance of Death. Our first result, then, is that these ballads were related to a dramatic game representing a funeral.

3. The words of the dirge offer a difficulty. I remember the refrain: "um ha laid in his (or her) grave." These are found in a rhyme about the death of Robin Hood still recited at Sutton-in-Ashfield within the old limits of Sherwood Forest. But the rhyme does not contain the words about the worms quoted above. When I began this inquiry, an informant told me that his nurse used to recite to him when he was a child:

And from his eyes and mouth and chin  
The worms crept out and the worms crept in.

And then grabbing the child's arm, she said, "And you'll be like that when you're dead." It was a comment upon the last case, that some twenty correspondents sent me various versions of a ballad about Death and the Gay Lady. All of these depended upon oral tradition except one which appeared in a volume published by E. F. Rimbault, *Nursery Rhymes*. Curiously enough, no other version exactly corresponds to Rimbault's. In fact, no two are exactly alike. The version that follows is probably the oldest. It was current at Oxford about a hundred years ago.

There was a lady skin and bone,  
Never was such a lady known.  
This lady one fine summer's day  
Went forth to church her prayers to say.

When she got to the churchyard gate,  
She sat her down and there did wait.  
When she got to the church door,  
She sat her down a little more.

When she got the church within  
The bells did ring, the psalms did sing.  
When she got into her pew,  
She looked round and took her view.

She lookéd up, she lookéd down,  
And saw a dead man on the ground.  
And from his nose unto his chin  
They all crept out, they all crept in.

This lady to the parson said  
 Shall I be so when I am dead?  
 Oh, yes, dear lady, you are so  
 Whether you are dead or no.

Some versions substitute for the lovely tenth line, "The parson prayed against pride and sin," obviously a puritan touch replacing the reference to the tolling of the bell and the singing of the choir. Another version has: "The parson prayed and clerk did sing," and reminds us of the villages where the clerk had a good note. We can thus trace the history of the ballad from Catholic to Puritan usage. For that it dated back to Catholic times is rendered probable by the wide distribution of the ballad, and also by its use in medicine.

4. The versions have come from most parts of England, and from Ireland as far as West Kerry. The reciter in that case was illiterate: an old Irish nurse who could neither read nor write. But she was equally fluent in Irish and English and was a storehouse of old ballads and stories. In her rhyme the dead man is on the ground and the lady speaks to the sexton, without apparently entering the church. When the sexton says to the lady, "you will be so when you are dead," the case is almost like that of Hamlet with the grave-digger. This enables us to distinguish two elements in the later ballad: the sight of the dead and the visit to the church. The presence of the dead in the church is not easy to understand. On the other hand, the lady coming across death, is like the forty-fifth figure in Holbein's *Imagines Mortis*. It looks as if some 'maker' of the complete ballad had put his materials together rather clumsily from various sources, and that he took the lady to church for the sake of edification—a characteristic ballad touch.

5. An American correspondent says that similar rhymes about the Lyke Wake are current in parts of the United States. He then quotes the lines which he heard as a child in Virginia in the early seventies. I have myself distant relations in Western Virginia and it is quite possible that they also may have continued in the old tradition.

6. In Dorset, so a lady informs me, the rhyme about death

and the lady used to be employed as a cure for hiccoughs. "The patient was held by the eye of the reciter, who said the rhyme very quietly and impressively until it came to the last word 'Oh,' which was suddenly shouted, and so startled the patient that the hiccoughs vanished at once." The medicinal value of the incantation is echoed also in its use to amuse and even to soothe children. Children loved it, says one.

7. The materials which have turned up from so many quarters on the apparently slight suggestions of the present, show that at the back of our minds there is still the popular tradition of which Mr. Hardy has been the spokesman for Dorset. The resurrection of the dead, for instance. But it is no year spirit, no wood king, that is challenged to rise, but just everyman or anyman. Along with the general agreement of the tradition in substance there is great variety in form. In the one case the shriek of the lady, in both cases the occurrence of the lines about the corruption of the body are among the few permanent elements. On the whole it may be said that a tradition may be widespread and venerable but that it will not be uniform. Hence, when it is committed to writing the permanent form will represent but one out of many possibilities, and not of necessity the best of them.

FRANK GRANGER.

## REVIEWS.

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FIJIAN SOCIETY, OR THE SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF THE FIJIANS. By Rev. W. DEANE, M.A. (Syd.), B.D. (Lond.), Late Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Ndavuilavu, Fiji. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. 16s. net.

THOUGH several books, good in their different ways, have been written about the Fijians, notably by Commander Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition, by the missionaries Williams, Waterhouse and Lorimer Fison, and last but not least by Sir Basil Thomson, it is not too much to say that Mr. Deane has in this book produced by far the best study yet available of the sociology and psychology—and incidentally of the folk-lore—of these Melanesian-Polynesian folk. It is true, as Mr. Deane himself points out, that he has had the great advantage of his predecessors' notes of social phenomena which the now rapidly changing circumstances in the South Sea Islands have already almost obliterated, but he could not have understood these earlier records as thoroughly as he has done, nor could he have systematized these by the light of his own very considerable experiences, had he not gone to the Fiji Islands after an anthropological training, of the modern kind, such as none of his predecessors have had, and thus with an unusual power of insight and of sympathetic understanding of the people with whom his work in Fiji brought him into very intimate relations. In short, he affords an excellent example of the fact of that anthropological training, and the sympathy which it brings, both to the missionary, as also to the administrator and the trader, and to the natives among whom the work of these lies.

The book has been submitted to a severe test, in that soon after publication an opportunity was taken of putting it into the hands of a pure bred Fijian who, while retaining to the full his sympathy with and knowledge of his own folk, has had the good fortune to superimpose on this an English University education, and the further and sterner education afforded by several years of good field service during the late war. This critic's considered verdict is that Mr. Deane's book is very good indeed, in that the writer has evidently understood Fijian institutions better than any of his predecessors, and has drawn a truer picture of the origin and present state of Fijian society.

In telling the story of the development of the way of thought of the Fijian of to-day, Mr. Deane deals with most of the more prominent phases of that thought, with their view of what we regard as the supernatural but in which the Fijian recognizes nothing supernatural, with their communism, and with such individualism as is manifested among them, with their moral character (chiefly as illustrated by their habit of *Kerekere* and *taboo*, and in their great use of symbolism), with their curiously great observance of etiquette (very remarkable in folk who still are sometimes described as 'savages'), and he uses these and other such habits of thought to show how the Fijians have become what they are.

A good example may be seen in Mr. Deane's study of the strange custom of *Kerekere* (or, as he also calls it, 'Fiji Beggary'), which at first sight looks as if it were, in its modern form, the unrestricted right of one Fijian desiring some article of property of another, to obtain this for the asking. Mr. Deane clearly shows that this custom is founded on the natural right of every member of a purely communal society to use such personal property of any other member of the same commune—such as food or other necessaries of life—and that the present-day abuse of the custom of asking and receiving is due to the falling into abeyance of the salutary restriction formerly enforced by public opinion, or if that proved inefficient by club law, of the commune now much weakened by the all-environing British law.

In this case, as in most of the others, it must never be forgotten that the natural and healthy growth of the communistic

system was more and more hampered as Europeans, with their entirely different ideas of right and wrong, spread themselves among the Islands; and furthermore, that in 1874, when established in the islands the native communal system was fixed and stereotyped in the form in which it happened to exist at that moment. This is a consideration which, as Mr. Deane justly intimates, accounts for many of the startling anomalies apparent to the modern observer.

Mr. Deane's exposition of symbolism, and especially of the symbolism of the whale's tooth which plays so great a part among Fijians, may be especially commended; also his explanation of the real nature of Fijian ancestor-worship, and, though this is less complete, of cannibalism, may also be mentioned.

EVERARD IM THURN.

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THE ANGAMI NAGAS, WITH SOME NOTES ON NEIGHBOURING TRIBES. By J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S. Published by direction of the Assam Administration. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. Price 40s. net.

THIS monograph on the Angami Nagas forms part of the series of valuable accounts of the tribes of Assam, for which anthropologists are indebted to the enterprise and liberality of the Local Government; but is much more detailed than the volumes which preceded it. Mr. Hutton apologises for having undertaken the work on the ground that the characteristic culture of the Nagas is rapidly disappearing. He calls himself "a mere amateur," and goes on to say that "it is a work which should be done by a trained anthropologist, but though occasional German and American scientists have paid hurried visits to the Naga Hills, the anthropologists of Great Britain have consistently passed them by on the other side." His book, however, needs no apology. It is the work of an officer who has served for many years among these tribes, has learned to speak their language, and in the course of his official duties has enjoyed unique opportunities of investigating their religious and social life. This is not to say that his work can be regarded as final. It is obvious that the complex culture of these tribes

deserves further expert investigation, and it may be hoped that Mr. Hutton's appeal to English anthropologists will not have been made in vain. An expedition organised by one of our Universities would receive cordial assistance from the Local Government of Assam and its officers, and in addition to an ethnographical survey of the tribes many valuable specimens, like those which Mr. Hutton has generously presented to the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, could be secured.

It is impossible within a limited space to discuss in detail the many interesting questions which arise from this survey, but as the book must be in the hands of every student of Indian ethnography it is unnecessary to say more than that it furnishes an ample, detailed account of a most interesting people. It is well supplied with maps and excellent photographs. The scheme is to give in an introductory chapter an account of the geographical environment, the ethnology, appearance, dress and ornaments, weapons and character of the people. This is followed by an account of the domestic life; laws and customs; religion; folk-lore (including superstitions, traditions, legends, contes, songs); an account of the language, and appendixes on special points of interest, such as rain-making, gennas or tabus; the orientation of the dead and of houses, and a considerable amount of anthropometrical material from measurements taken by Professor Dixon of Harvard and the author. The only criticism—and that a trifling one—which I would venture to make, is that it would have been a convenience to students if cross-references had been supplied to the other volumes of this series, indicating how far the beliefs and customs of the Angamis agree with, or differ from, those of the cognate tribes.

Generally speaking, the remarkable fact connected with them is that their character, beliefs and institutions conflict with some of their customs. "All who know the Angami Naga will readily admit his high degree of intelligence, and it has been estimated that his cranial capacity is little less than that of the average European." "One of the first characteristics that strikes a visitor is his hospitality, a hospitality which is always ready to entertain a visitor, and which forms a curious contrast to the very canny frugality of his domestic economy." He is

genial, both men and women being exceedingly good-humoured and always ready for a joke. The thought of death is never far from them, and the fear of it is a potent factor in their lives, a fact noticeable in their songs and music. They manufacture many articles for tribal use and export; they are skilled in weaving, basketry, wood-carving and blacksmith's work. They cultivate wet rice in contrast to the system of Jhums or jungle clearing and burning practised by neighbouring tribes; they possess an elaborate system of terracing and irrigation by which they turn the steepest hill-sides into flooded rice-fields. They have fine herds of the mithan (*bos frontalis*), and they practise bee-keeping, hunting and the trapping of animals. They possess an elaborate system of tribal, village and family organisation, and careful rules of inheritance to land and movable property. Their villages are fortified in an elaborate way. In spite of all this advance in civilisation they practised—or perhaps even now, in spite of the contact of European officers, practise—the custom of head-hunting. This, “though associated with a vague idea of the benefits accruing from human sacrifice, must also be connected in no small degree with ordinary, everyday human vanity.” Besides this, “another idea underlies head-taking, the notion that the killing of a human being is conducive to the prosperity of the community or of the crops.” The next interesting question is that of the Kenna or Genna, “prohibition,” the word “tabu” being avoided in describing the incidents of a magico-religious rite, because the term is without reference to the sanction on which the “prohibition” rests. This custom has been discussed by Mr. T. C. Hodson in connection with the Meitheis and Naga tribes of Manipur, but Mr. Hutton in his elaborate account of these prohibitions adds much important information.

Mr. Hutton is to be congratulated on the completion of a work of much value to anthropologists, who will look forward to his publication of another promised monograph from his hand on the Semas, the other branches of the Naga tribes.

W. CROOKE.

DANMARKS TRYLLEFORMLES, ved F. OHRT. Copenhagen. 1921.

THIS is only the second part of an extensive collection of the magical formulae of Denmark. It comprises all sorts of spells, belonging chiefly to well-known types. The narrative spells, originally narrating and applying the adventures of heathen gods of the North, and now transferred to the sacred personages of Christianity, are, of course, numerous. But many others are included, some in the form of direct conjuration of a disease to be driven away, others being attempts to deceive the spirit of the disease, such as a spell against fevers, where the simple words "To-day I am not at home" are to be written on the door on the day when an intermittent fever is expected to return. Another resembles the English "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, etc." By no means all are directed against disease or personal accident. Some profess to control domestic and other animals, or are directed against a thief, a ghost or an enemy. Many are love-charms or love-divinations. One of the latter runs thus: "Name me the girl who shall make my bed, who shall spread my cloth, who shall bake my bread, who shall bear my name, who shall be my bride with honour." This is in rhyme. The spell is very often clinched with the names of the persons of the Trinity. Most of the spells are in Danish, or in some dialect of it; but a few are in Latin.

This extensive collection from all sorts of sources induces the obvious reflection how difficult it is to find any real novelty in this department of folk-lore: human desires and human fears are much the same all the world over, and superstition has essentially but one means of dealing with them.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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SHORT NOTICES.

THE JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY,  
vol. vii. part i. March, 1921.

THE attention of anthropologists may be directed to an important article by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers on "The Origin of Hypergamy." By hypergamy is meant that marriage is allowed

between members of tribal or caste groups on the condition that a man must take his wife from a group of equal or lower rank than his own, while a woman must marry a man from a group of equal or higher rank than her own. The distribution of hypergamy in India suggests that it was primarily a custom of the Rajputs, perhaps not merely the representatives of the old warrior caste, but also of the people in general in that part of India, including the Brahmins who were associated with the Rajputs: with few exceptions, wherever this institution is now found in India it is derived from the Rajputs. Dr. Rivers associates it with the interaction between an immigrant and an indigenous population, and its conditions were (1) the existence among the invaders of a sentiment against the union of their women with the indigenous inhabitants of their new home; (2) the presence of a relatively large number of women of the invaders, though absolutely less in number than the men, this being due to the small distance of the place of settlement from the original source of migration; and (3) the warlike character of the invaders and their superiority in equipment over the indigenous people, which allowed them to satisfy their own desire for union with the indigenous women without giving their own women in return.

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EPILOGOMENA TO THE STUDY OF GREEK RELIGION. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON, Hon. Litt.D., Hon. LL.D. Cambridge: The University Press. 1921. Price 3s. 6d. net.

IN this brochure Miss Harrison gives, as a supplement to her well-known studies on Greek Religion, the "Prolegomena" and "Themis," a summary of her admirable work continued for many years. It is divided into three parts: Primitive Ritual, Primitive Theology, The Religion of To-day. She discusses, in order, the ritual of riddance and induction; totem, tabu and exogamy; initiation ceremonies; the medicine-man and king-god; the fertility play or year drama; collective group-emotion; the biological function of theology; asceticism. Anything Miss Harrison has to say on these subjects deserves respectful attention, and if this little book tempts students

to read her two important treatises it will be all to their advantage.

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#### SOMERSETSHIRE FOLK-LORE.

AN Association of Somerset folk in London has undertaken the publication of a series of books on the county, which will cater for the student of folk-lore, archaeology and philology, the lover of natural history, as well as for the dramatist and the sociologist. Much of the material will be drawn from contributions made within the last twenty-four years to the "Notes and Queries" columns of the *Somerset County Herald*. Particulars of the scheme, in which all lovers of the county are asked to co-operate, may be obtained from Mr. Douglas Macmillan, 15 Ranelagh Road, Belgravia, London, S.W. 1.

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*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
c/o WILLIAM GLAISHER, LTD.  
265 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C. 1

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# FOLK-LORE

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OF

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BEING

THE 'TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

*And Incorporating* THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and*  
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# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

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## EVENING MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 16th, 1921.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. J. S. Scott as a member of the Society was announced. The resignation of Miss Legge and the death of Dr. Oscar Montelius were also announced.

Mr. Carline exhibited charms (*a*) worn by a baby cutting its teeth, (*b*) hung round a baby's neck to prevent its crying by night, from Korogwe in the Tanganyika district, East Africa.

Professor Elliot Smith read a paper by Mr. Donald Mackenzie on Colour Symbolism; and in the discussion which followed, the President, Miss Hull, Miss M. Read, Dr. Hildburgh, Dr. Hartland and Mr. Wright took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Mackenzie for his paper, to Professor Elliot Smith for reading it and to Mr. Carline for exhibiting his charms.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY FOR THE  
YEAR ENDING JUNE 30TH, 1921.

*American Museum of Natural History.*

Anthropological Papers. 12, ii; 14, index; 16, iv-v; 18, v; 19, iv; 21, ii; 23, iii; 24, iii-iv. New York, 1915-20. By exchange.

*Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien.*

Mitteilungen. Bd. 50, Heft 1. Wien, 1920. From the Society.

*Archaeological Survey of India.*

Annual Report 1914-15, 1917-18, pt. 1. Calcutta, 1920.

Annual Report of Eastern Circle. 1918-19 (with supplement), 1919-20. Patna, 1920.

Annual Report of Frontier Circle. 1919-20. Peshawar, 1920.

Annual Progress Report of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for year ending 31st March, 1919. Lahore, 1920.

Annual Report of Southern Circle, Madras. 1918-19. Madras, 1919.

Progress Report of Western Circle for year ending 31st March, 1919. Bombay, 1920.

Memoirs, Nos. 2-5.

New Imperial Series, vol. 29. (South Indian Inscriptions, vol. 3, pt. 3.) Madras, 1920. From the Government of India.

*Baskerville, C. R.*

Dramatic aspects of mediaeval folk festivals in England. 1920. From the Author.

*Bellucci, G.*

I vivi ed i morti d'Italia nell' ultima guerra. Perugia, 1920. From the Author.

*Bureau of American Ethnology.*

33rd Annual Report. 1911-12. Washington, 1919.

Bulletin. 60, i; 67-70. Washington, 1919-20. From the Bureau.

*Burma.*

Report of Archaeological Survey for year ending March 31st, 1920. Rangoon, 1920. From the Government of Burma.

*Calcutta University.*

Journal of the Department of Letters, vols. 1-3. Calcutta, 1920. From the Government of India.

*Calcutta University.*

Post-graduate teaching in the University of Calcutta. 1919-20. Calcutta, 1920. From the Government of India.

*Folk-Song Society.*

Journal, No. 24. London, Jan. 1921. From the Society.

*Jammu and Kashmir.*

Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Department for 1917-18. Jammu, 1919. From the Government of India.

*John Rylands Library.*

Bulletin, vol. 5, v. Manchester, July 1920. From the Library.

*Karsten, R.*

Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der südamerikanischen Indianer. Åbo, 1920.

Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador. Åbo, 1920. From the Author.

*Kaye, G. R.*

A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Benares. Calcutta, 1920. From the Author.

*Koppers, W.*

Die Anfänge des menschlichen Gemeinschaftslebens im Spiegel der neuern Völkerkunde. 1921. From the Author.

*Madras.*

Annual Report on Epigraphy for years ending March 31st, 1919, 1920. From the Government of Madras.

*Murray, J. H. P.*

Anthropology and the government of subject races.  
1920. From the Author.

*Mysore.*

Annual Report of Archaeological Department, 1919,  
1920. Bangalore, 1919-21. From the Government  
of Mysore.

*Rangacharya, V.*

A topographical list of the inscriptions of the Madras  
Presidency. 3 vols. Madras, 1919. From the  
Government of Madras.

*Scheftelowitz, I.*

Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch  
der Völker. Giessen, 1912. From the Author.

*Société des Hollandistes.*

Analecta Bollandiana. 38, 39, i-ii. Bruxelles, 1920-21.  
By exchange.

*Starr, F.*

Ema. 1920. From the Author.

*Uhrström, W.*

Pickpocket, turnkey, wrap-rascal and similar forma-  
tions in English. Stockholm, 1918. From the  
Author.

*Vienna.*

Führer durch das Museum für Volkskunde. Wien,  
1919. From the Museum.

**WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21st, 1921.**

MR. A. R. WRIGHT (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. R. Jaschke and Mr. J. A. Stewart as  
members of the Society and the enrolment of F. Haase &  
Sons as subscribers was announced. The resignation of  
Mr. J. W. Wickwar was also announced.

Mr. H. J. Rose read a paper entitled " *Asinus in tegulis* " ; and in the discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Murray, Miss Canziani, Mr. Carline and Lady Gomme took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Rose for his paper.

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**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18th, 1922.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Mr. Bertram Lloyd and Mr. W. R. Halliday as members of the Society was announced.

The resignations of Col. Hanna, Mr. F. G. Green, Mrs. Pope and Mr. Martin, the withdrawal of the subscription of the Portsmouth Library and the death of Mr. Longworth Dames were also announced.

Miss Eleanor Rohde read a paper on the Folklore of Herbals ; and in the discussion which followed the President, Dr. Gaster, Mrs. Banks, Mr. Whale and Mr. Monk took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Rohde for her paper.

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**FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.**

**WEDNESDAY, the 15th FEBRUARY, 1922.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. W. H. R. RIVERS) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last annual meeting were read and confirmed.

The Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Council with the Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year 1921, duly audited, were presented to the meeting, and on the motion

of Mr. Whale, seconded by the Rev. E. O. James, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

The following having been nominated by the Council as President, Vice-Presidents, Council and Officers for the ensuing year were, in the absence of any further nominations, declared to be duly elected, viz. :

As *President*, H. Balfour, M.A.

As *Vice-Presidents*, The Rt. Hon. Lord Abercromby ; Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., V.P.S.A. ; Miss Charlotte S. Burne ; Edward Clodd ; W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.Sc., Litt.D. ; M. Gaster, Ph.D. ; A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S. ; E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., LL.D. ; W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S. ; W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. ; The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.S. ; A. R. Wright, F.S.A.

As *Members of Council*, Mrs. M. M. Banks ; F. C. Bartlett ; Miss E. Canziani ; G. R. Carline ; E. K. Chambers ; Lady Gomme ; P. J. Heather ; W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D. ; Col. T. C. Hodson ; The Rev. E. O. James, B.Litt., F.R.A.I., F.G.S. ; Miss Moutray Read ; C. G. Seligman, M.D. ; Col. J. Shakespear ; Prof. Elliot Smith ; C. J. Tabor ; His Honour J. S. Udal, F.S.A. ; Prof. E. Westermarck, Ph.D. ; G. Whale.

As *Hon. Treasurer*, Edward Clodd.

As *Hon. Auditor*, C. J. Tabor.

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

As *Editor of "Folk-Lore,"* W. Crooke, C.I.E., D.Sc., Litt.D.

The President delivered his Presidential Address entitled "The Symbolism of Rebirth," and read a telegram from Mr. H. Balfour, the newly elected President, regretting his inability to be present at the meeting owing to illness.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to the outgoing President and members of Council, proposed by Professor Elliot Smith and seconded by Mr. Whale.

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## FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

DURING the year the meetings have been somewhat unevenly attended. On some occasions there has been a fairly large audience ; on others the numbers present have been disappointingly small.

Seventeen new members have been enrolled during the year, and six libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Five members have died, and seven have resigned. The number on the roll, therefore, should be eleven more than a year ago—viz. 413 as against 402. A considerable number of members, however, are two years or more in arrear with their subscriptions ; and it is impossible, therefore, to state with any degree of accuracy what the full effective strength of the Society at present is.

The cost of paper and labour shows a tendency to diminish ; and the Council have decided to enlarge the size of *Folk-Lore* and to reintroduce a limited number of illustrations in the forthcoming volume.

During the year the Council have issued a letter calling attention to the aims and objects of the Society. The letter has been widely circulated both in this country and abroad ; but the response has so far been disappointing. It has been hoped, however, that the letter may eventually be the means of bringing in a number of recruits.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year was £406 7s. as against £376 19s. in 1920—an increase of £29 8s. Interest on investments and money on deposit amounted to £46 18s. 10d., and the income of the Society

from all sources to £508 12s. 3d. The revenue from sales during the nine months ending 30th June was £56 11s. 6d. as against £102 12s. 10d. for the eighteen months ending 30th September, 1920, and for the six months ending 31st December it was £38 2s. 2d., so that the recovery of revenue from this source, if slow, is steadily progressing. The *Handbook of Folk-Lore* is selling very well. *Folk-Lore* cost £263 8s. 6d. as against £316 8s. 2d. in 1920, the principal diminution in cost being shown in the December number.

The Society's investments remain unchanged. Their value as at 31st December, 1921, was £685 as against £615 at 31st December, 1920. The balance to the credit of the Society after writing off a considerable sum due in respect of subscriptions in arrear, is £1065 8s. 11d. as against £966 17s. a year ago ; so that the financial position is perfectly sound.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows :

- 19th January. "The Isles of the Blest." Mr. W. J. Perry.  
 16th February. Annual Meeting. Presidential Address.  
 16th March. "Albanian Beliefs and Customs." Miss Edith Durham.  
 20th April. "Pre-Buddhist Religion of the Burmese." Mr. R. Grant Brown.  
 18th May. "Religious Dualism in America." Dr. Paul Radin.  
 15th June. "Myths from the Gilbert Islands." Mr. A. Grimble.  
 16th November. "Colour Symbolism." Mr. Donald Mackenzie.  
 21st December. "Asinus in Tegulis." Mr. H. J. Rose.

The Council would be glad if more objects of folk-lore interest could be exhibited at the meetings. They have once more to thank Mr. G. R. Carline who almost invariably produces one or more exhibits. But there must be many other members of the Society who could add to the interest of the meetings by bringing with them objects of interest for exhibition.

Several additions have been made to the Society's library at University College during the year, particulars of which

will in due course be chronicled in *Folk-Lore*. The phonograph records taken at the International Folk-Lore Congress held in 1891 have been handed over to the Society by Mr. G. Kiddell of Sidcup, and are now in the Library. Particulars of the conditions subject to which books may be borrowed from the Library may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Dr. R. W. Chambers, at the College.

The thirty-second volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. It is a small volume, but as already foreshadowed it is intended that the volume for the current year shall be a larger one. The cost of paper and labour is still too high to allow of the issue of an additional volume, but it is hoped that next year it may be found possible to issue one. Much, however, must depend on the number of new members and subscribers enrolled during 1922 and the recovery of subscriptions in arrear.

The work initiated by the Brand Committee has been restarted, and with Dr. Hartland as the Editor in Chief, the Council feel confident that material progress will be made with the collection and classification of Calendar customs during the coming year.

Among the members of the Society who attended the meeting of the British Association in September were the President, Lord Abercromby, President of Section H, Sir Everard im Thurn, Dr. Haddon, Dr. Croke, Dr. Hartland, and Mrs. Banks.

During the year the Council have issued a new prospectus, and as foreshadowed in their last report, have raised the price to non-members of the pre-war publications of the Society. Some of the earlier publications are out of print, and the stock of others is exceedingly low.

The Council are satisfied that Messrs. W. Glaiser, Limited, the Society's publishers, are doing all in their power to push the sale of its publications; and they have every reason to hope that when conditions are more normal, the revenue from sales will be sensibly increased.

Intending purchasers of salvage stock may inspect the same at Messrs. H. F. Fayers & Son's warehouse, 17 and 18 Bishop's Court, Old Bailey, E.C., where it is stored. Mr. C. J. Tabor of the White House, Knott's Green, Leyton, Essex, has kindly undertaken to be responsible for its sale. The *present* price is from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per volume with all faults, carriage paid.

The Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

W. H. R. RIVERS,  
*President.*

*January 18, 1922.*

CASH ACCOUNT



## BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1921.

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
ESTIMATED AND LIQUIDATED.	
To Sundry Creditors, . . . . .	By Cash at Bankers, . . . . .
" Brand Committee, . . . . .	Less due to Secretary, . . . . .
" Secretary (half year's Salary), . . . . .	" W. Glaisher, Ltd., Sales (six months), . . . . .
" Poundage, . . . . .	" Subscriptions in arrear, 1921 (65), . . . . .
" Composition Fees, . . . . .	" Investments as at Dec. 31st, 1921 :—
Less written off, . . . . .	£500 Canada, 3½% Stock at 68, . . . . .
" Balance to credit of Society,* . . . . .	£500 Natal, 3½% Stock at 69, . . . . .
£1,228 2 4	£438 8 3
	1 13 1
	£436 15 2
	38 2 2
	68 5 0
	685 0 0
	£1,228 2 4

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also bound copies of the Salvage Stock, of which no account is taken.

\* No allowance has been made for additional volumes, 1915 to 1921 inclusive.

I again call attention to the ever increasing amount of subscriptions in arrear, 65 as against 44 a year ago. The subscriptions in arrear in respect of all years prior to 1921 have been deleted from the Assets, and I consider that not more than 50% of the 1921 subscriptions are good value, and I strongly recommend the Council to insist upon prompt payment.

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

CHAS. J. TABOR, *Hon. Auditor.*

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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### THE SYMBOLISM OF REBIRTH.

BY DR. W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE primary object of this Society is the collection of folk-lore, and especially of the folk-lore of our own country. The object which its founders had especially at heart was to rescue from oblivion the vast store of traditional belief and custom which must inevitably disappear as the result of the spread of education, the growth of the newspaper and the public library, and the greater facilities for intercourse provided by modern means of communication. At the present moment there is little question that this primary aim of the Society is not as potent as it was. Of especial importance is the fact that it does not provide a motive of sufficient force to give us the accession of new and young members which is essential if the Society is to preserve its vitality.

I believe that one reason, if not the chief reason, for this insufficiency of the original aim of the Society is that the many people now interested in human culture are not content with the idea of collecting folk-lore on account of some intrinsic interest it is claimed to possess. They want to know why the folk-lore of this country or of the world in general should be collected; why they should join a Society devoted to this purpose; and why after joining they should give to the subject the enthusiasm and industry which are essential if the Society is to be successful.

The first point to make is that it is not enough that the picturesque customs and the antiquated beliefs which still linger among our own people are interesting for their own sake. At one time it was probably sufficient that they were regarded as curiosities, and collected just as people collect postage-stamps or snuff-boxes. But the time has gone by when we can expect the younger generation to collect folk-lore on account of its quaintness or its picturesque-ness. It is necessary to provide a more definite motive and to show how it may contribute to our better understanding of man and his culture and to the solution of problems with which the student of human society is now confronted.

These problems are very diversified, but two important groups can be clearly distinguished, both having in common the fact that their solution seems most likely to be attained by the comparative study of belief and custom. The main interest of one of the two groups is historical. The problems of this group are attacked in the hope that through comparative study we may gain material by means of which to construct a history of human progress; not a history dealing merely with the conflicts of civilised peoples, with the rivalries of kings and the battles of nations, but a history of the movements of thought; of the long struggle of Man with his environment; and of the countless institutions, beliefs and customs which have been the outcome of this struggle—history of the kind recently attempted by H. G. Wells with a degree of success which only his genius and insight could have made possible.

The other main group of problems which should provide an adequate motive for the collection of folk-lore gains its interest from the fact that the comparative study of human custom and belief provides material for the psychologist. In the last resort every custom and institution of human society is the outcome of mental activity. The history of institutions which I have just put forward as providing a

motive for our interest has itself been determined in the main by mental factors. Its course has been dependent, partly on the nature of the psychological motives which have come into action during Man's struggle with his environment, both material and social, and partly on the psychological processes by which mental trends once adapted to crude and simple modes of life have been modified and developed to enable both the individual and the group to cope with the increasing complexity of human society.<sup>1</sup>

As I have pointed out elsewhere <sup>2</sup> the relation between psychology and the study of human culture is highly complex. On the one hand the historian, the ethnologist and the folk-lorist look to the psychologist for knowledge of the motives and processes which have prompted and guided human progress. On the other hand, social interactions and the products of these interactions provide material for the psychologist. The modern psychologist is not content to study by means of introspection the modes of activity of his own mind. He supplements these, or even wholly substitutes for them, the observation of behaviour of the animal, of the child, of his fellow-men, especially under peculiar conditions and pre-eminently when they are the victims of disease, and last, but far from least, of the collective behaviour which has found expression in the political institutions, the economic processes, the religious rites, and the material and aesthetic arts of the different forms of human society.

In the paper to which I have just referred I have suggested that at present the student of human custom and belief can render a greater service to the psychologist than he can expect from him. The student of mind in the past, depending chiefly or wholly on introspection, has naturally had the individual as the

<sup>1</sup> W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> "Sociology and Psychology," *Sociological Review*, 1916, vol. ix. p. 1.

main object of his interest and of his study. Valuable, indeed essential, as is the knowledge of the individual mind, it is clear that new factors must come into action in determining collective behaviour. We cannot be content to apply the findings of the psychology of the individual when we seek out the springs of social conduct. Social psychology needs material derived directly from the study of social behaviour, and for this material it must look to the observer of the rites, customs and institutions which are the objects studied by the ethnologist and the folk-lorist. In my address last year I dealt with a problem in the study of which psychology can help the ethnologist. I propose to-day rather to consider how the comparative study of rite and custom can help the psychologist in the solution of certain problems which are now an especial object of his interest. The problems I shall consider centre round the subject of symbolism, and the example by which I shall illustrate how we, as folk-lorists, can contribute to their solution is the symbolism of rebirth.

Many different lines of research are now leading students towards the conviction that symbolism is, and still more has been in the past, a process of vast importance in the history of human thought. Even to-day it is difficult to over-estimate the importance of symbols in the behaviour of mankind. Especially important are they in collective behaviour, bringing into activity early phases of thought and sentiment which might seem to have passed into the background of the mental activity of the individual, at any rate of the more educated individual of the time. We have only to consider the importance among ourselves of the flag as a symbol of nationality and of the crown as a symbol of empire to see how great a hold symbolism still has upon the most advanced civilisations of the day. In many lines of study we are coming to see that such symbols as the flag and the crown are only conspicuous instances of the activity of a process which takes, and has taken, a leading

part in the welfare of mankind in all places and at all times.

Strangely enough the special interest which modern psychology has come to take in symbolism is not due in the first place to the study of such cruder forms of human thought as are exemplified by the savage or the child, but has arisen out of the study of disease and of the dream. Students of those nervous and mental disorders which we call the psychoses and psycho-neuroses have come to see that many of the manifestations or symptoms of these disorders have a symbolic nature and are symbols of some underlying trouble which cannot come to consciousness in its true guise. The psycho-neurosis may be regarded as a symbolic expression of a deeply seated trouble providing a solution of some situation with which the sufferer is unable to cope in its naked reality.

Again, the fantastic and irrational structure of the dream is regarded as a symbolic expression of some deeply seated desire or anxiety which is not allowed to come to overt consciousness during the waking hours, and even when the control of the waking life has been removed in sleep finds expression only in symbolic form.

Those who have been led by their studies to the recognition of the great importance of symbolism in disease and dream have not stopped at that point. There is now an extensive literature in which attempts are made to bring the symbolism of myth and ritual into relation with modern views concerning its role in the dream and in disease. One of the most striking conclusions to which this comparative study has led some writers is that there is a universal system of symbolisation among mankind; that among all races of mankind and in the members of every race there is a tendency to symbolise certain thoughts by means of the same symbols, or at least by symbols having a close similarity to one another. This belief in a universal system of symbolisation has been reached in the first place by the similarity which

is found to exist in the nature of the symbols utilised by the morbid thought-processes of psycho-neurosis and by such consciousness as remains active in sleep. Many attempts have been made to show that this universality of symbolism, which is believed to hold good of pathological or quasi-pathological processes, also applies to the myth and rite of the many peoples of the earth. I propose in this address to consider this view critically, and since it is impossible to cover the whole field on such an occasion as this, I intend to examine a special symbol, and for that purpose I have chosen the use of water as a symbol of rebirth.

Before, however, I enter upon the consideration of this special topic it will be necessary to consider briefly certain problems with which one is confronted whenever one approaches the problem of the universality of any manifestation of the human mind. If it could be shown that any human thought, such as the symbolisation of good by the right hand and evil by the left, were universal, we should then have to decide whether this universality depends on an innate capacity for symbolisation of this kind or whether it is the result of a common tradition so prevalent that it influences every member of the community and becomes, perhaps at an early stage of his life, part of the furniture of his mind. We have to decide whether the universal use of the symbol is due to heredity or to what Graham Wallas has fitly called "social heritage."<sup>1</sup> The advocates of the universality of symbolism, such as Jung and Freud and their disciples, seem to believe in the former alternative. The primordial thought-images of Jung which make up his collective unconscious seem to be hereditary, though it is difficult to find any clear expression of Jung's opinion on this point.

It is evident that the question whether certain systems of symbolisation are or are not of universal distribution is

<sup>1</sup> *Our Social Heritage*, London, 1921.

closely related to the problem of the influence of the relative shares taken in the production of mental events by heredity and social heritage. If we find that certain symbols are really universal, there would be at least a *prima facie* case for the influence of heredity. If, on the other hand, no such universality is found, we shall have to look to social heritage for our explanation of the prevalence of the same mode of symbolism among different peoples or among the different members of one people.

Closely connected with this problem is another, which is now prominent in the thoughts of students of human custom, concerning the part taken by diffusion. If we should succeed in finding the universal distribution of a symbol there would remain the further question whether it was universal because through heredity it had become part of the inherent equipment of the human mind, or whether the use of the symbol has been carried about the world by the movements of some body or bodies of men in whose system of thought the symbol was prominent. As has been pointed out by those who hold the former view, if it were found that the use of a symbol is indeed universal, the question whether it has been diffused or not is of no great importance, for we could hardly expect the use of a symbol to receive universal acceptance unless there was some disposition universally present in the human mind which made the use of the symbol fitting and natural. If, however, we find that the use of a symbol is not universal, and still more if we find that the peoples who use it show other clear evidence of influence from without, the fact of diffusion becomes of great significance, and the probability greatly in favour of the view that, wherever it is found, it is part of the social heritage.

I can now turn to the special instance which I have chosen to illustrate this subject, and shall examine the distribution of the symbolism of rebirth in ceremonial to see how far it is universal, and whether its distribution has

any features which will enable us to determine the shares taken in the production of this distribution by diffusion and social heritage on the one hand and by heredity and primordial thought-images on the other.

It is necessary in the first place to make clear how I propose to use the term "rebirth." In anthropological literature the word is used in two different senses. It is used for the process by which a person is believed during life to undergo the process of being born a second time, this kind of rebirth being the central point of a symbolic ceremony. It is also used for the belief that the soul of a dead person is reincarnated in the body of another human being, and in the form which the belief takes most frequently, in the body of one of the descendants of the dead person. It is necessary that these two beliefs of mankind should be distinguished. The second form of belief, according to which the soul of a person is re-embodied in another person, may most suitably be termed reincarnation, while I suggest that students of human culture should only use the term "rebirth" when they are referring to the belief in, and ceremonial representation of, the process of being born again during life. It is only in this sense that the term will be used in this address. It is in this sense that the term has been used by the psycho-analytic school of psychology whose work has served to stimulate the comparative study of the subject.

The results of psycho-analysis are said to point to the symbolisation of rebirth by means of water; going into water and coming out of water are believed to symbolise the acts of giving birth and of being born, and it is claimed that the comparative study of myth supports this conclusion. Thus Rank,<sup>1</sup> who first studied the subject from this point of view, records a series of myths, of which the finding of Moses is that with which we are most familiar, in which birth and water are closely related. The earliest

<sup>1</sup> *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden*, Leipzig und Wien, 1909.

record of a tale of this kind concerns Sargon of Akkad who lived about 2800 B.C. According to the myth, Sargon, when newly born, was laid by his mother in a boat of reeds of which the "doors" were stopped with bitumen. This was then placed in a stream which led it to Akki, the irrigator, who drew the boy from the vessel and brought him up as his own son. Rank gives many examples of myths with points of similarity to those of Sargon and Moses, and, in spite of the absence of any reference to water in several of them, he regards this cycle of myths as providing evidence which confirms the psycho-analytic view derived from the study of dreams that going into or coming out of water symbolises birth.

Let us assume for a moment that Rank's evidence shows the unanimity we should expect if water is a universal symbol of birth or rebirth, and consider whether the universal occurrence of this symbol in the stories he quotes points to its being a universal property of the human mind.

In the first place the whole of Rank's examples are drawn from peoples sufficiently advanced to have had written literatures and from civilisations of Asia and Europe which no one now doubts had definite relations to one another. The persons of whose birth-stories he treats are Sargon; Moses; Karna; Œdipus; Paris; Telephos; Perseus; Gilgamesh; Cyrus; Kaikhosrav and Feridun, the Persian heroes; Romulus; Amphion and Zethos; Hercules; Siegfried and Lohengrin; while the life of Christ is drawn into the series, apparently on the ground that the manger was a substitute for the more usual vessel laid in water.

All the literatures from which these examples are drawn are certainly connected with one another historically. In so far as the symbolisation of birth by water occurs in them it can be amply explained as part of a common social heritage. At the least the probability of the presence of a common tradition is so great that Rank's series of parallels

affords only the flimsiest evidence for the occurrence of a universal symbolism, whether dependent upon heredity or derived from some mysterious store of collective consciousness, situated we know not where.

So far as one can gather, those who believe in the universal presence in the human mind of the image or idea of water as a symbol of birth hold two different views concerning its source. According to one view the existence of water as a symbol of birth is the product of heredity. We inherit the tendency to symbolise birth in this manner just as we inherit a tendency to suck the mother's breast or struggle to attain the erect position and move from one place to another when it has been attained. According to the other point of view the symbolisation of birth by means of water is the result of that epoch in our life-history when we leave the amniotic fluid of the mother to enter upon our career on earth.<sup>1</sup> That almost superhuman prescience and those acute powers of observation with which the psycho-analyst endows the child, even before its birth, are held to bring about so intimate an association between water and birth that one serves as the symbol of the other throughout life in the mysterious depths of the unconscious.

Let us, however, leave these fantastic speculations and inquire whether the comparative study of human belief and culture gives to the symbolism of rebirth by water the support which is claimed. It will not be possible here to consider fully the evidence from the vast store of belief and custom with which the industry of ethnographers and folklorists has provided us. I must be content with a brief survey of the evidence bearing on this topic provided by religious ritual.

I will begin with the country which may be regarded as the chief home of the idea of rebirth at the present time. All are familiar with the features of the highest Indian castes according to which their members are regarded as

<sup>1</sup> See as an example, Rank, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

twice-born. This idea of rebirth is especially associated with the *upanayana* rite which forms part of the ceremony of initiation into the study of the Vedas. It seems to be especially prominent in the rites attendant upon accession to the kingly office. Thus, the first formula of the ritual given in the *Taittirīya-Brâhmaṇa* speaks of the prince being reborn as the son of the sacrificial priests,<sup>1</sup> while in Travancore the new ruler passes through the body of a golden cow or through a golden lotus as a preliminary to his entrance upon the responsibilities and privileges of his rank.<sup>2</sup>

A similar rite has been recorded as having been practised on the persons of two Brahman ambassadors who had been defiled by a visit to England.<sup>3</sup> They had to be reborn symbolically by being dragged through a golden image of a *Yoni* which took the place of one in the shape of a woman or a cow. Moreover, rites of this kind are not limited to persons of high rank. My friend and pupil, Mr. G. S. Ghurje, tells me that in the Konkan, the district of Bombay Presidency bordering upon the Canara country, a child born under an unlucky star is placed in a bamboo vessel and reborn symbolically by being placed for a moment within the mouth of a cow. Here we have definite examples of the belief in rebirth and in the efficacy of its symbolic representation, but there is little, if any, evidence that water is used in these rites as a symbol of rebirth. In the long and complex ceremonial of initiation of the young Brahman bathing takes a prominent place as in every other Hindu rite, and it is possibly significant that, after the investiture with the sacred thread which forms the most

<sup>1</sup> Narendra Nath Law, *Ind. Antiquary*, 1919, vol. xlviii. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1834, i. 240; S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, 169 ff.; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. 215.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatick Researches*, Calcutta, 4<sup>o</sup> ed., 1799, vol. vi. p. 535. The two Brahmans had crossed the Indus, which had aggravated their offence.

important of the initiatory rites, there is a ceremony in which the water from eight waterpots is poured over the initiate,<sup>1</sup> who thereby ceases to be any longer a student vowed to celibacy but is fit to entertain thoughts of marriage.

Again, in the rites of coronation recorded in the *Agni-Purâna* it is stated that the prince is sprinkled with water by his ministers as well as by the royal priest, who uses water which has passed through the perforations of a pitcher.<sup>2</sup> These rites, however, occur in conjunction with others of the symbolic entrance into the *homa*-fire and touching with earth from various places. It is not said that the sprinkling with water is associated with the idea of rebirth. It would be straining the evidence to see in any of these rites the definite representation of rebirth by means of water, though the possibility of such symbolisation cannot be excluded.

Passing from India to Africa and Oceania we find that ceremonies common to both regions occur here and there which may be regarded as symbolic of rebirth, and there is the further common feature that in both regions these ceremonies are either connected with the rite of circumcision or form part of the proceedings of the organisations which are usually known as secret societies.

In Africa we know of nothing which can be regarded as a ceremonial representation of rebirth except in West Africa and the Congo region, and there as part of the ritual of secret societies. As a rule there is little more indication of the presence of the idea of rebirth than the fact that the candidates receive new names and return to the habits of everyday life after a period of seclusion. In a few cases, of which the Poro society of the Timne is an example, the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, London, 1920, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Ind. Antiquary*, 1919, p. 87.

idea of rebirth is definite.<sup>1</sup> It is said that the *krifi* or central personage of the Poro society eats or gives birth to the candidates, and it is noteworthy that washing forms part of the ceremonial of initiation. Another case in which there is some evidence of a ceremonial representation of rebirth is that of the Ndembo and Nkimba societies of the Lower Congo<sup>2</sup> where, after feigning death, the candidate receives a new name and has again to be taught his mother-tongue and has to learn who are his relatives, but in this case there is no evidence that water is used in the course of the initiatory rites. A rite more suggestive of a connection between water and rebirth is that of the Baya and other tribes of the Middle Congo.<sup>3</sup> In this ceremony the candidate is decoyed through a series of openings or traps in leafy arbours, from the last of which he falls into a river and is fished out half-drowned. In this and other cases we need more detailed evidence concerning the nature of the rites before we should be satisfied that they symbolise rebirth, but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that for obvious reasons it is very difficult to obtain such evidence where secret societies are concerned. We should be prepared for much more definite evidence of the idea and representation of rebirth which are little more than suggested by the scanty evidence available.

In Melanesia the ceremonial representation of death and of return to life forms a prominent feature of the process of initiation into the graded organisations usually called secret societies, but I do not know of any rites which can be regarded as directly symbolic of rebirth. The societies

<sup>1</sup> N. W. Thomas, Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, art. "Secret Societies," vol. xi. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, London, 1914, pp. 158-177.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Ducasse, *La Géographie*, t. xvii., 1908, p. 457; and A. E. Lenfant, *La Découverte des grandes sources du centre de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1909, p. 204.

embody a cult of the dead and are often named after the dead, and the nature of their ritual is in agreement with the general character of Melanesian religion in that death and a relation of the living to the dead stand out far more prominently than birth. Moreover, in the rites which follow the ceremonial representation of death which we might expect to symbolise birth or return to life, water has no place. I know of only one Melanesian ceremony in which water takes a prominent place in connection with the ceremonial representation of death and return of life. This is in the ceremony connected with incision<sup>1</sup> in the island of Ambrim in the New Hebrides. After the operation of incision the boys stay for five days in a special house which is given the same name as the house of the *Mangge* or graded organisation. When the boys enter this house all those present in the village wail in exactly the same manner as after a death. While in the house, which they are not allowed to leave on any pretence whatever, the boys are given hardly any food and no water at all, only obtaining liquid nourishment by chewing the juicy part of the husk of the coconut. On the fourth day of the stay in this house the people of the village construct a representation of a canoe from banana stalks and put it in the sea so that it just touches the shore, and crotons are set up so as to leave a passage by which the boys can pass from the shore through the canoe into the sea. On the following morning, the fifth day of seclusion in the house which I suppose to represent a ceremonial death, the boys pass through the passage between the crotons and through the representation of a canoe and plunge into the sea, after which they return to land without again passing through the passage. The canoe is then taken out to sea by the men of the village and set adrift. Here we have a rite which would seem at first sight to be capable of interpretation as a ceremonial rebirth after a

<sup>1</sup> A modification of circumcision.

period of death in which the act of rebirth is symbolised by the act of plunging into water after passing through a narrow passage, the community being rejoined by going ashore in the ordinary way. Owing to its adoption of the principle that any event may be interpreted as if it were its opposite or were reversed,<sup>1</sup> the psycho-analytic school will not be at all disturbed by the fact that the boys pass through the passage which they will regard as a symbol of that by which men enter the world before they plunge into the water which they believe to be the representation of the amniotic fluid. Putting this little difficulty on one side this ceremony might seem at first sight to provide a striking example of the symbolic representation of rebirth by means of water. Every ceremony should, however, be considered in relation to the rest of the ritual of the people, and an examination of other features of the culture of the region suggests that a very different meaning can be assigned to the ceremonial canoe and the plunging into water. It will have been noticed that after the main part of the ceremony the artificial canoe is taken out to sea and set adrift. A prominent feature of the ceremonial of death in other islands of that part of the New Hebrides, though not so far as I could ascertain in Ambrim itself, is that after the death of a man many of his effects together with food are placed on a canoe which is then set adrift. There is little doubt that this ceremony is a survival of an older practice, still followed in other parts of Oceania, in which the body of a dead man is placed in a canoe with the necessaries for his journey to the island of the dead and the canoe is taken out to sea and set adrift exactly as in the concluding part of the ceremony of incision in Ambrim. I have elsewhere shown <sup>2</sup> that the ceremony of the practice

<sup>1</sup> For a good example of the use of this principle in connection with the myth of birth, see Rank, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> "Descent and Ceremonial in Ambrim," *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* 1915, vol. xlv. p. 229.

of incision belongs to an ancient stratum of Ambrimese culture, and the entrance of the boys into the representation of a canoe and the setting adrift of this vessel must be regarded as relics of a funeral rite belonging to this older stratum of culture. A rite which at first sight seems to afford striking evidence of the symbolic representation of rebirth by plunging into water turns out on closer examination to bear a widely different meaning and to be a relic of the funeral rites of a former time.

I am indebted to Dr. Paul Radin for the information that the symbolic representation of rebirth is only known in one ceremony of North or South America, and it is a significant fact that here, as elsewhere, the rite in question forms part of the ceremonial of a secret society, viz. the Midiwihin of the central Algonquian tribes. This society has a wide distribution, and wherever it occurs the main purpose of the ritual is the initiation of a person into the society by means of a symbolic representation of death and rebirth. In the process of initiation a sea-shell, taken from a bag made of the skin of a water-animal (the otter), is supposed to be shot into the body of the candidate, who falls to the ground unconscious and only regains consciousness after coughing up the shell which is believed to have previously entered his body. Unless the use of the sea-shell and the skin of a water-animal are taken as its equivalent, there is no use of water in the rite, and even if the shell is taken as such equivalent, it is the instrument by which the ceremonial death is produced rather than a symbol of rebirth.

Though I am dealing only with the ritual of rebirth, I may take this opportunity to mention that though, according to Dr. Radin, there is no definitely formulated belief that birth or rebirth is in any way connected with water, there is reason to believe that the myth of the origin of the Midiwihin society is closely related to the myth of the origin of the world, and that over a large part of America

the world is believed to have had its origin in water. Moreover, the three most important food-animals of the continent, the deer, buffalo and bear, are supposed to have had their origin in lakes or rivers. There is no evidence, however, that the origin of man was ever connected with water. He is always represented as coming from his mother's womb which, in so far as it receives symbolic representation, is regarded as a room.

In my survey of the rites of the world with the object of discovering examples of the symbolisation of rebirth by means of water I have so far omitted Europe. Since it is the dreams and childish phantasies of inhabitants of this continent which have led the psycho-analytic school to the belief in this mode of symbolism, and since it is the comparative study of one of the traditional tales of Europe and Asia from which the support of mythology has been evoked, it is necessary to inquire whether the religious ritual of Europe provides a motive for the prominence of water in connection with the phantasies of children concerning their mode of coming into the world. We shall not have far to look for a rite which may have acted as the source of these phantasies. The rite of baptism is not only one in which water and rebirth are intimately connected, but it is a rite so prominent in our lives and our traditions that it may well have acted as the source of the frequency of this association in the early experience of childhood. The baptismal rite of Christianity, and especially that variety in which complete immersion is practised, must impress the imagination of every child, not merely of every Christian child, but of the child of any other creed or church who is brought up surrounded by Christians. I do not say that the symbolisation of rebirth by means of water is necessarily a result of the prominence of baptism, but baptism holds so important a position in European culture and forms so prominent a feature of our social heritage that its influence upon symbolism cannot be excluded. Its existence alone should

make us pause before we seek to explain the frequency of the symbol by heredity or by such fantastic motives as remembrance of such a detail of prenatal life as the immersion in the amniotic fluid. Doubtless in many cases childish speculations concerning the act of birth will have combined with knowledge of the baptismal rite to give to the symbolisation of birth by means of water any prominence and importance it may possess.

In this address I have considered whether the view that the symbolisation of rebirth by water forms part of the universal furniture of the human mind is confirmed by a comparative survey of religious ritual. We can now with some confidence answer this question in the negative. I chose this subject as one which is prominent in recent psycho-analytic literature<sup>1</sup> and therefore suitable as a case whereby to test the statement often made that the conclusions reached by the psycho-analytic study of the individual are confirmed by the comparative study of custom and belief. Though this case has had in the main a negative result, it is a good example of the kind of way in which the folk-lorist can take his part in helping to build up a science of psychology.

But though from one point of view, that of psycho-analytic speculation, our quest may have had a negative result, more than one positive result has accrued if the subject be regarded from a wider standpoint.

The brief survey of this address has brought out the striking fact that the symbolic representation of rebirth in Africa, Oceania and America is especially connected with the organisations usually known as secret societies. Moreover, it seems clear that in these societies any symbolic representation of rebirth which may be present is overshadowed by the representation of death of which the rebirth or resurrection is a necessary consequence. This

<sup>1</sup> See, as examples, *Brit. Jour. Psych.* (Medical Section), vol. i. p. 125, 1921, and *Jour. Neurol. and Psychopath.*, vol. ii. p. 26, 1921.

common feature of similar organisations in widely separated regions raises in a definite form the question whether these organisations are historically connected with one another. If further knowledge should lead us to this conclusion we shall be furnished with an opening of the most promising kind for the study of the modifications which social institutions undergo as they pass from place to place over the earth's surface. If there is any historical connection between the rites of rebirth in India and the ceremonial of the graded fraternities of Melanesia, and that there is such a connection seems to me at least an hypothesis worthy of serious consideration, we shall have a striking case of the process whereby in the course of their diffusion religious rites are changed and modified. I cannot now consider such evidence as we possess for the historical connection between the rites of the two regions or for the various ways in which they may be related. I cannot consider, for instance, whether the rebirth of the Indian rites of initiation and the ceremonial death of the Melanesian secret ritual are two different products of some original rite, in which death and rebirth were equally important and were equally symbolised in ceremonial. I must be content to point out that the psychological interest upon which I have chiefly dwelt in this address is always intertwined with the historical to give to every belief and custom of Man a meaning of the most important kind.

The collector of folk-lore, whether of our own or any other country, never knows when he may strike some belief or custom hidden away in the recesses of the folk-mind which may take an important place in building up the chain of evidence whereby we may be enabled to understand the development of human thought and custom. Whether it be our aim to understand the mysteries of childhood, the ravages which disease makes in the human mind, or the phantasies of that second life we live in

sleep, or whether it be our still more comprehensive aim to combine our knowledge of all into a coherent system, the folk-lorist can take his part and make his contribution to the common stock of knowledge whereby these aims may be fulfilled.

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## ASINUS IN TEGULIS.

BY H. J. ROSE.

PETRONIUS<sup>1</sup> puts into the mouth of that most delightful old blackguard Trimalchio a phrase of which no commentator gives any sufficient explanation. After listening to a story of werewolves and complimenting the teller on his perfect veracity, he adds: *nam et ipse uobis rem horribilem narrabo; asinus in tegulis*, "For I'm a-goin' to tell you a 'orrible tale myself; reg'lar donkey on the tiles." One naturally asks why, in the opinion of uneducated Southern Italians of that day, a donkey on the tiles should be proverbially horrible. Part of the absurdity of Trimalchio consists in a fervent faith in old wives' tales; and we may be sure that they are genuine ones, for what novelist, especially one so witty as Petronius, would be so silly as to make his characters believe things that men in their position in real life would not believe?

When we come, however, to look for classical parallels, or for some other reference to this apparently well-known idea, we have very little to show for our investigations. Otto<sup>2</sup> suggests that it is a tag of some lost fable, and quotes Babrius, 125; but Babrius has only a brief account of an ass who protested with manly indignation against being driven off a roof which he was smashing by jumping about on it, calling attention to the fact that people were quite pleased when the monkey played up there. This is funny,

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.* 63, 2. The story which he proceeds to tell has nothing to do with either roofs or asses.

<sup>2</sup> *Sprichwörter*, p. 41, s. *Asinus*.

or intended to be so, not horrible ; I mention it, however, for I am of opinion that many stock jokes have for their subject something which was till lately feared or revered, often something which is still feared on occasion ; e.g. the many mediaeval jokes at the expense of the powerful clergy or the dreaded devil. Commentators on Petronius seem to have nothing better to offer than one or more of the passages which I will shortly quote. My own attempts to get a little more definite information have led me by a long and I think a not uninteresting road to the conclusions which I wish to summarise and illustrate in this paper.

I. *Animals on the roof in general.* (a) If the ass were in itself a portentous beast, it would not be strange that its appearance on the roof should terrify the householder. In ancient and modern times alike a roof is a favourite place for some ominous creature, such as a raven or an owl, to perch on when he has a bad omen to deliver. For instance, in Vergil (*Aen.* iv. 462), the screech-owl warns Dido by perching on the roof and crying : *solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo | saepe queri*. In the Central Provinces of India, sickness is portended by a vulture or kite perching seven days running on the roof, or a dog barking thereon ;<sup>1</sup> in Rumania, owls hooting in the chimney bode death ;<sup>2</sup> the same in Germany is, or was in the eighteenth century, the meaning of ravens or crows perching on the roof under which a sick man lies, and calling.<sup>3</sup> In Wales, a swallow who deserts her nest on a house denotes ill-luck, while if bees swarm on the roof it is lucky.<sup>4</sup> In Webster's *White Devil*, V. iv., Cornelia in her half-crazed wanderings (" alas, her grief | hath turned

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke in *Folk-Lore*, xxix. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Murgoci, *ibid.* xxx. p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *D.M.* (fourth ed.), iii. p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. E. Owen, *Welsh Folk-Lore* (Oswestry and Wrexham, n.d., ? 1896), pp. 330-339.

her child again") quotes what seems to be a popular rime :

" When screech-owls croak upon the chimney-tops  
And the strange cricket i' the oven sings and hops,  
When yellow spots do on your hands appear,  
Be certain then you of a corse shall hear."

The Zulus again regard a dog on the housetop as a portent demanding purification by a magician ;<sup>1</sup> the Lolos class such an event as a *slo-ta* or evil portent.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that with the exception of the bees all these creatures foretell bad luck, and the bees would bring good luck wherever in the house they might swarm.<sup>3</sup> The one consistent bringer of good luck who dwells on the roof is the stork, alike in Greece,<sup>4</sup> and in several countries of modern Europe;<sup>5</sup> unless indeed we count the good St. Nicholas in this context, and he does not invariably come down chimney with his pack by any means.

(b) But so far as I know the ass is not in himself ominous, and we must rather class this belief among the many superstitions to the effect that almost any wingless creature becomes portentous, if only he mounts the roof. To begin again with the ancients, Livy mentions among the many

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Macdonald in *J.R.A.I.* xx. (1890), p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> A. Henry, *ibid.* xxxiii. (1903), p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Owen, *op. cit.* p. 339. The ancients regarded bees rather as a bad omen, see *Dio Cass.* xli. 61, 2, and a score of other passages ; but this is probably because they were inclined to identify them with ghosts, see Norden, *Sechstes Buch der Aeneis*, note on l. 707.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Q.C.* viii. 727F, who gives the rationalistic explanation that the stork makes himself useful by killing snakes and toads. The MSS. and the Teubner editor make him say that the bird thus pays " a kind of ground-rent," *ἐπιβαθρον τι γῆς*, as if it ever nested on the ground. The true reading is no doubt *τέγγης*, " a sort of hire for the use of the roof."

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* Grimm, *op. cit.* iii. pp. 438, 441. Even the stork may give a death-omen, *ibid.* § 587. Swallows, but not always sparrows, are unlucky, *ibid.* p. 439 ; Plut. *l.c.*

portents which diversify his work, two instances of cattle climbing to the roof, or at least the upper storeys of a house.<sup>1</sup> This comes a little nearer Trimalchio's ass, for though cattle do on occasion give omens (*bos locutus* is a stock portent), and of course weather signs (as Verg. *Georg.* i. 375), they cannot be called ominous creatures in general, certainly not creatures of evil omen; by virtue of their constant use in the worship of the gods, they would rather be of good omen if ominous at all. But it is a safe rule that domestic creatures do not, by their mere presence, give omens. Leaving the ancient world,—Greece has, I think, no instance of what we are looking for just now,—we find more than one example of the idea that for a domestic animal to climb upon the roof is very unlucky. The goat in the central provinces of India; the buffalo in the Panjâb;<sup>2</sup> the goat again among the Oraons of Bengal;<sup>3</sup> the cow among the Lolos;<sup>4</sup> perhaps the dog in the instances already cited, or some of them, since this animal is held in very varying esteem in different parts of the world, all point that way. Here and there a woman must not go on the roof;<sup>4</sup> but this we may perhaps disregard in the present enquiry, owing to the wide distribution of the idea that it is unlucky for a woman to stand or step over things, especially things belonging to men.

Again, then, we have a series of portents involving a living creature, generally a domestic animal, and a roof, and this time the omen is invariably bad. We may, therefore, fairly conjecture that in the former series of examples the badness of the omen which would in any case have been given by the owl or raven, is intensified by the fact that it is on a roof. In other words, the roof itself has about it an atmosphere of magic, chiefly of a dangerous sort.

<sup>1</sup> xxxvi. 37, 2; xxi. 62, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Crooke, *op. cit.* p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Folk-Lore of the O.T.* iii. p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> A. Henry, *l.c.*

II. *Roof-Magic.* In considering the roof we must also, perhaps especially, consider the opening in it, smoke-hole, chimney, or *impluuium*. For though roof-magic is widely spread enough, it is by no means invariable. *A priori*, this is just what one would expect. Taking the usual type of Northern house, for instance, we find a roof more or less sharply sloping, whose chief function is to keep out the weather. As no one normally sits or stands on it, it is a place about which all kinds of fancies may gather. But the flat platform-roof, found, *e.g.*, in Syria and the Panjâb, whereon people commonly sit, work, and sleep, particularly in hot weather, when the rooms of the house are stuffy, is much more of an every-day place. But even with this type of roof, there is one unoccupied spot, the hole through which smoke goes out and rain comes in. Thus in the Panjâb, I am informed that whereas the roof in general is not supposed to be haunted, the opening in it is a way of entrance for evil spirits.<sup>1</sup> Even in houses with a kind of roof which is not commonly sat upon, the chimney is a very important point, particularly as furnishing a roadway for the magic without, but also in its own right; thus it makes no difference whether the stork nests upon the roof proper or upon the chimney (Grimm, xxx. *op. cit.* pp. 438, 441). If we look a little at the history of house-building, we find the roof connected with much magical ceremonial even in quite simple dwellings, such as those of most African peoples.

Thus, among the Baganda<sup>2</sup> the rings to which the thatch of a chief's house is fastened are very elaborate affairs, involving much ceremonial for their making and putting up. At Gorai, an island in the Shortlands group, a sort of ritual battle takes place between the thatchers and

<sup>1</sup> Communicated by Mr. R. L. Chopra, a Panjâbi student of this College.

<sup>2</sup> Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 369 ff.

a party of girls who pelt them with cooked food.<sup>1</sup> In the Congo,<sup>2</sup> the ridge-pole is of much importance; to capture that of an enemy chief is a great exploit, and to return it is an effectual way of sealing a treaty of peace. Coming to the far higher culture of Madras, we still find the ridge-pole of importance, so much so, that worship is offered it before it is put up; while in Upper Burma, a house with no ridge-pole exposes its inhabitants to the danger of attacks from tigers. Its craking, in the Central Provinces, is a bad omen.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, not at all surprising to find English witches' utensils hidden away under it, and a witch sitting astride of it.<sup>4</sup> But the other beams have their importance also. The Panjâbi house, I learn from the same informant as before, has commonly two main beams running longitudinally, and on them cross-beams; the number of these must always be odd, to secure more male than female births in the house.<sup>5</sup>

This leads naturally to decorations of a prophylactic nature. Northern Europe, especially Germany, seems to be the region richest in examples of this; but it is also found in the Tyrol, Rhaetia, and Spain; in Iceland, sporadically in Great Britain, in India, the Celebes, once at least in Borneo (Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes*, ii. 73), and in a simple form in Africa.<sup>6</sup> I am inclined to connect the

<sup>1</sup> G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Weeks, *Congo Life* (R.T.S. 1911), pp. 219, 222.

<sup>3</sup> Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 143, 144, 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore Journal*, v. (1887), p. 1 ff., 82.

<sup>5</sup> It would be interesting, but too far removed from the main subject of this paper, to determine whether any connection exists between this and the Cretan preference for transverse rows of three rather than two columns (B. C. Rider, *Greek House*, p. 104); also, whether it is to be connected (*via* the common Aryan speech?) with the Pythagorean, and probably Italian, idea that even numbers were female, odd numbers male.

<sup>6</sup> N. W. Thomas in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi. p. 322; cf. *ibid.* 437; B. C. Rider, *op. cit.* p. 30; Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 143, 144.

fantastic forms of weathercocks with this practice. Under the same or a similar heading would naturally fall the curious custom reported from Great Bookham, Surrey, of putting a broom up the chimney with its twigs protruding during the absence of the housewife.<sup>1</sup> But perhaps it is rather to be classed with the beliefs commented upon below (VI.).

Nor is the roof merely put up and decorated with magical precautions. The most miscellaneous objects are fastened to it in one way or another in various parts of the world, either to bring luck, to protect the house against real or imaginary dangers, or to influence the whole of which they form a part. The list includes hair, various plants, bits of the human body or of domestic animals, charms of all sorts; and considering how little the average householder knows about electricity, one might almost add the once popular lightning-rod.<sup>2</sup> In Japan, we get a further refinement; at the Shogun's court, in the annual sweeping ceremony, a broom was so manipulated as to trace the character for *water* on the ceiling, a handy and cheap precaution against fire (W. L. Hildburgh in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxx. p. 174). Here, however, it is against a purely material danger that the double protection of sweeping and the written word is invoked.

Being thus girt with all manner of magical ceremonies, it is natural that the roof should be able to perform a little magic on its own account. There are instances of omens in which the roof itself, not an omen-creature, claims the chief share or even the whole. One of the innumerable omens reported during the Second Punic War was as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxi. p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> See Frazer, *Folk-Lore of O.T.* iii. 210, 268; *J.R.A.I.* (1920), p. 396 and note; Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 436; Aubrey, *Remaines, &c.* (ed. Britten, London, 1881), p. 167; *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. p. 275; Blinkenberg, *Thunderweapon, e.g.* p. 82; Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, p. 255, n. 1 ("Everyman").

a statue of Victory on the top of the Temple of Concord at Rome was struck by lightning and rolled down till it was stopped by other similar statues which served as *antefixae* or cornice-ornaments.<sup>1</sup> The night before Julius Caesar was murdered, Calpurnia dreamed that the pediment, which by decree of the Senate adorned his house, had fallen.<sup>2</sup> A more doubtful omen was that given to Ti. Gracchus on the day of his assassination; ravens or crows (*corui*) dropped from the gutter a piece of tile at his feet.<sup>3</sup> Was the badness of the omen due to the birds, the tile, or both? The claims of the former are pretty obvious; for the latter, we may note that Ovid (*Fasti*, ii. 535) says that offerings to the dead should be laid out on a *tegula* or roofing-tile. However, a couple of lines further on he calls it *testa* or pot-herd. It was probably no more than a cheap substitute for a plate (he insists on the simplicity and cheapness of the whole ritual), for, of course, it could never again be used for any other purpose. A mediaeval German (and probably earlier) form of divination was to sit on the house-roof and trace a circle with a sword, *ut ibi uideres et intellegeres quid tibi in sequenti anno futurum esset*.<sup>4</sup> When the ceremonies attending the completion of a house were over, it was customary at Ansbach in the eighteenth century to throw a glass from the housetop, which by breaking or remaining undamaged foretold the death or long life of the housemaster.<sup>5</sup> It was, perhaps, well for their peace of mind that the local glassware was none of the finest.

Germany also furnishes us with one of the very few instances of good magic in connection with the roof. The church several times, from the eighth century on, fulminated against the custom of putting children on the roof *aut super fornacem* (? on the chimney), to cure fever. As Ecgbert of York is one of the objectors, presumably the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxvi. 23. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Jul. Obsequens, 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 27 a.

<sup>4</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 407.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 459.

Anglo-Saxons brought this custom with them to England when they came. Later, a charmed cattle-food was prepared by putting it on a roof from Christmas Eve to Twelfth-night.<sup>1</sup> But remembering how closely healing and hurting are connected, I would not lay too much stress on this evidence of the roof's better nature. In one instance,<sup>2</sup> the cure was wrought by turning a tile around, presumably to let the disease-demon out; and the Bulgarian *samovila*, who haunts eaves and punishes with illness those who disturb her, will on occasion cure a sick child if it is laid there (A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren*, p. 149).

Hence we can understand why occasionally the victims of witchcraft make for the roof. Some Oxfordshire cattle are said to have climbed on to the barn, when a witch had maddened them, and a bewitched boy went up the chimney;<sup>3</sup> a Cambridgeshire child, living in a house persecuted by a witch, got a bad fright from looking up the chimney;<sup>4</sup> and passing to drolls, I learn from my colleague, Prof. Gwynn Jones, that in the Welsh version of *John Grummelie*, the cow, not content with "letting doon nae milk," got up on the roof. I very much doubt if *John Grummelie* was originally funny at all, for it deals with the once very serious subject of interference in the magical preserves of the other sex.

There are also a few scattered beliefs to the effect that under certain circumstances, an object magically potent should be thrown over the house. This is done with a pig's nose in Summercourt, Cornwall,<sup>5</sup> with a small egg in Wales,<sup>6</sup> else death would follow; and in Pforzheim with a similar egg, supposed to be laid by a seven-year-old cock.<sup>7</sup> In this case the penalty for neglect was that the house

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* pp. 406, 407, 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 464, § 853.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. p. 290, 291, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. v. p. 195.

<sup>6</sup> Owen, *op. cit.* p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 454.

would be struck by lightning. In the Welsh case the egg is to be thrown over the operator's head also. Possibly this, and not simply the impossibility of seeing where the missile falls, has had a share in the production of the half-proverbial references to shooting or throwing over the house. In some parts of France, to say that a girl has thrown her bonnet over the house is to make a grave allegation against her moral character; Shakespere has (*Ham.* v. ii. 246):

“ That I have shot mine arrow o'er the house,  
And hurt my brother.”

Corresponding to the rite of throwing something over, not upon, the roof, it is noteworthy that here and there it is sufficient for a bird of ill omen to fly over the house without perching on it, to bode death.<sup>1</sup>

At this point I wish to mention a curious Roman belief of which I have never seen a satisfactory explanation. There are two or three deities who have an aversion to roofs. Varro (*de ling. Lat.* v. 66, and *ap. Nom.* 49,23) states that *Dius Fidius* should not be sworn by except in the open air. Plutarch (*Q.R.* 28) makes the same statement regarding *Heracles* and *Bacchus*. *Medius fidius* and *mehercule* are common oaths, but *Bacchus* is rather a puzzle, as we know of no common Latin oath by him, though *It., corpo di Bacco*, suggests that there may have been one. Setting him aside, we have a third deity hinted at by Pliny, *N.H.* xviii. 8: *Seiamque a serendo, Segestam a segetibus appellabant, quarum simulacra in circo uidemus: tertiam ex his nominare sub tecto religio est.* Who the third goddess is we do not know; I do not believe she was *Segesta*,<sup>2</sup> though that interpretation is just possible, as she is the third goddess mentioned in that passage, but I hold that *ex his* means “ of this group,” *sc.* of deities in the Circus. By the company she keeps she should be an

<sup>1</sup> Owen, *op. cit.* p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny was probably indoors as he wrote and kept the tabu.

agricultural deity; *Dius Fidius* is perhaps an offshoot of *Iuppiter*, while *Hercules* is simply the Greek *Herakles*, naturalised in Rome very early as a god of merchants, and identified by some with *Dius Fidius*; hence probably the tabu. What have they in common that they should be treated alike in this respect? This at least, that they are all well-disposed, and consequently should not be brought under the influence of roof-magic, which we have seen is mostly bad. The only other explanation I know of, that of *Usener*,<sup>1</sup> who calls attention to the common practice of swearing in the open air, in order to have, literally, God before one's eyes, is hardly applicable here, for the deities in question are not sky-gods, except perhaps *Dius Fidius*, and he in one aspect (*Semo Sancus*) is agricultural also. One may compare the fetish of *Terminus* on the Capitol and the famous marks of *Poseidon's* trident on the Akropolis at Athens, neither of which may be roofed over.

But I do not consider here the classical objection to being under the same roof with a murderer or other notoriously impious person, which finds its most familiar expression in *Horace* (*Od.* III. ii. 26 ff.), and in the legend of *Orestes*. The roof here is, I think, merely incidental; to be under the same roof with anyone, in the small houses of antiquity, is to be near him, and that is what is objected to. As *Horace* reminds us, it is equally dangerous to be on the same ship.

III. *The Roof and Birth.* In the first of the great crises of life, it may be said, broadly, that the roof plays no part unless something goes wrong or is likely to go wrong. The navel-cord of a *Hopi* child is sometimes put in it,<sup>2</sup> and in *Patalima*, in cases of difficult labour, a little offering of tobacco is stuck into the thatch and the ancestral spirits called upon to come and help. But far more usually, the efforts of the expectant mother's friends are directed towards driving someone away from the roof. The Jewish

<sup>1</sup> *Götternamen*, chap. on "Die Verehrung des Lichtes."

<sup>2</sup> *Man*, 1921, 58 (p. 100).

mother is provided with an amulet against the roof demon (Agrath);<sup>1</sup> in Rome, the hostile magic, or the unfriendly spirit, was scared away by throwing over the roof a spear or javelin which had killed a man, a boar, and a bear, each with one stroke (Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 33, perhaps from Verrius Flaccus). The Armenians put the child on the roof if he is born and the mother's life in danger, in hopes that the lesser sacrifice will be enough. Elsewhere in Armenia, toy soldiers on the roof are set in motion; while the Tagalogs of the Philippine Islands used in the early eighteenth century to keep away the malignant *patianak*, by the vigorous action of real armed men on the roof-tree, and also under the house.<sup>2</sup> Under the house also is the position of the child's father, among the tribes of the mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea,<sup>3</sup> who relieves his wife's pain by the simple process of taking off his own perineal band. This is one of the not very numerous cases in which, the house being built on piles, the floor seems to be thought of as another roof, as the ceiling often is.

Once the child is born, it now and then happens that the roof can help directly in beneficent magic. In the Panjâb,<sup>4</sup> if a child is born after three births of the opposite sex, one of the remedies against the ill-luck wherewith it is threatened is for its mother to sit with it under the gutter of the roof of the birth-room, into which, after a preliminary libation of *ghi*, the water of seven wells is poured.

But here, as elsewhere, the roof is mostly associated with maleficent magic. The best-known perhaps of the dangers which attend the infant is that of being changed by malignant fairies. The route followed, if not in taking away the true child, at least in returning him and removing the

<sup>1</sup> Gaster in Hastings, *E.R.E.*, art. "Birth (Jewish)," p. 655 a.

<sup>2</sup> Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod*, pp. 46, 55, 215; Frazer, *op. cit.* iii. p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.I.* xxvii. (1897), p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Rose in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. pp. 64, 65.

changeling, is regularly the chimney. In Ireland certainly we hear of a black dog coming down the chimney and stealing a child.<sup>1</sup> The orthodox way of getting rid of the changeling is to burn, or threaten to burn it at the fire,<sup>2</sup> when the fairy mother will hastily effect the exchange. It is true that this is not the invariable method; the changeling is often not burned, but beaten or otherwise ill-treated to make it cry with pain; it may not go up the chimney but run out at the door, as in a Hebridean example, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xi. p. 444, cf. xxi. p. 475 (Isle of Man); or it may be left on the door-step or the rubbish-heap, or under a hedge, etc.; but I am much inclined to regard these as maimed rites, intended to prevent serious damage if after all the child should turn out to be simply an ailing or ill-tempered human baby. An instructive example is to be found in vol. xxi. p. 198, where a sickly child, in Co. Clare was exposed on the door-step, but on a shovel, *i.e.* a pretence was made of burning it. I am confirmed in this belief by the examples, some of them very horrible, of grown persons supposed to be changelings who have been treated by fire. *E.g.* the defendant in a witch-burning case at Clonmel<sup>3</sup> explained to a bystander, "It is not Bridget I am burning. You will soon see her go up the chimney."

IV. *Marriage*. Although the house in general plays a very important part in the marriage ceremonies of most peoples, I can hardly find any rite in which the roof is important as such.<sup>4</sup> And if I am correct in supposing it to

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. p. 93; xxxii. p. 104; *County Folklore*, vii. pp. 31, 398; cf. Whittier's poem, "Rake out the red coals, goodman," where a witch, not a fairy, is suspected.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. p. 376; cf. iv. p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> A few bits of ritual, all apotropaic in character, will be found in Samter, *op. cit.* p. 56, n. 6; Köchling, *de coronarum vi atque usu*, Giessen, 1914, gives an exhaustive list of the parts of a house which were garlanded in the classical marriage ceremonies; they include every conceivable approach to the house except the roof.

be the seat of magic almost entirely malignant, this is just what we should expect. The bride and bridegroom are surrounded with all manner of good magic of a positive and vigorous kind ; in particular, the bride's head is generally protected in some way ; so it seems hardly to have occurred to anyone that the dangers of the roof were to be specially averted. It may, however, be noted that the drip of the eaves ought to be avoided, in parts of Germany at least (Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 453, § 558). In any case, marriage is older than houses, and is rather conservative in its ritual.

But here I may mention an instance or two of the connection of the roof with love-magic. Krauss, in his *Slavische Forschungen*, p. 165, has two curious love-charms collected by him from an unsavory Serbian gipsy woman. In one of these, the operator takes two needles, and after reciting an interesting formula, invoking restlessness and discomfort of the most acute kind on the person to be influenced, until he or she comes, sticks them side by side into the overhang of the roof (*Dachvorsprung*). Another method is much simpler ; the lover's name is called three times up chimney. These might be classed at first sight with good magic, and serve to redeem the roof's character ; but we must note, firstly, that they are performed in the evening twilight, secondly, that one of them includes a conditional curse on the lover. *On ne badine pas avec l'amour* ; and it is no uncommon thing for a love-philtre, among the South Slavs as elsewhere, to produce madness if it does not succeed in evoking affection.

V. *Death.* With death, the roof has much more to do. I have already mentioned sundry death-omens in which the roof plays its part (I.), and I shall have more to say in the next section about the connection of the roof with ghosts. I content myself here with mentioning the very common practice of making a hole in the roof when anyone dies, or alternatively, when he has trouble in dying. Examples are common enough ; I mention at present only

Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 458, for the second form of the custom, "kann einer nicht sterben, so darf man nur drei ziegel im dach aufheben," and for the former, *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvii. p. 370; cf. in general, Hartland in Hastings, *E.R.E.*, art. "Death," p. 415 b. It is, as has been sufficiently made clear by Frazer and others, an attempt to provide an exit for the soul, which it may use without polluting any of the ways used by living men. An equally obvious idea, when the structure of the house is simple, is to pull down a little of one wall, a device very like that employed by the Greeks when they welcomed an Olympic victor home through a gap in the city wall, because he was too important to come in by the commonplace gate. Given a stoutly-built house with a strong, weather-proof roof, one does not generally make a real hole, or if one does, it is more or less permanent. Hence we get various devices, as the corpse-door,<sup>1</sup> the ceremonial removal of a limited number of tiles (as in the passage of Grimm just quoted, where the magic number three is prescribed), the opening of windows, and lastly, when the meaning of the custom, or at least the feeling of intense horror at the ghost has been lost, of doors also.

VI. *The Roof as the Path of Spirits.* Among the Hopi,<sup>2</sup> children are given a ceremonial whipping, inflicted by men disguised as *katchina* or spirits. The secret, that they are but disguised men, must be kept, however, from the younger children, who have not been through the ceremony. If it is not, real *katchina* will come, cut the babbler's head off, and throw it on the roof. Among the Zuni the same ceremony and the same prohibition are to be found, but with the subtle difference that the *koko*, as they are appropriately called, will throw the severed head, not on to the roof, but to *kothluwela*, the spirit-land. We have thus almost a mathematical proof of the equivalence, in the Arizona culture, of roof and spirit-world. If this were an isolated instance, it might be explained away; but it is

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Feilberg in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii.    <sup>2</sup> *Man*, 1921, 58, p. 103.

not. Much of what I am going to bring forward has already been well handled by Sir J. G. Frazer; but it so happens that the works in which he treats of this point deal chiefly with the tendance of the dead, so that a hasty reader would be apt to think that only ghosts, and out-going ones at that, use the roof. As a matter of fact—and this goes far to explain the bad repute of the roof, already insisted upon—all manner of things of ill omen make it their road for coming and going.

Before entering upon this subject, it is well to consider for an instant how uncommon it is for anything desirable to come in that way. Even Father Christmas, in some at least of his Protean shapes, is very apt to choose other lines of approach, *e.g.* the door. A friendly spirit now and then casually inhabits the roof or part of it,<sup>1</sup> but I think he never regularly does so. Child-spirits, *i.e.* generally, purified ghosts ready to be reincarnated and no longer terrible, normally come out of the ground or floor; and ordinary material blessings naturally come in by the obvious and ordinary means of entrance. Even the window, the successor or supplementer of the roof-hole, is apt to let in such things as death-warnings in bird-form, or vampires.

I have so far had little to say of Greek customs. This is due to scantiness of material, brought about I fancy by the fact that from very early times a common form of Greek house was that with the flat roof, sometimes used as a bedroom, like Kirke's palace in the *Odyssey* (x. 556), though the gabled roof was also known, since Athena in bird-form manages to perch on a beam of Odysseus' palace (xxii. 239), indoors; and in later times both kinds seem to have been in use.<sup>2</sup> Hence a certain number of their houses were of the kind whose roofs gather but little bad

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* the Teutonic house-spirit, see Mogk in Hastings, *E.R.E.*, art. "Demons and Spirits (Teutonic)," p. 633 *b*.

<sup>2</sup> Archaeology throws little light on the point; see B. C. Rider, *The Greek House* (Camb. 1916), especially p. 130 ff.

magic, as we have already seen. Nevertheless, there are a certain number of indications, some of the most remarkable being from Tragedy.

The *deus ex machina* is a familiar and well-worn device, particularly in Euripides, and we know too little of the stage-setting in his age to say exactly where the gods appeared. But the text of two plays (*Andromache*, 1228; *Rhesos*, 886) tells us that they were supposed to float in the air, from which it is not unreasonable to conclude that they appeared in this way in those plays whose text does not guide us (as Soph. *Phil.*, where see Jebb's note on 1409, Eur. *Suppl.*). In two pieces, the *Ion* and *Elektra* of Euripides, the god is described as being over the building, palace or temple, which formed the backscene.<sup>1</sup> So far we may be dealing with no more than a stage convention, a piece of machinery fastened near the top of the *skene*. But two passages show us something which smacks rather of popular belief, splendidly used by the dramatist. Aeschylus<sup>2</sup> makes *Kassandra* have a vision of the murdered children of *Thyestes* sitting on the roof of the palace of *Atrous* their slayer. Here we have ghosts pure and simple, and, what is of some importance, subjective phantoms, seen by none but *Kassandra*, and therefore not represented to the audience. This is the poet's free imagination, not a convention imposed upon him by the stage-mechanic. Euripides takes us a step further. In *The Madness of Herakles*, the chorus not only see the form of *Lyssa*, the demon of insanity, escorted by *Iris*, above the house, but hear the fiend say, "All unseen I stoop and plunge me into *Herakles'* abode" (*H.F.* 875, ἐς δόμους δ' ἡμεῖς ἄφαντοι δυσόμεσθ' Ἡρακλέους). We gather, then, that through the roof was a recognised way for a hostile spiritual

<sup>1</sup> *Ion*. 1550, *El.* 1233.

<sup>2</sup> *Agam.* 1217, ὁρᾶτε τοῦσδε τοὺς δόμους ἐφημένους | νέους, ὀνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι, "Lo, mark ye there upon the palace-roof? | young children, dim as visions of a dream."

power to enter ; presumably, as in the Panjâb, through the opening in it. Certainly this would seem the reasonable explanation to a Roman of Plautus' day. That comedian (*Amphitruo*, 1108), makes the serpents who came to attack the infant Herakles effect their entrance *in impluuium*, that is through the opening in the roof to the uncovered space below. How the episode was handled in his Greek original we do not know ; certainly in Theokritos, xxiv. 13, the monsters come in by the door, the poet, if he gave the matter any thought at all, probably reflecting that the emissaries of so high a goddess as Hera would not be stopped by the usual barriers which guarded that entrance against ordinary bogies. It is by the *impluuium* again that Terence seems to picture the shower of gold entering Danae's prison ; at least in his *Eunuchus* the lover moralises on the strength of the passion which could set the god "sneaking on to someone else's tiles" (*Eun.* 588).

The most famous example is that with which Frazer's brilliant and often-quoted article, *On certain burial customs*, begins,<sup>1</sup> namely, the Roman custom recorded by Plutarch, *Q.R.* 5, that if a man falsely reported dead came home alive after his funeral rites were celebrated, he was not allowed to come in by the door, but must scramble in by the *impluuium*. It is the more interesting, when we remember that the sloping roof was much more nearly universal in Italy than in Greece, to read on a little further in Plutarch, and discover that a Greek in similar plight was treated as a new-born baby. The idea was the same in either case. He was a ghost, and must be treated accordingly ; just as in the Niger delta a man who has been killed by Long Ju-Ju is a spirit, and will not be regarded as anything else by his friends, even if to the eye of flesh he appears merely to have been sold out of the country and to have escaped and

<sup>1</sup> *J.R.A.I.* xv. (1885), p. 64 ff. ; see especially pp. 70, 71, 84 ; cf. *Belief in Immortality*, i. p. 452 ff. ; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*<sup>4</sup> i. p. 453.

come back again.<sup>1</sup> The logical Greek followed out this hypothesis to the natural conclusion; being a ghost, the man could proceed to be re-born, swaddled, suckled, and then allowed to grow up as soon as he liked; the common-sense Roman fetched him in by the recognised path of spirits, and then presumably had a good look at him, decided that he was too solid to be an ordinary spook, and after a reasonable number of *piacula*, admitted him once more to embodied human society.

Frazer has no difficulty whatsoever in showing that ghosts are provided with an exit of their own, nor that their path is very often a hole in the roof. His examples range from Norway to South Africa, and from Russia *via* Greenland to China, and the islands of the Pacific. I have nothing of importance to add here, but wish to point out that ghosts are merely one of the uncanny things whose way is on or through the roof; and that some at least of the others are not reasonably to be connected with the fear of ghosts, or indeed of spirits of any kind.

(a) *Inanimate Things and the Roof.* It is well known, that if a bound man got into the house of the flamen Dialis at Rome, not only must he be unbound, but his fetters must be pulled out through the *impluvium* on to the tiles, and then flung down into the street (Gellius x. 15, 8). Here there is no ghost and no spirit in question. The flamen must avoid anything suggestive of tying or binding,—hence he might not wear an ordinary ring, nor have a knot in his clothes, nor pass under a vine-trellis,—so, if the evil magic of binding actually got into his house it must be thrust forth by the regular road of all uncanny things. A similar idea, perhaps, attaches to the removal of the fig-tree from the roof of the temple of the Dea Dia by the Arval Brothers (Henzen, *Acta fratrum arualium*, p. clxxxvi., cf. 141); the fig was generally speaking lucky, but this

<sup>1</sup> Le Conte C. N. de Cardi in *J.R.A.I.* xxix. (1899), p. 53.

particular one declared itself of ill omen by the company it kept.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Devils and the Roof.* In this connection I would not lay too much stress on a delightful tale from Cornwall,<sup>2</sup> concerning a foul fiend who took refuge on the church tower, in the form of a black bird, to be out of the reach of the whip of that godly exorcist Parson Wood. The fact that the tower was the highest thing in sight may have been reason enough for the frightened demon. There are plenty of other instances from folk-tale. Thus in Staffordshire, at Needwood, it is very inadvisable to burn elder; and Cheadle and Newborough agree that the result is to "bring the Old Lad on the top of the chimney," or that "the Devil will be down the chimney in a minute."<sup>3</sup> The West Highlands furnish a tale<sup>4</sup> of how the Devil was beguiled into taking the form of a coin, which was then shut up in a purse and pounded on the anvil, till it "went up the chimney in sparks of fire." At a Welsh card-party Satan was once detected, and thereupon departed up chimney in the form of a fiery wheel.<sup>5</sup> Lesser bogies favour the same means of entrance, or a similar one; thus in Monmouthshire the familiar of a local "wise man," being inadvertently summoned, was first heard, not indeed on the actual roof, but through the ceiling in an up-stairs room, before making his appearance.<sup>6</sup> Those extremely nasty and variously named creatures, the Kallikanzari, Karkanzari, etc., who infest Greece and Macedonia during the Twelve Nights, though they may come in by the door, seem to make the chimney their chief point of attack, and this, unlike the Devil, from no association with fire, because they

<sup>1</sup> Of course it may have been a black fig, which was in itself unlucky; see Macrobian *Saturn.* iii. 20, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. v. p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. vii. p. 380.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vol. viii. p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> Owen, *op. cit.* p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xv. p. 76.

fear and hate it.<sup>1</sup> Hence we not infrequently (apart from changelings) find a mischievous fairy or an avenging devil coming down chimney, sometimes a fairy bride vanishing up it.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth mentioning in this context that there was in Lewis a tooth reputed to be that of a fairy dog, which if dropped down a chimney had the property of setting the house on fire (vol. xi. p. 450).

(c) *Witches and the Roof.* I have already mentioned a witch sitting on the ridge-pole engaged in her nefarious works. No one, I hope, needs to be reminded of the route followed by the witches in the Ingoldsby Legends (*The Witches' Frolic*). Here are a few more examples. An Irish witch, having stolen the butter, was attacked by a counter-charm, consisting of nine irons in the fire. This at once brought her to the house; unable to get in at the closed door or windows she next tried the roof; and it was not till she discovered that this entrance was closed against her, that she brought the butter to the window and capitulated.<sup>3</sup> A similar counter-charm in Suffolk produced "a loud shriek, a roarin' up the chimbley."<sup>4</sup> A more respectable practitioner of magic, the Alaskan sorcerer, often enters by the *válok* or smokehole of the *kázgi* (communal house), instead of the regular doorway.<sup>5</sup> The modern Welsh peasant would therefore seem to be well advised when he puts a scythe-blade up chimney, thus confronting the intruders with the dreaded iron; the more so, as this is one of the traditional customs for which a

<sup>1</sup> Rouse in vol. x. p. 175; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 194 ff.; Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. vi. p. 116 (Dorset); F. S. Krauss, *Slavische Forschungen*, p. 78; Strausz, *op. cit.* p. 130; cf. Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, p. 231 ("Everyman").

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv. p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. vi. pp. 118-119.

<sup>5</sup> Hawkes, *The "Inviting-In" Feast of the Alaskan Eskimo*, Ottawa, 1913 (Dept. of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 45).

rational as well as a magical reason can be adduced ; the chimney is the one place which one can be sure is dry and will not rust the steel. In Norfolk and Yorkshire, and doubtless elsewhere, a poker laid horizontally across the top bar " makes the fire burn " ; see vol. xxvi. p. 210.

And it would seem that not only withches themselves, but their missiles on occasion come down chimney. A farmer in the Isle of Man was working a counter-charm, when stones were thrown down the chimney to frighten him. However, he was not to be scared, and his courage was regarded by the witch coming in through the window to surrender.<sup>1</sup>

(d) *Some Doubtful Interpretations.* Here and there I find a piece of roof-belief which might at a pinch be connected with the escape of a ghost through the roof, but seems to me to yield more plausibly to another interpretation. Thus, in the article by Sir J. G. Frazer, already quoted, he explains (p. 84) the Persian custom of lighting a fire on the roof during illness as an attempt to set up a barrier against the escape of the patient's soul. This is not impossible ; but in view of the examples of malignant spirits living on or entering by the roof, is it not quite as likely that it is an attempt to dislodge the demon of sickness ? Again, many ghosts seem to live quite quietly among the beams or in the thatch of the roof, not merely to use it as a roadway. " A man's soul may be spoken of as occupying the roof of his hut " in South Africa,<sup>2</sup> and the Zulu Amatongo make themselves heard to the diviner, " above, among the wattles of the hut," according to Calloway ; yet the South African corpse-door would seem rather to be in the side of the hut.<sup>3</sup> In India, the ghosts of the unburied dead moan and twitter about the ridge-pole.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Macdonald in *J.R.A.I.* xx. (1890), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xix. (1889), p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> Croke, *op. cit.* p. 143.

We can, therefore, see plenty of reasons why Trimalchio's donkey on the tiles should be *res horribilis*. He might be some sort of evil spirit ; his mere presence there might be a very bad omen ; he might be a new and particularly undesirable form of ghost. A less easy question to answer is why the harmless necessary roof should have so bad a reputation. I have no very convincing reply, but am inclined to think that a dozen fears of things real and unreal may have contributed, fairly early in the history of house-building man. The uncanny effect of firelight on the rude thatching and the smoke-wreaths ; the strange scratchings and patterings of small nocturnal animals running over the top of the hut ; nightmares in which the roof seemed to fall and crush the sleeper ; real injuries from the fall of a heavy bough on the flimsy structure, or the intrusion of some more than commonly enterprising beast of prey ; bats, moths, and small birds fluttering about inside ; all these and many other factors may well have united to make up the sum of these curious beliefs.

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## MYTHS IN THE MAKING.

BY A. M. HOCART.

IN a paper on "The Common Sense of Myth,"<sup>1</sup> I suggested that myths are not the creations of unbridled fancy, but in many cases at least are sober historical records. The idea is not new; it is as ancient as Euhemerus; but those who have undertaken to interpret myths as history have themselves indulged their own unbridled fancy, and have drawn entirely on their own imagination in order to reconstruct the original forms, without seeking for guidance among the available facts. They have been content to guess; they have been influenced in their guesses, not by evidence, but by their own preconceived ideas, which, being of a rationalistic turn, have led them to rationalise myths, and treat them as allegories. Had they put their trust not in pure reason, but in observation, they might have discovered that myths are true in an even more literal sense than they ever suspected.

The examples I quoted in my previous paper were drawn from an unfamiliar part of the world where an argument is hard to follow, because it winds through a mass of strange facts which tend to bewilder. I now propose to use our own Indo-European traditions, and begin with a myth with which almost every school-boy is acquainted.

The gods of ancient Greece, as we all know, drank nectar and ate ambrosia; that is the common version; but it should be known that they are sometimes represented

<sup>1</sup> *American Anthropologist*, N.S. vol. 18, p. 307 (1916).

as eating nectar and drinking ambrosia;<sup>1</sup> Sappho describes how "he brewed a bowl of ambrosia, and Hermes took the flask to act as cup-bearer to the gods."<sup>2</sup> The Greeks then believed that the gods ate and drank a substance called ambrosia, that is "Immortality," because it was the principle of immortality. "Whatever did not taste of nectar and ambrosia became mortal," such, Aristotle says in his *Metaphysics*, was the view of the poets; but he, taking the same view as the modern interpreter of myths, treats it as pure invention on the part of the poets, "for, he argues, how could the gods be eternal, if they needed food?" The poets, however, were right, and they prove to be the better historians; Indian literature bears witness to them.

The ceremonial drink of India was *Soma*; the preparation of it was an important part of Vedic ritual; I need not dwell on a fact so familiar to any one who has read about Indian religion. I only want to draw attention to one small but important detail. Another common name of *soma* is *amrita*, which means immortal; *amrita* is the same word as the Greek *ambrotos*, of which *ambrosia* is the substantive. It is called the "immortal draught," because in the words of Prof. A. A. MacDonell, "*Soma* is the stimulant which confers immortality upon the gods. . . : *Soma* also awakens eager thought, and the worshippers of the god exclaim, 'We have drunk *soma*, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods.'"<sup>3</sup> Thus it appears that ambrosia is not a fiction of the poets, but a real beverage which was drunk at the

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus, 39 a :                    τὸ νέκταρ ἐσθίω πάνυ  
μάπτων διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν.

<sup>2</sup>    ἀμβροσίας μὲν  
κρατῆρ ἐκέκρατο  
Ἑρμῆς δ' ἔλεν ἔλπειν  
θεοῖς οἰνοχοῆσαι.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 98.

worship of the gods; to the Greeks who had lost the ceremonial it became a myth; but in India it remained a fact.

The words, "We have drunk *soma*, we have become immortal," have usually been treated as mere poetic frenzy, as the boastings of drunken men. But why choose the more difficult explanation, when there is an easier one at hand? The easier one is to take those words literally: the worshippers sincerely believed that by drinking *soma* they became immortal, they became as the gods. The belief that men can and do become gods is one of the most widespread, and it is one that has exerted more influence on human history than any other. Kings are gods over a large part of the world and in many ages; the idea is familiar to all readers of Roman history; unfortunately historians have been accustomed to explain the deification of the Caesars as mere Oriental flattery; but a careful study of Egyptian and other Eastern religions shows that it was not more an empty flattery than ambrosia is a mere poetic fiction; it was a real, serious dogma of momentous importance to the world of which it has covered no small a part, spreading beyond China and Japan to the islands of the Pacific.<sup>1</sup> India is the last country in the world where we should hesitate to take in a literal sense any claim to be a god; for if I were to sum up Indian religion, at least in its later phases, I should say it is deification run to death: it is not only men who are called gods in India; Brahmans called themselves "the Gods of the Earth. At certain times the people prostrate themselves before them in adoration, and offer up sacrifices to them."<sup>2</sup> Every morning he must "imagine himself to be the Supreme Being, and say: 'I am God! there is none other but me. I am Brahma; I enjoy perfect happiness, and am

<sup>1</sup> "Chieftainship in the Pacific," *American Anthropologist*, N.S. vol. 17, p. 631 (1915).

<sup>2</sup> Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs* (Oxford, 1897), vol. i. p. 103.

unchangeable.'"<sup>1</sup> The *Satapatha Brahmana* (ii. 2. 2), says : " There are two kinds of gods : the gods, of course, are gods ; then they who are the Brahmans . . . they are the human gods." Even inanimate objects can become divine when used in ceremonial. The *soma* beverage itself was looked upon as a god ; what more natural than that those who partook of his substance should partake also of his divinity.

The *Kava* ceremonial of the South Seas may help us to understand the point of view of the Vedic Aryans. *Kava* was prepared in much the same fashion as *soma*, and, in Fiji at least, its preparation was accompanied by hymns. That may not be enough to prove a common origin for both rituals, but it is enough to suggest one, to encourage us to assume one. Anyhow, whether they are related or not, the analogy of one may help us to understand the other. In Fiji at the present day *kava* is drunk freely, like wine amongst us ; but it was not always so ; it is asserted that of old only the chiefs drank of it. Now the chiefs, as I have shown elsewhere, were divine. Therefore it may be said that the gods drank *kava*. Furthermore, *kava* is the central point of the installation of the chief, so much so that a new chief not yet installed was said " not yet to have drunk " ; until he had drunk he did not assume the title, which sometimes was the same as the god's. Hence we may infer that by drinking *kava* a chief became a god. This inference is confirmed by the use of *kava* in the spiritualistic cult that has recently arisen. Four of us took part in the initiation once : the *kava* was prepared and prayed over, then we drank, and then we became possessed by spirits of that kind known as " water-sprites " ; after this ritual the medium said I must have a shrine for my own familiar spirit, Lindinaasease by name, who had thus entered me ; so he anointed a stick of mine with *kava*, so that it became the abode of the spirit, who dwells there

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 239, 246 ; cp. 225.

(as I hope) to the present day. And here we have another point of resemblance between *kava* and ambrosia, for ambrosia was also used as an ointment. Homer describes how Hera "with ambrosia first from her desirable body cleansed all stains."<sup>1</sup> It does indeed look as if *kava* were after all but a substitute for *soma*, or both substitutes for the same original substance; for substitutes were known even in those days; the modern *soma*, for instance, is not the same as the ancient one, but a substitute. However that may be, whether the Vedic or the Fijian ritual have their roots in the same original ritual or not, we are, I think, justified by the analogy in concluding that the gods of the forefathers of the Greeks and of the Indo-Aryans incarnate in kings and priests, used to partake of a beverage called immortal, because it renewed their immortality. Hesiod and the poets were right in saying that the gods drank ambrosia, because they did.

I have not yet done, however, with this myth: I should like to trace a recent development of it. Mr. Walter Leaf in his note on *Iliad* 2. 19 argues that as ambrosia always means fragrant, in Homer, it may be derived from the Semitic *amara*, which means ambergris. It will seem strange to treat a scholar's gloss as a continuation of myth building; we are so accustomed to assume that the creation of myths involves mental processes that have nothing in common with the inferences of scholar. Personally I can see no psychological difference between Mr. Leaf's suggestion and an etymological myth such as the following from Fiji.

Etymological myths are very much in fashion now in Fiji, or were so ten years ago. They are multiplied indefinitely by the adherents of neo-paganism;<sup>2</sup> whether

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* 14. 170, ἀμβροσίη μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροῦς ἱμερόεντος λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν.

<sup>2</sup> Or "the *tuka* heresy," as Mr. Basil Thomson calls it (*The Fijians*, p. 140).

imitated from the Bible or suggested by ancient precedents, I do not know. Anyhow they are manufactured freely to explain the names of localities and grafted into the legend of the Flood and the Dispersion; <sup>1</sup> one has been devised for the island of Moala. The name of that island is not Fijian, but Polynesian; the myth-maker, therefore, corrects it to Muala, asserting that it was changed to Moala by the Tongans who overspread that part at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He tells how one party of those who were dispersed at the flood went searching for a new home and sighted some islands. "Which shall we steer for?" they asked their chief. "*Ki mua la,*" "Bowwards ho!" he answered; hence that island was named Muala. The philologist will reject this etymology at sight; besides the name of Moala is found in the distant island of Rotuma under circumstances that suggest that the name existed in that form long before the Tongans invaded Fiji. We who are trained in the comparative method, who have the patience, the time, and the funds to prosecute research over large areas have discovered that part of Fiji was Polynesian before it was Fijian, and we can explain the form Moala as a relique of the Polynesian occupation; but the author of this episode was ignorant of the fact; he thought of the islands as vacant until his people settled there; he had to explain the Polynesian form of the name, so he explained it in the only way open to him, as a recent Tongan corruption. Restoring what he took to be the original form of the word he analysed just as a modern philologist might do, only without his training; this analysis and the example of other stories suggested to him the little episode I have related. In the same way Mr. Leaf, unacquainted with the worship of divine kings, can make no sense of an "immortal draught," and concludes that this is a false derivation; he then traces the word ambrosia

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 133.

to a Semitic root which gives a commonplace explanation. One explanation we called a myth, because it is inserted in what would usually be called a myth, and because it takes the form of a story ; the other we call a comment, because it stands at the foot of a page under Homer's text and because it involves no picturesque events. But the mental processes are the same : both the Englishman and the Fijian have lost the tradition which is the key to the problem ; like any one else they are worried by any fact that stands apart and will not fall into their general scheme of things, and, like everyone else, in default of a natural explanation which gently absorbs the fact, they will push it and squeeze it till it fits into a place that is not meant for it. In both cases we have loss of meaning, resulting in a totally new meaning ; where they differ is in their ideas of evidence and in the latitude which they consider they may lawfully allow to their imaginations.

Loss of meaning and consequent misconstruction play a great part, I believe, in the building up of myths ; I do not say the sole part ; I am not concerned here with the processes that may conceivably have helped to produce myths, but only those which can be definitely proved to have taken part. I have often been asked, " Don't you think myths may have arisen in this way, or in that way ? " But I am still waiting for examples, and until examples are forthcoming it is fruitless to discuss these supposed ways in which myths may arise. You can do so much with a " may," that there ceases to be any fun in the game ; it is far more amusing to trace what actually did happen. Now loss of meaning is one of the things that has happened, and pretty often too. We can readily see why, for customs are continually decaying, and with each one that passes away the meaning of some old tradition is lost ; for a narrative always assumes that certain customs, or beliefs, or events are known to the audience ; the speaker cannot stop at every turn to expound them ; he takes them for granted ;

but it sometimes happens that this knowledge which he presupposes is wanting, because he is speaking to a generation or a people that does not possess his experience. Then misunderstandings arise, as constantly happens when Europeans attempt to explain to savages things of which they have not the remotest conception ; the same happens when savages tell things to Europeans who are not sufficiently acquainted with their customs.

I will give an instance from my own experience ; for I very nearly became, quite unwittingly, the author of a miraculous legend, not by giving a free rein to my fancy, but on the contrary, while I was conscientiously trying to record as accurately as possible the manners and customs of Eddystone Island in the Solomons. I was noting down the legend of the Flying Chief who was killed by the people of Pou and Lape, because he had concealed from them a new type of fish hook with which he caught ten or twenty bonitoes to their one. His own people carried his body inland to bury him. Arrived at a certain spot they asked, "Will this do?" "No," he answered, "the Pou and Lape killed me, and they are not far." They carried him to Inusa: "Let us leave him here," they said, but he objected because Pou and Lape were in sight. At last they found a spot where Pou and Lape were out of sight, and then he assented.

Now I will wager that most of my readers in hearing the narrative have understood that the dead man raised his voice and uttered the words ascribed to him. That is exactly what I understood at first, and would have continued to imagine if I had been interested only in stories and never troubled about the customs. I should then have come home and propagated my error ; possibly the legend might have been quoted by other students as an instance of the dead speaking. Fortunately, I had pursued my researches sufficiently far to discover my error ; it occurred to me that the natives constantly conversed with ghosts

by means of divination : a man would hold a shell-ring at arm's length and then question the spirit, who answered by making the arm whirl round and round. This was commonly spoken of as "talking with the spirit." Dr. Rivers and I have seen it done time and again, and the natives probably still talk with ghosts at the present day, unless they are now Christianised. Thus, what appeared at first a miracle turns out to be the most commonplace affair, so commonplace that a native story-teller would not need to go into any explanations, but only just report the conversation between the ghost and the living, and his hearers would immediately understand how it was carried on. But let a stranger hear it who has never talked with spirits, and he will necessarily construe it as a miracle, and turn into a wonder what is really a plain tale which might well be true in every detail.

This example should teach us how frequent such interpretations must be, and how numerous the myths scattered among the writings of scholars discoursing on ancient literary remains which assume in readers a knowledge which we no longer possess.

Loss of meaning and new interpretations are by no means confined to myths. They are familiar to every student of language. For example, the Latin preposition *tenus*, "as far as," was originally a noun in the accusative, and as long as it was felt it governed the genitive ; but when it became obsolete, except in this use it was mistaken for a preposition and took the ablative.<sup>1</sup> The word *tenus* was once a living noun ; its accusative formed part of a complete system, or declension ; but when that system broke down, the accusative used as a preposition was left an unattached vagrant ; it had to be adopted into a different family of words in order to become intelligible, and on being so adopted it assumed the style of its new relations. Mrs. Wright's fascinating book on *Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore*

<sup>1</sup> Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, p. 57.

contains several instances of this process.<sup>1</sup> Take the word *geometry*, for instance ; no one who has learnt the subject can mistake the meaning ; so long as there are people acquainted with both, so are form and sense preserved intact generation after generation ; tradition helps our memories by making us understand. But let the word fall among rustics to whom that classical tradition and scientific experience are unknown, and it straightway becomes adapted to the ear and the knowledge of country folk ; it is spelt *jommetry* and means magic. In this new form and sense it becomes stable, because it is in harmony with the traditions of its new home. The knowledge of a few keeps the word *polyanthus* from going astray among the educated classes ; but when it reaches people who are not under the influence of those few it becomes *Polly-Andrews* or anything that is in keeping with the English language and English ideas ; in the same way *bronchitis* becomes *brown-typhus* to those who have never heard of *bronchia*. Sometimes a word is kept unaltered by sheer effort of memory, no one being able to account for the outlandish form, or not enough people to affect even the cultivated class ; shame alone preserves the word, everyone fearing to lose caste by mispronouncing or misspelling ; thus it is with the word *asparagus* ; it would be more picturesque and more interesting, and it would economise our memories, if we could call it "sparrow-grass," but we dare not for fear of being assigned to the lower classes.

The reason for these changes is that words, like all other ideas, cannot live in isolation, but only as parts of a system. They must conform in sound and in sense with the general spirit of the language ; if they do not they tend to perish ; they must conform in order to survive. If, therefore, a word for some reason or other breaks loose from the constellation to which it belongs it must get lost, unless it can attach itself to some new constellation, and

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 30-34.

to do this it must suffer change. There may be a few exceptions, as I have mentioned; isolated cases may be artificially kept in being; but these cases are few or the strain on the memory would be too great. One need not have studied experimental psychology to know what a strain it is to remember any disconnected matter: nonsense-syllables, figures, words strung together without rhyme or reason: everyone has some time or other tried to remember such strings of words by weaving them into a story or embedding them in mnemonic verses.

It is a constant tendency of man, therefore, to invest with meaning the meaningless, if for some reason or other it has to be remembered. We shall realise the strength of that tendency when we consider the volumes and volumes that have been devoted merely to the clearing up of obscure, but precious texts.

The history of arts reports similar occurrences. Everyone will be able to think of instances. I will just give one. The Buddhist mound or *stupa* was a dome surmounted by a staff bearing parasols. On coins it is represented by a half-circle with a vertical line on the top for the staff; but this line has been prolonged through the half-circle, and the whole has been mistaken for a bow and arrow.<sup>1</sup>

The amount of imagination required to invest with a new meaning a story that has become meaningless varies greatly. It is never wholly absent, for in listening to any one we are hard at work thinking all the time and constructing a mental picture from the hints he conveys to us; for we never in speaking exhaust all the details; that were impossible and unnecessary, but we merely indicate the essentials and the hearer does the rest. Even in the case I have quoted from my own experience, my misunderstanding of the *Legend of the Flying Chief*, there was some sort of reasoning. I had to interpret the expression "talking with the dead," and in order to do so naturally drew on

<sup>1</sup> Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Plate ID.

what I had heard or read in the past. I remembered Lazarus and whatever cases of resurrection may be told in books. I was striving, however, to keep my own mind out of play as much as possible; where, however, there is no such preoccupation the interpretation may be far more elaborate; in the etymological myth of Moala the myth-maker has invented a whole episode for which tradition gave him no warrant; his imagination, however, was not working entirely in the air, as myth-makers are invariably assumed to have done, but he was merely following existing models.

Prehistoric men are always credited with an abnormal degree of phantasy, they are commonly represented as evolving the most elaborate myths out of their own consciousness without any reference to tradition. When a myth explains a custom, or something in nature, it is concluded straightway that the myth was constructed entirely to meet the case. No positive proof is ever brought forward, but we can sometimes prove the contrary. The late Mr. Vincent Smith says that the *Citralaksana* "relates a pretty legend of the manner in which the art of painting originated, the substance of which is that the god Brahma taught a king how to bring back to life the dead son of a Brahman, by painting a portrait of the deceased, which was endowed with life, and so made an efficient substitute for the dead boy whom Yama refused to give up." Not so very long ago we might have thought that this story had been invented on purpose to explain the origin of painting, and called it an "aetiological myth"; but we now know that statues and paintings originally were not mere ornaments, but habitations provided for the spirit of a god, or of a deceased person.<sup>1</sup> The myth, therefore, was not composed to explain the origin of painting, but merely records its true origin; the details may be wrong, but the substance is true. In most cases, however, the myth does

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* p. 590; H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirienmysterien* (Virma), p. 6.

not contain the true explanation ; we refuse to believe that the scarcity of soil in the island of Kambara in Fiji was due to the god throwing it down anyhow in a fit of temper, instead of spreading it carefully. Yet it would be rash to conclude that the legend was devised on purpose to explain the barrenness of Kambara ; in "The Common Sense of Myth," I showed that on the contrary it is based on a fact, on the custom of carrying the sacred soil on migrations, and on the actual carriage of this soil from the mainland to Kambara, and that the story was afterwards used to explain a fact of nature, and was not invented for the purpose. Where such a procedure differs from ours is that we should never think of using a fact of human history to explain a fact of geology ; but then our training has been different, and also our capacity for impersonal reasoning is much greater.

Let us return to the origin of painting. There is one detail which obviously does not correspond to fact, and is a later addition, namely the god Brahma's part in the story. This is but another example of that economy of memory which takes such a large share in modifying traditions ; for there is a limit to what a man can conveniently carry in his head, but tradition is always accumulating ; it is, therefore, necessary to simplify the old in order to make place for the new ; names are especially hard to remember, and therefore they drop out faster than the episodes in which they figure ; the tendency is, therefore, to refer all deeds of note to one or two mighty personages that stand forth among the more obscure crowd. The Hindus traced all inventions to Brahma. The Buddha attracted to himself all the fabled actions not only of men, but of animals, thanks to the doctrine of transmigration which gave him innumerable lives to fill with action. No one in Europe has succeeded in making such a corner in history ; yet the Devil has appropriated a great deal in the region of the marvellous and Cromwell in sober history. I need not

insist on an occurrence which is familiar to every student of folklore ; I only mention it because I have undertaken to point out some of the processes which are known to play a part in moulding tradition, in the hope that others will contribute some more which they have discovered by a careful study of facts.

There are two ways of proceeding in this study. One is to use the historical material that is available. A myth is examined in its successive forms, and from the results we infer the causes. The other is to catch myths actually in the making either by observation or by experiment, as Mr. F. C. Bartlett has done in *Folk-Lore* for 1920. The two methods are not as different as may seem at first sight ; for in both cases we have only the starting point and the finishing point ; we must bridge the gap by inference, for we cannot look into people's brains and see what actually happens ; but in the second method those gaps are much smaller and the conditions are better known. For the experimental treatment I must refer to Mr. Bartlett's article ; it must be remembered, however, that there are conditions which experiment cannot reproduce, such as the pride of old traditions, political or religious bias, and many other influences which affect myths as well as any other kind of history. I have quoted one case of observation from my own experience. There is one process which is comparatively easy to observe, because it is so glaring, and that is the falsifying of tradition ; I have known no fewer than four of these makers of legend, including the author of the Moala myth. It is interesting to note that none of them were sound, healthy individuals ; unfortunately I was not interested in the matter at the time, I did not study them closely enough to be able to describe accurately their mental types, beyond labelling them more or less abnormal. It remains, however, to be seen how far these myth makers, whether downright liars or merely irresponsibles, really affect tradition ; their versions

certainly do not meet with ready acceptance in a community which is keenly interested in its own history and eager to keep pure and unadulterated the traditions handed down by their forefathers ; for among savages there is as great a zeal for historical truth as anywhere. But it is possible that when the interest in traditions dies out with the break down of old customs, forgeries gain readier credence ; that is what seems to be happening at the present day in Fiji ; the young generation schooled with a bastard European schooling are like houses swept clean of old and venerable superstitions, and left open to new and unwholesome impostures.

There are interesting lines of research which I can recommend to those who dwell among peoples to whom myths are still as real as the Norman Conquest is to us.

Much, indeed, remains to be done in this sphere. Language has had its share of attention, and so has art ; it is time now that those feelings and ideas which, never embodied in metal or stone, live in the mind alone, should be acknowledged as realities as real as those that can be touched and capable of being treated with the same rigour as anything that falls under our senses.

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## SHAKESPEARIAN STORY IN SERBIAN FOLKLORE.

BY PAVLE POPOVIĆ.

THERE are several Serbian and Jugoslav tales and poems, with plots that are the same as those of some of Shakespeare's tragedies. But these tales and poems are on the whole but little known. Already in 1847, a Jugoslav poet and scholar, Stanko Vraz, drew attention to a resemblance between one of our Serbian folk-tales and the *Merchant of Venice*, and subsequently others, notably Jagic, Krek and Maretic established the same fact with regard to two or three other Jugoslav tales and poems. Foreign scholars have also touched upon the subject, and further established the facts, as may be seen from scattered notes by the French scholar L. Léger, or the Germans, R. Köhler, E. Rohde, E. Kroeger, F. Krauss, and Leo.

It is decidedly a matter of importance to go more deeply into this subject and to devote special study to Serbian and Southern Slav folklore in relation to Shakespeare. With this object in view I will analyse such of our popular tales as have the same subjects as the *Merchant of Venice*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*.

### I. THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

No less than five Serbian and Jugoslav folk-tales recall the *Merchant of Venice*, and several of them contain all the principal features in the story of Shylock, *i.e.* the bargain between Antonio and Shylock, Portia's disguise, the celebrated judgment, and the manner in which Portia

teases her husband Bassanio after the trial, and other little details, all very nearly the same as in Shakespeare.

The first tale, *A Drachma of Tongue*, is a Serbian tale from Bosnia, taken down by Jukic, Kolo, 1847, and translated into French by L. Léger in his *Recueil de contes populaires slaves* (No. 1), and into German by Leo in *Shakespeare's Jahrbuch* (21, p. 305). I give it here in an abridged form.

Once upon a time, there was a young and handsome youth called Omer, who fell in love with the beautiful Meira. He was poor and merry of heart, and often went of an evening to sing and play serenades beneath the window of the young maiden. One evening, as he was singing, Meira opened her window and told him that he was merely wasting his time in vain, and she would never marry him. Omer was poor, and so was Meira, but she had decided to wed no one who was not rich enough to keep her, together with her aged parents. "Open a shop and become a merchant," she said to her lover, and shut the window in his face. Next day Omer went to Issachar, the Jew, and asked him for the necessary sum to open a shop. Issachar gave him thirty purses, but on the understanding, that if Omer should fail to repay the thirty purses at the end of seven years, then Issachar be entitled to cut a drachma in weight from off his tongue, before the Court, and the debt shall be thus discharged. At the end of a month Meira was led to the dwelling of Omer, who was now a rich man. They lived happy and without care; but Omer's trade fell off more and more each year, and at the approach of the end of the seventh year he found himself without the means of discharging his debt to the Jew. In his distress he confided his secret to his wife, and she set forth to see the Cadi, or judge. "Cadi," quoth she, "grant me the favour to take thy place for one hour, next Friday, in thy seat in the Court." The Cadi consented, and when Friday came, he lent her his robes, placed the turban on

her head with his own hands, and permitted her to exercise the powers of a judge. Presently Omer and the Jew entered the Court, Omer, unable to suppress his tears. The beardless Cadi examined the two litigants, and, after having obtained full information, gave judgment in favour of the Jew. "Hast thou brought a razor?" enquired the Cadi. "Certainly," replied the Jew. "Well then, cut," said the Cadi, "but take heed, lest thou cuttest more than one drachma, for know, that if thou should'st cut more or less than the bond permits, thou canst not justify thyself." The Jew, finding himself outwitted, yielded at once. "I know that thou art accustomed to give judgment by the book," said he; "I will leave him his thirty purses. I will leave him his piece of tongue. We are very good friends." Then the Cadi: "Send hither the executioner forthwith, that I may teach this hound of a Jew to obey the decree of the Court; cut instantly!" The wretched Jew fell on his knees and besought the Cadi, but the judge was inflexible. "Cut the drachma of tongue, infidel," quoth he, "or stretch out thy head for the executioner!" Finally the matter was arranged by the Jew paying thirty purses to the Cadi. The trial being over, Meira reached home before her husband. When Omer entered, she jestingly addressed him: "Ah, here is Omer with his tongue cut!" "Thou art mistaken," said her husband, "God and the wise Cadi (he is pretty as a woman, God keep him from all harm!) have saved me, and caught the Jew in a snare." "Was he prettier than I?" said Meira, showing him the thirty purses. Omer wept for joy, and three times kissed the fair forehead of his clever spouse.

A second Serbian tale (M. Stojanovic, *Pucke prip. i pjesme*, Zagreb, 1867, p. 176) is almost identical with the tale just quoted, even the names Omer, Issachar, are the same. I shall therefore at once proceed to the third tale.

This is a Solvene tale from Carniola (Gr. Krek, *Einleitung in die slav Literaturgeschichte*, 1887, p. 771). This tale

is much shorter and lacking in detail. A poor peasant borrowed thirty purses from a Jew, on the condition that the latter might cut off the half of his tongue, if the debtor should fail to repay the borrowed sum; but the term is not fixed. The peasant's wife—for there is no preliminary love-story in this version—begs the judge for permission to take his place during her husband's trial. The judge consents, and the wife, clad in the judge's robes, conducts the trial. The sentence is the same as in the other story. The Jew is permitted to cut the exact half of the tongue, on pain of having his own cut instead. Finally the Jew is obliged to pay another thirty purses to free himself of the disastrous bargain.

In the two remaining tales—the fourth and fifth—the plot is not so fully related as in the first three. The essential feature is lacking. Portia's part has quite disappeared. Instead of the woman replacing the judge, it is the judge himself who conducts the trial. The tales are one from Ragusa and the other from Hercegovina.

In the Ragusan tale (Karadjic, 1903), a Christian—for thus he is called without further specification—is in debt to a Jew for the sum of ten ducats. The bond is as follows: "If the Christian fail to render the money to the Jew by the following October"—the date of the bond is not mentioned—"the Jew shall be entitled to cut a drachma from his tongue." The Cadi,—the real Cadi, not the wife—gives sentence for the Jew. "Be careful," he adds, "lest thou cut more or less than one drachma, or I shall cut thy tongue instead." Finally the Jew is condemned to pay the Christian thirty ducats.

In his edition of the *Pantchatantra* (vol. I, p. 402), Theodor Benfey quotes a Mahommedan Indian tale which is exactly the same as the Serbian tale from Hercegovina (Pamucina, *Saljive srpske narodne pripovijetke*, 1902, p. 39). The plot of this Serbian tale is somewhat complicated, and the hero has several adventures which have nothing to do

with the story of Shylock, but, in one episode at least it agrees with our cycle. In the main it resembles the Ragusan tale. A young Christian merchant—thus runs the tale—was once in debt for the sum of one hundred grossi,<sup>1</sup> but was unable to pay, and his creditor threatened to have him cast in gaol. He besought all the Christians in the town to lend him the money, but all refused, and finally a Jew agreed to help him, but only on condition that if the young Christian should fail to repay the money ere night-fall, the Jew should be entitled to cut a pound of flesh from his leg. In this tale the tongue motif has disappeared. When the Christian, who found means to repay the borrowed money in time, went to seek the Jew in the evening, he found that the Jew had closed his shop on purpose, before night-fall that day, in order to avoid having to receive the money, and the Christian, unable to see his creditor, put off the matter till the morrow. But on the morrow the Jew refused to receive the money and demanded the execution of his bond. In Court, the sentence is the same as in the other tales. The Cadi says to the Jew, "Take thy knife and cut a pound of flesh, but take heed to cut just one pound, otherwise thou art condemned to death." Finally the Jew is sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand grossi.

How did the Shylock plot come to be the subject of Serbian, Croatian and Slovene folk-tales? I will not be so bold as to offer a complete solution of this difficult problem, but at the same time I will try to give a few indications.

It is well-known that the plot of the *Merchant of Venice* is not confined to Shakespeare's play, but is found in several other works as well. Shakespeare took his plot from the *Pecorone*, a collection of tales written by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino in 1378. The tale also occurs in the *Gesta Romanorum*, before 1342, under the title of *De milite con-*

<sup>1</sup> A coin of varying value, equal to about 6d.

ventionem faciente cum mercatore. The version given in this Latin collection seems to have inspired an English drama of the pre-Shakespearian period. This drama is called, *The Jew showne at the Bull*, and is mentioned by Stephen Gosson in his *School of Abuse*. The old ballad of *The Jew of Venice*, by Gernutus (Percy, *Reliques*; Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, vol. 8), is derived from the same source. The *Cursor mundi*, that comprehensive English poem of the early thirteenth century, contains a tale similar to that given in the *Gesta Romanorum*. In his biography of Sixtus the Fifth, translated into English in 1754 by Ellis Farneworth, Gregorio Leti relates an incident which, he affirms, actually took place in 1585 and which is identical with the story of Shylock. *Dolopathos*, the old French novel in verse, written about 1210, contains a passage which is like Shakespeare's plot. There also exists a French version and a Danish version of the legend. The oriental versions are more numerous. There is a Persian MS. mentioned by Malone, and a Persian tale given by Gladwin. Thomas Munro has likewise translated a similar tale from a Persian MS. The *British Magazine* of 1800 (p. 159), quotes an Oriental tale, and in his work, *The Bond Story*, Conway mentions yet another six versions.<sup>1</sup>

Which of all these could have been the source that influenced the Serbian and Southern Slav tales? Certainly from this point of view preference must be given to three, to wit, the *Pecorone*, the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Dolopathos*.

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Halliwell, *The Remarks of K. Simrock on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays*, 1850; Lee, "The Original of Shylock," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1800, Febr. 185; A. Loiseleur, *Des longchamps, Essai sur les fables Indiennes, suivi du Roman des sept sages* (publ. par e Roux de Lincy), Paris, 1839; L. Léger, *Recueil de contes populaires slaves*, Paris, 1882, pp. 1-14; Alberto Manzi, *L' Ebreo e la libra di carne nel Mercante di Venezia*, 1896; Carl Simrock, *Die Quellen des Shakespeare*, Bonn, 1872, vols. 1-11; P. H. Graetz, "Shylock in der Sage," in *Drama u. in d. Geschichten*, 1880; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, i. 212, etc.

At the time of the Renaissance and after, a school of national Serbo-Croatian literature flourished in Ragusa. All who have studied this literature know that it was greatly influenced by the literature of Italy. The works of the Italian writers were constantly read by the literary men of Ragusa. May we not therefore assume that the *Pecorone* was likewise known to our Ragusan ancestors, and that it was thence that the tale of the Jewish usurer found its way by oral tradition to our people of the littoral? In this connection it surely counts for something that one of the above tales was collected in the neighbourhood of Ragusa. As to the *Gesta Romanorum*, a seventeenth-century Serbian scholar from Bosnia, Matija Divkovic, a Franciscan monk, included many translations from this celebrated collection in his popular writings. Is it not possible that the tale of *De milite conventionem faciente cum mercatore* spread orally in Bosnia, thanks to Divkovic and his surroundings? Attention may be called to the circumstance that the best Serbian tale of this cycle—the one we related first—happens to be a Bosnian tale. The *Dolopathos* may also have been known to the Serbians. It is known that both the French novel and the Latin version of the *Historia septem sapientium* is merely an adaptation of the Oriental cycle of Sindibad or Syntipas, as he is called in Byzantine literature. The Slavonic versions of this Byzantine work are well known. There was even a Serbian translation published in 1809. We may even assume that this same work was translated into Serbian during the golden age of Serbian mediaeval literature, when so many Byzantine works were translated into Serbian, and possibly our tales are only surviving traces of an otherwise lost tradition. Moreover, the *Dolopathos* version has a distinctive feature which is apparently lacking in the other version, and which is present in the two best Serbian examples of the tale. In the *Dolopathos*, the hero borrows the money from the usurer specially in order to obtain

the hand of the maiden, who demands that her lover should be a man of some substance. The same motif occurs, as we have seen, in two Serbian tales.

The tale from Hercegovina is, as we already stated, nothing more nor less than the Indian tale from the *Pantachatantra*.

## II. CYMBELINE.

The subject of *Cymbeline* also occurs in Serbian folk-tales in all its essential features. The wager between Posthumus and Iachimo, Iachimo's ruse, Imogen's disguise and her travels to seek her husband, and the solution of the plot,—all these occur as principal features in our own tales, which moreover resemble Shakespeare's fable in many other minor details.

The cycle is represented by two Serbian tales. The first of these is a Bosnian tale taken down by Kasikovic (*Bosanska Vila*, 1896, p. 353).

Once upon a time there was a drunkard who had a young and virtuous wife. Through his unfortunate failing he was reduced to beggary, and just at this time his wife discovered a cellar filled with gold pieces. She did not confide the secret of her trove to her husband, but incessantly encouraged him to avoid drink, and to set to work; and she supplied him with the necessary money to open a shop and start in business. The husband took her counsel to heart, and soon became the wealthiest merchant in the city. Once, when travelling to Constantinople on business, he had a difference with the toll-keeper in that city, who suddenly reproached him with the fact that all his wealth came from a questionable source, and was provided by his wife's lovers. Then follows the wager: "If you can prove to me," said the merchant in the presence of a Cadi, "that my wife is unfaithful, I will give you all the merchandise I have here with me." "I shall prove it," replied the toll-keeper, and departed for the city where dwelt the merchant's

wife. When he arrived there, he found means to accomplish his object, one of the wife's neighbours being his accomplice for the reward of one thousand pieces of gold. She purchased a large chest, hid the toll-keeper in it, and giving a likely pretext, begged the merchant's wife to take charge of the chest and to keep it in a very safe place in the house. The unsuspecting wife consented, and placed the chest in her bed-chamber. Night came, and as the wife was retiring into her bed, the toll-keeper perceived through a hole in the chest that she had a mole on her right leg. As the wife lay sleeping the toll-keeper endeavoured three times to approach her bed, but three times a mysterious blast of wind prevented him from carrying out his evil intention. Thus he had to content himself with taking a watch, a necklet of pearls and a bracelet of gold which he found in the chamber, and he fled. On his return to Constantinople he sought the husband and the Cadi, and declared that he had seduced the wife of the former. As first proof, he produced the stolen watch, but the merchant merely remarked that these watches are often alike, and that perhaps it was not his wife's. Then the toll-keeper produced the necklet and bracelet. But the merchant repeated his former remark, and was by no means convinced of his wife's infidelity. "If you place no faith in any of these tokens," said the toll-keeper, "will you then believe me if I tell you that your wife has a mole on her right leg?" This was convincing proof, and the merchant admitted that he had lost his wager. He handed over all his merchandise to the toll-keeper and was left penniless. His sole reproach to his wife was a letter containing merely these words: "What hast thou done, poor little woman, for the love of God?" When the wife received this letter, she disguised herself as a young squire and departed for Constantinople. She had great difficulty in finding her husband, but succeeded in the end. During their first meeting, the husband, who failed to recognise her in her

disguise, told her the story of the wager. The wife set herself to find the toll-keeper, and, with the help of one of her travelling companions, succeeded and had him called before the Court. There the toll-keeper had to confess his deceit, and was condemned to the gallows, while his possessions were given to the merchant and his wife.

The second tale is from Serbia, and is very similar to the first one, and I have taken it from the manuscript collection of Serbian tales by Dr. Tihomir Gjorgjevic. The hero of this tale is a Turk. One day a Serbian merchant reproached him with the infidelity of his wife, and offers him a wager on this matter. If the merchant—thus runs the wager—brings convincing proof of the wife's infidelity, the Turk is to give him all his possessions, and moreover to become his slave for life. The ruse employed by the would-be lover is the same in this story as in the last, and again it is a woman, a Greek by birth, who renders him assistance. The device by which the Greek contrives to have the chest placed in the wife's bed-chamber is, however, slightly different. Leaving the chest, the merchant did not attempt to touch the sleeping wife, but took three strings of pearls and perceived that the wife had a mole on her leg. On the merchant's return these proofs sufficed to convince the Turk. He gave all his goods to the merchant and became his slave.

Three years later the wife, who had become anxious through hearing no news from her husband during all this time, garbed herself like a merchant and set out in search of her husband, accompanied by an Arab giant. Eventually she found both her husband and the merchant. The matter was not brought before the Court, but arranged by means of a new wager between the wife and the merchant concerning the draining of a barrel of wine. The stake for this wager was the same as in the former case. The loser was to forfeit his possessions to the winner and become his slave for life. Needless to say the wife won the wager. The head of the merchant was struck off.

The fable of *Cymbeline*, like that of the *Merchant of Venice*, is to be found in many different works.

First of all it occurs in the *Decamerone*, by Boccaccio (ii. 9), whence comes Shakespeare's plot. Then it occurs in numerous other collections: in two old French MSS. from Tours: in the novel, *Guillaume de Dole*, written between 1199 and 1201: in the *Nouvelle de Sens*, a fifteenth-century MS.: in *Eufemia*, a Spanish drama by Lopez de Rueda (in the sixteenth century): in the Italian tale, *Justa Victoria*, by Feliciano Antiquari, written in 1474: in an anonymous fourteenth-century Italian tale: in *The Beautiful Story of the Valiant Francisko and his Wife*, a Hungarian poem by Gaspar Raskay, dated 1552: in *El Patranello*, a Spanish tale, by Timoneda (in the sixteenth century): in an Italian fourteenth-century poem, entitled *Elena*: in the *Miracle of Otho, King of Spain* (fourteenth century): in *Le Roi Flore et la belle Jehanne*, a French prose novel from the thirteenth century: in an ancient French poem called *Le Comte de Poitiers*: in *Le Roman de la Violette*, another old French poem. Besides these it occurs in numerous Sicilian, Florentine, German, Scandinavian, Roumanian, Gypsy, Arabian and Jewish folk-tales, in the Russian Ballad poetry, etc.

It is, of course, possible that the Serbian tales are derived from other tales, from Oriental or Roumanian or Gypsy tales, for instance; but it is most likely to be from the *Decamerone*, as the graceful Florentine writer was doubtless popular in Dalmatia. Marin Drzic, a Ragusan sixteenth-century poet, was most certainly acquainted with Boccaccio, and he took the subject of one of his comedies (*Stari pisci*, VII., com. v.), absolutely from a novel by the celebrated Italian author (vii. 4). Moreover, the Serbian tales we have quoted adhere fairly closely to the tale in the *Decamerone*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Simrock, Halliwell, etc.; Gaston Paris, "Le cycle de la gageure," *Romania*, 1903; etc.

In his essay entitled "Le cycle de la gageure," published in the *Romania* of 1913, the French savant, Gaston Paris, contends that the subject of our cycle can also be traced in another form, and that this is the primitive form of the cycle. "The primitive form of our theme," he says, "seems to be that in which the wife pretends to yield to the advances of the lover, but substitutes another woman of inferior station, who is then mutilated by the lover. The woman whom he believes to have seduced proves her innocence by showing that she has not been mutilated. The mutilation consists in the severing of a finger or of the hair."

Gaston Paris quotes several versions of this new—or older—form. They are the *Hanes Taliesin*, a Welsh tale of the thirteenth century, the Scottish ballad of *The Two Knights*, a Tours MS., a thirteenth-century poem translated from the French, entitled *Les deux Marchands de Verdun*, by Ruprecht de Würzburg; the *Comoedie von zweyen fürstlichen Räthen*, by Jakob Ayres, written about 1600, and finally a Greek poem (Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, v. 21). He looks upon this last-named poem as being the most characteristic, and possibly the oldest. "Is this the primitive form?" he asks, and briefly relates the tale:

"At the King's Court, Mavrojanos fell to praising his sister, whom no man, so he averred, could seduce. The King boasts that he will achieve this, and wagers his kingdom against the head of Mavrojanos, whom he casts into prison until he shall have made good his proof. He sends rich gifts to the maiden, and requests but one night of her company in return. She commands one of her handmaids to yield herself in place of her mistress, and the youngest consents. At dawn the King severs her ring-finger and a lock of her hair. He returns to the Court and shows his trophies. Mavrojanos has lost his wager, and is about to be led to the gibbet, when the sister arrives, asks

for what crime her brother is to suffer death, and on hearing the King's answer shows that her hand and hair have not been touched. She claims the King as her slave, and the King makes her his wife."

This form of the legend also occurs in our folk-lore, notably in the Serbian folk-songs, the ballad of "Ibrahim and Marko," given by S. Milutinovic in his *Pjevanija cernogorska i hercegovacka* (1837). Ibrahim is a Turk. Marko is the renowned Kraljevic Marko, King of Macedonia, and the Serbian national hero. The two are at Constantinople, and drinking the red wine together. Presently they begin to boast of their possessions. The Turk praised his sabre. Marko lauded the wisdom of his wife. "There are more beautiful women than my wife, but none of readier wit, and there is no man in the world who can deceive her in any matter at all." The two men at once conclude a wager in the presence of the Turkish Sultan. The loser is to forfeit his head. Ibrahim departs for Prilep, Marko's castle in Macedonia. He is wearing Marko's armour, his clothes, and is even mounted upon his horse, for the better success of his enterprise. From the battlements of the Royal Castle, Angjelija, Marko's clever wife, perceiving the approach of the strange knight, at once divined that there was some trickery afoot, and ordered her slave girl Roksanda to receive the new guest, while she herself retired unnoticed. Ibrahim spent the night with Roksanda and, believing her to be Marko's wife, severed one of the plaits of her hair in token of his success. Then he returned to Constantinople. He placed the severed plait before Marko and said to him: "Rise, Marko, thou hero, that I may strike off thy valiant head." Marko submitted and the Turk began to pinion his arms. But at that moment, Angjelija returned, apparelled as a knight, a long chibouk or tobacco pipe in her hand, and a casque on her head which completely concealed the long plaits of her hair. Matters were explained to her, but she was not recognised. At last, without

uttering a word, she gracefully removed her casque with the chibouk, and behold! the two long plaits uncoiled before the dumbfounded gaze of the outwitted gallant! With one violent wrench, Marko burst his chains, seized his sword, smote off the head of Ibrahim, and also of a vizier who was standing by, and of a large multitude of Turks besides, and then returned with his faithful wife to Prilep. \*

The second song—the ballad of “Marko Kraljevic and Gjura Golemovic” (*Kraljevic Marko u narodnim pesmama*)—also concerns Kraljevic Marko. His antagonist this time, however, is not a Turk, but another well-known Serbian hero Golemovic. The wager again results from the praises bestowed by Marko on the wisdom of his wife at a banquet where the heroes are drinking wine together. Each man stakes his head, as in the other ballad. The gallant is also similarly disguised, Marko lending him his horse, his armour, his clothes and his gloves. Only when Golemovic arrives at Prilep, he is received by Angjelija herself and not by her slave. Although she clearly divines his intention, she pretends not to have realised that he is not her husband, but at nightfall she contrives to slip away, and to send her slave Kumrija—who consents to do so for a goodly reward—in her place to the bed-chamber where the knight is expecting her. Next morning Golemovic severed the slave’s hair and took away her gold ring. The end is not the same as in the preceding ballad. The heroine does not go to seek her husband, but simply sends him a letter telling him what has happened. Golemovic ends by committing suicide.

The third song—“The Wife of Jankovic Stojan” (Milan Ostetnik, *Razne srpske narodne pjesme*)—is a ballad of Southern Dalmatia. All the personages are different. The heroes are Jankovic Stojan, a favourite hero in our national poetry, and Ivan Krusevac, otherwise unknown. The wager is concluded under the same circumstances as in the other ballads. We have the banquet of the heroes, their vauntings, and the praise bestowed by Stojan upon his

wife. Stojan stakes his wife, his castle and his possessions. Ivan stakes nothing. Equipped with Stojan's horse, clothes and ring, Ivan goes to seek Stojan's wife. But he does not wish to make a long stay with her, nor to seek proofs by mutilation. He intends to bring the wife in person, and show her to her husband, and to this end he pretends to have a message from Stojan. Stojan's wife causes a slave, who greatly resembles her, to take her place. Meantime she herself, disguised as a monk, goes to join both her husband and would-be lover. The conclusion is in quite a cheerful vein, and the ballad ends with the marriage of Ivan and the beautiful slave.

Thus we have three Serbian ballads which are very characteristic of the primitive form of the story of the wager. All of them closely resemble the Greek poem; indeed, they resemble it more closely than do the other five versions of this form, to wit—*Taliesin*, the *Twa Knights*, etc. All three possess many archaic features. The men wager their heads, a slave is substituted, and there is the mutilation. The tale of Ibrahim and Marko possesses several features even more archaic than the Greek poem—for instance, the wife simply commands her slave to give herself. On the other hand the barbarous form of the mutilation in the Greek poem, where not only the hair but a finger is severed, constitutes a very archaic feature. We have three of these ballads, that is to say, more versions of the tale than exist in other languages, and all three are beautiful and interesting.

These three Serbian ballads are therefore undoubtedly valuable documents in the study of the cycle of wager-legends.

### III. MACBETH.

And now I come to my third play,—the Scottish tragedy of *Macbeth*. I do not wish to imply that the history is found in our Serbian folk-lore, but two main elements of

the plot are to be taken into consideration: namely the "moving forest" (Birnam wood that moved on Dunsinane), and the motif of the birth of one who "was not born of woman."

To take the less important first,—the motif of the hero, "not born of woman," which Shakespeare applies to Macduff, is also very widespread. It is, of course, found in Andrew de Winton's *Orygynall Cronykl*, in verse, written in the Scots tongue, compiled between 1420-1424. It occurs also in the legend of the hero Tugarin, and in that of the Russian hero Rogdai. It occurs, too, in a folk-song of the Caucasus, and in a German proverb. The same legend is told about Julius Caesar, Rustem and other historical personages.<sup>1</sup>

I have only found this motif in one Serbian folk-lore tale, and in a very altered and much attenuated form. It occurs with reference to a horse, not to a man. In a Serbian folk-tale (Vrcevic, *Srp. nar. Kratke i Saljive*), a quick-witted Serbian girl discusses paradoxical and enigmatic sayings before the king, whom she greatly amazes by her shrewdness. Among other strange statements she tells him that she rides a horse that has not been born by its dam. "How is that?" asked the king. "It's quite simple," answered she. "My horse's saddle is made of the skin of a foal, which we took from the dead mare. Thus it was never born."

The moving forest forms one of the principal episodes in a charming Serbian folk-tale, which is given by Karadzic (*Srp. nar. pripov: Jedna gobela u kao*).

Once King Solomon the Wise was robbed of his wife by another king, and therefore set forth to find her. Finally he succeeded. But before entering the city where she was living with her new husband, he commanded his soldiers to hide in a wood, and not to leave it nor to come to his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Halliwell, Simrock, etc.; E. Kroeger, *Die Sage von Macbeth bis zu Shakespeare*, 1904; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, iii. 518; etc.

aid before they heard the blast of a trumpet, and that then every man was to advance under cover of a large leafy bough, which he was to hold in front of him. He then proceeded to the palace. Solomon's wife, perceiving him from afar, and knowing his superior wisdom, advised her husband by no means to enter into conversation with him, as Solomon would most certainly beguile him, but to strike off his head at once. When Solomon drew near, the king immediately drew his sabre to strike off his head. "Wait a moment," quoth Solomon; "this is not the way to kill a king. His death must be public. Take me to an open field, cause the trumpets to be sounded thrice, and thou wilt see that even the forest will draw nigh to behold the beheading of a king." The simple-minded king, very curious to prove the truth of Solomon's words, consented to this proposal. He caused Solomon's arms to be pinioned, cast him into a chariot, and departed with him to seek an open field. During their journey Solomon smiled from time to time, and the king asked him: why? Said Solomon: "I am watching the wheels of this chariot. While one pair sinks in the mud, the other emerges, and that seems strange to me": "Bah," said the king, who failed entirely to seize the allegorical meaning of the words of the sage. "I have been told that thou art the wisest man in the world, and now thou art speaking plain foolishness, thou great zany!" When they arrived at the spot, the order was given for the trumpets to sound. At the first blast the soldiers began to march. At the second blast, they came nearer, though as yet they could not be distinguished; one merely saw the waving foliage like a moving forest. The king, greatly amazed and now quite convinced of the truth of Solomon's prediction, commanded the trumpets to be sounded for the third time. Then Solomon's soldiers arrived, delivered their master and chastised the king and his court.

This motif of the moving forest is very popular in Serbian

tradition. I have found it in three Serbian folk-songs. But in these the moving forest only appears as a detail. (See V. Krasic, *Srp. nar. pjesme*, 1880, Nos. 13-14; F. S. Krauss, *Die Russen vor Wien*, *Zeitschrift für vgl. Litteraturgeschichte u. Renaissance Literatur*, N.F. iii., 1890, p. 349).

The motif of the moving forest found in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, whence Shakespeare took his plot of *Macbeth* occurs likewise in many other strangely assorted works—in Hector Boetius, *History*; in *Leukippos and Clitophones*, a fourth-century Greek tale by Achilles Tatius; in the *Chronicles* of the Persian historian Tabari (tenth century); in the "Legend of Fredegonde," from the tenth-century *Frankish Chronicle* by Aimoin; in Gulielmo Thorne's *English Chronicle*; in the *Gesta regnum Francorum*, a work compiled about 720; in the *Chronique de Saint Denis*, a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris; in Layamon's *Brut*, and in Branden's *Mabinogion*. It is also found in several German and Arabian folk-tales.<sup>1</sup>

I cannot hazard any guess as to how this motif found its way into our Serbian songs and ballads. Perhaps it was through the *Legends of Solomon*. These legends frequently occur in Serbian mediaeval literature. We possess the famous legends to-day in three different Serbian MSS. The first is in the National Library in Belgrade and dates from the fourteenth century, the second is a fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS. in the National Library at Sofia, and the third, dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is in the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb. Our tale follows the legend pretty closely in its details. Unfortunately, however, it is precisely the moving forest which is lacking in the MSS.

How deeply this legend of the moving forest has taken root in the mind of our people may be seen from an authentic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Simrock, Halliwell, Kroeger; Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*, 1900, 516.

incident during the Serbo-Austrian war (1914). A Serbian soldier was severely reprimanded by his officer for some slight breach of discipline, I don't exactly remember what. He was greatly depressed by this, and made up his mind to distinguish himself by some special exploit, in order to regain the favour of his superior, and the good opinion of his comrades. A well-concealed Austrian machine-gun was causing the Serbian troops great losses, and he resolved to take it single-handed and carry it to the Serbian trenches. He covered himself entirely with leafy branches, and slowly and stealthily approached the machine gun under cover of darkness. He reached it without being detected and threw two bombs among the Austrian soldiers who were serving the gun. Some were killed, the rest fled, and the brave and ingenious Serbian carried the much-dreaded machine-gun back to his officer.

PAVLE POPOVIĆ.

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## MYTHS FROM THE GILBERT ISLANDS.

BY ARTHUR GRIMBLE.

### I.

IN reproof, perhaps, of my too importunate questioning, an aged Gilbertese chronicler once said to me, "It is fitting that I should begin with the Beginning of Things. Then there shall be no going back and no confusion of heart." That was the prelude to a long series of talks, in which he revealed to me the traditions of his grandsires, from the creation story onwards. Much also he gave me beside the myth and legend of his line; he disclosed its arts of medicine and magic, of poesy and dance, of canoe-building and navigation. His grandson, who was in my employ, wrote these things down at the old man's dictation, while I also sat by, night after night, taking note of curious word and phrase, interpolating such questions as I deemed the old man's not quite angelic patience might brook, and occasionally goading him to his finest effort by some arch quotation of a contrary opinion.

Most of the priceless material thus collected must await publication in another place. Here follows a mere sample—a translation, as correct as it has been in my power to make, of the creation-myth as it was written down from the old man's lips:

#### § I.

*Te Bo ma te Maki* (*The Darkness<sup>1</sup> and the Cleaving-together*).

In the beginning there was nothing in the Darkness and the Cleaving-together save one person. We know not how

<sup>1</sup> *Bo* = Polynesian *Po*, the Darkness of Chaos. The form *Bo* is not used in colloquial Gilbertese, being replaced by *Bong*. This is a good

he grew; whence came he? We know not his father or his mother, for there was only he. His name was Na Arean te Moa-ni-bai (Sir Spider the First-of-things). As for him, he walked over the face of heaven, which was like hard rock that stuck to the earth. And heaven and earth were called the Darkness and the Cleaving-together.

So Na Arean walked over heaven alone: he trod it underfoot; he felt it with his hands;<sup>1</sup> he went north, he went south, he went east, he went west, he fetched a compass about it; he tapped it with the end of his staff; he sat upon it and knocked upon it with his fingers. Lo, it sounded hollow as he knocked, for it was not sticking there to the earth below. It stood forth as the floor of a sleeping house stands over the ground. And none lived below in the hollow place, nay, not a soul, for there was only Na Arean. So he entered beneath the rock that was heaven and stood below.

And now is Na Arean about to make men grow beneath that rock; he is about to command the Sand to lie with the Water, saying, "Be ye fertile."

They heard; they brought forth children, and these were their names: Na<sup>2</sup> Atibu and Nei<sup>3</sup> Teakea.

Then Na Arean commanded Na Atibu to lie with his sister Teakea. They heard; they brought forth children, and these were their names: Te Ikawai (The Eldest), Nei Marena (The Woman Between), Te Nao (The Wave), Na

example of the conservatism of local myth-forms, which preserve intact many words and phrases now unknown to colloquial speech.

<sup>1</sup> Here Na Arean is plainly presented to us as a person, in spite of his name, Sir Spider. The sudden metamorphosis from beast to human of godlike beings is a common characteristic of all theriomorphic cosmogonies. It is of interest to add that, according to certain tales of the "trickster" type, which are told of Na Arean in the Gilberts, he often assumed the forms of (a) a lizard and (b) an eel.

<sup>2</sup> *Na, nan, nang* are courtesy titles prefixed to names of males. *Te, Ten* and *Teng* are alternatively used.

<sup>3</sup> *Nei* is the female prefix; there is no alternative expression.

Kika (Sir Octopus), and Riiki the Eel, and a multitude of others. And the youngest child was Na Arean the Younger, namesake of Na Arean the Moa-ni-bai. And Na Arean the Younger<sup>1</sup> was also called Te Kikinto (The Mischief-maker), for he made mischief among men.

So when these works were done, Na Arean the Moa-ni-bai said in his heart, "It is enough. I go, never to return." So he spoke to Na Atibu, saying, "Na Atibu, here is thy dwelling-place; thy task is to make a world of men; and as for me, I go, never to return. Finish my work."

And Na Atibu called his son Na Arean the Younger; he told him the words of Na Arean the Moa-ni-bai. Na Arean answered, "Sir, what shall be done in this matter?" His father said, "Do that thou wilt do."

Na Arean the Younger began his work; he looked upon the multitude of the children of Sand and Water. They lay, moving not, in their birthplaces. It was as if they were dead. He called aloud to them, "Sirs, what think ye?" Only his voice came back again, "Sirs, what think ye?" So he said in his heart, "These be mad folk," and he named them Bāba ma Bōno (Fools and Deaf-mutes). Then he stretched out his hand over the multitude. He stroked their bodies, they stirred; he bent their legs, they were supple; he loosed their tongues, they spoke; he touched their eyes, they saw; he opened their ears, they heard; he called them by name, they answered; and he said, "They are no longer fools, nor deaf, nor dumb; they are all in their right minds."

He went back to his father Na Atibu and said, "Sir, they are all in their right minds. What shall be done in this thing?" Na Atibu answered, "Do that thou wilt do."

So Na Arean said to the children of Sand and Water, "Arise." They would have arisen, but behold, the heavens were not yet on high; their foreheads smote the heavens.

<sup>1</sup> This younger Na Arean is the hero of many a trickster tale.

They fell back, crying, "Sir, how may we arise?" Then Na Arean called to him Riiki that great Eel and said, "Sir, thou art long, and taut: thou shalt lift the heavens on thy snout." Riiki answered, "It is well." So he coiled himself in the midst beneath the heavens. He raised his snout and heaved from below. Lo the heavens moved, and as they moved Na Arean called aloud, saying, "Lift, lift." But Riiki answered, "I can no more, for heaven cleaves to the underworld."

Then said Na Arean to Na Kika (Sir Octopus), "Strike forth with thine arms. Heaven cleaves to the underworld." Na Kika answered, "I strike, I strike."

He said again to Baka-naaneku and Te-auanei (two Sting-rays), "Slide sideways and cut. Heaven cleaves to the underworld." They answered, "We cut, we cut."

He said again to Tabakea (the Turtle), "Heave with thy back." He answered, "I heave, I heave." He said again to the Wave his brother, "Surge from beneath." He answered, "I surge, I surge." And he said again to the children of Sand and Water, "Push, thou," "Blow, thou," "Roll, thou," "Let go, thou." And all obeyed his word. So Riiki the Eel raised the heavens aloft and the earth sank under the sea. And as Riiki lifted, Na Arean called to him, "*Tabekia riki, tabekia ri-iki* (Lift it more, lift it mo-ore)." Therefore his name is Riiki to this day, in memory of Na Arean's word.

Then Na Arean said to Riiki, "Let be, it is enough." He answered, "How may I let be? If I stand from beneath, the heavens will fall again." So Na Arean called four women and said to them, "These be your names: Make-north, Make-south, Make-east, Make-west. Go hold the four corners of heaven, for you are its supports." They went, and their feet became roots, as it were the roots of mighty trees, so that they might not again be moved. So the heavens stood on high, and Na Arean said to Riiki, "Thy work is done." Riiki answered, "It is

done." And Na Arean took hold upon his body and struck off his legs, which were many. He said to him, "Go, lie in thy place." So Riiki lay across the heavens, and to this day his belly is seen to shine across heaven, even Naiabu (the Milky Way). As for his legs, they fell into the sea and became the great and the small eels that live therein.

But behold, the heavens and the sea were dark, for there was no light. And Na Arean said in his heart, "It is as though my work were of no avail, for it cannot be seen." He went back to his father Na Atibu and said, "Sir, what shall be done in this matter?" He answered, "Do that thou wilt do." So Na Arean said, "Na Atibu, thou shalt die. I shall get from thee a light for the world." He answered, "Do that thou wilt do." So he slew his father. Then also with Na Atibu died Teakea, his sister and wife.

When that thing was done, Na Arean called his brothers the Wave and the Octopus; he said, "Let us mourn the dead." They answered, "We cannot, but do thou mourn him." He said to them, "Ye also shall mourn with me." They said, "Begin." So he began:

How still, how still thou liest,  
My father Na Atibu, with Teakea thy wife.

And his brother lifted up the song in answer:

There is no ghost in him.  
He shall speed under the heavens to northward;  
There, I ween, be no spirits, no men, no things.  
He shall speed under the heavens to southward;  
There, I ween, be no spirits, no men, no things.

And Na Arean answered again:

[*Yea, for*] there shall lie with me a woman, the woman  
Aro-maiaki.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Maiaki*, the second half of this name, means *South*. *Aro* signifies *manner, custom* or *habit*. I suggest that it may be translated *inhabitant* in this place, but I dare not dogmatise on this point.

My seed shall spring from her, the breed of southern spirits ;  
 let them dwell in the south ;  
 The breed of northern spirits ; let them dwell in the  
 north ;  
 The breed of eastern spirits ; let them dwell in the east ;  
 The breed of western spirits ; let them dwell in the west ;  
 The breed of spirits of heaven and the under-world ; let  
 them dwell on earth.

And when Na Arean had done, he took the right eye of Na Atibu and flung it to the Eastern sky. Behold, the sun ! He took the left eye and flung it to the Western sky. Behold, the moon ! He took the brain and crumbled it between his palms ; he scattered it over the heavens. Behold the stars. He took the flesh and broke it in bits ; he sowed it over the waters. Behold the rocks and stones. He took the bones and planted them on the first land, even the land of Samoa ; and from the bones of Na Atibu grew the Tree of Samoa, the Ancestor.

§ 2. This was the manner of the making of the land of Samoa. Na Arean said in his heart, " The heavens stand on high and the earth is under the water." So he called his brothers, the Wave and Na Kika, saying, " See how the children of Water and Sand are swimming in the sea." He said again, " Go, Octopus, drag together the sand and stones." He said again, " Go, Wave, wash the sand and stones ; stick them together." They heard. So at last the sand and stones rose above the sea, a great land. It was called Samoa.<sup>1</sup> Thereon Na Arean planted the bones of Na Atibu, and they grew into the Tree called Kai-n-tiku-aba, the Tree of Samoa. On the branches of Kai-n-tiku-aba grew many Ancestors, and at its roots also grew many others.

§ 3. When Samoa was finished, Na Arean went north and made the land of Tarawa<sup>2</sup> with its people. The first

<sup>1</sup> Tamoa in the Gilbertese dialect.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarawa*. An atoll of the N. Gilberts. Tarawa therefore, according to this text, was the first land created after Samoa.

man on Tarawa was called Tabuki-n-Tarawa (Eminence-of-Tarawa), and his wife was Nei Baia.

§ 4. When Tarawa was finished, he made the land of Beru<sup>1</sup> with its people. Tabu-ariki was the first man of Beru, and his wife was Nei Teiti. . . .<sup>2</sup>

§ 5. Then Na Arean lay with that woman of the south, Nei Aro-maiaki;<sup>3</sup> he begot children on her: the breed of spirits of the south, a multitude of Ancestors. And the eldest ancestor was Te I-Matang. . . .

[Here, in the native text, follows a genealogy, interpolated with historic comments, which traces the line of Te I-Matang down to those descendants who migrated to the Gilbert Islands from Samoa, and gives an excellent, though short, account of their arrival in Micronesia.]

§ 6. Now the Tree of Samoa was a marvellous tree. It was an ancestor, for people grew upon it, and they were called the breed of Samoa (*te bu-n Tamoā*). This was the manner of that Tree: it sprang from the spine of Na Atibu, the father of Na Arean, when he died. . . .<sup>4</sup> The spine was buried in Samoa. Behold, it became that Tree Kai-n-tiku-aba, whose right side was the northern solstice (*te au-meang*), and whose left side was the southern solstice (*te au-maiaki*).

[Here again follow genealogical details. The names of the ancestors who grew from the various parts of the Tree are given, and their lines, intermarriages, etc., are traced down to those personages who led the migration from Samoa to the Gilbert Islands.]

§ 7. When Na Arean had lain with Nei Aro-maiaki, he

<sup>1</sup> *Beru*. An atoll of the S. Gilberts, whence this text was obtained.

<sup>2</sup> The dots indicate the omission of a mass of local allusions.

<sup>3</sup> *Nei Aro-maiaki*. See Na Arean's death-chant to Na Atibu above.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted here, a recapitulation of the elements which were created from the brain, flesh and eyes of Na Atibu, as related above.

went north<sup>1</sup> and begot children on Nei Aro-meang, the woman of the north; his children were the breed of the spirits of the north. But set aside their story, for they were slaves. Now is Na Arean about to beget men, the breed of the men of the north—even Taburimai and Riiki. Taburimai was the man of Na Arean's begetting with Nei Aro-meang.

[Here with a wealth of detail the text relates how Taburimai founded a family in the north, and shows how this family (*a*) migrated southward from the Gilberts to Samoa, and (*b*) after many generations returned from Samoa to the Gilberts.]

I do not propose to go further with this chronicle, for having accounted for the origin of man, it proceeds to concentrate upon the deeds of specific men, namely, the Gilbertese ancestors, and thus passes from myth to history.

This transition in the text under reference is very clearly marked; it is not in all cases so obvious. Sometimes myth and history are not thus neatly stratified, but inextricably interwoven. There are traditions of the Gilbertese which, although their content is plainly mythical—that is, concerned with the exposition of some philosophical attitude—are just as clearly historical in action and condition. I do not here refer to that very common type of narrative, wherein the fragments of some ancient myth have, by the foreshortening effect of time, or by ignorance, or by analogy become associated with the tale of a comparatively recent ancestor; I allude to the class of stories in which the account of concrete fact appears to have assumed the fibre of myth. Take for example a creation-story of Nui,<sup>2</sup> of which I have very complete notes, though no text. Its philosophical content—its account of origins—is identical

<sup>1</sup> *North* in these tales invariably means the Gilbert Islands. In this case, the text shows later that the island of Beru is intended.

<sup>2</sup> Nui, an island of the Ellice Group, populated by a Gilbertese-speaking community.

with that of my first exhibit. But it shows these conditional differences: First, Tarawa and not Samoa is the original land created; second, Tabakea the Turtle is the First-of-things, while Na Arean is his son; third, the real protagonist of the creation drama is neither of these beings, but a certain Au-ria-ria, who procures the separation of earth and heaven, raises the land, and fashions the luminaries, in the manner already familiar to us. This postulation of Au-ria-ria as the supreme creative power at once excites our question, for it runs counter to the almost universally accepted dogma of the race, that Na Arean was the maker of the universe. Something, in fact, must have happened to cause such heterodoxy. The myth contains its own explanation. It states that in the Darkness, before the heavens were lifted, "Tabakea and Na Arean were land-folk, they lived ashore; and the people who lived in the sea were Riiki the Eel and Baka-naaneku the Sting-ray." There came a *bo-ni-buaka* (outbreak-of-war) between the land-folk and the sea-folk. The latter were victorious; they came to live on the land, and then, under the direction of their lord Au-ria-ria, proceeded to separate heaven from earth.

What could be clearer than this? We are told in so many words how the autochthones of Tarawa, whose gods were the Turtle and the Spider, were invaded and overcome by a swarm of sea-farers, whose gods were Au-ria-ria, and the Eel, and the Sting-ray. Hence, syncretism, and the triumph of the strange gods in the composite cosmogony that resulted.

Happily, further evidence of the truth of this interpretation is available. I have an analogous version of the creation-tale from the island of Banaba,<sup>1</sup> which not only corroborates essential points, but also adds detail to the story. This version again postulates a Tabakea, who was First-of-Things and father of Na Arean; and again it endows Au-ria-ria with supreme creative powers; it there-

<sup>1</sup> Banaba. Paanopa on the charts. Usually called Ocean Island.

fore ranges itself definitely within the category of the heterodox Nui rendering, and may be used as clinching evidence.

It tells how the god Au-ria-ria, with his companions, was of great stature and fair skin, while Tabakea and Na Arean were small, black, stinking, and flat-nosed, with furry hair and huge ears; and how Au-ria-ria overturned Banaba and buried Tabakea beneath it. There he lies to this day, supporting Banaba on his back.

This is again quite evidently the account of a strife between two distinct races. The very divergence between the details of this version and of that from Nui is proof that we are dealing with actual fact. Had the two renderings agreed precisely in their presentation of the story, we might have suspected that they were a myth-inheritance passed down to Nui and Banaban people alike from some common and untraceable source. But that Tarawa in the one tale and Banaba in the other are the centres of action; that this version tells of sea and land-folk, while that speaks of dark and fair; and that each has its peculiar methods of indicating the conflict, are psychological points of which we cannot evade the meaning. They show us that these two tales are highly individualised accounts of events actually experienced, being independent records of the same local conflict as remembered by divergent branches of the race. If now we read the versions together, arranging the conjoined evidence in a composite whole, we get a clear digest of some exceedingly important historic events in Micronesia:

- (1) Originally there lived on Banaba and Tarawa a folk of (probably) Papuo-Melanesian race;
- (2) These were invaded by a sea-faring, and therefore migrant, folk of Polynesian type;
- (3) The indigenes were conquered, and a race-fusion took place, which is reflected in the syncretism of the island cosmogonies.

These conclusions are most fully corroborated by evidence extraneous to this paper, which further amplifies our knowledge by showing that the invasion of the Au-rai-ria folk came from the West, and affected at least eleven of the sixteen Gilbert Islands.

In the Nui and Banaban creation tales we therefore seem to have an illustration of the process by which history declines into myth. It is only because we are in possession of material for cross-checking, and of extraneous knowledge into the bargain, that we are able to recognise it as history at all. Had we not come by such knowledge, we should unquestionably have called it pure myth, and classed it, say, with the tale of the dethronement of Cronus, or any other conflict of gods recorded in primitive lore. If, then, we may dare, on so small a collection of facts, to draw any inference at all, it is that what passes under the name of myth might very often prove to be decayed history, if all facts were known. Or, putting this generalisation in another form, it would seem that the mere record of fact, apart from its exegesis, has been instrumental in the elaboration of race mythologies, as we view them to-day.

## II.

Before passing to other matters, I should like to answer several questions which arise from the above discussion of race migrations into the Gilbert Islands. This will bring us back to the text of the creation-myth which I have exhibited. That version propounds the dogma that Samoa was the first land created, the home of the ancestral Tree, and the pristine soil of the Gilbertese forefathers. Enough of its historic appendices has been outlined to show that the case is upheld with a wealth of genealogical detail. Its contention is, in fact, up to a certain point correct. There can be no doubt whatever, that the last victorious invasion of the Gilbert Islands came from Samoa; the modern race

is descended from the conquerors, who arrived (so definite is the genealogical evidence to be had up and down the Group) from twenty-seven to thirty generations ago. This traces the Gilbertese ancestors to their proximate land of origin. Incidentally also, their belief that they were autochthones of Samoa is excellent ground for the inference that they were there for a very long time ; but where were they before that ?

The very text which propounds the Samoan dogma helps us to begin an answer to the question. A reference to section 8 of the exhibit will show that after Na Arean had peopled the South, he went north to the Gilbert Islands and (on Beru) begot a race of men represented by the names of Tabu-rimai and Riiki—the breed of the men of the north. The Tabu-rimai folk then migrated southward to Samoa.

Now there is evidence from at least half a dozen islands of this migration of the Tabu-rimai folk from Micronesia to Nuclear Polynesia ; and from nearly every island of the Group comes the tradition that Tabu-rimai was a “ brother ” of Au-ria-ria, the Banaba-Nui creator, and like him, a fair-skinned being of great stature. It may be taken absolutely for granted that the Tabu-rimai and the Au-ria-ria people were of the same race.

Turning then to the person of Au-ria-ria for further evidence, we find in a Banaban tale that when he had created the first land, which was Banaba, he went southward over the sea to search for a *second land*. Far to the south his foot struck a rock, which he raised above the water and called by the name of Samoa. Going then back to the north, he collected a number of his people and, leading them to Samoa, settled them there ; and there they remained until the “ day of voyaging ” (*te bongi-ni-borau*) again dawned, and they *returned to the Gilbert Islands*.

It is hardly necessary to point out that this is an account of a migration of the Au-ria-ria folk from their original

home (or stopping-place) in Micronesia to Samoa. And to the Au-ria-ria folk we may safely add the Tabu-rimai folk—the breed of the men of the north—mentioned in section 7 of my exhibit. The *return to the Gilbert Islands* of these folk can, by reference to genealogies and a mass of extraneous traditions, be identified with the very “*coming from Samoa*,” which my exhibit and many similar tales demonstrate. The boast of the text that Samoa was the pristine ancestral land is therefore an empty one; and curiously enough, the chronicle that contains it has preserved, in its references to the “breed of the men of the north,” enough material almost alone to refute it.

Long before the forefathers of the race came to Samoa they were in Micronesia, and, as has been indicated in Part I. of this paper, the fair-skinned element of the ancestral stock had invaded Micronesia from the West. Thus, we may prick out the migration-chart of a fair-skinned folk of great stature through the western islands of Oceania, along the line to the Gilbert Group, and thence down the chain of Ellice atolls by easy stages into the heart of Polynesia.

The reflux of a part of this swarm from Samoa to its old stopping place in the Gilbert Group is the “coming from Samoa” to which the general consensus of tradition and opinion attributes the first population of the islands. To give reasons for that reflux would be to turn away from our subject to the study of a very rich period in Samoan history; for the migrants to the Gilbert Islands may with great accuracy be identified as fragments of the so-called Tonga-fiti host, which was driven out of Samoa by the patriot Savea in the thirteenth century of our era. If then, these refugees were Tongo-fiti, and if their coming to Micronesia was but a return along the ancient migration-track of their ancestors, it follows that the Tonga-fiti had swarmed into Polynesia not only along the western route

already pricked out by Percy Smith,<sup>1</sup> but also down the chain of central Pacific archipelagoes, in the manner conjectured by Churchill.<sup>2</sup> They would thus seem to have followed the route of the Proto-Polynesians (*Ur-polynesier*) postulated by Thilenius.<sup>3</sup>

This is the merest sketch of a thesis, of which the adequate presentation demands a whole chapter, and the argument an entire volume ; I have only ventured to give the subject a place in this paper in order to indicate the possibilities that exist in the comparative study of Gilbertese traditions. I do not claim that from the oral records of any islanders a complete history of their racial affinities may be traced : the evidence of tradition, especially in these days of decay, is necessarily discrete. But I do urge that since the concrete method of sociological research has been proved so efficient a tool by Dr. Rivers, the value of tradition as a clue to race-fusion and race-migration has been ignored, and perhaps deliberately discounted, by students of anthropology ; I would therefore lay stress upon the fact that many inferences as to race-movements in Oceania, drawn exclusively from the study of Polynesian tradition by such writers as Fornander and Percy Smith, have been amply corroborated by sociological research. Certainly such inferences have been also, in the main, strengthened and clarified by the new evidence ; the modern method is an enormous scientific advance on any of its predecessors, but it cannot afford to exclude the study of tradition from its schedule of useful subjects.

### III.

The various myths, in which the cosmogonic ideas of the Oceanic peoples have been preserved, are separated by

<sup>1</sup> S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki*, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Wm. Churchill, *The Polynesian Wanderings*, Washington, pp. 138 and 180.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. G. Thilenius, *Ethnologische Ergebnisse aus Melanesien*, Halle, p. 80.

Dixon<sup>1</sup> into two chief types—the Evolutionary and the Creative. The distinguishing features of the evolutionary theme are its postulation of an original darkness; and the genealogical manner in which, through a series of abstractions and concrete things, it traces the development of the cosmos from that chaotic night. Almost invariably also, the cleaving-together of heaven and earth, and their ultimate separation, form a dramatic scene in the story. Not quite invariably,<sup>2</sup> but in so great a majority of versions that we may take this feature also as a characteristic of the evolutionary creation theme.

The creative type of myth has no genealogical tendencies, nor in its pure form does it give any hint of the cleaving-together of the elements. With few exceptions, it begins by assuming the existence of a certain amount of original matter, plus an original god. The latter inhabits a heavenly region of light and space, which is and always has been separate from the waste of waters beneath; at a given moment, he sets to work on original matter, and the universe takes shape.

The absence of the theme of original darkness from myths of this class, and the existence of the creative being in an upper region,<sup>3</sup> where he is sometimes portrayed as the centre of a throng of bright companions,<sup>4</sup> are points which give rise to a very strong inference that he is characteristically a light-god. This will become clearer, perhaps, a little later.

The text which I have exhibited is clearly a result of the

<sup>1</sup> Professor R. Dixon, "Oceanic Mythology," vol. ix. of the *Mythology of all Races*, Marshall Jones, Boston, 1916, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The idea is absent from certain Hawaiian and Samoan renderings of the evolutionary type.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Turner, *Samoa*, Macmillan, 1884, p. 7 *et seq.*; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, vol. i. p. 251; P. Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner*, Münster, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Reiter, in *Anthropos*, ii. p. 444 *et seq.* (1907).

fusion of an evolutionary with a creative theme, for it shows us Na Arean, an original and creative being, enthroned above a chaotic darkness and cleaving-together of the elements, which are plainly survivals from an evolutionary hypothesis. I know of no other Oceanic folk that has retained a hybrid myth in a form at once so homogeneous and yet so precise in its lines of cleavage. This particular version seems to be an example of perfect compromise between two conflicting systems, in which the sacrifice of characteristic elements appears to have been equal on either side, neither form having suffered so greatly but it can be easily recognised. In other renderings of the same myth we are able to see how on one hand the creative idea was retained at the expense of the evolutionary, and how on the other hand the latter sometimes triumphed over the former.

From the island of Maiana in the Northern Gilberts comes a story of Na Arean the First-of-things, which goes about as near the idea of an absolute creator as it is possible to get without becoming metaphysical. Na Arean is pictured as a being who sat alone in space as "a cloud that floats in nothingness." He slept not, for there was no sleep; he hungered not, for as yet there was no hunger. So he remained for a great while, until a thought came into his mind. He said to himself, "I will make a thing." So he made water in his left hand, and dabbled it with his right until it was muddy; then he rolled the mud flat and sat upon it. As he sat, a great swelling grew in his forehead, until on the third day it burst, and a little man sprang forth. "Thou art my thought," said Na Arean; "Thou art the picture of my thought (*taamnei-n an iango, ngkoe*). Thy name is Na Arean the Younger. Sit thou in my right eye or in my left eye, as thou wilt." So the little man sat sometimes in his father's right eye and sometimes in his left, and for a great while it was so. At last Na Arean the First-of-things called aloud, "Na Arean!" His son

answered, "Ö?"<sup>1</sup> He said, "Come forth from my eye. Go down and tread on the thing I have made. Where are the ends of it?" Na Arean the Younger looked, and said, "It has no ends." His father said again, "Where is the middle of it"; he answered, "I know not." So Na Arean the elder plucked a hollow tooth from his jaw and thrust it into the thing he had made, saying, "This is the navel!" Through the hollow tooth, Na Arean the Younger descended and found a Darkness and a Cleaving-together of the elements, which he proceeded to straighten out in the usual manner. When heaven stood on high, it was found that the light of the upper regions streamed through the hollow tooth of Na Arean the elder: thus, the sun came into being.

In this version, the memory of an original darkness survives only in the phrase, "Darkness and Cleaving-together"—nothing more. It is a mere name, no longer a fact; it plays no part in the working out of the drama of creation, because it is nullified, as it were, from the outset by the passage of light through Na Arean's tooth. Its decline of importance is accompanied and, I think, explained by a far clearer presentation than is usual in Gilbertese myth of the idea of an absolute god. That is to say, in the clash of cosmogonies evidenced in the record before us, the evolutionary hypothesis has paid for the fuller expression of the creative theme by the loss of one of its most salient characteristics. Darkness is conquered by light; for I would point out that the Maiana myth clearly supports the idea that the pristine creative being is a light god. Such was the brightness of space wherein he dwelt that its passage through a hole in heaven brought the sun into existence.

I now turn to creation-myths of a converse tendency, wherein the evolutionary idea of the universe preponderates

<sup>1</sup> "Ö?" is the usual Gilbertese answer to a call.

over the creative. From Tabitenea (Central Gilberts) comes the following :

“ In the beginning was Darkness and therein was a Cleaving-together of earth and heaven ; no man dwelt therein.

But the Darkness lay with the Cleaving-together ; their child was the Land (*te Aba*).

The Land lay with the Sky (*Karawa*) ; their child was the Void (*Te Akea*).

The Void lay with the Sundering (*te Rawe*) ; their child was Na Areean.

Na Areean lay with the Rock (*te Bā*) ; their child was the Night (*te Bong*).

The Night lay with the Daylight (*te Ngaina*) ; their child was the Lightning (*te Iti*).

The Lightning lay with the Thunder (*te Bā*) ; their child was Na Areean.

At this point the myth assumes narrative form, and tells how Na Areean the second raised land from the sea. But of course it does not show the god as the separator of heaven and earth, because the sundering of the elements is curiously assumed to have taken place genealogically. From the Sundering in the Void sprang the elder Na Areean. Thus, the triumph of the evolutionary theme has cost the one his title of original being, and the other his prestige as the supreme lord of creation ; while for all that we may discern of Na Areean's claim to be a light god in this text, it may as well have been swallowed up in the black darkness of the evolutionary hypothesis.

#### IV.

I propose to allocate this section to fugitive notes on points of interest in my first exhibit.

If anyone be unconvinced of the stratification of Gilbertese myth, let him observe in the text those conflicting

statements as to the origin of man. First, there is the idea that ancestors sprang from the branches of a Tree. This is by far the most generally accepted theory of man's provenance among the Gilbertese of to-day.

The Original Tree, created by the Original God, was, I conjecture, a fundamental doctrine of the dark-skinned ancestors of the race. Had it belonged to the fair-skinned stock, then, if these were Tonga-fiti, their ejection from Samoa in the thirteenth century would have sent a Tree-dogma scattering over many groups of Polynesia, and we should have expected to find its traces over a wide area to-day. But we do not so find it in the Pacific. A Niene myth derives mankind from a tree;<sup>1</sup> there is also a New Zealand story<sup>2</sup> of how the god Tane took a tree to wife and procreated a number of gods and humans; and lastly, a creation-myth of Samoa shows how certain maggots, which later became the first men, grew from a vine planted on the first land.<sup>3</sup> I can trace no other analogies in Polynesia, but Indonesia bristles with them. Dixon<sup>4</sup> mentions myths in which trees were ancestors of the human race, from Ceram-laut and Gorrom Islands, Ambonia, Buru, Wetar, Minahassa, Tagalog (Philippines), several parts of Borneo, and other places in the area, and shows that the idea is found even as far north as Formosa and as far south as the Proserpine river in Queensland.<sup>5</sup> A version, which he summarises, from the Kayan of central Borneo contains several singular ideas which are typically concatenated in Gilbertese origin myths. According to this version there existed in the beginning a spider (cp. Na Arean—Sir Spider); a stone fell into his web and became original land (cp. Na Atibu—Sir Stone); a worm grew on the stone and made earth (cp. Riiki—the Eel); and a tree took root, in whose branches the ancestors of the human race were

<sup>1</sup> Smith, "Niene Island and its People," *Journ. Pol. Soc.* xi. 203.

<sup>2</sup> White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, i. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Turner, *Samoa*, p. 8.    <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 159.    <sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 274.

procreated (cp. the Tree of Samoa). Lest the suggested analogy between the worm and the eel should seem overstrained, I would mention that in a Marshall Island creation myth,<sup>1</sup> two worms are said to have performed that work of enlarging the heavens, which the eel undertook in Gilbertese story. Almost as valuable for comparative purpose is a myth from the island of Nias, which relates how from the heart of an original, formless being sprang a tree, the ancestor of mankind; <sup>2</sup> and how from the eyes of the same being were fashioned the sun and moon.<sup>3</sup> Here again is a complex of ideas which we cannot possibly mistake—the Na Atibu-sun-moon-tree complex, presented to us in the first of my exhibits. This is not the place to push far my commentary on such facts as these; but I cannot refrain from adding that, however far the “psychological” school of anthropologists is prepared to drive its argument of the fundamental similarity of the working of the human mind, it could not reasonably assume that such curious combinations of ideas as Spider-stone-worm (or eel)-tree, or Elemental-tree-sun-moon, are likely to suggest themselves independently to different races. The logical explanation of these striking similarities lies, of course, in the migration of cultures.

Another account of the origin of mankind is evidently presented to us in sections 5 and 7 of my exhibit. There, Na Arean is said to have begotten children on the woman of the south and the woman of the north. This progeny is called a breed of spirits; nevertheless, the spirits were ancestors, whose line is traced down to the present day. The idea underlying this derivation of the human race is therefore that of procreation by the original god.

The third concept brought to our notice in the text is that of a direct act of creation. In the words of section 3,

<sup>1</sup> Erdland, *Die Marshall-Insulaner*, Münster.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon, *op. cit.* p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 177.

“When Samoa was finished, Na Arean went north and made the land of Tarawa with its people.” The names of the first man and his wife are given.

This does not yet exhaust the tale. In the company of Fools and Deaf-mutes, who were the offspring of Na Atibu and his wife Te Akea, we almost certainly have another stratum of human ancestors. Many Gilbertese families trace their descent from beings of this class, whose names up and down the Group are legion. According to the majority of accounts the Fools and Deaf-mutes were formless beings, without arms, legs or organs, until touched by the miraculous hand of Na Arean. We have already seen how their “father” Na Atibu has strong affinities with the formless (*i.e.* armless, legless and headless) original being of Nias myth, and this is evidently their link with Indonesia. But they have also strong relations with Polynesia. In their capacity of assistants in the raising of heaven they remind us of the plants, which, according to a Samoan tradition, pushed the skies up from earth;<sup>1</sup> by the name *Bakatoko—supports*—which is often given to them, they not only again recall the Samoan story, but associate themselves with those supports of Marquesan myth—“the great and the small . . . the crooked and the bent . . . innumerable and endless supports”<sup>2</sup>—which were evolved in original night; and in the innumerable positions which Gilbertese traditions ascribe to them, as they lay between heaven and earth, they reflect the condition of the children of Rangi and Papa, whom a Maori myth pictures as crawling, upright, bent, doubled up, and so on, between the sky-father and the earth-mother.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, I have an account of the Fools and Deaf-mutes

<sup>1</sup> Turner, *op. cit.* p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Von den Steinen, *Verhandlungen d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin*, vol. xxv. p. 506 (1898).

<sup>3</sup> Smith, “The Lore of the Whare-wananga,” *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, iii. 117.

from the island of Maiana which, assuming them to have been originally maggots, shows how they were afterwards endowed with legs, arms, and human attributes by Na Areean. The maggot idea is, I believe, another phase of the concept of formlessness so often found in Indonesia; that it has penetrated to Nuclear Polynesia is shown in the Samoan myth, quoted above, wherein maggots are said to have been the first ancestors of the human race, born on the original tree.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### A NEBRASKA FOLK-SONG.

THE following Nebraska text of a song for New Year's Eve may have interest for the readers of *Folk-Lore*. It was heard from Mr. James R. Barron of Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1919. He learned it from his mother, who learned it from oral transmission in the parish of Walls, on the west side of the Shetland Islands. He cannot recall that she ever had a book of songs.

Mr. Barron says that it was the custom for boys and girls to go from house to house to sing this song. They were usually asked into the house, and were, as a rule, given something in the way of provisions—coffee, sugar, bread, butter. To carry the provisions they had a sort of straw basket, called as nearly as Mr. Barron can remember, a *kishie*. One of the singers was appointed, or jokingly compelled, to carry this basket hung from his shoulders by a strap. The one who carried the basket was called the "carrying horse." The custom was practised only in remote parts of Scotland and the Shetlands, and had about died out by 1882, the year in which he learned the song from his mother. The song itself continued to be sung at parties on New Year's Eve.

I have not been able to identify it with anything in the collections of Old World Folk-song which are available in the library of the University of Nebraska.

LOUISE POUND.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln, U.S.A.,

December, 1919.

*The Newer Even's Sang.*

This is guid Newer Even's night.

Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' we're come here to crave our right,  
Before our Lady.

We're neither come here for meal or maut,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
Nor yet we're come for kale or saut,  
Before our Lady.

But we are here to mak' you gay,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
And we're here to honor guid New Year's Day,  
Before our Lady.

King Henry he is not at home,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
But he is a-hunting gone,  
Before our Lady.

Shall we tell you how King Henry's lady was dressed ?  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' that fu' braw an' a' the best  
Before our Lady.

She had upon her weel made head,  
St. Mary's men are we,  
A crown o' gold an' that fu' braid,  
Before our Lady.

She had around her middle sma',  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
A golden belt an' it fu' braw,  
Before our Lady.

She had upon her weel made feet,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
Golden slippers an' they fu' neat,  
Before our Lady.

Guid man, geng ti' your beef barrel,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' gie us the piece 'at's neust the sparrel  
Before our Lady.

Guid wife, geng ti' your bread basket,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' gie us a slice or tiu of that  
Before our Lady.

Guid man, geng ti' your mutton reest,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
And gie us the piece that's next the breest,  
Before our Lady.

Guid wife, geng ti' your cream kern,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' gie us ane an' a' a stirrin'  
Before our Lady.

Cut wide, cut room,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' tak' care you cut na you in the toom,  
Before our Lady.

Here we hae our cerryin' horse,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
An' muckle-sorrow he on his cross,  
Before our Lady.

He hed de wyte, we cam frae hame,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
And brokken he his neck bane,  
Before our Lady.

Wir feet are cauld, we want within,  
Saint Mary's men are we,  
Open the door or we'll lay him in,  
Before our Lady.

## GLASTONBURY AND THE GRAIL.

*(Folk-Lore, vol. xxxii. p. 131 et seqq.)*

IN criticising my paper on *Glastonbury and the Grail* Miss Weston says: "It is worth noting that the only one of the romances that can be directly associated with Glastonbury, *i.e.* the *Perlesvaus*, appears to be interested in the Abbey as the burial place of Arthur and Guenevere, not as the home of the Grail. In fact, there is reason to believe that the romance was written with the direct intention of exploiting the supposed discovery of the tomb in 1191."

Glastonbury Abbey was *never* the "home of the Grail," which local tradition hides in Chalice Hill; and Glastonbury Abbey is not the spot indicated by *Perlesvaus* as Arthur's burial place, nor could any one knowing Glastonbury suppose so. *Perlesvaus* buries Arthur in Avalon, in a religious house; but this is not the Abbey, for the story shows Lancelot visiting Avalon, and finding on a hill-top a chapel, where Guenevere's body waits burial, and where Arthur will one day lie. The Abbey is in a valley; but in the Middle Ages there was a distinct monastery on the Tor, which our author plainly had in mind. We have no reason for disbelieving that he drew his data from a Glastonbury MS.; therefore, as he must have visited Glastonbury, he would have seen the "supposed discovery" near the Abbey Lady Chapel. Thus he puzzles us by exploiting the find in a place where he knew that it was not. At the best he is not much interested in it, only mentioning it twice, cursorily.

She then says: "It is by no means clear where the author located the Grail Castle; it is certainly not in Avalon, and the final home of the Grail is in a sea-girt island." Glastonbury was once sea-girt, though in mediaeval days it had long been dry land. The author describes a long-past condition. So far as I know, no romance locates the Grail Castle or calls it Avalon—the reason doubtless being that the rites were banned, as Miss Weston says. The belief that this place is Avalon, or Glastonbury, belongs to *unwritten tradition*; but mediaeval Glastonbury did not practise the rites, though Celtic Glastonbury probably did. The Grail Castle's physical descriptions all

apply to Glastonbury, both past and present—even *Perlesvaus'* "lesser castles" all agree here. Their names are significant. "Eden" suggests the apples of Avalon. "The Castle of Souls," so-called "because none ever passed away therein but his soul went straight to Paradise," parallels William of Malmesbury's indulgence to persons dying in Glastonbury.

On Arthur's grave a pyramid—an accepted Life Cults symbol—bore the names "Bregored" and "Logwor." Bregored, a form of Miss Weston's "Bledri," suggests an early member of a clan of hereditary "questers." He was the last Celtic abbot. Logwor was a Celtic chief who, before Saxon days, gave Glastonbury land at Montacute. Montacute is named from a "pointed hill" exactly parodying a small Glastonbury Tor, and claims to be the burial place of Joseph of Arimathea, the only possible patron for Christianized Life Cults—suggesting that Logwor, by his gift, meant to affiliate the smaller cults with the greater. I suspect the rites were banished from Glastonbury by King Ine, probably withdrawing to the district indicated by Miss Weston.

'*Mons Acutus*' supports Professor Rhys's definition of Corbenic; but may I suggest *Caer Vannawg* as mistaken for some Oriental word akin to that represented by "Corbenic," not *vice versa*? There were Phoenician influences near Glastonbury. Some years ago the British Museum pronounced as Phoenician a piece of blue porcelain found in the abbey below all the successive foundations.

Miss Weston challenges my conclusions as to "Bridge Perilous," as the combat would be a grave bar to initiation; but this legend, found in differing forms everywhere, preserves the primitive form of election to the kingship, and its connection with rain-making show the king as the agricultural-spirit's human avatar, *i.e.* the Grail King. I cannot see that it is a worse hindrance to initiation than to the kingship.

I am guiltless of confusing Other World associations and head-gods with the Grail. The parallel Egyptian cults had them, and there is the head in *Perceval*. Though this is a minority-form, the general kinship of Grail and Adonis rites shows that British head legends had such associations; and if they

were ever distinct the two lines of tradition coalesced before the mists of antiquity gathered.

MARY A. BERKELEY.

Cranborne, Nr. Salisbury.

SNAKE STONES.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. p. 262 *et seqq.*)

To my friend and colleague Mr. J. Glyn Davies I owe the following references in correction of a blunder in my note upon "Snake Stones," *Folk-Lore*, xxxii., p. 267, where, trusting foolishly to a secondary authority, I perpetuated a misprint, of which my ignorance of Welsh prevented the detection. The correct name of the Welsh snake stone is not Maen Magi but Maen Magl, *i.e.* spotted stone. The word magl is of some interest because it is clearly a loan word from monastic Latin. In modern Welsh, as Mr. Glyn Davies tells me, it is the every-day term for "noose," but in the *Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum* of John Davies (1632), besides the entries magl, *laqueus*, maglu *illaquare*, we find magl *macula*, while in the Latin-Welsh section *macula* is rendered magl in the sense of spot, speckle or blemish. The Maen Magl is mentioned *s.v.* glain neidr in Pughe, *A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (1830), ii. p. 65, and this author quotes the proverbial Welsh phrase, "what, are they blowing the gem?" applied to people laying their heads together in conversation, an allusion to the way in which such stones were thought to be manufactured by the snakes. Reference to the Maen Magal, Glein Neidr, and the Cornish Mel-pref or Mil-pref is made in a letter dated 1699 of Edward Lhwyd, the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, published in Rowlands, *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (London, 1766), p. 318.

I may perhaps be allowed to take the opportunity of making the following addenda to my notes:

To note 4, p. 268. Hunt, *loc. cit.*, mentions a variant specimen of the Cornish stone which was "a beautiful ball of coralline lime-stone, the section of coral being thought to be entangled young snakes."

To note 4, p. 270. Aelian states that Aristotle and Nicander were his authorities. The passages referred to must be Aristotle,

*De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, cxv. and Nicander, *Theriaca*, 37. The latter calls the stone Γαγγίτιδα πέτρην, with the result that the scholiast confuses it with γαγάτης, "jet," which came not from the East, but from Lycia. To the gagate, however, is ascribed similar properties with regard to serpents by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 141, and the Orphic *Lithica* (ed. Abel) 474, and it was supposed to be used by eagles on account of its coldness to prevent their eggs from getting cooked by the extreme heat of the parent bird's body, Bode, *Scrip. Rer. Myth.* (1834), p. 75.

The earliest authority for snake stones in East Africa who is known to me is Friar Jordanus (*circa* 1330), *The Wonders of the East*, ed. Yule (Hakluyt Society, 1863), pp. 41-43. In India Tertia, which is East Africa south of Abyssinia, he reports at second hand the existence of snakes with jewels inside them and also of dragons with carbuncles on their heads. This latter is, of course, another example of the blazing jewel crest, for the carbuncle is regularly the magically luminous stone of the Middle Ages. Thus in a familiar story, most frequently told of Gerbert or Vergil, the subterranean treasure chamber guarded by the talismanic statue of the archer is magically illuminated by a single great carbuncle (cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Swan, No. cvii. p. 185; Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 307).

See p. 67.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

#### THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the *Indian Antiquary*, Sir Richard Temple, Bt., who for thirty-seven years has been the Editor-proprietor, has written a short account of the history of the magazine which has had among its contributors many great Indian and Oriental scholars in India itself as well as all over Europe and America. The object of the *Indian Antiquary* has been to provide a means of communication between the East and the West on subjects connected with Indian research, and a medium to which students and scholars, Indian and non-Indian, could combine to send notes and queries of a nature not usually finding a place in the

pages of Asiatic Societies. The main aim has been to promote and encourage research. The subjects with which the magazine has been principally concerned have been the Archaeology, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Geography, History, Folklore, Language, Literature, Numismatics, Philology, Philosophy, and Religion of the Indian Empire and to a certain extent of its surroundings. Notable contributions have been published on all these subjects, several of them having been preliminary studies of books subsequently well-known to Indian and Oriental students and even to general fame.

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#### THE BUGATA IN PIEDMONT.

THE bugata, or washing, is an important business in North Italy, as it is done only once every three weeks or so, and thus disorganises the whole household for a time.

There is a curious superstition in connection with the bugata which is firmly believed by all the peasantry. Indeed, it is not at all easy to explain it away, however absurd it may seem to the incredulous English traveller. It is an article of faith with the contadini that the new moon has a prejudicial effect on the clothes on the night preceding the washing in the stream. Though the clothes are in the big vat and covered with a thick layer of wood ashes, the moon's rays—if it is a new moon—will penetrate and leave a yellow round patch right through the heap from the top to the bottom. I do not venture, of course, to give lunar influences as the cause of this remarkable phenomenon, but I am bound to admit that I have on one occasion distinctly seen this inexplicable stain going through all the clothes right to the bottom of the vat, and it so happened that the washing synchronised with the new moon. Further, I have never seen the wash spoilt in this manner when there did not happen to be a new moon. I can only say that the practical effect of this superstition is that no bugata woman can be persuaded knowingly to begin a bugata when there is a new moon.

S. A. REYNOLDS BALL.

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A CHILDREN'S GAME AND THE LYKE WAKE.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. p. 274 ff.)

PROFESSOR GRANGER'S article on *A Children's Game and the Lyke Wake*, brought to my mind a version of the poem quoted, which was told to me as a child by one of our servants. It did not, with her, form part of a game, but was accompanied by a certain amount of gesture play. The poem is very short and incomplete and I can remember no reference to the worms and their unpleasant functions, while it will be seen that the church and the parson both occupy very subordinate positions. I can only quote from memory, and have not heard the rhyme for years, so it is possible that there may be omissions, though I do not think so. They run as follows :

“ There was an old man all skin and bone—  
He always went to Church alone.

He looked up, he looked round,  
He saw a dead man on the ground.

He said to the parson, passing by,  
' Shall I be like that man when I die ? '—  
‘ YES ! ’ ”

This is, of course, a very poor version ; but it is entirely possible that the worms have their place in it, though I have forgotten them. The woman used to recite it in a hollow voice, her hands folded palm to palm with the thumbs upwards and the fingers pointing at me. During the recitation she rubbed her hands slowly together, keeping a perfectly grave face and a mysterious manner ; but on reaching the final ' Yes ! ' her voice rose to a shout, and one hand shot out suddenly, hitting me in the face. I am not sure what part of the country this woman came from ; but I think that she was a Londoner.

MARY A. BERKELEY.

Cranborne, near Salisbury.

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## A COLESHILL CEREMONY.

AMONG curious tenures certainly rivalling the chopping of a faggot by the London City town clerk, or the cracking of the whip in Caistor Church, is one which was performed at Coleshill, on Easter Monday, so late as, I am told, 1895. The vicar held his glebe on condition that if the young men could catch a hare and bring it to him before ten o'clock, he was bound to give them a calf's head and a hundred eggs for their breakfast, and fourpence in money.

The connection of eggs with Easter was pretty frequent, hare-pie being the correct thing to eat, and at Hallaton, in Leicestershire, there was an endowment for providing a hare-pie, bread, and ale for distribution on Easter Monday.

It is easy to read in these old customs a meaning they never had, but the following is the most probable: Caesar, in his *Commentaries*, tells us that the ancient Britons never ate hare, but used it for the purpose of divination. It was supposed that demons sometimes transformed themselves into these animals. It is probable therefore that the triumph of Easter suggested the eating of the hare, as showing the complete subjection of all that is evil.—*Midland Counties Herald*, 26th January, 1922.

## FOLK-TALES FROM THE PANJAB.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. 271 *et seqq.*)

*The Clever Wife of the Merchant.*

A CERTAIN merchant had a wife who could not be matched for beauty in the whole world, and she was as virtuous as beautiful. One day the husband set out on one of his many journeys connected with his trade, leaving his wife behind to look after their little children. Before starting he agreed with his wife that if he did not return within two years she would know he was dead and might therefore marry anyone she pleased.

Time went on and still the merchant did not return. More than a year after his departure the Governor of the town, who had heard of her great beauty, sent a message to her through an old woman, that he wished to marry her. This she said was

impossible till she felt sure that her husband, whom she deeply loved, was dead—it wanted only a few more months to complete the two years, and if the merchant had not returned before that time she would marry him.

On the last day of the two years the Governor sent word that he awaited her. So the merchant's wife dressed herself in all her finery and jewels. Just as she was about to leave her house her husband came back from his wanderings. He was much astonished to see his wife dressed as if for her bridal, as an Indian wife in the absence of her husband wears plain white clothes without any embroidery, and takes off all her ornaments till her lord and master returns. But she related to him all that had happened during his absence and said she was on the point of leaving the house to be married to the Governor when he returned.

The merchant was very much annoyed when he heard this, for he thought: "If I refuse to let my wife go the Governor will doubtless kill me so that he may marry her, and if on the other hand I send her to him I shall lose my dear wife." He was much perplexed and asked his wife what she would advise him to do. Now the merchant's wife was a clever woman and she told her husband not to trouble, that she would arrange everything satisfactorily.

The woman took four eggs, one, she blackened with ink, the second she dyed yellow, the third she coloured green and the fourth was left white as it was when laid. Putting the eggs into a cloth she went with them to the Governor's palace. When she came into his presence she gave him the eggs and told him to break them separately. This the Governor did, and the same substances, yellow and white, came out of each.

The Governor asked her the meaning of what she had done, and she said, "Oh! Sir, be not angry with me, my husband has come back to-day from his travels and wishes me to return to him. I want therefore to show you that women are like the eggs which you have just broken. They appear different to the eye, one is fair, another dark, but in reality they are the same. My husband is dear to me and I to him, therefore will you marry another woman and not separate us."

The Governor was much struck with the reasoning of the merchant's clever wife and filling the cloth, in which the woman had brought the eggs, with gold *mohurs* sent her back to her husband.

L. W. KING.

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HUMAN SACRIFICE IN INDIA.

*Method of Invoking Vengeance.*

SIMLA, June 8.—In connexion with the recently published reports of the collision between officials and villagers in Sirohi State, the Government of India has issued a statement giving the real facts.

The statement reveals an amazing instance of the survival of the custom of human sacrifice. It appears that certain villages, including Morvada, are held by an ancient sect called Charans, or hereditary musicians, but, whereas the other villages paid the usual revenue contributions, the Charans of Morvada claimed exemption on the ground of their hereditary occupation.

When the present spring crops were ready for harvesting, fifty State Sepoys were sent to Morvada to assist in the collection of the revenue. They remained outside the village while attempts were made to induce the Charans to pay. The Charans refused to yield. Half an hour later smoke was seen rising from the village, and it was found that the Charans had decided to have recourse to the traditional method of bringing down the vengeance of Heaven on the State by burning an old woman alive. An aged widow had been placed on a pyre which her nearest relatives set afire.

The troops attempted to rescue the victim, but the villagers, determined to complete the sacrifice, opposed the efforts of the troops with knives, daggers, and swords, wounding several of them. The troops were compelled to fire in self-defence, and killed seven and wounded ten. They dispersed the mob, but were too late to save the woman's life.—*Reuter*.

*The Times, 14th June, 1921.*

## REVIEWS.

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GREEK HERO CULTS AND IDEAS OF IMMORTALITY: GIFFORD LECTURES, 1920, by LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1921.

THIS book forms a desirable supplement to Dr. Farnell's great work on *The Cults of the Greek States*, and it is characterised throughout by the same learning, sanity, and carefulness of presentation. Perhaps the most important part is the classification of hero types, these being divided into seven classes: (a) the hieratic type of hero-gods and heroine-goddesses whose name or legend suggests a cult-origin; (b) sacral heroes or heroines associated with a particular divinity, as apostles, priests, or companions; (c) heroes who are also gods, but with secular legend, such as Herakles, the Dioskouroi, Asklepios; (d) culture and functional heroes, the "Sondergötter" of Usener's theory, usually styled ἥρωες by the Greeks themselves; (e) epic heroes of entirely human legend; (f) geographical, genealogical, and eponymous heroes and heroines, transparent fictions for the most part, such as Messene and Lakedaimon; (g) historic and real personages. This classification will do much to reduce into order the tangled material for the investigation of these cults. The heroes who occupy the most space in this book are naturally Herakles, Asklepios, and the Dioskouroi, for the study of whom the evidence is for the first time collected and arranged. It is noteworthy to observe the return to the views of Euhemeros: "in its original application the name [Herakles] denoted an individual man; whether real or imaginary is a question that does not fall within the range of any possible decision. But we are enabled to say that

the career of Herakles precedes his career as a god, so far as the name gives evidence." "If this treatise," Dr. Farnell remarks in his preface, "is censured as a revival of 'Euhemerism,' it will only be censured on this ground by those who have not followed recent researches in anthropology and the comparative study of Saga." He objects to the school which "would interpret all Homer's heroes and heroines as faded gods and goddesses, and all heroic saga as merely the secularization of, *ἱερός λόγος* or of sacred chronicles that attached to the worship of temples and underground shrines." "We ought to maintain the principle, as a new and much needed axiom in the procedure of folk-lore, that no story should be relegated to the realm of cosmic or celestial mythology that can reasonably be explained on the lines of human life." "It is a common error of current mythologic theory to assign to prehistoric names a deeper and more illuminating significance than we do to the historic." "The students of mythology have frequent need of the caution that this significance or status of a mythic personality is not necessarily determined by that of his parents or spouse. A mortal king may marry a goddess, or may be the son of a deity." Writing of Asklepios he remarks: "The various interpretations of his divinity reflect the passing fashions of mythic speculation that have prevailed in the last and still prevail in the present generation, some writers explaining him as originally a god of the air, others of the storm or the lightning, others of the sun. None of these meteorologic theories are worth present consideration." It was time that these words of wisdom, directed against some schools of interpretation, should be spoken. The book must be in the hands of all who are interested in the study of mythology.

W. CROOKE.

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ISLAM IN INDIA, OR THE QĀNŪN-I-ISLĀM: THE CUSTOMS OF THE MUSALMĀNS OF INDIA, by JA'FAR SHARĪF, translated by G. A. HERKLOTS, M.D.; new edition edited by W. CROOKE. Oxford University Press. 1921.

THIS book—called a reprint but in reality a new book—is indeed welcome. We owe it to our Imperial duties—belated as it

may be—and to our Hindu citizens that true truth about Islam in India should be presented—as here—scientifically and impartially. Not all those who ought to read this book will get it—more's the pity. The journalist who “enlightens public opinion,” the politician who “guides the destinies of the Empire,” ought to know the real living mainsprings of the religious life of these important communities of Islamic origin.

We have libraries of learned tomes on Hinduism—that mode of “Animism tempered by Philosophy,” which leave us in no doubt as to the sources from which are drawn the materials, fashioned and manipulated by the sage and philosopher, to become the glory and splendour of the “Higher Culture.”

What would the “Great Arabian” say to all this welter of savage customs and superstitions, would he scourge the Pirs with his camel whip, would he tolerate the commerce with the powers of darkness, in derogation from the might and majesty of Allāh the One God? It is, indeed, a wonderful picture presented here—true—well told. Substantiated and of peculiar interest to the Folk-lore Society as showing the effects produced by various cultural elements in varying “doses,” administered by various hands with various methods.

What our science owes to Dr. Crooke cannot well be stated, but from the depths of his learning and his unrivalled knowledge of the conditions of the Lower Culture of India he has added so much that is new, yet true, to the original work of Ja'far Sharīf that we have for the first time a real account of Islam as it is to-day in India generally. As so often in Indian literature, the commentator has overshadowed his original author—Pīr Saheb-Salaam. Allah is great, but the Pīr is near. Thanks to Ja'far Sharīf, gratitude (and hoping for further favours) to Dr. Crooke.

T. C. HODSON.

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L'ÉTERNUEMENT ET LE BAILLEMENT DANS LA MAGIE, L'ETHNOGRAPHIE ET LE FOLK-LORE MÉDICAL de P. SAINTYVES.  
Paris: ÉMILE NOURRY. 1921.

IN this little book M. Nourry, writing under his accustomed *nom-de-plume* of P. Saintyves, has collected and compiled a

very useful analysis of the beliefs and superstitions throughout the world on the subject of sneezing and yawning. He considers it under the headings of the causes (usually traceable to animism), the origin of the exclamation of blessing which in Europe and Asia the act of sneezing calls forth from bystanders, the omens deduced from it, the view taken of it in the course of the progress of civilization and the softening of manners, tracing its way from being regarded as an omen to being looked upon in a more scientific light as a symptom of something else, and finally adding some observations on its real causes as determined by modern investigation. He gives a valuable bibliographical appendix, containing in full the passages from various authors, ancient and modern, on which he has drawn. This appendix discloses the width of his reading and gives confidence to his readers in the accuracy of his citations.

It need hardly be said that he has no new theories to advance. That was impossible. But what he has done is to present a methodical statement of facts which will be of value to future enquirers on the folk-lore and the attitude of comparatively enlightened men at different stages of history. The utterances of such men, placed as they are in juxtaposition to the superstitions of peoples in the lower culture, are sometimes surprising in the advance they disclose on primitive superstitions, at other times in the servitude they manifest to the puerilities of their surroundings. One reads, for example, of Aristotle and Plutarch ascribing a sneeze to a divine manifestation on the one hand, and the Buddha on the other trying in vain to repress the custom of saluting one who sneezed, or Alcuin and John of Salisbury condemning divination by sneezing.

M. Nourry's pages are not only learned but very instructive to students of the course of human civilization. The use he has made of British authors is a testimony to the volume of our literature in more departments than one of folk-lore.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE CHILD, by DR. COURTENAY DUNN. London and Edinburgh: Marston & Co., Ltd. 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS book is mainly a collection of superstitions and quaint customs relating to childhood, together with extracts from parish registers and various pamphlets. It is written in a popular and somewhat discursive style, and includes chapters on pre-natal conditions, education, play, religion and development. The many interesting customs and ceremonies which are described are, however, mixed up with much irrelevant matter, and the book would be of greater value to folk-lorists if it contained more exact information regarding the localities in which many of these practices and beliefs are to be found. For instance, when the author refers to a custom which, he says, is carried out "in Greece, China, and Japan," it is somewhat tantalising not to be told more about its geographical distribution in these regions. Another frequent omission is the source from which the writer has obtained his information. But he may have thought this would be of interest only to the expert, and not to the general reader for whom the book is obviously intended.

Anthropologists will be disposed to question his statement that—"The kiss nevertheless has its origin in cannibalism, some trace of which it is not uncommon to find, especially in women, who take a mild delight in playfully biting the baby's cheek" (p. 48). And such an interpretation of the play instinct would give it a dark ancestry indeed.

C. JENKINSON.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

THE SHEPHERD OF BANBURY'S WEATHER RULES AND SOME RHYMES AND SAYINGS. Banbury. 1920.

MR. E. A. WALFORD, High St., Banbury, has issued a pretty brochure, a reprint of an early book on weather lore, by John Claridge, Shepherd, 1827. The *Shepherd's Legacy* was published in 1670, and has been several times reprinted. The editor has

collected from various sources, including his own notes, many rhymes and sayings connected with the weather, and his little tract is of considerable interest.

THE REVIVAL OF MOTHERING SUNDAY, by C. PENSWICK SMITH :  
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York :  
The Macmillan Co. 1921.

THIS little book is written in support of a movement to revive in the Church of England the observance of the fourth Sunday in Lent, known as Laetare, Mid-Lent Sunday, Refreshment Sunday, Fig-pie Sunday, Simnel Sunday, Braget Sunday, the Sunday of the Five Loaves, Mi-Carême, and the Sunday of the Golden Rose. The writer has collected much information about the festival, but unfortunately his references are insufficient. The photographs of the Chilbolton wafer cakes and the Horn Mug used in the Refreshment Porch of Bewdley Mother Church are of some interest.

*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
c/o WILLIAM GLAISHER, LTD.  
265 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C. 1

## OBITUARY.

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### MANSEL LONGWORTH DAMES.

THE announcement of the death of Mr. Mansel Longworth Dames, which occurred on 8th January last, in his seventy-second year, will cause widespread regret among members of the Society. Mr. Dames passed the Indian Civil Service examination in 1868, and on his arrival in India in 1870 was posted to the Panjab, where he served continuously till his retirement in 1897, with an interlude in 1870, when he was on special duty with the troops during the second Afghan war.

Much of his service was passed in the trans-Indus districts, where he had opportunities for studying the Baluch race and became an authority on the various dialects of the Baluchi and Pushtu languages.

In 1891 he published a Baluchi grammar and text-book, used for many years as manuals of instruction. He contributed in 1904 to the monograph series of the Royal Asiatic Society an account of the Baluch race, and in the following year the Royal Asiatic and the Folk-Lore Societies jointly published in two volumes his *Popular Poetry of the Baluchis*. In 1903 he contributed to this Journal an article on "Folk-Lore of the Azores." He was an ardent student of Buddhist art on the north-west frontier of India, and brought with him from there a fine collection of sculpture of the Gandhara period. He also did valuable service in rearranging the Buddhist rooms of the British Museum. For more than twenty years he served the Royal Asiatic Society with unflagging zeal, for part of the time as a Vice-President and Joint-Treasurer, and last year he acted as Honorary Secretary during the absence of Dr. F. W. Thomas.

Since his retirement he prepared several important articles for the Encyclopaedia of Islam on subjects relating to that part of northern India which he had studied so closely. Besides Oriental languages he was an excellent Portuguese scholar, and his wide knowledge of Portuguese literature, and of the philology and geography of India, was illustrated in his admirable translation and annotations of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1918-21. He compiled a memoir on the Portuguese and German colonies in Africa for the use of the Peace Congress at Versailles. He was also a member of the Numismatic Society and possessed a fine collection of Oriental coins.

Mr. Longworth Dames became a member of the Folk-Lore Society in 1892, served for many years on the Council, and was a regular attendant at its meetings, where he gained universal respect as an accomplished scholar, while his geniality of manner won the affection of many friends. Like the true scholar, he was modest and unassuming, and was always ready to take infinite trouble in assisting from his stores of knowledge correspondents who desired information. His death leaves a gap in the small band of Oriental and Portuguese scholars which can never be filled.

W. CROOKE.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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## EVENING MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15th, 1922.

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the Meeting held on January 18th were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz. : Mr. W. C. Fairweather, Mr. D. T. Rice, Mr. J. P. Mills, Mr. F. Gordon Spear, Mr. R. J. Angel, Mr. C. Meredith Sanderson, Captain H. Gordon Kaye, Miss Jane Irvine, Miss Sprules, Mr. J. S. C. Martin Harvey and Mr. L. C. G. Clarke.

The enrolment of the Eltham and Plumstead Public Library as a subscriber, the resignation of Mr. F. F. Urquhart and the withdrawal of the subscription of the National Library of Ireland, were also announced.

Mr. Wright exhibited a specimen of the " Stea " or Star carried by Rumanian singers at Christmas tide.

Mr. M. W. Hilton Simpson read a paper entitled " Some

Notes on the Folklore of the Algerian Hills and Desert," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides. In the discussion which followed the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, Mr. Wright, Miss Raleigh, Mr. Bertram Lloyd and Mr. J. P. Mills took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Hilton Simpson for his paper.

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**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12th, 1922.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The enrolment of the James Jerome Reference Library and the Strasburg University Library as subscribers to the Society was announced. The death of Mr. R. E. Dennett and the resignations of the Rev. C. A. Williamson and Mr. W. Barton Clark were also announced.

Mr. Carline exhibited and explained a moulded Buddha Charm reputed to contain the ashes of a dead lama, upon which Dr. Hildburgh and Mr. Wright offered some observations.

Mr. Wright read a paper entitled " Roumania as a Mine of Folklore," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides: and in the discussion which followed the President, Miss Canziani, Dr. Hildburgh and Mr. Carline took part.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Wright for his paper and to Mr. Carline for exhibiting his Buddha Charm.

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**WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th, 1922.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The resignations of Miss Legge, Mr. G. Krishna Moorthy,

Mr. H. V. Routh and Col. Bevington and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Meadville Theological School were announced.

The enrolment of the Jersey City Free Public Library as a subscriber was also announced.

Col. Shakespeare exhibited some bronze castings from the Chin Hills, illustrating a sowing festival; a pipe, and syphons for drawing off rice beer, upon which the President offered some observations.

Col. Shakespeare then read a paper entitled "Some Tangkhul Folk Tales and some Notes on Festivals of Assam Hill Tribes," which was profusely illustrated by lantern slides—and a discussion followed in which the President, Mr. Wright and Mrs Coote Lake took part. The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Col. Shakespeare for his paper and for showing his bronze castings.

## COLOUR SYMBOLISM

BY DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

COLOUR symbolism, as a line of anthropological research, is worthier of closer attention than is usually accorded to it. In this paper, which is necessarily limited in range and extent, I can do little more than emphasise the importance and wealth of the available data, and indicate by some examples how the colour clue may assist us in investigating problems of perennial interest.

Certain aspects of the subject have engaged attention from time to time. About a generation ago, for instance, an interesting controversy was conducted with much vigour and enthusiasm by prominent students of the classics regarding the colour sense of Homer. No permanent solution of the problem was reached. The controversy ended, as not a few have ended when confined within too narrow limits, in a barren triumph for those who stated the strongest objections. It seemed as if Gladstone and his allies had no case until on January 25th, 1900, Dr. W. H. R. Rivers reopened the subject in his lecture on "Primitive Colour Vision" which he delivered at the Royal Institution.<sup>1</sup> He showed that consideration should be given to the development of the colour sense when dealing with the Homeric problem, and provided fresh and important evidence in this connection. "The subject of the evolution of the colour sense in man," he wrote, "is one which can only be settled by the convergence to one point of lines of investigation

<sup>1</sup> Published in *The Popular Scientific Monthly*, vol. lix. no. i. pp. 44-58, May 1901.

which are usually widely separated. The sciences of archaeology, philology, psychology and physiology must all be called upon to contribute to the elucidation of this problem."

When I received from Dr. Rivers a reprint of his classical monograph, I had begun to collect evidence regarding colour symbolism in ancient religious art and literature. I found it exceedingly helpful and stimulating, especially as it emphasised an aspect of the problem which had constantly to be borne in mind. Dr. Rivers shows, among other things, that certain peoples are unable to distinguish between the darker shades of colour, but that it does not necessarily follow when we find in a particular language one word for green and blue that those who speak that language have a colour sense in a state of low development. Dr. Rivers drew attention to the Celtic word *glas*. In Scottish Gaelic it signifies, as a colour term, grey, green and blue. But *glas* was originally something more than a colour term. Professor W. J. Watson of the University of Edinburgh has drawn my attention to the fact that it was used to denote vigour, as in *Gàidheal glas* (the "vigorous fresh Gael"), and water, as in *Duglas* ("dark stream") and *Finglas* ("white stream"). The original symbolism of the term is further emphasised when we find Tacitus stating that the Baltic people of Celtic speech who searched for amber referred to it as *glese*, and Pliny that the Germans called it *glessum*, a word Latinized from *gless* or *glass*.<sup>1</sup> *Glas* was thus in early times applied to water and magical products of water which were supposed to be impregnated with "life substance." In Scotland amber was believed to be generated by sea-froth continually dashed against the rocks.<sup>2</sup> It thus had origin like Aphrodite. The Baltic amber-searchers were worshippers of the mother goddess,

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Manners of the Germans*, chap. xlv.; Pliny, book xxxviii. chap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Boece, *Cosmographie*, chap. xv.

as Tacitus reminds us. Amber was apparently connected with this deity. In Northern mythology it is included among the substances formed from the tears of the goddess Freyja. It animated human beings. The "vigorous fresh Gael" was therefore, in a sense, the "ambered Gael." He was stimulated and protected by the amber of the mother goddess, as, according to Tacitus,<sup>1</sup> he was by the symbol of her boar—that is, the boar son of the sow goddess.<sup>2</sup>

The method I adopted and pursued for several years, in dealing with the problems of colour symbolism, was to collect evidence regarding the colours of the deities of various cults in different lands, and to make extracts from religious texts and folk-lore literature referring to the various colours and the beliefs connected with them. I hoped that in time something definite would emerge.

"The evidence derived from poetry and art," as Dr. Rivers reminds us, "must always be in some degree unsatisfactory, owing to the great part which convention plays in the productions of the human mind. Still, every convention must have had a starting point."

I have endeavoured to get at this "starting point," but only to find that the symbolic use of colour was prevalent even before man began to record his ideas by means of pictorial or alphabetic signs. Egyptian colour symbolism was already old at the dawn of the Dynastic period. In ancient Europe the symbolic use of colour was interfered with to a certain extent by the conventions of cave art.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Glaisin*, the Irish-Gaelic word for woad, is of special interest. It is derived from *glas*. Apparently woad-dye protected warriors like amber and the boar symbol. In a story regarding Cormac mac Art reference is made to the queen's crop of *glaisin*. (Joyce, *A Smaller Social History of Ireland*, p. 92.) The queen was the living representative of the goddess. Woad was, no doubt, a sacred plant connected with the goddess which had origin, like amber, from her life substance.

The variety of colours that could be used by Cro-Magnon artists was strictly limited; they had at their disposal earth colours only. In their animal pictures the artists had, for instance, to utilise blacks, whites and yellows without reference to the symbolism of such colours, or to the actual colours of the animals whose forms were depicted. Before and after the Cro-Magnon people had succeeded in producing more or less faithful representations of animals in colour in response to a developing aesthetic sense, they used colours just as modern black and white artists use crayons or ink. There is clear evidence, however, that people in Aurignacian, Solutrean and Magdalenian times attached a symbolic value to certain if not to all colours. As Osborn has noted in his *Men of the Old Stone Age*, the so-called Venus figures on rock and in ivory bear traces of red coloration; one of several Solutrean laurel-leaf lances which had been worked too finely to be used, and had been deposited probably as a religious offering, similarly retains evidence that it had been coloured red; the bones of the Cro-Magnon dead, as in the Paviland cave, are frequently found to retain traces of the red earth that had been rubbed on the body before interment. Evidence of the symbolic use of colour during the so-called "Upper-Palaeolithic period" is forthcoming in other connections. The Abbé Breuil informs me that the imprints of hands on rock faces are oftenest in red, but that white, black and yellow hands are not uncommon. I am further informed by the Abbé that small green stones were placed between the teeth of some of the Cro-Magnon dead interred in the Grimaldi caves near Mentone.

This latter custom is one of very special interest in connection with the study of colour symbolism, especially when we find that the ancient Egyptians attached a magico-religious value to green stones, that the Chinese placed jade in the mouths of their dead, and that certain of the pre-Columbian Americans placed green pebbles in graves and

regarded them as "the principle of life."<sup>1</sup> In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* a scarab of green stone with a rim of gold is addressed by the deceased as "my heart, my mother, my heart whereby I came into being."<sup>2</sup> As will be shown, gold and green stones were in Egypt closely associated with water and with deities supposed to have had their origin in water. They thus link with amber. Gold, like amber, had origin from the tears of the northern goddess Freyja.

The Aurignacian evidence regarding green symbolism is sufficient to warn us against accepting the view that it had a necessary connection at "the starting point" with a religious system based on the agricultural mode of life.

But although it may not be possible to get back to the "starting point" at which green acquired a symbolic value, it is evident that the widespread use of that colour in religious art, and especially in the art of Ancient Egypt, dates from the time when the necessary pigment was forthcoming. The earliest green paint was made from ground malachite mixed with fat or vegetable oil. After the introduction of metal-working, green and blue pigments were derived from copper. It would appear therefore that blue and green symbolism in religious art became widespread as a result of direct and indirect Egyptian influence. "In the Egyptian language," writes Dr. Rivers,<sup>3</sup> "there are two words for green and one for blue." Principal Laurie of the Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh, has shown, as a result of experiments conducted by him, that "Egyptian blue" and the two shades of Egyptian green were derived

<sup>1</sup> Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 355 *et seq.* Chapter xxx. of the *Book of the Dead* has "O my heart (which I owe) to my mother! O my heart (who belongest) to my essence." Erman, *Aeg. Rel.* 2162, quoted by Prof. H. W. Hogg, *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Primitive Colour Vision*.

from copper poured on sandstone. The manufactured blocks were afterwards ground to powder and used as pigments by the ancient artists. Blue was produced at an intense heat ; below and above the blue line ( $850^{\circ}$ ) the two shades of green were obtained.<sup>1</sup> "Egyptian blue" was peculiar to Egypt. Its production was due in part, as Principal Laurie has found, to the existence of a soda in Egyptian sandstone which is not found in European or Asiatic sandstone. The blue could not therefore have been produced outside Egypt until after discovery was made that this soda had to be introduced by European and Asiatic imitators of Egyptian methods. Egyptian blue appears to have become an article of commercial value, no doubt in consequence of the religious significance of that colour. There were blue forms of the goddess Hathor and the god Amon. The importance of this particular colour and of the deities associated with it probably became intensified and widespread as cultural influences emanated in increasing volume from the Nile valley.

Before green and blue paints were manufactured in Ancient Egypt, the early people, as their funerary remains testify, entertained beliefs regarding coloured stones. The modern Sudani "still believes," as Budge records, "that stones of certain colours possess magical qualities, especially when inscribed with certain symbols, of the meaning of which, however, he has no knowledge, but which are due, he says, to the presence of spirits in them. Women and children, especially female children, protect many parts of their bodies with strings of beads made of magical stones, and sometimes with plaques of metal or stone, which are cut into various shapes and ornamented with signs of magical power ; the positions of such plaques on the body are frequently identical with those whereon the Dynastic Egyptians laid amulets on the dead."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Royal Society of Edinburgh*, A. vol., 89 (1914).

<sup>2</sup> *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 16.

The fundamental belief in the potency of colour, as an expression or revelation of divine influence, can be traced not only in Ancient Egypt from the earliest times but in almost every part of the world. As the colours of stones indicated the virtues they possessed, so did the colours of deities reveal their particular attributes. A wealth of colour, or a definite colour scheme, was displayed by supernatural beings, and these displayed the colours chiefly because they *were* supernatural beings, the colours being in themselves operating influences. The following Chinese text is of importance in this connection :

“ A dragon in the water covers himself with five colours.  
Therefore he is a god.”<sup>1</sup>

In the Central American *Popol Vuh* the importance of colour is emphasised in the account of Creation :

“ At first there was stillness and darkness in the shades, in the night. Alone also the Creator, the Former, the Dominator, the Serpent covered with feathers. Those who fertilise, those who give life, are upon the water like a growing light. They are enveloped in green and blue (*de vert et d'azur*) ; hence their name is Gucumatz.”

A footnote explains : “ Gucumatz is a serpent covered with green and blue. . . . They are also called by this name because they are enveloped, shadowed in green and blue.”<sup>2</sup>

A complex Ancient Egyptian Deity, recognised by one of the cults as the supreme god, symbolised “ the power of the sun that created the world,” and was styled “ the beautiful green disc which shineth ever.” This Deity was “ the creator of whatsoever is and whatsoever shall be, who proceeded from Nu and who possesses *many colours* and many forms.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 63, section 2.

<sup>2</sup> Abbé Brasseur, *Popul Vuh Le Livre sacre et les Mythes de l'Antiquité Americaine*, 1861.

<sup>3</sup> Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii. 356.

The evidence afforded by India is particularly rich and significant. In the *Mahá-bhárata* <sup>1</sup> we read of an ascetic, named Uktha, who performed a penance lasting many years with the view of making "a pious son" equal to Brahma. In the end "there arose a very bright energy (force) full of animating (creative) principle and of *five different colours.*"

In the same ancient work it is stated :

"Six colours of living creatures are of principal importance, black, dusky, and blue which lies between them ; then red is more tolerable, yellow is happiness, and white is extreme happiness. White is perfect, being exempted from stain, sorrow and exhaustion ; (possessed of it) a being going through (various births), arrives at perfection in a thousand forms. . . . *Thus destination is caused by colour and colour is caused by time.* . . . The destination of the black colour is bad. When it has produced results, it clings to hell." <sup>2</sup>

Destination being caused by colour and colour by time, the Creator assumes different colours in the different Yugas (World's Ages). The Creator says :

"My colour in Krita Yuga is white, in the Treta Yuga yellow ; when I reach the Dvapara Yuga, it is red, and in the Kali Yuga black."

In the *Mahá-bhárata* the Kali Age is referred to as "the Black or Iron Age." Hesiod's Ages (in his *Works and Days*) are metal ages, but are evidently also coloured ages, for almost everywhere golden is yellow, silver white, copper or bronze red and iron black. The Doctrine of the World's Ages obtained in more than one ancient land, the only differences being in the sequences of the colours or metals. Of special interest in this connection are the following examples :

<sup>1</sup> *Vana Parva*, section ccxx.

<sup>2</sup> Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 151.

*Colours of Mythical Ages.*

Mexican	-	1. White,	2. Yellow,	3. Red,	4. Black. <sup>1</sup>
Celtic	-	1. White,	2. Red,	3. Yellow,	4. Black. <sup>2</sup>
Indian I.	-	1. White,	2. Red,	3. Yellow,	4. Black. <sup>3</sup>
„ II.	-	1. White,	2. Yellow,	3. Red,	4. Black. <sup>4</sup>
Greek	-	1. Yellow,	2. White,	3. Red,	4. Black. <sup>5</sup>

White is a lunar colour, that of the “silvery” moon (“Cweta white as the moon”<sup>6</sup>); yellow is a solar colour, that of the “golden” sun. It may be therefore that the precedence given to white in the Mexican, Celtic and Indian Ages has a lunar significance and had originally a connection with the lunar calendar. Both the Mexican and Celtic colour sequences are found in India.

In India the castes were connected by some ancient sages with the Yugas or Mythical Ages, while others connected them with the various coloured moods of the Creator. In the *Mahá-bhárata* it is stated :

“The Brahmans beautiful (or, dear to Soma) were formed from an imperishable (*akshara*), the Kshatriyas from a perishable (*Kshara*) element, the Vaisyas from alteration, the Sudras from a modification of smoke. While Vishnu was thinking upon the castes (*varnan*), Brahmans were formed with white, red, yellow and blue

<sup>1</sup> Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. vi. pp. 171 *et seq.*; Brunton, *The Myths of the New World*, pp. 249 *et seq.*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> H. D'Arbois De Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle* (trans.), pp. 5-7, 25, 26, 69, 70. The Milesians were the “Black race.”

<sup>3</sup> *Vana Parva* of the *Mahábhárata*, section cxlix. (Roy's trans. p. 447), etc.

<sup>4</sup> The *Vana Parva* of the *Mahábhárata*, section clxxxix. (Roy's trans. p. 569).

<sup>5</sup> That is, the Greek “Golden,” “Silver,” “Bronze” and “Iron” Ages. The “Ages of Heroes” is evidently a late interpolation. Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 109-173.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahábhárata* (*Bhishma Parva*, section iii.).

colours (*varnaih*). Hence in the world men have become divided into castes." <sup>1</sup>

Caste (*varna*) literally means "colour," but evidently not in the sense favoured by modern rationalists. The usual caste colours in India are: (1) Brahmans, white; (2) Kshatriyas, red; (3) Vaisyas, yellow; (4) Sudras, black.<sup>2</sup> There were also sex colours. In one of the world's continents, according to ancient Hindu belief, "the men are of the colour of gold and women fair as celestial nymphs"; in another the men are "black" and the women "of the colour of blue lotuses."<sup>3</sup> Among the Navajo Indians of North America the colour for men is white and for women yellow.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese grave clothes for men were dark blue and for women "generally red"<sup>5</sup> The Chinese *Yang* (male principle) is white and the *Yin* (female principle) is black. In Japan red is the male colour and white the female, as is shown by the symbolic use of these colours in the selection of flowers at wedding ceremonies.<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian habit of painting men red and women yellow or white may, like the pre-Dynastic habit of burying the men with their feet towards the Red North and the women with their feet towards the White South, have had originally a

<sup>1</sup> Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 151. Brahmans were "twice-born men" and therefore "white"; Sudras through cupidity became ignorant and therefore black, being in "a condition of darkness," *ibid.* pp. 140-1, notes 250-1.

<sup>2</sup> Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. i. p. 140 and note 248, in which it is stated that in the *Kāthaka Brāhmana* (xi. 6) "a white colour is ascribed to the Vaisya and a dark hue to the Rajanya." The passage referred to indicates that caste (colour) had no relation to skin colours and is as follows: "Since the Vaisya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Adityas, he is born as it were white; and as the Varuna oblation is of black (rice) the Rajanya is as it were dusky." The Rajanya were the nobles of royal blood in the Kshatriya caste.

<sup>3</sup> Muir, *op. cit.* p. 491.

<sup>4</sup> *Customs of the World*, p. 965.

<sup>5</sup> De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. i. p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xvii. article, by J. Conder on "Japanese Flower Arrangements."

doctrinal significance. We have been assured, time and again, that Egyptian women were depicted as being paler than men because of their indoor life. Herodotus (book ii. 35) informs us, however, that the women attended markets and traded, while men sat at home at the loom. Judging from the evidence of the tomb pictures, the women of the upper classes moved about quite freely out of doors. The Egyptian artistic convention was broken through by those artists who imitated flesh tints when they painted women's faces in the tombs, etc. Dr. Rendel Harris touches in his *The Ascent of Olympus* on sex colours. "A reference to Dioscorides," he writes, "shows that a division into male and female was accompanied by another into black and white." This aspect of the colour problem is complicated when we find black and white forms of the same god or goddess.

The data regarding the symbolic use of colour which I have collected tend to show that outside Egypt the colours most generally favoured in ancient times were these four : Black, White, Red and Yellow. All these were earth colours. Blue and green were, as I have indicated, colours of Egyptian origin manufactured from copper or copper ore. Vegetable blue and green dyes appear to have had a later origin as substitutes for the metal colours.

The four colours, Black, White, Red and Yellow, were used, as I have stated, to depict the hands in the caves occupied and "decorated" by Cro-Magnon man. Many peoples used these colours to divide space and time, to distinguish the cardinal points and the four winds, to distinguish the mountains, rivers and seas in the mythical world, to distinguish the races of mankind and, as in India, the various castes. The ancient habit of using these four colours in the manner indicated survives till our own day. We still have "Black," "White," "Red" and "Yellow" races ; "Black," "White," "Red" and "Yellow" winds and points of the compass ; "Black," "White," "Red" and "Yellow" castes, as in India ; and "Black," "White,"

“ Red ” and “ Yellow ” seas. The modern Red Sea was, as Maspero reminds us, the “ Black Sea ” of the ancient Egyptians. The Phoenicians included part of the Indian Ocean in their Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf was the original “ Yellow Sea.” To the Greeks the Mediterranean was the “ White Sea,” and Homer is found referring to the “ white south wind.”

It is impossible here to go fully into the evidence regarding the colours of the cardinal points. The habit of colouring these and the winds that blew from them obtained in the Old and New Worlds. It had undoubtedly a doctrinal significance. In Gaelic the north is black and the south white. A number of “ bad ” Gaelic words are derived from the name for the north, which is on the left, and a number of “ good ” words are derived from the name for the south, which is on the right. In early Christian Gaelic literature the “ goats ” proceed on the Day of Judgment to the black north and the “ sheep ” to the white south.<sup>1</sup>

The colours of the cardinal points have similarly a deep significance in the Chinese “ Fung-shui ” doctrine. De Groot shows in his great work, *The Religious System of China*, that colours are connected with the elements, the seasons, certain heavenly bodies and even with the internal organs. In Central America and Ancient Egypt the internal organs were similarly connected with the coloured cardinal points.

The Maya (Central American) system yields the following arbitrary connections : <sup>2</sup>

<i>Cardinal Point.</i>	<i>Bacab.</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Colours.</i>	<i>Elements.</i>
South	- Hobnil (the Belly),	Kan,	Yellow,	Air.
East	- Canzicnal (Serpent Being),	- - Muluc,	Red,	Fire.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Professor Douglas Hyde, Dublin, for notes in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> Brinton, *Mayan Hieroglyphics*, p. 41.

<i>Cardinal Point.</i>	<i>Bacab.</i>	<i>Days.</i>	<i>Colours.</i>	<i>Elements.</i>
North	- Zaccini (White Being),	- -	Ix,	White, Water.
West	- Hozan ek (the Disembowelled Black one),	-	Cauac,	Black, Earth.

The Chinese system yields :

East, the Blue Dragon ; Spring ; wood ; planet Jupiter ; liver and gall.

South, the Red Bird ; Summer ; fire ; the sun ; planet Mars ; heart and large intestines.

West, the White Tiger ; Autumn ; wind ; metal ; planet Venus ; lungs and small intestine.

North, the Black Tortoise ; Winter ; cold ; water ; planet Mercury ; kidneys and bladder.<sup>1</sup>

In Ancient Egypt the four gods of the cardinal points protected the internal organs taken from the body of the dead during the process of mummification. Professor Budge states that "Hapi represented the (red) north and protected the small viscera of the body ; Tuamutef represented the (? golden) east and protected the heart and lungs ; Amset represented the (white) south and protected the stomach and large intestines ; and Qebhsennuf represented the (black) west and protected the liver and the gall bladder."<sup>2</sup> It has been shown by Professor Elliot Smith, however, that this association of the internal organs with the four sons of Horus does not accord with the evidence he has accumulated. It is based, as a matter of fact, "upon the results of the examination of a single mummy of the time of the XXIst Dynasty, the so-called 'Jersey Mummy,' which was described by Pettigrew (*Transactions of Society of Antiquaries*) in the year 1837." The Professor has found that the embalmers of the late

<sup>1</sup> De Groot, *op. cit.* book i. vol. iii. p. 983, and iv. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 492.

period were often careless. "In the majority of mummies examined by me," he writes, "Amset was associated with the liver, Hapi with the lungs, Taumautef with the stomach and Qebhsenuf with the intestines."

The Canopic jars were dispensed with during the XXIst Dynasty, and the practice became prevalent of wrapping up the internal organs with a wax model of the protecting deity and restoring them to the body. "Occasionally," it is of special interest to learn in this connection, "kidneys were found by men in parcels of viscera associated with one or more of the deities." The older custom, which had a doctrinal significance of course, was to leave the heart and kidneys *in situ*.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary here to deal with the varied ideas regarding the internal organs that existed in different ancient countries outside Egypt. The point of special interest is that the Egyptian custom of connecting the internal organs with the coloured cardinal points, which had a doctrinal significance connected with mummification, spread eastward and reached China and America. The Maya custom, it will be noted, bears a closer resemblance to the Egyptian than does the Chinese. Black is in both cases the colour for the intestines and yellow for the stomach, while white is apparently the liver colour in America as in Egypt. The Canopic jars, which went out of fashion in Egypt, were continued in use by the Maya and placed under the protection of the Bacabs, their gods of the four coloured cardinal points. Apparently the Egyptian system of mummification which reached America was accompanied by the Egyptian doctrines in less modified form than one might be led to expect, especially when one considers how varied were the cultural influences to which these doctrines must have been subjected during the process of gradual transmission from Egypt to the Far East and

<sup>1</sup> The "Heart and Reins" articles in *The Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 41 *et seq.*

across the Pacific to America. In China we find the custom of associating the internal organs with the coloured cardinal points was not accompanied by the custom of mummification. The Chinese, however, as De Groot and Laufer have shown, believed that the body was preserved from decay by amulets of jade, gold, etc. Unlike the Maya, they associated the heart and kidneys with the other internal organs. The explanation may be that the Egyptian doctrines reached China in their later form—that is, after the embalmers in the Nile valley began to replace the internal organs in the body and to associate these with the heart and kidneys, thus extending the responsibilities of the Horus gods. If, as a result of carelessness, or doctrinal changes, we do not find uniformity in this connection in Egypt during its late period, we should not expect to find complete uniformity outside that area of origin and especially when it is borne in mind that the influences of other cultures were operating constantly between Egypt and China and in China itself. It is really, one must repeat, the fundamental habit of connecting the internal organs with the coloured cardinal points of the compass that specially interests us here. This habit arose from a mass of complex customs and ideas that have a history in Egypt alone. It would be ridiculous to assume that such complex customs and ideas had independent origin in different parts of the world, and that such peoples as the Indonesians, Polynesians and pre-Columban Americans began spontaneously to practise methods of surgery which the Egyptians had taken 1700 years to develop.<sup>1</sup>

There are other important problems on which light is thrown by the evidence of colour symbolism, but it is impossible here even to refer to them. I shall devote the remaining part of my paper to the colour symbolism of Egypt, with special reference to the Green

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence in this connection, see G. Elliot Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, London 1915.

Osiris and the colours of deities closely associated with Osiris.

Sir James Frazer, the most notable exponent of the "Vegetation School," would have it that Osiris was coloured green because he was a corn god. I am afraid, however, that the colour symbolism of *The Golden Bough* is, especially in this connection, superficial and unconvincing, and that it decorates one of the "temporary bridges" which Sir James himself suggests may "sooner or later break down."<sup>1</sup>

"Osiris," writes Sir James, "is often represented on the monuments as black, he is still more commonly depicted as green, appropriately enough for a corn god, who may be conceived of as black while the seed is underground, but as green after it has sprouted. So the Greeks recognised both a Green and a Black Demeter."<sup>2</sup>

Here the learned author of *The Golden Bough* is highly speculative and controversial. His "Green Demeter" is his own discovery and is undoubtedly hypothetical. If Osiris personified green corn when represented as a green god, he should have been green after he was black and before he became yellow. But, as a matter of fact, he is yellow before he becomes green. As a yellow god he lies on his bier in mummified form, and is reanimated by various deities until at length he rises up. The myth tells that Osiris afterwards became the Judge of the Dead, and in his Underworld he appears as a green god. In the Judgment scene of the Papyrus of Ani, Isis and Nephthys, who stand beside the Green Osiris, have yellow faces and hands.

Why, it may be asked, was Osiris depicted as a yellow god on his funerary bier? It was evidently not merely because he was a dead god. Sir James Frazer does not offer an explanation: he does not even mention the yellow Osiris. As the twin goddesses, Isis and Nephthys, have

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough* (3rd ed.), vol. i. pp. xix, xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (3rd ed.), vol. i. p. 263.

yellow forms, and Isis fans her wings to restore the "breath of life" to the dead god, it may well be the yellow colour was regarded as an indication that an animating influence had passed from the twin goddesses into the body of the dead god who is being reanimated.

Apparently Osiris, on his bier, assumes the colour of the animating substance which the yellow goddesses symbolise or personify. Was that substance obtained from vegetation or from a mineral? The possibility that it was of mineral origin is suggested by the fact that in a Solar-Osirian chapter of the *Book of the Dead* occurs the passage: "Brought to thee are blocks of silver and (masses) of malachite." These words are addressed to the dead Pharaoh who enters the solar ship for which the mother-goddess Hathor "makes the rudders."<sup>1</sup> Here the life-giving Hathor attends on the dead and provides her life-giving metals, as Isis and Nephthys attend on Osiris when he is being reanimated and, further, when they support him in his green form in the Judgment Hall.

The yellow colour of the goddesses, and of Osiris when he is being reanimated by the goddesses, may have symbolized solar gold. The golden sun, or the sun of gold, was the source of the "vital spark," and Hathor personified gold. In most countries yellow is the colour of gold, of the golden sun and of fire. In China it is an earth colour as well as a solar colour—perhaps the colour of the earth when it is under solar influence; it is even in that country a water colour—a yellow spring bubbles up in the cavern of the yellow dragon. The life-substance of the yellow dragon is in the yellow water, and the dragon itself was, we are informed, "born from yellow gold."<sup>2</sup> The Yellow dragon is also called the "Golden dragon," just as the "Yellow Demeter" of Greece is called the "Golden Demeter."

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *Religions and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 87.

The Greek poets referred to the "yellow" or "golden" Demeter as such because she had "yellow" or "golden" hair. It is obvious that an attribute of Demeter is revealed by her hair colour. She personifies gold in one of her aspects. The goddesses Hera, Athene and Aphrodite had likewise golden hair.<sup>1</sup> They acquired the gold of their hair, we are informed, by bathing in the river Xanthus and not because they were supposed to personify ripe corn. Gold was washed from river sand, and, like amber, was regarded as a life-giving product of water. Gold was, as has been indicated, also a solar metal; the golden sun rose at the beginning from water, and was therefore, like life-giving gold, a product of water. Hathor, as I have reminded you, personified gold. As a solar deity she was *Nubt*, the female form of *nub* (gold) and the giver of life like the yellow Isis.<sup>2</sup>

That the "Yellow Osiris" cannot be regarded merely as a personification of yellow corn is evident when we find that the Egyptians had also a "Yellow Ptah," a "Yellow Set," a "Yellow Heka" (god of magic) and a "Yellow Toth," while they painted women and certain foreigners and children yellow, and used the same colour for incense fire.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence regarding the Black Osiris and the Black Demeter is, like that regarding the Yellow Osiris and the Yellow Demeter, unfavourable to the narrow vegetation theory. Demeter assumes her blackness when she retires to her cave as an angry deity. She was not merely an earth goddess, or more properly an underworld goddess, but also a goddess of Death; the dead were "Demeter's folk." She protected tombs, as is shown in the invocation quoted by Farnell, "I commit this tomb to the guardian-

<sup>1</sup> Greek, Slavic and Celtic fairies, nymphs and mermaids had yellow or golden hair.

<sup>2</sup> Jupiter as "a shower of gold" is a life-giver and the father of the son of Danae.

<sup>3</sup> Borchardt, *Sa'hu-rē*, Plates XX, XLVIII, etc.

ship of the nether divinities, to Plouton, Demeter, Persephone and the Erinyes." Sir James Frazer would have been more convincing if, instead of attempting to prove the existence of a "Green Demeter" who personified green corn, he had entered a plea in favour of a "White Demeter." "We," writes Farnell,<sup>1</sup> "find in the neighbourhood of Megalopolis, where the Euminides were distinguished in cult and legend as the black goddesses and the white goddesses, a parallel to the Phigalein cult of the Black Demeter." Egypt had a "Black Hathor" and a "White Hathor"; it had also, in addition to the "Golden Hathor," a "Red Hathor."<sup>2</sup> Demeter, who came from Egypt, was undoubtedly a form of Hathor.

There is absolutely no evidence in the Egyptian texts to support the theory that the priests had Osiris painted green to symbolise green corn. I cannot see what purpose could have been served by their doing such a thing.

The mistake which, in my opinion, Sir James Frazer makes is to try and account for the greenness of Osiris in relation to corn, instead of the greenness of corn in relation to Osiris. He puts the cart in front of the horse. It was not the greenness of Osiris that the ancient priests had to explain when dealing with vegetation. It was rather the greenness of corn. They attached, as did the Grimaldi Cro-Magnons, an importance to green stones before they began to grow corn. There can be little doubt that the Egyptians believed the greenness of corn came from the green Osiris. Osiris was essentially the river Nile. The Nile made Egypt green. In the payprus story of the eloquent peasant, who compared the grand steward to the Nile, occurs the significant passage :

"Thou art like the flood (inundation), thou art the Nile that *makes green the fields* and furnishes the waste lands."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 221.

Osiris was not only "Lord of Green Fields," but also the "Opener of the ukhikh flower that is on the sycamore" and "Lord of overflowing wine." As "Lord of Life" (not as a "corn god") he provided life substance to Egypt, to the gods, to living human beings and to the dead. The deceased says of himself :

"I am Osiris, I have come forth as thou (that is 'being thou'), I have entered as thou . . . the gods live as I, I live as the gods, I live as 'Grain,' I grow as 'Grain' . . . I am barley." <sup>1</sup>

Here Osiris enters into the god of grain and into grain itself—that is, the life-substance of Osiris enters into life-sustaining food. Before, however, Osiris, in this sense, became barley, he was the "new water" of the Nile. Rameses IV. recognised the aspect of the life-giving Osiris when he declared :

"Thou art indeed the Nile, great on the fields at the beginning of the seasons ; gods and men *live by the moisture that is in thee.*" <sup>2</sup>

This life-giving "moisture" was the green and red waters from the Green and Red Niles. In Pyramid Text 589 the identification of Osiris with the Green Nile is complete. It reads :

"Horus comes ! He beholds his father in thee, *renp-t* (Greenness) in thy name of *Murenpu* (Water of Greenness)."

Osiris is, in other words, the Green One whose life-substance is in the Green Nile. It is the Green Nile which makes vegetation green. Vegetation is green, the Egyptians argued, because the life-substance of Osiris is green. Because the Nile runs green the Mediterranean becomes the "Green Sea." Thus the god is addressed in Pyramid Texts :

"Thou art great, thou art green, in thy name of Great Green (sea) ; lo, thou art round as the Great Circle (Okeanos) ; lo, thou art turned about, thou art round as the circle that encircles the Haunebu (*Ægeans*)."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

Sea and river deities outside Egypt were like Osiris wholly or partly green. The god of the Tiber had "green vestments" when he appeared to Æneas in a dream; the British mermaids had sometimes green hair; the Slavic "water-man" or "water grandfather" (the Roman name), who lives under the water, sits on a mill-wheel on occasion "combing his long green hair." The "beautiful green disk" of the Egyptians, which symbolized creative power, existed in the primordial waters in the night of Eternity. The sun of the Underworld was green, and the newly-risen sun was red or golden. Herodotus refers to the solar pillars of gold and emerald in the temple of Heracles at Tyre (bk. ii. chap. 44). On the pectoral of Senusert III. in Cairo museum the dead are coloured green and blue.<sup>1</sup> In the Underworld the greenness of Osiris was the greenness of his life-substance and of the primeval green sun.

Before dealing with the problem of the mysterious green substance that was to the ancient Egyptians the very essence of life, it is necessary first of all to summarize the drama of the Nile with which Osiris was so closely associated. (I refer, of course, to Nilotic phenomena before the construction of the Aswan barrage.)

During the period of the Low Nile, Egypt is swept, dried and blistered by the *Hamseen*, or sand wind, of fifty days' duration. Every green thing is coated with dust. Then a change comes. The cool north wind (the Etesian wind of the Greeks) begins to blow and the sand is cleared from the verdure. The almost stagnant Nile commences to rise. For three or four days it runs green. This is the "Green Nile." As the river rises it becomes red as blood. This is the "Red Nile." The inundation follows. When the Nile subsides within its banks it remains muddy for a time before it becomes blue again.

"Perhaps," wrote Osborn, in the days before the Nile

<sup>1</sup> Denkmæler, vi. 117 A, line 69, and Groff in *Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien*, April 1894, pp. 220-3.

was harnessed, "there is not in nature a more exhilarating sight, or one more strongly exciting to confidence in God than the rise of the Nile. . . . The moment the sand becomes moistened by the approach of the fertilizing waters, it is literally alive with insects innumerable. . . . Turn the course of the Nile and not one blade of vegetation would ever arise in Egypt." <sup>1</sup>

The Red Nile appears to have been regarded as identical with the flood of ochre-coloured beer provided for Hathor, as Sekhet, who slew the enemies of Ra. Professor Elliot Smith, in his *The Evolution of the Dragon*,<sup>2</sup> has shown that the red substance introduced into the beer was a surrogate of blood; it was an animating, a life-giving substance. Nilotic phenomena evidently prompted the Egyptians to enquire into the problem of the colours in water; the substances that coloured the waters were to them obviously life-giving substances. The Nile was the source and nourisher of life in Egypt.

As blood was "the life thereof," it is not surprising to find that to the Osirian cult the Red Nile was the blood of the slain Osiris.

A similar belief obtained among the Byblians who informed Lucian that "the river of Adonis, flowing from Mount Libanus, was tinged with blood." During the Byblian days of mourning "Adonis is wounded" and "the river's nature is changed by the blood which flows into its water"; the river "takes its name from the blood." <sup>3</sup>

The whitish muddy Nile may have been identified with milk. It is of significance to find, in this connection, the Nile waters flowing from the breasts of the Nile god Hapi, and that there were human breasts in the cavern source of

<sup>1</sup> *Monumental History of Egypt* (1854), chap. i.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 192 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Syrian Goddess (De Dea Syria)*, trans. by Prof. H. A. Strong (London 1913), pp. 47-8.

the Nile. Souls of Pharaohs were fed on milk provided by, among other goddesses, the vultures of Upper and Lower Egypt "with long hair and hanging breasts"<sup>1</sup> who were the female counterparts of Hapi, the Nile god. "Water of life" was not ordinary water. It contained "life-substance." "The water of King Unis is wine like (that of) Ra."<sup>2</sup> Nut with "long hair and pendant breasts"<sup>3</sup> provided celestial milk—the milk of "the Milky Way." Hathor, who poured out the "water of life" from her sycamore, provided, apparently, sycamore-fig "milk" or water impregnated with fig milk. Siret<sup>4</sup> has recently called attention to the fact that the Tiber was anciently called "Rumon," a name derived from *ruma* (milk) like *rumen* (teat). Figs were sometimes called "teats." The ancient Romans who revered the goddess of the sky and of the ruminal fig tree connected her with the Tiber, which they believed was impregnated with "terrestrial milk" from the "Milky Way" ("Milk of Juno") and with the "milk" nourished the earth. Deva Rumina was one of the names of the All-nursing mother goddess. We meet, in Hindu mythology, with the "Sea of Milk"<sup>5</sup> and, as in Celtic, with rivers of wine, mead, etc. In Greece "fig milk" was an elixir and was given to newly-born children. The Scottish "milk tree" was the hazel, which was connected with the sky and the sacred well and river. The

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, 1921.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Udyoga Parva* of the *Mahā-bhārata* (Section ci: Roy's trans. pp. 309 *et seq.*) it is "Milky Ocean," which was created by "a single jet only of her (the Mother Cow goddess's) milk falling on the earth." The verge of this ocean "is always covered with white foam resembling a belt of flowers." Ascetics are called "Foam drinkers" because they live "on nothing else save that foam." The Cow Mother is mother of the four cows of the cardinal points. The "waters" of "Milky Ocean" "had all been mixed with the milk of these four cows." At the "churning of the Ocean" the waters gave forth *Amrita*, the "prince of steeds," the "best of gems" and the goddess Lakshmi. "Milk-yielding trees" are referred to in *Bhishma Parva*, section vii.

“milk elixir” is still remembered in a proverbial recipe for an elixir for children—in Gaelic we have (the Rev. Kenneth MacLeod, Colonsay, informs me) it as *cir na meala is bainne nan cnò* (“comb of honey and milk of the nut”). Mistletoe berries may have been “milk berries.” White rivers, white wells, white seas, etc., were “something more” than “white.” They contained certain virtues. The “whiteness” of a river or well might be due to stellar or lunar influence. “Wells of milk” were names of some Irish holy wells;<sup>1</sup> there was at least one “milk lake.”<sup>2</sup> The “milk” was not ordinary milk: the water was not ordinary water. Like the ancient Egyptians, the Hindus believed that the Ganges had its source in the sky, and they had a “Celestial Ganges” as the Egyptians had a “Celestial Nile.” In China a similar belief obtained in connection with the Yellow river. A sage who sails up the Yellow river reaches the “Milky Way,” and an oar of his boat falls from the sky and is afterwards exhibited in the palace of the famous Emperor Wu, who concerned himself greatly about discovering the elixir of life.

In the Pyramid Texts there is evidence to show that the solar and Osirian theologies were already in process of fusion. One view is that the Nile flowed from the subterranean cavern of Osiris.<sup>3</sup> Another view was that it had its source in the sky. Both views are combined in the allegorical lines:

The waters of life that are in the sky come:

The waters of life that are in the earth come.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, vol. i. p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 206. In Scandinavia mythology Ymer is suckled by a cow. His blood becomes the sea, his flesh the earth, his bones rocks, etc. At the point where the Ganges and the Jumna meet, “the waters of the Ganges are so white from the diffusion of earthy particles that, according to the creed of the natives, the river flows with milk.” (H. H. Wilson, *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, vol. ii. p. 361.)

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 19 and n. 3, and 144, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19 and p. 144, n. 2.

The Egyptians not only theorised regarding the source of the Nile, but, as I have shown, concerned themselves greatly to discover the substances that coloured its waters. The "Green Nile" was evidently of primary importance. Its greenness was the source and substance of life in human beings, in animals and in vegetation. The Green Nile substance renewed life each year in the land of Egypt; it renewed life after death in Paradise. Blood and milk animated and nourished, but the green substance originated new life. This idea is enshrined in the Ethiopian story of El-Khidr, who found the "Well of Life." When he plunged into it "all the flesh of his body became a bluish-green and his garments likewise bluish-green." He became a green immortal.<sup>1</sup>

As will be shown from the evidence that follows, the Egyptians identified the green substance in the Green Nile with malachite. Malachite evidently contained the "germ of life," as the Mexican green stones, and perhaps the Aurignacian, contained "the principle of life."

Green malachite charms were worn by the Egyptians at an early period. In Pre-Dynastic times fragments of malachite were placed in graves with the dead, while the living folk ground malachite to powder, and then mixed it, as has been noted, with a fatty substance—perhaps the fat of the sacred cow—or vegetable oil for use as a face paint. Kohl was used for an eyelid paint as well as malachite, and found to be beneficial to the eyes by protecting them from the glare of the sun or desert sands. It should not be assumed, however, that this practice was adopted for such a reason alone and had originally no magical or religious significance. Mummies had their eyes treated in like manner. Withal, the painting of the eyelids was associated with the painting of other parts of the body. The dead were as much in need of magical colouring as were the living. Shells containing green paint have been

<sup>1</sup> Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, p. 167.

found in early tombs. Traces of malachite and haematite remain on palettes placed in graves for the use of the dead. Powdered malachite may have also been used as an anti-septic in Ancient Egypt. Livingstone in his *Journal* tells that the Central African natives found malachite ointment efficacious against obstinate sores and also used it as an eye paint.

Even the gods were painted by the ancient Egyptians. The priest each morning painted the idol "with green and black paint."<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt as to why the gods and the dead were painted especially with malachite paste.

"In Egypt, the daily ritual of the divine cult and also the funerary rituals refer to the bringing of a vessel of green paint with which the god, or the deceased person may 'make himself healthy with all that is in him.'"<sup>2</sup>

Prolonged good health was immortality. Green paint was a life-giver, a renewer of youth. The virtue of the life-conferring paint was in the colour and the ingredients of the colour, in the green malachite combined with fat or oil. Our "Green Osiris" was therefore, in a sense, a personification of malachite. The "Green Nile" flowed from the pools of heaven to replenish and vitalize the "Low Nile." That the inundation was caused by Osiris is made evident in the Pyramid Texts relating to Unis, who supplants Osiris:

"Unis (as Osiris) comes hither up-stream when the flood inundates. . . . Unis comes to his pools that are in the region of the flood at the great inundation, to the place of peace, with green fields, that is in the horizon. Unis makes the verdure to flourish in the two regions of the horizon. . . . It is Unis (as Osiris) who inundates the land."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, London 1907, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Moret, "Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte" in the *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études*, xiv. pp. 71, 109, 199.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* pp. 18-19.

These "pools" were called by the ancient Egyptians the "malachite pools," or "malachite lakes," in which, as they believed, the gods dwelt as birds.<sup>1</sup> These "birds" are the "Imperishable Stars." The life-giving malachite animated the god-stars. Pyramid Text 567 makes reference to the stars as a source of malachite powder: the powder drops like dew from heaven; dew is thus identified with life-giving malachite.<sup>2</sup> The fertilising star-tear that fell into the Low Nile on the "Night of the Drop" was evidently a malachite tear.<sup>3</sup> The Green Nile was made green with malachite from the god-pools of green malachite in the celestial regions. The Green Osiris of the Green Nile was, as I hold, the personification of malachite. The celestial malachite in the Green Nile made vegetation green. It also made the dead "grow green again."

When the Ancient Egyptians discovered that there is copper in malachite, their theorising priests appear to have regarded copper as the very "life of life."<sup>4</sup> The green god-stone might be broken and burned, but the imperishable principle of life contained in it could not be destroyed; changing, it assumed a more permanent form. As the Green Nile became the Red Nile so did the green malachite become red copper. Copper was another form of malachite. The Red Horus was another form of the Green Osiris. In time men prayed for "souls of copper," and copper statues were provided for the Pharaohs. King Pepi I. had a copper statue made for himself. As early as the First Dynasty copper pots—apparently symbols of the mother goddess—were made for the dead. Copper was sacred, too, in Asia. It was the metal of Astarte and other "Queens

<sup>1</sup> *Pyramid Texts*, 1748, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In the sarcophagus room of the tomb of the Pharaoh Unis (Pyramid Age) the stars are green.

<sup>3</sup> The sun-rays were Ra's tears, and sunlight was sometimes symbolised by a green feather. The green feather appears on the head of the god Shu.

<sup>4</sup> The Greeks believed that a metal had a body, soul and spirit.

of Heaven." Hathor was the goddess of the Sinaitic malachite mines and of Mefkat (Malachite city) in Egypt.

Colour symbolism and metal symbolism are found to be as closely associated at an early period in Egypt as they later were in the widespread doctrine of the World's Ages.

Horus, the copper son of the malachite Osiris, whose body was dismembered, is associated with the "Mesniu," the metal workers. The weapons of these metal workers were forged in the place called "mesnet" (the foundry). The worshippers of Horus of Behutet described their god as "the Lord of the Forge City," *i.e.* Edfu, where, according to tradition, Horus first established himself as the great master of metal workers. Budge, who reminds us that Edfu itself "was regarded as the foundry wherein the great disk of the sun was forged," quotes from Dr. Brugsch the significant passage, "when the doors of the foundry are opened the Disk riseth up."<sup>1</sup> The foundry of Edfu was therefore the foundry of the Underworld.

Horus was not only the divine coppersmith, but, as has been indicated, was in one of his phases a personification of the red copper extracted from the green Osiris. "Horus dwelling in his sun disk," Horus in his "green bed" was the copper within the malachite, and the malachite was "the beautiful green disk" which was the creator; it was the malachite sun of the Underworld whence all things had their origin. Out of darkness came light, out of death came life, out of the green malachite Osirian sun of the Underworld came the red copper sun of Horus. The green floating island of the Nile, on which Horus hid from his black enemy Set, appears to have been originally the green malachite sun that drifted on the Nile of the Underworld. Horus was a giant, eight cubits (nearly 14 feet) in stature, but when Set approached his island he concealed himself in a tiny chapel half a cubit long.<sup>2</sup> Having the nature of

<sup>1</sup> *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 29.

copper, he could be reduced, like copper, in the solar crucible. His enemy Set was identified with iron—iron was “the ribs of Set,” “the bone of Typho.” Owing to its association with Set, iron acquired an evil reputation: it became the metal of the Wicked Age—the Indian Kali Yuga and the Greek “Iron Age.”

It should not, I think, surprise us to find the ancient Egyptians imparting a religious significance to metals and interpreting in their theology the results of their metallurgic experiments. It would really be more surprising if we found that so momentous a discovery as that of the existence of metals, and of the uses to which these could be put, had left no trace in their theological system and did not contribute to their highly complex myths. The discovery of metal in malachite must have seemed to them as great a miracle as the annual “miracle of the Nile,” which flowed now green, now red, now milk-like and now blue. They saw the Nile carrying down the colours that caused vegetation to revive and flourish so that mankind might eat and live—the divine “life-substance” entered the earth, the grass, the corn and the trees, and it was enshrined in metal and in coloured stones. That the Egyptians gave consideration to metals and stones as well as to vegetation when they attempted to read the riddle of the universe, is apparent in the famous hymn to Ptah on the British Museum Stela No. 797, which Erman and Breasted have relegated to the Pyramid Age. This hymn sets forth that after Ptah had created the gods and made “likenesses of their bodies” they “entered into the bodies of every wood and every stone and every metal. Everything grew upon its trees whence they came forth.”<sup>1</sup> The intimate association between metals and precious stones with the deities is emphasised in the reference to Ra in “the Destruction of Mankind” myth, which says, “Behold, his majesty the god Ra is grown old; his bones

<sup>1</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 46.

are become silver, his limbs gold, and his hair pure lapis lazuli." <sup>1</sup>

Osiris, who, as green malachite powder, came down to Egypt in the Green Nile, entered the mother-tree, the sycamore, to be reborn as the living Horus. The sycamore was Hathor ("House of Horus"). Before the malachite Osiris could emerge in his new copper form he had to be burned. This fact caused the myths relating to the vegetation forms of the deities to grow highly complex. Even in the Pyramid Age the fusion of beliefs regarding the Green Nile in its relation to vegetation, and of malachite and copper in their relation to the Nile and vegetation, became productive of the following mysterious text:

"Hail to thee, sycamore, which encloses the god, under which the gods of the Nether sky stand, whose tips are scorched, whose middle is burned, who art just in suffering." <sup>2</sup>

As Breasted notes, this is "the earliest native mention of the ceremony of enclosing an image of Osiris in a tree and burning it." The god was the malachite which had entered the womb of the mother tree. After the burning, the Red Horus emerged. Like the soul of Bata, in the story of the "Two Brothers," the soul of Horus might assume a vegetable or animal form, but there was malachite, the father of copper, in all things that contained life-substance. This idea of soul transformation is found in the *Book of the Dead*, where the soul of the dead may assume "the form of a falcon of gold, a divine falcon, a lily, a Phoenix, a heron, a swallow, a serpent, etc." <sup>3</sup> The reference to gold is interesting, for in early times the Egyptians appear to have regarded copper as a form of gold. Amon's image of gold was "his august emanation of pure gold." <sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 245.

Irish god Crom Cruach had an image of gold which faced the south :<sup>1</sup> the other idols (standing stones) that surrounded him were decorated with bronze.

As the Egyptians made progress with their metallurgic experiments they discovered that gold and silver were united in electrum. A green electrum was found *in situ* : it is a natural alloy in Egypt. "Green gold" is referred to in the Egyptian texts.<sup>2</sup> It was used by the jewellers. The priestly experimenters, who were engaged not only in discovering how to work metals but in prying into the sacred secrets of the universe, found in time that they could separate the gold from the silver of natural electrum by employing quicksilver.<sup>3</sup> The process reduced quicksilver to a black powder. This black powder "was supposed," says Budge, "to possess the most marvellous powers and to contain in it the individualities of the various metals. . . . In a mystical manner this black powder was identified with the body which the god Osiris was known to possess in the Underworld, and to both were attributed magical qualities, and both were thought to be sources of life and power."<sup>4</sup>

The importance attached to the black powder dates back, like malachite symbolism, to the Pyramid Age when, as Maspero notes,<sup>5</sup> "the green powder (mazit) and the black powder (maszimit) formed part of the offerings considered indispensable to the deceased."

The black powder was also identified with the black mud on the banks of the Low Nile which was quickened into life by the Green Nile. It appears to have been connected, too, with the Black Hathor, the mother of night

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvi. and De Jubainville, *op. cit.* chap. v. section 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Cairo Scientific Journal*, vol. iii. no. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Gold and silver ultimately symbolised the god and goddess. Gilded silver-plate was favoured by early Christians.

<sup>4</sup> Budge, *Egyptian Magic* (London 1899).

<sup>5</sup> *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 54, note 4.

and death, from whom light and life emerged, and who rose from the black deep as a star and wept a fertilising tear of malachite dew. The Hathor star was the prototype of the Madonna's "Stella del Mare." Her darkness symbolized the Infinite Unknown, the primeval Darkness, which was the source of all power, light, life and knowledge. Hathor was as the black powder, the All-mother, while the green powder was the father Osiris, her son and husband. Horus, the new form of Osiris, was "Husband of his Mother."

As Egyptian Colour Symbolism leads us into Metal Symbolism, so does Metal Symbolism lead us into Alchemy, the Egyptian origin of which cannot be disputed. The germ of Egyptian Alchemy, like the germ of the Logos Doctrine, is as old as the Pyramid Age.

"Side by side with the growth of skill in performing the ordinary powers of metal work in Egypt, there grew up," writes Budge,<sup>1</sup> "in that country the belief that magical powers existed in fluxes and alloys; and the art of manipulating the metals and the knowledge of the chemistry of the metals and of their magical powers were described by the name of *Khemeia*, that is to say, 'preparation of the black ore' (or 'powder'), which was regarded as the active principle in the transmutation of metals."

What was meant by "transmutation" is brought out by Professor Arthur John Hopkins in a recent important article on "Earliest Alchemy."<sup>2</sup> "The transmutation claimed and attained by the Egyptians was," he writes, "essentially a colour transmutation." He believes that "the fundamental art which led up to alchemy was the dyeing of fabrics. . . . There is internal evidence that the dyeing of fabrics was carried on in the temple-workshops of Egypt by the priests, the methods and recipes of this art being kept a trade secret from the common people. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Egyptian Magic*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Scientific Monthly* (New York), June 1918, pp. 530 *et seq.*

That the art of bronzing was practised in the same temple-shop is attested by the juxtaposition of the recipes for dyeing and the recipes for bronzing in the Leyden papyrus ; also by the fact that the mordants used in dyeing were the first re-agents employed upon the metals ; again, by the fact that the terms used in the art of dyeing were transferred with a similar but different meaning to the bench of the bronzer."

Not only were metals dyed (transmuted) ; colours were extracted from metals, as Principal Laurie, Edinburgh, has found. The substances from which sacred colours were derived were sacred substances.

The importance of the colour-clue is further emphasised when we find that searchers for metals identified metallic rocks by their colours. This habit, which is no doubt of great antiquity, is revealed in a British Museum Library Manuscript (Harl. MSS. 251, fo. 109), which was written about 1603 by an English metal-searcher who visited Crawford Moor in Lanarkshire to ascertain if the gold deposits there could be profitably worked.<sup>1</sup> " Fyrste I doe conceave the rockes in collore and substance to be very myneralle," he begins, and then proceeds to say he found "*motheres* as the Scottish myneres call them and by our Englyshe *leederes* or *metalline fumes* picking betweene two rocks w<sup>ch</sup> rocks the Germaynes call *hingettes* and *liggets* or *maritus et uxore* etc. The mettaline fumes or brethe of the vaines (of metals) gyve diveres tinctures and collores to both sydes of the rockes." In those places where gold is found in Scotland, the searcher saw " the blueshe and yellowe collerede leaderes." He was persuaded these coloured leaders extended to " vaynes of golde." The colours were caused by " metalline fumes."

Much more remains to be said about Colour Symbolism as an important line of research, but space forbids me deal-

<sup>1</sup> See *Early Records Relating to Mining in Scotland*, by R. W. Cochrane Patrick (Edinburgh 1878).

ing further here with the mass of evidence I have collected. The publication of my book on the subject has been delayed by war conditions.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and Professor G. Elliot Smith for their help and encouragement. Both have provided literature I could not otherwise have obtained. To all students of colour symbolism I recommend Dr. W. H. R. Rivers' lecture on "Colour Vision" and Professor Elliot Smith's book, *The Evolution of the Dragon*.

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

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## SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE ALGERIAN HILLS AND DESERT.

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IN the summer of 1914 I submitted to the Folk-Lore Society a paper on "Some Algerian Superstitions," which was read during my absence in France and subsequently appeared in *Folk-Lore* (vol. xxvi. p. 225 *et seqq.* September 1915). In it I attempted to lay before the Society some of the material collected by my wife and myself during two winters spent in wandering among the Shawiya Berbers, whose eerie-like villages are perched high amid the rocky hills of the Aures massif to the N.E. of Biskra, and among the nomad, so-called Arab, tribes who spend the winter with their flocks and herds in the desert at the southern foot of these hills, migrating northward to the central Algerian plateau in the summer, when lack of pasture drives them from the fringe of the Sahara. Since the War we have passed two more winters among these people, of whom we are endeavouring to prepare an ethnographical survey, and besides further notes upon their arts and crafts, medicine and surgery, etc., we have obtained a certain amount of additional information with regard to their customs and folk-lore. In order to present a carefully considered digest of this information, viewed in comparison with the folk-lore of other regions, a considerable time would obviously have to be spent in research work at home. Up to the present I have been unable to find the leisure to devote to this task, though I hope at some future date,

after further enquiries in the field, to publish our results in full.

In the meantime I can attempt no more than to place before students of the manners and customs of primitive folk some of the raw material we collected, in the hope that this may prove of interest to them in their comparative studies. As was the case in our wanderings before the War, so during our subsequent journeys in the hills we made it a rule to be accompanied by no servants other than a native mounted orderly, whose services the French authorities have always kindly placed at our disposal, for "hangers on" to the European, engaged as servants in a tourist centre, are liable to cause unpleasantness with the simpler folk whose customs we wished to observe. Further, we always lived actually in the villages we visited, residing in the house of the Sheykh or a Marabout or other prominent personage, or, where none such existed, hiring a little stone-built Shawiya hut wherein to live and work. In this way we enjoyed better facilities for observing native life than would have come our way had we encamped outside the villages, and we have formed a large circle of acquaintances. This circle includes most of the influential Marabouts, or hereditary saints of the Aures and its vicinity, as well as a number of scribes (*Tolba* ; singular, *taleb*) who practise the magic art and—owing to the presence of my wife—some women who live, in the guise of sorceresses, upon the credulity of their neighbours. Had I been alone I could not have hoped to gain the confidence of the women who, being Moslems, would naturally avoid the male stranger : as it was I did not lack opportunities of observing many of their customs.

From these writers of charms and general practitioners of the magic art we gleaned some information as to the nature and habits of the Jenun (in the singular, Jinn) whose supposed existence plays so important a part in Algerian superstition, and whose main characteristics the following

notes may serve to illustrate. Of these demons, whose name Jenun Professor Westermarck<sup>1</sup> has explained as implying no more than "secret" or "mysterious," some appear constantly to seek opportunities of working mischief in the affairs of men, others remain quiescent until they are disturbed by mortals, while some seem to exercise a beneficial and even moral influence upon mankind.

An example of the last-named type of Jinn is to be found in the belief of the Arabs of the desert oases that every house contains a spirit which remains unseen as long as the inhabitants of the house behave themselves properly, but which appears to them usually in the form of a woman should they begin to take to evil courses, and warns them that if they persist in their bad ways it will kill or ruin them. A cruel stepmother of El Kantara is believed to have been done to death by such a Jinn. Doubtless these warning demons are Moslems, for, as we shall see, the denizens of the underworld are no strangers to religion: indeed the conversion of pagan Jenun to the faith of Mohammed is several times mentioned in the Koran, and an instance referred to there of such converts returning to their own kind in the capacity of "warners."<sup>2</sup>

Some Jenun are said to possess and exercise the power of healing. Thus there is a jujube bush (*Zizyphus lotus*) near the oasis of El Kantara which is believed to be inhabited by a female Jinn, which appears only at night. Mothers of ailing children burn candles and incense (*benjoin*) beneath this bush, inviting the aid of its spirit to cure their little ones, and they continue these offerings in gratitude every Friday should their prayers be heard and their children restored to health with the assistance of the Jinn.

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, "The Nature of the Arab Ginn," *Journal Anth. Inst.*, xxix. 268. [For the Jinn see Herklots, *Islām in India*, Oxford, 1921., p. 218 *et seqq.*—ED.]

<sup>2</sup> *Koran*, Rodwell's trans. Sura 46, verse 28.

The malevolent spirits which occupy blood spilled upon the ground are not aggressive unless disturbed. Should a mortal accidentally step into or over a pool of blood its Jinn will enter into him, with the result that he will fall ill or suffer some reverse of fortune; but it seems that the spirit will not leave the blood to attack a person who carefully avoids touching it. Blood spilled, however, should immediately be covered with earth. It appears that I myself have offended a number of Jenun and am now suffering in consequence. This circumstance was brought to my notice two years ago by my friend Mr. P. P. H. Hasluck, who learned of it in conversation with some Arab friends. These people stated that my thinness is due to the fact that I am in the habit of spending a good deal of time in hunting the Barbary sheep and the two species of gazelle obtainable in the neighbourhood of El Kantara. These, with all other wild animals, are the property of Jenun who, annoyed at my disturbance of their cattle, are causing me to lose flesh, and will, doubtless, eventually destroy me unless I give up shooting.

Empty houses are a favourite resort of Jenun, who are apt to resent intrusion into them. The grandfather of one of my El Kantara friends was once asked to sleep in such a house for its protection. In the night a female form, attired in a black robe, appeared and forthwith attacked him, hitting him a heavy blow on the thigh. Had he not invoked the aid of a Moslem saint, whose tomb is in the oasis of El Kantara and who himself sometimes appears in the shape of a lion by night, he would have been slain by his assailant, even as it was the wound in his thigh suppurated for six months and was only cured as a result of visits to the saint's mosque every Friday.

Some Jenun are very easily provoked to acts of violence. An Arab who was unable to send home before nightfall the whole of the dates which he had gathered during the day, remained all night in his garden to protect the fruit that

was left, wiling away the time by playing to himself upon the end-flute of reed. A passing Jinn, in the guise of a woman, growing weary of his music, fell upon him and slew him by cutting his throat. If it is dangerous to disturb the habitat of usually quiescent Jenun, to irritate them, or to slay their animals, it is doubly so to attack or interfere with them should they make themselves visible to mortal eyes. One night an Arab saw a woman, gorgeously apparelled and wearing golden ornaments, walking alone in a date grove. Thinking that he had chanced upon a splendid opportunity of robbing a defenceless female, he attempted to seize her. She thereupon fled, and the Arab, failing to realize that he was dealing with a Jinn, gave chase through the gardens until the female form fled under a little aqueduct of palm stem too low to admit of her pursuer's passage, with the result that the latter struck the palm stem so hard with his forehead as he ran that he was laid up for a considerable period. Another native of the same place, El Kantara, finding a fine he-goat in his garden took it home to the courtyard of his house. His wife instinctively took a dislike to the animal, pronouncing it to be a Jinn. In this she was correct, for the creature grew to a prodigious size and finally attacked her before it was driven from the house.

It is believed that Jenun are subject to death, but the mortal who slays one must himself expect to perish in a few days or, at least, to be ill for many months. It appears that a Jinn, when shot, utters a remarkably loud shriek, and that, no matter in what shape it may have revealed itself when shot at, its corpse will resemble that of a frog.

The injury which Jenun cause to the health of mortals is of so varied a character as to embrace practically every accident and illness which flesh is heir to, and, as I have noted in my former paper,<sup>1</sup> armies of these demons are

<sup>1</sup> Hilton-Simpson, "Some Algerian Superstitions," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxvi. p. 245.

believed to cause epidemics, striking down by scores and hundreds the inhabitants of the villages they attack. In the winter of 1918-19 a very serious outbreak of influenza at Djemora, the central village of one of the sub-tribes of the Ulad Zian nomads, was attributed to Jenun, but I have heard no suggestion that this attack was provoked by the people as were the attacks on individuals referred to above. In describing to me the origin and uses of written charms as protection against Jenun, a well-known Shawiya writer of these amulets gave me some details of the organization of the demon world.

He stated that he had learned from old Arabic books, mainly from the *Taj el muluk* of Mohammed ben el Haj el Kebir (who wrote on a great variety of subjects in addition to magic), that once, when wandering alone by night, Mohammed the Prophet encountered an old, ugly, and gigantic woman whom he rightly guessed to be a Jinn. Upon the Prophet mentioning the name of Allah, the woman evinced signs of fear. She then informed him that her title was "Mother of the Night," and that she was accustomed to slay and devour mortals and to destroy their flocks and herds. She further stated that she was chieftainess of all the Jenun, who wrought mischief at her behest, but that if the followers of Mohammed would wear upon their persons certain written charms, her minions would leave them unharmed, and that the wearer of such charms could even dispense with the invocation of Allah when he met a demon. "Mother of the Night" is assisted in her control of the Jenun by a male demon, by name Dokuyush, who acts as her chief of staff, and by one thousand subordinate officers or "elders." When the possessor of a written charm is about to undertake an enterprise or finds himself in any difficulty he merely taps his amulet, when Dokuyush immediately applies to "Mother of the Night" for instructions. The chieftainess, thus reminded of her promise to Mohammed, ordains that her

unseen followers shall not only allow the wearer of the amulet to go his way unharmed, but shall assist him until he proves successful in his undertaking or overcomes the difficulties which beset him. Thus we find that the wearing of a written charm is capable of turning otherwise malevolent and aggressive Jenun into useful helpers of mankind.

The charms themselves, which are infinite in their variety and appear to originate from the magical works of such authors as Suyuti, El Haj Tlemsani and Mohammed ben el Haj el Kebir rather than from the Koran, are naturally considered by the scribes who write them, for a fee, to be the only useful safeguard against Jenun with which man can provide himself. They are put to various uses. The majority, their characters written on paper (which it is important in some cases should not be "lined"), are worn enclosed in neat leather cases suspended from the necks of men and boys or in cases of silver, locally made, hung upon the breasts of women. But, as a cure for sore eyes, mystic words are written by a scribe upon a piece of eggshell, which is then enclosed in *black* rag (black being a colour distasteful to Jenun) and suspended over the affected eye from the headdress, to which it is attached by means of a penannular brooch universally worn by Algerian women, which brooch must have belonged to a deceased *cousin or aunt* of the sufferer and not to his or her *mother or sister*.

As I have pointed out in my previous paper,<sup>1</sup> words are written on paper in the smoke of which, when burning, a patient is fumigated as a cure for fever among the Shawiya. I learned in 1920 of a variant of this treatment from the Arabs of an oasis for the cure of influenza and sore throat.

The patient goes by night to a cemetery and opens a very old grave. This must be done with the greatest secrecy, for the desecration of a grave is regarded as a

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. p. 250.

heinous crime, and a very ancient grave is selected in order to avoid disturbing the remains of a relative of a living member of the community, since such an act would, if discovered, probably lead to murder and the commencement of a blood-feud. From the tomb is removed the end nearest to the shoulder of the corpse's collar bone. This is then taken to a scribe, who writes upon it words which were detailed to me as follows: "Praise to God! O God! The only God! protect me and remove (*i.e.* the malady), for the sake of Mohammed the Prophet of God!" My informant, however, is illiterate, and so may well have been mistaken in the exact wording, which is scarcely likely to have been disclosed to him by a scribe who works for a fee.

This done, a fragment is broken from the bone and burnt, the patient fumigating his person in the smoke to cure the fever of influenza, and drinking in a draught of water the ashes of the bone so burned in order to cure the soreness of the throat. The rest of the bone, wrapped up so as to be concealed from view, is worn suspended around the neck in order to complete the cure. These charms, of course, are extremely difficult for a foreigner to obtain. Indeed it was only after I had been known to my informant for a number of years that I learned of its existence at all, and with difficulty that I persuaded him to try to secure a specimen for me. When he did succeed in bringing me one, the fragment of very old bone was later discovered to be probably that of a horse, so that I imagine the scribe who did the writing had his suspicions as to its ultimate destination, which was in fact the Pitt-Rivers Museum. As a remedy for fever which recurs every three days a human bone from a tomb similarly rifled is inscribed (by a professional writer of course) with the words "In the name of God! The Merciful the Compassionate!" and is worn around the neck. No particular bone however was suggested as being superior to others for the purpose, which is the prevention as well as the cure of the fever.

Naturally the scribes who make money by preparing written charms deride the wearing of substances popularly supposed to be distasteful to Jenun such as rue, asafoetida, coral, iron, copper, pepper and salt, or which are believed to instil fear into the demon, subject as he is to death; for example, gunpowder, flattened bullets, vipers' heads, the bodies of scorpions and the canine teeth of dogs. They further state that the gesture of extending the fingers, accompanied by the remark "Five in thine eye" and the wearing of the gesture ready-made in the shape of a conventionalized silver model of a human hand, are equally useless in warding off the attacks of the Jenun whom all agree accompanies the envious glance known as the "Evil Eye."

Such methods in magic they characterize as old wives' tales, but these methods are nevertheless universally adopted by the Shawiya and the Arabs in addition to the wearing of written amulets.

The scribes, however, do consent to co-operate in the exorcism of Jenun by means other than the use of written charms. Should a person become possessed by a Jinn which he has disturbed by, for example, stumbling inadvertently into a stream or a pool of blood spilled upon the ground which it inhabits, a scribe is consulted with a view to ascertaining the religion of the demon. I have not yet found out how this is accomplished, but since it was a sorceress who informed me that a scribe should be called in, it would appear that the methods of divination employed by professional sorceresses themselves by means of either a spindle and a girdle or of a suspended spindle-whorl and two intersecting lines drawn upon an up-turned dish, both of which I described in my former paper, are inadequate to the task. When the scribe has pronounced upon this subject, a sacrificial meal is prepared upon a certain day of the week, the day and the colour of the victim, which should be a goat, though a fowl will suffice

in poor households, depending upon the religion of the Jinn.

In the case of a Jinn of Jewish faith a red victim is sacrificed at sunset on a Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath: for a Moslem Jinn a white goat or fowl is slain at sunset on the Mohammedan Sabbath (Friday): while, should the Jinn be declared to be a Christian, a black victim is slaughtered at sunset on a Sunday. The victim must be of the sex opposite to that of the patient from whom its sacrifice is to remove the Jinn, and it is of importance that his colour should be without blemish. For a goat of absolutely uniform colour, therefore, people will pay a ridiculously high price when they require it for sacrificial purposes. From the goat or fowl a tasty dish is prepared of stewed flesh and semolina to which some natives state that nuts or fruit should be added, and this dish is left alone in a room for a short time before the patient and his family partake of it, maintaining the strictest silence as they eat. A portion of the dish, together with the blood of the victim, some of its bones and, in the case of a fowl, its feathers are placed in an earthen bowl and conveyed outside the village by a member of the family who must on no account speak or look behind him until he has regained the house after depositing the bowl, which with its contents is termed *neshura*, at some point usually just outside the village itself. Should he speak or look back, a Jinn will cause an accident to befall him. It appears that the *neshura* is usually so placed before the family consumes the meal. Some people say that only the bones, blood, and feathers of the victim should be placed in the bowl, but in the very numerous *neshuras* which I have observed I usually found traces of some of the meal as well.

Different natives with whom I have discussed the question appear to hold different opinions as to how this placing of a *neshura* outside the village causes the Jinn to leave the

person it has possessed. Some think that the mere placing of the bowl causes the Jinn to withdraw, others that the Jinn enters into any creature, for example, the ubiquitous half-starved dog, which may eat the remnants of the victim in the bowl. Either of these beliefs would account for the frequency with which *neshuras* are to be seen upon waste patches of land just outside the village and rubbish heaps, localities likely to be inhabited by Jenun and favourite scavenging places of the village dogs. Others say that the Jinn only leaves the patient to enter into anyone who inadvertently overturns or breaks the *neshura*, for which reason, no doubt, the bowls are so commonly to be found just beside the narrow lanes leading from the villages, often at corners of these lanes where the traveller might easily stumble upon one in the dark (the specimen I collected for the Pitts-Rivers Museum was found in such a spot). They are sometimes, indeed, though rarely, placed in the very centre of the narrow tracks themselves. Needless to say, the natives carefully avoid contact with a *neshura*, but some of them are in the habit of spitting at it as they pass, an action which apparently does not disturb the Jinn and cause it to possess the person who thus insults it. The sacrificial meal and the offering of a *neshura* to a Jinn is very widespread in Barbary, and has been noted by Professors Westermarck<sup>1</sup> and Edmond Doutté<sup>2</sup> in various regions of Algeria and Morocco. From what I was able to learn of it among the Berbers of the Aures and the Arabs of the surrounding plains, the differences in the details supplied to me by various informants arise from the fact that the natives follow the advice of a scribe or sorceress when a member of their family becomes possessed by a Jinn, and that the advice of these experts is based upon oral tradition. I do not think that there is any real

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, "Nature of the Arab Ginn," *Journ. Anth. Inst.* vol. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 455.

difference in the beliefs of the two races, Berber and Arab, with regard to this method of freeing a patient from possession by a Jinn.

A curious means of healing a sty in the eye, which was described to me by an Arab of an oasis who practises the mediaeval Arabian medicine still persisting in and around the Aures, bears some superficial resemblance to the *neshura*, and may be intended to exorcise a demon who is troubling the patient, though I have no direct evidence that this is the case. The patient takes seven—a magical number—grains of barley in his hand and passes them with a rotary movement around the eye seven times, counting aloud. This done he takes some fragments of a broken pot to a point beside a path where he places a fragment of pottery on the ground and lays one of the grains of barley and a little salt upon it. He then places another potsherd on the grain and the salt and lays a second grain and some more salt upon it, continuing to erect a little pile of potsherds, barley, and salt until he has thus placed all his seven grains of barley in position. Any passer-by who recognises the little pile will upset it by throwing a stone at it, when the sty in the patient's eye will heal; the patient himself, however, must not so upset the pile.

A cure is effected should the pile be overturned by a wayfarer accidentally treading upon it, though I was not informed that possession by a Jinn or any other evil would befall the person who thus upset it. Sacrifices are made presumably to Jenun upon other occasions than the illness of a human being from whom a demon must be induced to depart. For example, when a new house is in course of construction, an animal must be slaughtered and eaten, and its blood smeared upon the lintel of the door when this is placed in position. The animal may be a cow, a sheep, or a goat, but an animal's blood must be smeared on the lintel and not the blood of a bird. People in very

humble circumstances sometimes cut a morsel from the ear of a living animal and apply blood from it to the lintel of the door from motives of economy, a substitute for the real sacrifice which is considered to be adequate. The father of one of my Arab friends, however, once decided that the slaughter of a dove would suffice when he was building a new dwelling. The best ram in his flock died immediately as a result of his meanness, for the substitution of the blood of a bird for that of an animal in this rite is considered to cause bad luck to attend the flocks of niggardly builders.

Jenun, of course, can be exorcised by other means than sacrifice. Certain scribes exist, at any rate among the Arabs of the plains, in the palms of whose hands a line known as *Khatem* (=ring or seal), which I believe to be the heart line of European palmists, is especially pronounced. Such a scribe can exorcise Jenun in the following manner. He takes some extremely dirty wool cut from the hindquarters of a sheep, such as is sometimes used in Algerian medicine and surgery, some black earth, and the outer skin of a gall-nut. From these he prepares an ink with which he makes a large blot in the palm of the patient's hand. This blot he divides into four sections by means of two intersecting lines drawn across it, and in each section he traces certain mystic words containing some of the titles of Allah. He then proceeds to read passages from the Koran, whereupon the Jinn, speaking by the mouth of the patient, announces how much the scribe is to be paid for his work before actually leaving his victim. As the Koran is read the scribe can perceive the Jinn or, in serious cases, large bodies of Jenun moving out of the blot of ink like "troops on the march." When they have departed, the ink is washed off in water, which water the patient drinks. This method of exorcism serves to show how great a hold superstition retains upon the Algerian Arabs, persons who could scarcely be cheated out of a sou

in the ordinary affairs of life gladly paying the scribe the sum at which the Jinn itself is supposed to assess his services.

I recently noted two methods of foretelling the result of an illness which differ from those I noted before the War. A sorceress takes a large wooden ladle, such as is to be found in almost every Shawiya home, into which she puts some flour. To this she adds water without, however, stirring it, and then carefully pours away the water so as to leave the moistened flour in the ladle. Should the flour be left smooth, a favourable result of the illness is predicted; but should it form into lumps suggesting graves, the patient will die. In the latter event the invalid is not informed of the fate which awaits him; but a satisfactory result is communicated to the sufferer. The second method of divination is concerned with a curious illness due, apparently, to the date of a child's birth. If two children are born in neighbouring houses in the same month but exactly fifteen days apart, *e.g.* on the first and fifteenth or the sixteenth and the thirtieth days of the month, one of them is certain to be sickly. In order to ascertain its fate its relatives dress up a stick to resemble a man, clothing it completely with *sheshiya* or red skullcap, *gandura*, a shirt, etc. This effigy they set upright beside a stream at a point where a barrage deflects the waters of the stream into a *saqiya*, or small irrigation canal. At the same time they place an egg in the water. The family visits the spot daily at dawn and sunset to see whether the effigy remains upright. Should it have fallen, the egg will be found to be bad and the child will die. On the day on which the effigy is placed beside the stream some barley is thrown upon the ground beneath the tripod which supports the waterskin in the home, ground rendered damp by the water dripping from the skin. This barley is allowed to grow and is cut three times. Should it grow strongly, the child will live; should it droop, the infant must die. My

informant could give me no reason underlying these practices ; but it may be that the effigy and the egg are believed in some way to indicate the child's fate, while the barley may be sown rather as a magical cure for the malady resulting from the unfortunate day of its birth than as a part of the method of divination.

On certain occasions mortals are especially liable to possession by Jenu, and magical precautions are accordingly taken to prevent it. One of these occasions is a boy's circumcision, at which time the Shawiya believe that a Jinn will make an attack upon him. Although the magical rites at a circumcision are by no means elaborate, I have thought it advisable to describe the whole ceremony as I saw it, for I have not yet found in the literature of the Barbary States any detailed account of a circumcision among either the Berbers or the Arabic-speaking people of the plains. In 1920 we were invited to attend the circumcision of two boys in a very small Shawiya hamlet at a short distance from the larger village of Beni Ferra in which we were staying. The household was an average one, neither wealthy nor very poor. When we arrived at about 8 a.m. a number of guests were present, among them many women attired in their best and wearing all their silver ornaments. One of these was a professional danseuse from the Ulad Abdi tribe, who had come to Beni Ferra to dance at several weddings which were taking place at the time. Before the man arrived who was to perform the operations, the women danced in the house to the strains of a single-membrane drum played by a man. At first two women, holding each other by one hand, danced opposite to three others (one of whom was the professional) also with joined hands, the two groups advancing to meet each other and retiring again backwards, as they moved their abdominal muscles in the usual Algerian *danse du ventre*. As they danced they continually chanted in the Shawiya, Berber, dialect : " God let his father live until

the little one grows big!"—the women who were watching them meantime uttering their long-drawn quivering cry of rejoicing to be heard at all Algerian festivals. These women danced for a considerable time and were at length relieved by two others, an elderly woman and a young one, who turned slowly round and round as they danced, holding their flowing garments outstretched with both hands. While the dancing was in progress the mother of one of the boys to be circumcised went behind the house with a basket and filled it with earth, which she sifted with her hands to remove stones and to break up hard lumps. At the conclusion of the dancing, the house in which it had taken place, containing but a single apartment, was divided into two by means of a carpet suspended as a curtain across it.

After the arrival of the operator, on one side of the curtain the grown-up men of the party—not the lads, of whom some were present—sat upon the ground and were offered a large dish containing some thin unleavened bread made with oil broken up into small pieces and garnished with numerous hard-boiled eggs, also broken up, and fragments of meat. This meal was merely tasted and removed immediately. A mat of halfa-grass having been laid upon the ground in the men's part of the room, a large wooden dish was placed bottom upwards upon it. This dish was thickly covered with the dry earth dug up by the mother of one of the patients, and a fragment of pottery placed beside it containing two fresh eggs and some lumps of coarse salt. A large quantity of powdered leaves of *Juni-perus phoenicea* and of powdered goat's dung, wrapped in cloths, were also placed at hand. The operator, who was not one of the professional practitioners of medicine and surgery whose work I have described elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> squatted beside the dish on the left of the patient, a boy of eleven months, who was laid upon his back on the earth covering

<sup>1</sup> Hilton-Simpson, *Arab Medicine and Surgery*, 1922.

the dish, his garments tied up, and was held in position by a man squatting on his right, the latter supporting the child's body with his left hand and holding its legs extended with his right. The foreskin having been drawn over a small knobbed stick, to which it was secured with string, and the glans protected by means of a loop of wool, the foreskin was severed at one cut with a sharp knife, a gun being fired outside the house the moment the cut had been made in order, as the natives said, to scare away Jenun. One of the fresh eggs upon the fragment of pottery was immediately broken open at one end and applied to the part, so that the penis was enclosed in it ; after the removal of the egg, powdered juniper leaves were liberally besprinkled upon the penis, the abdomen, and the thighs, upon which melted butter was next poured. The sprinkling of juniper leaves was then repeated and considerable quantities of powdered goat's dung subsequently applied, after which more melted butter was poured on and covered with a final sprinkling of juniper. The child was then wrapped in its garments, and the man who had held it in position took some of the coarse salt in his right hand and made two series of seven rotary motions with it over the child's body—one series from right to left, the other from left to right—finally throwing some of the salt over the infant's head.

The ceremony of the first circumcision was then at an end. The second one exactly resembled it, save that the gun, an antiquated muzzle-loading weapon, could not be induced to go off for some moments after the cut had been made, a circumstance which caused considerable annoyance, probably owing to fear that a Jinn might have time to possess the child between the severing of the foreskin and the delayed discharge of the gun. The second infant was rather younger than the first. While the operations were being performed the women of the party kept up their chanting and dancing to the sound of the drum on

the other side of the curtain, the mothers of the patients being the only women present upon the men's side. The mothers sat quiet in a corner, averting their eyes while the operations were carried out. Seated, as we were, upon an up-turned box within a few inches of the patient's head, we had an admirable opportunity of observing the actual operation in detail. The magical precautions taken to prevent possession of the infants by Jenun were the firing of the guns, a threat or warning to these demons, subject as they are to death, and the passing around the patient's body and the sprinkling over his head of salt, a substance well known to be disliked by Jenun in general.

The magical value, if any, of the dressings applied to the wound is, however, less easy to determine. At first glance it seems likely that the egg may be applied to the wound as being considered an emblem of fertility. But Professor Westermarck in his very exhaustive researches into the marriage ceremonies of both Berbers and Arabs of Morocco <sup>1</sup> has been unable to obtain evidence that the eggs which are used in those ceremonies—and, as we shall see, at Shawiya marriages as well—are so used as emblems of fertility at all; and I have found, during my investigations of the medicine and surgery of the Aures, that the white of a raw egg is used as a dressing for cuts and burns by natives who practise medicine and not magic. Melted butter is the dressing most commonly applied to all wounds in Algeria: the powdered leaves of *Juniperus phoenicea* are widely employed in medicine in the Aures: while the natives regard goat's dung as a valuable styptic. The dressings which I have described as used in circumcision, therefore, may well be considered to possess practical rather than magical values.

Persons are believed to be very liable to possession by Jenun on the occasion of their wedding. The wedding ceremonies of the Aures are very similar to those described

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco.*

in such detail by Professor Westermarck from Morocco.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, certain differences in detail between them, but my own notes on the wedding ceremonies of the Shawiya, though now fairly copious, are not yet sufficiently complete to warrant their publication in full. When the bride is to be brought to the bridegroom's house it is necessary that she should be clad in new garments, the gift of the bridegroom. As to the silver ornaments she wears on this occasion, it is sufficient that they should be new to her; those taken from a divorced wife being sometimes offered to her successor.

When dressing for her journey, her *gandura* or shirt, which should be white, must be put on her by a young boy; in order, I was definitely informed, that she may bear her husband sons or that she may be "kept long by her husband," two ways of expressing the same idea. When seated, heavily veiled, upon the mule which is to convey her to her husband's home, a small boy is made to ride upon the saddle in front of her for, I was told, the same purpose. During her journey firearms are repeatedly discharged in order to scare away Jenun, who are supposed to be awaiting an opportunity to "possess" her. On arrival at her husband's door she is lifted from the mule and carried into the house by a man. As she reaches the door she is presented by a female member of the bridegroom's family with an egg, which she breaks upon the lintel of the door as she passes beneath it. In the Jebel Shershar, however, brides sometimes smear butter upon the door lintel instead of throwing an egg against it.

Professor Westermarck, in the conclusions drawn from his enquiries into Moroccan marriage ceremonies,<sup>2</sup> states that he has obtained from natives no confirmation of the apparently reasonable conjecture that eggs are used in these ceremonies as being emblematic of fertility. The Shawiya

<sup>1</sup> Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco.*

<sup>2</sup> Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 353.



BRIDE THROWING EGG AT DOOR LINTEL AS SHE IS  
- CARRIED INTO HER NEW HOME. EL KANTARA.



OFFERING THE EGG TO THE BRIDE AT A POOR FAMILY'S  
WEDDING. EL KANTARA.



with whom I have discussed the question have never told me in so many words that this is the reason underlying the use of eggs, but they state that the bride breaks an egg on the door lintel of her new home in order that she may long remain in that home, and it is hard to imagine how a sterile wife could hope to remain for any length of time in the home of a Shawiya husband. There are two points of resemblance between the wedding ceremonies of the Aures and those which take place at the commencement of ploughing, upon which latter I have published a few notes elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> When the sacks of seed have been placed upon a mule for transport to the field, a small boy is made to ride upon them, and both at weddings and on the first day of ploughing a dish is prepared of semolina, butter, honey, and sugar, known to the Shawiya as *ademine*, which is offered to the guests at a marriage and to all and sundry who may be passing the field at the moment when ploughing is commenced. I have not yet learned from the natives themselves their reason for these customs, which appear to be universally observed in the Aures.

Other occasions on which human beings seem especially susceptible to possession by spirits, usually harmless if exorcised in time, are the periodical fêtes held in honour of the memory of some long since departed Marabout or Moslem saint. On such occasions persons of either sex, upon hearing the sound of the drums and hautboys which accompany the ceremony, work themselves up into a state of religious ecstasy. They become temporarily so demented as to lick hot iron, cut and stab themselves with knives, shriek, dance, prophesy, and disclose the deepest secrets of their neighbours, secrets which, it is believed, could only have been made known to them by some supernatural agency. This violent hysteria is usually followed by a collapse. The patient falls into a state of coma from which he or she can only be aroused by a recitation of

<sup>1</sup> Hilton-Simpson, *Among the Hill Folk of Algeria*, p. 161.

some verses of Koran or with the assistance of certain people, skilled in magic, who by touching the crown of the patient's head three times restore him to consciousness.

When once the individual has recovered his senses after his outburst it is believed that all the scars which he may have inflicted upon himself in the course of his ravings will have disappeared. This religious hysteria is not confined to a tribe or sect, such as the Aïssawa who are renowned for their self-mutilation and who perform it for the edification of visitors in many a tourist centre of Algeria. It is said to overcome perfectly sane and rational persons at some of the *zerdas* or fêtes at the tombs of well-known marabouts. Such a *zerda* is that held about the month of August in honour of Sidi Yahia, whose tomb is situated midway between the railway "halte" of Maafa and the western entrance to the ravine of the same name, the only ravine which penetrates the western boundary of the Aures massif and thus connects the high-lying valley of Bu Zina with the outer world. A vast concourse of natives of both Berber and Arab stock attend this *zerda* from the Aures, from the surrounding desert, and even from such distant centres as Constantine. At the tomb of the saint, which is situated within a modern building erected by the French Government, much music and dancing takes place and, in dry seasons, prayers are offered for rain. When the ceremonies at the tomb are completed, a large number of people of both sexes betake themselves to the slopes of the holy mountain, known as the Jebel Bus, which lies on the right bank of the Bu Zina river just above its confluence with the Wad Abdi, that is to say, some half a dozen miles as the crow flies to the south-east of Sidi Yahia's tomb. Bringing with them candles and incense, they burn these upon the rocky slopes of the mountain upon which they pass the night, thus illuminating the hill, while music is provided by drum and hautboy, to the strains of which dance the men: very rarely, it is said, some women dance also.

Upon the morrow many of the crowd attend a large fair at Tagust, a Shawiya village situated at the north-eastern foot of the Jebel Bus, at which are sold goats, sheep and, especially, the dwarf cattle which are kept in very small numbers by the Shawiya.

The fête takes place at the moment when the fruits of the trees in the Abdi and Bu Zina valleys are about to ripen. The ceremonies detailed above, according to descriptions given to me by several natives, Arab and Shawiya, who have assisted at them, are commenced as we have seen at the tomb of the Moslem saint, Sidi Yahia, an individual of whom it is reported that in his lifetime he turned a lion into stone (the stone somewhat resembling a recumbent lion is to be found beside the track leading from the tomb to the railway); and they are nowadays considered to have been originated at the death of this holy man, as a tribute to his honour and as a means of securing his supernatural help for the increase of rainfall in dry seasons.

Yet it seems more than possible that they may date from times of much greater antiquity, and afford an instance of the Islamization of the remnants of an older cult. It must be remembered that the Berbers of the Algerian hills were remarkably "superstitious" as well as determined warriors in the time of the seventh-century Arab invader, Oqba ben Nafi, who found it expedient to play upon their superstitions when he attempted their conquest and conversion to Islam,<sup>1</sup> and, further, that in the early days of Arabian conquest the very soldiery who were extending the dominions of the Califate in Egypt and Africa by force of arms were themselves acquainted with little more than the mere formula of confession of their new faith.<sup>2</sup>

It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that a religion so introduced should absorb the existing cults of the Berbers

<sup>1</sup> Dozy, *Moslems in Spain* (tran. by F. G. Stokes, 1913), p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Dozy, *op. cit.* pp. 23 and 24.

rather than supplant them ; that the hill tribes of Algeria, doubtless as conservative in temperament thirteen centuries ago as they are to-day, should merely have clothed their ancient rites with a thin veil of Mohammedan orthodoxy rather than have abandoned them altogether. It seems that, at any rate in Phoenician times, the cult of a great goddess was very widespread in Libya, a goddess whose attributes included those of ancient deities of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Persia, and whom Herodotus connects with the Greek Athena. This goddess was Tanit, who appears to have been identical with the primitive Egyptian goddess Neïth, the deity of nature,<sup>1</sup> of water, of fertility, and of vegetation,<sup>2</sup> the Mighty Mother of Saïs in the Nile Delta, whose attributes were later assumed by Isis.

In the *Geographical Journal* (January 1922) I drew attention to a possible survival of the cult of this goddess in the Spring Feast of Menaâ and the Abdi valley of the Aures, and to the apparent similarity between the game of "Koorâ," played on that occasion by the Shawiya women, and the strife of the Ausean maidens by the shores of Lake Tritonis (the Shotts of Southern Tunisia) as described by Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> It may be that in the pilgrimage from the tomb of Sidi Yahia to the holy mountain, the Jebel Bus overlooking Menaâ, and in the illuminations on that hill by night, we have another vestige of the cult of this goddess comparable, perhaps, to the Feast of Lamps at Saïs (Herodotus, ii. 59-62) in honour of Isis Net. It is noteworthy that the modern feast takes place at the time when the fruits of the trees are commencing to ripen, a likely moment at which to propitiate a goddess of fertility, and that, in dry seasons, prayers for rain are said to be a feature of the ceremony, prayers which would naturally be addressed to a water deity. In addition to this it is, at least, remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 457.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, iv. 180.

that on the day following the night spent on the mountain the crowd should attend a fair at Tagust in which the sale of cattle is an outstanding feature.

Now cattle are scarce in the Aures ; too scarce, one would imagine, to render a special market desirable ; for the material reason that the pastures of its valleys are insufficient to maintain large numbers of even the diminutive local oxen and cows. The flocks of the hill tribes, like those of the nomads, consist in sheep and goats. May it not be that in the cattle market referred to we have a survival, changed beyond all recognition in the lapse of time, of some ancient ceremonial in which the cow, sacred to Isis, played some part as did the gilt image of a cow at the Feast of Lamps at Saïs ? Herodotus, describing the customs of the nomad Libyan tribes from Egypt to Southern Tunisia, states that in his time these people abstained from eating the flesh of cows, and remarks that " Even at Cyréné, the women think it wrong to eat the flesh of the cow, honouring in this Isis, the Egyptian goddess, whom they worship both with fasts and festivals." <sup>1</sup>

In the course of my investigations in the Aures before the War, when noting some curious family tabus among the Shawiya of the central valleys of the massif, I found that certain families consider it so unlucky for them to kill an ox or cow that, should a member of one of these families desire to slaughter such a beast, they call in a neighbour to do the actual killing, rewarding him for his pains with a portion of the meat, a custom which may possibly constitute a relic from days when in the Aures, as in the eastern districts of Libya, the flesh of the cow was not eaten by the natives out of respect for their principal goddess. In later times we find that Isis was definitely worshipped at Carthage, but her cult probably died out there, according to Bouchier,<sup>2</sup> soon after the reign of Constantine, and the

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, iv. 186 (Rawlinson's trans.).

<sup>2</sup> Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*, p. 81.

same author tells us that a shrine was set up to her in the second century A.D. by a *legatus* at Lambaesis, the great camp established on the plateau to protect the Roman farmers from the attacks of the mountaineers at a point no more than twenty miles to the north-east of the holy mountain, the modern ceremonies upon the slopes of which may, perhaps, be regarded as a fragment of evidence of the survival of her worship.

In certain other customs of the Shawiya traces of an ancient cult are to be found which would appear to refer to the early worship of Tanit in one or other of her aspects. Tanit, as we have seen, was a goddess of fertility. Bouchier states that she was "practically the same as the moon-goddess Astarte." The very ancient shrine of Paphos is believed by Sir James Frazer<sup>1</sup> to have been the seat of worship of a combination of two deities, a very early goddess of fertility and of Astarte, who was brought thither by the Phoenicians and who may have closely resembled the original goddess. These two, he considers, may have been "both varieties of that great goddess of motherhood and fertility whose worship appears to have been spread all over Western Asia from a very early time. The supposition is confirmed as well by the archaic shape of her image as by the licentious character of her rites; for both that shape and those rites were shared by her with other Asiatic deities. Her image was simply a white cone or pyramid. In like manner, a cone was the emblem of Astarte at Byblus," etc. Now a white cone figures to-day in one of the love philtres employed among the Shawiya by young men and girls, and also by married women who wish to retain the affections of their husbands.

In a community such as the Shawiya, a Moslem community in which divorce is so easily obtainable, a sterile wife can hope for no prolonged residence in her husband's home; the bearing of children, therefore, is her only safe-

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 34.

guard against early and sudden ejection. Although, doubtless, she is in complete ignorance of the reasons for and origin of the philtre she employs, she secretly mixes with her husband's food the summit of a cone of white sugar, an article of commerce procured from the large centres of civilization and to be found in every village of the Aures. With it she also mixes in the food another ingredient which I have specified elsewhere, while a man, should he desire to secure the affections of a woman, adds two other ingredients to the point of the cone of sugar.<sup>1</sup> I have as yet heard of no substitute for the sugar which might indicate the nature of the substance used in the philtre before such sugar was obtainable. Cone-sugar is the variety commonly employed to sweeten coffee, etc., but the sugar extensively used in practical medicine by the Shawiya doctors is of a different kind.

In discussing "Sacred prostitution in the worship of the Paphian Aphrodite and of other Asiatic goddesses," Sir James Frazer points out that in Cyprus "before marriage all women were formerly obliged by custom to prostitute themselves to strangers at the sanctuary of the goddess, whether she went by the name of Aphrodite, Astarte, or what not," and that a similar course was pursued in Phœnician and other temples.

It seems highly probable that a survival of some such custom is to be found in the notorious immorality of a Shawiya tribe, the Ulad Abdi, who inhabit a valley of the north-western Aures within eight miles of the holy Jebel Bus, among whom the tip of the sugar cone is used as a philtre and who celebrate the Feast of the Spring in the manner I have described in the *Geographical Journal*.

Sir James Frazer himself refers to the habits of these people, quoting from Professor Doutté the statement that when the French authorities attempted to interfere with

<sup>1</sup> Hilton-Simpson, "Some Arab and Shawiya Remedies," *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.* vol. xliii. p. 714.

their laxity of morals the people themselves offered strenuous opposition, "alleging that such a measure would impair the abundance of the crops."

My own notes on this subject, obtained during various visits to the Abdi valley, are as yet very scanty. Certain it is that many unmarried girls and the very numerous divorcées of the tribe do lead an immoral life, that this is not regarded as in any way shameful by the majority of their fellow tribesmen—though a few are to be found who disapprove of it—and that, in the capacity of danseuses, these women pursue their calling in the villages of neighbouring tribes as well as in their own. So common is vice among these people that, in the surrounding country, to refer to women as *Ulad Abdi* is equivalent to calling them prostitutes. It seems impossible that so marked a contrast should exist between tribes of a common origin as that to be found, in this respect, between the *Ulad Abdi* and their neighbours, unless it originates from the pursuit of some now forgotten religious observance, such as the worship of a goddess of fertility.

Yet it is extremely difficult to understand why such an observance should not have extended in the past to the kindred tribes around, or, if ever it did so extend, why it should have disappeared from among them and persisted in the Abdi valley, an area geographically no more or no less liable to outside influences than the valleys to the east or to the west of it.

I hope when I resume my researches in the field to glean further information, fragmentary though it must be, which may shed light on the origin of these customs of the *Ulad Abdi*, and also, if possible, of the *Ulad Nail*, a tribe of Arabic-speaking nomads who wander over the Sahara to the south-west of Biskra and whose customs are somewhat similar.

Assuming Bertholon and Chantre<sup>1</sup> to be correct in re-

<sup>1</sup> Bertholon and Chantre, *La Berbérie Orientale*, p. 618.

garding the great goddess of fertility as also, in one of her aspects, a Moon-goddess, there seems little room for doubt that we have a further trace of the worship of Tanit in the preparation of the following philtre. Among both the Shawiya and the Arabs of the oases at the foot of the Aures are to be found women known as "Sorceresses of the Moon" whose services are sought by wives wishing to keep or regain the affections of their husbands. I have not heard that unmarried people consult them with a view to obtaining their philtres. The sorceress goes to a cemetery by moonlight, kindles a fire and digs up some bones of a very old corpse. These, with some benjoin and another incense known as *bekhor es Sudan*, she places on the fire. Having called upon Allah, she then colours her left eyelid with antimony, her lower lip with walnut, and her right hand and left foot with henna. The moon now begins to descend from the heavens and to approach a large, flat dish of water placed ready to receive it. As it comes the sorceress ties a cord of camel's hair around her waist and rolls upon the ground, imploring Allah to allow the moon to descend. He does so, and the moon enters the dish of water, "growling like a camel which is receiving its load" and producing upon the surface of the water a sort of thick froth or scum, the ground around meantime trembling with shocks of earthquake. The moon having been induced by incantations to return to its normal position and the earthquake having been stilled by the same means, the froth is skimmed from the surface of the water, and, when dried, is sold to applicants for admixture with their husband's food. Such is the preparation of the philtre by a Sorceress of the Moon exactly as described to me by persons who believe implicitly in its efficiency.

Dr. Mauchamp,<sup>1</sup> a French medical officer, has given a somewhat similar but rather more detailed description of the rite as performed in Morocco. Among the more re-

<sup>1</sup> Mauchamp, *La Sorcellerie au Maroc*, p. 255 *et seq.*

spectable of the Shawiya, deeds such as these of the sorceresses are regarded with pious horror, and a woman caught in the act of performing them would run a considerable risk of being killed on the spot. The subject, therefore, is a difficult one on which to obtain precise information, and it is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that the natives themselves know nothing whatever of the origin of a custom which seems to find a counterpart in the drinking, for medicinal purposes, by the Mohammedans of Oude of water in which the moon has been reflected. From the few disconnected scraps of evidence set forth above it would appear that, beneath the modern cloak of Islam and underlying the earlier chaotic demonology which pervades both the Aures and the desert to this day, there are to be found traces of an ancient cult the very existence of which is unsuspected by the natives who perform the last remnants of its rites. I am certain that careful enquiries in the field will reveal more such traces. But, if they are to be sought at all, the search for these traces must be undertaken at once. The forbidding frontiers of the Aures will at no far distant date be penetrated by roads; work upon them has, indeed, been commenced. The stream of tourist traffic which the splendid scenery of the hills cannot fail to attract to these roads will surely have its effect in the introduction of modern ideas among the hitherto conservative Shawiya. In fact, the modernization of Berber life in the fastnesses of the Aures has already made more strides in the last three years than in any previous epoch.

This is due to the return from active service of numerous Shawiya who, had they not rallied round the standard of France in the Great War, would probably never have left their mountain homes at all.

As it is, they have come back to these homes, with widened outlook but with shaken faith, to sow the seeds of change in the customs of their neighbours; they have returned, worthier subjects of a Great European Power,

yet, to the student of folk-lore, they must appear as the vanguard of a destroying host.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my gratitude to the French Government and to all its officials we met with in Algeria for the facilities which have been granted to my wife and myself, and for the kindly co-operation and hospitality which we have ever received at their hands.

M. W. HILTON-SIMPSON.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### ASINVS IN TEGVLIS.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. p. 34 *et seqq.*)

PROF. W. R. HALLIDAY, who read the above article in proof, kindly sends me the following reference :

Apuleius, *Metamorph.* III. 17 (p. 59 of the Teubner ed.), speaking of a witch at her incantations : *sic noctis initio . . . iam uecors animi tectum scandulare conscendit, quod altrinsecus aedium patore perflabili nudatum ad orientales ceterosque omnes aspectus peruium* (so the MSS.; *imperuium* van der Vliet, unnecessarily), *maxime his artibus suis commodatum, secreto colit, priusque apparatu solito instruit feralem officinam.*

" So at nightfall . . . she went her frenzied way up to a roof reached by a stair, which stands beyond the house, naked and open to the east and every other quarter of the heavens, a well-fitted place for these her arts, and her secret haunt. She began by arranging the usual apparatus of her hellish laboratory."

He also suggests that the passage from Petronius may mean : " I will tell you a story, though I am no better at it than the ass in the fable was at gambolling on the roof." This is grammatically flawless, but I doubt if it fits the naïve boastfulness of Trimalchio as well as the rendering which I adopt.

The following should be added to the classical examples of an unlucky thing coming through the opening in the roof : Terence, *Phormio*, 707, in a list of *monstra* or portents alleged as excuses for putting off a wedding ; *anguis in impluuium decidit de tegulis*. To the Greek examples of roof-beliefs add Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 746 H.

H. J. ROSE.

## FOLK-LORE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.

## I.

THE belief in fairies being practically universal, the type of fairy-story must be monotonous in its sameness. No doubt much of this sameness is due to intercommunication of countries and districts, and much also to the likeness in the trend of human thought the world over. There may, therefore, be very little new in the stories about fairies, witches, etc., which I propose to give as told to me by various persons in the Isle of Skye. That island, though now devastated by motors, English shooting tenants, and unintelligent tourists, remains, nevertheless, a stronghold of the old ways and the old ideas. People cling with a religious fervour, and all religion is fervid there, to their old speech, and an outsider remains an outsider for a long time. I speak of the years before the Great War, for that terrible upheaval, appealing to the most patriotic of races, sent its girls to make munitions and drive Glasgow tramcars, and its young men to die in hundreds for their country. My connection with the island was, to my sorrow, severed before the War, and my folklore was gathered before that date. A want of Gaelic handicapped me, but there were intelligent maidservants, who put into good and grammatical English the stories told by those who had not the tongue of the alien. My informants lived, all of them, in or near Portree, but that signified little in an island where distance means nothing, and where aged women walked twenty-six miles to and from a Communion service. The minds of my informants could have been little influenced, if at all, by the printed book, for most could read no English, and some had never seen a railway train. I regret to say that much of the reading of the younger generation was confined to newspapers and "noavelles," otherwise penny novelettes, but from these I derived nothing. If they knew any folklore, it was vulgar and "far-back" to admit the knowledge. I do not know if the most beautiful of islands has been desecrated by a cinema, but, if so, it only needed that to complete the overthrow of refinement and culture.

My informants, though living near Portree, belonged in some

cases to other parishes. Some came from Woodend, a township off the main road, a mere collection of small crofts scattered along a mountain road leading to the remote valley and township of Glenmore. One of these, Donald Murchison, who worked in our garden and also acted as postman to his township at the magnificent salary of four shillings a week, could read English and was fond of reading. But I have reason to know that his stories were those told round the glowing peat fire on winter evenings, when the blackened teapot nestled in the ashes. For Donald's house had the hearth in the middle of the floor, just some more or less flat stones heaped with peat, while the pungent smoke issued from every crack in the walls or blew about the kitchen in blinding clouds. The kitchen was divided by a wicker door and a narrow passage from the cow's stall where cow and calves contentedly munched their poor hay. But I have taken tea in this house, and was served with a courtesy worthy of a ducal palace.

Others of my informants came from Woodend, namely, Mrs. Mackinnon, Mrs. Morag Buchanan, and Mrs. Beaton. Another of my story-tellers, Mrs. Macdougall, though many years in Portree, had no English, and belonged to the remote township of Kilmaluag, in the north of the island. Another of my informants was Bella Nicolson, then in my service, and belonging to the township of Sconser, right under the mighty Glamaig, a township which sees no sun during several months of the winter. These people came into contact with, and knew stories from, all parts of the island, and represented a much wider area than just the few miles round Portree.

(1) Some people in the north of Skye wished to make tweed, but were evidently too lazy to begin the task. They exhausted their energies, therefore, in loud-spoken wishes that it were done. It is always bad to utter a wish of this kind aloud, for who knows what may be listening. In this case the fairies were the hearers. In the rather peremptory manner of their race they came to the house and demanded the necessary tools, carding comb, spindle, and so on. These were gladly produced, and the indolent crofters found, to their joy, a fine web of tweed when they rose the next morning. But such delight was not without its dis-

comforts, for the industrious fairies would not budge. The usual procedure of consulting a wise man was taken, and this latter advised his clients to bid the fairies roof a large barn with a certain kind of tree, only one of which existed. But the fairies, hungering for employment, and with a perseverance worthy of emulation, accomplished this task and returned cheerfully to their former quarters. Once more the wise man was taken into consultation, and this time he advised the expedient of bidding the fairies empty the sea with a creel. This sufficed. The angry fairies departed never to return.

(2) A relative of Donald Murchison, who was employed as a herd boy on the farm of Scorybreck, fell asleep on a hill known as Dun Torvaig. Awaking from a heavy sleep, he found himself surrounded by fairies, and was a delighted spectator of their feasting and dancing. Meanwhile, in his home, he was mourned for as dead, and sad funeral feasts and loud wailing (and the latter is most heartrending) filled the house. What was the astonishment of the mourners when he arrived home, safe and well. Three weeks had elapsed, but he refused to believe it, and said, "It was the fine long sleep I had, but who would be sleeping the three weeks? It was but half a day I was after sleeping." He was safe and well certainly, but never again the same lad, for he was ever distraught in manner, and ever sighing for the joys of the fairy-haunted Dun.

(3) Two hunchbacks lived at Edinbane, about fourteen miles from Portree. One of these fell ill, and asked his comrade in misfortune to go and feed his herd of cattle, the beautiful shaggy creatures one still sees in the Highlands. As the neighbour, a kindly, merry man, proceeded on his mission, he heard sounds coming from a small hill, and, listening, he heard a voice chanting continuously, "Monday, Tuesday." With a sudden impulse he joined in, "Wednesday, Thursday." A voice inquired, "Who will be adding nice verses to my song?" "A hunchback bodach," the man replied. "Come in to my house," said the voice, and the hunchback obeyed. An old fairy man greeted him, and in gratitude for the addition to his song he took off the disfiguring hump. We can picture the neighbour's astonishment when the transformed hunchback returned home.

Jealousy consumed him, and the next day he hurried to the same place and heard the same song, which now included the nice new verses. Jealous of his neighbour's good fortune, for he was a sullen, discontented man, he joined in, "Friday, Saturday." But this did not have the desired effect, for a wrathful voice demanded, "Who will be spoiling my nice song?" and the fairy man emerged and dragged him inside. With somewhat arbitrary cruelty he added the neighbour's hump to that already on his back and drove him out.

(4) A midwife of Kilmaluag, going out in the evening to bring her cows home, was laid hold of by a fairy man, and despite her efforts to get away was quite unable to do so. "And who will be taking the cows home?" she remonstrated. But it was of no avail, for she was told that the cows would be looked after, but that she must come to the aid of the fairy man's wife, who was in dire straits and in need of her assistance. There was nothing to do but to obey, and with her skilled help a fairy child was born. For eight days, until her patient was fit to be left, the nurse was kept in the fairy hill, though to her the time seemed only half a day. Then she was allowed to go home, when she found that, according to promise, her cows had been carefully tended.

(5) A well-to-do couple in the neighbourhood of Edinbane had but one lack in their prosperity—they had no child. But, at length, to their pride and joy, the wished-for child arrived. A bountiful harvest demanded all hands at work, and the mother carried her infant out, and left it comfortable and apparently safe in the charge of a young girl. But the latter was heedless and false to her trust, and she left the sleeping infant to the many dangers which menace infant life. During her absence the fairies, attracted by the beauty of the human child, stole it, leaving in its place a peculiarly unattractive infant of their own species. From that time the healthy child "dwined," always wailing and refusing to eat. After all ordinary means had been tried and had failed the mother consulted a "wise man." This person bade the mother listen if she could hear the crying of her own child, which she soon perceived to be coming from a little hill. By the advice of the

wise man the mother took the fairy child near this hill and slapped it hard. Immediately a voice was heard exclaiming in anger, "Throw her out her own ugly brat," and the fairy child disappeared, leaving, at her feet, her own comely infant.

(6) A man in Raasay, going to a black still at Suishnish for whiskey, and coming back with a skin bottleful on his back, saw a hill, which he had to pass, open before him, and looking in he saw tables laid. This was too good an opportunity to be missed, and he went in to join in the feast, which was being celebrated with all manner of splendour: linen of the finest, massive silver plate, and gaily dressed servants waiting. Dancing followed, and for a while he joined in; but, becoming sated with gaiety, he thought of returning home. He would have a fine story to tell, but who would believe him? He must have some evidence to show, so he snatched away a tablecloth. The hue and cry was up at once, and he was closely pursued. But he reached home safely with his prize, which he showed to all comers. Macgilliechallum, the chief of the Macleods of Raasay, asked for the cloth, and asking, in the case of a chief, being then much the same as taking, it was given up to him. It was long in the possession of the MacLeods of Raasay.

(7) An old man in Borve was very much later than his neighbours in cutting his corn. One day he was standing looking at it, and he said aloud, "This corn is ready to be cut." Waking next morning this easy-going old gentleman saw, to his amazement, his corn cut and put up in stooks. The next morning he was met by a man about four feet high and dressed in blue clothes. (This is probably meant for green, as my informant, Donald Murchison, while working in the garden always called grass "that blue sing.") The old man asked the stranger where he had come from. "From Dun Borve," answered the little man, "and want pay for cutting the corn." "What pay?" queried the old crofter. "A few potatoes and a little pot," was the reply. This seems a floating reminiscence of the demands of the much-dreaded tinkers, for, of course, potatoes were entirely unknown in the days when this story was first told. However that may be, the demands in this case were acceded to, and now hardly a day passed without the little

man or his still less wife appearing with new requests. The nuisance became intolerable, and the old man beat his brains for a means whereby he might put a stop to it. He at last hit on a plan. One day, when his troublesome visitors were as usual asking for something, he suddenly called out, "Dun Borve is on fire with all in it, dog or man." Instantly the fairy disappeared, and from that time troubled the ingenious old man no more. But at Portree Market he once more saw the little man. Unwisely, he spoke to him, and the fairy said, "How will you be seeing me?" "With this eye," said the old man. Instantly the fairy put spittle in the eye indicated, and, though the old man retained the normal use of it, the supernormal power disappeared.

(8) There was once a poor woman about forty years ago, and she was making a piece of twilled cloth for the children, and besides she had to do the spring work. When she was going to bed, she said, "I wish the cloth was finished and the spring work done." Shortly after she went to bed she heard the fairies at the fire. The fairies as they worked repeated some sort of rhyme or charm, which given in my informant's words, written down for me, are: "A wife for teething the wool, and wife for carding and wife for spinning and wife for cudal." The last word is a mystery, as it does not appear to be Gaelic, and I imagine it can only mean "cuddle." The different aspects of a wife I suppose to be intended. At all events, after singing this, the fairies put a pot of water on to boil in order to thicken the cloth. This was the last process and the cloth was finished. The fairies then asked the woman what more work had she to do. She told them the spring work was still undone. They therefore planted the potatoes, turned the ground, sowed the corn and harrowed. In this way the woman's work was done, and the fairies asked what further was to be done. "Nothing but you to fight," the woman answered somewhat ungratefully and forthwith the fairies fell to fighting. Never a bit of grass will grow in that place, concludes my story-teller.

(9) Mrs. Macdougall, a middle-aged woman in 1910, told me that the fairies reaped, in one night, all her grandmother's corn, leaving it in good order. This was in Kilmaluag.

(10) Mrs. Buchanan, quite a young woman about the same

date, said that when her grandfather would be attending to the sheep and cows on the shieling (the small hut which was inhabited for the summer months in the high country), the fairies would come to him and creep in under his overcoat. They told him that if a soldier going to war would drink the fairy women's milk he would come home safe, and that if he refuse to do so he will be killed.

(11) On the farm of Scorybreck there is a kind of fairy in the form of a long-haired woman. She lies on the roof of the byre and drinks the milk of the cows. This is Gruagach, to whom libations of milk are made in some parts.

(12) A midwife of Flodigarry was attending a confinement, when, one day, a message came for her to go some distance away. She obeyed the summons and found herself inside a fairy mound. She begged to be allowed to go, but the fairies refused to let her till she had performed two tasks. She was provided with a spindle, some wool and some meal in a gurnal. When the wool was all spun, and the meal made into bread, she might go. She toiled very assiduously to get all finished up, but it was of no avail. The wool and the meal remained undiminished. Despairing of ever seeing her home again, she begged of a fairy who was alone with her to tell her what to do. The fairy was moved by her prayers, and told her to spin the wool as the sheep eats the grass. This instruction has no meaning, so I suspect there has been some mistranslation from the Gaelic, which is, of course, the language in which all these stories were originally told. At all events the midwife understood, and soon finished that task. As to the meal, the fairy told her that she must take some of the dough and form a cake with it. This cake she must bake in front of (before?) the others, and eat it entirely herself. In this way the task was done. The fairies saw she must have had help from one of their own number, but she stoutly refused to tell. They were therefore forced to allow her to go. Joyfully she sped back to her "case," and on arriving at her patient's house she found it full of music and merry-making. Astonished, she asked a bystander what it all meant. "A wedding," was the surprised answer: "Whose wedding will it be?" she queried impatiently. What was her surprise

to find it was the wedding of the very child she had helped to bring into the world, for she had been absent more than twenty years.

A variation of this story has a girl as the person who was carried off. In her case the device advised was that she must put back into the meal kist or gernal all the meal that she used to rub the dough off her hands. Like the other, this device succeeded; she soon exhausted the meal and was accordingly restored to her home.

(13) About six miles from Portree, where was once a large and prosperous township, there now remain only a few scattered crofts. In the days of its prosperity two men occupied adjacent crofts. One fine spring these two men were busy at their spring work in adjoining fields. It was hot, and one of the two stopped to breathe, exclaiming, "Oh, that I were a dairymaid." As he said the words a little woman dressed in green suddenly appeared, carrying a pail of milk. This she offered to the man, but he refused to touch it. On offering it, however, to the second man, it was accepted with thanks. Fairies are notoriously irritable beings, and this one was no exception. Indignant at the refusal, the small woman prophesied that the churlish man would eat no bite of bread made from the barley he was sowing. Time went on and a bountiful harvest was reaped. As the custom is a bannock was baked of the first fruits, and the man, then in robust health and prosperity, remembering the little woman's words, called his neighbour to share in the eating of it. Laughing at the failure of the fairy's prophecy he began to eat. But as the bite was yet unswallowed, a fairy dart fell suddenly and struck the ground beside him. Startled at the suddenness of the fall and sound, he swallowed carelessly, choked, and died.

(14) Two men, coming home one new-year time with a "grey-beard of whiskey" slung round the neck of one of them, came upon a fairy mound, open, and filled with fairies dancing the reel. The pipes were alluring, and the men joined in the dance. One of them, however, came to his senses, and urged his friend to come away. The latter refused and went on dancing, and the other had to make his way home alone. He told his

story, and, to his distress, found it disbelieved, and he himself accused of having murdered his companion. He begged for a year to clear himself, and, law being easy in those days, this was granted. On the same day of the next year he led his accusers to the fairy mound, where they found the performance of the last year repeated. In the midst of the fairies was the man supposed to be murdered, still clinging to his greybeard. He refused to leave, resisting all efforts to drag him away; and the men, for their own safety, had to go. But on the same day of the succeeding year, his first companion, cleared of suspicion, but still anxious, returned once more—this time alone—and succeeded in dragging him out of the fairy ring. But he ever after lamented being torn away from the fairy festivities.

In connection with these fairy stories many places are still pointed out as the former homes of the fairies, and an old man told the writer that graves of unknown age having been opened in the north of the island, huge skeletons as of giants were discovered; while in another place small bones "that would not be children's bones at all, but those of men and women" were found.

(15) A story given as a witch story, but which, as far as I can see, is a fairy story, is the following:

A little boy, while playing about, was spoken to by an old woman in red (?). She took him away with her, and made him work for her. One day, however, she sent him a message to a place near his own home, hoping that with the lapse of time he had forgotten it. But he remembered, and seized the opportunity to run away.

#### WITCH STORIES FROM THE ISLE OF SKYE.

(1) A man lying sick in bed saw two neighbours come in to visit his wife. The three women went to the kist at the side of the bed and took out matches, curches as they are called in these parts. They put these on their heads, and saying some magic words, which the man heard and stored in his memory, they disappeared. As soon as they were gone the man imitated their example, and on saying the magic words found himself in

London, and in an inn there. To his astonishment also he found himself drunk. While in this state he was arrested and accused of stealing, the work of the other witches. He had no defence, and so he was condemned to death. Led to the scaffold, he was about to meet his end when he remembered the mutch in his pocket. He put it on and wished himself back again. Not only he himself but also the scaffold was immediately transported back to his own abode.

(2) A woman in Waternish told her husband that she was much annoyed by two neighbours, witches, asking her to go with them. Her husband told her he would take her place, which he accordingly did. The witches went to the seashore, and, getting into a sieve, set sail, while he was given a string to hold, which I suppose was attached to the sieve. He let the string go, and the witches were drowned. Going home, he told his wife that she was now free from her persecutors.

(3) An old woman, known by the picturesque name of Lexy of the Moors, was believed to be a witch. I knew this old woman, and she was a sort of Meg Merrilees in appearance. She was supposed to put spells on those who annoyed her. One of these, a carter, fell from his cart and was killed near her cottage. Another, the factor, fell from his horse, but escaped with minor injuries. These, as well as similar occurrences, were quite firmly believed to be the work of Lexy.

An unfortunate young man, a member of a highly esteemed family, became insane and committed suicide. His friends, his sisters among them, refused to take this explanation, and maintained that it was the work of witches. This happened about twelve years ago, and the sisters were well-educated, highly intelligent young women.

A second old woman in the neighbourhood, called as the custom is by her mother's name attached to her own (Kate Bess) was what is known as a "white witch." That is to say, that what knowledge she had and used was for the benefit of her fellow-men, such as curing cows and other domestic animals by means of spells.

(4) A witch had a grand-daughter, and they were believed to charm away the milk of cows. The minister went to inquire

into the truth of this story and asked the girl if she could give him milk, knowing well that she and her grandmother possessed no cow. She said her grandmother had taught her how to have milk at all times. She then went to the fire and proceeded to draw milk from the crook or "swee" which supported the three-legged pot. The milk came, and after a while was followed by blood. The girl, at the sight of this, exclaimed, "The minister's cows will die if I do not stop." The minister then hastened home, to find his cows almost dead of exhaustion.

(5) A widower, with a daughter, married, for the second venture, a woman whom he discovered to be a witch. Not content with exercising her evil powers by herself, she taught her step-daughter her wicked arts. The woman died, leaving her evil knowledge in the possession of the step-daughter. After her death, the man, a widower for the second time, and his daughter were standing on the seashore. Out at sea they saw some ships. "I can sink these ships and drown the people in them," said the girl. "How can you do that?" asked her father. "By turning a limpet shell upside down in a tub so that it cannot right itself, was the answer." "Do so, then," said the man, and his daughter complied, with the desired result. The two then went on, when the man, overcome with wrath and horror, stabbed his daughter, and, according to an old law about witches, allowed her to bleed to death. I have no knowledge of this law further than this reference to it, but it may be known to others.

(6) A young man and woman, accompanied by many friends, walked to Kensaleyre with the purpose of being married by the minister of Snizort. After the ceremony had been performed the party returned to Portree. On the way back the bridegroom dropped down dead. One man of the party went for assistance, probably for a doctor. At the same place, in crossing a stream, this man also dropped dead. Then the wedding party remembered that on the way to Kensaleyre they had been met by a cast-off sweetheart of the bridegroom, with her head muffled in a shawl. During the night after these tragic occurrences the dead bridegroom appeared to his mother, and bade her look at his shirt and she would find a black spot, by means

of which the witch had killed him. The mother obeyed and found as he had said. The widowed bride re-married, and was alive till 1900.

(7) An old man on his way to Uig rested awhile on a bridge. While sitting there and all quiet around he heard speaking, and in his desire to see the speaker he looked under the bridge. Then he saw six cats which, while he looked at them, turned to women. One of these he knew. Having heard all that they had to say he resumed his journey home. After he had arrived there his wife went out to milk the cows. To her surprise there was an overflow of milk. She filled every vessel she possessed and still the milk came. Alarmed and astounded she ran to her husband. He at once told her what he had seen, but his tongue refused its office when he attempted to repeat the witches' words. He then went to the woman whom he had recognized, and at his request she took off the charm. This old man was the great-grandfather of a simple-minded, youngish man called Alexander Lamont, known as Appag, that is "little ape," well known to the writer.

(8) The great-aunt, only recently dead, of Mary Macdougall, one of my servants, had a brother a joiner working at Broadford. This energetic lady walked from Skirinish every week to Broadford, a distance of about thirty miles, with her brother's clean linen. One night she got belated and her brother made her stay the night in Broadford. She accordingly sat all night by the kitchen fire, but was unable to sleep. Suddenly she was aware of the presence of seven women, obvious witches, for they changed to cats, ran up the chimney and came down again. They then proceeded to brew something over the fire, something described as tea, but tea was not a common luxury in those days, so it may have been some witches' brew of their own. This they drank, accompanied with a dram. One of them noticing that the strange woman's sleep seemed suspiciously unreal, went over to her and threatened to stab her to death with pins. But the mistress of the house, who was one of them, declared that the sleep was real, and soon they all went away, the mistress going to bed. It is needless to say that the visitor never returned to that house.

(9) A man and woman on their way to Kensaleyre saw a strange-looking beast. "What beast is that?" asked the woman. "Leave the beast alone," advised the man, not liking the look of the creature. But the woman was not to be gain-said, so she went over to the beast, and said, "God bless you. What are you?" Immediately the beast changed into a woman, an acquaintance of their own, and they earnestly advised her to return home.

(10) The grandfather of Bella Nicolson, one of my servants, disappeared from his home quite suddenly. From some knowledge of one of his neighbours he was universally believed to have been bewitched and so drowned.

(11) A boy lying in bed saw two cats drinking from a dish of cream. As he watched them they changed into women. Suspecting him, they came up to his bedside and proceeded to stick darning needles into him to see if he were awake. But, Spartan-like, he feigned sleep. Speaking *to* each other and *at* the hearer, they agreed that if their escapade became known he alone must be the informant and he would instantly be killed. The boy made a confidante of his mother, and for a time all went well. But a quarrel arising between the mother and one of the witches, the former taunted the latter with her evil deeds. The mischief was out and the witches took their revenge. The boy was set running about the country with his tongue hanging out and could not stop till he died.

(12) A man made several unsuccessful attempts to shoot a hare but always failed. In his dilemma he consulted a wise man, who advised him to take a sixpence for the purpose. The man followed this advice and the next time he did not fail. But instead of a hare his own wife lay dead before him.

(13) Two sisters-in-law lived on very bad terms with each other. One of them bade her servant-girl take a cow bone, broken glass, and some flowers (species not known), and tie them up in a rag. This done, the small package was thrown into the byre, with the words "Another cow dead for you." Sure enough a cow died, and the blame was laid not on the sister-in-law but on two women, one of whom was a reputed witch, while their mother was also known to be one.

(14) A gentleman travelling with his servant found accommodation for himself, but his servant was obliged to find a poor shelter in the house of an old woman. With some difficulty, but luckily for himself, for the house was a poor one, and his bed was divided from the old woman's by the thinnest of partitions (the story goes that the partition was made of docks), the servant pretended sleep. While in this state he saw three women enter the house, and going to a kist take out mitches and put them on. Having so dressed themselves they swarmed up the "swee" for the pots and went out at the chimney hole. The lad followed their example and soon found himself up the chimney hole. But, unluckily, he forgot some magic words he had heard the witches use, and so he was unable to continue aloft, and he fell heavily to the ground.

MARY JULIA MACCULLOCH.

*(To be continued.)*

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#### A RECENT TWIN-MURDER IN S. AFRICA.

SOME time ago a paragraph appeared in the English press reporting a case of Twin-murder which was said to have occurred amongst the Basutos of Cape Colony. The unfortunate victims of an ancient superstition were said to have been boiled in oil, and the persons responsible for their murder were in prison awaiting their trial for the offence. As it is not often that a twin-murder occurs so close to the frontiers of civilisation I was naturally anxious to know the result of the trial. The last case that I had followed in S. Africa was in Matabeleland, and I described it at the time as the judgment of the nineteenth century after Christ upon the nineteenth century before Christ: a very difficult situation for those who had to put law in execution without regard to equity, and who were not entitled to accept as a plea of mitigation the promise of the natives that, if the white men would undertake that no harm should come to them in discontinuing a practice which their fathers had taught them, they would abandon the custom. How could the

average Colonial judge estimate the intensity of a primal fear out of which all religions have been evolved !

As it was important to pick up the details from the supposed Basuto murder, for the twin-fear and its consequences are rapidly disappearing, and we need to register its expiring forms, I applied to General Smuts for an official report of the trial, and received it in due course from one of his secretaries. It is sufficiently interesting to be offered to the readers of *Folk-Lore*, along with some comments of Dr. E. S. Hartland and myself.

The murder of the twins took place at Lobatsi, in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and appears to have been wrongly attached to the Basuto people. Dr. Hartland points out at once that they appear to have been Makalaka (pl.), not Basutos. And now for the main features of the official report.

*Bechuanaland Protectorate.*

In the combined Court constituted under the provisions of section 4 of proclamation No. 2 of 1896.

Holden at Lobatsi before

His Honour, J. C. Macgregor, C.M.G.,  
Resident Commissioner : President.  
R. Reilly, Esq.,  
Acting Resident Magistrate.  
M. Williams, Esq., Resident Magistrate.

on Thursday, 17th November, 1921. . . .

Case called :

The King *versus* Banyatsan and Chelelo.

Charged with the crime of murder.

Indictment read.

The prisoners being arraigned pleaded

Both not guilty.

Mr. Attorney Minchin for the Crown.

Mr. Attorney Rice for the Defence.

The following evidence was adduced in the presence and hearing of the accused, then in their sound and sober senses.

H. H. Rice :

I am the Registrar of the Resident Commrs. Court. I put in the records of the Preliminary Examn. in the case of Banyatsan and Chelelo at Serowe.

Spencer Augustus Minchin, Esq., Crown Prosecutor of our Sovereign Lord the King for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, who prosecutes for and on behalf of His Majesty, presents and gives the Court to be informed :

That Chelelo and Banyatsan, adult native women, lately residing at Shashi, in the district of Serowe in the Northern district of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, are both and each, or one and other of them, guilty of the crime of murder, in that upon or about the 16th day of May, 1921, and at Shashi aforesaid, the accused did both or each or one or other of them, wrongfully, unlawfully and maliciously kill and murder twin male children, born of the said Banyatsan, about two days after the birth of the said male children.

Wherefore upon due proof and conviction thereof the said Crown Prosecutor prays the judgment of the Court against the said Chelelo and Banyatsan according to law.

(In order to follow the case more easily it may be noted that Chelelo is the mother of Banyatsan. The husband of Chelelo is named Mbaioa ; they lived at Sebina's Stadt. Mbaioa had a sister named Gabalene, who is involved in the case as we shall presently see.)

The first witness for the prosecution was Dr. Peter Donald Strachan, who reported the exhumation of the bodies of the twins as follows :

I am medical officer at Serowe. On Sept. 16th last I proceeded to Sebina's Stadt. A grave was pointed out to me by a native woman. This was about a mile to the west of Haskin's store. This woman identified the grave as that of two infants. The bodies were exhumed in my presence. I found the remains of two infants ; there were two separate sets of bones. The decomposition was too far gone to certify the cause of death. (Reports in circulation had suggested boiling oil.) I formed the opinion that the bodies were of newly-born infants.

No questions.

(The prosecution called for two witnesses ; one was a woman named Mayoka, the cousin of Chelelo, and the other Gabalene, mentioned above. To follow the case through the evasions of

the natives, who were evidently in great fear, we will take Mayoka's evidence first.)

*Mayoka.* I am a Mokhurutse living at Sheshi. I know both the accused. I am related to the accused Chelelo. She is my cousin. I know Banyatsan well. She gave birth to twins about six months ago. I saw them. They were in good health. Chelelo was not present when the children were born. She arrived the day after the birth of the twins. On the fourth day after the birth I went away. When I returned the same day I asked Gabalene whether she had fed the children. She replied that she could not feed the children because they were killed. She asked me to go into the hut to see the children, but I refused. I asked the accused Chelelo if it was true what I was told that she had killed the children. Chelelo replied, "Yes, it is true that the children are killed."

The hut where the children were killed is far in the veldt. I went home and reported the matter to Kgekanyane (the father of the twins). Chelelo did not say how she killed the children. I was not present when the Doctor saw the bodies. I did not help to dig the grave. I did not tell the magistrate so.

*By Mr. Rice.*

Long ago it was the custom to kill twins, I have heard. I do not know how they used to be killed. There are no twins alive in the Stadt I live in. I went to tell the husband. He was not pleased; he said he had meant to get a cow to bring the children up with the milk. I do not think the father recognised the custom of killing the twins, otherwise he would not have reported the matter or fetched a cow for them from the post. Long ago it was the custom to kill twins, but it is not so now. I cannot say why Chelelo killed the children.

*By the President.*

I do not know why they killed the twins, as it is no more the custom.

Now for the evidence of Gabalene.

*Gabalene.* I am a Mokalaka under Chief Khama. I know the two accused. I live at Shashi. I am related to Banyatsan. Banyatsan is married to Kgekanyane, and she lives at

Sebina's Stadt. Banyatsan gave birth to two male children. I attended the birth. The two children were born alive. They cried. They were in good health. The accused Chelelo arrived the day after the birth. Chelelo is the mother of the younger accused. Chelelo was not pleased with the twins because it is not the custom in their tribe. On the fourth day Mayoka returned home, and asked me before she left to grind some snuff. I went outside to the yard where the Kaffir corn is thrashed, and when I returned I found Chelelo holding the twins down on the ground, one with each hand.

I asked her what she was doing, and Chelelo replied, "I have done it." I went and looked at the babies and found them both dead. I think Chelelo choked them with her hands on account of the blood from the nose of each. I went outside and sat under a tree. I was frightened. Chelelo sat outside the door of the hut. Banyatsan was still in the hut. Mayoka returned soon after this and asked me if I had tended the children. I told her the children were dead.

Mayoka asked Chelelo if it was true and that she had killed them. Chelelo said she could not allow her daughter to have twins, and so she killed them. Banyatsan was inside the hut when the children were killed. Banyatsan went to the burial. Banyatsan never expressed any dissatisfaction at the killing of the twins.

I pointed out the grave of the children to Dr. Strachan, and I identified the bodies as those of the children of the accused Banyatsan. I had no part in the killing of the twins.

*By the Court.*

Mayoka reported the matter to Sebina. Banyatsan was not lying in bed at the time.

*By Mr. Attorney Rice.*

I have never seen twins killed before. My daughter had twins born dead. Mbaioa is speaking the truth when she (? he) says that it is the custom to kill twins when they are born.

I did not get any fat or oil. No! I did not pour oil down the throats of the twins. No! we were not all there talking together about killing the twins. No! the father of the twins would not die if the twins were allowed to live.

*By the Court.*

Yes! Banyatsan admitted to Mayoka that the twins were dead. Banyatsan did not appear upset. The twins were killed in the presence of Banyatsan, who was lying down on her stomach in the hut. Banyatsan was still weak from her confinement. The twins lived three days. When I returned to the hut I was very surprised to find the twins dead.

This closes the case for the prosecution.

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(It may be noted in passing that the chief evidence is necessarily that of the two women. The husband, for instance, is not wanted on such occasions, and the hut where the delivery takes place is away on the veldt, to avoid birth taboos. If the children were killed it was not the immediate concern of the husband: they were a danger to him and to the tribe, but neither he nor the tribe are required to intervene actively in the removal of the danger. That is the women's business. It is interesting to watch the evasions of the women. Gabalene had never seen twins killed before, but she admitted that her daughter had twins which were born dead. *Plus celà change, plus c'est la même chose.* It is not the custom to kill twins, says Gabalene; but Chelelo was not pleased with them, because *it is not the custom to produce twins in our tribe.* (R. H.)

(It seems to me that Gabalene should have been tried also, for she it was, as will presently appear, who first suggested the matter and probably, in fact, carried it out. The terms of relationship are used in the classificatory sense, and are not quite equivalent to ours. Gabalene, *e.g.*, was perhaps the cousin according to our reckoning, and not the sister of Banyatsan's husband. Banyatsan and the mother obviously were trying to shield one another. But I think there is no doubt that Chelelo was determined to put the children to death in accordance with the customs of the tribe. (E. S. H.).

*Now for the Defence.*

*Mbaïoa.* I am a Mokalaka under Khama and live at Bokalaka. I know the customs of the tribe.

Twins are not allowed to live; the children are not allowed to be seen by a man. The women manage. No questions are asked. I have heard that twins are not allowed to be touched, *i.e.* allowed to grow up. I have heard this is the custom.

*By Mr. Attorney Minchin.*

I am related to the two accused. Chelelo is my wife. Banyatsan is my daughter. I am the headman of the village. Yes! I have only heard of this custom. I have not assisted in killing any twins. My wife has not had any twins. There are not twins living in my stadt. It is a general custom among the Mokalaka to kill twins. I don't know the manner of killing the twins. If my wife had twins I would let them grow because it is no more the custom. I don't know why twins are objected to. It is unlucky for the parents. It is a custom among women to kill them.

*By the Court.*

The Mokalaka have different customs to the Bamangwato.

The accused Chelelo elects to make the following statement on oath and is duly sworn:

*Chelelo.*

I am the mother of Banyatsan, who gave birth to twins last May. I was sent there by the husband of Banyatsan. I found Gabalene there. Gabalene said that the twins must not be allowed to grow up, or the father of the twins would die. Gabalene is the sister of the husband of Banyatsan. We then killed the twins. We boiled some fat. Gabalene boiled it in a tin. Gabalene then put the fat into the throats of the children of Banyatsan. It is not true that those children were choked. My daughter Banyatsan cried when the children were killed.

*By Mr. Attorney Minchin.*

I know Mayoka. She was not present when the children were killed. When she returned she found the children dead. Mayoka did not ask if the children had been fed. Gabalene told Mayoka that the children had been killed. Mayoka did not ask me if it was true that the children were dead. Yes! I consented to the killing of the twins. Banyatsan was looking through the door at the time. The bodies were buried next

day. I and my daughter Banyatsan were present at the burial.

Mayoka reported the matter. The objection to twins is that if they are allowed to grow the father will die. I don't know of any other twins being killed in my stadt. Banyatsan was sitting outside the door when we were killing the twins; she was crying on account of the children, because she was told by Gabalene that twins are not allowed to live. Yes! I poured boiling fat down the throat of the twins. Yes! I agreed to the deed. My daughter Banyatsan was not agreeable to the deed.

Banyatsan was then sworn, and said :

*Banyatsan.*

The other accused is my mother. In May last I gave birth to twin boys. My mother came to the hut afterwards. The question of the death of the children was first spoken of by Gabalene before my mother came. When she came into the hut after the twins came she told me twins are not allowed according to Sekalanga law. She said the father would die and all the relatives. I did not agree to the children being killed, but I was told I could not have twins. That is why I cried. My mother came to fetch the other child. Gabalene told my mother she was to stay and not return. My mother said nothing to me as she had no right over the twins. The other women had rights over them. I did not see the children being killed, but heard Gabalene tell my mother to bring some fat. She handed her a tin of fat. I was outside the hut. Gabalene is the headman Sabina's sister. I did not want the children killed; I went outside crying.

*By Mr. Minchin.*

I remember giving evidence before the magistrate at Serowe. I did not say my mother instructed the death of the children. My mother did not tell me they were to be killed. My mother told me that they had spoken to Kgekanyane (my husband), and that he did not like the twins. I agreed to the killing because it was the custom. Mayoka was not present at the killing. When she arrived she asked my mother and Gabalene if they had fed the twins. No one replied. She did not know

of the death of the twins. It is not true my mother told her of the death of the children. I did not tell her because the deed had been done by the old women according to the custom. I did not report the matter to anyone myself.

*By the President.*

I do not know when I was born. I do not remember the Boer War. I was born one year after that war.

Case for the defence closed.

Mr. Minchin addresses the Court for the prosecution.

Mr. Rice for the defence.

*Judgment.*

Banyatsan : Not Guilty.

Chelelo : Guilty.

*Sentence.*

Chelelo : Death.

(Signed) J. C. Macgregor,  
Resident Commissioner,  
President of the Court.

(Signed) M. Williams,  
Resident Magistrate.

(Signed) R. Reilly,  
Acting Resident Magistrate.

The sentence was commuted by H.R.H. the High Commissioner to imprisonment with hard labour for five years.

The foregoing trial contains much that is of the highest importance for the student of primitive law and practice. It should be compared with the Matabele trial which I have reported in *Boanerges*. Both of these trials occur amongst Bantu people : but the custom of twin-murder is almost proved to be universal. It is still possible to detect the aboriginal terror which caused, in ancient days, the extermination of the clan in which the monstrosity has appeared. The father, they say, and all the relatives will die. It is tribal law, too, as may be seen from the prominent part which the wife of the headman of the village takes in the proceedings. There is some suspicion of superposed strata of custom in the evidence. What

does Banyatsan mean by saying that "my mother came to *fetch the other child?*" Were they proposing to kill one and save the other? That is known to be a stage in twin-cult in some communities. The tribal authority comes out, not only in the action of the headman's wife but in the admission that the other women had the right to dispose of the children. That twin-murder was still the custom appears from the naive confession of the man, on the quest for justification, that *there are no twins in our stadt*, and that he had never seen a twin-murder. He knows, however, that it is women's business: so he could not see it; and the absence of twins in our town is suggestive.

Dr. Hartland rightly points out that the woman Gabalene ought to have been on trial, as she clearly occupied a leading part in the murder and took the initiative. The Court came to a correct judgment as to the innocence of the twin-mother; and the Commissioner was clearly right in granting a commutation of the sentence. As we have said, it must be very difficult to judge cases where the ethical principles of action are in such various degrees of evolution; one wonders what would happen if we were arraigned before a court of justice of the year 5921 A.D.

It should be noted that this interesting case furnishes no support to those who lightly explained the custom of twin-murder, when attention was first drawn to it, by saying that it was meant to relieve the mother of the burden of two children, or else that it was a case parallel to that of the dog-fancier who said, "that is the one which I should keep." These are the primitive jests which greeted the emergency of didymology. There is no evidence that selection of the offspring or relief of the mother is thought of: but there is abundant evidence of the survival of an aboriginal fear into our own day; and this fear can be shown to have affected our own civilisation and our own religion, and not merely to be a Bantu or African custom.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE WITCH-CULT IN WESTERN EUROPE. A STUDY IN ANTHROPOLOGY. MARGARET ALICE MURRAY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 303. Price 16s.

"ROGO vos, oportet credatis, sunt mulieres plussciae, sunt nocturnae, et quod sursum est deorsum faciunt."<sup>1</sup> Miss Murray is as earnest as Trimalchio; it is likely in consequence that I shall find myself written down in her black books in the good company of Reginald Scot as an unscientific sceptic. But Miss Murray has laid herself open to an obvious retort. If quotations taken from their context may give rise to misleading interpretations, still more misleading is the treatment of a series of documents torn from the background of their own age and divorced from the serious study of their immediate historical antecedents. For obvious reasons, before propounding a theory of the origin of the superstitions connected with witchcraft couched in terms of a nebulous and hypothetical primitive religion, it is the duty of the investigator to make some attempt to master the historical development of medieval thought and superstition and the late classical ideas upon which they were largely based.

Upon general grounds the supposition that an organised cult of primeval antiquity survived into the seventeenth century A.D. without attracting the notice of any previous historian is one which is not easy to take upon trust. We are told that such a religion existed and that it was a fertility-cult, but its outlines are quite indeterminate. The two classical references given have no evidential value, and for detail we are, in fact, referred

<sup>1</sup> Petronius, *Sat.* 63.

to what the eye of faith can deduce in the reports on witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The hypothetical dwarf race, to memories of which the origin of fairies has by some been attributed (a view which I do not personally share) seems to have something to do with the matter, together with some still more elusive race or races which are thought to have carried the worship of Janus and Diana into Italy. Incidentally, the supposed existence of a pre-historic two-faced god in Italy (p. 12) is based upon a misapprehension. In fact, there is nothing but dubious etymology to connect Janus and Diana. The former was not anthropomorphically conceived in the earliest stage of Roman religion, and his representation by art in human form cannot precede the later monarchy; while the Diana of medieval lore is, of course, derived not from the aboriginal Italian divinity but from the Graeco-Roman Diana-Artemis-Hecate.

The evidence for the continuity of this religion is not more convincing than that for its existence. Miss Murray quotes a number of passages, but they do not, in fact, prove more than the following indisputable but, for her argument, irrelevant facts. 1. The practice of magic was regarded as anti-social, and as such condemned by the State. This was equally true of classical antiquity.<sup>1</sup> 2. The worship of heathen gods was discountenanced by Church and State. Miss Murray is not entitled to claim a special sense for the word "demons." Christians believed that all heathen gods were devils, but the pagans did not admit or suppose that in continuing the religious rites of their fathers they were worshipping the Devil or devils.<sup>2</sup> 3. The

<sup>1</sup> A convenient summary of Roman legislation will be found in Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1909), pp. 9 foll.

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century Rawlinson is prepared to accept the view that the oracles of Delphi were delivered through the agency of an "evil spirit" (see his note on Herod. i. 47). With this view, which, of course, was generally held by early Christians, compare the language of sixteenth century travellers in India, e.g. "All the pictures around the said chapel are those of devils and on each side of it there is a Sathanas seated in a seat," Ludovico di Varthema, *Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1868), p. 136.

Church endeavoured to discountenance as pagan certain popular seasonal festivals at which masquerade was worn. This is common knowledge, and is true of the Eastern Church no less than of the Western.

With regard to the trial of Alice Kyteler, who is stated to have been accused both of operative and of ritual witchcraft, the charges were neither more nor less ritual than those brought against Apuleius<sup>1</sup> or Piso.<sup>2</sup> I can find no evidence in the records of the alleged cult organisation associated with sixteenth century witchcraft.

The difficulty raised by Miss Murray on p. 16, as to how the inquisitors could arrive at a systematic theory of what witches were supposed to do except from the facts elicited at trials, is less real than it appears. Long before the handbooks for inquisitors were put into circulation at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>3</sup> there existed a quite definite conception of the nature of witches and their activities which was generally accepted throughout Europe. The civilisation of the Middle Ages was an international European civilisation, the common views of which found expression mainly in a common language, Latin. The various ingredients of its superstitions, among which those ultimately derived from classical literature and tradition predominated, were fused in the crucible of medieval thought and given definite shape and system by the voluminous if misdirected learning of scholasticism. Thanks to the work of such writers as John of Salisbury, Gervase of Tilbury and their fellows, medieval demonology was systematised, and an established doctrine became current throughout Western Europe.

It is true that certain features of sixteenth century witchcraft, to which Miss Murray draws attention, do not belong to this tradition. Their source is probably to be found in the

<sup>1</sup> For cock sacrifice, cf. Apuleius, *Apologia*, 47. It is, of course, a frequent feature of classical magic.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 69; iii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> The *Malleus Malificarum* of Sprenger was first published in 1492. This, the *Formicarium* of Nider and a number of less famous tracts, are collected in a volume entitled *Malleorum quorundam maleficarum tam veterum quam recentiorum auctorum* published at Frankfort in 1582.

reaction of the events of religious history upon superstition. For obvious reasons popular fear and hatred are easily aroused against the practice of Black Magic, and from the thirteenth century onwards the charge of witchcraft, so prejudicial to the accused and so insusceptible of disproof, was freely used as a political weapon against individuals and by the Church against heretical sects. The view that witches were organised in the same sort of way as heretical sects thus probably arose from the association of Black Magic with the ritual of such bodies as the Waldenses and Templars.

When Miss Murray says of the Black Mass that it may have been the earlier form and influenced the Christian, her hobby horse has surely taken the bit between its teeth. *Hoc est corpus meum* is not derived from *hocus pocus*, nor the Lord's Prayer from the use in magic of its words reversed. The *coven* similarly proves to be the parody of a Christian institution,<sup>1</sup> a fact which undermines Miss Murray's strongest position. In medieval Christianity "the holy covent" was used in a technical sense to denote Christ and the Twelve Apostles. Probably not much earlier than the fourteenth century (1290 is the earliest reference given in the *Dictionary*) companies of "religious" persons, whether constituting a separate community or sections of a larger one, were formed upon the model of this holy prototype, and consisted of twelve members and a superior. Thus Strype speaks of "all . . . houses of religion . . . whereof the number in any one house is or of late hath been less than a covent, that is to say under thirteen persons."

But even if, as I believe, Miss Murray's main thesis is completely mistaken, and the characteristic features of sixteenth century witchcraft derive from (a) the system of demonology created by the scholastics, and (b) from the association of witchcraft with persecuted heretical sects, there still remains an interesting question. How far did the sixteenth century witches actually form an organised sect or secret society? This is not an easy question to answer with certainty. I am myself inclined to be sceptical as to the extent and efficiency of the organisation.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence may be consulted in *Murray's New English Dictionary*, ii. pp. 935. 1100 *svv.* *convent* and *coven*.

The evidence though voluminous is untrustworthy. The interrogators had fixed prepossessions of a definite kind. The character, age and sex of many of the witnesses and accused inspires little confidence. The conduct and circumstances of the trials too frequently illustrate the low standards of procedure which often disgraced the courts of the period. It is further difficult to believe that had anything like an organised secret society existed it would not have played an important part in the political struggles of the period. At least the menace of its possible manipulation would have been known and denounced openly, which it was not, even by King James.<sup>1</sup> The alleged business part of the Sabbath rites, the adjudication by the Devil upon reports of wickednesses committed, shows a close affinity with popular ideas. It is the sort of thing that devils do, as the familiar folktale of *True and Untrue* illustrates.

To discuss the detail of the various chapters is not possible in the space at my disposal, but I am bound to point out that a good deal of the so-called evidence consists, in fact, of an interpretation of the documents, the plausibility of which depends upon the previous acceptance of the main thesis of the book. Further, Miss Murray rationalises arbitrarily; sometimes the evidence is taken at its face value, at others it is "interpreted." She too often assumes that when a witness was reported to have met the Devil in an animal form, what was really meant was a man dressed up in an animal disguise, which those of us, who visit pantomimes, know to be something quite distinguishable. Similarly, both accusers and accused would be likely to repudiate

<sup>1</sup> I cannot agree with Miss Murray's account of the Bothwell episode. I find no evidence of his having been the Devil except her desire to believe it. That he consulted witches he confessed; that quite probably he was implicated in the attempt upon the king's life by magical means may be true, though he denied it. But his final collapse in the long struggle with Maitland was due not to the breaking of a witch organisation of which he was head, but to the hostile action of the Kirk upon the publication of his correspondence with Huntly and the Catholic earls. It would be, in fact, a strong reason for denying any effectiveness to the witch organisation, if Bothwell were its head, since he would infallibly have turned its machinery to account. But the alleged plot upon the king's life employed solely magical means, nor is there any evidence of any secular use of a secret organisation.

the view that a man masquerading as the Devil is equivalent to the Devil in human shape. If Miss Murray were to turn to the practitioners of astrology and white magic belonging to the period, she would find that the occurrence of analogous supernatural encounters are believed and stated in perfect good faith.<sup>1</sup> The discussion of animal transformations clearly demands a study of a wider range of facts, nor can the familiars of witches be considered apart from the familiars of other practitioners of the Magic Arts both earlier and contemporary. The argument that the magical rites of witches, which, like the magic of all times and places (*e.g.* that denounced in the Roman twelve tables), are concerned with injuring the fertility of man, beast and field, are therefore inverted survivals from rites originally intended to promote fertility is very unconvincing. The argument that the peculiar voice of the Devil points to the use of a mask will appear flimsy to those familiar with the *stridor* characteristic of Roman witches who did not wear masks.<sup>2</sup> The relation of the riding of horses by witches to popular superstition as to the cause of night-sweating in the stable has not been considered, nor the possible connection of the lighted candles of the witches' revels with "fairy lights" and corpse candles.<sup>3</sup> The alleged frigidity of witches rests upon a medieval

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, pp. 169 foll. A closer study of the period might lead Miss Murray to modify the unreal importance which she attaches to some points of detail, *e.g.* the wearing of his hat indoors by the Devil has no esoteric significance. The widow of Lilly's master "next day at dinner made me sit down at dinner with my hat on my head and said, that she intended to make me her husband." Lilly's *History of His Life and Times* (London, 1774), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> This characteristic of classical witches is well discussed by Flower Smith, *Hasting's Enc. Rel. Eth. s.v. Magic (Greek and Roman)*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sunt et aliae ludificationes malignorum spirituum, quas faciunt interdum in nemoribus et locis amoenis, et frondosis arboribus ubi apparent in similitudine puellarum aut matronarum, ornatu muliebri et candido, interdum etiam in stabulis cum luminaribus cereis, ex quibus apparent distillationes in comis et collis equorum et comae ipsorum diligenter tricatae; et audies eos qui talia se vidisse fatentur, dicentes veram ceram esse quae de luminaribus huiusmodi stillaverat.* Guil. Alvernus, Bishop of Paris, *De Universo* (thirteenth century), quoted by Thomas Wright, *Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler* (Camden

theory which may be found in Nider's *Formicarium*.<sup>1</sup> Broomsticks, again, and their magical use carry us back beyond the Middle Ages to Lucian<sup>2</sup> and the flying ointment to Apuleius.<sup>3</sup> It is pleasant to have an analysis of the latter and to learn its physiological properties; but more entertaining still would it be to learn the prescription for that which Fotis gave to Lucius by mistake for it.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE SEMA NAGAS. By J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S.  
Published by direction of the Assam Administration.  
London: Macmillan & Co. 1921. Price 40s. net.

IN the December No. of *Folk-Lore* (vol. xxxii., 4, p. 280) Dr. Crooke reviewed *The Angami Nagas*, by Mr. Hutton. I now have the pleasure of calling attention to *The Sema Nagas* by the same author; it is almost unprecedented that two books of such first-class importance should be published in the same year by one author. The book is in many respects a model of what can and should be done by a Government official. Mr. Hutton disclaims the title of anthropologist, but we know of many books written by people who claim to be anthropologists which are less embracing and thorough than the one under consideration.

All aspects of the ethnography of the people are dealt with, and adequately illustrated by sketches or photographs, a third of the book being taken up with the description of their origin, appearance, and domestic arts and crafts; the effects of "contact metamorphism" are also indicated. In the carefully considered section on social life we find that the Sema Nagas

Soc. 1843), p. xxxiv. For corpse candles, see Aubrey, *Miscellanies*, 176. Cf. the superstition of sailors in the seventeenth century with regard to the phosphorescent lights visible at the masthead in stormy weather. Covell's Diaries in Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (Hakluyt Society, 1893), p. 127.

<sup>1</sup> *Malleorum*, etc., i. p. 712.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 35. Cf. the magic arrow upon which Abasis rode through the air (Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.*, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, iii. 21 foll.

differ in certain respects from their Angami neighbours. Among the latter the real social unit is the clan, but among the Sema the clan, though important and pervading the life of the ordinary Sema from his birth upwards, does not play the same dominant part in social life. The basis of Sema society is the village, or part of the village, which is under the control of the chief, the real pivot of the society being the chief. This may be accounted for by the fact of the relatively recent migration of the Sema into their present country, where they seem to have formed small village communities, living very isolated lives in heavy forest land. The clans are mostly exogamous, but in some of them this rule is becoming less observed. The society is clearly patriarchal; but there is much to suggest that a matrilineal system survived till comparatively recently. Relationship terms are discussed in considerable detail and are further illustrated by the numerous genealogical tables. As may be expected from a Government official the laws and customs are treated with sufficient, but not excessive detail. The notes on the former head-hunting, its associations with certain stones, and the *gennas* connected with it are of particular interest.

The religion of the Sema recognises spirits of three classes: first, there is *Alhou* or *Timilhou*, who seems to be regarded as omniscient and omnipotent, usually a beneficent but somewhat remote Creator, interfering but little in the affairs of men—he is the supreme dispenser of good and evil; secondly, the sky spirits, *Kungumi*, who may be good or bad, and may even marry with mortals; then third, the *Teghami*, who are the spirits most in touch with man, true earth-spirits, often deliberately harmful, and beneficent only when propitiated. There are several Naga traditions of little wild men, or spirits of the woods, having been caught. With these may be associated the *Aghau*, or spirits attached to individuals or houses. It seems that all persons are potentially possessed of *Aghau*, though the existence of an *Aghau* is not always apparent. A friend of the author has as many as a dozen. Certain of the *Teghami* are named spirits with definite functions. On the whole they are very much like our own fairies. There is an interesting section on lycanthropists, who, however, undergo no physical transformation. The soul

enters a leopard during sleep and usually returns with daylight ; but it may remain in the leopard for several days at a time, in which case the human body, though conscious, is lethargic, and follows the usual routine of life without being able to communicate intelligently with other persons.

The life of the Sema is permeated by numerous *gennas*, a general term to cover *chīni* and *pīni*. *Chīni* = "is forbidden," and is used of any tabu ; *pīni* refers to the prohibition under which it is forbidden to work in, or even go down to, the fields. The great importance of agriculture in the economic life of the people is reflected in their socio-religious customs. The eighteen *gennas* connected with the agricultural year are described. It is interesting to note that those Semas who have recently started terraced fields have adopted an Angami *genna* observed on the occasion of flooding the field. The significance of a number of the observances and restrictions is by no means apparent, but it is probable that the precise regulations and the various tabus serve to impress upon the people the important nature of agriculture, and, therefore, they may have great effect in cementing the solidarity of the community from the points of view of economics, sociology, and religion.

There is a short but important section on the language, on which the author is the only authority. Twenty-two folk tales, in translation and vernacular, and a few songs are given in the final section. In an Appendix Mr. Hutton discusses Mr. Perry's *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, so far as the Semas are concerned.

A. C. HADDON.

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ANCIENT TALES FROM MANY LANDS : A COLLECTION OF FOLK STORIES. By R. M. FLEMING. With an Introduction by H. J. FLEURE, D.Sc. London : Benn Bros. 1922. Price 10s. 6d.

ONCE upon a time, not so long ago but that many of us can remember it, geography was taught mainly by means of lists of countries, their capitals and products, and history was concentrated on the kings and queens of England, beginning

with William the Conqueror, 1066. What would Mrs. Markham or William's Preceptor have thought of Miss Fleming's original method—a method which she has herself practised with signal success—of teaching both history and geography by means of folk tales? One has but to glance at this collection to understand the possibilities. Even the most superficial reader, one who reads for the sake of the stories alone, cannot fail to be struck by the vivid pictures they contain, pictures of human experience at all times and in all climes. And human experience, as Miss Fleming notes in the valuable appendix at the end of the book, lies at the base of all history and all geography, and proves the common link that binds them together. Here is human experience represented in its simplest and earliest forms, and that is why these stories have a special appeal to those of us whose human experiences are yet in the making. Fortunate, indeed, are those little ones who are led on to the attack outlined in Appendix III. They may study the clash of different civilisations:—Stone Age and Metal Age; Hunter and Farmer; Lake Dweller and Nomad; Hills and Plains; Settled Egyptian culture and Wanderers from the desert or the sea; Babylonian trader and Assyrian warrior; Aryan and Dravidian; Hellene and Barbarian; Greek and Persian; Roman South and Barbaric North; Moor and Spaniard; Spaniard and Aztec.

Or the study may be of tabus which bring out geographic and social conditions clearly. "*Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land mark* has little meaning in a well-ordered English village where the fields are clearly marked off one from another, but it was full of meaning in the muddy reaches of the Nile and Mesopotamia." These are only a few among the schemes for making the tales a storehouse of geographical or historical information. But it is not only the geographer and historian who will rifle the storehouse. The anthropologist will find abundance of valuable material. Should he, too, wish to use the tales educationally he will find it an entertaining exercise to listen to them being read aloud, *all proper names omitted*, and guess the region from which each is derived. Perhaps the most valuable result of the wide outlook of modern geographers, to which this book bears witness, is the engendering of a better

understanding of, and consequently a better sympathy with, peoples whose environment and outlook differ in so many respects from our own. In glancing through this varied collection one is struck with the diversity, and yet, reading the accounts of creation drawn from Iceland, Greece, West Africa, India, Japan, North America, New Zealand or Polynesia, one feels that the stories of Adam and Eve, and of Noah and the Ark have found their right place among congenial and not unworthy companions, and this brings a clearer sense of the fundamental oneness of human thought and belief.

A. HINGSTON QUIGGIN.

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ASPECTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY. By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. ; with a Foreword by ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt. Oxford University Press. London: Milford.

THE study of State-craft has perhaps been a little overlooked by the folklorist, though its importance to him can hardly be doubted. What the folk believe and do to-day is often what their leaders once taught them. This may be peculiarly true of India, and if it is so anything which throws light on the history of the Kingship in that country ought to illuminate at least the psychology of its modern denizens. Mr. Law's book, *Ancient Indian Polity*, to give it its short title, is a good beginning.

The writer commences with a chapter on the "Forms and Types of States," which is necessarily brief, as even in Ancient India the organised State was, it is almost certain, always a monarchy. This of course does not mean that the monarchy was invariably of the same sub-type, but our information on this point is imperfect. We learn something about the methods of choosing a king, but hardly anything about his functions when chosen. As a rule, succession to a throne is hereditary, but when the heir-apparent is disqualified another member of the ruling family is chosen. But then how is the choice made and

by whom? When the throne is vacant by failure of heirs, there is no machinery for the constitutional election of a new line. Only once is there any allusion to a "king-maker" or elector, and it is not clear whether he was an official, a subject or a relative of the king. Indeed it is likely enough that the selection of a ruler was a family affair from the instance cited by Mr. Law of all the members of a royal house having equal rights. But even when the distinction between a State and a private estate had been fully grasped and the rule established that the former must not be split up like a mere heritage, by what system was the successor's fitness tested and determined? Nothing is said about his choice by Brahmins or by augury or by lot. When we come to the second chapter, on the State-Council, or preferably the King's Council, no explanation of this omission is to be found. So, after all, we learn very little about royal elections, presumably because there is so little to learn.

It ought perhaps to be said at once that in the present writer's view the Indian mind seems to have conceived a King to be an absolute monarch as far as political restraints go, but a limited ruler, controlled by religion in lieu of a Constitution. This comes out in the description of the Council. The monarch is no more bound to act on its advice than he is apparently dependant on its election. But he is enjoined to abide by the advice of the family priest and tutor, at least in the *Mahābhārata*, the didactic part of which tries to make those functionaries controllers of the King's mind. Parallels to all this could be cited from the West, but the difference between it and the East seems to be in the capacity to make an ideal more or less effective. Not that in India there were no upholders of the secular power. It is apparent that there was occasionally an anti-Brahmanical party of some influence—just as in some modern Hindu States such a party is to be found—though it failed to devise any constitutional checks on absolutism in precisely the same way as the Brahmanical ideal failed to devise any practical method of getting itself realised. But the truth is that we are still much in the dark as to what the Council was. We find an abundance of names for it, but hardly any definition of its functions. *E.g.*, the *mantri-pariṣad* seems to have been

(1) a kind of executive committee (a) outside or (b) inside the Council; or (2) a judicial assembly. It is useless to ask which body legislated, as Mr. Law seems to accept Messrs. Macdonell and Keith's view that law-making was regarded with indifference. But no highly centralized State, ever menaced by foreign aggression, can afford to let the folk evolve its own customary laws concerning inheritance, for instance. It must secure recruits and provide for watch and ward, and a good deal of modern "custom" bears marks of having been devised by hard-pressed rulers anxious to uphold the family and keep fiefs, estates and holdings intact even at the sacrifice of natural equity. So it looks as if someone made laws, and as if the legislature was a practical body by no means under Brahman control. The greatest emphasis is laid on the necessity for secrecy in the counsels of the King. Was it deemed inexpedient to publish too much about the conduct of business? Perhaps. But before we can hazard any speculations philology must tell us more precisely what the terms used implied. For instance, *Danḍanīti* is rendered "polity," but it appears to connote "power to punish."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Law objects to making *parisad* = "Cabinet," but the term seems to connote an ecclesiastical element, a convention rather than a purely lay assembly. Indian Sanskritists are very divided in their interpretations of the technical terms used, and here there is much scope for inquiry. That the *parisad* was highly representative may be supposed from the fact that it was sometimes composed thus:—Brahmans 4, Kshatriyas 8, Vaisyas (*bourgeois*) 21, Sūdras 3, and even one Sūta member. The Sūta was the offspring of a Brahman's daughter by a Kshatriya, and therefore one of the six low "mixed" castes (*Manu*, X. §§ 11 and 17).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand Mr. Law tells us that the Sūta was the Royal Equerry, replaced later by the Asvādhyākṣa, who might be called "The Master of the Horse." As a caste the Sūta were entrusted with the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the terms *danḍika* and *danḍavāsika*, both derived from *danḍa*, "a rod." These formed two of the eighteen elements of the State: *Antiquities of Chamba*, by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, i. p. 128. The sceptre seems to have originated in the rod.

<sup>2</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxv. pp. 404 *et seqq.*

management and care of horses and chariots (*Manu*, X. § 47). Clearly then we are dealing with one and the same caste, yet it holds widely different positions. It is below the Sūdra apparently, but occupies posts very close to the King and not by any means menial ones. We can hardly say that its representation on the Council was any concession to democratic principle.

Next we come to the functions of the Royal Priest (Ch. III.), and the "Principal State Officials" (VII.) should logically follow it. The questions raised in Ch. VII. are complex.<sup>1</sup> The State bureaucracy was built up of eighteen *tīrthas* or "elements of the State"; but in many of their names differences of interpretation arise. One term (*samgrahūr*) may mean "charioteer" or "treasurer." Another (*govikartana*) "hunter" or "slayer of cows"! It can hardly be a mere coincidence that at a King's installation (*vājapeya*) four principal victims and eighteen subsidiary ones are offered, the latter including a spotted barren cow sacrificed to the Maruts as representing the earth—"piebald with vegetation" for the peasants. The peasants may be represented by the Vaisya-grāmaṇī *tīrthas*. Dimly the functions ascribed to certain *tīrthas* suggest comparisons with the guild organizations for military purposes which were so striking a feature of Turkish polity. Thus the Takṣa-Rathakārau seem to have been classed by some writers as a *tīrtha*, and Mr. Law writes:—"Of the Takṣan and Ratha-kāra, the Takṣan (carpenter) had perhaps to do all those works in wood that did not fall within the range of duties of the Ratha-kāra. The latter officer was in special charge of the construction of chariots, which played a principal part in the wars of those days." The Taksans and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Evliya, *Travels*, trans. by J. von Hammer, ii. pt. i. pp. 104 ff. More relevant is the discussion of the eighteen elements of the State in *The Antiquities of Chamba* by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (Archaeological Survey of India), i. pp. 120 ff. The titles there given differ entirely from those reproduced by Mr. Law, but they offer just as many difficulties of interpretation. Some of them certainly refer to military bodies, to militia, or industrial groups liable to be mobilized for military purposes. Such were the *hastyasoṣṭra-bala-vyāpṛtaka*, or "those occupied with elephants, horses, camels and the forces," the "four arms" represented by pieces in the game of chess, p. 124.

Rathakāras may have been grouped together for military purposes, or the working Taksans may have been under Rathakāra in time of war.

The remaining chapters, on Regal Succession (IV.), The Education of the Prince (V.), The Royal Duties (VI.), The Evolution of the Indo-Aryan Kingship (VIII.), and The Religious Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity (IX.), all deal principally with the King himself and his religious functions. The rites of his coronation, consecration and deification are extraordinarily complicated and prolonged. They appear to have been elaborated under the influence of religion from a few simple types into a series wherein every type found a place after it had been modified in accordance with Brahmanical ideas. The crown is only just mentioned, and its significance is not explained. The coronation oath appears in one manual only, and does not seem to have been at all general. The whole conception of a King is that he is by his consecration re-born as a divinity. But this rebirth does not bestow on him an unlimited divinity. Like the Brāhmana and the royal priest the King is endowed with supernatural power, but like the gods in general he has his limitations. His divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office. But when he fails to fulfil them he commits a sin, not an offence against the State law which the State can constitutionally punish. With his sinlessness is bound up the whole well-being of the State and everything it contains. No ritual, however elaborate, can thus be too exacting to secure the King's sanctification and protect him from evil influences. One is not surprised to learn that the Rājasūya, the politico-religious ceremonies for the inauguration of the emperor, king, crown-prince and State-officials to their respective offices, alone occupies two years to work through. The Rājasūya was, in fact, a series of rites rather than a single or connected rite which followed on the accession rites. It may be rendered "consecration," though Mr. Law reserves that term for the *abhisecanīya*, thus differing from Weber.

The present work must be regarded as that of a pioneer in a difficult country. It is therefore to be regretted that the

writer has been led aside into too many premature comparisons with deceptively similar observances among peoples in a very different stage of culture. He has also sacrificed much space to criticisms of Sir James Frazer's theories on the Evolution of the Kingship. But our knowledge of ancient Hindu polity is not yet nearly ripe for it to be made the basis of any really useful comparisons, much less of criticisms of wide hypotheses. Mr. Law's book is lucidly written, accurately printed, and well-indexed. We look forward to a new and expanded edition as the knowledge of Sanskrit progresses. Mr. Law will also, we hope, give us a book on the later developments of Hindu political theory.

H. A. ROSE.

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## **EVENING MEETING.**

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21st, 1922.**

THE PRESIDENT (MR. H. BALFOUR) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman in announcing the death of Dr. Rivers, the late President, dwelt on the great loss the Society has sustained and moved a vote of sympathy with his family, which was agreed to, all standing.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz. : Miss Mona Heath, Margaret M. Hardie (Mrs. F. W. Hasluck), Miss Elma Adams, Miss Grace Hadow, and the Rev. C. E. Fox.

The enrolment of the Toronto Reference Library and the Minneapolis University Library as subscribers, and the resignation of Dr. Julius Price, Mrs. Lyon, Miss E. Rivington, Mr. J. L. Davies, and Mr. A. T. Duguid were also announced.

Miss Canziani exhibited a fish and a cake doll and a coloured egg from Vienna ; and some children's whistles,

two slings, a baby's hat, and a boat made out of a cuttle fish from the Balearic Islands, upon which the Chairman, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hartland, and Mr. Wright offered some observations. Miss Canziani was accorded a vote of thanks for showing her exhibits.

Dr. Hartland read the Frazer Lecture delivered by him in Oxford on the 17th May on "The Evolution of Kinship," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Col. Hodson, Dr. Gaster, and Miss Hull took part.

The Meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Hartland for his lecture.

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## THE FOLK-LORE OF HERBALS.

ELEANOUR SINCLAIR ROHDE.

THE subject of the paper I have been asked to read this evening is so vast that it is impossible to deal with it in any detail, and one can only touch on its broadest outlines. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts on herbs alone are mines of valuable information to the student of folk-lore, and it is with these I propose to begin. The most important of these manuscripts are the famous Leech Book of Bald (Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 12), generally believed to have been written during Alfred's reign and possibly by some one who was a personal friend of the King, the Saxon translation of the Herbarium Apuleius (Brit. Mus. Cottonian MSS. Vitellius C. 111), the Lacnunga (Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 585), containing the remarkable alliterative lay in praise of herbs—supposed to have been written in the tenth century but probably a copy of a much older MS.—and the Saxon translation of the ΗΕΡΒΙ ΔΙΔΑΞΕΩΝ (Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 6258). In these manuscripts one is transported to an age older than ours, and yet in some ways so young that we have lost the magic key of it. For in them we read not only of herbs and the endless uses our forefathers made of them, but if we try and read them with understanding they open for us a magic casement through which we see the past bathed in a glamour of romance. We see "as through a glass darkly" a time when grown men believed in elves and goblins as naturally as they believed in trees, an age when it was the belief of everyday folk that the air was peopled with unseen powers of evil

against whose machinations definite remedies must be applied. Not only the stars of heaven, but springs of water and the simple wayside herbs were to them directly associated with unseen beings.

I propose to take first folk-lore connected with the origin of disease, then folk-lore connected with the curing of disease, ceremonies to be performed in the picking and administering of herbs, mystic power of earth, etc. I regret that it is impossible in a short paper to touch on the comparative folk-lore of this subject. The great bulk of the folk-lore connected with the origin of disease is probably of native Teutonic origin. It would be more correct to say of Indo-Germanic origin, for these doctrines are to be found among all Indo-Germanic peoples and even in the Vedas, notably the Atharva Veda.

*Beliefs in connection with the origin of disease.*

*The doctrine of the elf-shot.* The ancient Teutonic races believed that disease was due to supernatural beings whose shafts produced illness in their victims. All the Teutonic tribes believed that waste places,<sup>1</sup> and marshes in particular, were the resort of these mischievous beings. These elves were of many different kinds—mountain elves, wood elves, sea elves, water elves, etc. It is possible that the water elves were the personification of the unwholesome effects of marshy lands. These elves not only attacked people but also cattle, and references to elf-shot cattle are numerous.

It is interesting to find in the Leech Book of Bald a charm implying an effort to bury the elf in the earth. This is to be found at the end of the charm for a man "in the water-elf disease." "If a man is in the water-elf disease then are the nails of his hand livid and the eyes tearful and he will look downwards. Give him this for leechdom

<sup>1</sup> Also a Babylonian belief. See Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*.

a yewberry, lupin, wormwood. . . . Sing this charm over him twice—

‘ I have wreathed round the wound  
The best of healing wreaths  
That the baneful sores may  
Neither burn nor burst  
Nor find their way further,  
Nor turn foul and fallow,  
Nor thump and thole on  
Nor be wicked wounds  
Nor dig deeply down ;  
But he himself may hold  
In a way to health.  
Let it ache thee no more  
Than ear in Earth acheth.’

Sing also this many times : ‘ May earth bear on thee with all her might and main.’ ”

For horses and cattle suffering from “ elf-shot,” see Leech Book I. cap. 65 and 88.<sup>1</sup>

*Flying venom.* Closely allied to the belief in “ elf-shot ” is the belief in flying venom. It is, of course, possible to regard the phrase “ flying venoms ” as the graphic Anglo-Saxon way of describing infectious diseases, but the various synonymous phrases “ the on flying things,” “ the loathed things that rove through the land,” suggest something of more malignant activity. The idea of the wind blowing these venoms which produced diseases in the bodies on which they lighted is frequently found in Teutonic folk-lore. In the alliterative lay in the *Lacnunga* the wind is described as blowing these venoms from Woden’s magic twigs, and the evil effects are blown away by the magician’s song and the health-giving effects of salt and water and herbs. In the Leech Book I. 72, we find that these flying venoms were particularly malignant “ fifteen nights ere Lammas and

<sup>1</sup> For elf-shot, see also Leech Book I. cap. 64 ; II. cap. 65 ; III. 54, 61, 62, 63, 65.

after it for five and thirty nights." See also Leech Book I. cap. 72; Lacnunga, 6; Leech Book II. 64, 65. This doctrine of the flying venom finds its counterpart in a particular class of demon frequently mentioned in the Babylonian tablets, in one of which they are described as "the bitter venom of the gods."

*The worm as the ultimate source of disease.* Perhaps the most interesting feature in the elements of Teutonic folk-lore to be found in these manuscripts is the doctrine of the worm as the ultimate source of disease. The best example of this is in the alliterative lay in the Lacnunga. The opening lines describe the war between Woden (the supreme Teutonic god, the dispenser of victory, good health and prosperity) and the serpent. Disease arose from the nine fragments into which he smote the serpent, and these diseases blown by the wind are counteracted by the nine magic twigs and salt water and herbs, and the disease is again blown away from the victim.

Worms were regarded as the source of all disease, and we have this description of an internal malady: "at whiles worms from the nether parts seek the upper parts up as far as the maw, and they also work heart disease and oppressive sensations and swoonings so that sometimes some men by gnawing of the worms die and go to the dogs." In Lacnunga (95) there is a counting-out charm given which is said to be "medicine for thee from worm and from every mischief." The doctrine of the worm is also in Babylonian literature, and one incantation ends—"So must thou say this: 'O Worm may Ea smite thee with the might of his fist.'" <sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that not only in Anglo-Saxon medicine but for many centuries afterwards toothache was ascribed to a worm in the tooth.

*Demoniac possession.* Side by side with the doctrines of the elf-shot and flying venom we have the ancient Eastern doctrine that disease is due to demoniac possession.

<sup>1</sup> *Cuneiform Texts*, part xvii. pl. 50.

Originally the exorcisms for this were heathen charms, but in the Leech Book Christian rites have to a large extent been substituted. Periwinkle was a herb endued with mysterious powers against demoniac possession. Mandrake was also held to be efficacious for the same purpose. See also Leech Book I. 62, 63; III. 64. Of Periwinkle we read in Herb. Ap.: "This wort is of good advantage for many purposes, that is to say first against devil sicknesses or demoniacal possessions, and against snakes and wild beasts and against poisons and for various wishes and for envy and for terror, and that thou may have grace and if thou hast the wort with thee thou shalt be prosperous and ever acceptable. This wort thou shalt pluck thus saying, I pray thee vinca pervinca, thou that art to be had for thy many useful qualities that thou come to me glad blossoming with thy mainfulness that thou outfit me so that I be shielded and ever prosperous and undamaged by poisons and by water; when thou shalt pluck this thou shalt be clean by every uncleanness and thou shalt pick it when the moon is nine nights old and eleven nights and thirteen nights and thirty nights and when it is one night old." We find numerous other examples of herbs being used to cure demoniac possession. See Leech Book I. 63; Herb. Ap., 132; Leech Book III. 64.

*Temptations of the devil.* Quite distinct from the belief in demoniacal possession was the belief in the temptations of a personal devil. There are various herb drinks against the evil temptings of a fiend. See Leech Book II. 65 and Leech Book III. 41. In passing, it is curious to note how frequently typhus fever is associated with demoniac possession and temptations of the devil, *i.e.* the same herbs are used in the cures.

*Beliefs in connection with the curing of disease.*

*Smoking the patient with the fumes of herbs.* An interesting form of exorcism of the demon was that done by smoking

the patient with the fumes of burning herbs. This smoking with herbs is found also in the ancient Babylonian ritual. In an incantation against fever we find the instruction :

“ The sick man . . . thou shalt place  
 . . . thou shalt cover his face  
 Burn cypress and herbs . . .  
 That the great gods may remove the evil  
 That the evil spirit may stand aside  
 . . . . .  
 May a kindly spirit, a kindly genius be present.”  
 Asakki Marsuti. Tablet xi.

Instances of smoking with herbs.—“ Have a great quern stone baken or heated and laid under the man and have wall wort and brooklime and mugwort gathered and laid upon the stone and under it and apply cold water and make the steam reek up on the man as hot as he can endure it ” Lacnunga (48) ; cf. also Tobit VI. 7 ; Leech Book III. 62. “ Against elf disease put gledes in a gledge pan and lay the worts on and reek the man with the worts before nine in the morning and at night and sing a litany, etc.” Of Smearwort (*aristolichia clematitis*) we read in the Herbarium Apuleius : “ If any child be vexed take thou the same wort and smoke him with this then thou wilt render it gladder.” Again, “ Take the same wort and dry it. Smoke the sick therewith ; it puts to flight devil sickness.” See also Leech Book II. 59. It is noteworthy that not only human beings but cattle and swine were to be smoked with the fumes of herbs. In Lacnunga 79, for sick cattle we find : “ Take the wort put it upon gledes and fenner and hassuck and cotton and incense. Burn all together on the side on which the wound is. Make it reek upon the cattle. Make five crosses of hassuck grass, set them on four sides of the cattle and one in the middle. Sing about the cattle Benedicium, etc., and the Benedicite and some litanies and the Paternoster. Sprinkle holy water upon them, burn about them incense and cotton and let some one set a value

on the cattle, let the owner give the tenth penny in the Church for God, after that leave them to amend; do this thrice."

Lacnunga 82. "To preserve swine from sudden death sing over them four masses, drive the swine to the fold, hang the worts upon the four sides and upon the door, also burn them adding incense and make the reek stream over the swine." In this connection I should like to draw your attention to an account in the *Times* of 5th December, 1922, of smoking with herbs in order to cure a woman who was supposed to be possessed of a devil. This took place in the Lauenburg district of Pomerania.

*Charms.* Much interesting folk-lore is to be found in the charms for curing of disease, protection against evil, against snakes, etc. They may be roughly divided into material charms (*i.e.* herbs used as amulets), narrative charms, counting-out charms, magic or mystic sentences or words. For material charms see Herb. Ap. 66, 73, 74, 90, 96, 111, 114, 123, 132; Leech Book I. cap. 64; III. cap. 1, 2, 6, 53; Lacnunga, 88. The following may be quoted as examples of herbs used as amulets:

"If a mare or hag ride a man take lupins and garlic and betony and frankincense, bind them on a fawn's skin and let a man have the worts on him and let him go into his home." (Leech Book I. 64.)

"If any see some heavy mischief in his house let him take this wort Mandragoras into the middle of the house as much of it as he then may have by him; he compelleth all evils out of the house." (Herb. Ap. 132.)

"For lunacy if a man layeth this wort peony over the lunatic as he lies, soon he upheaveth himself up whole and if he hath this wort into him the disease never again approaches him." (Herb. Ap. 66.)

"In case a woman suddenly turn dumb take penny royal and rub to dust, wind it up in wool, lay under the woman, it will soon be well with her." (Lacnunga 88.)

“ If any one hath with him this wort (vervain) he may not be barked at by dogs.” (Herb. Ap. 67.)

*Tying on the herbs with red wool.* In the use of herbs as amulets it is interesting to note in passing that there is frequently the instruction to bind on the herb with red yarn. Red is the colour sacred to Thor, and it is also the colour abhorred by the powers of evil. Sonny (*Arch. f. Rel.* 1906, p. 525), in his article “ Rote Farbe im Totenkulte,” considers the use of red to be in imitation of blood. Of examples of tying on herbs with red wool in the Saxon herbals the following will suffice :

“ Clove wort (*ranunculus acris*) for a lunatic take this wort and wreathe it with a red thread about the man’s neck when the moon is on the wane in the month which is called April, soon he will be healed.” (Herb. Ap.)

“ In case a man ache in the head take the netherward part of crosswort, put it on a red fillet, let him bind the head therewith.” (Leech Book III. 1.)

“ For that ilk delve up waybroad without iron ere the rising of the sun and bind the roots about the head with crosswort by a red fillet, soon he will be well.” (*Ibid.*)

*Hanging up of herbs.* Besides instructions for wearing herbs as amulets we also find instructions for hanging them up over doors, etc., for the benefit of not only human beings but cattle also. Of mugwort we read : “ And if a root of this wort be hung over the door of any house then may not any man damage the house.” (Herb. Ap.) Of croton oil plant for hail and rough weather to turn them away : “ if thou hangest some seed of it in thine house or have it or its seed in any place whatever it turneth away the tempestuousness of hail.” “ Against temptation of the fiend a wort hight red violin, red stalk, it waxeth by running water if thou hast it on thee and under thy head and bolster and over thy house door the devil may not scathe thee within nor without.” (Herb. Ap.)

“To preserve swine from sudden death hang the worts upon the four sides and upon the door.” (Lacnunga 82.)

*Counting-out charms.* These are curiously interesting and, moreover, survive to this day in children's games. In Lacnunga we find this counting-out charm: “Nine were Nodes sisters, then the nine came to be eight and the eight seven and the seven six . . . and the one none. This may be medicine for thee from churnel and from scrofula and from worm and from every mischief.”

The above closely resembles a Cornish charm for a tetter:

“Tetter tetter thou hast nine brothers,  
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone;  
Perish thou tetter and be thou gone.

Tetter tetter thou hast eight brothers—”

Thus the verses are continued until tetter having “no brother” is ordered to be gone.<sup>1</sup>

*Narrative charms.* One of the lengthiest is for use when cattle have been lost (Lacnunga 91), but undoubtedly the most curious is the one for warts in the Lacnunga 56. “A charm to be sung first into the left ear then into the right, then above the man's head, and then the charm to be hung on his neck.” There is a certain rough lilt about the lines in the original:

“Here came entering  
A spider wight  
He had his hands upon his hams  
He quoth that thou his hackney wert  
Lay thee against his neck  
They began to sail off the land  
As soon as they off the land came, then began they  
to cool  
Then came in a wild beast's sister

<sup>1</sup> R. Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, p. 414.

Then she ended  
 And oaths she swore that never could this harm the sick  
 nor him who could get at this  
 Charm or him who had skill to sing this charm.

Amen. Fiat."

*Mystic sentences.* Many of these are quite incomprehensible, in others the names of heathen idols are mentioned, in others they are a string of words which some authorities suggest are corrupt Irish, others are in corrupt Latin, others mere letters. "In case a man or beast drink an insect if it be of male kind sing this lay in the right ear which lay is hereinafter written; if it be of female kind sing it in the left ear. Gonomil, orgomil, marbumil, marbsai, ramum, tofeth, etc. (Lacnunga 9.) Dr. J. F. Pague, who quotes this in *English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times*, says, "Dr. Bradley informs me that the words are corrupt Irish, but are not consecutively intelligible."

"For a woman who cannot rear her child . . . say 'Everywhere I carried for me the famous kindred doughty one with this famous meat doughty one so I will have it for me and go home.'" (Lacnunga 104.)

"Sing this for toothache after the sun hath gone down, Caio laio, voaque ofer saelo, ficia, etc., then name the man and his father, then say Lilumenne, it acheth beyond everything, when it lieth low it cooleth, when on earth it burneth hottest finit. Amen." (Lacnunga 8.)

"Write this along the arms for convulsions or against a dwarf three crosses, T for the Trinity and Alpha and Omega, and rub down celandine into ale, S. Machutus, St. Victricius. Write this along the arm as protection against a dwarf + $\xi$ + $\rho$ + $\xi$ +N+ $\omega$ +m, etc., and powder celandine into ale." (Lacnunga, 51.)

*Uttering a charm to the four cardinal points.* We occasionally find instructions to utter the charm to the four cardinal points successively. (This is to be found also in the Atharva Veda.) "For flying venom smite four strokes towards the

four quarters with an oaken brand, make the brand bloody, throw away, sing this thrice :

Matthew leads me  
Mark preserves me  
Luke frees me  
John aids me.

If ale be spoilt then take lupins, lay them on the four quarters of the dwelling and over the door and under the threshold and under the ale vat, put the wort into ale with holy water." (Leech Book 67.)

In using the charm to bring back stolen cattle it is ordered to be followed by saying, " May the cross of Christ bring me back my beasts from the East " thrice, then to the West thrice, then to the South thrice, and then to the North thrice." (Lacnunga 91.)

*Transferring the illness to some other object.* This is not only of very ancient origin, but until recent times (*i.e.* the close of the last century) and even now in very remote parts this belief persisted in this country. In the Saxon manuscripts we find the following instances :—

" For bite of hunting spider strike five scarifications one on the bite and four round about it, throw the blood with a spoon silently over a wagon way." (Leech Book I. 68.)

" If a man eat wolf's bone, let him stand upon his head, let some one strike him many scarifications on the shanks, then the venom departs out through the incisions." (Leech Book I. 84.)

In the salve against the " elfin race and nocturnal goblin visitors " it is directed that the salve made of herbs, sheep's grease and butter and holy salt is to be thrown into running water. (Leech Book III. 61.) Vervain. " For mad hound's bite take the same root (vervain) and wheaten corns whole and lay to the wounds till that the corns are neshed through the wet and so are swollen up. Take then the corns and cast them to some cock or hen fowl." (Herb. Ap.)

*Mystic power of Nine.* Numbers play a conspicuous part in these early manuscripts on herbs, and particularly the number nine. In the alliterative lay of the nine healing herbs this is very conspicuous. Woden, we are told, smote the serpent into nine magic twigs, the serpent was broken into nine parts from which the wind blew the nine flying venoms. In the herbal prescriptions the mystic number nine appears continually. There are numerous instances of the patient being directed to take the herb potion for nine days.

“Sowbread. For sore of spleen take juice of this wort for nine days. Thou wilt wonder at the benefit.” (Herb. Ap.)

“Knot grass. In case that a man spew blood take juice of this wort and boil it without smoke in very good and strong wine; let (the sick man) drink it then fasting for nine days, within the period of which thou wilt perceive a wondrous thing.” (Herb. Ap.) In the prescription given by the leech Oxa it is ordered, “let the man drink for nine days.” Or the patient is directed to take nine portions of the different ingredients.

“Hop trefoil. For sore of inwards take leaves of this wort, its twigs are as swine bristles, pound then the leaves and nine peppercorns and nine grains of coriander seed.” (Herb. Ap.)

“Against blains, take nine eggs and boil them hard and take the yolks and throw the white away and grease the yolks in a pan and wring out the liquor through a cloth, and take as many drops of wine as there are of the eggs and as many drops of unhallowed oil and as many drops of honey and from a root of fennel as many drops, then take, etc.” (Herb. Ap., Fly leaf leechdoms.) See also Herb. Ap. 117; Leech Book I. 33, 64, 67, 83, and II. 7, 65.

*Ceremonies in picking and administering herbs.* These are numerous, and are a curious mixture of heathen rites (mostly Sun-worship) and Christian rites. In some there

is the instruction that the herb is to be gathered "without use of iron" or "with gold and with harts horn" (emblems of the sun's rays); in many cases the herb is to be gathered before the sun's uprising, in nearly all certain mystic words are to be addressed to the herb, and in at least one case offerings are to be made to it. In some the herbs are to be gathered at sunrise or "when day and night divide." In many cases masses have to be sung over the herbs before they are administered to the patient. In some cases the herbs are to be gathered in silence; in others the man who gathers them is not to look behind him. This prohibition against looking backwards recurs frequently in ancient superstitions.<sup>1</sup> In some cases it is ordered that the man who gathers the herb is to think of the patient when he does so; in others to name the disease. In a charm for toothache we find the old Roman belief of naming the patient and his father. In some cases certain prayers are to be said when the herbs are administered, and in others this is combined with the old heathen rite of looking towards the East or turning "with the Sun." I quote the following examples:

"For rent by snake take this same wort and ere thou carve it off hold it in thine hand and say thrice nine times, 'Omnes malas bestias canto,' that is in our language, 'Enchant and overcome all evil wild animals,' then carve it off with a very sharp knife into three parts. And the while that thou be doing this think of the man whom thou thinkest to leech and when thou wend thence look not about thee, then take the wort and pound it, lay it to the cut, soon it will be whole." (Leech Book I. 46.)

In the leechdom for "dry diseases"—"let him in the morning drink a cup full of this drink; in the middle of the morning hours let him stand towards the East, let him address himself to God earnestly and let him sign himself

<sup>1</sup> See Sr J. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, iii. 104; also "Fore-lore of Mos-soul," *P.S.B.A.* 1906, 79.

with the sign of the cross, let him also turn himself about as the sun goeth from East to South and West." (Leech Book I. 47.)

"Let him who will take it (adderwort) cleanse himself and let him inscribe it with gold and silver and with harts horn and with ivory and with bear's tusk and with bull's horn and let him lay thereabout fruits sweetened with honey. If anyone be in such infirmity that he be choice (in eating) then mayest thou unbind him. Take of this wort lion foot . . . let him not look behind him."

*The mystic power of Earth.* Earth, of course, has always had a mystic power, and much of this old belief still remains amongst country people. In one of the Anglo-Saxon MS. herbals (MS. Harley 1585) we find this prayer, of which there is only space to quote part of Dr. Charles Singer's translation.

"Earth divine goddess Mother Nature who generatest all things and bringest forth anew the Sun which thou hast given to the nations . . . Goddess! I adore thee as divine; I call upon thy name . . . whatsoever herb thy power dost produce, give I pray thee with good will to all nations to save them and grant me this my medicine."

Between the Saxon manuscripts on herbs and the first printed herbals there is a great gulf fixed. It is true that there are in the British Museum and other libraries manuscript herbals, but the majority of these are of little interest to the student of folk-lore. Amongst these MSS. there is one, however, to which reference should be made, for it contains a piece of folk-lore which is, I believe, still current in England. This MS. is one sent by the "Countess of Henawd" to her daughter Philippa, Queen of England, and in it there is recorded that rosemary "passeth not commonly in highte the highte of Criste whill he was man in Erthe," and that when the plant attains thirty-three years in age it will increase in breadth but not in height.

*Folk-lore in the early printed herbals.* In the first printed herbals we find the old Anglo-Saxon belief in the efficacy of herbs against the unseen powers of evil in a new phase, namely, that herbs may be used to promote happiness and to make men "merry and joyfull." This, of course, is one of the most conspicuous features of the famous later herbals of Gerard and Parkinson. We find also in these early herbals that the belief in the use of herbs as amulets remains unaltered. Of herbs used as charms in the first printed herbals, see in Banckes' *Herbal Artemisia*, asterion, hare's lettuce, peony, plantain, vervain. The following belief in connection with vervain is not to be found in any other English herbal. "Thei that beare vervaine upon them they shall have love of great maysters and they shal graūt him his asking if his asking be good and rightfull." For herbs used "to comfort the heart," etc., see wormwood, borage, lang de befe. We come next to *The Grete Herball*, and here we find again instances of the use of herbs for their effect on the mind, also instances of smoking a patient with the fumes of herbs. (See *artemisia*, rosemary, southernwood.) It is in the *Grete Herball* that we find the first avowal of disbelief in the supposed powers of mandrake. The widespread old belief in the efficacy of 'mummy' "bryghte blacke stynkyng and styffe" which grows on dead bodies, is given with the usual gruesome illustration. In Turner's herbal there is singularly little folk-lore beyond that to be found in Banckes and the *Grete Herball*. One should note, however, that this is the first herbal in which any account is to be found of the old custom of curing disease in cattle by boring a hole in the ear and inserting the herb bearfoot, "then all the mighte and pestilent poison of the disease is brought so into the eare. And whilse the part which is circled aboute dyeth and falleth awaye yt hole beast is saved with the lose of a very smal parte." See also bearfoot in Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*.

*Folk-lore of Gerard's "Herball."* Even the most cursory reading of Gerard's *Herball* brings home to one how much we lose by the lack of the old simple belief in the efficacy of herbs, to cure not only physical ills but also the mind and even the heart. This belief was shared by the greatest civilizations of antiquity, and it is only we foolish moderns who ignore the fact that "very wonderful effects may be wrought by the Virtues, which are enveloped within the compasse of the Green Mantles wherewith many Plants are adorned." Doctors are cautious folk nowadays, and it is wonderful to think of a time when the world was so young that people were brave and hopeful enough to imagine that they could cure or even alleviate another's sorrow. If ever anything so closely approaching the miraculous is attempted again, one feels sure that we shall turn as the wise men of the oldest civilizations did to God's most beautiful creatures to accomplish the miracle. In common with the majority of the old herbalists Gerard's faith in herbs was simple and unquestioning. Sweet marjoram, he tells us, is for those "who are given to over-much sighing." Again, "The smell of Basil is good for the heart . . . it taketh away sorrowfulnesse which commeth of melancholy and maketh a man merry and glad." "Bawme comforts the heart and driveth away all melancholy and sadnesse; it makes the heart merry and joyfull and strengtheneth the vitall spirits." Of the despised dead nettle he tells us that "the flowers baked with sugar, as roses are, maketh the vitall spirits more fresh and lively." Of borage, he quotes the well-known old couplet :

I Borage  
Bring alwaies Courage.

It is impossible to quote a tithe of what Gerard writes in this connection. But see also under buglos, rosemary, meadowsweet, vervain, water-mint, etc.

One well-known piece of folk-lore to be found in Gerard

requires more than mere passing notice—the myth of the barnacle geese. This is at least as old as the twelfth century. It appeared for the next two centuries in two forms—one that trees growing near the sea produced fruit like apples, each containing the embryo of a goose, which, when the fruit was ripe, fell into the water and flew away. In the other the geese were supposed to emanate from a fungus growing on rotting timber floating at sea. (It is the myth in the latter form which Gerard gives.) One of the earliest mentions of this myth is to be found in Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hiberniae*, 1187), a zealous reformer of Church abuses. In his protest against eating these barnacle geese during Lent, he writes thus: “There are here many birds which are called Bernacae which Nature produces in a manner contrary to nature and very wonderful. They are like marsh geese but smaller. They are produced from fir-timber tossed about at sea, and are at first like geese upon it. Afterwards they hang down by their beaks as if from a sea-weed attached to the wood and are enclosed in shells that they may grow the more freely. Having thus in course of time been clothed with a strong covering of feathers, they either fall into the water or seek their liberty in the air by flight. The embryo geese derive their growth and nutriment from the moisture of the wood or of the sea, in a secret and most marvellous manner. I have seen with my own eyes more than a thousand minute bodies of these birds hanging from one piece of timber on the shore, enclosed in shells and already formed . . . in no corner of the world have they been known to build a nest. Hence the bishops and clergy in some parts of Ireland are in the habit of partaking of these birds on fast days without scruple. But in doing so they are led into sin, for if any one were to eat the leg of our first parent, although he (Adam) was not born of flesh, that person could not be adjudged innocent of eating flesh.” Jews in the Middle Ages were divided whether these barnacle geese should be killed as

flesh or fish. Pope Innocent III. took the view that they were flesh, for at the Lateran Council in 1215 he prohibited the eating of barnacle geese during Lent. In 1277 Rabbi Izaak of Corbeil forbade them altogether to Jews on the ground that they were neither fish nor flesh. Various localities were supposed to be the breeding places of these arboreal geese. Gervasius of Tilbury (1211) says that they grew on the willows near the abbey of Faversham, and that the bird there was called *Barneta*. The Scottish historian Boece did not believe in them. In his work (1527), translated into Scottish in 1540 by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Murray, he arrives at the conclusion that "the nature of the seis is mair relevant caus of their procreation than any other thyng." They were believed to exist on the shores of the Baltic (see Vincentius Bellocensis (1190-1264) in *Speculum Naturae*), and in Flanders (see Jacob de Vitriaco, who died 1244).

Pope Pius II. when he was on a visit to James I. of Scotland was most anxious to see these geese, but he was told that they could only be seen in the Orkney Islands. Sebastian Munster,<sup>1</sup> who relates the foregoing, evidently believed in the myth himself, for he wrote of them: "In Scotland there are trees which produce fruit conglomerated of leaves and this fruit when in due time it falls into the water beneath it is endowed with new life and is converted into a living bird which they call the 'tree goose.' . . . Several old cosmographers, especially Saxo Grammaticus, mention the tree and it must not be regarded as fictitious as some new writers suppose." Even as early as the thirteenth century both Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon derided the myth. But in the centuries that followed it seems to have been accepted with unquestioning faith, with the notable exception of the Scottish historian Boece. Coming to later times we find that Gaspar Schott (*Physica Curiosa sive Mirabilia Naturae et Artis*, 1662, lib. ix. cap.

<sup>1</sup> *Cosmographia Universalis*, p. 49. 1572.

xxii. p. 960) quotes a vast number of authorities on this old myth, and gives his opinion that it was absurd. Yet in 1677 Sir Robert Moray read before the Royal Society "A Relation concerning Barnacles," and this was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Jan. and Feb. 1677-8.

*The Folk-lore in Parkinson's "Theatrum Botanicum."*  
The folk-lore to be found in Parkinson is so interesting that it is impossible to deal with it in a short space. Of herbs used as amulets one notes mistletoe to be hung round children's necks as a protection against witchcraft; bears-foot to be put in a hole cut in the dewlap of an ox to cure cough; soap made from glasswort to be spread on "thick coarse brown paper cut into the forme of their shooe soles" for those that are "casually taken speechless"; "plantain roots for ague; loosestrife to be fastened to the yokes to take away strife between oxen; periwinkle wreathed round the legs against cramp," etc. We find also instances of the old belief in the efficacy of herbs to promote happiness and to destroy melancholy (see oak galls, vipers, bugloss, borage, etc.); herbs to be used against witchcraft, notably Herb true love, and one—the Indian Spanish counterpoison—which "taken in white wine resisteth witchery that is used in such drinkes that are given to produce love." Herbs to be used also against forgetfulness (see sage and asarabacca), and curious old beliefs connected with bee-lore (balm which is beneficial to them and woad, of which he says, "it hath been observed that Bees have dyed of as it were of a Flix that have tasted hereof"). Also some curious old gardening beliefs not found in other herbals but very frequently in contemporary books on gardening, husbandry, etc., notably the writings of Thomas Hill. (For gardening beliefs see Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*; see especially under gourds, great spurge, asparagus and elder.) The most interesting piece of folk-lore to be found in Parkinson is the myth of the vegetable lamb of Tartary. This "lamb,"

growing on a stalk and eating the herbage, is one of the figures on the frontispiece of his *Paradisi*.

This was one of the most curious myths of the Middle Ages. It was also known as the Scythian Lamb and the Borametz or Barometz, the latter being derived from a Tartar word signifying "lamb." This "lamb" was supposed to be both a true animal and a living plant, and was supposed to grow in the territory of the Tartars of the East formerly called Scythia. According to some writers the lamb was the fruit of a tree, and when the fruit or seed pod of this tree was fully ripe it burst open and disclosed a little lamb perfect in every way. This was Sir John Mandeville's version. Other writers described the lamb as being suspended above the ground by a stalk, flexible enough to allow the animal to feed on the herbage within its reach. When it had consumed all within its reach the stem withered and the lamb died. It was further reported that this lamb was a favourite food with wolves, but that no other carnivorous animals would attack it. So far as is known the story was first treated of in an English book by Sir John Mandeville, "the Knyght of Ingelond that was y bore in the town of Seynt Albans and travelide aboute in the worlde in many diverse countreis to se mervailles and customs of countreis and diversiteis of folkys and diverse shap of men and of beistis." It is in the chapter describing the curiosities he met with in the dominions of the "Cham" of Tartary that the passage about the Vegetable Lamb occurs. References to the Vegetable Lamb are also to be found in *Histoire admirable des Plantes* (1605) by Charles Duret, in *The Journall of Frier Odoricus of Friuli* in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, in *De Spontanes Viventum Ortu* (1518) by Fortunio Liceti, Professor of Philosophy at Padua, in *Historia Naturae* by Juan Ensebio Nieremberg, in *De Rerum Natura* (1557) by Cardano of Pavia, in *Exotericarum Exercitationum* by Julius Scaliger. Saluste, the Sieur du Bartas, in his poem *La Semaine* (1578) described the Vegetable Lamb as

one of the wonders in the Garden of Eden. After the middle of the seventeenth century very little belief in "The Vegetable Lamb" remained amongst men of letters, but it continued to be a subject of discussion for at least another 150 years. The origin of this extraordinary myth is undoubtedly to be found in the ancient descriptions of the cotton plant. See Herodotus (lib. III. cap. 106); Strabo (lib. xv. cap. 21); Theophrastus *De Historia Plantarum* (lib. iv. cap. 4); Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis* (lib. iii. cap. 7); and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*.

*Seventeenth century astrological beliefs.* Culpepper and Coles are the most noteworthy authors in whose writings we find the ancient astrological beliefs in their most degraded form. The instances in Culpepper are too numerous to quote, as they are to be found on every page.

Coles, however, treats with scorn and by arguments peculiarly his own the old belief in the connections between the stars and herbs. "It (the study of herbs) is a subject as antient as the Creation, yea more antient than the Sunne or the Moon, or Starres, they being created on the fourth day, whereas Plants were the third. Thus did God even at first confute the folly of those Astrologers who goe about to maintaine that all vegetables in their growth are enslaved to a necessary and unavoidable dependance on the influences of the Starres; whereas Plants were even when Planets were not." In another passage, however, he writes, "Though I admit not of Master Culpepper's Astrological way of every Planet's Dominion over Plants yet I conceive that the Sunne and Moon have generall influence upon them, the one for Heat the other for Moisture; wherein the being of Plants consists." The doctrine of signatures Coles accepts unquestioningly: "Though Sin and Sathan have plunged mankinde into an Ocean of infirmities yet the mercy of God which is over all his Workes maketh Grasse to grow up on the Mountains and Herbs for the Use of Men and hath not only stamped upon them (as upon every man)

a distinct forme but also given them particular signatures whereby a Man may read even in legible characters the use of them." He gives amongst other instances of the doctrine of signatures the walnut, which resembles the human head (the kernels like the brains, etc.). In regard to plants which have no signatures, he intimates that this is to provide a fit subject of study for mankind, "for Man was not brought into the World to live like an idle Loyterer or Truant but to exercise his Minde."

It is easy to pour scorn on the credulity of the seventeenth century herbalists who were the exponents of a depraved astrological lore. But signs are not wanting that we are possibly on the eve of a revival of this old teaching, and, apart from its scientific aspect, surely there are very few flower-lovers who do not connect flowers and stars. Do not flowers seem to reflect in microscopic form those glorious flowers which deck the firmament of heaven? There is something so star-like in many flowers that almost involuntarily one's mind connects them with the luminaries in the expanse above us, and from this it is but a short step to the belief that there is between them a secret communion which is past our understanding. Mystics of all ages and all civilizations have felt the existence of this secret understanding between what are surely the most beautiful of God's creations—flowers and stars—and the fascination is in no small part due to the exquisite frailty and short-lived beauty of the flowers of earth and the stupendous majesty of the flowers in the heavens, those myriad worlds in whose existence a thousand years is but a passing dream.

ELEANOUR SINCLAIR ROHDE.

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## TANGKHUL FOLK TALES AND NOTES ON SOME FESTIVALS OF THE HILL TRIBES SOUTH OF ASSAM.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

THE few tales I propose to read to you to-night were written down for me in their native language and also in English by the boys of the Ukhrul Mission School. Before I give you the tales I had better tell you something about the Tangkhuls and where they live. Their habitat is the range of hills separating the valleys of Manipur and the Chindwin. Manipur is a small independent state—a perfect comic opera state ; but if I once start on the humours and joys of life in that very beautiful corner of the world I shall never get on the Tangkhuls. As to who the Tangkhuls are it is more difficult to say. Sir G. Grierson classes their language, or I should say languages, for there are many dialects which differ greatly, as one of the Naga-Kuki sub-group of the Naga group ; but to the ordinary man who visits Manipur the Tangkhuls would be remembered by their method of haircutting : yet all Tangkhuls do not conform in this matter. Then there is the wearing of the ring, but that is not universal among Tangkhuls, and it is worn by some who are not recognised as Tangkhuls. Yet among the people themselves there is never any doubt as to who are Tangkhuls.

Although each of the many tribes in this happy hunting-ground of the student of ethnology and folk-lore declares itself separate and distinct from every other, and though each has its individual peculiarities and mentality, which a governor must study and take into account if he wish to

be successful, yet, as my friend Colonel T. C. Hodson remarked over twenty years ago,<sup>1</sup> there is fundamental unity. Mr. Hutton has also done much to bring this out, showing how the population of these hills is a mixture of many races, which mixture has resulted in a great variety of customs, but also in a strange streak of similarity running through them all.<sup>2</sup> One of the objects of my paper to-night is to produce evidence of this unity.

I will begin with a simple love tale, because we all love a lover; also because it is a good instance of the sentimental poetic vein which is to be found in all these folk.<sup>3</sup> If there are any happy lovers here I hope that their tale may end more happily than that of Khashima and his love Thingraila, but the "they lived happily ever after" ending is seldom to be found in the tales of the people of these hills.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE STORY OF KHASHIMA AND THINGRAILA.

Once upon a time there was a youth Khashima in Lambui, he was the son of a rich man and he was very handsome, and as he grew to manhood he wanted to marry, but as yet he knew not what love was. At that time there lived in Kazai a most beautiful girl called Thingraila, the daughter of a very rich man, and she also knew not what it was to love. So she waited. One day as Khashima sat in his garden a large bee came flying by, and he caught the bee and tied a hair from his head round the bee's waist, and to this he tied a bead and he sent the bee away as a messenger; but before he let him go he said to the bee, "Fly away to her and fly back to me, bringing me word of her." So he sent him. And the bee flew straight to Thingraila's bosom, and she caught it and saw the hair and the beautiful bead tied to its waist. And she wondered

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Love*, vol. xx. p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> *The Lhota Nagas*, Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 173, 174, 254.

<sup>4</sup> *The Angami Nagas*, p. 358.

greatly and thought much thereon ; and then it came into her mind that it must be Khashima's message. So she took the most beautiful bead she had and tied it to the bee and sent him back ; and he flew to Khashima, who, when he saw it, longed to go to her ; so he called two men from his kindred and made them carry two baskets full of hoes and started for her village, and as they went they gave the hoes to those who showed them the way ; and at last they reached her village, and there was Thingraila sitting in the yard, in front of the house, and she said, " Where have you come from ? " And Khashima said, " We have come from Lambui because people said there was a beautiful girl in Kazai, therefore I came to see you." And they loved each other. When her parents came from the fields they saw him, and they thought, " If he marries our daughter we shall be glad, because he is so fine a man." Then her father asked him, " Why do you come here ? " And he answered, " I came to see your daughter. I want to marry your daughter." Then her father said, " If you agree to remain in our village you shall marry her ; but if you will not stay then you cannot marry her." And because he loved her very much he agreed to live in her village, and he sent his companions back to Lambui. After a year a son was born to them, and he asked his father-in-law, " I and your daughter want to go to my village. I will pay you twenty buffaloes for your daughter." But his father-in-law would not agree. So they plotted to run away to Lambui ; but her people heard of it, and one night one of her brothers came to their bedside as they slept and killed Khashima. And when Thingraila woke and knew Khashima was dead she killed herself and her son.

The request of the father that Khashima shall stay in his village would point to marriage being by service in that village, and Khashima, much in love, agrees to the proposal, but later wishes to substitute marriage by purchase, which is the custom in Lambui.

## THE STORY OF THE BAT.

Once upon a time before daylight a bat cried "Chap, Chap." The cock heard this and crowed; the people heard the cock crow and began to sharpen their daos beside the river. The squirrel, hearing the people sharpening their daos, climbed to the top of the tree and began to eat fruit. One of the fruit fell on the crab and broke his shell. The crab, in agony, scratched up the ants' nest; the ants rushed out and ran up the nostrils of the wild boar; the wild boar in his rage shook his head and cut down a plantain tree with his tushes. The moth which lived in the wild plantain tree flew out and went up the trunk of the elephant; the elephant got angry and killed a man on the road. Then they gathered together to decide about it. "The elephant killed him," they said. "The moth flew up my nose," said the elephant, "and made me angry: and I rushed about and met that man and killed him." "The wild pig cut down my tree; therefore I flew up the elephant's trunk," said the moth. "Some ants ran up my nose," said the boar, "therefore I cut down the plantain tree." "The crab scratched up our nest," said the ants, "so we ran up the boar's nose." "The squirrel knocked a fruit down and broke my shell, therefore in pain I scratched up the ants' nest," said the crab. "Why did you eat fruit before daylight?" they asked of the squirrel. "People began sharpening their daos, so I thought it was morning," said the squirrel. "The cock crowed," said the people, "so we thought it was morning." "The bat cried 'Chap, Chap,' so I thought it was morning," said the cock. Then they asked the bat; and he said, "Yes, I thought it was morning, so cried 'Chap, Chap.'" So to punish him they cut off his foot. Then they consulted who should eat the bat's foot. "We all live by the power of the sun," said they; "therefore we should give the foot to him as the greatest." But the sun said, "Though I keep you alive by

my power, yet I cannot overcome the cloud : give it to him." But the cloud said, " Though I overcome the sun I fly before the wind : give it to him." The wind said, " Though I can drive away the cloud I cannot move the rock : give it to him." But the rock said, " Though I can withstand the wind, yet I am nothing before the bird who covers me with his droppings." So they gave it to the bird as the conqueror of all. That is why the bat has only one foot, as you may see when it hangs asleep from a branch.

Perhaps you may wonder why I have read you this not very interesting tale of the type of the Old Woman driving her Pig to Market. Taken by itself it is hardly worthy of your attention ; but it is only one version of a tale which has been recorded in four other localities. First, it was recorded by that very great man, Lt.-Colonel Lewin, in whose footsteps I was privileged to follow. He took it down about 1865 at Demagri from a Lushai.<sup>1</sup> It was recorded for the second time by the late Mr. E. Stack of the Assam Commission some time previous to his death in 1886 from a Mikir named Sardoka. The Mikirs live on both sides of the Brahmaputra east of Tezpur, and are also found on the northern slopes of the Khasia hills, from which area this story came I cannot say.<sup>2</sup> It was next recorded by Babu Bisharup Singh in 1889 for the Linguistic Survey from an Aimol in Manipur, just south of Ukhrul whence our tale comes.<sup>3</sup> From the area between the Tangkhuls and the Mikirs we get from the Semas a tale which bears a strong family likeness to ours, called the

<sup>1</sup> Lushai is classed by Sir G. Grierson in the Central Chin sub-group of the Kuki-Chin group of the Tibeto-Burman Family.

<sup>2</sup> The Mikir language is placed by Sir G. Grierson in the Naga-Bodo sub-group of the Naga group, the Tangkhuls being in the Naga-Kuki sub-group of the same group.

<sup>3</sup> Aimol is classed by Sir G. Grierson in the Old Kuki sub-group of the Kuki-Chin languages.

“Dispersion of Crabs.”<sup>1</sup> We have, therefore, a complete chain of places in which the tale crops up from Demagri to the banks of the Brahmaputra, about 270 miles in an air-line, among tribes which to the superficial observer are very unlike each other.

The second portion of the tale, regarding the disposal of the bat's foot, does not appear in any of the other versions; but the idea of trying to find who is the greatest appears in an Angami tale, styled “The Rat Princess and the Greedy Man,” which Mr. Hutton gives in a recent book on that tribe.<sup>2</sup> A man catches a rat and puts it into a box. The rat turns into a beautiful girl, whom the man decides to sell to the greatest man in the world with a view to getting the highest possible price. He goes in succession to the King, the Water, the Wind and the Mountain, each of whom refers him to the next as the more powerful. Finally, the Mountain says, “Yea, I am greater and stronger than some, but even a rat can pierce my side whenever he likes. Thus for his works' sake the rat is greater than I.” So the man returns home, and finds the girl has again become a rat.

In a Sema story two puppies are left motherless, and ask God, “Between heaven and earth who is the greatest?” with a view to prevailing on the mighty one to avenge them. God sends them to the tiger, and they sleep in his house. In the night a breeze came blowing and the tiger became afraid, and said, “The elephant is greater than I; say nothing.” In the elephant's house and then in the Spirit's house the same thing occurs. The Spirit sends them to the man. In the night a breeze came blowing. The pups put the man's heart to the proof. The man unafraid in spite of the darkness, said to the pups, “Do not be afraid.” So the pups joyfully stayed with the man, and with him they hunted the Sambhur who had killed their

<sup>1</sup> Sema is classed as in the Western sub-group of Naga languages.

<sup>2</sup> *The Angami Nagas*, p. 272.

mother. Therefore the Semas always give a share of every animal killed to the dogs. This story was told to the Sub-divisional Officer at Mokochong during a case about the "dog's share, and the dog's pleader ended his address to the Court: 'And now, too, we represent to our father Sahib that the dog's share be not forgotten. So now, too, give order not to forget the dog's share.'" Let us trust there was a decree for the plaintiff.

The next tale has, as far as I know, no very close parallel among the tales of other tribes, yet, as you will see, it has a common incident.

#### THE STORY OF THE MONKEY AND THE OTTER.

Once upon a time the monkey and the otter were friends. One day they each went in search of food, and met to eat it together. The monkey picked some figs, but the otter brought some fish. "Oh, my friend," said the monkey, "where did you get this?" "I will show you by and by," said the otter. So when they had finished eating they went to the river to hunt for fish. Before they reached the water the otter said, "You must not speak a word nor laugh near the water or you will die." So they came to the river and the otter caught some small fishes. The monkey remained silent; but when the otter caught some big fishes the monkey laughed, and he sank down in the water and was drowned. Then the otter carried him out and laid him on the bank to dry in the sun. Then the tiger came along and asked about the monkey. The otter said, "He is dead. You can eat him; but let him get dry first." So the tiger sat down to wait till the monkey should be dry. But when he got dry the monkey came to life again and ran away, and the otter dived into the pool. The tiger set to work to drink the pool dry, and it was nearly dry when the bird came and interfered. So the tiger hunted the bird and found its nest, in which there were three young birds. Two escaped; but the tiger caught one, which said

to him, "If you want to eat me you had better take me by my tail and shake me six times, then I shall eat tender." But when he shook him the young bird escaped and flew away.

The last incident recalls the Lushai story of the "Bear's Water Hole," which was included in a paper I read before this Society.<sup>1</sup> In that story the quail persuaded the monkey to lend him a reed instrument which the monkey had made, and then flew away with it. But the monkey seized him by the tail, which came out in his hand. The monkey demanded a ransom of eight mithans. "Oh," said the quail, "if I have to pay eight mithans I'll just go tailless," and away he flew. The fooling of the tiger is also a very common incident in the folktales of these tribes. In fact, the tiger is represented as a very simple person.<sup>2</sup> In a tale told me by a Thado<sup>3</sup> Benglama gets a tiger to help him out of a quagmire by promising to let the tiger eat him when he has got out. He then obtained a moment's grace and began tying himself to a tree, explaining that an awful storm was coming. The tiger, fearing the storm, asked Benglama to tie him to the tree; which was done. Then Benglama departed, leaving a mallet by the tiger with which passers-by might beat him. The wild cat came by, and the tiger pleaded relationship and was released. He tried to catch the wild cat, who, however, played various tricks on him, which ended in his trying to steal Benglama's fowls and getting soused with boiling water; then, being persuaded to roll down a waterfall to cool himself, he died.

Benglama is the Thado name for a character who appears in the folktales of all the tribes in these hills, and also in

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xx. pp. 412, 413.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 319, 343; *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 177, 178; *The Khasis*, p. 165; *The Kacharis*, p. 144, in which, however, the tiger scores in the end.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 208.

the Mikir tales;<sup>1</sup> from a note to the Mikir version, by the late Sir Charles Lyall, it appears that the hero is known on the Kumaon-Tibet border. The names of this hero are various, but he remains practically the same. A person of great strength, as Chhura in Lushai legends, he smooths the earth with mighty blows of his gigantic stone mallet, the head of which I, who speak to you, have seen. Somewhat stupid, having forgotten the name of a high-smelling dish of which he had just partaken, he hunts in the mud for it, and when asked what he has lost, says, "If I knew would I be looking?" "How you do stink of crab stew," says the enquirer. "Ah! that was it," says Chhura. As the Simpleton in a Kachari tale, having acquired the art of snapping his fingers at great cost, and then forgotten it, he also hunts for it in the mud and replies to a chance passer-by in the same way, who snaps his fingers at him to show his contempt, thus giving the simpleton the cue he wanted. Our hero fools the tiger in more than one version of the tale. He also fools his fellow-villagers and the people of other villages, for he is a great traveller; in revenge he is hung in a basket over a deep pool, from which he escapes by enticing some one else to take his place by expatiating on the delights of swinging there. Then, taking the property of his victims, he persuades the people who put him in the basket that he has obtained this wealth from the bottom of the pool; and so rids himself of them, for they rush off and are drowned in their search for riches. This episode is found in Lushai, Sema and Mikir folktales. So far I have not found an equivalent to this delightful character in the Tangkhul tales, but I am sure he is there—he is too delightful a personage to be missing.

I now come to the second part of my subject for to-night, namely, the consideration of certain festivals. Among the

<sup>1</sup> *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, pp. 92, 99, 188, 207; *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 176-180; *The Kacharis*, pp. 106, 107; *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 319-322, 252; *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 273-277; *The Mikirs*, pp. 48-55.

Lushais, who were my first-love among these tribes, there exists a series of progressive feasts by the giving of which a man obtains social consideration in this world and greater comfort in the next. The term applied to one who has completed the series is Thangchhuah, and the outward and visible sign of his having attained this proud position is that he is allowed to wear a special cloth and to have a window in the side of his house. When I moved to Manipur, and got into touch with the medley of tribes round that beautiful valley and with these further north, I found that practically in every one there was a system of feasts very similar to the Thangchhuah series of the Lushais; and the three scholarly and comprehensive books just produced by my friends Messrs. Hutton and Mills on the Angami, Sema and Lhota tribes show that, though the furthest off from the Lushais, the Thangchhuah system and idea exists among them, and, indeed, in some respects the resemblance between their festivals and those of the Lushais is closer than between those of the Lushais and some intervening tribes. Furthermore, Mr. Hutton has drawn attention to the resemblance between the posts which are erected to commemorate these feasts and the carved stones found on the site of the ancient Kachari capital at Dimapur.<sup>1</sup> It has, therefore, occurred to me that it may be worth while to collect together a few facts about these feasts.

Full descriptions of them as practised among the Lushais, Angamis, Semas and Lhotas are, or very shortly will be, available in the monographs of those tribes.<sup>2</sup> I have therefore chosen the Maring series of feasts as an illustration for to-night.

The Marings are a small tribe of some 300 households, living in about twenty small villages in the hills on the

<sup>1</sup> *The Lhota Nagas*, Introduction, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 230-233; *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 227, 228; *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 136-144; *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, pp. 87-91, 141, 145, 170, 186, 207, 222.

eastern border of the Manipur Valley. They are classed linguistically by Sir George Grierson in the Naga-Kuki sub-group, in which he also places the Maram, Mao and Tangkhul languages.

The following description is condensed from an account I received while staying in Phunam, 1913 :

The aspirant for fame has first to notify his intention to perform the feast to the village elders, giving them a drink in his house. Before they drink they pour out a libation at the foot of the main post of the house (Shut-lai, a pure Lushai term) to the household spirit, spoken of sometimes as "The Ancestor." A prayer for the well-being of the intending celebrant is offered by the Pibapa, religious head of the village. Zu, that is rice beer, is then prepared in great quantities. (Without Zu nothing can be done in any of these tribes. You cannot be born, married or buried without the consumption of Zu ; if you get ill the godlet which is the cause of your illness requires Zu, most of which his representative, the medicine man, drinks ; but some he sprinkles around to keep off evil influences.)

The Zu ready, an auspicious day is chosen ; then a *mithan* is killed and the entire village feasts. Eating, drinking by all, dancing and singing by the young going on for two nights, the intervening day being spent in collecting firewood for the subsequent distillation of rice spirit, a more ardent form of Zu, which will keep long. Evil spirits are kept away by eight bamboos with cross pieces of Heimang wood being planted round the house. (Heimang throughout the valley and the adjacent hills is noted as a sure guard against evil spirits.) This terminates the preliminary feast, and the celebrant now sets to work to prepare the real festival. Two clever and handy lasses are installed as members of the household, and devote their whole time to brewing Zu.

In February, *i.e.* at the beginning of the agricultural year, the Parkiyao feast begins ; a *mithan* is killed, and there are

six days and nights of singing, feasting and dancing, and a large log seat is fashioned. This part of the feast is known as Om-na-sa. In May, *i.e.* just before the sowing, proceedings recommence, two *mithans* are killed—one for the celebrant and one for his wife—and there are six days' feasting, and one extra to finish off scraps. Two *forked* posts, called *Halba*, are placed in front of the house to commemorate this feast. Then the two girls, after about six months' work, go home with a pot of Zu and ten chunks of *mithan* flesh as their reward.

It may be several years before the celebrator of Parkiyao has accumulated sufficient wealth to proceed to the next step in social fame, which is Tilthao. The proceedings are very like those of Parkiyao, only they occupy more time and are more costly. From first to last they take about eighteen months. An item of special interest is that three monoliths are brought from the bed of the nearest stream and erected on the road close to the village gate, thus connecting the erection of monoliths, the particular work of the Angami, Maram and Lhota series of feasts, and the erection of forked posts which prevails among the Lushais, Thado, Semas and Tangkhuls. Another point of interest is that one of the Halbu is planted in the name of the celebrant and the other in the name of his wife by the two chief secular heads of the community.

The last feast of the series is called Pahling Tauba (placing of planks). I could not hear of any one living who had performed it. It is even more lengthy and more expensive than the preceding ones. The chief point of interest is that the grandchildren of the celebrant are carried up on the Halbu, the boy on the man's post and the girl on the woman's. Planks painted with white streaks are placed in the front of the house to mark the completion of the feast.

The performer of Parkiyao is allowed to wear a cloth with blue lines: after doing Tilthao he may add cross black

lines ; but no one knew what a performer of Pahling Tauba might wear.

You will see that to earn the highest honours in Maring society is not a very simple matter, and that in the aspirant's passage to fame he affords a good deal of pleasure to the whole of the rest of the community—especially to the lads and lasses ; so that no one will grudge him his striped cloths nor the more comfortable quarters in the Land of the Dead which are said to await him.

Although I have said that similar feasts will be found in every tribe from the south Lushai hills to plains of Assam, it must not be thought that there is a monotonous similarity in the method of carrying them out or in the insignia granted to those who perform them. In one tribe (Rangte) the greatest feast includes the guests forming a ring round the giver's house, while he goes from one to another, greasing their heads with pigs' fat. In some (Kolhen and Aimol), the making of a ceremonial drum from a log of wood forms an important item. But in all there is the idea of entertaining the community, and where there is more than one feast they grow in size and expense.

The idea of the soul of the performer gaining advantages after death is very marked among the Lushais, where it is firmly believed the Pupawla, " this man who died first," sits at a point where the seven roads to the land of the dead meet, and shoots with his big pellet bow at the poor souls as they hurry by ; and those he hits cannot cross the Pial river, but are doomed to stay on this side where existence is troublesome. But at Thangchhuah he may not shoot. This idea is less well marked in other tribes, though present among many of them ; and I gather from Mr. Hutton's and Mr. Mill's accounts it is absent in the tribes they deal with. Mr. Mills in conversation said to me that the Lhotas did not speculate much about the hereafter, but he thought they had a vague feeling that those who achieved greatness in this world would also be great in the next.

In regard to the advantages in this life gained by the giver of these feasts there is more uniformity. With each successive feast the social position of the giver is improved. In some tribes the higher posts in the village polity are reserved for those who have completed the series of feasts, while posts of danger in dealing with the powers of darkness are reserved for old men who have given no feasts—worthless people from whom the community has received and can expect to receive no advantage. Among the Angamis and cognate tribes the performers of these ceremonies seem almost to form a class apart, and the idea crosses my mind whether we may not here have relics of a secret society. Perhaps this idea may gain support from the acts of self-denial, involving abstention from the most popular articles of diet and from the pleasures of the conjugal couch, which are demanded of the aspirant for fame; and in some cases they are continued after its achievement.

In the insignia or distinguishing marks by which the givers of these feasts are known from the common herd there is considerable variety, but the right to wear some special pattern of cloth is almost universal. I have mentioned that a Lushai gains the right to have a window, and it is curious to note that a Garo also has to give a feast before he can do so.<sup>1</sup> The Garos are a Bodo tribe living to the west of the Khasia hills, at least 150 miles in an airline from the area I am dealing with. The Lushais also put up forked posts for each mithan killed, and these forked posts are a very common form of insignia, with which I will deal later. Some special form of roof ornamentation is a very common mark of having gained social pre-eminence. In some cases the main feature of the feast is the rebuilding of the giver's house.

Among many related tribes, of which the Angami is the chief, the erection of monoliths is the most important part of the ceremonies. I am not prepared to discuss the

<sup>1</sup> *The Garos*, p. 37.

question of this practice or its connection with terrace cultivation, but will just point out that many tribes put up monoliths as memorials of the dead, and that in Maram, a village noted for its monoliths, and among the Khoireng, the practice of erecting them in one's life time is giving, or rather has given, way to that of placing them over the grave of one's father. I may also mention that in the Lushai Hills, where children put up stones to their parents, I came across two cases in which persons, mistrusting the filial affection of their heirs, or having no heir, put up stones during their own life time, dispensing and sharing in all the good things that accompany the funeral feast. This possible connection between the feasts we are discussing and funeral rites is further suggested by the shape of Garo memorial posts, which I will show you in a moment.

To return to the Maring ceremony. The first point I want to make is, though the feasts are for the glorification of the individual they are really clan feasts. Notice has to be given to the religious and secular heads of the community. This is the case in most tribes, and in some the intention to give the feast has to be kept secret from all others. Among the Lhotas there is a special prayer, called the "dranda," for the welfare of the community, which is recited at all clan ceremonies; and it is recited during the fourth feast of the series we are discussing. In many tribes the clansmen and the husbands of the women of the givers have special duties assigned them. In others the young people of both sexes, using the special dormitories in the quarter in which the giver of the feast lives, have special duties also. Among the Lushais one of the feasts is in honour of the spirits of the departed of the giver's clan, the effigies of whom are carried about by their descendants with much shouting and laughter.

In the Maring feast there is not much to connect it with the crops, except the lavish expenditure of rice beer; but among other tribes we find a feast called Buh-Ai included

in the series. This is definitely recognized as a thank-offering for a good harvest and certain to result in further bountiful years. Among the Mangvung (a Thado sub-tribe) there is a feast called Lawm-Zu-Nei, *i.e.* Glad Zu Festival. In this a mithan is stabbed through the heart with a stake, after being beaten and then jumped over by the young men. Each house contributes Zu and there is the usual jollification, and to mark the event forked posts are put up in front of the Chief's house. The mithan is generally killed in that way, the skin being first cut with a knife. Mr. Hutton suggests that this is a survival from the time of stone implements, with which it would be difficult to stab deep enough to kill the beast. The beating is certainly a survival, as Mr. Mills records that "Die-Hards" among his Lhotas lament that Government has stopped the beating to death very slowly of the mithan in these feasts. "It was such fun," they say regretfully. The selection of the mithan as the sacrificial beast for these feasts seems to me to mark them out as fertility feasts, for the mithan is everywhere a sign of prosperity and plenty, and the jumping is also associated with fertility rites by Sir James Frazer.

Then the association of the husband and wife—a mithan killed and a post planted for each—and the carrying up of the grandchildren, surely point to fertility rites. Among the Fanai<sup>1</sup> the wife of the giver is carried about on a platform, from whence she throws symbolic gifts for which the young men scramble. The wife also has special duties and granted a special cloth among the Lhotas. The Lhotas in general erect monoliths but occasionally, and in the case of one kindred always, Y-shaped posts are put up; and in Kohima, the main Angami village, in one of these feasts called Lieu, a Y-shaped post and another with a rounded top are taken through the village, the former being dragged by chaste boys and the latter carried by a man. Mr. Hutton

<sup>1</sup> *The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 137.

speaks of this in one place as the spirit of fertility perambulating the village, and in another says that the posts represent the man and wife of the giver of the feast.<sup>1</sup> These Y-shaped posts recur in connection with these feasts all through the hills, in conjunction sometimes with round topped ones as you will see in these slides. The slides showed post erected by Lushais, Chhinchhuan, Mangvung, Vuite, Tangkhul, Kawtlang, Semas, and the monoliths at Dimapur.

You see, then, that we find a chain of folk tales and of festivals extending from Demagri on the south to the Brahmaputra on the north, through a number of tribes which, as you have seen, are very superficially different. There has been no systematic recording of folk tales, nor have the festivals till recently been fully dealt with ; and I feel sure that further systematic enquiry will show that the links of the chain itself extends much further. It may well be found that one end rests in Tibet and the other in the isles of the Pacific.

J. SHAKESPEAR.

<sup>1</sup> *The Lhota Nagas*, xxvi., p. 144 note 1 ; *The Angami Nagas*, p. 232.

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## THE ORIGIN OF MONOTHEISM.

BY A. M. HOCART.

To trace the origin of Monotheism may seem a presumptuous undertaking; but perhaps not so much as may appear at first. Scholars often forget that important results may sometimes be achieved by simple means, and that an encyclopaedia is not necessarily the prelude to far-reaching conclusions. They assume that the preparations must be as great as the subject; yet it requires neither genius nor learning to discover such an important law as that nations rise and fall; only profound and accurate scholarship can discuss such a minor problem as the composition of the *Aeneid*. It may require more abundant or remoter facts to find the Origin of Monotheism, than to trace the phases of a nation's rise and fall, but perhaps we have gathered enough facts of late to make at least a guess at this origin. I will attempt no more than a guess: it is something to have suggested a theory which is simple, which is reasonable, and which does not invoke a single process that cannot be shown actually to occur.

### THE EARLIEST KNOWN RELIGION.

We must take our start from the fact that the earliest known religion is a belief in the divinity of kings. I do not say that it is the most primitive; some will tell you that animism is the most primitive, others that magic is. Let them prove it. So far these are mere surmises, unsupported by any evidence which a historian would accept.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "What is primitive?" *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1920.

Here we are dealing only with facts, and the facts are that our earliest records show us man worshipping gods and their earthly representatives, namely kings. We have no right, in the present state of our knowledge, to assert that the worship of gods preceded that of kings; we do not know. Perhaps there never were any gods without kings, or kings without gods. When we have discovered the origin of divine kingship we shall know, but at present we only know that when history begins there are kings, the representative of gods.

In Egypt "as far back as we can go," says Mr. G. Foucart,<sup>1</sup> "we find ourselves in the presence of a conception of monarchy based solely upon the assimilation of the king to the gods." The king was the embodiment of "that particular soul that came to transform the young prince into a god on the day of his anointing."

Prof. S. Langdon tells us<sup>2</sup> that "before 3,000 B.C. ancient Sumerian city-kings claimed to have been begotten by the gods, and born of the goddesses . . . Although the rulers of that period were not deified, and did not receive adoration and sacrifice as gods, nevertheless their inscriptions show that their subjects believed them to be divinely sent redeemers, and the vicars of the gods." Later they are worshipped, but it is most important to note that in Sumer kings were not deified after death, but "worship of dead kings was forbidden unless they had been deified while living. Evidently some kind of consecration of the living mortal alone gave the possession of immortality. Temples were built everywhere to these kings in Sumer" (p. 167).

In Greece it is also the earliest religion we can trace. The Homeric kings are called divine; this is usually taken to be merely an expression of admiration; but the same was once thought of the titles bestowed upon Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion*, s.v. "Kings."

<sup>2</sup> *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), viii. 1917, p. 166.

kings, and these have now been proved to have a literal meaning. "None of these epithets," says Mr. Foucart of Egyptian kings, "should be regarded (as they too often are) as arising from vanity or grandiloquence, for each corresponds theologically to a very precise definition of a function or force belonging to one or other of the great gods of Egypt." This warning should be remembered in dealing with Greece or any other country. The Homeric king was descended from gods (*diotrephes*), he was a priest, and a good king "caused the black earth to bring forth wheat and barley, the trees to be loaded with fruit, the flocks to multiply, and the sea to yield fish."<sup>1</sup> All these attributes are very symptomatic of divine kingship.<sup>2</sup>

It is a pity that our Hebrew chronicles are coloured by late theology; yet we can find in them traces of divine kingship, or shall we say chieftainship? The Judges were certainly vicars of God or gods; they were not hereditary, but heredity is not a necessary, though a usual feature of this institution; it is quite possible that in its earliest form it was not hereditary. The phrase "And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," which is used of Othniel, Jephthah, and Samson (Judges iii. 10; xi. 29; xiii. 25) ought, I think, to be taken literally. The story of Samson suggests that originally he was thought to have been begotten by the deity, a point left vague by later compilers.

Scholars declare that there is no trace of divine kingship in the Vedic hymns; it does not follow that divine kingship was then unknown. The Vedas are not a treatise on manners and customs, but allusive lyrics, which assume in the hearer a considerable knowledge of the traditions of the wise men, to say nothing of those fundamental institutions which were familiar to the most ignorant. The island of Rotuma, north of Fiji, possesses hymns of a

<sup>1</sup> *Golden Bough*, i. 156; *Odyssey*, xix. 109-114.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* in Fiji and Polynesia. "Chieftainship in the Pacific," *American Anthropologist*.

somewhat similar type. I doubt whether anyone would find in them traces of divine kingship, even with the aid of a prose commentary supplied by the most learned of the natives; yet from other sources I obtained undoubted evidence of divine chiefs. These other sources are lacking for Vedic times. The silence of the Vedas is not, therefore, conclusive. The later evidence is not ambiguous. Indian kings are habitually addressed as *deva*, gods. Mr. Louis H. Gray in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia* does indeed explain this away, contending that this does not imply "any divinity of the king, but merely, that he is as much superior to the lower castes as the gods are superior to mankind." The explanation is forced, and Mr. Gray produces evidence against himself; he quotes Manu, vii. 37, as saying "that when Brahman created the king he took eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of Kubera," and again Manu, vii. 8, "The king is a great deity in human form." In Epic literature "a king or royal seer is called *nara-deva* (god of men); a priest is called *bhūmi-deva*, 'earth god.' It is only as a god that a king may accept a gift. He is Indra, Varuna, Kubera, and Yama incorporate."<sup>1</sup>

The oldest records then show divine kingship full blown, and indeed this religion must have been very ancient to spread over so great a part of the world, from Benin to the South Seas, and beyond them to Peru.

#### SUCCESSIVE INCARNATIONS.

We have seen that kings were worshipped in their lifetime and after their death. In Egypt "as a divine son of Ra, the dead king became a patron-deity, theologically distinct from the ancestor-god, though one of his manifestations" (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia*). Here lies, I think,

<sup>1</sup> Hopkinson, *Epic Mythology (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen philologie)*, p. 64.

the germ from which has grown the idea of one universal god. I will first make a supposition.

Suppose the kings of England are incarnations of Odin ; then King Edward VII. would be Odin incarnate, but temples would be dedicated to him under the name of Edward. King George V. would succeed him as Odin on earth, but would also be worshipped under the name of George ; but since King Edward and King George are both Odin, they must both be the same ; they would also be the same persons as the many kings of England that have reigned since the conquest.

Evidence that this has actually happened is scarce, and I cannot as yet find any that is earlier than Indian Mythology. Yet such evidence serves to show that the process I have described is not altogether fanciful, but actually takes place. The Indian god Vishnu has ten incarnations ; each incarnation is worshipped in its own right, so to speak, but it is not forgotten that it is the same as Vishnu. One of the incarnations is Rama, whom legend represents as king on earth, and I think most scholars will agree that this personage is historical ; but it makes little difference whether he is historical or merely a natural phenomenon. To the Indian he is a king, and to the Indian mind it is, therefore, conceivable that a king may be the same as a god. Another of Vishnu's incarnations is Krishna, also a man on earth. Rama is Vishnu, and Krishna is Vishnu ; therefore Rama and Krishna are one. The Indian has drawn this conclusion, for we have a god called Rama-Krishna, just as there is a Krishna-Vishnu.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hopkinson, *Epic Mythology*, p. 3. Here perhaps we have the key to a curious feature of Indian religion. Already in the Vedas gods are frequently coupled and worshipped in pairs, thus Mitra-Varuna, Indra-Brihaspati, Agni-Soma. Possibly gods so coupled are incarnations of the same god, or one is the incarnation of the other. If this explanation is right the number of primary gods in the Indian pantheon must be very small ; most of them are secondary gods, that is incarnations of the primary ones.

Another incarnation of Vishnu is Narasinha, the Man-Lion. Now Narsing was a common name for kings in Southern India, and there also the Man-Lion is a favourite motive in architecture. There were Lion-dynasties in Orissa and in Ceylon; the Ceylon kings were descended from a prince with a lion's hands and feet, the son of a lion and a princess. It is natural then to conclude that Narasinha was a king or dynasty in whom Vishnu was incarnated.

#### A MODERN INSTANCE.

The process can be observed in India at the present day. At Bodh-Gaya you may see a row of present-day tombs erected over the remains of ascetics. I owe the following details to Mr. Sivadas Bhattacharya. When an ascetic dies "his body is buried in the sitting posture, cross legged, with the hands on his lap, just as a man sits in meditation . . . . On the top of the grave a *lingam* of Siva is fixed. The idea is that *Sannyasi* (ascetic) has not died, but has become one with the universal deity Siva (or Parambraham) . . . These *lingams*, especially those on the graves of the *Mahants* (Abbots) and influential men are daily worshipped by the Mahant's man in the same way as the god Siva is worshipped . . . No other sort of offerings are made in the temples except those required for the worship of Siva . . . The *mantras* uttered are the same as those used for Siva worship."

#### THE GERM OF MONOTHEISM.

This custom, I would suggest, is the germ of monotheism. This is how it may have first dawned on man that many gods were the manifestations of one. Monotheism is usually taken for granted and no explanation is ever offered for its first appearance; it is supposed to be a natural growth, sufficiently explained by that magic word evolution; yet, when we come to consider it, there is no

obvious reason why there should be one god rather than many; once man has come to believe in gods, why should he ever cut down their number to one? In some ways it is easier to believe in many than in one, it spares us endless theological problems, and it makes religion more personal. Such an intelligent people as the Greeks seem to have been well content to have many gods.

The theory I have outlined at all events explains how the oneness of God first occurred to men. It is based on a custom which can be traced as far back as early Egypt and Sumer, the custom of worshipping kings in their own name.

#### MONOTHEISM BY CONQUEST.

The idea once vaguely conceived was doubtless confirmed and expanded by other causes, conquest being one of them.

Let us return to our supposition that the kings of England are incarnations of Odin. They conquer India, and assume the title of Emperor of India, but in taking the title he is taking far more than the mere name; he is assuming the divine attributes that go with the name. He becomes, let us suppose, Indra. King George then is Odin, he is also Indra; therefore, Odin and Indra are the same.

Prof. Sethe and Dr. A. M. Blackman both recognise that conquest may have helped to fuse gods together, though they conceive the process somewhat differently from what I have outlined. "Owing to the political predominance gained by Buto over Heliopolis in the predynastic age, Horus, originally the god of Buto, came to be identified with the Sun-god, the local god " of Heliopolis. Since the king was regarded as the embodiment of Horus, he was also regarded as the embodiment of the Sun-god."<sup>1</sup> The idea seems to be that the gods were first identified with one another; the king being the

<sup>1</sup> Blackman, "Sacramental ideas and usages in Ancient Egypt" (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, March 1918, p. 60).

incarnation of one, naturally became also the incarnation of the other. It is by no means clear, however, why the political predominance of one city over another should cause their gods to become one. May I suggest another explanation? It may be contrary to the evidence at the disposal of scholars, but then my suggestion will perhaps have brought forth this evidence, and thus definitely settled in what way conquest leads to fusion of gods. In the meantime this fusion may be accounted for mechanically thus: The Horus-King of Buto defeats the Sun-King of Heliopolis, and takes away his dignities; but those dignities are merely the outward sign of his divinity. He takes over the attributes of the Sun-god because he has become the representative of the Sun-god. Henceforth he is Horus, and he is the Sun; therefore the Sun and Horus are one.

I am emboldened to make this suggestion, ignorant as I am of the facts, by my knowledge of Fijian usage. Divine Chieftainship, somewhat obscured, has extended to Fiji, and therefore Fijian history may be consulted with advantage. We there find that titles are not made or assumed at will. With us any man who can unify Italy can proclaim himself King of Italy; the Yugo-Slavs may any day set up a King of Yugo-Slavia; but Fijian titles are in the gift of certain families, who alone can perform the rite of installation. Thus the people of Levuka bestow the title "Lord of Levuka" upon a chief who is not one of their own people, but one of the tribe of Mban which coming down from the hills first subdued them, and finally expelled them; they still go one hundred and fifty miles by sea to instal every new chief of Mban. That chief also receives the title of "Root of War," or possibly "God of War," from his own tribe.<sup>1</sup> He therefore combines two divine person-

<sup>1</sup> *Vunivalu*, *vu* means root, but it also means god. This translation would enable us to explain the title *Vunindovu* given to the teacher of dances and secret ceremonies: he is the god of the bamboo; we know that these teachers are actually possessed by spirits.

alities in himself, not because the two gods have become identified with one another, but because his own people have raised him to one god-head, and the people of Levuka to another. It is unfortunate, however, that in Fiji the theory of divine kingship has so decayed that it has to be reconstituted largely by inference. We cannot, therefore, follow these complications in their consequences. Indeed, South Sea Islanders, and probably savages generally, are unsatisfactory witnesses in this respect, for not having a class devoted to intellectual pursuits they never develop extensive systems of thought as the Europeans have done or the Asiatics; they supply us with hints, but seldom give us the theory. In Europe and Asia too, political unity has been carried out with a thoroughness unknown to savages; petty states have been absorbed into mighty kingdoms, and it is easy to see how, under those conditions, the idea of one supreme god, of whom all others are but aspects, must have been strongly promoted by the existence of one supreme king uniting in himself the divine attributes of all the petty kings he has displaced.

Conquest also acts indirectly in that it removes the king and rulers further from the people, and weakens the personal tie; it accustoms people to give allegiance to principles rather than to men; it turns their devotion to abstractions rather than to concrete things. The clansman fights for his chief, but the modern British fight for freedom or the Empire. In the formula "for King and Country," the king is a mere survival, the country is the reality.

#### MONOTHEISTIC ENTHUSIASM.

We have seen how the germ of monotheism lies in the doctrine of divine kingship, and how conquest helps it to develop. In the end it comes to pass that everybody is everybody else, personalities and attributes are multiplied beyond reason, for king after king is added to the list. There is a limit to man's memory and to their powers of

attention. A multitude of facts is a burden to the mind, and a multitude of interests is a worry. When these grow too numerous men seek to reduce them, and if they delay too long, they do so violently and with enthusiasm, sweeping away suddenly the prolonged tyranny of accumulated tradition. Such a movement was the French Revolution, which made a fetish of simplicity and system, because both had been unduly neglected in the past. It is difficult to serve more than a limited number of gods, it is especially difficult when the attributes of those gods are hopelessly mixed, when every god is the same as every other. It is only necessary to read a treatise on the religion of the Vedas to realize how dull and annoying a religion may become when the personalities of the various gods cease to be clearly distinguished. Some minds are content with confusion, but others rebel against it and embrace with enthusiasm any movement that would sweep it away.

It is difficult, however, to understand the tremendous success of monotheism if we look upon it merely as an abstract doctrine; as such it might stir up strife among philosophers, and those who quarrel about mere ideas; but the mass of mankind has too much sense for that, and they would not take all the trouble they have taken to assert that there is only one God, and no more, if behind that dogma there was not a tendency, a new spirit, which was worth fighting for. Men at first sight do look hopelessly foolish killing and getting killed for the sake of pure abstractions; but when we look at it closely we find that they are not so much foolish as unable to express themselves, and therefore unable to do justice to their cause. They feel a great deal which they cannot put into a few clear words, yet they require a few clear words as a war cry to rally their forces; so we hear a great deal in history about the shibboleths of dogma and ritual that distinguish parties, and very little about the aspirations that impel them. But we must judge the past by the present. If we

look at the sects of our own time we find that the distinction between them is deeper than points of dogma or ritual. You can almost tell what sect a man belongs to by his general outlook on life, his politics, his tastes, his speech, and even his morality. But a man can scarcely support one fellow man, and fight another in the name of social standing, or manners, or artistic tendencies, so he takes points of dogma, as concrete symbols of elusive traditions and feelings. If we judge past ages by our own we may feel sure that even the quarrel over *homoiousios* and *homoousios* involved much more than an iota.<sup>1</sup>

We might be quite sure then that the struggle between monotheism and polytheism was more than a philosophic disputation, even if our evidence did not furnish abundant hints to the contrary. It is significant that the monotheistic party in Israel was the party of union, while the polytheistic party was for secession. "Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: if this people go up to offer sacrifices in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of the people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam, King of Judah" (I. Kings xii. 26). The polytheists were for self-determination, the Monotheists for union. The attributes of Buddha are closely copied from those of a universal monarch; in fact tradition declares that he had the option between becoming a supreme Buddha and a universal emperor, but he preferred to be a spiritual Lord of the world. The expansion of his creed was favoured by the greatest empire of ancient India. The Christian Church has a similar conception of its founder:

" And Kings sat still with awful eye,  
As if they surely knew their sovereign lord was nigh."

He was born at the very time when the most powerful empire of the ancient world had been consolidated, and

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ii., p. 352 (Bury).

that empire spread the new creed. In the break up of the Middle Ages the Church still kept alive the ideal of a Universal Empire. It is significant that the teaching of Mohammed resulted in the foundation of a great empire. The idea of a Universal King and that of a Universal God go hand in hand. This is a survival of very early days. Kings at first were gods; the two terms were interchangeable; they are no longer so now, but the ancient bond still persists.

Religion and politics are inseparable; it is vain to try and divorce them; originally one, they have parted, but not completely; their common origin still operates on men's minds. Monarchists must necessarily uphold the Church, and ardent believers in one God will help to build up large nations. The belief in a Supreme God or in a Single God is no mere philosophical speculation; it is a great practical idea. But like many other conceptions, it took some discovering. Men did not search for it at first, any more than they searched for the art of writing, they were led to it by accident almost; it was a long time before they realised where they were being led to; some have never yet realised. The doctrine of gods and their incarnations produced a group of gods who were each but aspects of the same god; thence they came to the belief that all gods were in reality but manifestations of one. Some never got any further, but the bolder nations took the step of simplifying the Universe by sweeping away the multitude of gods that had become useless by their very numbers. Monotheism then became a definite article of faith to be fought for, and to establish in all the world.

A. M. HOCART.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### PUTTING OUT THE BROOM.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. p. 34 *et seqq.*)

MR. ROSE, in his article on *Asinus in Tegulis* in the last number of *Folk-Lore*, refers to "the curious custom reported from Great Bookham, Surrey, of putting a broom up the chimney with its twigs protruding during the absence of the housewife." This practice existed in Clitheroe, Lancashire. The following is extracted from some articles I contributed to a local paper over thirty years ago on Clitheroe Folk-Lore:—

"It was at one time the practice (though I have never seen it done) for a man, whose wife is away from home, to stick the besom out of the window, or from the top of the chimney, in order to intimate to his friends that he is temporarily free from restraint, and that he will be free to enjoy himself. This has given rise to the saying 'When you are gone we will put the besom out and have rejoicings,' which is as much as to say, 'We shall be glad to be rid of you.' Sometimes when a man's wife is away from home, his friends, for a joke, will tie a red rag to a broom, and climb up and fix it in his chimney. I think this is more often done when the wife has deserted her husband, and it is a species of poking fun at him." The late Mr. R. C. Pilling, who spent the early part of his life in Clitheroe, corroborated this account.

There is an allusion to putting out the broom (but applied to the absence of the master of the house) in a letter dated 4th February, 1810, from Revd. Thomas Wilson, B.D., Incumbent of Clitheroe and Head Master of the Free Grammar School there, to Samuel Staniforth, Esq., of Liverpool (see Wilson's

*Miscellanies*, Chetham Society, vol. xlv. p. 203), which is as follows :—

“ I forgot to tell you that as the broom was out in Winckley Street [Preston] on account of our friend Cross’s absence, Mrs. Mary Assheton and Miss Dale were busy making preparations for a ball, which they intended to give on Monday the 29th January before his return.”

A Valentine, which may be sixty years old, now in my possession, also contains a reference to this custom.

In later days when the original significance, whatever it was, originally attached to the broom was forgotten practical jokers sometimes used other objects. One day in 1886, I saw the effigy of a woman fixed in the chimney of a house in Wilkin Street, Clitheroe. I enquired, and found it was the residence of a man whose wife had run away from him, and that some of his waggish neighbours had chosen this way of emphasising his misfortune.

The following appeared in the *Clitheroe Times* in 1891 :—

“ How is it that a husband whose wife is taking a holiday can enjoy himself the better for a clothesprop being stuck in his chimney, I find it difficult to comprehend. The problem is not simplified when that clothesprop has a barrel attached midway. And yet this was the decoration upon one of the houses, and it doubtless added considerably to the picturesque beauty of the view from neighbouring garret windows.”

I think it is open to question whether putting the broom in the chimney was due to any superstitious ideas connected either with the chimney or the roof. My article, before alluded to, which was compiled from information obtained from old Clitheroe folks, gives a window as an alternative to the chimney, and where the chimney was adopted it was probably because it was a conspicuous position and afforded a convenient place in which to fix a broom. I suggest comparison should be made with the practice of attaching a broom to the mast heads of ships or other vessels to signify they are for sale.

In Brand’s *Popular Antiquities* (ed. 1849, ii. 351 *seqq.*) reference is made to an ancient custom of putting up boughs upon anything as an indication that it was to be sold, and the author

adds that this, "if I do not much mistake, is also the reason why an old besom (which is a sort of *dried bush*) is put up at the top-mast head of a ship or boat when she is to be sold." If we are to regard the broom as a substitute for a bush, then putting it out may perhaps be connected with the Tavern Keepers' bush, which, originally intended to indicate that ale was sold in his house, was no doubt associated in the public mind with the jovial entertainment to be found within.

WM. SELF. WEEKS.

Westwood, Clitheroe.

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#### THE EASTER ISLAND FIGURES.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxi. p. 294 *et seqq.* ; vol. xxxii. p. 70 *et seqq.*)

THE letters of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers and Mr. Henry Balfour on the nature of the head-dresses of the stone statues of Easter Island are of great interest, and raise questions of importance far beyond the bounds of Easter Island and the Solomons. Mr. Balfour asks whether cylindrical hats, such as Dr. Rivers suggests as the originals of the stone cylinders of Easter Island, have ever been recorded as being worn in the Pacific. I do not know whether they have been recorded in the Solomons, but they were certainly in use in New Caledonia, as is shown by Hodge's drawing, now displayed at Greenwich Hospital, of a man from that island wearing such a head-dress. This portrait is reproduced and is easily accessible in the official account of Cook's second voyage, and also in George Forster's account. Though such a head-dress has never been recorded as worn by the Maoris, it occurs occasionally on *tekoteko*, ancestral figures carved in wood and placed on the gables of village store-houses. An excellent example is figured in *Dominion Museum Bulletin* 1 (1905), Fig. W., where it is described by the late Augustus Hamilton as follows: "The central specimen is of special interest as it wears the curious high cap or ornament frequently seen in carvings in this district [Rotorua], recalling the crowns or caps of the Easter Island stone figures." It is vertical behind, but in front it slopes out slightly in the lower part a little above

the face. It thus provides an interesting, and in some respects a remarkably close, parallel to the Easter Island cylinders, and supports Dr. Rivers' explanation rather than those advanced by Mr. Balfour and Sir Everard im Thurn.

The researches of Mr. Balfour have shown that the most important comparative material for the elucidation of Easter Island problems is probably to be gathered in the Solomon group. But the case just quoted indicates that the New Zealand area also yields important comparative material. The most striking example is undoubtedly the Moriori rendering of the human figure in the round. So close is the resemblance that the only known Moriori example was identified by one of the most experienced of British ethnologists as Easter Island work. The close similarity of Easter Island and Moriori *mata* has been pointed out by several observers. The *manaia*, or bird-headed man, of Maori carving is also closely related to the bird-headed man of Easter Island and the Solomons.

Of great interest in this connection is the carving recently discovered in the Kaitaia swamp and now on exhibition in the Auckland Museum. A drawing is published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, No. 4, 1921. Though made of *totara*, a native New Zealand timber, the carving differs in important respects from any known Maori work. It has a central human figure (male) and two outward-facing terminal figures of reptilian appearance. Between the central figure and each of the terminals is a series of large chevrons, splendidly carved in open work. This arrangement of a central figure with two outward-facing monster terminals, and spaces filled with open work decoration, is that followed in the simplest form of Maori lintel, and it is on this ground that the Kaitaia carving has been classified by most students as a lintel; indeed, it has usually been referred to in the press as "the Awanui lintel." That such a classification has some justification will be admitted by anyone who studies the simplest type of Maori lintel, as exemplified by, for example, the ancient specimen at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, or the beautiful example at the Horniman Museum. In each of these there is a central human figure, separated on either hand by a piece of

open-work decoration from an outward facing terminal in the form of a bird-headed man. On the assumption that the Kaitaia carving was a doorway lintel Major Waite suggested (*J.P.S.*, vol. xxx. p. 426) that the two reptilian terminals might be equated with the wooden lizards, *moko miro*, of Easter Island, two of which, as Mrs. Scoresby Routledge has shown, were placed one on either side of the doorway in the ritual of opening a new house. If considered of good omen at the entrance, might not the pair have been placed permanently above it, at either end of the lintel? When Major Waite made this suggestion it was not known that the Kaitaia carving differed from all recorded Maori lintels in one very important respect, namely, that it was carved behind as well as in front. All known Maori lintels are designed to fit flat against a wall, and so the inner side is uncarved. It follows, therefore, either that the Kaitaia carving is not a lintel, or else that it was used in conjunction with a type of architecture never before recorded in New Zealand. But its resemblance to the genus lintel is so strong that I feel bound to suppose that it is one, and that the house it adorned was entered by a low porch or passage, above the doorway of which the lintel was set, visible from before and behind. Such a type of entrance was commonly used in the houses of Easter Island. This suggestion of Easter Island affinities in the ancient architecture of New Zealand receives support from the fact, also unpublished when Major Waite made his suggestion, that the central human figure has a well-marked vertical column. This feature has never been before recorded in Maori carvings, but, as all students are aware, it is a notable characteristic of one type of Easter Island wooden figure.

Mr. T. F. Cheeseman has pointed out that the decorative details of the Kaitaia carving ally it to a series of bone pendants of intricate design, examples of which have been found in different parts of New Zealand. Thus it is not to be classed as an isolated piece.

The facts set out above give some faint indication of the intricacy of cultural and racial problems in the Pacific. They also serve to warn the student how far afield the investigation of a minor aspect of culture on a tiny, isolated island may carry

him. An essential preliminary to any general treatment of cultural problems in Polynesia is the compilation of a series of monographs, each dealing with the culture of a group. Students have long awaited such a monograph on the material culture of Fiji from the pen of Baron Anatole von Hügel, of Cambridge, and one on the Marquesas from Prof. von den Steinen, of Berlin. It is greatly to be hoped that a competent ethnologist will undertake the same task for Easter Island. Until this is done discussion will often be mere beating of the air. But the problem raised by Mr. Balfour and Dr. Rivers is a fascinating one, and the discussion thus far has been by no means fruitless.

H. D. SKINNER.

Otago University Museum,  
Dunedin, N.Z.

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A CHILDREN'S GAME AND THE LYKE WAKE.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxiii. p. 121.)

AT the above reference, under the title "A Children's Game and the Lyke Wake," an article was contributed by Mary A. Berkeley, and as I believe I have the complete poem, I am forwarding it. When we were children we had a maid named Mary Shea whose stock of folk-songs was endless, and out of the list, which embraced "Me Parents Reared Me Tenderly," "The Cock-a-Doodle-Do," "The Raffle," "The Croppy Boy," "The Lowlands Low," and any other songs of similar nature, we children always gave preference to the "Skin and Bone" song, as Mary termed it. The "Cuckoo" was another favourite; but since I have grown up, I have often wondered where the song earned its title, as seemingly the cuckoo arrives merely in the second verse, and is never heard of again

MARGUERITE KERR.

60 Putnam Street,  
East Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

There was an old woman,  
All skin and bone,  
Whose like in England  
N'er was known.

She went to church  
 All for to pray—  
 This happened on  
 A Sabbath Day.

So she walked up  
 And down the aisle,  
 To rest her poor  
 Old bones a while.

And when she stopped  
 At her pew door,  
 She spied a corpse  
 Lying on the floor.

And from his mouth  
 Out to his chin  
 The worms kept crawling  
 Out and in.

The woman to the parson said :  
 " Shall I be so, when I am dead ? "

The parson to the woman said :

(Here the one reciting, or singing as it might be called, has a partner turn out the lights, and then he gives utterance to a shriek.)

#### THE CUCKOO.

Ez I was out walking,  
 Beside a green bush  
 I saw two birds singing—  
 A blackbird and thrush.  
 I asked them what made 'em  
 So happy and gay,  
 And, the answer they made me :  
 " *We are single and free.*"

O, the cuckoo is a fine bird,  
He fares as he flies :  
He brings us good tidings  
And tells us no lies.  
He feeds on small birds' eggs  
His voice to make clear,  
And he never cries " Cuckoo "   
Until Summer draws near.

O, meeting is pleasure  
And parting is grief,  
And an inconstant lover  
Is worse than a thief ;  
For a thief may but rob you  
And take what you have,  
But an inconstant lover'll  
Send you to your grave.

O, the grave may but rot you  
And consume you to dust,  
But an inconstant lover  
No female will trust.  
They court and dissemble,  
Fair maids to deceive,  
There is scarce one in twenty  
That you can believe.

O, mating, O, mating,  
I, mating go I—  
To meet my love Johnnie  
I'll be there bye and bye ;  
To meet my loved Johnnie  
'Tis pleasure you see :  
I could sit and talk with him  
From morning till eve.

He thinks that I'll dress in  
My willow so green ;  
But he's muchly mistaken,  
For I'll dress like some queen :

I'll dress in my satin  
 As bright as the bee—  
*But*, I'm resolved in my mind  
 To live *single and free*.

#### THE ORIGIN OF ST. VALENTINE'S DAY.

THE scholarly article on Valentinianism in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 12, omits one point in the practices of that Gnostic school which may be of importance for folklore. The gap is supplied by Reitzenstein (*Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 22), who writes: "In the usage of a section of the Christian Valentinians, in lieu of the Baptismal rite (it was customary) to don bridal attire (*ein Brautgema ch zu rüsten*), in which the Mystic had to await the descent of the *pneuma*." In the prophet-consecration of the Gnostic Markos, conversely, women went through a ceremony of marriage with the God, whereby they received the spirit of prophecy, *i.e.* the "pneumatic word." Valentinus taught about the middle of the second century A.D. This conception of a mystical union with the Deity as symbolised by bridal attire appears also in the *Acts of St. Thomas*, where the Apostle prays in bridal attire over the newly wedded royal pair; as the garment is fastened Christ is forthwith with them, and in the sexual union with Him both become assured of immortality and the future heavenly marriage.

It may be suggested that some of the customs referred to in my paper on *Customary Restraints on Celibacy* (*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxx. p. 63 ff.) are relics of an old "Valentinian" wedding rite, or that the garb of the priest in the *Acts of St. Thomas* has been adopted as a taunt against celibacy. But, so far, I have failed to find any proof that Valentinianism had any strong footing in the British Isles. It is however certain that some very unorthodox beliefs found a refuge in them. *E.g.* the Adoptionists may have been the heretics attacked by Bede: F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, p. clxxix. It is certain that Valentinianism spread as far west as Gaul.

In the paper referred to there is an error. The war compelled me to write from memory, which deceived me. On p. 63 the "Valerian gens" should be read for "Valentian." The reference is to De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica*, pt. ii. pp. 29-39, where the sacred legends of the Valerii are discussed. Valentia and Valeria appear, however, to be both derived from an old form, Valesia, a Sabine stock: *ib.*, p. 31.

Finally, the Valentinus who founded the Valentinians was clearly not one of the "three or more" saints of that name canonised by the Church of Rome. That there is much uncertainty as to the identity of the saint connected with the customs of St. Valentine's Day is clear from the fact that all these three or more have their festival on the 14th of February.<sup>1</sup> Valentinus the Gnostic never seems to have been canonised in any regular sense, but that would hardly have prevented a rite associated with his teaching from being transferred to the day of a St. Valentine by the folk.

H. A. ROSE.

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#### WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND.

WHEN reading that most remarkable work *Furgen* by James Branch Cabell, published by the Bodley Head, in 1921, I was interested to observe that the scene of the author's only reference to witchcraft was laid at Morven. Any student of Witchcraft in Aberdeenshire will recollect that the hot-bed of the cult inland was in such places as Blelac, Logie-Coldstone, and Tarland. Blelac lies on the slope of Morven Hill, Coldstone and Tarland lie just to the east of it. One cannot help speculating as to whether the choice of the name was purely arbitrary and accidental, or whether this minor point was an example of the erudition of the author even more startling than those contained in the trenchant allegories round which his story is formed.

ALEX. KEILLER.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, xv. p. 254.

## TWO CORICIAN LEGENDS.

A CURIOUS legend attaches itself to a hollow rock by the shore of Lac Nino in Corsica. Tradition states that the Devil was excavating the Corsican valleys. St. Martin rallied him on his crooked ways in general, and his furrows in particular. In his rage the Devil thrashed the oxen, causing them to bolt. Mad with passion, he then threw a rock into the air, which, piercing the mountain, fell on to the shore beneath. This is now pointed out to the traveller and sight-seer as the work of the Evil One.

On the road to Bastia in Corsica there exists a rude but wonderful bridge of rock fashioned by Nature's own handiwork. This bridge has originated a curious legend. It is said that one wintry night a horseman galloped furiously up to the ford; but in the wild and biting winds the water lashed too high. He was quite unable to cross. It was necessary for him to hasten, for his brother was to be executed in the morning and he was on his way to prove his brother's innocence. He sat down by the river wondering what course to take, when, to his intense astonishment, a beautiful woman appeared before him, and he confided his troubles to her. Just as she promised to find a way to help the horseman, Satan suddenly appeared, and entering into the compact he struck a bargain with the woman. Between them it was agreed that if the Devil completed a bridge across the river before the cock crew he was to possess her soul. All in a moment myriads of little goblins appearing from nowhere swarmed about, hewing, carrying, and placing the stones to form the bridge. Before daybreak the work was completed, and just as the horseman was preparing to resume his journey the Devil suddenly appeared again, demanding the fulfilment of the compact. The woman replied that the builder should sign his name to his work before he calls it finished. Satan turned to do so; and whilst busily employed in carving his name on the bridge, the woman flew to the nearest fowl-roost, and clutching the first rooster she could find, gave it such a shaking that it and the whole brood heralded the approach of day even before the dawn: and thus the Devil was worsted.

E. ADAMS.

THE USE OF THE BOW AMONG THE NAGA TRIBES OF ASSAM.

(The following article has been kindly sent by Sir James Fraser.)

I AM taking the liberty of writing to you with regard to the foot-note (No. 3) on page 409 of the third volume of your *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, as it seemed possible that you might like to have further information on the point.

First of all as to the use of the bow by Naga tribes. The cross-bow is used by a number of tribes towards the north and east, who are in touch with the Singphos or with villages who are in trade communication with them. Even some of the Semas have acquired the use of the cross-bow from neighbours further east, but use a mere wooden quarrel without the usual iron head. The Lhotas are said to have known the use of the cross-bow formerly, and may have obtained it from that element of the tribe which came from the north from across the Brahmaputra, as everything points to the cross-bow's being a Singpho weapon rather than a genuine Naga one.

The simple bow is not found anywhere that I know of among Nagas, except as a toy used by Sema children. It is, however, the natural weapon of the Kuki, who before the introduction of guns used the bow as his normal weapon of offence, as a Naga used, and does use, the throwing spear. I have no acquaintance with the Marrings, whom Hodson reports to use the bow, but I think I am right in saying that none of the tribes to the north or west of the Manipur State use the bow at all, except the Thado Kukis, who are scattered among the Naga tribes all over the State, and perhaps the old Kuki tribes (Aimol, Chiru, etc.). Even among the Thados the bow has almost died out as a serious weapon, owing to the large number of guns which they possessed. After they had been deprived of their guns during the recent Kuki rising they were at the mercy of their Naga enemies, who all carried spears.

The bullet-bow is found in the various "Kacha Naga" tribes, and among the southern Angamis, though I have never seen it north of the Angami country, and I do not think that it is to be found even throughout that tribe. It is, I think, again

a Kuki weapon, and I fancy that it has been borrowed by the Angami from the Kuki.

Between the bow and bullet-bow of the Kukis and the cross-bow of the Singphos there seems to be a marked gap in which no bow is in use at all. Generally speaking, I should say that the bow was not a weapon naturally resorted to by Nagas, who prefer the throwing spear, and was unknown to or unused by a very large proportion of them.

As regards arrow poisons, the Chang, Kalyo-kengyu and some Konyak tribes are acquainted with a poison which is perhaps aconite, though this could not be definitely ascertained by the Indian Museum people to whom I sent some, and their tests seemed rather to point to the contrary. All that reaches the administered tribes comes from the east and is adulterated with gum by each village that passes it on. The accounts of the plant from which it is obtained were all therefore second-hand. It is described as a sort of Upas tree, which can only be approached down wind and smoking a pipe and after the observance of a strict genna, otherwise the poison hunter would be destroyed entirely by the noisome exhalations of the tree, near which animals and vegetables alike cannot remain and live. The poison is believed to be made from the sap. Right at the other end of the district in the south a similar poison was known to the Thados, and during the late Kuki rising I collected a number of poisoned arrows, but they (and the poison on them) were all two or three generations old, and no one could say what the poison was of where it came from, and my Kukis all agreed that it could no longer be obtained.

It might be worth mentioning that the Naga tribes do not resort to poison ordeals, but, nevertheless, I struck only the other day a belief among Semas that if a man was given poison he would recover all right if he could vomit; if not he must ultimately die, though it might not be for months or even years, and though he might experience little or no inconvenience in the meantime.

J. H. HUTTON.

Kohima, Naga Hills,  
Assam.

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## FOLK-LORE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.

*(Folk-Lore, vol. xxxiii. p. 201 et seqq.)*

## II.

(1) Two shepherd lads at Talisker occupied the same bed, and one was much concerned to see how thin and wasted his companion was becoming. By a great effort he kept awake at night, and, while pretending to be asleep, he was able to observe what took place. To his horror, he saw the mistress of the house come in, wave a halter over his sleeping companion's head, and say some magic words. He was quite unable to keep awake longer, and so saw no more. The next night, however, he offered to take his companion's place at the front of the bed. The mistress once more came in, treated him as she had treated his friend, and rode away, using him as a horse. During her journey she stopped at an inn. There he removed the halter, and, as he was evidently on the roof, for the riding was through the air, he climbed down till he was over the door. As the woman came out of the inn, he threw the halter over her, saying the magical words, and she was transformed into a horse. Then he turned the tables on her, rode her to a smithy, where he caused her to be shod. The next day the mistress of the farm pled illness, and was unable to leave her bed; but the strange discovery that she wore horses' shoes was soon made, and this led to the disclosure of her misdeeds.

(2) Two women, living at Sconser, were one night asked by a stranger coming to their door if they would give her a bed. When asked where she would like to sleep, she answered, looking to the different corners of the house, that she feared to sleep anywhere but between the two sisters. In the middle of the night the sister sleeping on the outside of the bed felt something wet, and by the light of the peat fire she saw it was blood. That something had happened to her sister she was now aware, and, getting up, she fled from the house and managed to reach running water. As she did so the cock crew, and the stranger, now transformed into a water horse, was unable to follow, and she was saved.

In a Bracadale version there were twelve sisters. The water horse was heard to say, as it went away, "Sad, sad water, I cannot cross you."

(3) A girl and young man were sweethearts. He one day lay down and asked the girl to arrange his hair. While doing so she saw sand in it, and by this token knew him for a water horse. He fell asleep with his head on her knee, and, in order to get away quietly, she took out her scissors and cut round her dress so as to leave a piece still under his head. Slipping away, she took out her crucifix, and rubbing with it the road he would have to take in following her, effectually barred him from doing so, and thus made her escape.

(4) A family of Buchanans had a water horse which they had broken in and used for ploughing. One night the mistress of the house was making the porridge for supper. The doors are never locked and seldom shut, so strangers enter as they please. On this occasion a man walked in. By various signs she knew him to be no ordinary man. I suppose familiarity with the species had made her able to recognise a water horse when she saw one. The stranger asked the woman her name. In all cases the revelation of one's name is followed by bad consequences, as magical uses can be made of it. The woman knew this, and was equal to the occasion. "Myself," she replied. She then threw the porridge on him. In pain from the scald he rushed out, and at the door was met by what we may call the tame water horse, who asked him what was wrong. "I am burned, tell the woman with the wee pot of porridge," was the reply. "Who burned you?" again asked the plough horse. "Myself."

In connection with these water horse stories, I may say that one of the lochs, famous for loch trout, which lie under the shadow of the Storr Rock, some nine miles from Portree, is said to be the haunt of a water horse.

(5) A woman, alone in a summer shieling, was much disturbed by the noise of footsteps outside. She went out to see what it was, and found it was a sea horse trampling round. The creature tried to seize her, but she escaped by drawing a magic circle. Inside this she drew a Cross and stood on it. By means

of the sacred sign and the magic circle she was saved from the creature.

(6) A great many deaths took place at a burn near Kingsburgh called the Red Burn. A herd-boy volunteered to find out the cause. A woman in the neighbourhood was suspected, and the boy went to this woman's house, told her his purpose, and showed her money which he was carrying. She asked him if he was not afraid, and he said no, for he would get help from his hip. There is some play upon words here, for the woman understood him to mean the hill Cruachan which overlooks Portree, several miles from Kingsburgh. She therefore said it would be long before help came from there. He, however, meant a short spear or dagger which he wore concealed on his hip. Returning from the errand, which was his ostensible purpose in going to the house, he was met by a pig or wild boar. He stabbed it, but could not withdraw his weapon. The pig was now transformed into the form of the woman on whom he had just been calling, and he followed her home. Arrived there, her husband bade the boy let her die. (Is this another instance of allowing a witch to bleed to death?). The boy was richly rewarded and the tragedies ceased.

Both here and in a former witch story the various deaths took place at a burn. Both these burns are in the same neighbourhood.

(7) There was once a man in the island of Raasay (the island which almost landlocks Portree Bay), and in the course of his fishing operations he caught a mermaid or, as my informant calls it, a sea-maid. Taking her home, he took off her "the long thing that was on her legs like a fish," and when this was removed she became in appearance like other women. A few years afterwards a young man in Raasay married her and they lived happily, with a numerous brood of children. One day, one of the children came to its mother, saying, "What a nice thing that is that father has got in the barn." "Bring it in, dear," said the mother, "till I will see it." The children brought it in, and the mother, immediately putting it on her feet, went away and was never seen again. Whether this fish's tail was given by her captor to her husband as a kind of dowry, my informant does not say.

Mrs. Mackinnon, an old woman living in the township of Woodend, said that all fair-haired people are the descendants of mermaids. The above story related to people who lived in Mrs. Mackinnon's father's lifetime.

#### SUPERNATURAL STORIES.

(1) A girl at Skeabost was sent to the well for water. On her way she saw a shape, which she could not describe, on a high hill. Suddenly, as she watched it, she was aware that it had disappeared from the spot and at the same moment she found it at her side. It spoke to her, but my informant had forgotten what it said. At all events, she was terrified, and, dropping her pail, she fled. But she had time to look round, and she saw the shape go into one of the ancient tombs on Skeabost island, a small islet in Skeabost River where is a very old burying ground with ancient sculptured tombs.

(2) A man at Braes lost his wife to whom he had been much attached. She left behind her several young children. The widower mourned her sincerely and devoted himself to his children. But this soon wore away, and he set out to court another woman, leaving the helpless children to do for themselves as best they could. In spite of his neglect, however, the children seemed to thrive; and this, he knew, was not the work of neighbours, for his house was a lonely one. One day, coming in from his courting, he asked the children carelessly if they had been lonely. No, he was told, they were not lonely, for, as soon as he went away, their mother came and looked after them. He was struck to the heart on hearing this, gave up his flirtations, and devoted himself ever after to his family.

(3) The lady of the mansion of Scorybreck, the wife of Nicolson, who then lived there, died and left her husband very lonely. He, however, got a friend to come and stay awhile. One night the two men were sitting alone and a knock came to the door, and the friend answered it. A woman stood on the threshold, and on being asked her business said she wished to see the laird. The friend, unwilling to disturb the mourner, demanded who she was. "I am his dead wife," was her reply. Astonished and alarmed the friend went back to the laird, and told his

story. The widower, coming out, and apparently not recognising his wife in the strange visitor, asked what token she could give. She then told him of a secret hoard, of which no one knew but herself, and directed him where to look for it. She also told him that a number of women, who had helped her in spinning and "waulking" the cloth, were still unpaid. She very clearly told the names of these women, and the amounts due to them. Her husband promised to see that all was made right, and she disappeared from his sight. The hoard, of which the laird knew nothing, was discovered in the place indicated by the dead woman.

(4) This mansion house of Scorybreck, known as the big house with the straight floors—a name which indicates the rough condition of the people's houses—has another story attached to it. The figure of a woman is seen washing in the Scorybreck burn the clothes of any man who has died, and whose friends after his death have neglected to do this for him. This legend may be compared to the very frequent stories of apparitions washing linen before a death. One of these is current near Campbeltown in Argyllshire, where a brownie or spirit with an unspellable name (the nearest I can get is Caanteuch, but I am sure this is not right) is seen washing some linen rags in a burn before the death of some person near. The difference is that the Scorybreck spirit is seen *after* a death, and only in the case of neglect mentioned above.

(5) A story current in Skye about the Maclaines of Mull is as follows. Ewen Maclaine was going to the wars, and he wished to know if he would return. Asking the usual wise man (it should be noted that by far the larger number of stories refer to a wise man, not a wise woman, though women have always occupied an important place among the islanders), he was given this token: If his wife offered him food as he was going away he would return in safety; if she did not, he would be killed. It turned out badly for Ewen, for his wife did not offer him anything, and he had to ask for bread and cheese. He went to the war and was killed in battle. As a headless ghost he haunts the Maclaines.

(6) A man at Woodend, whose first wife had died, married a

second time. The only child of the first marriage was a delicate little girl. The stepmother was far from kind to this child, giving her tasks to do which were far beyond her strength, and allowing her no rest or peace. One day the poor child was set to work to winnow corn, a task obviously much too hard for her. The stepmother was watching her do it; but it was impossible for the child to get on, for a little bird persisted in following and interrupting the work. The child at length had to abandon the task, and for that time, at least, she got some rest. That night the stepmother had a terrifying vision. A spirit appeared to her, saying she was the child's dead mother. This spirit warned her that if she did not behave better to the little girl the most dreadful consequences would follow. At the same time she said that she was the little bird which had so annoyed the stepmother that day. The woman took the lesson to heart, but too late to save the child's life, for she died soon after.

This belief in souls turning to birds is quite common. People have told me that they have seen a flight of souls rising in the air in the form of birds.

(7) An old woman going along the lonely hill road leading to Glenmore was startled by a monstrous shape which ran across her path. She did not pursue it, but when she got home she compared notes with her neighbours; and they came to the conclusion that it was the spirit of an old woman from the neighbourhood, who had recently died and had been buried in a distant churchyard.

(8) Bella Nicolson, who came from Sconser, told me that she, her sister and two companions were passing late at night the little mission-house in that township. As they came near, she heard the sounds of sweet music. She looked at her companions and saw that they, too, had heard it. There was no light in the windows; there was, of course, no musical instrument in the mission-room, and, at any rate, there were no people in it at that hour of night. It could only have been the music made by spirits.

(9) One spot in the island is obviously haunted by some ghosts invisible to man. No horse can be induced to pass the

spot quietly. If forced to go that way the animal gets so excited that it is difficult to prevent an accident happening.

A place near Portree is haunted by the ghost of a person believed to have been murdered there, though the death was never proved a murder. Here, again, a horse passes only with reluctance.

(10) A certain man in the island was marked by Satan as his prey. Appearing to his victim in the form of a casual stranger, the Author of Evil prevailed upon the man to promise him a meeting at a certain place. A neighbour happened to pass that way about the time of the assignation, and, seeing a suspicious stranger lingering about, his doubts were awakened. Shortly after he encountered the unhappy being who had made the fearful agreement. Not knowing of this, but having vague fears, he asked him what he was doing there so late. Receiving no answer he renewed his questions, adding to them an entreaty that he would return with him to his house and take a bite to eat. For long the wretched victim refused, but at length the good neighbour prevailed and the two turned back. But Satan was not to be balked of his prey, for the first bite the man took choked him, and he died in his sins.

(11) A man at Sconser having died, the neighbours as usual sat up to watch the corpse. In the dead of night and continuing into the small hours the sound of chains clanking was heard. The frightened watchers prayed long and fervently till day broke, and then the clanking ceased. Satan had come for his prey, and had been prevented from attaining his end by the prayers of the watchers.

(12) A death warning at Portree has more than once taken the form of a noise of chains or horses' hoofs around the house.

(13) The only reference to giants which was given to me, apart from the story of the finding of gigantic bones in the north of the island, is the following :—

Four strong men (that is, giants), brothers, lived in a cave in a big hill near Kingsburgh. One day they found a cow which had got bogged. Being short of food they dragged it out of the moss, tore it with their hands in four pieces, and so bore it home.

(14) The story of a judgment on a mocking woman is as follows :—

Two sisters lived in the island, both married, but one rich and the other poor. The poor sister had a child and the rich sister came to visit her. Looking at the child, she said mockingly, "Mouth with food," meaning, I suppose, that a mouth should be sent where there was food to put into it. Shortly after the rich sister also had a child, but in punishment for the cruel mocking of her less fortunate sister her child was born without a mouth.

The want of Gaelic sometimes handicapped me in a story of this kind, because the sense is so subtle that it will hardly bear translating.

#### STORIES OF SECOND SIGHT.

(1) An old woman one day saw a young man, who, in the full vigour of youth, was plainly visible to her working in a field near at hand, lying dead at her feet in his shroud. She was so overcome by the vision that she nearly fainted. The young man died within a week after the vision. This old woman saw this sort of vision many times, and she dreaded her power very much. It always made her feel ill and miserable.

(2) An old woman had one evening been out at a "Ceilidh" at a neighbour's house at the end of the township furthest from her own house and was returning home late. She was suddenly aware of the measured tramp of feet. To her terror she found herself in the midst of a shadowy funeral procession, which was taking its way to a path which led to the sea. This path was used only by funerals, and it led to a landing where the mourners and their sad burden were in the habit of taking boat for an island on which was the burial-place of the township. About a week after the old woman had this experience an inhabitant of the township, in the midst of perfect health, was struck down and was buried in that way on the island in question.

(3) Two or three women and a young man, walking home late from the village to Woodend, were startled by one of their number suddenly bidding them step aside, as a funeral was coming. One or two paid no attention to the warning and they

were thrown violently to the ground by the rush of the spirits. They were able to show the marks of their rough treatment. The death of a person known to all of them followed hard upon this vision.

(4) A number of girls were sitting round the fire in a "black" house (a house made of walls without cement and generally with the hearth in the middle of the floor) when one of them said suddenly that something was going to happen, for she had heard a strange cry outside. The others heard nothing. Shortly afterwards a sudden death took place in a house near by.

This girl's power showed itself in another direction, for she used to see a wedding ring on the finger of a girl who had no thoughts of a young man at the time, but who inevitably married in a short time after.

(5) A tinker wife came to a farmhouse asking for shelter for a night. This is quite a usual thing, and she was sent to an outhouse and given straw for a bed. In the morning, being rested and fed, she came to thank the master and mistress. But on her face was an expression of sadness and fear. Being questioned as to the cause, she very reluctantly said that she had had a vision of the eldest son of the house being brought home dead, laid on one of the planks composing her sleeping-place of the previous night. "That will never be," said the farmer; and he ordered the outhouse to be pulled down and the planks sawn up for firewood. Having seen this done to his entire satisfaction he went out cheerfully, accompanied by the youth of the tinker's vision. But "there is no armour against fate," and the youth was accidentally shot. In the ensuing bustle some of the farm servants brought planks to carry the body home, and one of these was a plank from that very outhouse which had been overlooked in the sawing up.

(6) An old man, who died some years ago, had many visions of people who were doomed. He generally saw nothing of the face, but he was aware by the colour of the clothes or some other distinguishing mark to whom the vision referred. He was almost invariably right, though on one occasion his fears drove him into making a mistake, for, his wife being seriously ill, he imagined that his vision was a warning of her death. Even in

his early years he had a warning of the death of a young boy who shared his bed, and who was killed shortly after.

(7) Fishermen, coming home late from herring fishing, frequently leave their boats, nets and herring till the next morning, and so honest are the people that these are hardly ever disturbed. But on one occasion a neighbour, not a fisher, thought that he would like a few herring for breakfast. Accordingly he stole down to the beach, when what was his alarm to see sitting in the boat the figure of the owner, the very man he had seen go into his house not long before. Not long after, the owner of the boat died. The seer never again forgot his honesty.

(8) Lights are sometimes regarded as warnings. Such a light was seen at one place where, shortly after, an unfortunate young man, who had become insane, committed suicide. In some cases these lights are regarded with favour, as they are supposed to indicate good fortune for the dying or his relatives. In the case of persons of importance a special light is seen which is called "dread." It has a different form from other lights, and is more like a comet, having a long tail. It either rests on the house where the person is to die, or hovers between it and the churchyard.

Some years ago great excitement took place in Portree over a mysterious light which appeared in the neighbourhood. To me, for I saw it, it looked like a lantern held near the ground and moving slowly along. It was most probably a "Will o' the Wisp," though the place where I saw it was quite dry ground. The story current in Skye of the origin of this light is as follows :

A girl who was anxious to begin some dyeing work early on Monday, wished to go out on the Sabbath to gather the necessary plants. Her mother forbade, but she persisted in her intention. Her mother then, driven beyond herself at the proposed sinful deed, solemnly cursed her, saying, "Go forth, nor return here." She was never seen again ; but at a certain place her creel and hook were found, and all around were signs of conflict. From henceforth there was a light which appeared, but it is said only to three people together. It is said to jump three times, and to look like a light within a light. This light is generally avoided by all, as it is understood to carry mis-

fortune to the too bold intruder ; but one youth braved the danger and spoke to it. He got the answer : " I am the girl who broke the Sabbath and disobeyed my mother. From henceforward for ever I am doomed through that mother's curse to wander over moor and hill as a warning light, and from this doom I shall not be free till the end of the world."

In some parts of Skye there is a variant of this story, and the girl becomes a man who gathered bracken or heather for thatching on the Sabbath.

(9) A party of girls passing a small church saw the windows suddenly lighted up. There was no one in the church and the door was fast locked. It was a perfectly dark night, with no moon to cast a light on the windows. There was no water near which might possibly glitter and so throw a reflection. There was, in fact, no explanation. As far as I can recollect, this is the same church or mission-room from which music was heard to come.

(10) The last of the stories I shall give at present relates to a dream. A man at Sluggans (a straggling row of cottages with small crofts about a mile from Portree) had a dream in which a figure appeared to him telling him of a large sum of money hidden near an old Dun in the neighbourhood, probably Dun Borve, which is the nearest Dun to the township. Waking, the man remembered his dream, and through the day he heard the voice still repeating the same tale. But recognizing in the figure the Enemy of Mankind, he refused to be tempted. Satan having been baulked in his desire, which was to get the man into his power, desisted from his efforts.

MARY JULIA MACCULLOCH.

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THE KERN BABY IN INDIA.

(*Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. p. 215 *et seqq.*)

By the kind permission of Dr. Rendel Harris, communicated through Sir James Frazer, the following further communication from Rev. F. Kilbey, the Mission House, Sohagpur, Central Provinces, India, dated 31st May, 1922, is published.

“ You will remember last year I sent you a picture of a ‘ Corn Baby,’ and you wrote asking me to send you a clearer picture. I thought that the best picture I could send, if obtainable, would be an actual ‘ Corn Baby,’ and now I have actually secured one which should arrive a few days after this letter. In the Central Provinces it is called Chitkuar. The word is made up of the word Chait, the harvest month [March-April], and Kuar or Kumār, ‘ a son or child.’ It is prepared in the following way. When the field is all but reaped two or three ears of grain are plucked from the remaining standing grain. The grain is pressed out of the ears, and scattered among the standing corn. The standing corn remaining is then reaped, and the bunches for the Chitkuar made. A coconut is then broken, and a piece of it offered on a small fire with Ghi, or clarified butter. A little Chana or gram [*Cicer arietinum*] and wheat is brought from the house, a small portion of a bunch is thrown into the fire, and the remainder eaten by the worshippers. The Chitkuar is then taken to the threshing floor, and after the grain is all winnowed, they take the grain from the ears of the bunch forming the Chitkuar and boil it, and after worshipping the threshing floor, eat the boiled grain. This latter ceremony takes place at the time of the Amāvasya, or day of the new moon, in the month Jyeshth [May-June]. This Chitkuar was brought to me on 26th May. I then found that my friend, to my disappointment, was indisposed to give it to me, but he went with the ‘ Corn Baby ’ to his companions and consulted with them. They settled matters by taking a few ears of the bunch, and allowed me to have the remainder. It was fixed on a wooden stake, which I have sawn off to admit of its being sent by post. I understand that there is no religious significance about the stake.”

Dr. Rendel Harris adds that the specimen he has received consists of only a bunch of stalks of wheat. It may be noted that the fire sacrifice above described is the Homa, which forms a part of all religious ceremonies. A full account of this ceremony will be found in Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born*, Oxford, 1920, p. 225 *et seqq.*

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## DEVILS IN THE ALPS.

GENEVA, Aug. 3.

THE inhabitants of the little Alpine village of Claro, in the Canton of Tessin, firmly believe that devils have taken up their residence on a peak of the Alps named Peverotto, 3,000 feet above the village. The shepherds and cowherds refuse to make the ascent with their flocks and herds, declaring that many of them have been injured by stones rolled down on them by invisible devils.

Several gendarmes and a priest were sent to the summit recently. No devils were found, but the priest blessed the mountain in order to scare away any devils who might be in hiding. The shepherds and cowherds are still timid. They keep their flocks on the lower slopes so that they can make a hasty retreat to the village if the devils again attack them.

*The Daily Express, 4th August, 1922.*

## CHINESE TOMB JADE.

ON p. 139 of Mr. Mackenzie's paper, "Colour Symbolism," in the last number of *Folk-Lore*, the author, in referring to Chinese mouth-jades, assumes that their colour was green. It is true that in this country the popular notion is that jade is essentially green; indeed, in some industries "jade" is used as a synonym for a certain shade of green. So far as my knowledge goes, no such intimate association ever existed in Chinese minds. The word *yü*, used for jade, occurs very frequently in euphemistic phraseology; pages might be filled with a bare list of the commoner expressions in which *yü* figures. But its meaning is generally "precious," "rare," "beautiful," "delicate," or "gem-like," and when it does convey a colour significance, it is white or a quality of colourless translucence that is indicated. I would not venture to deny that the word *yü* (jade) by itself ever denotes the colour green or a piece of green jade, but it may safely be stated that such use must be rare. Both Dr.

Lionel Giles and I have for some years been engaged in translating Taoist writings, and they are specially rich in allusions to jade and its magical properties; yet we have not come upon this meaning. Nor have I encountered the use orally in China.

To turn from popular tradition about jade in general (as exemplified in literary allusions, proverbs, tales of magic, etc.) to the actual objects: there is no evidence that mouth-jades were green. On the contrary, it seems likely that they were rarely, if ever, markedly green. Of the four in my collection, one is "mutton-fat" white stained buff underneath, another is honey-colour, another is black and white, and the last is dark ruddy-brown with a thin layer of light stone, faintly bluish-green, on its under surface. I have seen a large number of mouth-jades in the hands of native collectors and dealers, and I do not remember a single green one. It must not, of course, be forgotten that often decomposition and staining have modified the appearance of jade objects after they have lain buried for many centuries. Such changes, however, never completely disguise the colour of pieces which were originally green. There is, too, the fact that ancient tomb-jades were generally fashioned from a kind of stone differing from that imported into China from Turkestan and other countries in large quantities since the beginning of our era. Classical records contain accounts of tribute jade being introduced at early dates from Khotan and neighbouring parts; but these supplies must have been small in proportion to those derived from China proper. Lan-t'ien in Shensi is proverbially associated with the native supply, and there were quarries in other parts of China—all exhausted long ago. Examination of ancient relics show that the Chinese jade has qualities distinguishing it from foreign kinds, and one of these peculiarities is the rarer occurrence of a green colour.

While criticising Mr. Mackenzie's theory in which he attaches significance to a supposed green-colour of mouth-jades, a word about another sort of symbolism should not be omitted. Ancient Chinese tongue-amulets were fashioned in the form of a cicada. There can be little doubt that the cicada shape was

so used as an emblem of new life. Dr. Laufer has called attention to this meaning in his well-known *Jade*, p. 301. The fact that the ancient Chinese shared in the world-wide recognition of the transformation of a pupa into a winged insect as symbolic of resurrection may be proved from many written sources, notably Taoist texts.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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## REVIEWS.

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THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE. Fifth Edition, re-written  
By E. WESTERMARCK. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 3 vols.  
Price £4 4s.

THE wide knowledge of the problems of human marriage acquired by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, by study and field-work, pointed him out as the scholar best qualified to review this work. To the intense regret of his many friends and of all who appreciated his eminent services to Anthropology, his unexpected death prevented the execution of this project. He made it a condition of undertaking to write the review that he might have the privilege, if necessary, of contributing to *Folk-Lore* a separate paper dealing with Dr. Westermarck's criticisms of certain theories advanced by him. Dr. Rivers, before his death, had studied the work and had made some notes, which have passed into my possession through the courtesy of Dr. A. C. Haddon. But these are so fragmentary that they do not illustrate in detail the lines on which he intended to write his review. He would naturally object to Dr. Westermarck's criticism of the theory of the diffusion of culture, identified with the name of Graebner, which Dr. Rivers developed in his Presidential Address before the Anthropological Section at the Portsmouth Meeting of the British Association in 1911. He also expressed regret that no reference was made to the important contributions to the study of this question made by Professor Elliot Smith. He was prepared to reply to the criticism on his discussion of Cross Cousin Marriage in India, and he would naturally refuse to accept the view that "the endeavour hitherto made to use the classificatory terms of relationship as a means

of disclosing the secrets of ancient marriage customs has, in spite of all the labour and ingenuity bestowed upon it, been a source of error rather than knowledge."

Dr. Westermarck explains in his Preface that his decision to write this book "did not spring from a desire for opposition," and it may be frankly stated that his criticisms of the views of other anthropologists are advanced with courtesy and a full appreciation of their importance. At the same time his readers will, from their knowledge of his previous editions, have been prepared to learn that he differs from his colleagues on questions of primary importance. Thus, his repudiation of the existence of group marriage leads him to deny that matrilinear peoples "had full-fledged mother-right in former times," mainly on the ground that the "fullest mother-right prevails among agricultural tribes, whereas the matrilinear system is nowhere feebler than among the Australian aborigines, who still live in the hunting and food-collecting stage." Nor does he accept the suggestions that mother-right everywhere preceded father-right, that the Mylitta rite at Babylon was a puberty ceremony, that it was a widespread belief in early times that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by the normal congress of the sexes, that the object of the rules of avoidance of relations was to prevent incest.

The general treatment of marriage is biological, marriage being defined as "a more or less durable connexion between male and female lasting beyond the mere art of propagation till after the birth of the offspring." It is true that this, in a second definition, is further expanded: "it may be defined as a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognised by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it." This biological view can with difficulty be reconciled with the folk-lore side of marriage, and the latter is throughout overshadowed by the former. This difficulty, which was unavoidable in the scheme of his book, cannot help embarrassing the reader.

A work which for thirty years has ranked as an anthropological classic, has passed through five editions, besides versions

in foreign languages, is undoubtedly, in its revised and expanded form, a great achievement. It is, in fact, an encyclopædia, basing its conception of human marriage on biology, with a treatment of the subject on its sociological, anthropological, and juridical aspects, with excursions into the domains of magic and folk-lore. The modest single octavo of 1891 has, like a great Buddhist pagoda starting from a small relic shrine and developed by accretions into a stately building, extended into three portly volumes, and the world's literature has been diligently ransacked in search of the materials from which the structure has been erected. The bibliography, which occupied 28 pages in the first edition, now extends to 117, which may be compared with 141 in the last edition of the *Golden Bough*. The result is that it has now become a costly book, the price of which is beyond the means of many anthropologists. It is, of course, important that notes consisting mainly of references should indicate the scope of the material. But when, for instance, a note quotes no less than 43 references to establish the fact that "infant- or child-marriage betrothal is practised, more or less frequently as exclusive custom, among a large number of African tribes," the student out of reach of a great library will find it impossible to discover variances of practice which may be of the highest moment. Further, as in the case of other treatises like this dealing with comparative religion and custom, the uneasy suspicion arises that some of this material may not be worth preserving. How much of it will survive the practical tests of reliability? Was a particular writer a person who had lived and worked among some tribe of the lower culture long enough to learn their language and earn their confidence? Was his position such as to give him access to the best informants? Did he understand the questions which deserve investigation, did he possess the tact necessary for such an enquiry? In short, was he a witness who, on other questions of fact, would satisfy the requirements of a court of law? The information now available is so voluminous that anthropologists will be forced to establish some organization competent to winnow the good grain from the chaff.

A new and welcome feature in this edition is the discussion of

marriage-rites, the treatment of which in the earlier editions was admittedly inadequate. Field-work in Morocco, the fruits of which have been collected in an excellent book, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, and the study of books like *The Golden Bough* and *The Mystic Rose*, have convinced Dr. Westermarck that the influence of magic on marriage rites is of primary importance. The three long chapters devoted to this branch of the subject form, perhaps, the most interesting part of the work.

He has gained such a thorough knowledge of English that there is little to indicate that it is the work of a foreigner. He is confronted with the difficulty of so arranging his collection of facts as to make the book readable, and he does not possess the grace of style and the magic skill of Sir James Frazer in displaying his facts to the best advantage, and gently helping the reader to advance from one topic to another. Hence the book is rather hard reading, and we sometimes feel that we cannot see the wood for the trees, and that it is best studied in instalments.

It is the best compliment to say that it can be adequately criticised only by a syndicate of experts, and it may be hoped that from time to time writers competent to discuss the subject in its many phases will use the pages of *Folk-Lore* for this purpose. It is too much to say that all the theories or explanations of the writer will deserve final acceptance, but the collection of facts, drawn from a mass of literature, some of which is fugitive and not generally accessible, forms a treasury of knowledge which anthropologists in the future cannot afford to neglect.

W. CROOKE.

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DORSETSHIRE FOLK-LORE. By J. S. UDAL: issued by subscription. Hertford: Stephen Austin & Sons. 1922.

MOST of the materials of this book were collected forty years ago, and the Introduction, the last work of the Dorset poet, William Barnes, was written soon before his death, which occurred in 1886. Judge Udal explains that a year or two after that date he left England to take up a Government legal appointment, and that this and the outbreak of the Great War made it

necessary to postpone the publication. This is in many ways an advantage, because much of the material was collected before the days of School Boards, which have exercised a destructive effect on local tradition. We have here one of the best collections of the kind, worthy in many ways to rank with Miss Burne's edition of Miss Jackson's *Shropshire Folk-Lore* and Henderson's *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*. As in all books of the kind, the county is not a water-tight compartment, and much which the writer records is found in other parts of the country. In this respect the notes indicating parallels are useful, and might have been with advantage extended. Besides William Barnes, Dorsetshire possesses a great writer, Mr. Thomas Hardy, who has freely used popular beliefs and traditions in his novels. To readers of these the book will be very welcome. Judge Udal introduces us to a state of society rapidly disappearing, when he tells us of the rites of the Abbotsbury fishermen and the rules of the quarrymen of Purbeck. He gives an interesting account, based on personal enquiries, of the famous Bettiscombe Skull, which since it was first described has somehow acquired the reputation of "screaming," an interesting example of a modern development of a legend. Among the many points of interest it is possible to refer only to a few: the valuable account of the customs connected with Sheep-shearing; Harvest Home and Crying the Knack; Mumming and Mumming Plays; Marrying the Land at Portland; the Bezant at Shaftesbury; the Giant Figure at Cerne Abbas; the place in the same village where a man drowned himself and the grass will not grow on the spot marked by his feet; the Spectral Coach at Kingston Russell House, near Bridport, and at Wool; the Black Dog of Lyme Regis; Skimmington or Skimmity Riding. Other chapters on Witchcraft and Charms, Superstitions relating to Natural History; Weather-Lore, Ballads and Songs, Children's Games and Rhymes, contain much curious information. Our only regret is that as the book is published in a limited edition, it may not be generally available for the use of folk-lore students.

W. CROOKE.

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SMALL TALK AT WREYLAND. By CECIL TORR. Second Series.  
Cambridge: The University Press. 1921. Price 9s. net,

THIS is a very interesting collection of notes on various subjects by a country gentleman interested in his district and the people, and at the same time a learned scholar. He does not seem to have devoted much attention to folk-lore, but he tells how a woman said she had seen the Devil, when it was only the Rural Dean, dressed in black and mounted on a big black horse, who suddenly appeared on a foggy day. A man told the writer how he had been treated, as a child, for whooping-cough by being laid in a sheep's form—the imprint that a sheep makes by lying in one place all night; when the sheep gets up in the morning a sort of vapour rises from the warm ground into the cold morning air. The book would be quite delightful if it paid more attention to subjects in which we are specially interested.

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MACBETH, KING LEAR AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY. By  
LILIAN WINSTANLEY. Cambridge University Press. 1922.  
Price 15s. net.

MISS WINSTANLEY in this volume continues her study of the relations between Shakespeare's plays and the history of his time, which she began with a similar treatment of *Hamlet*. She suggests that as the stage in Elizabethan times took the place of the newspaper and the platform, it took account of popular events of the day. But as it was hampered by a strict censorship, it was necessary to adopt what she terms "symbolic mythology." She finds the basis of *Macbeth* and *King Lear* to be the similarity which men of his time saw between the Gunpowder Plot and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, with the murder of Darnley. She makes out, on the whole, a good case, and she has worked out these comparisons with great ingenuity and abundant learning. Her conclusions deserve careful consideration in dealing with the general subject of mythology.

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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY. By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E. Three volumes. Bombay. 1920-22.

MR. ENTHOVEN'S volumes on the ethnography of Bombay practically complete the work of the Ethnographic Survey of India. The only provinces for which memoirs remain to be published are the Native State of Haidarabad, and Rajputana. A complete survey of the Rajput tribes is much to be desired, but there seems no chance of its publication for the present. Mr. Enthoven is well known as one of the band of Bombay scholars, including the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and Mr. B. A. Gupte, who have done so much to advance our knowledge of the religions, history, archaeology, and sociology of Western India; and since the publication of his excellent Report on the Census of the Presidency in 1901, he has pursued the studies of which the present work is the result. He started with the great advantage of being able to draw upon the stores of materials contained in the famous *Gazetteer* of the Province, edited by that great scholar, Sir James Campbell, which have been supplemented by Mr. Enthoven's enquiries, assisted by many local workers and caste committees, by whom the draft memoirs prepared by Mr. Enthoven have been revised and extended. The work now published is of the highest importance, and deserves the special attention of all those interested in the peoples of India.

It is possible here to call attention only to some of the more important results of the survey. For the Musalmans it is interesting to note that contact with the Muhammadan invaders has left its influence in the greater freedom with which inter-marriage is allowed. Much information is given on the subject of Totemism, the Maratha Devaks, or guardians, and the Balis or "shoots" of Kanara, with the result that the connexion of these races is found to be closer than was hitherto believed. The power exercised by the earlier Rajas in matters of caste has led to the creation of new sub-castes which crystallise local variances of custom. Here, as elsewhere, the fusion of the various groups has produced uniformity in the population. "Ultimately we may perhaps be prepared to the conclusion

that the tribes and castes of the Presidency have far more in common as regards their origin than has hitherto been admitted." With reference to Sir H. Risley's theories, Mr. Enthoven remarks that his measurements "as they stand in their published form, exhibit such an unexpected jumble of castes and tribes, whether placed by cephalic measurement or nasal index, that it is impossible to deduce from them conclusions of value"; measurements which bring the Brahman and the Mahār outcast together, or introduce Scythians into the Deccan, are of no scientific value.

The castes and tribes are arranged in the convenient alphabetical order, and the leading types are illustrated by good photographs. The accounts of birth, marriage and death-rites, of local cults, manners and customs are carefully and well arranged, presenting, particularly among the wilder races, much interesting material.

Mr. Enthoven may be congratulated on the completion of a valuable piece of anthropological work.

W. CROOKE.

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#### JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY.

WE are glad to notice the revival of the Gypsy Lore Society. The *Journal*, now edited by Mr. E. O. Winstedt, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford, contains in its earlier issues much interesting information. The discussion of the strange taboos of women and an elaborate article by the Editor on Gypsy Christian Names, are of special interest.

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## OBITUARY.

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DR. W. H. R. RIVERS, F.R.S.

By the untimely death of William Halse Rivers Rivers, M.D., F.R.S., which took place on 4th June at Cambridge after an operation, the cause of science has suffered a heavy blow, while his many friends and co-workers have lost one to whom they had often looked for sympathy, help and guidance, and never in vain.

Born in 1864, Rivers was educated at Tonbridge and St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London. After taking his M.D. Lond., he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. For a time he was Lecturer on Psychology at Guy's Hospital, and in 1893 was invited by the late Sir Michael Foster to lecture at Cambridge on the psychology of the senses. In 1897 he was appointed University Lecturer in Physiological and Experimental Psychology. In 1907 the two subjects were separated, and Rivers became Lecturer on the Physiology of the Senses, but this appointment he resigned some years before his death. His work while he held these appointments had a profound effect on the development of psychological science, especially on the experimental side. He was elected to a Fellowship of St. John's College in 1902, and was appointed Praelector in Natural Sciences in 1919. This latter appointment brought him into closer touch with the younger members of the University, and laid the foundation of the extraordinary influence which he wielded over the development of their character and intellect. Outside the University Rivers was the recipient of many honours and the holder of many offices of importance. He was appointed Croonian Lecturer in the Royal College of Physicians

in 1906 and Fitzpatrick Lecturer in 1915-16. In 1908 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, and was awarded the gold medal in 1915. From 1917 to 1919 he served on the Council. He was President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1911 and of the Psychological Sub-section in 1919, and was to have taken the chair of the Psychological Section at Hull this year. He was President of the Folk-Lore Society in 1920-21, and was elected President of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1921, an office which he still held at the time of his death. He was an Hon. LL.D. of St. Andrews and a D.Sc. of Manchester University.

The bare recital of the appointments and offices held by Rivers, though significant enough, is no sufficient index of the breadth of his interests and the number of his activities, while even the long list of his published works,<sup>1</sup> to those who knew what lay behind, is only a very imperfect indication of his contribution to the advancement of science. He was an intellectual pioneer in more than one direction, and his influence was exerted not merely through the written word, but also by the example of scrupulous accuracy and scientific method which he afforded, as well as by the advice and sympathy which he gave freely to other workers. A study of Rivers' career reveals a personality which grew continuously up to the time of his death. Starting as a psychologist his inclusion in the Cambridge expedition to the Torres Straits, in 1899, directed his attention to ethnology and social anthropology. As might have been expected, his original mind, keen analytical faculty, and capacity for exact detailed work, when directed to the problem of research in the field, could not fail to produce some noteworthy contribution to the subject, even on the threshold of his career as an anthropologist. The method of genealogical research which he then elaborated was not only a fruitful source of fresh information in his own hands, but has proved a powerful instrument of research when applied by others. In 1906 he published a book on the Todas which embodied the result of researches made while on an expedition to S. India which, in its patient attention to detail, its accuracy of observation, combined with breadth of view and sense of proportion, was a model to the ethnographer. In 1908 Rivers made his first

<sup>1</sup> For a full list of his published works see the bibliography appended to the obituary notice which appeared in *Man*, July, 1922, 61.

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expedition to Melanesia, when he worked with Mr. A. M. Hocart and collaborated with Mr. G. C. Wheeler, who was at work in the Shortland Islands. It was not long after his return that Rivers showed that, influenced by the theories of Kohler, he was working upon a new aspect of the ethnological problem, and his Presidential Address to Section H. at the Portsmouth meeting of the British Association, in which he dealt with the Ethnological Analysis of Culture, indicated in outline the theories which he afterwards worked out in detail in *The History of Melanesian Society*, his most important contribution to anthropological literature, which was published in 1914. In the same year Rivers made his second expedition to Melanesia, but his further labours in this field were interrupted by the war.

During the war the call of other duties necessarily curtailed his activities in anthropology, although he contributed a number of important papers to various scientific journals. The influence of his work in connexion with the treatment of shell shock and other forms of nervous disorder caused by the war was shown in a number of contributions to the literature of the subject which he published at this time. His attention was also directed towards the theories of Freud, which he examined with much critical acumen. As a result, in 1920 he published his *Instinct and the Unconscious*, in which the psychic problems suggested by the war were discussed on a biological basis. A second edition was published in the current year.

It is idle to speculate what the future might have held for Rivers; yet it is not beyond conjecture that at the moment of his death he had entered upon a phase of his career in which his clear and logical mind as well as his scientific training and experience might have been of inestimable value to mankind. Throughout his life his interest in the problems of the study of man never ceased to broaden, and as time went on he became more and more closely in touch with the realities of existence. His training as a psychologist had given him a grasp of the fundamental subjective value of social institutions which is within the reach of few observers, while his experience in psychotherapeutics during the war had confirmed and at the same time broadened his conception of the applicability of the results of psychological study to the practical problems of every-day

life. Shortly before his death he had completed a paper on the part played by the psychic factors in the gradual extinction of the Melanesians; but he saw that similar studies might be applied to other than primitive races. In the early months of the current year he accepted an invitation to stand as a Labour Candidate for London University at the next Parliamentary Election. To some this seemed a needless dissipation of the energies of an intellect which held a commanding position in science. In Rivers' mind, however, two conclusions had attained a preponderating influence. On the one hand he held strongly to the view that all branches of the study of man in the widest sense are essentially interrelated as parts of one whole, and on the other that the results do apply to, and are vitally important for, the welfare of civilized as well as uncivilized peoples. He was not alone in holding these views, but others looked to Rivers to give them form and expression and to translate an ardent desire into practical effect. Rightly or wrongly, he was convinced that at the present day the best channel for securing the application of scientific methods and results to public affairs lay through the Labour Party. Accordingly when the call came he was ready to take up the additional burden, and no one was better fitted for the task. That no man is indispensable has become a platitude; but of few could it be said with more truth than of Rivers that his loss is irreparable.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

C. H. TAWNEY.

WE regret to announce the death, at the age of 85, of Mr. Charles Henry Tawney, C.I.E. Educated at Rugby he passed to Cambridge, where he gained the highest honours in Classics and was elected a Fellow of Trinity College. In 1864 he joined the Educational Department, Bengal, where he gained his extensive knowledge of Sanskrit. On his retirement he was appointed Librarian of the India Office, where his readiness to put his stores of knowledge at the disposal of workers on Indian subjects and his unfailing geniality and courtesy won for him the affection of a host of friends. To students of folk-lore he is best known as the translator of two important collections of Indian folk tales, the *Katha Sarit Sāgara* and the *Katha Kosa*, with elaborate notes illustrating his wide knowledge of folk tales in many languages.

# Folk=Love.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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## **EVENING MEETING.**

**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd, 1922.**

DR. GASTER (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz. : Mrs. Edison Matt, Mr. H. W. Household, Mr. C. M. Douglas, Mr. J. G. White, Dr. E. Adela Wharton, Rev. Julian Bilby, Mr. A. Watkins, Mrs. M. S. Mott, Dr. A. H. Krappe, Mr. A. A. Hayles, Mr. T. S. Eliot, Mr. A. W. Cardinall, Mr. I. Schapera.

The enrolment of Einkaufsstelle Borsenvereins der Deutschen Büchhändler as subscribers; and the deaths of Mr. W. R. Paton, Mrs. T. A. Janvier, and Mr. I. Dickson were also announced.

Prof. Elliot Smith delivered a lecture entitled "The Story of the Flood," and in the discussion which followed

Mr. J. C. Flügel, Mr. Bertram Lloyd, and the Chairman took part.

Miss Proctor exhibited a quantity of Czeko Slovakian peasant ware and costumes, which were handed round for inspection, and Miss Gaster dressed in one of the costumes to show it off more effectively.

The Meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Prof. Elliot Smith for his paper, and to Miss Proctor and Miss Gaster for their exhibition.

## MUSEUMS AND RAREE SHOWS IN ANTIQUITY.

Most people believe that museums and collections of antiquities are quite a modern invention, and that they were instituted to meet the needs of a growing spirit of enquiry and a more intelligent interest in the habits and customs, the arts and pastimes of our ancestors. But that is quite a mistake, for the ancients were just as interested in rarities as we are, just as eager to see or hear any new thing, although they were, perhaps, somewhat more credulous and gazed upon the marvels shown them with a faith as uncritical as that with which the most devout mediaeval pilgrim contemplated the relics offered to his view. Yet even in those days there were a few more enlightened souls who from time to time had the hardihood to utter some sceptical comment or even to try to analyse the phenomena and to give some rational explanation.

Longinus, we are informed, was a living library and a perambulating museum, words evidently intended to convey an almost reverent admiration, but to our ears rather doubtful praise.<sup>1</sup> The word *Museion* or *Museum* was originally applied to the place where a philosophical school assembled, and in it they not only cultivated those studies over which the Muses presided, but the building also served as an art gallery where images of the Muses themselves or statues dedicated to them were set up. The most celebrated *Museion* was the one at Alexandria founded by the Ptolemies, which contained, besides the Library, a promenade, an *exedra* and a large hall where the philosophers

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers*, 445.

took their meals in common. From the accounts of the studies carried on there, one gathers that the various adjacent halls contained rooms of anatomy, astronomical instruments, etc. Other texts lead one to believe that the Museion was completed by a botanical garden for exotic plants, and parks where animals of the rarest species were collected from all parts of the then-known world.

In the classical period the museums *par excellence* were the temples and their precincts. Here many objects were collected, which by degrees accumulated a hoary crust of tradition, never allowed to lack picturesqueness by the custodians who discoursed to an admiring crowd of sight-seers about the treasures which enriched the sanctuary.

The official catalogue of one such sanctuary has been preserved, and from it we gain a good idea of the marvels exhibited. This catalogue is what is known as the Chronicle of the Lindian Temple of Athena at Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> a temple said to have been founded by Daneos or his daughters, and certainly of great antiquity. The early temple and almost all its contents were destroyed by fire about B.C. 350, for with the year B.C. 330 begins the list of offerings which were still extant in the later temple in B.C. 99, when the catalogue was compiled and inscribed on a marble *stele* erected in the precinct. Each of the forty-two items is in a separate section or chapter, and at the close of each the compiler cites the sources from which he drew the information.

The first offerings are all of the mythic period; Lindos, the eponymous hero, dedicated a bowl, and so did the Telchines, a Rhodian tribe, "and no one could tell of what they were made," an observation intended to indicate the extreme age of the objects. Kadmos dedicated a bronze *lebes* and Minos a silver drinking vessel, whilst Herakles offered two shields and Rhesos a golden cup. The cup was probably stated to be of gold, because that was considered

<sup>1</sup> Chr. Blinkenberg, "Die Lindische Tempelchronik," in *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Uebungen*, No. 131 (Bonn, 1915).

the only proper material for one who was lord of the rich Thracians and whose golden horse-trappings and splendid steeds aroused the cupidity of Diomedes, who laid an ambush for him and slew him, in spite of his prayers, to gain possession of them.

The heroes who returned from the Trojan War were lavish in offerings, for Menelaos dedicated the dog-skin cap and dagger of Alexander ; Helen presented a pair of armlets ; Kanopos, the steersman of Menelaos, a rudder ; and both Meriones and Teucer offered quivers, and the latter the bow of Pandareos as well.

With the beginning of historical times comes an interesting list of very varied objects. In some cases a famous old vessel set upon a new stand was offered, for the inscription on the lip refers to earlier events, whilst that on the stand commemorates the dedicator. The Lindians who went with Battos to colonise Cyrene sent a group of Pallas and a lion being throttled by Herakles made of lotus wood. Another dedication was a wooden cow and calf on which was inscribed : " Anphinomos and his sons from Sybaris of broad dancing places, the ship having been saved, dedicate this tithe." Anphinomos is otherwise unknown to fame, but the dedication bears all the marks of truth, for the landing at Rhodes was and is often very dangerous : the gift must in any case be placed before the destruction of Sybaris in B.C. 510.

Deinomenes, the father of Gelon, Hieron, Thrasybulos and Polyzalos, being a Lindian, founded Gela with Antiphemos and dedicated a Gorgon of cypress wood with a stone face, on which was written : " Deinomenes, the son of Molossos, dedicated to Lindian Athena a tithe of the things from Sicily." Here there is an evident confusion between an earlier Deinomenes who accompanied the founder Antiphemos, and the later one who was father of the three brothers who in turn became tyrants of Syracuse.

The Akragantines dedicated a Palladion, the extremities

of which (that is, the face, hands and feet) were of ivory, on which was inscribed "The Akragantines to Lindian Athena, spoil from Minoa." To judge by the formula used the offering must have been made shortly after the overthrow of the tyrant Phalaris in B.C. 550, since it is the Akragantines who are named and not the tyrant who had already dedicated in his own name a splendid ancient *Krater* inscribed: "Daidalos gave me as a gift to Cocalos"; and on the base was written: "Phalaris of Akragas to Lindian Athena." Yet the offering of the Akragantines must be placed before the siege of Minoa shortly before B.C. 500, because after that date the official name of the town was Herakleia. The rest of the image was most likely of wood, a simpler technique than the later chryselephantine statues. These primitive wooden groups must have been extremely interesting, and would have added enormously to our knowledge of the development of sculpture had they been preserved.

Amasis, King of the Egyptians, dedicated a linen corselet, each thread of which had 360 strands, two golden images and ten bowls. The compiler adds that there were two inscriptions on the images, on one: "Amasis, the far-famed King of Egypt, was the bestower"; on the other was an inscription "in what the Egyptians call sacred writing,"—that is, in hieroglyphics. Amasis reigned from B.C. 570-526, and probably the offering was made shortly after his accession, because it was all part of his policy of conciliation towards Cyrene and the Greek states. The corselet is mentioned twice by Herodotos, by Aelian and by Pliny,<sup>1</sup> the last named citing a traveller in the Orient, Gaius Licinius Mucianus, who about A.D. 60 visited Lindos and states that there he touched the corselet of Amasis, which was by that time reduced under the hands of inquisitive generations to the merest rags. These rags were most likely genuine, a

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, ii. 183; iii. 47; Aelian, *περὶ ζώων*, ix. 17; Pliny, *N.H.*, xix. 12.

few shreds saved from the burning of the temple. Herodotos states that Amasis bestowed a gilded Athena upon Cyrene, but the images sent to Lindos were of stone. The Rhodian local chronicler, however, was envious of this gilded statue and could not bear that Lindos should take second place after the Libyan colony, so he changed the stone images to gold!

Among the gifts preserved in the later temple were skulls of oxen as records of the sacrifices made by Alexander the Great after he had conquered Dareios and made himself Lord of Asia, by King Ptolemy I. and by Pyrrhos, King of Epeiros, this last offering inscribed "in accordance with the oracle of Dodona, and the weapons he used on his perilous exploits." Two other kings, Hieron and Philip, evidently the third of that name, dedicated weapons.

From these extracts it will be seen how much this Lindian Chronicle can teach us of the art, and especially of the history of the early period. As the offerings had perished we cannot vouch for the genuineness of *all* the objects mentioned, but the majority at least bear the stamp of truth, and if the description is not absolutely accurate, they were at any rate the kind of gifts and the dedicatory formulae in use at the period.

The objects collected in these ancient museums were as varied and curious as the relics in many ancient churches to-day, but we cannot here discuss those which were mentioned merely on hearsay, introduced by the ancient writer with some such phrase as—"they say"—"they relate"—"it is reported." Neither can we stop to consider the immense list of marvels to which early writers allude in perfect good faith but of which they had no personal knowledge. Pfister in his important book, *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, not a very large work, but packed with interesting and suggestive matter, has collected a vast number of references to such objects, some mentioned in detail, others alluded to by a tantalisingly vague remark.

How romantic is the tale of the bronze necklace with the inscription : " Diomed to Artemis " ; he hung it round the neck of a stag, to which it adhered, so that later the creature was found by Agathokles, King of the Sicilians, who dedicated the necklace in the Temple of Artemis in Apulia.<sup>1</sup> The necklace of Helen at Delphi,<sup>2</sup> her sandals at Athena's temple, Japygia,<sup>3</sup> or the shoe of Perseus in Egypt,<sup>4</sup> all awaken a thrill. But perhaps the most intriguing of all is the celebrated necklace made by Hephaistos and given as a bridal gift to Harmonia when she wedded Kadmos, but later bestowed as a bribe upon Eriphyle as the price of her treacherous persuasion of her husband Amphiaraios to go to Thebes, although he, with his miraculous gift of foreknowledge, knew that he would never return thence alive. Amathus in Cyprus claimed possession of this necklace, but another story told how it was dedicated in Delphi and carried off thence by the Phocian tyrants.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias himself becomes quite stirred up about the matter, and gives his reasons for believing that the necklace at Amathus was not the genuine one. He says : " There is a city Amathus in Cyprus, in which there is an ancient sanctuary of Adonis and Aphrodite. They say that in it is preserved the necklace which was originally given to Harmonia, but was called the necklace of Eriphyle, because she accepted it as a bribe to betray her husband. The necklace was dedicated at Delphi by the sons of Phegeus : how they acquired it I have already shown in my account of Arcadia. But it was carried off by the Phocian tyrants. Nevertheless I do not think that it is in the sanctuary at Amathus. For the necklace at Amathus is of green stones fastened together with gold ; but Homer in the *Odyssey* [xi. 327] says that the necklace which was given to Eriphyle was made of

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *De mir. auscult.*, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, xvi. 64 ; Ephorus in *Athen.*, vi. 232 d.

<sup>3</sup> Lycophron, 850 ff. ; Tzetz., *idem.*      <sup>4</sup> Herodotos, ii. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus, iii. 7. 7 ; Pausanias, vii. 24. 10 ; ix. 41. 2 f.

gold. The passage runs thus: "Who took precious gold as the price of her dear lord." Not that Homer was ignorant of necklaces composed of various materials. Thus in the speech of Eumaeus to Odysseus before Telemachus has returned to the court from Pylus, he says [*Odyssey*, xv. 459 *seq.*]: "There came a cunning man to the house of my father / With a golden necklace, and it was strung at intervals with amber beads." Again, among the gifts which Penelope received from the wooers, he has represented Eurymachus giving her one [*Odyssey*, xviii. 295 *seq.*]: "And straightway Eurymachus brought a necklace, cunningly wrought / Golden, strung with amber beads like the sun." But he does not say that "Eriphyle received a necklace curiously wrought of gold and stones." This is a good, but not entirely convincing argument. Still, *green* stones certainly do sound suspicious, although Mr. Randall M'Iver has pointed out to me that necklaces of green glass beads and also of a rare green stone were known in Egypt at an early period, and examples may be seen in Professor Flinders Petrie's collection at University College, London. Possibly the trophy at Amathus was one of these chaplets, brought from Egypt by travellers or traders.

Another dedication which calls up many memories is the weapons of Herakles, bequeathed by him to Philoktetes.<sup>1</sup> You all know the story of how these weapons were left as his sole means of support to the unhappy man when his companions, sickened by the nauseating odour of his poisonous wound, abandoned him on the island of Lemnos. Later, when they realised that only with his assistance could they ever hope to capture Troy, they sent Odysseus and Neoptolemos on an embassy to persuade him to come. At first, in the bitterness of his spirit, he refused until Odysseus, with his usual guile, induced Neoptolemos to gain possession of the bow. Deprived of this last standby,

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *De mir. auscult.*, 107, tr. Dowdall (Oxford, 1909); Justin, xx. 1; Euphorion in Tzet., Lycophron, 911.

the wretched Philoktetes yielded, allowed himself to be conveyed to Troy, and there, with an arrow from this renowned bow, he wounded Paris mortally and hastened the downfall of the mighty city. Even a Greek of a late period must have gazed with awe upon these antique weapons which had played such a prominent part in the soul-stirring events of that distant day.

A contemporary weapon was the sword of Memnon, concerning which Pausanias remarks: <sup>1</sup> "That weapons in the heroic age were all of bronze is shown by Homer's lines about the axe of Pisander and the arrow of Meriones: and I am confirmed in this view by the spear of Achilles which is dedicated in the temple of Athena at Phaselis, and by the sword of Memnon in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Nicomedia: for the blade and the spike at the butt end of the spear and the whole of the sword are of bronze. This I know to be so."

Apart from these and many others not very well authenticated relics there are certain objects described by ancient writers from personal observation. Among these were the ships once belonging to two heroes. One was that of Theseus in Athens.<sup>2</sup> You all remember how Theseus sailed back to Athens after slaying the Minotaur. But in his excitement he forgot to hoist white sails in token of victory, and his old father, at sight of the black sails approaching, in his despair cast himself into the sea. This ship was preserved until the fourth century of our era, for the injured parts were restored, so that the philosophers might demonstrate to their pupils. The second ship was that of Aeneas, and was on show in Rome. Procopius states <sup>3</sup> that the length was 120 feet and the breadth 25 feet. Ships seem to have formed a favourite offering, although it is probable that only the beaks were placed in the temples: those of

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, viii. 3. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Phaedron*, 518 A.B.; Plutarch, *Thes.*, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Bell. Goth.*, iv. 22. p. 573 B.

Agamemnon, of Odysseus and of the Argonauts are all mentioned. The last named heroes appear to have scattered votive offerings broadcast, for they dedicated a bowl in Samothrace,<sup>1</sup> tripods at Berenice in the Cyrenaeica,<sup>2</sup> an anchor stone at Cyzicus,<sup>3</sup> and a disc and two anchors at Colchis; one, of iron, did not seem to Arrian to be old: but he recognises the truth of the tradition concerning the other, which was of stone.<sup>4</sup>

An interesting relic was the sceptre of Agamemnon in Chaeroneia. The sceptre of heroic days was not a stumpy thing like the kingly sceptre of modern times, but a long staff upon which the ruler could lean. Pausanias is quite definite about this sceptre; he says: "Of all the works which poets have declared and obsequious public opinion has believed to be the work of Hephaistos, none is genuine save the sceptre of Agamemnon. Homer says that Hephaistos made it for Zeus, and Zeus gave it to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed it to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. I am persuaded that it was brought to Phocis by Electra, Agamemnon's daughter. There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for a year; sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes."<sup>5</sup>

At Sparta he saw another remarkable object, for he tells us: "An egg is here hung by ribbons from the roof: they say it is the famous egg which Leda is reported to have given birth to."<sup>6</sup> This was probably a votive ostrich egg like those found in the tomb at Vulci, which many of you have most likely seen in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, iv. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, iv. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, i. 955 ff.; Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxvi. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Timonax in *Schol. Ap. Rhod.* iv. 1217; Arrian, *Pereplus*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, ix. 40. 11; 41. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, iii. 16. 1.

Further on he relates : " Aristomenes took his shield to Lebadeia and dedicated it there, where I saw it suspended myself ; the blazon on it was an eagle, whose outstretched wings touch the rim of the shield on either side." <sup>1</sup> Countless vase paintings of the period depict warriors armed with just such shields, for these blazons served as coats-of-arms or insignia by which famous warriors were recognised from afar, as we learn from the celebrated description in Aeschylus' play of the *Seven against Thebes*, where the messenger recites the blazons of the seven champions. It is quite likely that the shield was really the one dedicated by Aristomenes, because he was a real historical character, leader of the Messenians in the second war with the Lacedaemonians about B.C. 630-600. Aristomenes was so well-beloved a hero of the oppressed and exiled Messenians that his shield was regarded with great veneration. This is illustrated by a story which, says Pausanias, " I myself heard at Thebes.<sup>2</sup> The Thebans say that just before the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371) they sent envoys to enquire of various oracles, and in particular of the oracle of the god (Trophonios) at Lebadeia. Trophonios, they say, replied in hexameter verse : ' Before you engage with the foeman, set up a trophy / And adorn it with my shield which was deposited in the temple / By bold Aristomenes the Messenian. Verily I / Will destroy the host of the shielded foe.' When this oracle was reported they say that Xenocrates, at the request of Epaminondas, sent for the shield of Aristomenes, and with it decorated a trophy in a place where it would be seen by the Lacedaemonians. Some of them, we may presume, knew the shield by having seen it at their leisure at Lebadeia, but all knew it by hearsay. When the Thebans had gained the victory, they restored the shield to Trophonios, in whose shrine it had been dedicated." An inscription has been found at Thebes which seems to refer to the incident here related, and the tale shows that

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, iv. 16. 7 ; ix. 39. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, iv. 32. 5, 6.

the shield in those days was certainly regarded as genuine, and could still inspire dread in the hereditary foes of its whilom owner.

A curiosity to be seen in Rome were the tusks of the Calydonian boar which the Emperor Augustus carried off from the Temple of Athena at Tegea. Pausanias tells us :<sup>1</sup> "As to the boar's tusks the keepers of the curiosities say that one of them is broken, but the remaining one is preserved in the imperial gardens, and is just half a fathom long." He adds that the boar's hide was still exhibited in the temple at Tegea : "It is rotting away with age, and is now quite bare of bristles." He is much more scornful about the tusks of the Erymanthine boar preserved at Cumae, stating flatly : "The assertion is without a shred of probability."<sup>2</sup>

In Rome, too, was the skeleton of the sea monster who wished to devour Andromeda : it had been brought from Joppa,<sup>3</sup> where the chain which bound the maiden was still preserved.<sup>4</sup>

The imperial gardens at Rome contained other attractions than the tusks of the Calydonian boar, for they seem to have included a kind of zoological garden where were many rare and curious beasts. Pausanias relates : "I saw white deer at Rome, and very much surprised was I to see them."<sup>5</sup> I saw, too, the Ethiopic bulls which they call rhinoceroses, because they have each a horn (*keras*) on the tip of the nose (*rhis*), and another smaller horn above the first, but on their heads they have no horns at all. I saw also Paeonian bulls : they are shaggy all over. And I saw Indian camels in colour like leopards."<sup>6</sup> From the name Ethiopian bulls which Pausanias applies to the animal, it

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, viii. 46. 1 and 5; Callim., *Hym. in Dian.*, 218 ff.; cf. Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, i. 15. p. 77 B; Lucian, *De indoct.*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, viii. 24. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, ix. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, iii. 420.

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias, viii. 17. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, ix. 21. 2.

appears that he is describing the African rhinoceros which, as he says, has two horns on its snout.

Another writer saw seals fighting with bears, a passage which Professor Jennison, of the Manchester Zoological Gardens, explains as follows: "Has it ever been suggested that these were probably Polar bears (*ursus maritimus*)? Bears, always plentiful in the spectacles, are not referred to elsewhere in connexion with seals or water, though water exhibits usually got special mention, for example the crocodiles and hippopotami of Scaurus and Augustus. No bear except a Polar bear would enter water after his prey. The best way to exhibit such a treasure in Rome was to provide a tank, stock it with seals which were cheap and plentiful, and turn in the bears—thus providing a fine display of natation and the certainty of a good noisy fight."<sup>1</sup>

But to return to the imperial gardens where the great trophy was not the collection of animals, but the Triton. Listen to Pausanias; first he describes the Triton at Tanagra:<sup>2</sup> "Yet more wonderful (than the image of Dionysos) is the Triton. The more pretentious of the stories about the Triton is that before the orgies of Dionysos the women of Tanagra went down to the sea to be purified, and that as they swam the Triton attacked them, and that the women prayed to Dionysos to come to help them, and that the god hearkened to them, and conquered the Triton in the fight. The other story is less dignified but more probable. It is that the Triton used to waylay and carry off all the cattle which were driven to the sea, and that he even attacked small craft, till the Tanagraeans set out a bowl of wine for him. They say that, lured by the smell, he came at once, quaffed the wine and flung himself on the shore and slept, and a man of Tanagra

<sup>1</sup> Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.*, vii. 65-6; G. Jennison, *Classical Review* xxxvi. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ix. 20. 45; 21. 1.

chopped off his head with an axe. Therefore the image is headless.

“ I saw another Triton among the marvels of Rome, but it was not so big as the one at Tanagra. The appearance of the Tritons is this. On their heads they have hair which resembles the hair of marsh frogs both in hue and in this, that you cannot separate one hair from another. The rest of their body bristles with fine scales like those of a shark. They have gills under their ears and a human nose, but their mouth is wider and their teeth are those of a beast. Their eyes, I think, are blue, and they have hands, fingers and nails like the shells of mussels. Under their breast and belly, instead of feet, they have a tail like a dolphin's.”

Sir James Frazer comments on these passages: “ It seems it was not an image, but a real Triton or what was exhibited as such. For in the next chapter Pausanias says that he saw another Triton at Rome, describes the appearance of the supposed creature, and then gives a list of other strange animals. That the Triton at Tanagra was professedly a real animal embalmed or stuffed, appears from a statement of Demostratus, reported by Aelian,<sup>1</sup> that he had seen at Tanagra an embalmed or pickled Triton; the creature resembles the pictures and images of Tritons, except that the head was decayed with time and no longer distinct or recognisable; and when he touched it, some hard rough scales fell off. A Roman senator, in the presence of Demostratus, took a piece of the beast's skin and burned it, as an experiment, it emitted a fetid odour; but the spectators could not decide from the smell whether the creature was a sea or land animal. From Demostratus' description and Pausanias' story it would seem that the Triton of Tanagra was headless. What was shown as a Triton may have been either a real sea beast of some sort or an effigy made up by the priests. Had it been merely an effigy, it would probably have been complete, since it is just as easy to make a false

<sup>1</sup> *περὶ ζώων*, xiii. 21.

head as a false tail. The fact that the creature was headless seems to show that it was a real marine animal, which the priests palmed off upon the credulous as a Triton. As the popular idea of a Triton was a fish with a man's head, it became necessary, before exhibiting a real fish as a Triton, to cut off its head or at least to mangle it past all recognition, and then to invent some story to account for the mutilation. It is not surprising, however, that on the coins of the city the creature should appear with its head complete. The people of Tanagra were doubtless proud of their Triton, which probably drew sightseers from afar; and in putting him on their coins as a badge of their city they naturally represented him, not in the mauled and mangled condition which all the exigencies of natural history rendered necessary, but in all his glory with a human head and a fish's tail."

Augustus was in many ways intensely modern: he collected antiquities and took a deep interest in the history and relics of the great episodes of the past. An incident which illustrates this is narrated by Livy, who writes:<sup>1</sup> "This fact I learnt from Augustus Caesar, the second founder of every shrine in Rome, for this I heard him say that when he entered the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius, which he restored from an almost ruinous state, he read with his own eyes the inscription on the linen corselet." The corselet was that dedicated by Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who defeated an Etruscan chief in the fifth century B.C. and won the *spolia opima* by defeating the enemy's leader in single combat. Professor Conway comments on the story: "What interests Livy is the picture of the young triumphant emperor Augustus, in the course of his devout restoration of the shrines of Rome, stopping to read the archaic letters written on a linen breastplate torn from a dying Etruscan chief by his vanquisher, the consul Cossus, 400 years before."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iv. 20. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, pp. 197-9.

Augustus was modern, too, in his interest in prehistoric remains, for we are told : “ He adorned woods and shrubberies with things noteworthy for their age and rarity, like those on the Island of Capri, immense limbs of wild beasts which are called bones of giants, and the arms of heroes.”<sup>1</sup> Tiberius regarded such things from a more coldly scientific point of view ; for in Pontus a great jaw was found, and one of the teeth from it was sent to the Emperor with an enquiry if he would like the whole jaw of the hero. Tiberius made an artist reconstruct the entire head and body from the size of the tooth, but sent the tooth itself back to Pontus.<sup>2</sup>

Colossal bones were found in many places ; at Rhodes bones far larger than those of the present day were discovered,<sup>3</sup> and whole skeletons in the so-called grottoes of Artemis in Dalmatia.<sup>4</sup> In Crete human bodies thirty cubits in height were revealed by a river in flood,<sup>5</sup> and still others measuring forty-six cubits.<sup>6</sup> Giants’ dwellings were unearthed in Syria.<sup>7</sup> Yet the ancients believed strongly in the personal touch. A colossal bone was only a bone, however gigantic it might be. But if it were identified as the superhuman remains of some hero or giant, then it took on quite a different aspect, and became an object worthy of reverent conservation. At Megalopolis in Arcadia were limbs of extraordinary size, said to be those of the Giant Hopoladamus.<sup>8</sup> Sir James Frazer notes that to this day in Arcadia many mammoth bones are found, some of which are in the museum at Dimitsana. Both Lydia and Thebes claimed the bones of Geryon.<sup>9</sup> At Phlegra in Thessaly there was a noise as of men fighting with giants, and the

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, ii. 72. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Phlegon, *Mirab.*, 14. p. 137, ed. Westermann.

<sup>3</sup> Phlegon, *Mirab.*, 16.      <sup>4</sup> Phlegon, *Mirab.*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Solinus, i. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, vii. 73 ; Serv. Virg. *Aen.*, iii. 578.

<sup>7</sup> Pausanias Damasc., *F.G.H.* iv. 469.      <sup>8</sup> Pausanias, viii. 32. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Pausanias, i. 35. 7 ; Lucan, *Adv. ind.*, 14.

floods sweeping over the fields disclosed human bodies of portentous size and the mighty stones they had hurled at one another.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch says that the bones of the Amazons were shown at Samos, but these were rightly explained by later writers as those of prehistoric animals.<sup>2</sup> Philostratus enumerates a series of places where such heroic remains were found.<sup>3</sup>

One interesting relic of the past age was a Phoenician script said to have been brought by Kadmos to Greece. Herodotos mentions that he himself saw such *Καδμῶνεια γράμματα* in the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes on three tripods dedicated by Amphitryon and his companions.<sup>4</sup> Another tripod was the one which Hesiod, as he tells us himself, won at Chalcis and dedicated to the Muses of Helicon.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias says: "Of all the tripods which stood on Helicon, the most ancient is that which Hesiod is said to have received at Chalcis for a song of love."<sup>6</sup> He adds: "They showed me also beside the spring a leaden tablet, very timeworn, on which are engraved the works (of Hesiod)." What would we not give now to possess this tablet, which would be of almost greater interest than any papyrus from the dust heaps of Egypt! The same Mucianus who touched the corselet of Amasis in Lindos related that when he was Governor of Lycia he read in a Lycian temple a letter written home from the front by Homer's Sarpedon.<sup>7</sup>

In the Heraion at Olympia was an inscription even more archaic than the lead tablet of Helicon. This was the quoit of Iphitos, who again established the festival of Zeus

<sup>1</sup> Solinus, ix. 6 f. p. 63 M.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Quest. Gr.*, 56; Eugaion, *Apud Phot. s.v. νηϊς*; Euphorion, *Apud Ael.*, *περὶ ζώων*, xvii. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Philostratus, *Her.*, p. 289 K.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotos, v. 58-60; Pausanias, ix. 10. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 650-59.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, ix. 31. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *N.H.*, xiii. 88.

at Olympia, and the instructions were engraved on the quoit. We are told: "On the quoit of Iphitos is inscribed the truce which the Eleans proclaimed at the Olympic festival. The inscription is not in a straight line, but the letters run round the quoit in a circle."<sup>1</sup> Sir James Frazer comments: "If the tradition is to be trusted the inscription on the quoit could not be later than B.C. 776. It would thus be the oldest Greek inscription of which we have any record."

I do not know if it is legitimate to quote Trimalchio, a gentleman upon whose words one cannot place much reliance; but, discoursing at the celebrated banquet he offered to his guests and speaking apparently of Cumae, he related one story which, if it had any element of truth, would be poignant in its pathos. "Yes," he says, "and I myself with my own eyes saw the Sibyl hanging in a cage; and when the boys cried to her, 'Sibyl, Sibyl, what do you want?' 'I would that I were dead,' she used to answer."<sup>2</sup>

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ROME, *September* 1922.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, in Plutarch, *Lycur.*, i.; Pausanias, v. 20. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*, 48, tr. Heseltine, ed. Loeb.

## NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE EGHĀP, CENTRAL CAMEROON.

BY CAPTAIN L. W. G. MALCOLM.

It was only after extreme difficulty that I obtained any definite information about the religion of the Eghāp tribe, Central Cameroon. Apparently other investigators in the Grassland Area have had the same experience as myself in this respect.

Hutter,<sup>1</sup> who spent several years among the Bali, says that it is extremely difficult to collect precise information on which a definite religious system can be constructed. Ankermann<sup>2</sup> says that "It is difficult to understand the religious beliefs of the Bali, not because the religious system is too complicated, but because their ideas on the subject are vague and obscured." In yet another work,<sup>3</sup> this writer refers to this question. In a private communication Ankermann writes: "Ich habe mich besonderer in Bali längere Zeit aufgehalten und habe Gelegenheit gehabt, alle religiösen Fahnfeste mitzumachen; ich habe aber dieselbe Erfahrung gemacht wie Sie, dass er sehr schwer ist, über die eigentlichen religiösen Ideen der Eingeborenen etwas zuverlässige zu erkunden."

<sup>1</sup> Hutter, F., *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, Brunswick, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> Ankermann, B., "Bericht über eine ethnographische Forschungsreise ins Grasland von Kamerun," *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, Heft 2, pp. 288-310.

<sup>3</sup> Ankermann, B., "Über die Religion der Graslandbewohner Nord-west-Kameruns," *Korr. Bl. d. Deut. Ges. für Anthropol. Ethnol. und Urgesch.*, Bd. xli. 1910, 1-2.

When endeavouring to obtain information, one was always confronted with the problem of obtaining a clear idea of what the Eghāp themselves understood. It was not that my informants were reluctant to give me any information, but they were themselves very confused in their ideas.

I had some of the older men of the Eghāp tribe brought to me for examination, but when discussing any statement they generally disagreed with each other.

In the present paper I propose to record without alteration the various religious beliefs as they were given to me by informants.

The Eghāp call the Supreme Being, or Creator, Mbomvei. He is the creator of all living things and lives everywhere, both in the earth and out of it. For the creation of mankind he delegated authority to a vast number of beings, each of whom the Eghāp call an mbop,<sup>1</sup> and these are regarded by them as lesser deities. Thus every living person has, as his personal creator, one of these beings, and there is an mbop for every conceivable type of person. It is said the original, or first mbop, made by Mbomvei, the high god, was fashioned from mud in the human form, and that this served as a model for all the others.

The mbop is invisible to the living, but after the death of a person, it may appear in ghost form. Mbops are believed to be responsible for creating two types of human being. For example, an idiot or foolish man is said to have an mbop ghughu of the first type, but that of a normal man is called mbop nzange, or of the second type. Again, a man who dies young is said to have an unfair mbop; but an old man has a good one, and because of this is greatly to be desired. A person's mbop is also held responsible for any sickness which may befall him. In fact, anything happening in the lives of the Eghāp is put down to the account of these beings.

<sup>1</sup> This is the word used for body as well.

The mbop is a separate entity, and may make its home anywhere. After death it severs its connection with the body, and the Eghāp consider that death is the result of its removing protection. The birth of a child is also said to be caused by its mbop. When it is considered time a man and his wife are made to cohabit, and the semen (mbu ngōng), after many acts of sexual intercourse, forms the infant. The mbop then causes the child to be born.

The following were given to me as the terms used to designate some of the forms taken by the various mbops :

Mbop ke yeō ne ting nong	-	strong man.
Mbop ke yeō ne nuu pot me	-	weak man.
Mbop ke yeō ne kinde	- -	a runner.
Mbop ke yeō ne fong	- -	chief.
Mbop wue ke yeō ne mong	-	a boy attendant on the head-chief.
Mbop ke yeō ne ngāng foo	-	native accoucheur.
Mbop ye ne zhing	- -	a childless man.
Mbop ye ne fo or nnōng	-	a man with several children.
Mbop ye ne mpforshei	- -	head man.
Mbop ye ne pfir pfir	- -	a man who agrees with everything.
Mbop ye ne tara iyap	- -	an ironworker.
Mbop ye ne pii no	- -	the man who prepares camwood powder (pii).
Mbop ye ne mbōo nka	- -	a drummer.
Mbop ye ne mbā ndze	- -	a tailor.

The Supreme Being (Mbomvei) has as his main attendants the sun (mino nōo tse) and the moon (mino ne tsu), who are supposed to assist him in ruling the world. Mbomvei is cognisant of everything that goes on. He dwells everywhere, but occasionally pays a visit to the home of the dead (ngwū iyāp) to see the souls (pforshei) dwelling there.

The sun is believed to have the power of interceding

with Mbomvei, so in cases of sickness an Eghāp man may appeal directly to it. The patient sits or stands facing it, and with the index finger of the right hand strokes the corresponding finger of the left. This is done from the tip down to the third joint, then returning with a circular motion over the back of the hand (*kwa ndzhop*). He enquires of the sun what he has done to be allowed to fall ill, and since Mbomvei knows everything, he asks it to intercede for him. If he has misbehaved he knows that he will be punished. At night the moon may be appealed to in the same manner. In case of a dispute the sun may be called upon to mediate between the contending parties.

It is held generally by the Eghāp that a person is endowed with two souls, exclusive of the *mbop*. One of these, to which I will refer as the ghost (*mizzing*), is separable and is considered to be the same as the shadow,<sup>1</sup> and is able to leave the body during life. It was not found possible to obtain any clear idea as to the shape or form which the ghost takes, and the information given was very vague throughout. The general idea was that it is an entity which can assume any definite form it thinks fit, or else as a white or black being with curious features and deformities. Certain of the Eghāp stated that they had seen ghosts, but that they were quite indefinite in shape and form.

The second or inseparable soul (*pforshei*) is believed to be the exact counterpart of the human body and does not leave it until the moment of death. It leaves through the nose, assumes its shape as when it was in the living person, and then goes straight to the home of the dead (*ngwū iyāp*), where the other *ngkongo pforshei* of past and gone members of the tribe are said to be living. Here it is met by *ngkongo pforshei* of the former head-chiefs of the tribe, who issue the necessary instructions.

<sup>1</sup> The reflection in water and the shadow in the sun are believed to be synonymous.

Formerly it was held that when a person died his ghost made itself visible to one of the townspeople on the day of death. Striebel confirms my observation of the belief that, though it may return to the town at night, the pforshai remains in the home of the dead. The ghost will not visit the town on a moonlight night, and it is said to appear only in dark places. For this reason clumps of trees are always avoided by the Eghāp, if they are out at night. Striebel, however, says that he was informed that the ghosts may also appear in the daytime.

If a man is murdered, the ghost (mizzing) will appear to the murderer in his sleep. If a woman dies, her ghost may appear to one of her children on the farm about a week after death. If it speaks the child will die. Ghosts appear to people in dreams or when they are ill, and may speak to them. When a man is very ill he may dream of the home of the dead.

As already mentioned, sometimes ghosts may appear as white people, but also sometimes as black forms having long hair on their heads. It is believed that if a ghost appears before a man in the daytime, he will immediately begin to waste away, and may die.

Ghosts are able to make themselves so small that they can go through the closed doors of a hut. Striebel says that formerly ghosts appeared in great numbers, but since the advent of the Europeans they only appear singly.

The ghosts of people who at death have left no relatives behind them are believed to worry people by causing illness, and they are also said to be able to cause all sorts of trouble in everyday life. During a time of sickness in the town these troublesome ghosts are driven away. It is believed that the old men who play on the sacred instruments (ngōng) are the only people feared by the ghosts, the operation of driving them away therefore falls to these. Three branches of a certain tree are cut down, the leaves are sprinkled with a small red fruit, and then smeared with

a mixture of camwood powder (pii) and palm-wine (ndu yuuh), and the whole is then bound together by native-made string. It is then thrown on to the path by means of a cord. When all the preparations have been made, the sacred instrument men gather in the head-chief's compound. Here three of them play lustily on drums for about fifteen minutes. At a given signal all of them spring into the air and rush through the narrow opening of the mat fence surrounding the head-chief's compound, bellowing like cattle. They beat the fencing, stamp on the ground, and strike the drums with great vigour. All those people in the town who are supposed to be controlled by evil spirits rush about in great agitation, foaming at the mouth, with their eyes wide open and staring.

In the market-place the men who are supposed to drive the evil ghosts away divide into five sections. At the head of each is a drummer, followed first by a man with a whisk, and then by a number of men armed with spears. A dance is then held, in which the performers spring high into the air, some of them with stalks of elephant-grass (mbere) in their hands to drive the ghosts away. No one is allowed to leave his compound while this is going on, and complete silence reigns over the town. Whatever appears, whether human beings or animals, will at once be caught by the evil ghosts.

After this dance the men return to the sacred instrument hut (ndap ngōng) with the instruments, and then go back to the head-chief's compound (ndap fong).

It is believed by many of the Eghāp that the ghosts of some of their ancestors return to the tribe as children. Many believe that all people are born anew, but others say that only those souls in the home of the dead who have no children there come back to the tribe. There is, however, no definite belief on the matter among the tribe as a whole.

The home of the dead is believed by the majority of the Eghāp to be situated exactly under the tribal area on

earth. Striebel says<sup>1</sup> they believe that the way to this underworld is through water. Many of the nkongo pforshai travel in canoes on the Nun River and then proceed by land to the home of the dead.

When a new arrival makes his appearance here he is not allowed to associate with anyone else, and until his living relatives lift the ban against his entrance, by offerings and ceremonial dancing, he is worried and driven from place to place by all the other nkongo pforshai. For this reason offerings are made and ceremonies are performed soon after death. A feast is prepared to which friends and relatives are invited. The sacred instrument player, ngumba, is called to supply the music. In the middle of the compound-yard of the deceased three drums are placed, around which eight men dance, and play end-blown bamboo-flutes, while some play on iron double-bells. The dancing is directed by a man with a long staff.

After the dance all the huts in the compound are visited in turn. The players and dancers go before each hut-door and play and dance there for some minutes. At intervals palm-wine is partaken of by all the people in the compound. Towards evening an enclosure made of banana-leaves is formed at the back of one of the huts in the compound. On the wall of the hut a bag containing a miscellaneous collection of objects such as kaolin, pipe stems, pieces of calabash, etc., is hung upon a wooden peg. Two of the head-chief's sons are streaked with this kaolin, their loin-cloths twisted into the form of a tail, large leaves are placed in the hair with wooden needles, and in the mouth also a bunch of leaves. They are supposed to represent leopards and act accordingly. Running in a wild and aimless manner round the compound, they are pursued by armed men, who make gestures of the chase with their spears.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Administration of the Basler Mission for permission to read and abstract from Missionary Striebel's manuscript on the Eghāp.

After a short time they run from the compound to the head-chief's quarters, followed closely by a number of their hunters uttering loud cries. As the human leopards pass along the paths no townspeople are supposed to be seen, on account of the danger of being captured. At dusk the men with the instruments begin to play, and the people dance until dawn the next morning. The ban is now supposed to be lifted, and the pforshai of the dead man can associate with those of his ancestors.

The life of the pforshai in the home of the dead does not differ from that of the living Eghāp. Married people are reunited with their families. The reunion of a husband and wife is called awuu ndzho ngu pforshai. Cohabitation also takes place in the home of the dead; it is not certain whether children are born. Quarrels may also occur. All authority in the home of the dead is vested in the senior or first reigning chief, and so the Eghāp always pray to him for assistance. This head-chief's name is Mbomvei, the same name as that of the high god; and to-day, as a salutation to the head-chief, this name is given.

The pforshai of anyone who has committed suicide or who has died of leprosy is not allowed to communicate with the other pforshai, but must live on the outskirts of the home of the dead.

The nkongo pforshai are considered to be immortal, and will not die again, except in the case of an evil pforshai.

Many of the Eghāp believe that the home of the dead is inhabited by two classes of people—the good and the bad. Between these there is a very broad and deep river over which there is no passage, and any pforshai which attempts to cross falls into the water and is destroyed. The evil or bad nkongo pforshai are continually fighting with each other; they are subject to illness and death.

The social organisation is exactly the same as on earth. The pforshai of the head-chief is leader there also, but only

of those pforshai over whom he ruled during his term of office on earth.

According to Striebel there is still another variant of the social organisation of the underworld. The nkongo pforshai of head-chiefs live by themselves, those of the head-chiefs' mothers by themselves, and those of their children in yet another place ; while the nkongo pforshai of all the advisers and attendants live in a central place. The life in this world is believed to be exactly the same as that on the earth.

Yet others believe that the land of the departed is in a heaven which is built up of three different stages. In the upper one Mbomvei dwells with all his attendants ; in the lower are the nkongo pforshai. On death the pforshai leaves the body and goes straight to the upper stage, where it is interviewed by Mbomvei, who enquires how many children he has left behind him on the earth. If any have been left on earth Mbomvei pours palm-wine into his hands, which he drinks. This pforshai is then allowed to proceed to the middle stage and to live there. If, however, the pforshai has left no children behind, or has offended against some tribal law, he is sent to the lower stage, and later on he is sent back to earth by Mbomvei to be re-born. By looking into water Mbomvei can see all the descendants of any of the dead Eghāp.

Some of the Eghāp believe that only the old people remain in the heavens, where the method of living is exactly the same as on earth.

There is only one head-chief in the home of the dead—Mbomvei ; the nkongo pforshai of all those who were head-chiefs on earth rank the same as those of their subjects. Women who were married on earth remain married. If a widow re-marries on earth, her pforshai reunites with that of her first husband when she dies. Sowing and harvest, work and pleasure, hunting and war, all take place as on earth.

It is believed that the souls of one's ancestors are able

to look after the material welfare of the people on earth. For this reason they are frequently appealed to for their assistance to cause children to be born and the crops to bear well. When this is done the shie (a ring made from strands of raphia fibre), which is hung as a memorial sign outside the hut on a peg over the doorway, is taken down and placed on the ground. If a child is ill and the assistance of its maternal grandmother is required, then palm-wine is poured out on the ground near to the shie. Palm-oil is rubbed over it, and it is then sprinkled with camwood powder. The request is then made, being prefaced by the word "me" (mother). The mother's shie is called shie me. After the request has been made the shie is allowed to remain on the ground for one day, after which it is replaced on the peg above the doorway.

The supplication for any particular desire is made once only, and this is purely a private ceremony; but if the general welfare of the town is to be prayed for, the head-chief pays a series of ceremonial visits to the burial huts of his ancestors. The hut of the head-chief's father is visited first, and the ceremony there is practically the same as that just described, except that a goat is killed by having its throat cut, and the blood is allowed to flow over the shie. The liver is cut up and placed inside it. Requests are made for the general welfare of the town, the fertility of crops, the birth of children, and for success against any enemies. In every case the shie is left on the ground for a day before it is replaced. The flesh of the slaughtered animals is distributed to the attendants present at the ceremony, the heads being taken by the head-chief. In these and all other ceremonies the blood must be taken from a living animal. That of a dead one is considered valueless.

A few feet from the north-west corner of the head-chief's hut there is a small tree (*Ficus* sp.), at the foot of which is a small earthenware bowl (*chikup*) let into the ground.

This vessel is filled with a mixture of palm-wine and water which is kept there for the use of the souls of the departed members of the tribe. The tree and bowl are called nepong. The head-chief of Bagam prepared this tree and bowl after his large native hut (ndap fong) was completed some time ago. The assembly place for the souls (mobîu) is always kept clean by one or other of the chief's boy attendants. I witnessed the ceremony of supplying food and replenishing the bowl with palm-wine on September 7th, 1917. The head-chief, who was accompanied by his attendants, performed the rites himself, assisted by his senior attendants. The day of the ceremony was called mwoi shie. A young goat was handed to the head-chief at the nepong. He cut its throat, the blood being allowed to flow all over the ground in front of the tree. As this was done the head-chief said, "This is the food for the souls of the dead Eghāp." Each time he made any remark during the ceremony he prefaced it by mentioning the name of his late father (Fong ō tong). To anything said by the head-chief the attendants always replied, "mbie!" The liver of the goat was then taken out, and after being cut into small pieces was mixed with palm oil. This mixture was then placed in a small hole in the ground near to the bowl. The head-chief again said that he was supplying the souls with food. It is believed that during this ceremony all the souls of former Eghāp are assembled to partake of the food. This custom appears to be founded on the one prevailing in Bagam, that if any of the townspeople want food or palm-wine they go to the head-chief for it and are never refused.

The head-chief's nepong is naturally the principal one in the town, but each headman of a compound has one for the use of his own relatives (chup). If insects devour the food it is regarded as an excellent omen, because it signifies that the souls have accepted the food provided for them. Such insects are never destroyed, as they are considered to be messengers from the home of the dead.

The reason given for the presence of the tree was that in life, when men sit down on the ground, they usually want a support for the back. The nepong tree is for the souls to rest against when they come to drink the palm-wine and water provided for them.

#### ANIMAL SOULS.

Universally spread over the Bagam Area is the belief that it is possible for the ghosts (mizzing) of certain men to enter into the bodies of animals, such as elephants, leopards, buffaloes, monkeys, wild cats, owls, and so on. It is more usual for elephants and owls to be the animals selected, rather than leopards, as is the case on the coast. According to Striebel, one who is an elephant man must have in his possession a genuine elephant skin; the tusks may be fashioned out of hard wood. During sleep the ghost of the elephant man leaves him, takes the elephant skin, and with the wooden tusks in place he goes forth as a genuine elephant. He generally destroys cultivated patches or the maize fields of his enemies, and sometimes he kills man. On waking, the man whose shadow or ghost has entered the elephant realises what has happened, and stays in the hut until its return before he can rise from bed. If the elephant were killed, then in form it would appear to be exactly the same as any other elephant; its wooden tusks would be turned to ivory, and its flesh would taste the same as that of any other animal. In such an event the ghost or shadow, which has entered into the animal which has been killed, cannot return to the body of its former owner, and so the man speedily dies. It is believed that ghosts of all chiefs have the power to enter into elephants.

The ghosts of the Eghāp always have the power to influence animals. They understand their language, and consequently they maintain dominion over them. If anyone in Bagam has been the victim of theft he makes offerings

to his ancestors and asks them to avenge him. The ghosts send animals in the form of lions or leopards to kill the thief, or else the ghosts themselves enter into animals in order to see that he is killed. It is regarded generally as the penalty for some wrongdoing against a neighbour, when a man has been killed by such animals.

A woman had a quantity of corn broken from the cobs in her hut. A large proportion was destroyed by a number of rats, and naturally the woman was very angry. She related the occurrence to her friends, and the rats heard about this, and said to her: "Would you rather we killed your relatives or ate your corn?" The woman was greatly frightened and could not answer. That same day all her relatives died, and in a few days she also was dead.

A man went to the Nun River to shoot a crocodile. In the early morning he saw one, and was about to fire at it, when it came up to him, and holding the gun fast said: "Why are you going to shoot me?" Immediately the man fell dead. In both these instances it was believed that these animals contained the ghosts of former inhabitants of Bagam.

A story is related by Striebel of two men who went one day into the bush and there entered into two elephants in order to destroy some cornfields. Another man paid a visit to his cornfield and saw the elephants there. He crept into the tall grass and hid himself. After a short time the ghosts who had entered into the elephants left them, and returned to the men. The skins and wooden tusks of the animals were laid by. The two men then went to the top of a neighbouring hill, and as soon as they had disappeared the man who was hiding went to the elephant skins and placed two stalks of elephant-grass (mbere) over them. They were tied at the top, and a small bundle of grass was attached to the place where they were tied. He then returned to his hiding-place in the grass. When the two men returned from the walk they saw this grass and were

very much frightened, as they could never again enter into an elephant owing to this bann. After a short time the man who was in hiding came out in front of them and asked, "What will you give me if I remove the grass, and therefore the bann?"<sup>1</sup> Both of the men promised him a rich reward if he would do this, so he then drew the elephant-grass stalks out of the hides and fled. He related his experiences, and immediately several hunters went out to look for the elephants. When they had been found and killed, the tusks were brought back for the head-chief, and the flesh was divided amongst the people. The same day the two men died.

In earlier times it is said that many of the people in the sub-town of Bamesso entered into elephants, and the Eghāp used to kill them in great numbers. A corresponding number of men in this sub-town would die about the same time. When the elephants could be seen quite easily after the grass-burning time, many of them were killed, and on the same day men would die in various parts of the town. On one of these occasions, as the hunters returned to their homes, one of them lost his way and had to sleep in the open. He was met by several elephants and in great fear he climbed into a tree from which he could see them. To his surprise he heard them speaking the Munghāka language, and immediately he knew that they were not genuine elephants, but forms into which the ghosts of men had entered. He was so frightened that he fell from the branch, and the elephants rent him in pieces. When a search party left the town to look for him next morning all that was found were his bones and grass bag.

During the time that the Eghāp were fighting with the Bamum one of the former went to the Nun River and built a hut. His ghost entered into a leopard, made a hole through the roof, and went outside. In the thick bush on

<sup>1</sup> It is only possible for the bann to be removed by the man who made it.

the banks of the river the ghost went back into the man. This man was a ventriloquist and sang the Eghāp war song. The Bamum believed that a number of the Eghāp were in the bush and fled.

Not only is it possible for men to enter into animals, but it is believed that animals can enter into men. Especially is this the case with dogs. There is a legend that owing to the former habit of dogs carrying tales they had their mouths closed by the high god. Even at the present day it is believed that they are able to understand human speech. Striebel relates the following story. A man went to the bush to get wood, accompanied by his dog. After it had been collected it was tied on to the dog's back and they returned to their compound. As they had been caught in a rainstorm on their way a fire was made in the hut. The dog sat close to it, and when the man attempted to drive it away it said: "Have I not carried the wood?" The man immediately dropped dead.

A man went out hunting with his dog, and on the way fell into a pit. The dog then took the form of a man, and obtained a pole which he lowered into the pit, and the imprisoned man climbed out. The dog then resumed its former shape, and forbade the man to say anything about what had happened, or he would die. They then returned home and found that food was ready. The man, who was very hungry, did not forget the dog and gave it some of the food. The man's wife was very angry because of this, and attempted to drive the dog away, but the man said, "Let the dog stay." The dog heard all this and beat the ground with its forefoot. The wife then tried a second time to drive the animal away, and the man said, "Let the dog be, for if it had not been for it I should now be dead." As soon as he had said this the dog answered, "You will die," and the man fell down dead on the ground.

Some of the stories told by certain members of the tribe with reference to their belief in ghosts have been recorded

by Striebel and myself, and as far as possible I have dovetailed the two accounts together.

(a) A woman waked shortly after midnight and saw that there was a strong light. Believing that it was morning she rose and picked up her bag and hoe. As she did so a number of ghosts appeared before her and sang, "This woman saw that the moon was shining brightly and believed that it was morning." As they sang they beat her, and then left the hut.

(b) A woman was dying, and when she realised this she sent for her daughter and made her promise that she would tend and care for her grandmother, who was still living. The daughter forgot this promise after her mother's death, and went to live with a friend. One day after she had been working in the fields all day the mother's ghost appeared before her just at dusk, and asked her: "Did you not promise to care for your grandmother?" The daughter became speechless and unable to move through fear, and could not leave the farm. Late that evening her father, accompanied by some friends, went in search of her. Although they approached her quite closely she was invisible to them. In the early morning the ghost left her and she hurried back to her hut. Then she went to her grandmother, whom she tended until the latter died.

(c) A woman of Bamendjing who was working in the fields was told by a sorcerer to leave her work, as the head-chief's ghost was in the vicinity. She refused to take any notice, and immediately fell down dead.

(d) Late one evening a man was on his way to a hut, and as he approached it he heard the sound of singing in the market-place. He at once proceeded there and saw a great number of people assembled on the spot. He joined in the dancing and singing, and when they were all tired he sat down with them in order to drink palm-wine. Each man held in his hand a drinking horn which was filled by an attendant. As this man approached him it was noticed

that he was preceded by another person. Immediately the dancer, who was a ghost, sprang up and beat the intruder so that he acquired a lung disease from which he died.

(e) An attendant on the head-chief went home late to his compound. On his way he saw on the ground a piece of stick which was as white as chalk. He picked it up and carried it home. As he approached the sacred instrument hut the piece of wood said, "Do not take me with you into this hut." The attendant was very much frightened, and dropping the piece of stick, he fled into the hut. The ghost, in the form of a stick, fled also on account of fright.

(f) A sick man called a neighbour to give him some medicine. Towards midnight many ghosts appeared before him and took his ghost (shadow) away with them. On their return they saw the man who had administered the medicine, and said that they had the ghost of the sick man with them. Through fear this man would not go into the hut. At dawn the sick man died, but the medicine man was not held by the townspeople to be responsible.

(g) A fisherman on his way home from the Nun River met an old woman who begged for some fish. The man, who was well-known to be very mean, refused her request. As he approached his hut he saw that it was in flames. The old woman, who was a ghost, had set fire to it.

(h) On the banks of the Nun River a man built a hut and lived in it for some time. One night ghosts came to him to ask for wood. In their playfulness they raised the hut very high above the ground. In the morning the man returned to the town.

(i) As a man approached his hut he observed in his compound a stranger leaning against a tree. He called out, "Who is there?" and received no answer. His question was repeated, and on still receiving no answer he threw his spear at the stranger, so that he fell to the ground. The man then went into his hut, and early next morning went outside to view the body. To his astonishment it

had disappeared, leaving no traces. It was believed to have been a ghost which had come to visit him.

(j) Two men were in the bush burning charcoal. A ghost appeared before them, and soon afterwards they died.

(k) A man went for a walk in the evening, and on the path he saw a bag, which he picked up and took back with him. As he neared his hut the bag said, "Let me go." The man immediately dropped it and fled into his hut, where the bag followed him and beat him. To some of his friends he later on related his adventure. In the early morning he died. If the man had not related this ghost story in the night time, but had waited until the morning, he would not have died so suddenly.

(l) Two men went one day to the Nun River to fish. In the evening they returned to Bagam. As they approached the town they saw two figures coming towards them, and thinking that they were ghosts they hid in the long grass. The two beings were ghosts, one beneficent and the other malevolent, and when they came near to the place where the two men were hiding the malevolent ghost said to the other, "There is someone hidden in the grass." This was denied by its companion, but when the two fishermen heard them speaking they fled. Both of the ghosts pursued them, the malevolent one following the beneficent. As the latter ran rather slowly the other became very angry and wanted to go on by itself, but to this its companion would not agree. When the fishermen had returned to their huts they did not say anything about their adventure until the following morning.

(m) A man went to a stream in the vicinity of the town, and on reaching it he was seized by a ghost who came out of the water. He was taken straight away to the home of the dead. After a long stay there he returned to his town, accompanied by the ghost who had taken him away. He was commanded by the head-chief to relate all that he had seen. The ghost then placed a piece of camwood in

his right hand and ashes in his left, and he was instructed to say that in the home of the dead he had been a priest, to which office he had been appointed by the souls of the departed Eghāp. He asked the head-chief to desist from asking questions about it, as unless he did, he would die. After the head-chief had been told this, palm-wine, fowls, goats, etc., were brought and given to the priest of the souls as offerings to them. With all these offerings he returned through the water to the home of the dead and remained there.

(n) A man came late to his compound after a dance. As he was eating some food another man appeared before the table and snatched it away. The man was frightened and cried out so loudly that his wife was wakened. Asked for an explanation, the man related what had happened, and his wife said that it had been a ghost. In two days the man was dead.

(o) Several women on their way home from the farms found in a stream a small child, who asked them to carry it across the water. All of them disregarded this request and went their way, with the exception of one of the head-chief's women, who took notice of it and carried it over. On the other side she was about to put the child down, but it clamoured to be taken on. It was then fastened to her back in the usual manner and carried home, but there the child refused to be put down, and the woman had to carry it all the time on her back. At last, in desperation she threw it back into the water, and it immediately swam across to the other side, while the woman herself was drowned.

(p) In the compound of the sub-chief of Bamendjing there is a hut in which lived the ghost of one of his former wives. If anyone passing the hut called out, "What are you doing in the hut?" the ghost would come out and beat the questioner with one of her long breasts, and immediately he would die.

(q) In one of the Bagam compounds a ghost is on watch

outside the door of a hut, where it smokes a long pipe. If any intruder makes his appearance he is beaten off by blows. The idea of the ghost of an ancestor returning to guard his descendants is believed by a certain number of the Eghāp, but the belief is by no means general.

The world is supposed to be in the form of a huge flat plate which floats on an enormous sea. As already mentioned, under the earth is the land of the departed souls. The heavens are made from a kind of glass, and the outer edge is believed to be where the horizon comes into contact with the earth.

The sun is composed of fire and contains innumerable ghosts. Every day it walks over the sky on a number of feet; in the evening it goes into an enormous hut where it sleeps until morning.

There are a number of beliefs concerning the moon. Striebel says that in Bali and Bamum the ideas concerning the nature of the moon are different from those held by the Eghāp. It also is believed to have feet and to be able to walk across the sky. The phases of the moon are believed to be caused by its crawling into a large hut, and when at the full it is thought to be carrying this on its back. According to some the moon is more favourable to the Eghāp than the sun because it does not give such a strong light, and it is also believed to regulate the menstrual periods of the women.

The stars are regarded by some people as being related to glow-worms; by others as small fires burning in the sky; and by others it is thought that all the stars together represent a people who are ruled by the moon. Meteors and shooting stars are the messengers of Mbomvei, and so they travel very quickly with his orders.

A meteor (fo nsang) is believed generally to be a harbinger of bad luck. Once when one appeared in the sky two chiefs and one chief's mother died the same year. It is also believed that there is some connection between the appear-

ance of a comet and war, sickness and other evil happenings. On one occasion when a meteor appeared there was a great epidemic of dysentery. This happened at the time of the harvesting of new corn, and the real reason for the outbreak of illness was that the people had eaten too much of it. It is also said by some that a comet is a new moon in the making, and by others it is thought to be the soul of a departed head-chief smoking his ceremonial pipe.

Lightning (*fang mbane*) is believed to be a messenger of Mbomvei, and is used to convey his messages with rapidity. On the banks of the Nun River there are some huts erected to serve the lightning, and offerings of palm-wine, palm-oil, fowls and so on are made to it. Three men were struck by lightning on the banks of this river while they were fishing, in 1917, and I was informed that these messengers had been sent by Mbomvei to show his displeasure.

Striebel relates a myth which was told to him about the offering of a dog to the lightning. In very early times there was a tremendous downpour of rain. A man saw a small dog standing in the path and called it to him, took it into his warm hut, and dried it by the fire. The dog then went outside in the rain again, and immediately there was a heavy roll of thunder, and the man dropped dead. Mbomvei was very much displeased at this, and directed the dog to restore the man to life again.

Prayers are often made to the lightning to increase a man's prosperity or to destroy his enemies. If anything has been stolen, a piece of stick whittled with a knife is thrown into the lightning hut, the man making a wish as he does it. The lightning will then strike the hut of the thief and kill him. Requests are made to the lightning to act as avenger against all enemies.

*Brief Notes on the Religious Beliefs of Other Tribes  
in the Cameroons.*

Passarge<sup>1</sup> says that the Bantu-speaking tribes of the Cameroons have a belief in two high gods, one beneficent and one malevolent. The Duala call the former Niengo ;<sup>2</sup> the Bakwiri, Lobe ;<sup>3</sup> the Yaunde, Insambo ;<sup>4</sup> and certain of the Cross River Tribes, Obashi (Obassi).

The malevolent high god or principle is called Ekongole by the Duala, N'kule by the Bakoko, and Mukasse by the Bakwiri. This form plays by far the most important part in the beliefs of the people, the beneficent high god playing a minor part only.

I have compiled from various sources a list of the names of the high gods of the Cameroon, and, as will be seen from the following list, the name Ny-ambe or its variant is widely spread.

<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Name of Deity.</i>
Duala.	Ny-ambe, N-yamba.
Balung.	Ny-amā, Mo-ny-amā.
Ba-kosi.	Ny-amā.
Bangangte.	Mōny-ama.
Yaūnde.	Iny-ambō.
Fang.	N-zām, Any-ām, Nzame, A-nam, A-name.
Bulu.	Zambe.
Ekoi.	N'dam.
Nsō.	Anyoi.
Mbe.	Nūye.
Manyang.	N'tang, N-dam.
Ba-nené.	U-mban.

<sup>1</sup> Passarge, S., " Kamerun " [in H. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, vol. i. pt. 2, Leipzig and Vienna, 1914].

<sup>2</sup> *Korr. Bl. der deut. Gesellsch. für Anthropol., etc.*, 1901, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Beitr. zur Kol.-pol. und Kol.-wirtsch.*, 1902-3, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Mitt. aus den deut. Schutzgeb.*, Bd. viii. p. 45.

<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Name of Deity.</i>
Ba-fut.	N-dshiembok.
Ba-nyañ.	N-dang, N-dan.
Ba-taña.	N-djambi, N-yambo.

Amongst the coastal tribes there is general belief in the deity called  $\bar{O}$ -basi.

<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>Name of Deity.</i>
Ba-rondō.	A-wasi.
Ba-kwiri.	$\bar{O}$ -basi.
N-gōlō.	$\bar{O}$ -wase.
Ba-kundu.	$\bar{O}$ -wasi.
Ba-rombi-M-bonge.	A-basi.
Ekoi.	$\bar{O}$ -basi <i>or</i> A-wasi.
Nde <i>or</i> Atam.	E-sōwō, O-sōwō.

An examination of the vocabularies in Johnston's recent work <sup>1</sup> reveals how very wide-spread is the distribution of the first form. It is to be found as far south as Barotseland and Hereroland. It is clear that whatever the philological evidence means there is a good field for research in determining the religious beliefs of this vast area. In any case, there seem to be differences of opinion concerning the attributes of this high god, and they are referred to by Kolbe,<sup>2</sup> Bentley,<sup>3</sup> Miss Kingsley,<sup>4</sup> le Garrec,<sup>5</sup> Trilles,<sup>6</sup> le Roy <sup>7</sup> and Avelot.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Johnston, H. H. (Sir), *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Oxford, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Kolbe, F. W., *An English-Herero Dictionary*, Capetown, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Bentley, W. H. (Rev.), *A Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> Kingsley, M. H. (Miss), *West African Studies*, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> Le Garrec, E., *Rencontre de deux Civilisations*.

<sup>6</sup> Trilles, R. P., "Chez les Fang," *Miss. Cath.*, Tome xxx., 1898.

<sup>7</sup> Trilles, R. P., "Les légendes des Bana-Kanioka et la folk-lore bantou," *Anthropos*, Bd. v. 1910.

<sup>8</sup> Roy, le, *La Religion des Primitifs*, Paris, 1909.

Vogel<sup>1</sup> says that in the Sudan there is a belief in one high god, an entity which is composed of all the ghosts of the departed. The Margi and Musgu have a belief in a high god, whose symbol is a staff. In various parts of the Grassland area there are a number of stone pillars with a three-gable ended extremity. I have seen these in Bamendjinda, Bamumkumbo, and Bawadju. Hutter<sup>2</sup> also refers to these in the Bali area. In the same towns just mentioned I have seen small huts built by the side of running streams. Inside them, and on the ground, were small bowls of palm-wine which were placed there for the ghosts ("die people") who may visit their original homes.

Passarge<sup>3</sup> mentions that with the ancestral cult masked dances are held at the time of sowing and harvesting. He says: "Indessen ist von ihnen nichts Näheres bekannt."

Thorbecke says that the religion of the Tikar may be divided into a belief in ghosts and gods. The former belief is vague and indefinite, and the latter firmly established.

According to this same authority the Tikar have a belief in an unseen high god whom they call Masuë. Sometimes he lives in the air, but more generally in or near water. Every tribe worships Masuë in any important stretch of water near by. Possibly there is some connection between this belief and that of the tribes in the Bamenda division, who build sacred huts on the banks of running streams.

In the Forest belt the general belief is that the ancestral ghosts wander in the bush and attempt to do evil.<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a distinction, however, when we consider the belief of the tribes of the Cross River as described by Mansfeld. With the high god Ōbashi are a number of

<sup>1</sup> Passarge, S., *Adamaua*, Berlin, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Hutter, F., *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, Brunswick, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Passarge, S., "Kamerun" [in H. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, vol. i. pt. 2, Leipzig and Vienna, 1914].

<sup>4</sup> Passarge, S., "Kamerun" [in H. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, vol. i. pt. 2, Leipzig and Vienna, 1914].

demons who play a middle rôle between him and the people. These are represented in the form of carved wooden masks or human shapes, and they have exactly the same meaning as if they were ancestors. Offerings with supplications are made to these in the new moon, a granite block which is generally kept in the "Palaver-house," being used as an altar.

The carved wooden figures of the Bakundu and Bakoko groups are referred to by Passarge<sup>1</sup> as being representatives of the dead.

The development of the mask in certain ceremonies appears to have had its origin in a custom according to which skulls were first used, but were later superseded by carved wooden representations, some of which have now become degenerate in form. It is possible that the use of masks in the ceremonies of secret societies has developed from the same origin.

Amongst the Tikar<sup>2</sup> the belief exists that at death the ghost (akong) leaves the body through the nose. If the deceased person was good-living, then the ghost goes straight to Masuč, the water god of the Tikar; if evil, the ghost must go to a place where the god cannot see him. This is in order to make people pay for their guilt. There is no judgment, and the evil ghosts must live in the world set apart for them. The ghosts of the good can return to earth and influence the life of their relations and friends, but the ghost of an evil man cannot return to earth and so cause trouble. In any supplication made to the ghosts, that of the father is always called upon for help.

Thorbecke says that the ghost of a chief is regarded somewhat differently. Not only the heir, but all the attendants and members of the tribe look upon the ghost of a dead chief as their protector. A chief is buried on the

<sup>1</sup> Passarge, S., "Kamerun" [in H. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, vol. i. pt. 2, Leipzig and Vienna, 1914].

<sup>2</sup> Passarge, S., *Adamaua*, Berlin, 1895.

outskirts of the town, and a hut is built over the grave. His children are also buried here. As a sign of the burial place a clay bowl is placed on the grave.

Among the tribes of the Bakoko and Bakundu groups there is belief in a home of the dead under the ground. After death the ghost wanders for nine days before reaching it. During this period a series of ceremonial dances are held by the relatives of the deceased person. The Bakwiri believe that on the way to the home of the dead the ghost must overcome the evil high god, Mukasse. The ghost must take a goat with it into the home of the dead.<sup>1</sup> If a man has died in the bush, or if on account of poverty a goat is not offered at the burial ceremonies, then the ghost will enter a chimpanzee.<sup>2</sup> The ghosts may reappear to the Bakwiri having a white skin.<sup>3</sup>

The Banyang have the belief that ghosts of deceased men return to their country as birds.<sup>4</sup>

Throughout this paper I have used the term "home of the dead" in accordance with the definition as laid down by Rivers.<sup>5</sup>

The native names have been recorded, as far as possible in accordance with the system laid down by Johnston. Owing to the cost of publication, however, I have used English instead of Greek letters.

<sup>1</sup> Passarge, S., "Kamerun" [in H. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, vol. i. pt. 2, Leipzig and Vienna, 1914].

<sup>2</sup> Seidel, A., "Sitten und Gebräuche des Bakwirivolkes nebst einem Abriss der Bakwirisprache," *Beitr. zur Kol.-pol. und Kol.-wirtsch.*, 1901-02.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitt. aus den deut. Schutzgeb.*, 1905, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Hutter, F., *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, Brunswick, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> Rivers, W. H. R., "The Concept of Soul Substance in New Guinea and Melanesia," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxi. 1920, pp. 48-69.

<sup>6</sup> Johnston, H. H. (Sir), *Phonetic Spelling*, Cambridge, 1913.

## COLLECTANEA.

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### THE DRAGONS' TEETH; BLOOD FALLING ON THE GROUND.

THE following story recalls that of Cadmus and the dragons' teeth, and also the belief about blood falling on the ground.

The great Indian goddess Durgā or Devī has many names. One given to her specially in connexion with the slaying of demons is Chāmundā, and her exploits in this way are described in the Devī Mahātmya of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna. There is a good English translation of this by Pargiter. One of these Asuras or demons was named Raktabīja, "blood-seed." When he was wounded, from each drop of blood that fell to the ground there sprung up from the earth a demon equal to him in stature, like him in body, and like him in valour; for "as many blood-drops fell from his body, so many men came into being." Devī, as Chāmundā, attacked him. She caught up his blood in her mouth and swallowed it, in order to prevent it falling to the ground. In this way, having deprived him of allies, she conquered and killed him.

So far the story of Chāmundā and Raktabīja, which is accessible to English readers. But there is a modern bardic cycle of great popularity current all over Northern India which is not so accessible, as it is available only in the original dialect. It is called the Ālh-Khand, and describes the exploits of Ālhā and other heroes of Rājputāna in about the thirteenth century A.D. For our present purposes the two personages concerned are Ālhā and his principal opponent Chaurā, who was general of the army opposing that of which Ālhā was leader. In the final Armageddon described in the last canto of his cycle, Ālhā and Chaurā join in single combat. The following is a literal trans-

lation of the passage in which Ālhā kills Chaurā. They are each mounted on an elephant, and Ālhā brings his elephant alongside that of Chaurā. "Ālhā then seized hold of Chaurā and pulled him out of his howdah. He killed him by squeezing him over and over again, so that his blood should not issue. For Devī had given a boon to Chaurā (who was an incarnation of Drona, the Kaurava general in the war of the Mahābhārata) that if a drop of his blood should fall upon the earth, from it countless Chaurās would be created. Therefore Ālhā squeezed him to death, so that no drop of his blood should fall upon the ground."

This story evidently has some connexion with that of Raktabīja and Chāmundā, for the name Chaurā is merely the modern form of the masculine of Chāmundā. The differences are, first, that the methods for preventing the blood falling to the ground are not the same, and, secondly, that the name Chaurā is given to the person slain, and not to the slayer. Further, Chāmundā's swallowing his blood has a parallel in the old woman drinking the blood of Murrough O'Brien,<sup>1</sup> though the reasons for drinking the blood are different.

I may add that the Thugs worshipped Devī under the name of Chāmundā, and that they strangled their victims, so that their blood should not fall on the ground, because (*sic*) this was the process adopted by Chāmundā in killing the demon. Here, again, the method of preventing the blood reaching the ground is different, for in the original Devī Mahātmya, Devī, as explained above, swallowed the blood, and did not strangle her victim.

I shall be glad to obtain references to other instances of blood falling on the ground becoming armed men.

Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.

G. A. GRIERSON.

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., "Taboo and Perils of the Soul," 244 *seq.*

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## FOLKLORE OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.

*(Folk-Lore, vol. XXXIII. p. 307 et seqq.)*

## III.

THERE are many traditional stories current in Skye which, though neither fairy nor witch, are yet of great age and have been handed down from generation to generation without the aid of the printed book. Among them are the following :

(1) A man in the west of the island was out breaking stones, probably for the building of a dry stone dyke, when, coming to a certain place, he found a valise. There was no owner visible, so he took it home and hid it under his bed. His wife, who seems to have been a woman of great shrewdness, found it while her husband was asleep and opened it. It contained money to the amount of £300. Immediately her greed was aroused and she set to work to scheme how she might keep it. Conjecturing that such a sum of money would be inquired after, she evolved a plan which would conceal the fact that it was in her house. She began to taunt her husband with his want of education and advised him to go to school, such school as was available. He was unwilling, but finally agreed and went. But his age made him conspicuous, and he came home complaining that the children there stuck needles and pins into him. However, he was persuaded to return, but this time came home saying he would not go again as he was swollen with the pin pricks. As his wife's end was served, she ceased to urge him. Shortly after, a gentleman came inquiring after the valise. The man took him to his house and asked his wife what she had done with it. She denied all knowledge of it, and the stranger proceeded to ask when the valise had been found. "It was the day before I went to school," said the man. The stranger, interpreting this as the shrewd woman had intended, looked on the man as a fool and went away. He imagined that the man had gone to school as a child, and that therefore years had elapsed since the finding of the bag. The shrewd rogue of a woman was thus enabled to keep the money.

(2) A certain man, who was a shepherd, invariably came home

carrying a string of fish, but he could give no explanation of how he got them. It was as much a mystery to him as to his wife. All he knew was that he found himself on his way home with the fish in his hand. His wife determined to watch him, and she was rewarded by seeing him coming out of a cave in a cliff on the sea-shore. She shouted to him, and to her horror she saw him fall over the cliff, where he was instantly killed. By the look on his face when she shouted she discovered the truth, namely, that he was a somnambulist, and in some state of trance he caught the fish and was quite unaware of the means when he awoke from his trance.

(3) Before the establishment of banks in the islands, the lairds had to send their money to Inverness. One of these gentlemen wished to withdraw some money, but could not go himself. No one would undertake to go, for robbers were numerous, probably broken clans who had no other means of existing. At length Donald Ruadh, his fool, offered. The laird offered him a horse, but Donald preferred his own, which understood all he said to it. In the interval which elapsed before his departure his wife noticed him picking up and treasuring odd scraps of paper, but as he was a fool, she said nothing. At length he set out on his journey, and on his way to the place where the ferry boat would carry him to the mainland, he met a man, who questioned him closely as to his errand. In his simplicity, Donald told him all. Having transacted his business, he set off for home with a large sum of money in his wallet. Having crossed the ferry safely, on his way back, he was stopped by a man on horseback, who demanded the wealth he was carrying. In great consternation Donald agreed to give up the money, but asked the robber to fire into his plaid which he placed on a bush, making it appear as if he had been assaulted and made a fight for it. The robber agreed to this reasonable condition, and used up his bullets by firing into the plaid. Donald then seized his plaid, and, throwing the wallet into the river near by, said, "There's your money, take it, and go." While the robber ran to rescue the wallet, Donald leaped on the man's horse, and, calling on his own to follow, rode away. It was in vain for the robber to try to overtake him, so he got

safely home, where he locked the horses up at once. In the morning he went to the laird to make his loss known to him. The laird was much annoyed, and said it was a pity to lose so much money, but Donald said what about his life. The laird immediately answered that he could ill be spared, whereupon Donald delivered up to him his money safe and untouched, the wallet which he had thrown into the river being stuffed with the treasured-up scraps of paper and with stones. He also presented the robber's horse, and the saddle was found to be packed full of money.

(4) Three young men were coming home together, one having spent all his money but sixpence. He went into an inn on the way to spend that coin while his two friends went on. They were attacked by a robber and everything taken from them. The third young man, following behind, saw all taking place. He cut a large branch off a tree, and as the robber approached him, he struck him off his horse and beat him till stunned. He then made off with the robber's horse and found in the saddle his friends' purses and much more money. He soon overtook his friends, who were now as poor as they imagined him to be. He took them into the next inn and disclosed all that had taken place, restoring to them their purses.

(5) A young man from Uig had gone to Edinburgh in the days when tea was quite unknown in the island and very dear even in the capital. As a great treat, he sent a pound of this luxury to his mother in Uig. The good lady, never having seen such a thing, had no idea what to do with it, so she boiled the leaves, threw away the liquor and invited her neighbours to a feast of the boiled leaves and butter.

(6) Two young women, in the earliest days of emigration to America, determined to go there. One of them, a poor good girl, could only manage to pay her way through the generous help of the neighbours. The other, being well-to-do, paid her own expenses. On arriving at their journey's end, the well-to-do girl, ashamed of her companion's poor appearance, gave her the slip and went on alone. The poor girl, at the end of her resources, sat down by the wayside to consider her position. A gentleman seeing her, asked her if she would take service in his house.

But the conditions of service were peculiar. She must stay alone in the house and exhibit no alarm if she saw anything out of the ordinary. The girl consented to undertake the place, and accordingly went to the house and was left alone. Soon the apparition of a man appeared, who spoke and told her that he was her employer's father. He then proceeded to tell her that a large sum of money was concealed in a place which he told her how to find. Further he said, that thanks to her bravery he was enabled to speak and get rid of his secret, and that one so courageous was the only wife for his son. This marriage eventually took place, and the well-to-do girl, who had so scorned her poor companion, became her servant.

(7) A young man, after being betrothed to a girl in the island, went to America. Thither, after a good interval of time and having some small savings, his betrothed followed him, in order to be married. On arrival in America, the girl fell among robbers, and all her money was taken from her. In her destitution, she asked shelter at a small cottage. An old woman, who opened the door to her, told her that she was afraid to let her in, as the house was but a den of robbers. However, the girl prevailed, and the old woman managed to conceal her when the robbers were heard returning. To the girl's horror, among the latter was her lover. When the whole party were asleep, the girl took away his breeches, and in the pockets found her own money. Cured of the desire for matrimony, she returned to Skye.

(8) A girl in Raasay (which is the small island stretching across the entrance to Portree Bay) was in love with a keeper, who does not seem to have returned her affection. She resorted to the usual wise man for a charm. He told her that the first time she met the keeper, she was, without saying a word, to go up and kiss him. She did so, but it must have been dusk, for, to her distress, she found she had kissed Macgillichallum (MacLeod of Raasay). The charm worked, however, and Macgillichallum insisted upon making her his wife, first, however, in some way divorcing the lady to whom he was already married. Both wives had sons, and on the death of Macgillichallum, the son of the first wife drove away the island Hagar and her son

and took over the property. Descendants of Hagar's son still exist, but it is said that the first family is extinct.

(9) In a certain place in the island there is a lonely cairn, which was built over the body of a shepherd who was murdered. The story goes that it holds also the bodies of his two dogs who refused to leave the place where their master lay, and becoming fierce, had to be killed and buried with him.

(10) Misers are not uncommon in the island. The writer knew one very well. One story goes of an old woman "in the days long vanished," who, to the great annoyance of her family, persisted in hiding her money and keeping her family in penury. At length her sons discovered her hiding place, namely, under the doorstep. They tempted her out under pretence of showing her a scarecrow with quite good garments on, which she might appropriate. While she was away on her thrifty errand, the sons lifted the doorstep and abstracted the money. Legends of buried hoards are quite common in the islands, arising from actual finds of pirates' or sea-rovers' money. But there are still many places where money is said to be hidden, notably at Woodend, where formerly a large sum was found. Now Woodend is quite as far inland as it is possible to get in the island, and it is quite unlikely that sea-rovers would take the trouble to go so far. Some feeling of superstitious awe, the result of some legend attaching to the spot which is now forgotten, forbids the people, however needy, from attempting to find these hidden hoards.

All these traditional stories bear the mark of antiquity, though some of them are modernized, as in the case of emigration to America and so on. There is another and rather remarkable group of legends of a religious cast which I shall now proceed to give. These appear medieval, though they may be older, and have assumed a Christian dress.

(1) The first of these religious legends is exactly the same as one which occurs in an apocryphal Gospel, but I am absolutely certain that my informant never heard of such a book, and that the story has descended in an unbroken line from early time.

Our Lord with a number of childish companions was engaged

in making birds out of clay. Having made them the children put them on their hands and pretended to make them fly. Christ's bird did fly.

(2) Near to the present town of Portree, when as yet there were very few houses there, there lived a poor woman, working her little croft. One night a poor beggar woman came asking for help. The crofter woman told her she was very sorry she could not give her shelter for the night, and all she had was a bowlful of meal, which however she could give to the beggar and give it with a good heart. The beggar took the meal, with many blessings on the giver. That night the crofter woman, as she lay in bed, had a dream. She dreamed that she saw God and the devil contending for her soul. Her good and evil deeds were in the scales, and, to her dismay, her evil deeds weighed the heavier. The devil was jubilant, but just then God threw into the scale containing the good deeds the bowlful of meal which she had given to the beggar. The scale fell at once, and the devil retreated discomfited.

(3) A poor woman with her baby was benighted, and was about to lie down at the roadside when she came to a shepherd's house, and there she asked shelter for the night. This was refused, and she lay down as she had at first purposed. (Manners must have changed since these early days, for when the writer knew the island, practically any door would have opened to give a traveller shelter for the night.) During the night the Almighty appeared to the wanderer and told her to go to the shepherd's for shelter. The poor woman told the Almighty that she had already done so, and had been refused. Nevertheless, she was bidden to try again. When she came to the door the shepherd met her and told her that his wife had had a baby through the night, but that she had died and he was all alone. He asked her if God had sent her, for he had had a vision. On her answering yes, he asked her to remain and take care of his child. She did so, and eventually became his wife. Some time after her marriage, a poor old man came asking admittance and a bed. She refused him, and he took shelter under the very same wall where she had lain. In the stormy night the old man died, and once more the Almighty appeared to the

woman, and rebuked her, who had been taken care of, for her unkindness to the old man, who was one of God's poor.

(4) In one of the townships there lived a bad boy, who was quite fearless. He wished to experience fear, and he went to a wise man to ask him how he might manage it. He was told to go to the gallows by night. He did so, and called out at the gallows' foot, "Who will make me afraid?" A voice from the gallows replied, "Take me on your back and I will show you fear." The boy approached the gallows and something sprang on his back. The boy asked if the Thing wished to go to the nearest house, and was told no, as the housewife had blessedd the house. At the second there was a black cock, hatched in the month of March, and they could not stop there. But at the third house they halted. Here were a husband and wife at variance for want of a child. The Thing told the boy that the woman should, after their visit, bear a son, who should be superhuman in ability, and should become a minister. The child was born and grew up as prophesied, was ordained and came to church to take the services. But on his entry he told the people to throw the holy water on the dogs (which come to church quite sedately still) and not use it themselves. As he said this, he was changed into a black bird, a raven in all likelihood, and flew away, while the church crashed into dust. The bad boy witnessed all these things and, in consequence, changed his ways.

(5) While the Virgin, with her Son, still a child, was walking along a road, a young woman came out and emptied ashes, so that the dust flew into Christ's eyes. "What do you wish for that woman?" asked the Virgin of her Son. "I wish her a good husband," was the answer. Further along the road, they passed another young woman, who was very careful that the dust of her ashes should not fly into Christ's face. "And what do you wish for that woman?" asked the Virgin once more. "I wish her a bad husband," was this time the reply. Curious as to these answers, the Virgin asked her Son the meaning of them. He replied that a good husband would convert the first, and that the second, by her goodness, would convert a bad husband.

(6) Once the Virgin and her Son, while still a young infant, took shelter in a certain house. During the night the mistress of the house took very ill. The husband accused his visitors of being powers of evil, who had caused this distress. The Virgin asked to be taken to the sick woman, and, though reluctantly, the man led her there. As they came to the sick woman's bed, the Child stretched his arms over the sufferer, and immediately she recovered.

I propose, if space permits, in a fourth short paper, to give an account of some customs and charms and omens.

MARY JULIA MACCULLOCH.

A STUDY OF THE FOLKLORE ON THE COASTS OF CONNACHT,  
IRELAND.

(Continued from *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxxii. p. 123.)

XI. *Charms and Magical Rites, Evil Eye, etc.*

In this section<sup>1</sup> I propose dealing with the methods used to ward off evil, or to bring misfortune on an enemy, or even on an innocent person, whom one wishes to injure. Some charms are merely to foretell the future or to secure a good milking or fishing, others merely curative. I do not know whether I am "scientific" in including the evil eye among such charms, but the difference between employing an evil power already possessed or gaining an evil power to use it seems negligible.

**MALIGNANT AND EVIL CHARMS** The *Cashlān Pleimhinin* or "Cashlaun Flaineen,"<sup>2</sup> as it is still called by old people about Mace and Gorumna to the north of Galway Bay, was a broken circle, or heap of stones, constructed formally with charms, so far unrecorded. It has an entrance towards the point of the wind, and was used for very divergent purposes. It was formerly done for malignant ends to get plunder (as in Mayo), to raise a storm, or to sink a boat, but I learned no such case in my informant's own knowledge. In 1847 James Hardiman

<sup>1</sup> The study begins *supra*, vol. xxix. p. 305; continued xxxii. p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *H Iar Connaught*, Roderic O'Flaherty (ed. Hardiman), notes, p. 99.

describes it as "a pile of stones on the shore bearing a rude resemblance to a small house or castle." In Mayo in 1839 it was conical of nine stones with the door to the point of the wind, and certain legendary spells recited at its construction.<sup>1</sup> We found it was intended to bring the fish into the nets or to raise a favourable wind. The same is true near Carna, on Galway Bay. I had the good fortune to see a *cashlaun*, near a lonely house on the shore; in September, 1899, it consisted of eighteen stones in a ring, with a well-marked opening towards the wind. By getting up early I secured a photograph<sup>2</sup> before my presence was suspected, and a short time later it had been scattered, and no one would confess to its use. There is a suspicion of "its being done for no good thing," which renders any enquiry a very delicate matter. The little Dr. Charles Browne and I learned was told carelessly, and, when we showed interest, the conversation was turned, which was not the case with most other spells.

The horrible charm of the Dead Hand is used for "taking" milk and butter, *i.e.* forcing the cattle of the owner to give more milk taken from those of his neighbours. It is the dried right hand of a corpse, cut off, smoked and subjected to certain spells. Other formulæ are used when the milk for churning is stirred with the disgusting object, then the yield of butter exceeds the natural produce. It naturally, like the preceding charm, is a source of suspicion and ill will; the "classical case" in eastern Co. Limerick brought three brothers into the petty sessions, and (what they never expected) lost them all their customers.<sup>3</sup>

In one of the Islands (most probably Aran, but the locality was varied) a woman married to a fine young islander used to sell surprising quantities of butter. Suspicion was aroused, and on search a "dead hand" was found. The angry neighbours mobbed her, burned the hand, and forced her and her husband to leave the island. Lady Wilde does not give the place, but

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, ser. iii. plate xxiii. no. 3; "Ethnography Carna, etc."

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Legends*, etc., 1887 (Lady Wilde), ii. p. 48.

versions of the story on the north shore of Galway Bay told it of various persons and islands.

Even more horrible is the charm of "the Spencil." We found only dim tradition of its usage in Mayo and its islands, but a bit of human skin was a confessed prophylactic. The cutting of the "Spencil" was a love charm, but the children of the marriage brought about by this unholy method were said to betray it by having an ineffaceable dark mark round their wrists.

Otway,<sup>1</sup> on the unimpeachable authority of George Crampton, a local agent, minutely acquainted with peasant customs and belief in the Mullet, tells how it was done at the new church and graveyard of Cross, to the west of Binghamstown. There (not long before he told it in 1839) three young women were caught "taking the Spencil off a corpse." It was a continuous loop of skin, cut from the sole of one foot, up the outside of the leg and the body, over the top of the head, down the other side to the sole of the other foot, up and inside that leg, and down the next to the starting place. We are not told with which foot it began. It was put round a young man's body when asleep; if he did not awake he should marry the operator, if he awoke he should die within a year. Crampton adds that "this disgusting and dark superstition" was practised and believed in, and one family was said to have got their plain daughters married by it and to have kept the Spencil for future use, and a case was on record of it being done to the body of a Trappist monk, famed for his sanctity, and others, one where a Protestant family of a better social position practised it. An instance of it in the more civilized inland part of Mayo is mentioned by Mr. Archdeacon in his *Legends of Connaught*.

Less horrible but far more malicious was the "tying of the knot," a widespread belief, to prevent fruitfulness. It is done by repeating after the priest the benediction at the marriage, knotting a string at the name of each Person of the Trinity. No child is born of the marriage for fifteen years, unless the string is found and burned.<sup>2</sup> One authentic case has been

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 90-91. *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 634; "Ethnography of the Mullet."

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. ii. ser. iii.

recorded in Aran,<sup>1</sup> and we found knowledge and belief in it up the Mayo coast to account for childless families.

Blacksmiths (against whose spells "St. Patrick's Breast-plate" prays) have a fatal power of cursing by turning their anvil or by making a hole in a coin laid upon it. After several days' fast the coin is pierced in the name of the Devil and the person cursed against whom it is to be used. The people of Inishturk look upon these ceremonies with horror as an act of the blackest wickedness.<sup>1</sup> Near Carna there is an uneasy fear of the smiths' magic, no one dare take any object from a forge without the blacksmith's consent.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly credible that malignant spells are believed to be worked in at least one case by a holy stone. "Cursing stones" are recorded at Louisburg, Mayo, near Killeries, Omev Island Renoyle, and perhaps on Inishmaan (Aran Isles), but, as we noted in Co. Clare, these are common places of ill-intentioned magic. We reserve these notes to the section on Rocks and Stones, XIX. below.

As distinct from using plants for poison, we have their usage for malignant charms. A sick man named Flanagan at Oghil in the centre of Aranmore before 1892 determined to consult a hag. She, by *gettatura* or evil eye and plant spells, pulling up an herb and looking at some one passing by, transferred the disease to a certain O'Flaherty, the result being that the scape-goat sickened and died in twenty-four hours, and the unscrupulous Flanagan recovered. Mr. Nathaniel Colgan adds that a grave elderly man warned him when botanizing against plucking up the milk vetch (*Astragalus hypoglottis*) peculiar to Aran, adding, "I've known a man killed that way." He explained that it was not poison but witchcraft that was to be feared, and told the above story, its hero and heroine having at that time gone to their account.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. v. ser. iii. p. 64; "Ethnography of Clare Island and Inishturk."

<sup>2</sup> "Ethnography of Carna and Noveenish," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. vi. ser. iii. p. 526. Near Corofin, Co. Clare, a smith cure for internal trouble is to put the patient across the anvil and pretend to hammer him. He then makes the sick person drink water in which the hot iron has been dipped.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Roy. Soc. Anth. Ir.*, vol. xxv. p. 84.

EVIL EYE. This world-old belief, which even finds place in St. Paul's impatient question to the Galatians, "who has overlooked you?" is strong among the western peasantry to this day.

At Glengad in North Mayo (Erris) in 1839 Otway, asking about a sickly overgrown lad, was told "they say the evil eye has been cast on him." The trouble was evidently from a potato diet. The neighbours wanted to bring in the fairy man, "but he don't like that himself."

The belief exists on Blacksod Bay (at Ballycroy), Achill, Cliara, and Inishturk, but I only heard indefinite statements, no modern instance. On Bofin and Shark it is much feared, and it is most requisite to remember there (and indeed at the other places) to add the prophylactic "God bless it!" to any praise of a child or animal. Otherwise, if any illness or accident occurs, one is apt to gain disrepute and ill-will and suffer much inconvenience. One old woman, a reputed witch, was credited with the evil eye in Bofin in 1892. Yet the evil eye can be easily frustrated by signing the Cross in the name of the Trinity.

It was believed, some five years later, at Lettermullen and Gorumna, that the evil eye springs from the priest having omitted some lesser item in the ritual of baptism. The effects cannot be produced intentionally, but accidentally by the person with the undesirable gift; in this respect differing strongly from the beliefs on the northern coasts and the islands and in Co. Clare.

One old woman, near Lettermullen, told a girl 'twas a wonder she could carry such a load, and the girl on her return home was seized with severe pains and died soon afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Evidently coincidence has much to do with the survival of the belief, and the absence of the prophylactic leads to an anxious look-out for some disaster. When an infant is taken out there or on Bofin it is wise to spit on it as a preservative from the evil eye as well as from fairies. Dr. Charles Browne and I found the belief very strong along Galway Bay from Lettermullen

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. v. ser. iii. p.263 ; "Ethnology Lettermullen, etc."

westward to Ards and Mace. Mr. P. Mongan and Mr. Cahill near Carna told us that, besides the prophylactic "God save all here," it was usual to spit on entering a house where a person had met with an accident to dispel any reputed evil influence in the case.

In Aran, David O'Callaghan, a National schoolmaster, told Professor Haddon that it was regarded dangerous to omit the "God bless it!" when praising a person or animal. One informant said that over thirty years before when dancing he fell under the evil eye and lay like one dead. Everyone ran to spit and say "God bless you!" but to no purpose. At last, after a while, the sufferer recovered as suddenly as he took ill and got up, but, as he added pointedly, he did not marry the girl he was courting at that dance.

Lieut. Henri gives a curious case (hard to classify as to its belief) before 1839.<sup>1</sup> One Terence O'Dowd summoned to petty sessions a local wise woman, Biddy Lavelle, whom he accused of killing his donkey. She, on pretence of charming toothache, asked leave to kiss the animal, but he suspected her and refused; she drove the ass by night to her own door, and it soon after died. She confessed to have held its head to the lucky horse shoe on her door and kissed the beast three times on the teeth; it gave a screech and fell dead. It being found that she had also given it a glass of spirits, the magistrate gave O'Dowd thirty shillings damages. Henri's careful noting of the particulars, names and dates, and (fortunately) Caesar Otway's transferring the notes uninjured to his book, give one every confidence. It would be most desirable if any representative of Lieut. Henri still possesses his invaluable note-book that it should be made known to folklorists and published *in extenso*. Alas! rarely does such a man's successor care to preserve or even give to a library such irreplaceable material.

PROTECTIVE CHARMS. Besides those we have already recorded as against the evil eye, fairies are hunted from cattle and horses by spitting, and the spittle of a fasting person has reputed powers of healing. In 1840 a wise woman, Biddy Garvior, used to spit three times on an animal's neck, whisk

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 394.

the skirt of her dress thrice over the spot in pain and mutter a secret prayer, or charm. A schoolmistress praised a boy without adding a blessing, so he took ill. She was called on to spit thrice on him with a blessing at each act, and, when he was no better, her enemies said she had spat on the blanket, not on the boy. He was accordingly sent to some people at Downpatrick Head, and they cured him by a scapegoat-like charm. Two black hens were taken to a boundary fence, one was killed and one let go; the first was boiled, without being plucked or cleaned, and the broth given to the patient, who recovered.<sup>1</sup> Some suspected that inverted Paternosters were used in some of these cures, but their evident good intention makes it improbable. Capt. Henri at Portacloy had a sick cow which an old weaver Redmond M'Gragh pronounced elf-shot, and claimed to have cured by measuring the cow's length and girth and marking her with the cross. However, he gave her an herbal drink in which three halfpence were boiled, and Henri, who had given her a dose of salts, scolded the girls for bringing in a fairy man, who, however, got all the credit. Near Ballycastle, in Tirawley, it was usual to tie red rags on the horns of cattle to keep off "the Gentry," for if horses or cows ate raw potatoes, or any other hurtful matter, they were supposed to be elf-shot. In north Erris, near Portacloy, a cord was tied on a lamb to protect it from foxes, and, on Cliara, a red line was tied round the waist of a woman in labour and round the wrist of a new-born child to keep off the fairies. A strip of ass-skin is also a valuable amulet in labour cases, or by calling in a ploughman,<sup>2</sup> a seventh son or a known lucky man, to raise and gently shake the patient. After a birth the father used to count and throw nine articles of clothing over the mother on Lettermore.

There are a multitude of small charms for averting various troubles. If a cow is sold on New Year's Day it is supposed to run dry if a few drops of milk are not drawn into the purchaser's boot. Head measuring, to close up the skull in headache, is practised, the measurer doing it twice to show that the head has got smaller. This prevails all along the west coast and

<sup>1</sup> *Erris*, 379.

<sup>2</sup> *v. p.* 262.

along Galway Bay, and greatly facilitated the craniometry of Dr. Charles Browne in his ethnological researches; many (some to my knowledge) professed themselves better for the "operation." Worms were charmed away by tying the "worm knot" on the sufferer, but I have not learned the special ritual. Many cures are effected by transferring the trouble to a hen, or an inanimate object. In the Mullet, an old woman, some twenty-five years since, charmed "the Rose" (or erysipelas) in the following manner. She took ten pebbles from a stream or well, threw back one and brought the nine to her patient. She then prayed on each, put the "blessed side" downward and rubbed each affected part in the name of the Trinity and the "King of the Rose." Lastly she threw them back where she got them, praying that the patient might never suffer again from the "Rose" while they remained there.<sup>1</sup>

There are certain cinder and ash charms. In Lettermullen, Co. Galway, peat ash is tied in a red rag on a cow's tail to prevent the fairies milking her. At the same place peat ashes and straw crosses are put in a child's clothing when it is taken to be vaccinated to keep off the fairies. A burning peat, or coal, is taken, usually on wet sea-weed, in boats, for luck. Roderic O'Flaherty in 1684 tells of women gathering *duileasg* sea-weed on the Saints' Rock in Galway Bay to procure the release of a captive friend.

A less unselfish charm was practised on Blacksod Bay about 1839 by a girl called Katty Kane, who kept a young man (with whom she fell in love) in harbour, by contrary winds, raised by a cat charm. At last she prevailed; he married her, and the wind at once turned favourable. The charm is not described. As we saw the blood of a kitten was used to cure a sick child.

Toothache can be charmed by rubbing the gum with a dead man's finger, by kissing an ass on the teeth or by written charms. A "mote," or a bit of barley beard, can be charmed from the eye by a wise woman rinsing her mouth till the water remains clear and then taking another mouthful, saying a charm or prayer when the troublesome object is found in her mouth. The touch of a seventh son cures "the Evil," and the ringworm

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iii. ser. iii. p. 635.

and erysipelas can also be cured by butter rubbed on by a person of the opposite sex to the patient twice a week with prayer. The cross is signed over the mouth when yawning so as to expel evil influences. If a nail runs into one it should be taken out and put into the fire. Hair cuttings are hid in a hole in a wall, some say to preserve the strength of the owner, others, because they must be recovered by him at the general resurrection, but I suspect that the real cause is fear of witchcraft. All these are in use in the Mullet and Ballycroy and other places in Erris.

I leave the lore relating to crowing hens and rats to the section on animals (XVIII. *infra*), but may add yet another cure for sick cattle on Cliara—their ear is bored and a thong of goatskin knotted through it.

Henri tells a curious local story of how the cholera was kept out of Erris before 1839. It passed from Sligo through Tirawley in the form of a hideous witch, with horrid hair, breathing out fumes and dropping pestilence. A pious man saw her, as he said his tenth prayer, and she was wading the Owenmore and about to enter Erris; by the inspiration of his angel he threw a stone at her and she stopped, and western Mayo was preserved.<sup>1</sup>

T. J. WESTROPP.

(*To be continued.*)

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#### FOLK TALES FROM THE NĀGA HILLS OF ASSAM.

THE following tales, collected from the Angami Nāgas of Assam, were collected by Mr. C. R. Pawsey of the Indian Civil Service, and have been forwarded by Mr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., I.C.S., who has added some notes. A further instalment of these folk tales will be published in future issues of *Folk-Lore*.

No. I.

*Gakripū's Guile.*

IN the winter a man was going into the country, once upon a time, in order to sell a goat, and another man who had many

<sup>1</sup> A man at Gorumna "went silly" till the addition was levelled; see *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, v. ser. iii. p. 260.

children was travelling at the same time. And so they met together at the rest house. Thus they slept together for a night at the rest house, and because it was very cold, the children cried the whole night.

In the morning the man with the goat said to the other, "As it is very cold your children will die. It will be well for you to buy my goat. For my goat eats the cold, and if you buy him and keep him fastened near your children, then if your children have not one cloth, they will not be cold." Speaking in this way he deceived the other and he bought the goat for a hundred rupees.

And on the next night he did not cover his children with a single cloth, and let them sleep anywhere on the ground, keeping the goat close to the children. And he went to sleep.

Arising the next morning he looked at his children. Then he saw that they were all dead.

Then being very angry he searched for the other, but knew not the direction in which he had fled. And because all his children were dead he could do nothing at all.

And he thought in this wise in his mind, "From now on, my kinsmen, trust not the words of a clever man, whoever he may be. For a clever man never speaks the truth."

Gakripu corresponds to Matsi,<sup>1</sup> but Stories 1 and 2 are said to be the only ones in existence about Gakripu, although those about Matsi are innumerable.

#### No. 2.

#### *Gakripu's Cleverness.*

ONCE Gakripu was going along a country road carrying a hundred rupees to trade with. Then a bear came along and the two met and the bear tried to grasp him round his waist. And so while the two were fighting in the road, the bear seized his money so that the rupees were scattered here and there along the road. And another man came along on his horse and saw

<sup>1</sup> Matsi (or Matsuo) is the cheat who appears in the folk-lore of all Nāga tribes, under different names. Thus the Semas call him Iki. Cf. *The Angami Nāgas*, pp. 273-6; *The Sema Nāgas*, p. 319.—J. H. H.

them. Then he asked them, "What are you doing?" And Gakripu said, "While I was fighting with this bear he has been defecating these rupees. If you fight with him he will defecate some rupees." Thus he said to him. Then the other got off horse, removed his good clothes, and began to fight with the bear.

Then Gakripu collected his money, took the good clothes of the other, mounted his horse, and went away.

And the other, though he went on fighting with the bear did not get one rupee. And so he afterwards searched for the other, but did not find him. And he went to search for him and continued going along the road Gakripu was following.

And Gakripu riding his horse came to the edge of a stream and met there an old woman and her daughter. Then the old woman said to him, "What is your name?" He answered, "My name is Gakripu." Then he asked the old woman, "What are you two doing here?" The old woman said, "We want to cross the water, but because there is much water we cannot get straight across." Then Gakripu said, "I will carry you both across." Thus speaking he made the daughter get up on his horse, and said, "I will take her across first and then return and fetch you." Thus speaking he took the daughter, mounted his horse, crossed the stream, and went away.

Then the old woman at the edge of the stream said, "I shall never be able to go across." And she wept.

Then the man whom Gakripu had formerly deceived came and met with the old woman, and so he asked her, "Why are you crying here?" The old woman said, "A man has taken away my daughter. Gakripu is his name. That is why I am crying." Thus she spoke, and the other said, "That is the man who formerly deceived me. We will search for him together." And so the two together, going along the path Gakripu had followed, searched for him.

At that time Gakripu had reached a village and was gambling with the Raja. And the two came and saw him, and said to the Raja, "Gakripu has stolen my horse and my clothes, and has also stolen this old woman's daughter." And so they prepared to plead their case, but Gakripu said, "It is not I, my name is not Gakripu."

Then the Raja said, "To-morrow I will take your case." Then Gakripu thought, "Whatever I do, things most certainly look bad."

And so he, as his cunning was great, at night time took some dung, put it in a chungu, and put it in the pockets of the coats of the old woman and the other man. And so they came together in front of the Raja to plead their cause. And to salaam him they bowed, and the dung fell out of their pockets.

Therefore the Raja was very angry and would not hear their case.

"A man who is clever will never find himself in a tight corner"—thus is it said in Tenyima lore.

### No. 3.

#### *Matsi.*

MATSI was a man of much guile, and so when the men of his village went down to the fields used to steal the rice of the boys who remained in the village.

And so the villagers one day in the course of conversation said to Matsi, "Because we are clever we will go with you, Matsi, into the jungle to shikar." So they went down into the jungle with Matsi and said to him, "You go into the jungle to shikar, and we will stop at the edge and if a deer comes out will kill it." So they sent Matsi into the jungle. Then they burnt the jungle and leaving Matsi completely shut off returned to their village.

Then Matsi and a deer together remained in the jungle, shut off by the fire. The two fled together, but could get nowhere at all.

And so Matsi slew the deer, and when the fire came entered into its skin, and slept hiding in its belly.

After that he again emerged, and on the next day went to sleep across the path. Then the villagers again came and saw him, and said, "Here is Matsi dead." And they were very pleased, all of them.

But one old woman saw him and was very grieved and cried. Then Matsi got up and said, "My dear old woman I'm not dead.

You take and eat this flesh." Thus speaking he cut up the deer and gave a leg to the old woman, and while he was doing this he tied the old woman's hair to her basket. Then he said to the old woman, "Don't touch your basket, but carry it yourself, and when you have reached your house throw it off in your outer room." Thus he spoke. And so the old woman departed carrying the load and threw it off in her house.

Then because her hair was tied to her basket, when she threw off her basket she broke her neck.

And Matsi, a man full of guile, is said to have acted thus in days of old.

No. 4.

*The Shuhuo Sept.*

FORMERLY a woman got a sweet orange, and brought and kept it hidden in her basket. And so she was very pleased and daily kept on opening the basket and looking at it. Then she saw that the orange was daily growing like a man. Then she again shut it up and many days afterwards again looked at it. Then she saw that the orange had become a child. And so she loved this small child and tended him. And because the child had come out of an orange he was very good to look upon. For this reason even to-day it is said that his kinsmen are very handsome. And they are called the "Shuhuo" sept.<sup>1</sup>

No. 5.

*The Vuprunama Sept.*

ONCE a Khonoma man went into the jungle to cut planks, and having cut planks when returning saw a bird's egg in a rotten tree. He said to this bird's egg, "Why is there only one egg?" And so he thought, "I won't take it now, but will leave it and return later and look at it again. Then he saw that the bird's

<sup>1</sup> The theme of a girl who comes out of an orange is a favourite one in the folk-lore of the Assam hill-tribes. Cf. *The Angami Nāgas*, p. 281; *The Sema Nāgas*, p. 357. In the Assamese story of "Tejimola," and again in that of the *O-Kuanri* the same idea appears (J. Boroah, *Folk-Tales of Assam*), and the Thado Kukis have a version of the Naga story in which a mango takes the place of the orange.—J. H. H.

egg was bigger than when he first saw it. And so he said "What kind of an egg will this turn out to be?" And so he shut the egg up in a basket, and a few days later came and looked at it again. Then he saw that a man child had been born. And so he lifted up and took away this child and tended it. And so under his care he became big and he gave him his share of property and gave him a wife. And he possessed children. And so now even the name of that kin is "Pera ; it is even now said. And the name of that sept is Vuprunama—so the Tenyimas say.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 6.

*The Story of Tsou and Diu.*

DIU was of Merhema village, and Tsou was of Kiruphima village. And these two used to drive down their cattle, and when they had met tend them together, and when they were together they were very happy, and so also were their cattle ; but between their parents there was enmity.

And so Diu's father and mother said to Diu, "You two are not to stop together." And Tsou's father, too, said, "You two are not to stop together." Nevertheless, day by day, the two always met.

And every morning Diu's mother said to Diu, "Go with Tsou again to-day, and I taking this spear in my hand, will cut you." Thus speaking she used to take a spear at meal time, and put it near the edge of Diu's plate. And Diu used to pick up the spear and weep and take and eat of the rice that was on the plate. And when she had gone down and met Tsou she used to say to him, "I have come to-day also having eaten a spear with my plate of rice." Thus was she wont to say.

Nevertheless the two, because together they were very happy, continued to go down and meet together.

And so their parents were very angry with them and kept on giving them abuse.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 143 ; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 337 ; i. 7. Cf. also *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. i. p. 83, 84 (March, 1915), where other references are given.—J. H. H.

For this reason they said to their parents, "Change places with us to-day and tend our herds, then you too will understand." Thus they spake. And so their parents on that day tended their herds. Then both herds before they had met kept on moving quickly. But when they had met and were grazing together they were well pleased, and did not stray, but remained together.

And so both parents thought, "Because of this our children will stop together." Thereafter neither complained.

And so, happy in each other's company, they tended their herds together.

Then one day Diu said to Tsou, "To-morrow I will bring meat and food, and we will eat of them here for our midday meal." Thus Diu spake, and on the next day brought all manner of food and waited for Tsou at the tryst.

But Tsou had two lovers in his village, and they caught him each by a piso. Thus he was unable to go, and so, when he had escaped by breaking his piso, he went late to the tryst.

For this reason Diu was very angry and was driving off her herd. At that very moment Tsou, descending the path, saw what she was doing. And so Tsou said to Diu, "Come back, I am coming now." Thus he spake, but Diu was very angry and said, "I will not return. All day I have waited and you have not come; therefore will I not return." Thus she spake and spake again, "You are false, Tsou, and a man having no shame." Thus spake Diu, and drove off her herd.

And Tsou went down, and saw the food which Diu had brought for the tryst, and knew that she had been waiting for him, and got understanding, and his heart was heavy within him, and he wept bitterly, and went to his house.

From that time on the two were estranged.

Later Tsou took to himself a wife, and Diu also went to the house of another.

And it happened that they were cultivating neighbouring fields. And so one day a friend of Tsou's carrying his son went into Diu's field to get fire. Then Diu asked them, "Whose son is it that you are carrying?" The boy who was carrying the child said, "The child I am carrying is the son of Tsou." Thus

he spake and Diu was sore stricken within her, and taking in her hand a large red bead she gave it to the child. Thus doing she said, "If you are like your father, you will be very handsome but a base deceiver it may be." Thus she spake.

Then the boy who was with the child carried him again to the house of Tsou. Then Tsou saw the large bead hanging round his son's neck, and he asked the boy who was carrying his son, "Who has given him this large bead?" And he made answer, "The woman who lives in that direction gave it to him, and spake after this fashion, 'If you are like your father you will be very handsome, but a deceiver it may be'." Thus he spake. Then Tsou when he had heard these words was sore stricken in his mind and wept.

Thus is the story of these two told in Tenyima lore, and thus is it sung in our songs.

This story always moves deeply both narrator and audience, and is very popular.

#### No. 7.

##### *The Story of the Jackal and Man.*

ONCE a man when he had gone to work to cultivate his jhum fields used to stop in the jungle and did not return home every night. So his wife, bringing him his food in order to give it to him, used to go down the field path. Then, while she was going down that path a large jackal came and said to her, "If you don't give me food I will catch and eat you." Thus he said to the woman. And so the woman being frightened gave him half her food and gave half to her husband. Then her husband, as his food was insufficient, thought, "Perhaps my wife is in love with another man. She does not give me all the food she brings down." So he asked his wife, "You don't give me all the food you bring down; with whom are you having an affair?" Then his wife replied, "I am intriguing with nobody, but when I come down the path a large jackal blocks the way, and he speaks like this to me, 'If you don't give me food I will catch and eat you.' Thus he speaks and being frightened I give him half of what I am bringing." Then her husband said, "If

after this the jackal asks you for food, say to him, 'I won't give you food to-day but one day later on I will feed all jackals at my house. Bring them all together to my house'."

And she spoke in this way. And the jackal heard her words and went away.

And the next day he called all the jackals and took them to the man's house. Then the man said to them, "Sit down. I will cook food and bring it to you." Thus speaking the man went into his house and the jackals sat outside. But the man did not cook food, but sat inside his house and only pretended to do so, and again coming out he said to the big jackal, "Big jackal, it may be that some of you will flee away from fear. And so take this rope and tie it round their necks." Thus he spoke, and the jackals remained with the rope tied round their necks. A little later in the same day the man again said, "To make the big jackal eat I will take him inside the house and then kill him."

Thus he did, and afterwards taking a piece of wood slew all the other jackals.

And there was amongst them one very small jackal. When the man went to kill him he said, "Grant me a favour and don't kill me. I have done nothing wrong at all." Thus he spoke, and the man replied, "Very well, I won't kill you; but from now on, if you make no noise when you come out to look for food, then you will get nothing at all to eat." Thus he spoke, and the jackal because he was very frightened, heeded his words, said, "Yes," and went away.

And so jackals when they come out at night to look for food always make a noise.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The jackal appears not to be indigenous in the Naga Hills, but to have come in with the British flag and the metalled cartroad. Possibly a story about some other animal has been transferred to the jackal with its very obtrusive noisiness.—J. H. H.

THE CULT OF THE DOOR AMONGST THE MIAO IN  
SOUTH-WEST CHINA.

IN Yunnan and Kueicheo, S.W. China, amongst Miao who have not been affected by foreign influences, no religious ceremony is of more importance than the worship of the door. The door is sacred, and a proper respect for it is indispensable to success and happiness throughout life. Miao huts are oblong. The door is placed at either one of the ends. On no account is a doorway opened in either of the sides. The fact that the door was invariably rudely fashioned made no difference to its extraordinary sanctity. Everything in life was contingent upon the door, which was carefully opened and closed, and with which children were not allowed to play. They were not even permitted to touch the door to which an offering had been made. The door was never banged.

It is commonly believed that if anything is chopped on the threshold of a house, children born in that house will be hare-lipped.

There was no definitely fixed date for the worshipping of the door. Rarely was it sacrificed to more than once in three years, and frequently much longer periods than this intervened. The time selected was commonly that following on the ingathering of the harvest. If there was illness the ceremony would be observed, and, when the head of the household waxed old the solemn rite was performed in order to initiate the eldest son into the sacred cult. If he were not naturally bright and intelligent the father would instruct his second son. A sorcerer determined a propitious date, but he was never allowed to be present at the ceremony. The head of the household acted as priest. When a day had been fixed upon the sacrificer went to the hills, where he cut a few bamboos with which he fashioned a small bamboo door. I should point out here that the door to which offerings were made was not the main door of the house. It was this small door especially fashioned for the occasion. This was attached with bamboo strips to the larger door. Formerly the larger door was also made of bamboo, but during later years it has been made of wood.

The Miao live in hamlets of from ten to thirty houses. When it is proposed to offer a sacrifice no mention is made of it to neighbours. If, however, a man is performing the solemn rite for the first time the families in the village who are of the same surname as himself are apprised of the date, and the heads of these families are expected to be present. On subsequent occasions when this man sacrifices to his door the members of his family only are allowed to be present.

The usual procedure is towards evening to sweep clean the house. At dusk the door is closed, after which no household belonging is allowed to be taken out until daylight on the following day. To carry anything out of doors at such a time would cause something dreadful—probably death—to happen to some member of the family. A young female pig which has not given birth to a litter is then taken, and being held close to the door its throat is cut and the blood is caused to run into a hole which has been delved under the jamb on which the door is hung. On no account is the hole dug under the jamb to which the door fastener is attached. No altar is used. In this hole are buried the bristles, blood, water in which the pig and entrails—the entrails are eaten—have been washed. Everything that is unclean is buried here; nothing is thrown outside. The pig is cut into pieces—heart, liver, stomach included—placed in a large iron pan and boiled. At the same time millet is steamed to be eaten with the boiled pig. If millet cannot be secured buckwheat is used. On other occasions the Miao eat maize. During the cooking of the food silence is observed. When the meal is ready those in the village who are of the same surname as the sacrificer are invited to come. Such relatives are not requested to come to a meal or sacrifice. All that is said to them is “Please come,” and, as I have remarked above, it was only on the occasion of a man’s initial sacrifice that relatives were allowed to be present. They came in silence and in the darkness, as no lights were allowed. A light could be used in the house, but it was essential that relatives should come and return in darkness. At the meal, during which strict silence was observed, the meat was taken with the fingers from a large central basin and the guests using wooden ladles helped them-

selves to the millet from one large central basket. It was really a kind of holy communion. The sons of the household were allowed to partake of the meal, but not the daughters. These were not permitted to participate because some day they would marry and go to another household, of which they would become an integral part. Were they to partake of the sacrificial meal their souls would become attached to the house of their birth, thus causing their marriages to be unsuccessful. Sooner or later their husbands would discard them and they would be returned to their home. The wife of the sacrificer was allowed to eat of the offering. She with the wives of relatives sat at a separate table from that used by the men. Children of relatives were never allowed to participate. Salt was the only condiment used as seasoning.

In the preparing of food the Miao are not cleanly, but on such an occasion as this very particular care is taken to ensure that everything is clean. All bones and gristle were burnt in the fire. It was forbidden to throw anything on the floor. When the meal was finished each participant stood over the fire, where he wiped his mouth with both hands, throwing the breath as it were into the fire. After this he rubbed both the hands over the fire. This was done to cleanse the hands and mouth and breath. It was an act of cleansing, the idea being that all that was unclean would thereby be destroyed. If all the meat was not consumed, that which was left over could be eaten on the morrow, but the bones and gristle must be consumed by fire. After the meal the guests quietly returned to their homes, but no member of the household went outside. To have done so would have caused blindness. With the exception of the father and the eldest son the inmates of the house now retired to sleep. Father and son waited until some two hours before sunrise, when, standing close to the door, the father ate a small piece of the cooked meat which he had carefully put to one side for this purpose. After partaking of this the head of the household in the hearing of his son quietly repeated a few words which had been handed down from generation to generation. Usually the formula was: "We worship thee, oh! door. Keep away sickness! Keep away disease! Keep away slander! Keep away

defamation! Keep away all that is injurious!" When a second sacrifice was made the old door was thrown away. It was never burnt or destroyed. It was allowed to rot wherever it was thrown.

Originally amongst the Miao there were very few surnames. Connected with each surname there are small variations of the above form of worship. With each name there appear to be associated very definite ceremonies. The families bearing the surname of Hmao-tang and Hmao-cheh at the time of worship, open and close the door three times, saying: "May we become rich. May our children be numerous! May our cattle multiply!" The Hmao-ngleh family could sacrifice either a small female pig, which had not given birth to a litter, or a small castrated male pig. One branch of the Hmao-glah family before partaking of the sacrificial meal set out five wooden basins close to the fire. In these bowls were placed small slices of meat from the liver, the stomach, the heart and from each of the limbs of the pig. Then, the head of the household, squatting on the ground, took a small bamboo, about three feet long, in the left hand, and with the right hand he severally raised each bowl, and crossing his arms he called upon his ancestors, whether they were to the East or the West or the South or the North, to come and receive the sacrificial meat now offered to them. At the completion of the sacrifice this bamboo was placed lengthwise over the lintel of the door. When in future years further offerings were made the bamboo was again used. At the decease of the sacrificant this bamboo was placed on (not in) his grave. A man used his bamboo throughout his lifetime, but a second generation had its own bamboo.

Three basins, or seven or nine, could be used, but it was essential that an odd and not an even number of basins be employed.

A few members of the "Hmao-glah" family collected the ashes of the burnt bones and sprinkled such under the bedstead and at the side of the house (inside) facing the front. This is a late and rare innovation. The majority of Miao never use a bedstead.

Should there be a guest staying in a house where the sacrifice

is being offered he is not allowed to participate. He is given his evening meal and sent to sleep in the loft. When younger sons married and built separate huts, the father, or, if he were deceased, the eldest son, went to their homes to initiate them into the sacred cult. The reason given for the sacrifice is that the door has the power to keep away illness, evil spirits, and hostile influences of every description. There is an idea too, though it is of the vaguest possible nature, that in some indeterminate way a divinity or guardian spirit is connected with the door. A sorcerer informs me that the reason why the offal is buried at the door is as follows: Many generations ago the Miao were great hunters, but indigent. A member of a family being ill, a pig was required to sacrifice to the door. Thereupon a small pig was stolen, sacrificed and eaten. In order that no traces of the pig might be discovered the bristles, etc., were buried and the participants cleansed their mouths and hands over the fire so that there would be no odour! Though I record this I attach no importance to it. Another story which seeks to explain the origin of the custom states that a long long while ago, a youth enticed a girl to come to be his wife. Darkness overtook them before they reached home, and they stayed in a wayside booth to which there was no door. While the youth slept a tiger came and allured the maiden to go and marry him. (Tigers as men figure in several Miao folklore.) When the youth awoke the girl couldn't be found. It was thus that man realized how important the door is. The youth returned to his home and thenceforth sacrificed to his door so that it would keep away the tiger and evil influences of every description. The "Hmao-tang" family asseverate that when an offering is made the door is opened three times to let in good influences, and closed three times to keep away wild animals and malicious spirits.

W. H. HUDSPETH.

GHAO-TONG-FU,  
YUNNAN,  
CHINA.

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## REVIEWS.

LA RELIGION DES CHINOIS. By MARCEL GRANET. Paris : Gauthier-Villars & Cie. 1922. Pp. xiii + 202. Price 8 f.

For some two thousand years China has been the field of almost ceaseless endeavour by alien missionaries. The efforts of Buddhists, Manichaeans, Nestorians and the emissaries of countless Christian churches and sects have met with varying but often large success. The ultimate origins of Taoism go back to some remote and unknown date beyond this period, and they also may have come from abroad. Since the beginning of our era, and perhaps earlier, colonies of Jews have lived and practised their religion in different parts of China, and at least one community retained its characteristics till the last century. Many millions of Muhammadans, Chinese in all else but their foreign ancestry and the profession of their faith, still live in harmony with the rest of the population.

The foregoing facts sufficiently indicate the attitude shown by Chinese towards religion. It has always been tolerant so long as the imported faith was not suspected of subverting national institutions. One factor favouring this broad-minded view has undoubtedly been the widespread infusion of foreign blood. Again and again the throne has been occupied by an alien dynasty, and, though in the end Chinese culture has always succeeded in absorbing the semi-barbarian conquerors, outside influences have left their mark.

Thus the study of religious belief in China is a task of extreme complexity and magnitude, utterly beyond the powers of one man in his lifetime. Still less is a bare outline of the subject possible in a small book of 202 pages, such as this, prepared for

the general reader. The author does wisely, therefore, in frankly ignoring a great part of the field of research suggested by his title. He scarcely mentions Manichaeism, Nestorianism, or Islam; and only forty pages are allotted to Taoism and Buddhism. The greater part of the work is concerned with the religion of ancient China—beliefs and institutions, many of which remain in some form or other a precious heritage of the nation, and probably have contributed more than anything else to the longevity of its civilization. Thus one of the four chapters discusses the life of the peasant and his beliefs, another feudal religion, including ancestor worship and other cults of antiquity, and another the State religion and Confucianism. M. Granet is peculiarly qualified to deal with this most interesting aspect of Chinese religious life. His earlier works *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine* and *Polygynie Sororale* will be remembered as valuable achievements, the outcome of originality and imagination in the interpretation of ancient texts. And this small handbook, too, comes as a refreshing contrast to many Western works on the same subject which show a monotonous uniformity suggesting that one is copied from another.

It is surprising to find M. Granet making the statement that myth is scanty in China. Presumably he has little explored the voluminous literature devoted to Taoist hero-tales. Indications exist that many of these mythical stories are of great age, and, though probably the first written records of them perished at an early date, there still remain some of quite respectable antiquity; witness the collection entitled *Lieh hsien chuan*, which, even if not actually from the pen of its reputed author of the first century B.C., bears evidence of belonging to a distant past. The fabulous writings of Taoism have multiplied exceedingly down through the centuries, but they are small in volume compared with current folk-lore. There is scarce a hill, stream, or spring but has its *genius loci*.

One must not ignore, of course, the other side of the picture resulting from the Chinese habit of precise and matter-of-fact historical record which inclines the orthodox scholar to affect a contemptuous disbelief in anything outside the dynastic annals or other works of classical rank. Yet the bulk of the Chinese

has always been a myth-making people. To many of us the most familiar indication of the place occupied by gods, saints and fairies in popular fancy is the frequency with which they are represented in all forms of Far Eastern artistic production dating back to the beginning of our era.

The author ends with an estimate of religious feeling in modern China, and it strikes one as an extraordinarily just and unbiased outline of the situation. For the sake of this alone the book should be read by all who wish to understand a race destined to figure more and more prominently on the world's stage.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE  
—HOBART-MELBOURNE MEETING, JANUARY 1921. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS by SIR BALDWIN SPENCER, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., M.A., Litt.D., D.Sc. Melbourne: Reprinted from the Report.

THE Presidential Address by Sir Baldwin Spencer has been reprinted from the Official Report. It is worth the study of every anthropologist. After a sketch of the history of the Association, and in particular of the history of the researches on the native race of Australia, in which incidentally he pleads powerfully for the employment of trained women to investigate the native women and their customs, apart from the men, he goes on to deal with the organization of the Australian tribes, illustrating by diagrams and tables the distribution of the tribes according to their descent, whether matrilineal or patrilineal, and that of their moieties and class-names. The facts are of course known to all students of the important works of Sir Baldwin Spencer and the late Mr. F. J. Gillen, but they are necessary to be fresh in the mind for the succeeding discussion.

Sir Baldwin insists on the distinction between savage kinship and consanguinity, and on the absence of anything more than the earliest rudiment among the Blackfellows of a recognition of the terms of consanguinity as known to us. Kinship as recognized among them was that of the "classificatory system,"

as in the lower savagery generally, and had no relation to physiological factors as we recognize them.

When he comes to consider the development of the organization and culture of the aborigines he reviews the geological, biological and climatological conditions existing now and in the past since tertiary times as an essential part of the problem. He discusses the early severance of the Austral continent from Eurasia, the formation of "Wallace's line" and the subsequent geological changes, expressing the opinion that "apart from bats and insects that can fly or be carried by winds across stretches of water, mice and rats that can be carried in boats and drifting logs, Australia has received no immigrants by land from Eurasia since the Cretaceous period. She received the ancestors of her very distinctive marsupial fauna from the ancient American continent, most probably by way of Antarctica when what is now Tasmania was still a part of the continent. The lung-fish, *Ceratodus*, and the Monotremes, *Echidna* and *Platypus*, and such lower forms as *Peripatus*, are relics of a more ancient fauna once widely distributed, but her characteristic marsupials came at a later date, and the most specialized of them, the Diprodonts—kangaroos, native bears, wombats and phalangers—have been evolved within the limits of Australia itself, indicating the complete isolation of the continent for long ages, so far as influence by direct contact from outside is concerned in the case of the fauna."

After considering the various climatic changes that have taken place since Pliocene times, he comes to the conclusion that the earliest human immigrants entered Australia from the north-east in Pliocene or early Pleistocene times, and were succeeded by a later and more highly developed swarm which drove out the earlier people into what is now Tasmania, not even sparing women and children, in this following the example of the Cromagnons of Europe, who exterminated or drove out the Neanderthal people. He rejects the probability of later settlements on the coast of different parties which have introduced different beliefs and customs. He holds that these beliefs and customs have developed within Australia subsequent to the immigration of the present race and its break-up into

tribes. He is of opinion that all the divergences of organization and custom may be better accounted for by supposing that, as in the case of the various developments of the fauna, the race entered Australia little differentiated but with a capacity for variation, and the result has been, in Bateson's words, "an unfolding or unpacking of an original complex which contained within itself the whole range of diversity which living things present." The arguments are too long, and many of them too technical, to present in this short notice; but they ought to be studied *in extenso* as the arguments which present themselves to a scientific man of high biological repute and long experience among the natives with whom he is dealing. They are the most important contribution which he has published to our knowledge of the questions involved since he first introduced the Arunta to us.

I may be pardoned for adding that, though he formerly entertained a different view, he is now "inclined to think that in Australia descent was originally counted in the female line," thus adding the great weight of his matured opinion to that long advocated by most British anthropologists.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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THE OLD ENGLISH HERBALS. By ELEANOUR SINCLAIR ROHDE. With coloured frontispiece and 17 illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co. 1922. 8vo. xii and 243 pp. 21s.

MISS ROHDE has given us a delightful, interesting and suggestive book. She left the usual highway of literature and wandered unaccompanied through a forlorn and almost forgotten garden, and there she gathered flowers one by one with the love of the poet and the judgment of the scholar, and she has made a garland which will retain for many years to come its freshness, beauty and sweet scent. As she herself points out, the Herbals belong to a branch of forgotten literature; in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* no room was found for a special rubric. They deserved a better fate, although had some small reference appeared in the *Encyclopaedia* we might perhaps not

have had to congratulate Miss Rohde to-day on her excellent achievement. She has spared no pains; she has ransacked all the accessible libraries both here in Europe and in the United States, and she has brought together all that is known of English Herbals from the earliest Saxon period to the latest publication on Herbals and Sweet Waters. But she has not only collected, she has also studied; not being satisfied with merely giving a general outline of these books she has delved deeply into their contents, and with an eye for the picturesque and interesting, she has been able to pick out those items which are specifically characteristic of each. Nor has she forgotten the drawings; in some cases she has attempted to trace these back, if possible, to the very remote sources of the Greek MSS. of Dioscorides or to still older prototypes.

Starting from the earliest known Saxon MS., Miss Rohde allows her imagination to roam in wider fields, especially in those where knowledge and so-called superstition are fading one into the other. Then, one by one, she proceeds to describe most of the Herbals minutely, lingering for a while upon the Grete Herbal, paying special attention to Gerard's, and treating Culpeper's with sympathy, not to mention other minor adepts of the craft. Miss Rohde is not satisfied with merely giving us a description of the contents of these books, or specimens of their contents, but endeavours to trace each of them to its direct source. She illuminates many obscure connections, establishing the facts by which she arrives at her conclusions on the sound basis of scholarship.

She gives us an exhaustive bibliography of the MSS. which have a direct or indirect bearing on the English Herbals, inasmuch as they are either found in English libraries or contain English translations or glosses. She then follows up this list with one of all the English Herbals, with an exact indication of the places where they can be found, while a third bibliography contains the foreign Herbals, evidently chosen with the same aim of showing some direct or indirect connection with the English herbals. All the editions are mentioned, and thus the book becomes also a bibliographical handbook for the student of the subject. From these old editions Miss Rohde has

collected a number of illustrations beautifully reproduced, thus adding still more beauty to a book already so attractive in its contents.

I have not been stinting in my praise of this admirable achievement of Miss Rohde, nor do I wish to detract in any way from the great value which it possesses for scholars interested in the subject, but there is now also another side which requires some consideration. Miss Rohde has allowed her enthusiasm occasionally to disturb her otherwise keen judgment. Her love for the old Saxon MSS. has had the effect which love often has, of exaggerating the value of the object of our affections, or of slightly warping our perspective. I am referring here to that part of the book which appeals most to the student of Folk-Lore, for in that respect the herbals as well as the books of leechcraft are objects of profound interest to those who try to investigate the source of the knowledge which the people possessed. Whence did they derive the knowledge of plant lore, whence that of medicine, recipes of which are found among the people, the stock in trade of the "wise man" or of "the shepherd"? How far has the oral tradition influenced the written? Or *vice versa*, how deep has been the influence exercised by the book upon oral folk lore? Herbals, one must remember, are not books of botany in the modern meaning of that word, books written for the purpose of telling us all that can be told of the growth of plants and flowers, the way in which they are to be classified, and everything connected with the modern science of botany. Herbals are really handbooks of medicine, the primary object of which is to tell us the virtues of the plant, or rather, its medicinal virtues and of what benefit it can be, especially for healing purposes, and there is not a single Herbal starting from Dioscorides and his successors, down to the whole mediaeval Latin literature, including to a large extent the Arabic literature of herbals and simples, which is not primarily intended to give us full descriptions of the medicinal value of the plant. These plants were often not of indigenous growth, but a large number were exotic and brought from distant lands to be used for that specific purpose. With the plants came the names, and a careful investigation of the nomenclature

of plants opens up a vista of the utmost importance both to the philologist and to the folklorist. Miss Rohde has pointed out that the Saxon Herbals contain a large number of Saxon names, but so it is also with other Herbals found among the other nations of Europe. Miss Rohde's pride in the Saxon ancestry has got the best of her, and she evidently for the time forgot that when the Saxons came in the fifth century they must have found some traces of the Roman civilisation which had lasted for some hundreds of years, not to omit the mysteries of the Druids.

A comparative study, therefore, of the names of these plants found in the books, and not a few collected from the mouths of the people, would give most surprising results, inasmuch as they would show such a close identity that they must have been derived from the same literary source. They are often nothing else but literal translations into the vernacular of the old Greek or Latin names which occurred in the original texts. How, then, could such names come into the mouths of the people but through the medium of the written book? As Miss Rohde points out, even the oldest Saxon MS., which she pats so lovingly on the back and hugs to her heart, is nothing but a translation of a Latin work of the fictitious Apuleius Madaurensis Platonicus. (By the way this name does not appear in the index, an oversight which Miss Rohde will no doubt correct in the second edition.) It thus depended entirely upon the skill and knowledge of the translator to find the most appropriate words in his own language, without thereby proving that either the name or plant really existed among the Saxons. Take *e.g.* the name "Bugloss," which has retained even its Greek form, but is also known in its English translation of "ox tongue." Or take the mysterious "vervain," which is the Latin "verbena" to which magical powers of no mean value have been ascribed; it is difficult to identify it with any known plant. "Rosamarina" becomes "rosemary" with its manifold wonderful virtues. Out of "ruta" we get "rue." Or again, take the mythical "mandrake," which is a popular etymology for the old mandragora; and one can easily multiply examples of direct borrowing and assimilation of such strange names of plants, which is of inestim-

able value to the history of the herbs and the traditions connected with them.

This does not mean that there has not been some ancient plant lore of an indigenous character, but this can only be discovered by careful comparison of the names and attributes of the plants found in these MSS. and books and also in the oral tradition and in folk medicine, with those found elsewhere. Over the old tradition many layers have been superimposed in the course of time and by succeeding influences: these will have to be eliminated one by one until we reach the lowest stratum, and no one is more fitted to do this comparative work than Miss Rohde, whose knowledge of the literature is so wide. To some extent, work of a similar character has been done by Hovorka and Kronfeld in their book on comparative Folk-medicine (*Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, Stuttgart, 1908-9), in which the virtues of herbs and plants play an important role. Vol. II. contains no less than forty pages of bibliography (pp. 902-960).

I am now turning to another weak point, if I may call it so, in Miss Rohde's book. I am referring to her doctrine of the "elf-shot" and the "flying venom," but more especially to the charms and conjurations, used either as prophylactic or apotropeic, to protect from or to attack the evil. This is part of the ancient leechcraft in which herbs were used in the cure, but their efficacy was strengthened by suitable conjurations and charms. Miss Rohde gives us a few fair specimens of conjurations and charms, but she describes the belief in the "elf-shot" as the cause of illness as of Indo-Aryan origin. It would be difficult to find the reason for limiting these beliefs to what is called the Indo-Aryan, in itself a somewhat elastic term; moreover, the parallels from the Babylonian conjurations, which Miss Rohde adduces, must disprove the theory propounded. The belief in the demoniacal origin of illness is universal, and a comparative study of charms and conjurations, carried on for many years, has led to the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxon formulas, far from being primitive, already show signs of decay and profound alteration. Many of the principal features are missing inasmuch as these

charms have lost their epic character. They are no longer a narrative but merely episodes from a longer formula. In addition, the strings of mystical names, by which they are, as a rule, accompanied in the Anglo-Saxon formulas, show that they are of a purely literary and foreign origin; and just as one can trace the home of the plant by its exotic name, so it is easy to trace the literary and foreign origin by the peculiar names of angels, saints, and powers. Some are Latin and some Greek, but most of them are hopelessly corrupt, since they must have already passed through a long series of corruptions, due to ignorant scribes. This fate has befallen many older conjurations, even those found in the ancient Greek magical papyri of Egypt in which are not a few parallels to these mystical names. But the Anglo-Saxon have also suffered a further deterioration by having been thoroughly Christianised: they have been subjected to peculiar modification and assimilation to the Church service. Because of these very facts they deserve of special study which cannot fail to be very fruitful in its results.

I felt bound to make these strictures in the interest of folk-lore and even in that of Miss Rohde's book. They do not affect its high value and its winning charm. They refer only to some opinions which Miss Rohde can easily abandon or modify without impairing the character of her book and, if I venture to say so, might enhance it. Perchance, Miss Rohde might be induced to follow up the one or the other of the suggestions made and give us another book based on the comparative study of the Herbals and their sources. With her unequalled competence she might bring within the compass of her investigations also the oral literature of folk medicine and plants.

To Miss Rohde all students of folk lore and folk medicine owe a deep debt of gratitude. She has transferred some of the virtues of the herbs to the pages of her beautiful book, and instead of using the Countess of Kent's still-room book for a "comfortable cordial to cheer the heart," one can conscientiously recommend the perusal of this book. The effect will be the same.

M. GASTER.

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