





Division 5046

Section 111

MAGIC IN NAMES
AND IN OTHER THINGS



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BY

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"THE CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD," "THE STORY OF CREATION," ETC.

"To classify things is to name them, and the name of a thing, or of a group of things, is its soul; to know their names is to have power over their soul. Language, that stupendous product of the collective mind, is a duplicate, a shadow-soul, of the whole structure of reality; it is the most effective and comprehensive tool of human power, for nothing, whether human or superhuman, is beyond its reach."

F. M. CORNFORD, *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 141.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE world-wide superstition, examples of which form the staple of this book, has scarcely received the attention warranted by the important part which it has played, and still plays, in savage and civilized belief and ritual.

The book is an enlargement of a lecture on "Magic in Names," delivered at the Royal Institution in March 1917. There are incorporated into it some portions of an *Essay on Savage Philosophy in Folk-lore*, which was published in 1898. The book has been long out of print, and I beg to thank Messrs. Duckworth and Co. for permission to make extracts therefrom.

I have also to thank my wife for her valued help in the tedious work of revision of proof sheets.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. MAGIC AND RELIGION	1
II. MANA IN TANGIBLE THINGS	10
(a) MANA IN BLOOD	12
(b) " HAIR AND TEETH	13
(c) " SALIVA	17
(d) " IN PORTRAIT	23
III. MANA IN INTANGIBLE THINGS	27
(a) MANA IN SHADOWS	27
(b) " REFLECTIONS AND ECHOES	33
(c) " PERSONAL NAMES	36
(d) " NAMES OF RELATIVES	51
(e) " BIRTH AND BAPTISMAL NAMES	64
(f) " INITIATION NAMES	83
(g) " EUPHEMISMS	88
(h) " NAMES OF KINGS AND PRIESTS	109
(i) " NAMES OF THE DEAD	121
(j) " NAMES OF GODS	131
IV. MANA IN WORDS	157
(a) CREATIVE WORDS	159
(b) MANTRAMS	163
(c) PASSWORDS	170
(d) CURSES	173
(e) SPELLS AND AMULETS	182
(f) CURE-CHARMS	194
V. THE NAME AND THE SOUL	224
INDEX	233

MAGIC IN NAMES

CHAPTER I

MAGIC AND RELIGION

IN an article on "magic" contributed to Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Dr. Marett says that "the problem of its definition constitutes a veritable storm-centre in the anthropological literature of to-day."

In this disturbed zone the questions of (1) the origin and elements of magic, and (2) its place in the order of man's spiritual evolution, are discussed. Upon each of these only brief comment is here necessary.

As to the *first* question, one set of combatants contend that magic is "pseudo-science" ¹—"the physics of the savage," as Dr. Adolf Bastian defines it. "It cannot," says Sir Alfred Lyall, "be doubted that magic is founded on some dim notion of cause and effect which is the necessary basis of all human reasoning and experience." ²

¹ *Primitive Culture*, by Sir E. B. Tylor, Vol. I. pp. 112, 119 (Third Edition).

² *Asiatic Studies*, 2nd Series, p. 182.

In agreement with this, Sir James Frazer says that "the analogy between the magical and the scientific conceptions of the world is close. In both of them the succession of events is perfectly regular and certain, being determined by immutable laws, the operation of which can be foreseen and calculated precisely; the elements of caprice, of chance, and of accident are banished from the course of nature."¹ To this an opposite school replies that the theory assumes a higher stage of mentality than savage races have reached. They are unable to conceive of constant relations between cause and effect. The *how* and *why* of things is a late conception in human development. What appears to rule the life of man at his lowest, and to persist in often unsuspected form throughout his history, is the sense of a vague, impersonal, ever-acting, universally-diffused power which, borrowing the word for it common to the whole Pacific, is called *mana*.² To quote from the classical work on the subject, "Mana is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything. It works to affect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature, it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches

¹ *The Golden Bough*³, "The Magic Art," Vol. I. p. 220.

² Art. "Mana," Hastings's *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII. pp. 375-380.

itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation.¹ . . . Wizards, doctors, weather-mongers, prophets, diviners, dreamers, all alike, everywhere in the islands, work by this power.”² *Mana* is the stuff through which magic works; it is not the trick itself, but the power whereby the sorcerer does the trick. To the Omaha Indians, *wakonda* is “the power that makes or brings to pass,” and the like meaning is attached to the Iroquois *orenda* or *oki*, to the Algonkin *manitou*, to the *kutchi* of the Australian natives, to the *agud* of the Torres Straits Islanders, to the *bu-nissi* of the Bantu and to the *n’ga* of the Masai. Equating *mana* with what the Milesians called *physis* (*phyo*, “to bring forth”), Mr. Cornford says that it is “that very living stuff out of which demons, gods and souls had slowly gathered shape.”³ This falls into line with the theory, based on evidence as to the continuity of mental development, that Animism, or the belief in personal spirits everywhere, in the non-living as well as in the living, is a secondary stage in the growth of religion, being preceded by Naturism, or belief in impersonal powers. As an example, to the jungle dwellers of Chota

¹ The *Melanesians*, p. 119, by the Rev. R. H. Codrington.

² *Ib.*, p. 192.

³ From *Religion to Philosophy*, p. 123.

Nagpur their "sacred groves are the abode of equally indeterminate things, represented by no symbols and of whose form and function no one can give an intelligible account. They have not yet been clothed with individual attributes; they linger on as survivals of the impersonal stage of religion."¹ Cognate examples abound; here, passing from India to Africa, it suffices to quote one given by Mr. Hollis in his book on *The Masai*. He says that in their word *en-gai* we have that which expresses "the primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the god is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena."² On the same plane is the "unseen power of the ancient Roman cults . . . seated in, often unnamed, and visible only in the sense of being, or in some sense symbolized by, tree or stone or animal."³ In his *Religion of Numa* Mr. Carter says that "it required centuries to educate the Roman into the conception of personal, individual gods."⁴ "The idea of the supernatural," says M. Emile Durkheim, "as we understand it, dates only from to-day."⁵ It could arise only after belief in a natural, unbroken order of things was established, and

¹ *People of India*, p. 215, by Sir H. Risley.

² p. xix.

³ *The Roman Festivals*, p. 337, by W. Warde Fowler.

⁴ p. 70.

⁵ *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, p. 26.

is not to be confounded with that feeling of the marvellous begotten by the surprising or the unusual in phenomena. Ages were to pass before speculations about spiritual beings shaped themselves in creeds and dogmas whose formulation has brought countless evils on mankind. As Montaigne shrewdly said, "Nothing is so firmly believed as that which is least known," and in the degree that the matter in dispute is incapable of proof, the passions of men in defending it have begotten the foul brood of hatred and slaughter¹ which warranted the terrible indictment of Lucretius: "*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*;"² ("so great the evils to which religion could prompt").

As to the *second* question, one school contends that magic precedes, and is antagonistic to, religion; that the sorcerer comes before the priest in the order of thaumaturgists. Armed with *mana*; in common phrase, with his "bag o' tricks," the sorcerer works as one who compels or constrains or manipulates persons and powers, both seen and unseen, to attainment of his ends, whether these be to help or to harm. His apparatus is gross and material:

¹ "Nonsense defended by cruelty," Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. lxiv. p. 4 (Bury's Edition, 1914).

² Bk. I. l. 101. In his *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*, p. 436, Mr. Masson says: "This line may be rendered: 'There is nothing so dangerous as the religious conscience.'"

he enchains and subdues by his magic arts and devices.

It is not so with the priest, who believes himself to be the channel of communications between gods and men, and whose methods, therefore, are not carnal, but spiritual. His functions come into play only as man attains to concrete conceptions of invisible powers (envisaging these as made in his own image), so that more direct appeal to them is possible. But, in truth, no hard and fast lines can be drawn between priest and sorcerer. These sharp divisions are to be avoided; they assume a consistency of sequence in barbaric beliefs and practices which disqualifies us for understanding them. Symmetrical theories carry their own condemnation.

A distinction, which has a certain validity, has been drawn between religion and magic. In primitive groups, the individual does not count; the community is everything. Hence, among all lower races, every institution is social. Even religion, which we are apt to think of only in terms of sect, is collectivist: there is no such thing as a private religion. Dances and festivals, and other channels of relief of the emotions ruled the communal life; aught else that we associate with the terms "religion" and "worship" was a much later development.

Magic, on the other hand, is anti-social and

disruptive. The sorcerer acts alone; he works for his own ends. Now and again he serves the common weal, as when, by his spells, he inspires the tribe against the foe, or makes believe to control the wind and weather. But, practically, his arts are directed against the individual. To quote M. Durkheim, "Between the magician and the individuals who consult him there are no lasting bonds which make them members of the same moral community comparable to that formed by the believers in the same god or the observers of the same cult; the magician has a clientele and not a Church. There is no Church of magic."¹ True; but there are no Churches without it. The priest, in contrast with the sorcerer, assumes direct relations with invisible and supernatural powers, but for the sustaining of these, as for his influence with those powers, he relies on magic. Beliefs vanish before the advance of knowledge; the heterodoxy of to-day becomes the orthodoxy of to-morrow. But ritual abides as a vehicle of magic, and herein the medicine-man and the sacerdotalist meet together. "Magic, sacrament and sacrifice are fundamentally all one."² The continuity between these is recognized in a recent book by a "priest of the Catholic Church" (that is, of its English branch, the orders of which are invalid at Rome).

¹ p. 44.

² *Themis.*, p. 138, Jane E. Harrison.

In the initiation ceremonies accompanying the admission of youths to membership of the tribe on attaining puberty, he sees anticipation of the rite of confirmation and of the preparation for the "Communion of the Saints." In the universal barbaric belief that the eater absorbs the qualities and virtues of the thing eaten, he admits a fundamental connection with the most sacred and magical of Christian rites, "the sacramental element becoming more and more pronounced, till at last in the Eucharist wherein man dwells in Christ and Christ in man it finds its consummation." In the purification and lustration customs attending women at childbirth and the newly born, especially in the Isis rite of baptism with water, he finds preparation "for the proclamation of the one baptism for the remission of sins." ¹

The Christian magician, he contends, is successful as one of "a priesthood possible only where a definite relationship exists between the deity and the community, since the office of the priest is to propitiate the gods or act as their mouthpiece. By virtue of his initial ordination, he becomes invested with Divine authority . . . and is therefore regarded as a sacred person"! All the lower religions, in the view of this writer, have been "schoolmasters to bring us to Christ"; for him

¹ *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, p. 13, Rev. E. O. James.

their value lies only in the degree that they are anticipatory of the Christian religion, with its monopoly of a Divine process and purpose which is for the advantage of a handful of mankind, and of which the majority have never heard. Mr. James, who has undergone "a full anthropological training" under Dr. Marett at Oxford; the course including a study of the lower religions, coolly ignores the existence of the great religions which claim the adherence of a thousand millions, whereas Christianity, riven into a myriad "jarring sects," can, on the most elastic reckoning, claim barely half the number. This, surely, is to import into the Christian religion an anti-social, even anti-human, element, to make disruptive what is said originally to mean "binding" (*religare*, "to bind"). In the degree that it has become individualistic it has lost touch with a common humanity.¹ Self-regardfulness impels the cry, "What must I do to be saved?"

¹ On the origin of anxiety as to the fate of the individual soul, see J. B. Carter's *Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, pp. 72, 216.

CHAPTER II

MANA IN TANGIBLE THINGS

THE branch of Magic which now comes under survey plays an important part in modern belief and custom. To bring home the fact of this survival may cause surprise to some, akin to that felt by M. Jourdain when he learned that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it. Magic, for the present purpose, is defined as the *mana* by which the sorcerer pretends to (in some cases honestly believes that he can) obtain control over persons and their belongings, to their help or harm, and also control over invisible beings and the occult powers of nature.

Magic works in two ways; as black or maleficent, and as white or beneficent. The black predominates, because of the larger field of mentality wherein it works. No matter how civilized he may be, man has never shaken off the fear aroused by the unknown or the unusual which he inherits from his proto-human ancestry. As creatures of emotion, we are hundreds of thousands of years old; as reasoning beings, we are but of yesterday. Despite assertions to

the contrary, and despite what is proffered in support of them, the mass of evidence in favour of the saying of Statius,¹ *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*, is overwhelming. The emotion of fear, undisciplined by knowledge, has begotten a crowd of dreaded beings, from ghosts to gods. None of them are reasoned products of the mind. "Fear in sooth takes such a hold of all mortals, because they see many operations go on in earth and heaven, the causes of which they can in no way understand."²

Both black and white magic operate through tangible and intangible things. The condition of nervous instability, the confusion between persons and things and between objective and subjective, in other words, between what is external to the mind and what is in the mind itself, all foster belief in the savage that the sorcerer can work evil upon him by obtaining drops of his blood, clippings of his hair or nails; refuse of his food; his saliva, sweat, excreta; his portrait; any piece of his clothing that has his smell in it, even the earth taken from a man's footprint because it has come into contact with his body. All alike become vehicles of *mana*. Hence, before dealing with the main subject of this book, the warrant for filling a few pages with

¹ *Thebais*, Bk. III. 661.

² *De Rerum Natura*, Bk. I. 151-154.

examples of the play of *mana* in tangible things. They are chosen from a vast number, and the reader is asked to accept them on the principle of the old motto, *ex uno disce omnes*—from one example judge of the rest. “Brevity,” says Lucian in his *Way to Write History*, “is always desirable, and especially where matter is abundant.”

(a) *Mana in Blood.*

To us blood is only the vehicle of life : to the savage it is *the life*. The belief is primitive and persistent. Among the natives of New Britain the smallest quantity of blood falling on the ground is at once gathered up and destroyed :¹ the Igalwa of West Africa stamp out blood from a cut in the finger or from a fit of nose-bleeding :² in Bengal blood from a wound is covered up, spat upon, and thrown away to prevent any mischief being done to the wound. Basuto sorcerers secure drops of blood from their intended victim whereby to work black magic on him.³ A parallel to this is supplied by the ancient Peruvian sorcerers, who sought to destroy their victim through blood taken from him, the knowledge of loss of which would cause him to die of sheer funk.⁴ The equation of blood with life has

¹ *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 253, Rev. G. Brown.

² *Travels in W. Africa*, p. 447, Mary Kingsley.

³ *Legend of Perseus*, Vol. II. p. 73, E. S. Hartland, LL.D.

⁴ *Principles of Sociology*, p. 264, Herbert Spencer.

example in the *Iliad* where the soul of Hyperenor is described as having "fled hastily through the stricken wound";¹ the philosopher Empedocles taught that "the blood round the heart is the thought of man";² the Arabs believe that the life of a slain man "flows on the spear point,"³ and their kindred Semites believed that "the blood is the soul," not merely "life," as translated in Deut. xii. 23.

(b) *Mana in Hair, Teeth, etc.*

In Southern India human hair, nail-cuttings and powdered earth are mixed together, waved three times before a sick child as a charm against the evil eye, and then burnt. Possessed of a lock of his hair, parings of his nails, and a few shreds of his clothing, the Singhalese sorcerer works these into an image of his victim, and thrusts nails into it where the joints would be. That, especially if the victim knows what has been done, settles his fate. His joints stiffen, his body is scorched with fever; the spell does its fatal work.⁴ Bishop Callaway says that the Amazulu sorcerers are supposed to destroy their victims by taking some portion of their bodies, or something that they have worn, adding to these

¹ Bk. XIV. 518.

² Fragments, 105. *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 254, Prof. J. Burnet.

³ *Religion of the Semites*, p. 40, W. Robertson Smith

⁴ *Golden Bough*³, "The Magic Art," Vol. I. p. 65.

certain "medicine," which mixture they secretly bury, so that as it dries up the life of the victim may wither away.¹

The Maori sorcerer gets a lock of his victim's hair, parings of his nails, fragments of his garment, all which he buries, chanting over them spells and curses. As the things decay, so decays the person to whom they belonged.² When the *mae* snake carried away a fragment of food into the place sacred to a spirit, the man who had eaten of the food sickened as the fragment decayed.³ The natives of New Britain believe that the sorcerer can injure a man by securing something that he has touched with his mouth, hence they carefully destroy yam peelings, banana skins, and suchlike refuse.⁴ Among some North American tribes even the water in which their soiled clothes have been washed is thrown away, so that black magic may not be wrought by it.⁵ In the New Hebrides hair and nail cuttings are hidden, and any refuse of food is given to the pigs. The peasants of Galway say that it is unlucky to give or receive hair-cuttings, and if these are stolen ill will befall the thief; ⁶ the Leitrim rustics keep their hair-clippings because they may be

¹ *Principles of Sociology*, p. 264, Herbert Spencer.

² *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 203, R. Taylor.

³ Codrington, p. 203.

⁴ Brown, p. 233.

⁵ *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 142, R. M. Dorman.

⁶ *Folk-lore*, Vol. XIX. p. 319.

wanted on the Day of Judgement to turn the scale against the weight of their sins.¹ Widespread is the custom among "yokels," and some of their "betters," of preserving teeth so that the owner may not lack them at the resurrection, or of throwing them away lest magic be worked through them. These examples, types of which could be drawn from world-wide sources, lie on the borderland of our survey, but one may be cited. In Yorkshire when a child's tooth comes out it must be dropped in the fire and the following rhyme repeated: otherwise the child will have to hunt for the tooth after death—

" Fire, fire, tak' a beean,
An' send our Johnny a good teath ageean." ²

(According to the communications purporting to have come from Raymond Lodge in the spirit world, these precautions are unnecessary. We are told that celestial dentists supply new teeth, that artificial limbs are also provided, and that "when anybody's blown to pieces, it takes some time for the spirit-body to complete itself, to gather itself all in.")³

Folk custom is rich in parallels between barbaric and semicivilized peoples, among these being the superstitions attached to lucky and

¹ *Folk-lore*, Vol. VII. p. 182.

² *Rustic Speech and Folk-lore*, p. 220, E. M. Wright.

³ *Raymond: or Life and Death*, p. 195, Sir Oliver Lodge.

unlucky days for hair-cutting and nail-paring. The modern Jews in Jerusalem cut their nails early in the week so that they may not start growing on the Sabbath;¹ in the Hebrides and Northumberland Friday is an unlucky day for so doing, while, *per contra*, among the later Romans that day was chosen as lucky (*dies faustus*). The occult power believed to dwell in the hair is perhaps explained by its connection with the head, to which a special sanctity has been attached as the dwelling-place of spirit. Sir James Frazer quotes a striking example of this from a traveller in West Africa. "Among the Hos of Togoland there are priests on whose heads no razor has come throughout their life. The god who dwells in the man forbids the shearing of his hair under threat of death. If the hair grows too long, the owner must pray to his god to let him at least clip the ends of it. For the hair is conceived as the seat and abode of his god: were it cut off, the god would lose his dwelling."² When the barber, at the command of the wily Delilah, shaved off the seven locks of Samson's head, "his strength went from him."³ In the *Zend Avesta*, Ahura Mazda is asked: "Which is the most deadly deed whereby a man

¹ *Popular Antiquities*, Vol. III. p. 177, Brand (Hazlitt's Edition).

² *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, Vol. III. p. 189.

³ Judges xvi. 19.

increases most the baleful strength of the Dævas ?” whereupon the god answered, “ It is when a man here below, combing his hair or shaving it off, or paring off his nails, drops them into a hole or crack.”¹

In a recent drivelling book, entitled *The Ancient Road or the Development of the Soul*, the hair is said to be “ full of mystic power and [pity the bald !] a thick crop of it is an invariable accompaniment of genius. The paucity of originality and of inspirational genius at the present day is typified in the short-cropped heads and the prevalence of baldness among men.” Hair as an agent of white magic has an example in an experience narrated by Paul du Chaillu. After his hair (he became quite bald in later years) had been shorn, a scuffling and fighting crowd gathered round him to scramble for the cuttings, even the old King Olenda mixing in the tumult. “ I called him and asked what was the use of the hair. He answered, ‘ O Spirit, these hairs are very precious : we shall make *mondas* (fetishes) of them and they will bring other white men and good luck and riches.’ ”²

(c) *Mana in Saliva.*

In Cherokee belief, the possession of a man’s

¹ *Fargard*, Vol. XVII. Quoted in *Scatalogic Rites of all Nations*, p. 346, J. G. Bourke. See also Hartland, *L.P.*, Vol. II. p. 135.

² *Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, p. 427.

saliva gives the shaman power over the life of the man himself. The higher his rank, the more sacred, the more *mana*-charged, is his saliva. The South Sea Island chiefs had servants following them with spittoons so that the contents might be buried in some hidden place. In Hawaii the care of the Royal saliva was entrusted to a chief of the first rank, who held the distinguished office of spittoon-bearer to the king and to whom fell the duty of burying the contents beyond the reach of the medicine-man. The chief officer of the "King of Congo receives the royal saliva in a rag which he doubles up and kisses." The service takes a less agreeable form at the "court" of the King of Engage. The monarch spits into the hand of his servant, who straightway rubs it on his head. "There are certaine people," says Montaigne, "that turne their backs towards those they salute; there are others who when the King spitteth, the most favoured ladie in his court stretcheth forth her hand, and in another cuntry where the noblest about him stoope to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth." ¹

The natives of New Britain are careful not to expectorate except by blowing the spittle out in sea spray, which they believe destroys its magic power.² If a Wotjobaluk sorcerer cannot

¹ Book I. ch. xxii.

² Brown, p. 233.

get the hair of his foe, a shred of his rug, or something else that belongs to the man, he will watch till he sees him spit, when he will carefully pick up the spittle with a stick and use it to destroy the careless spitter.¹ Aristotle, Pliny and other classic writers believed in the deadly power of human saliva. Some of them hit on the fact that it has qualities akin to the virus of snakes, which is a highly specialized saliva. They also believed that these reptiles and other animals could be killed by being spat upon, and that if one man bit another, it was fatal to the bitten. On the other hand, Pliny quotes Varro as authority that some people in Asia Minor, called the Ophiogenes, cure snake-poisoning by their spittle.² Superstitions bristle with contradictions, and saliva appears to play a larger part in white magic than in black. Belief in the potency of this normally harmless secretion has given rise to its use as a prophylactic (notably in the form of fasting spittle), a benediction, a luck-bringer, a love-charm, a lustration against fascination especially by the evil eye,³ and as a symbol of friendship corresponding to the blood covenant. On the custom of spitting on the person whom one

¹ *Golden Bough*³, "Taboo," p. 288.

² *Harvard Studies*, Vol. VIII. "The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature," F. W. Nicolson.

³ See *Castle St. Angelo and the Evil Eye*, pp. 208 seq., W. W. Story.

desires to honour, Consul Petherick records a typical example. "The chief grasped my hand and turning up the palm spat upon it, then looking into my face did the same. Staggered at the man's audacity, my first impulse was to knock him down, but his features expressed kindness only. So I returned the compliment with interest. His delight was excessive and he told his companion that I must be a great chief.¹ Among the Masai it is bad form to kiss a lady, and it is *comme il faut* to spit on her. *A propos* of this Joseph Thomson, in his *Through Masai Land*, tells an amusing story. His renown as a medicine-man had spread, and one day an old chief brought his wife to him to seek his help, as they wanted a boy who should be his counterpart in colour and appearance. He told them that the matter was beyond his power, being entirely in the hands of the god N'gai, to whom they must pray. As this did not content them, to their delight, he spat upon them, but they hinted that other "medicine" was necessary. He then brewed some Eno's fruit salt for them, spat on them "all over," and "showed them the door," after bestowing on the woman some beads "in trust for the prospective white baby."²

¹ *Egypt: the Soudan and Central Africa*, p. 36.

² p. 165. On conception by saliva and on talking saliva, see Hartland, *L.P.*, Vols. I. p. 130, and II. pp. 60-62.

Concerning this belief in the magical qualities of saliva, Mr. Doughty says, "A young mother, a slender girl, brought her wretched babe and bade me spit on the child's sore eyes : this ancient Semitic opinion and custom I have afterwards found wherever I came in Arabia. Meleyr nomads in El-Kasûm have brought me some of their bread and salt that I should spit in it for their sick friends." The belief has a long history.¹ According to Pliny, saliva was a cure for leprosy, cancer (carcinoma) and inflammation of the eyes.² Two stories of it as curing total blindness are told by Tacitus and by the evangelists Mark and John.

Tacitus relates that "a certain mean commoner starke blind," acting on the advice of the god Serapis, implored Vespasian to cure him by moistening his cheeks and eyeballs with his spittle. After consulting his physicians, the Emperor granted the man's prayer and "the light of the day again shone on the blind."³

In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus, besought by the blind man to touch him, spat on his eyes, put his hands upon them and "the man was restored."

¹ *Wanderings in Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 194 (1908 Edition).

² *Nat. Hist.*, XXVIII. 37.

³ *Hist.*, Bk. IV. 81. In a panegyric on the Babylonian god Marduk there occurs the strange phrase : "The spittle of life is thine." In this there is probable allusion to magic virtue in saliva. *Greece and Babylon*, p. 176, L. R. Farnell.

In the longer version given by St. John, Jesus "spat on the ground, made clay of the spittle and anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay." He bade him wash in the pool of Siloam : the man went his way thither and "came seeing." By the same saliva-magic Jesus cured the deaf and dumb man, "looking up to heaven he sighed and saith unto him, Ephphatha, that is, 'be opened.' And straightway his ears were opened and the string of his tongue was loosed and he spake plain."¹

In the rite of baptism in the Roman Catholic Church the priest, blending pagan rite with Christian tradition, touches the child's ears and nostrils with spittle and recites an exorcism based on the foregoing story. After the command, "Ephphatha, quod est adaperitor," he adds, "Tu autem effugare, diabole, adpropinquabit enim judicium Dei." (Be thou put to flight, O devil, for the judgment of God is at hand.) "This Custom of nurses lustrating the children by spittle was one of the Ceremonies used on the Dies Nominalis, the Day the Child was named, so that there can be no doubt of the Papists deriving this Custom from the Heathen Nurses and Grandmothers. They have, indeed, christened

¹ Mark vii. 33-35, viii. 25; John ix. 6. Both Tacitus and Suetonius (*Vespasian*, VII.) tell the further story of the healing of a man "with a feeble and lame leg" by "the print of a Cæsar's foot,"

it, as it were, by singing-in some scriptural expressions, but then they have carried it to a more filthy extravagance by daubing it on the Nostrils of Adults as well as of Children.”¹

Vincenzo Dorsa, an Albanian, in one of his pamphlets on the survival of Greco-Roman traditions in Albania, speaks of a charm-formula, *Otto Nove* (Eight-nine). It is considered proper to spit thrice on a suckling infant and then call out three times “*Otto Nove.*” This brings luck and the practice, he thinks, is an echo of the number-system of Pythagoras.²

The use of spittle as a prohibitive charm has both classical and modern example. In the sixth *Idyll* of Theocritus, Damœtas says, “Then, all to shun the evil eye, did I spit thrice in my breast, for this spell was taught me by the crone Cottytaris.” In the twentieth idyll *Eunica*, spurning the herdsman, “thrice spat in the breast of her gown,” and the same motive prompts the Italian of to-day to the custom.

(d) *Mana in Portrait.*

The reluctance of savages to have their portraits taken is explicable when viewed in relation to the group of confused ideas between persons and their belongings. When a man sees his “counterfeit presentment,” he thinks that some

¹ Brand, Vol. III. p. 228.

² *Old Calabria*, p. 310, Norman Douglas,

part of his vulnerable self is put at the mercy of the wonder-worker. Captain Whiffen, in his valuable *N.W. Amazons*, says, "My camera was naturally endowed by Indian imagination with magical properties, the most general idea among the Boro being that it was an infernal machine, designed to steal the souls of those who were exposed to its baleful eye. In like manner my eyeglass was supposed to give me power to see what was in their hearts. When I first attempted to take photographs, the natives were considerably agitated by my use of a black cloth to envelop the evil thing, and when my own head went under it they had but one opinion—it also was some strange magic working that would enable me to read their minds and steal their souls away, or, rather, become master of their souls. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that I was able to reproduce the photograph. The Indian was brought face to face with his native soul, represented by the miniature of himself on the photographic plate. One glance, and one only, could he be induced to give. The Witoto women believed that I was working more material magic, and feared, should they suffer exposure to the camera, that they would bear resultant offspring to whom the camera—or the photograph—would stand in paternal relation."¹

¹ p. 233.

When among the Wa-teita of Masai Land, Joseph Thomson tried to obtain some photographs of the people. "I did my best," he says, "to win their confidence. Putting on my most engaging manner I exhibited tempting strings of beads as bribes. In vain, however, did I appeal to their love of gaudy ornaments. With soothing words, aided by sundry pinchings and chuckings under the chin, I might get the length of making them stand up, but the moment that the attempt to focus them took place, they fled in terror to the shelter of the woods. To show them photos and try to explain what I wanted, only made them worse. They imagined I was a magician trying to take possession of their souls which, once accomplished, they would be entirely at my mercy. They would not in the end even look at a photo, and the men began to drive the women away."¹ The famous explorer, Catlin, tells how the Yukons quarrelled with, and threatened, him because he had made buffaloes scarce by putting so many pictures of them in his book.² When an explorer in Yukon territory was focussing his camera, the headman of the village was allowed to peep under the box. He rushed away, shouting to the people, "He has all of your shades in the box," and a helter-skelter

¹ *Through Masai Land*, p. 47.

² *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 140, R. M. Dorman.

ensued.¹ But we need not travel abroad for examples of the dread which portrait-taking begets. From Scotland to Somerset there are gathered stories about the ill-health or ill-luck which followed the camera: "Volks," said the old wife of a Somersetshire gardener, "never didna live long arter they be a-tookt off." Francis Hindes Groome relates how the aunt of a gipsy girl refused to have her "draw'd out." When he asked where the harm could be, she replied, "I know there's a fiz (charm) in it. There was my youngest that the gorja draw'd out on Newmarket Heath. She never held her head up after, but wasted away and died and she's buried in March churchyard." ²

¹ *G.B.*³, "Taboo," p. 96.

² *In Gipsy Tents*, p. 337.

CHAPTER III

MANA IN INTANGIBLE THINGS

(a) *Mana in Shadows.*

THE savage can know nothing of the action of the laws of the interference of light and sound. The echoes of voices; the reflection which water casts; and the shadows which follow or precede him, lengthening or shortening his figure and mimicking his actions, all add to the causes of the confusion in the mind of the savage (and in that of many so-called civilized) between the objective and the subjective. Thus it is that magic also works upon him through intangible phenomena, as shadows, reflections, echoes and last, but not least, through NAMES, confirming his belief in a mysterious double.

Hence, the barbaric conception of a shadow-soul. Its intangibility feeds his awe and wonder; its actions add to his bewilderment, and make it a part of himself. Only when the light is intercepted or withdrawn does this shadow-soul cease to accompany him, and since both non-living and living things cast shadows of themselves, he credits this "double" as appertaining to everything,

The Choctaws believed that each man has an outside shadow, *shilombish*, and an inside shadow, *shilup*, both of which would survive him. New England tribes call the soul *shemung*, *i. e.* shadow; in the Eskimo, Quiche and Costa Rica languages the words for soul and shadow are the same, while community of idea in civilized speech has evidence in the *skia* of the Greeks, the *manes* and *umbra* of the Romans and in the *shade* of our own tongue.

The Algonkin Indians are not alone in accounting for a man's illness by his shadow being detached from his body. Stories of shadowless men are current in folklore, and it is on these that von Chamisso based his quaint fiction called *Peter Schlemihl*. "If it be desired to cause physical injury or death to an enemy, the simplest and surest method is to make an image of him in some malleable material—wax, lead, or clay—and, if opportunity offers, to knead into it, or attach to it, some trifle from the enemy's person. Three hairs from his head are a highly valuable acquisition, but parings of his nails or a few shreds of his clothing will serve: or, again, the image may be put in some place where his shadow will fall upon it as he passes. These refinements of the practice, however, are not indispensable; the image by itself will suffice. This being made, the treatment

varies according to the degree of suffering which it is desired to inflict.¹ To tread on a man's shadow is to bring on illness; in Wetar Island, near Celebes, the sorcerer effects this by stabbing a man's shadow with a pike, or hacking it with a sword.² "Murders," says Mary Kingsley, "are sometimes committed by secretly driving a nail or knife into a man's shadow, but if the murderer be caught red-handed at it, he or she would be forthwith killed; for all diseases arising from the shadow-soul are incurable."³ Among the Baganda no man liked another to tread on his shadow, or to have his shadow speared, and children were warned not to allow the fire to cast their shadow on the wall of the house lest they should die from having seen themselves as a shadow. At meals no one sat so as to cast his shadow over the food.⁴ "A friend," says Mr. Edgar Thurston, "once rode accidentally into a weaver's feast, and threw his shadow on the food, whence arose consternation."⁵ The Arabs believe that if a hyena treads on a man's shadow he loses power of speech. Mr. Skeat says that, in Malay tradition, a noxious snail sucks the blood of animals, which it draws in a

¹ *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, p. 16, J. C. Lawson.

² *G.B.*³, "Taboo," p. 78.

³ *W. African Studies*, p. 208.

⁴ *The Baganda*, p. 23, Rev. J. Roscoe.

⁵ *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, p. 108.

mysterious way through their shadows.¹ An Obeah man on an estate in St. Davids was tried for murder. One witness, a fellow-negro, on being asked if he knew the prisoner to be an Obeah man, said, "Eas, massa shadow-catcher true." "What do you mean by that?" "Him ha coffin [a little one was produced] him set dat for catch dem shadow." "What shadow do you mean?" "When him set about for summary [somebody] him catch dem shadow and dem go dead and too surely dey were soon dead."² In the Solomon Islands a man avoids places sacred to ghosts when the setting sun casts his shadow into one of them, for the ghost would draw it from him.³ These people are not alone in reading their fate in the shortening or lengthening of their shadows.

Danger lurks in the shadows of certain people, among whom are to be classed mothers-in-law, whose position in families is not always contributory to the harmony of the household. In a manuscript by Miss Mary Howitt a story is told of an Australian native who is said to have nearly died of fright because the shadow of his mother-in-law fell on his legs as he lay asleep under a tree.⁴

¹ *Malay Magic*, p. 306.

² *Practical View of the Present State of Slavery in the W. Indies*, p. 186, Alex. Barclay (1828).

³ Codrington, p. 176.

⁴ *G.B.*³, "Taboo," p. 83.

The history of sacrificial customs has been marked by the gradual substitution of the symbolic for the real, as in imitations or effigies of persons and things in place of the originals, or in the giving of a part to represent the whole. The modern Chinese are past-masters in that mimetic art. As example, a few days after the death of Tzu Hsi, the famous Empress-Dowager, in 1908, a huge paper barge crowded with paper figures of attendants and of furniture and viands for the use of the departed, was put up outside the Forbidden City, and on the eve of her burial set alight and burnt in order that the "Old Buddha" (as she was called) might enjoy the use of these at the Yellow Springs, a Chinese phrase for the spirit world.¹

From times immemorial to the present day (as in Morocco and elsewhere) the worship of the Earth-Mother—Goddess of many names "in every clime adored"—has been accompanied by sacrifices to her to secure her good will, or to appease her anger, at the disturbance of her domain, notably at the erection of both sacred and secular buildings. "The foundation stone might, in fact, be called an altar, as the primitive rite of laying it in blood sufficiently shows."²

¹ *China under the Empress Dowager*, p. 470, J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse.

² *Encyclop. Biblica*, pp. 1558 and 2062. On "foundation sacrifices" see article by Dr. E. S. Hartland, Hastings's

The evidence as to the universality of the custom fills a long and gruesome chapter in the history of the martyrdom of man; ¹ here, reference to it has warrant in the modification which it has undergone in substitution of the shadow for the substance, although to this day in rural Greece some animal is killed when a quarry is opened or the ground cleared for building.

In his *Modern Greek Folk-lore* Mr. Lawson says that when he was at Santorini "the rough benevolence of a stranger dragged him from a place where he was watching the laying of a foundation stone, warning him that his shadow must not fall upon it, the popular belief being that the man himself will die within the year." Roumanian casuists argue that "the man whose shadow is interred must die, but, being unaware of his doom, he feels neither pain nor anxiety, so it is less cruel than to wall-in a living man." ² When the shadow itself could not be secured, the wily builders measured it and buried the recording rod or tape in the foundations. It is said that some men earned their living as "shadow-measurers." To bury the measure is to bury the thing measured, the shadow-soul, and so the

Ency. Religion and Ethics; Dr. Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. I. pp. 461 foll.; and the present writer's *Childhood of Religions*, Appendix D.

¹ Cf. Josh. vi. 26; 1 Kings xvi. 34.

² *The Land Beyond the Forest*, Vol. II. p. 17, E. D. Gerard.

victim may be said to "die by inches." In Malaya, when the central post of a building is driven into the ground, "the greatest precautions are taken to prevent the shadow of any of the workers falling either upon the post itself or upon the hole dug to receive it." The Malays are not singular in their belief in vegetation-souls, and at the time of rice-harvest the reapers are careful to prevent their shadows falling on the grains in the basket at their side, while they repeat the charm: "O Shadows and Spectral Reapers, see that ye mingle not with us."¹ To trace the custom to our own times is to follow its successive modifications until we reach its symbolic survival in the depositing of coins bearing the king's effigy and copies of the current newspapers within the foundation stone. This is in line with the Babylonian custom of depositing inscribed cylinders and gold and silver under the four corners of a new building.²

(b) *Mana in Reflections and Echoes.*

Even more complete in its mimicry than the shadow is the reflection of the body in water, or in mirror of glass or polished metal, the image repeating every gesture and colour. In rustic superstition the breaking of a looking-glass is a portent of death, and the mirrors are covered up or turned to the wall when a death takes place

¹ *Malay Magic*, p. 245, Skeat. ² Cf. 1 Kings vii. 9-10.

in the house. "It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the ghost of the departed which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial."¹ In Melanesia damage was thought to be done to the body by means of the reflection "as when a man's face was reflected in a certain spring of water," and in Saddle Island there is a pool into which if anyone look he dies: the malignant spirit takes hold upon his life by means of his reflection in the water.² The Andamenese "do not regard their shadows, but their reflections in any mirror, as their souls," and the same belief is active not only among races on the same level, but in Oriental philosophy. In the *Upanishad* the Brahman is made to say, "The person that is in the mirror, on him I meditate."³ Sage and savage alike regard the reflection as the actual soul.

"One method among the Aztecs of keeping away sorcerers was to leave a bowl of water with a knife in it behind the door. A sorcerer entering would be so alarmed at seeing his likeness transfixed that he would turn and flee,"⁴ while in Cappadocia the danger of the

¹ *G.B.*³, "Taboo," p. 94.

² Codrington, p. 250.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I. p. 235.

⁴ *The Evil Eye*, p. 83, F. T. Elworthy.

reflection of a man's own image putting the evil eye upon him is so great that at night—when the risk is greatest—no one would dare to incur it.¹ Catoptromancy, or divination by a mirror, has formed part of the stock apparatus of sorcerers of all ages, down to the modern clairvoyant who reads fate and fortune in crystal balls² and pots of ink, while srying fortune-tellers receive certificates of commendation from men of repute, who, because they speak with authority on subjects which are their special study, are accepted by the unthinking and gullible as authorities on everything else, whereas, outside their own domain, they have proved themselves as credulous and as easily hoodwinked as the crowd who swear by them.

In the echoes which forest and hillside fling back the savage hears confirmation of his belief in his other self, as well as in the nearness of the spirits of the dead. The Sonora Indians believe that the souls of the departed dwell among their mountainous cliffs and that the echoes are their clamouring voices. The re-

¹ Lawson, p. 10.

² The Society for Psychical Research offers for sale crystal balls at from three shillings to eight shillings each, and expresses itself as “grateful for accounts of any experiments which may be tried.”

echoing of their voices in the Parana forest has among the Abipones the same explanation. The Indians of the Rockies would not venture near Manitobah Island because in the sound of the low wailing waves beating on the beach they heard voices from the spirit land. In South Pacific myth Echo is the parent fairy to whom at Marquesas divine honours are paid as the giver of food and as "she who speaks to the worshipper out of the rocks."¹ The Anglo-Saxon word for echo is *wudu-maer*, *i. e.* wood nymph. As one of the Oreades, Echo, for coniving at the amours of Jupiter, was changed by the jealous Juno into a lovesick maiden, until, pining in grief at her unrequited love for Narcissus, there remained nothing but her voice.

(c) *Mana in Personal Names.*

Taboo is the dread tyrant of savage life. Among civilized peoples, under the guise of customs whose force is stronger than law, it rules in larger degree than most persons care to admit. But among barbaric communities it puts a ring fence round the simplest acts, regulates all intercourse by the minutest codes, and secures obedience to its manifold prohibitions by threats of punishment to be inflicted by magic and other apparatus of the invisible. It may be called the Inquisition of the lower culture,

¹ Dorman, pp. 42, 302.

because it is as terrible and effective as was the infamous "Holy Office." Nowhere, perhaps, does it exert more constant sway than in the series of customs associated with NAMES.

To the civilized man, his name is only a necessary label: to the savage it is an integral part of himself. He believes that to disclose it is to put its owner in the power of another, whereby magic can be wrought on the named. He applies it all round—to himself, to his relatives and friends, to persons and things invested with sanctity, to the dead as well as the living and to demons and to godlings, and, in ascending scale, to the great gods themselves. Hence the numerous precautions taken by the lower races to conceal their names especially from sorcerers and, *per contra*, the effort to discover the names of those over whom power is sought. The belief is part of that general confusion between names and things and between symbols and realities to which reference has been made. It lies at the root of fetishism and idolatry, of witchcraft, shamanism, and all other instruments which are as keys to the invisible company of the dreaded and unknown. Where such ideas prevail, everything becomes a vehicle of magic ruling the life, not only of the savage but, although in lesser degree, that of the so-called civilized. Ignorant of the properties of

things, and ruled by the superficial likenesses which many exhibit, the barbaric mind regards them as vehicles of good and evil, chiefly evil, because things are feared in the degree that they are unknown, and because, where life is mainly struggle, man is ever on the watch against malice-working agencies, wizards, medicine-men, and all their kin. That he should envisage the intangible; that his name should be an entity, an integral part of himself; should the less surprise us when it is remembered that language, from the simple phrases of common life to the highest abstract terms, rests on the concrete. To apprehend a thing is to "seize" it or "lay hold of" it; to possess a thing is to sit by or "beset." To call a man a "sycophant" is to borrow the term "fig-blabber" applied by the Greeks to the informers against those who broke the Attic law prohibiting the export of figs; to say that a man is "supercilious" is to describe him as "raising his eyebrows," while, as everybody knows, the words "disaster," "lunatic" and "consideration" embalm the old belief in the influence of the heavenly bodies on man's fate. Even in the verb "to be," and its several tenses, some philologists detect relics of words which once had a physical significance.

Starting at the bottom of the scale, Backhouse

says that the Tasmanians showed great dislike to their names being mentioned. Mr. Brough Smyth says that the Victoria black-fellows are very unwilling to tell their real names, and that this reluctance is due to the fear of putting themselves at the mercy of sorcerers. The same authority tells this story. A fever-stricken Australian native girl told the doctor who attended her that, some moons back, when the Goulburn blacks were encamped at Melbourne, a young man named Gibberook came behind her and cut off a lock of her hair, and that she was sure he had buried it and that it was rotting somewhere. Her marm-bu-la (kidney fat) was wasting away, and when the stolen hair had completely rotted she would die. She added that her name had been lately cut on a tree by some wild black and that was another sign of death. Her name was Murran, which means "a leaf," and the doctor afterwards found that the figure of leaves had been carved on a gum tree as described by the girl. The sorceress said that the spirit of a black-fellow had cut the figure on the tree.¹ When a party enters the wood with the Nganga (doctor) attached to the service of the fetishes Zinkiei Mbowu (nail fetishes into which nails are driven) for the purpose of cutting the Muamba tree, to make a fetish, it is forbidden for anyone

¹ *Aborigines of Victoria*, Vol. I. p. 469.

to call another by his name. If he does so, that man will die and his Kulu will enter into the tree and become the presiding spirit of the fetish when made. So a palaver is held to decide whose Kulu is to enter the tree. A boy of great spirit, or preferably, a daring hunter, is chosen. Then they go into the bush and call his name. The Nganga cuts down the tree and blood is said to gush forth, a fowl is killed and its blood is mingled with that of the tree. The named-one dies certainly within ten days. His life has been sacrificed for what the Zinganga consider the welfare of the people. They say that the named-one never fails to die.¹ *Per contra*, among some tribes of Southern India, men cause their name to be cut on rocks on the wayside or on the stones with which the path leading to the temple is paved, in the belief that good luck will result if their name is trodden on.”²

Among the Tshi-speaking tribes of West Africa, “a man’s name is always concealed from all but his nearest relatives, and to other persons he is always known by an assumed name,” a nickname, as we should say. The Ewe-speaking peoples “believe in a real material connection between a man and his name, and that, by means

¹ *At the Back of the Black Man’s Mind*, p. 93, R. E. Dennett.

² Thurston, p. 357.

of the name, injury may be done to the man.”¹ Sir Everard Im Thurn says that although the Indians of British Guiana have an intricate system of names, it is “of little use in that the owners have a very strong objection to telling or using them, apparently on the ground that the name is part of the man, and that he who knows it has part of the owner of that name in his power. To avoid any danger of spreading knowledge of their names, one Indian therefore usually addresses another only according to the relationship of the caller and the called. But an Indian is just as unwilling to tell his proper name to a white man as to an Indian, and as, of course, between those two there is no relationship the term for which can serve as a proper name, the Indian asks the European to give him a name which is usually written on a piece of paper by the donor, and shown by the Indian to any white man who asks his name.”² An amusing example of temporary surrender of the name as security for a loan is given by Mr. Frank Boas in his *Report to the Smithsonian Institute on the Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia* (1898). A poor person in

¹ *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 109; *The Ewe-Speaking People*, p. 98, Sir A. B. Ellis.

² *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 22.

debt may pawn his name, say "Flying Cloud," for a year, during which he calls himself something else, or is anonymous. If he borrows thirty blankets, he has to redeem the loan by paying back one hundred blankets. If his credit is fairly good, he may borrow on terms of repayment of twenty-five per cent. of blankets. These articles, and also copper plates, are the media of exchange. Mr. Boas met a swaggering native who was the owner of seven thousand five hundred blankets. The Indians of British Columbia, and the prejudice "appears to pervade all tribes alike," dislike telling their names—thus you never get a man's right name from himself, but they will tell each other's names without hesitation.¹ In correspondence with this, the Abipones of South America would nudge their neighbour to answer for them when anyone among them was asked his name, and the natives of the Fiji Islands would get any third party who might be present to answer as to their names.² "Among

¹ *British Columbia*, p. 278, R. C. Mayne.

² Possibly, this falls into line with an experience of which a lady friend who was sketching in North Wales told me. Five little girls came up to see what she was doing, when she asked their names. The first girl simpered and, pointing to the girl standing next to her, said, "Her name is Jenny Owen," and not one of them would tell her own name. "The children," she says, "were not shy on other topics, but they were not to be beguiled over this." And it may not be so far-fetched as it seems to detect traces of

the Sakai—the hill tribesmen of the Malay Peninsula, men of the Mon-Annam stock—the dislike of mentioning proper names is very strong. Among the tamer tribes, where men have come into closest contact with the Malays, only the prejudice against mentioning one's own name survives, but in the interior, notably in the valley of Tělom in Pahang, which is near the centre of the peninsula, the dislike of mentioning names is carried to extraordinary lengths. When I made a considerable stay in the Tělom valley in 1890, the whole valley was anonymous as far as I was concerned, with the exception of one man—Naish, the Poreupine—whose name was whispered to me by a mischievous little boy who obviously delighted in doing anything so recklessly naughty. In speaking of one another, the Sakai of this part of Pahang referred to 'the Old Man of such and such a village,' to 'my brother-in-law of this place,' to 'my cousin of that place,' and so on and so on. To me this was most bewildering, but to the Sakai it seemed to present no obstacles or difficulties—

survival of the avoidance-superstition in the game-rhyme of childhood—

“What is your name?

 Pudding and tame;

 If you ask me again, I'll tell you the same.”

For variants of this rhyme see *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, i. 417; ii. 55, 277.

and to lead to no confusion. I have sometimes fancied that it was due to the fact that I was the first white man seen by these tribesmen that the names of all were so carefully hidden from me, as I found that some of the Malays living in the valley who spoke Sakai were acquainted with the names of the prominent tribesmen in the place. The Sakai will never mention the name of anyone who is dead.”¹

An Indian asked Dr. Kane whether his wish to know his name arose from a desire to steal it; and the Araucanians would not allow their names to be told to strangers lest these should be used in sorcery. Among the Ojibways, husbands and wives never told each other's names, and children were warned that they would stop growing if they repeated their own names. Of the Abipones just named, Dobrizhoffer reported that they would knock at his door at night, and, when asked who was there, would not answer for fear of letting their names be known to any evilly-disposed listener. A like motive probably explains the reluctance of which Gregor speaks in his *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, when “folk calling at a house of the better class on business with the master or mistress had a very strong dislike to telling

¹ Extract from a letter from His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., to the present writer.

their names to the servant who admitted them.”¹ I am indebted to Mr. W. B. Yeats for a letter from an Irish correspondent, who tells of a fairy-haunted old woman living in King’s County. Her tormentors, whom she calls the “Fairy Band of Shinrone,” come from Tipperary. They pelt her with invisible missiles, hurl abuse at her, and rail against her family, both the dead and the living, until she is driven well-nigh mad. And all this spite is manifested because they cannot find out her name, for if they could learn that, she would be in their power. Sometimes sarcasm or chaff are employed, and a nickname is given her to entrap her into telling her real name, all which she freely talks about often with fits of laughter. But the fairies trouble her most at night, coming in through the wall over her bed-head, which is no laughing matter, and then, being a good Protestant, she recites chapters and verses from the Bible to charm them away. And although she has been thus plagued for years, she still holds her own against the “band of Shinrone.” Speaking in general terms on this name-concealment custom, Captain Bourke says that “the name of an American Indian is a sacred thing, never to be divulged by the owner himself without due consideration. One may ask a warrior of any

¹ p. 30.

tribe to give his name, and the question will be met with either a point-blank refusal or the more diplomatic evasion that he cannot understand what is wanted of him. The moment a friend approaches, the warrior will whisper what is wanted, and the friend can tell the name, receiving a reciprocation of the courtesy from the inquirer.”¹ Grinnell says that many Blackfeet change their names every season. Whenever a Blackfoot counts a new *coup* (*i. e.* some deed of bravery) he is entitled to a new name, in the same way that among ourselves a victorious general or admiral sometimes sinks his name when raised to a peerage. “A Blackfoot will never tell his name if he can avoid it, in the belief that if he should reveal it he would be unlucky in all his undertakings.”² “The warriors of the Plains Tribes used to assume agnomens or battle-names, and I have known some of them who had enjoyed as many as four or five, but the Apache name, once conferred, seems to remain through life, except in the case of medicine-men, who, I have always suspected, change their names on assuming their profession, much as a professor of learning in China is said to do.”³ (But examples of this name-change fall into

¹ *Medicine Men of the Apache*, p. 461, J. G. Bourke.

² *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 194.

³ Bourke, p. 462.

place later on.) To this reference to warriors may be added a story told by J. B. Fraser in his *Tour to the Himalayas*. In one of the despatches intercepted during our war with Nepal, Goree Sah had sent orders "to find out the name of the Commander of the British army: write it upon a piece of paper; take it and some rice and turmeric; say the great incantation three times; having said it, send for some plum-tree wood and therewith burn it." There is a story in the annals of British conquests in India that General Lord Combermere took a city with surprisingly little resistance, because his name signified "Kumbhir," the native word for "alligator," there being an oracle that the city would be captured by that reptile. Phonetic confusion explains the honours paid to Commissioner Gubbins by the native of Oude: Govinda being the favourite name of Krishna, the popular incarnation of Vishnu.

In the early stages of society, blood-relationship is the sole tie that unites men into tribal communities. As Sir Henry Maine has observed, "there was no brotherhood recognized by our savage forefathers except actual consanguinity regarded as a fact. If a man was not of kin to another, there was nothing between them. He was an enemy to be slain or spoiled or hated, as much as the wild beasts upon which the

tribes made war, as belonging, indeed, to the craftiest and cruelest order of wild animals. It would scarcely be too strong an assertion that the dogs which followed the camp had more in common with it than the tribesmen of an alien and unrelated tribe.”¹ And although enlarged knowledge, in unison with growing recognition of mutual rights and obligations, has extended the feeling of community, an unprejudiced outlook on the world does not warrant the hope that the old tribal feeling has passed the limits of race. Human nature being what it is, charged with the manifold forces of self-assertion and aggression bequeathed by a stormy and struggling past, the various nationalities, basing their claims and their unity on the theory of blood-relationship, do their best to dispel the dream of the unity of all mankind.

As already observed, the importance and sanctity attached to blood explain the existence of a large number of rites connected with covenants between man and his fellows, and between man and his gods; covenants sealed by the drinking, or interfusing or offering of blood. Any full account of these rites, notably on their sacrificial side, would need a volume; here reference is made to them in connection with the custom of exchange of names, or with the bestowal

¹ *Early Hist. of Institutions*, p. 65.

of new names, which sometimes accompanies them.

Herbert Spencer remarks that "by absorbing each other's blood, men are supposed to establish actual community of nature," and as it is a widely diffused belief that the name is vitally connected with its owner, to exchange names is to establish some participation in one another's being.¹ Hence the blending is regarded as more complete when exchange of name goes with the mingling of blood, making even more obligatory the rendering of services between those who are no longer aliens to each other. When Tolo, a Shastikan chief, made a treaty with Colonel M'Kee, an American officer, as to certain concessions, he desired some ceremony of brotherhood to make the covenant binding, and, after some parleying, proposed an exchange of names, which was agreed to. Thenceforth he became M'Kee and M'Kee became Tolo. But after a while the Indian found that the American was shuffling over the bargain, whereupon "M'Kee" angrily cast off that name, and refused to resume that of "Tolo." He would not answer to either, and to the day of his death insisted that his name, and therefore his identity, was lost.² There is no small pathos in this revolt of the rude

¹ *Principles of Sociology*, Pt. II. p. 729.

² *Contributions to N. American Ethnology*, Vol. III. p. 247.

moral sense of the Indian against the white man's trickery, and in the utter muddle of his mind as to who and what he had become.

The custom of name-exchanging existed in the West Indies at the time of Columbus, and in the South Seas, Captain Cook and a native, named Oree, made an exchange, whereby Cook became Oree and the native became Cookee. "But Cadwallader Colden's account of his new name is admirable evidence of what there is in a name to the mind of the savage. 'The first time I was among the *Mohawks* I had this compliment from one of their old Sachems, which he did by giving me his own name, *Cayenderongue*. He had been a notable warrior, and he told me that now I had a right to assume all the acts of valour he had performed, and that now my name would echo from hill to hill over all the *Five Nations*.' When Colden went back into the same part ten or twelve years later, he found that he was still known by the name he had thus received, and that the old chief had taken another." ¹

Religious conversions do not always improve morality. An old negro came one day to complain of a newly christened neighbour refusing to pay an old debt of a doubloon which had been lent him to buy a share of a cow. The

¹ *Early Hist. Mankind*, p. 128, Sir E. B. Tylor.

nominal Christian affected ignorance of the debt and surprise at the demand. He said the old man lent the doubloon to Quamina : but he was not Quamina now; he was a new man, born again, and called Timothy, and was not bound to pay the debt of the dead man, Quamina. When his master told him to pay the money or make over his share of the cow, he swore, and cursed the preacher's religion, since it was "no worth." The old man said that "formerly people minded the *puntees* hung up in the trees and grounds as charms to keep off tiefs, but there was so much *preachy preachy*, the lazy fellows did nothing but tief." ¹

(d) *Mana in Names of Relatives.*

To the cynic whose mother-in-law ruled his household, and who, when a friend said to him, "Well, there's no place like home," replied, "No, thank God, there isn't," residence among the Central Australians might be a relief. Among these tribes a man may not marry or speak to his mother-in-law. The first prohibition falls into line with number twelve of the "Table of Kindred and Affinity" in the *Book of Common Prayer*, which Table is simplicity itself compared with the complexity of marriage customs among the Arunta and other tribes. In some parts of

¹ *A Tour Through the Island of Jamaica in 1823*, p. 19, Cynric R. Williams.

Australia the mother-in-law does not allow the son-in-law to see her, but hides herself at his approach or covers herself with her clothes if she has to pass him.¹ Pund-jel, the Australian creator of all things, has a wife whose face he has never seen. In New Britain a man must under no circumstances speak to his mother-in-law: he must go miles out of his way not to meet her, and the penalty for breaking an oath is to be forced to shake hands with her.² "Among the Hill Sakai of Upper Perak I was informed that the avoidance of the mother-in-law was strictly observed, and that it was not allowable to speak to her directly, to pass in front of her, or even to hand her anything."³ The names of mothers-in-law are never uttered by the Apache, and it would be very improper to ask for them by name.⁴ Among the Veddas "a man does not speak the name of his mother-in-law or of his daughter-in-law, and they in turn refrain from speaking his name. There is a general tendency to avoid the use of names, and, where possible, to indicate an individual by a relative term."⁵

¹ Brough Smyth, Vol. I. p. 423.

² *Western Pacific and New Guinea*, H. Romilly.

³ "Some Sakai Beliefs and Customs," Ivor Evans, *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, p. 195, Vol. XLVIII. 1918.

⁴ Bourke (*Apache*), p. 461.

⁵ *The Veddas*, p. 69, C. G. and B. Seligman.

Among the Sioux or Dacotas the father-in-law must not call his son-in-law by name, and *vice versa*, while the Indians east of the Rockies regard it as indecent for either fathers-in-law to look at, or speak to, their sons- or daughters-in-law. It was considered a gross breach of propriety among the Blackfoot tribe for a man to meet his mother-in-law; and if by any mischance he did so, or, what was worse, if he spoke to her, she demanded a heavy payment which he was compelled to make.¹ A man may speak to his mother at all times, but not to his sister if she be younger than himself; a father may not speak to his daughter after she becomes a woman. The name of his father-in-law is taboo to the Dyak of Borneo, and among the Omahas of North America the father- and mother-in-law do not speak to their son-in-law, or mention his name.² In Santa Cruz, when the woman is bought, she becomes taboo, and the bridegroom must not see his mother-in-law's face as long as he lives; he must not speak her name; it does not matter if it be any article or thing of her name, he must give it a different name.³ In British Central Africa the prohibition against a man speaking to his mother-in-law

¹ *Pawnee Stories*, p. 195, G. B. Grinnell.

² Bourke, p. 423.

³ *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. XXXIV. p. 223.

is allowed to lapse if sterility of the married couple persists for three years.¹

In the Bougainville Straits the men would utter the names of their wives only in a low tone, as it was not the proper thing to speak of women by their name to others.² Sir E. B. Tylor says that "among the Barea of East Africa the wife never utters the name of her husband, or eats in his presence, and even among the Beni Amer, where the women have extensive privileges and great social power, the wife is not allowed to eat in her husband's presence and only mentions his name before strangers."³ Hausa wives must not address their husbands by name, not, at any rate, their first husbands, nor must they tell it to others: there is a song "O God, I repent, I have spoken the name of my husband."⁴

"A man from near Pertang in Jelebu, said that his people did not dare to mention the names of their fathers, because they were afraid of being struck by the indwelling power (*daulat*) of that relation."⁵ In the Banks Islands the rules as to avoidance are very minute. "A man who sits and talks with his wife's father

¹ *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. XL. p. 309.

² *The Solomon Islands*, p. 47, Dr. Guppy.

³ *Early Hist. Mankind*, p. 143.

⁴ *Hausa Superstitions*, p. 180, A. J. Tremearn.

⁵ "Some Sakai Beliefs and Customs," Ivor Evans, *l.c.*, p. 195.

will not mention his name, much less the name of his mother-in-law, and the like applies to the wife, who, further, will on no account name her daughter's husband."¹ But these prohibitions are not found in all the Melanesian Islands. An unusual type of the taboo is supplied by the Ba-Huana of Central Africa. A man must avoid his wife's parents, but his wife can visit her husband's parents, and the taboo on her is limited to intercourse with his maternal uncle.²

Sometimes circumlocutory phrases are used, although, as will be seen presently, these are more usually applied to supernatural beings. For example, among the Amazulu the woman must not call her husband by name; therefore, when speaking of him, she will say, "Father of So-and-so," meaning one of her children. In "The Story of Tangalimbibo" the heroine speaks of things done "knowingly by people whose names may not be mentioned"; upon which Mr. Theal remarks, "No Kaffir woman may pronounce the names of any of her husband's male relatives in the ascending line; she may not even pronounce any word in which the principal syllable of his name occurs. She may not even pronounce those names mentally: hence

¹ Codrington, p. 44.

² "Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana," Torday and Joyec, *J.A.I.*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 274.

there has arisen a woman's language which differs considerably from that of the men." ¹ Mr. Dudley Kidd tells how an Englishwoman, the wife of a missionary named Green, created great scandal among the native women by speaking of some Cape gooseberries as "too green"; she ought to have said "not ripe." And a native woman could not repeat "Thy kingdom come," because the word for "come" formed part of her husband's name. There are no women talkers or authors among the Kaffirs, for the men have taken care that they shall have no words left to express their sentiments. Among the Ainu, for a woman to mention her husband's name is deemed equal to killing him; for such, the sorcerer lies in wait. The husband will address his wife as "female doer of the hearth," and when he speaks of her, she is "my person at the lower side of the hearth." ² In the second part of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*, wherein "Taboo and the perils of the Soul" is exhaustively treated, a cogent example of the interdiction on the resembling name is given. "If my father is called Njara (horse) I may not speak of him by name; but in speaking of the animal I am free to use that word. But if my father-in-law is called Njara, the case is different,

¹ *Kaffir Folk-lore*, p. 58.

² *Ainu and their Folk-lore*, p. 250, Rev. J. Batchelor.

for then not only may I not refer to him by name, but I may not even call a horse a horse; in speaking of the animal I must use some other word.”¹ Such subtle workings of the barbaric mind bring home the force of what Mary Kingsley—who had done her utmost to fathom that mind—says about the difficulty of “thinking black.”

The Hindu wife is never, under any circumstances, to mention her husband’s name, so she calls him “He,” “The Master,” “Swamy,” etc. “A Singhalese woman will not speak to or refer to her husband by name. She always speaks of him as ‘the father of my child,’ or ‘the father of Podi Sinho,’ or simply as ‘He.’”² Coming home for examples, an old-fashioned Midland cottager’s wife rarely speaks of her husband by name, the pronoun “he,” supplemented by “my man,” or “my master,” is sufficient distinction. Gregor says that “in Buckie there are certain family names that fishermen will not pronounce,” the folk in the village of Coull speaking of “spitting out the bad name.” If such a name be mentioned in their hearing, they spit, or, in the vernacular, “chiff,” and the man who bears the dreaded name is called a “chifferoot.” When occasion

¹ p. 340.

² *The Village in the Jungle*, p. 28, L. S. Woolf,

to speak of him arises, a circumlocutory phrase is used, as "The man it diz so in so," or "The laad it lives at such and such a place."¹ As further showing how barbaric ideas persist in the heart of civilization, there is an overwhelming feeling against hiring men bearing the reprobated names as hands for the boats in the herring fishing season, and when they have been hired before their names were known, their wages have been refused if the season has been a failure. "Ye hinna hid sie a fishin' this year is ye hid the last," said a woman to the daughter of a famous fisher. "Na, na, faht wye cud we? We wiz in a chifferoot's 'oose, we cudnae hae a fushin'." In some of the villages on the east coast of Aberdeenshire it was accounted unlucky to meet anyone of the name of Whyte when going to sea, lives would be lost, or the catch of fish would be poor. In one of the villages, which I do not name for obvious reasons, there lives an old woman who has the reputation of being "nae canny." Should a fisherman meet her on his way to the harbour he would not proceed to sea that day. It is unlucky at any time to meet a barefooted woman, but the old lady in question is in such bad odour that her name is never mentioned by the villagers, and the ban is extended to several families who bear

¹ *Folk-lore in the N.E. of Scotland*, p. 200,

the same name. Should one of the name belong to a crew, he is referred to as "the mannie," and when he has to be addressed direct, the tee-name is always used. At Cullen, Portknockie, Findochtie, Portessie, Buckie and Port-gordon in the B.F. district and other places along the shores of the Moray Firth, there are surnames which, if only breathed by the boy, would bring disaster on a crew.¹ It is a far cry from this to Tacitus, but it recalls his narrative of the dedication of the rebuilt shrine on the Capitol wherein he says that only soldiers bearing lucky names (*fausta nomina*) were admitted within the precincts.²

Long before any systematic inquiry into social usages was set afoot, and before any importance was attached to folk-tale and folk-wont as possibly holding primitive ideas in solution, the taboo-incident was familiar in stories of which "Cupid and Psyche," and the more popular "Beauty and the Beast," are types. The man and woman must not see each other, or call each other by name. But the prohibition is broken; curiosity, in revolt, from Eden onwards, against restraint, disobeys, and the unlucky wax drops on the cheek of the fair one, who thenceforth disappears. From Timbuctoo and North America, from Australia and Polynesia, and from places

¹ *Bon Accord*, 1907.

² *History*, IV. 53.

much nearer home than these, travellers have collected evidence of the existence of the custom on which the fate of many a wedded pair in fact and fiction has hinged. Herodotus gives us a gossipy story on this matter, which is not of less value because he knew not its significance.¹ He says that some of the old Ionian colonists brought no women with them, but took wives of the women of the Carians, whose fathers they had slain. Therefore the women, imposing oaths on one another, made a law to themselves, and handed it down to their daughters, that they should never sit at meat with their husbands, and that none should call her husband by name. Disregarding the explanation of the formulating of social codes by women bereaved of husbands and lovers, which Herodotus, assuming this to be an isolated case, appears to suggest, we find in the reference to the abducting of the Carians an illustration of the ancient practice of obtaining wives by forcible capture, and the consequent involuntary mingling of people of alien race and speech. That, however, carries us but a little, if any, way towards explanation of avoidance-customs. In an important paper on the "Development of Institutions applied to Marriage and Descent,"² the late Sir E. B.

¹ Bk. I. 146.

² *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 245-69,

Tylor formulated an ingenious method, the pursuit of which may help us towards a solution. He shows that the custom cannot arise from local idiosyncrasies, because in cataloguing some three hundred and fifty peoples, he finds it in vogue among sixty-six peoples widely distributed over the globe; that is, he finds forty-five examples of avoidance between the husband and his wife's relations; thirteen examples between the wife and her husband's relations; and eight examples of mutual avoidance. The schedules also show a relation between the avoidance-customs and "the customs of the world as to residence after marriage." Among the three hundred and fifty peoples the husband goes to live with his wife's family in sixty-five instances, while there are one hundred and forty-one cases in which the wife takes up her abode with her husband's family. Thus there is a well-marked preponderance indicating that ceremonial avoidance by the husband is in some way connected with his living with his wife's family, and *vice versa* as to the wife and the husband's family. The reason of this connection "readily presents itself, inasmuch as the ceremony of not speaking to and pretending not to see some well-known person close by, is familiar enough to ourselves in the social rite which we call 'cutting.' This indeed with us implies aversion, and the implica-

tion comes out even more strongly in objection to utter the name ('we never mention her,' as the song has it).'' It is different, however, in the barbaric custom, for here the husband is none the less on friendly terms with his wife's people because they may not take any notice of one another. As the husband has intruded himself among a family which is not his own, and into a house where he has no right, it seems not difficult to understand their marking the difference between him and themselves, by treating him formally as a stranger. John Tanner, the adopted Ojibwa, describes his being taken by a friendly Assineboin into his lodge, and seeing how at his companion's entry the old father- and mother-in-law covered up their heads in their blankets till their son-in-law got into the compartment reserved for him, where his wife brought him his food. So like is the working of the human mind in all stages of civilization that our own language conveys in a familiar idiom the train of thought which governed the behaviour of the parents of the Assineboin's wife. We have only to say that they do not *recognize* their son-in-law, and we shall have condensed the whole proceeding into a single word. A seemingly allied custom is that of naming the father after the child, this being found among peoples practising avoidance-customs, where a

status is given to the husband only on the birth of the first child. The naming of him as father of "So-and-so" is a recognition of paternity and also a recognition of him by the wife's kinsfolk. To refer to these, to us, strange customs is to bring home the salutary fact that perchance we may never get at the back of many a seeming vagary of social life.

Magic works in divers ways past finding out: the significance of much of it is still in the melting-pot and likely to remain there. But there is temptation to theorize about the origin of the customs cited above, notably that of mother-in-law avoidance. This may be due to a feeling of relationship begotten by unions in which she is concerned, although only relatively; a feeling which may have survived in, and explains, the ancient prohibition of the Roman Catholic Church against the marriages of godfathers and godmothers because a spiritual relationship between them is held to be established by the sponsorial act.¹ Human institutions, like man himself, are

¹ "The Emperor Justinian passed a law forbidding any man to marry a woman for whom he had stood as godfather in baptism, the tie of the godfather and godchild being so analogous to that of the father and child as to make such a marriage appear improper."—*Hist. of Human Marriage*, p. 331, Dr. Westermarck. "In Greenland it is believed that there is a spiritual affinity between two people of the same name."—*Eskimo Life*, p. 230, Dr. F. Nansen.

of vast antiquity, and to project ourselves into the conditions under which some of them arose is not possible.

(e) *Mana in Birth and Baptismal Names.*

Throughout all grades of culture name-giving at birth is regarded as a serious matter; as a ceremony which brooks no delay. The name being a *mana*-charged entity, the unnamed among savage peoples is in as bad a case as the unbaptized child in Christian countries.

The custom of name-giving from some event has frequent reference in the Old Testament, as, for example, in Genesis xxx. 11, where Leah's maid gives birth to a son; "And she said, A troop cometh, and she called his name Gad." So Rachel, dying in childbed, calls the babe Ben-oni, "son of sorrow," but the father changes his name to Ben-jamin, "son of the right hand."

The Nez Percés obtain their names in several ways, one of the more curious being the sending of a child in his tenth or twelfth year to the mountains, where he fasts and watches for something to appear to him in a dream and give him a name. On the success or failure of the vision which the empty stomach is designed to secure, his fortunes are believed to depend. No one questions him on his return, the matter being regarded as sacred, and only years hence, when he may have done something to be proud of,

will he reveal his name to trusted friends. Of course, throughout his life he is known to his fellow-tribesmen by some nickname.¹

Among the Red Indians the giving of names to children is a solemn matter, and one in which the medicine-man should always be consulted. The Plains Tribes named their children at the moment of piercing their ears, which should occur at the first sun-dance after their birth, or, rather, as near their first year as possible.² At the birth of every Singhalese baby its horoscope is cast by an astrologer, and so highly is the document esteemed, that even in the hour of death more reliance is placed upon it than on the symptoms of the patient. Again, the astrologer is called in to preside at the baby's "rice-feast," when some grains of rice are first placed in its mouth. He selects for the little one a name which is compounded from the name of the ruling planet of that moment. This name he tells only to the father, who whispers it low in the baby's ear; no one else must know it, and, like the Chinese "infantile name," this "rice-name" is never used lest sorcerers should hear it and thus be able to work malignant spells.³

¹ *American Society Folk-lore Journal*, Vol. IV. p. 329.

² Bourke, p. 461.

³ *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, Vol. I. pp. 278, 279, Miss Gordon Cumming.

Among the Mordvins of the Caucasus and other peoples, accident or whim determine the child's name; among the Tshi-speaking tribes of West Africa this is given at the moment of birth and derived from the day of the week when that event happens. After the child is washed, charms are bound round it to avert evil.¹ Throughout Australia the custom of deriving the name from some slight circumstance prevails. As among the nomadic Arabs and Kaffirs, a sign is looked for, and the appearance, *e. g.*, of a kangaroo or an emu at the time of birth, or the occurrence of that event near some particular spot, say under the shelter of a tree, decides the infant's name. In Australia a girl born under a dheal tree is called Dheala: any incident happening at the time of birth may determine what the child's name shall be. Mrs. Langloh Parker says that two of her black maids were called lizards because those animals were on the spot at the moment of their birth. The birth-name is not the one by which a man will be known in after life. Another is given him on his initiation to membership in the tribe; and if his career should be marked by any striking event, he will then receive a fitting designation, and his old name will be perhaps forgotten. Or, if he has had conferred on him, on arriving at manhood, a name similar to that

¹ Ellis, p. 332.

of anyone who dies, it is changed by his tribe.¹ With this may be compared the Ainu abstention from giving the name of either parent to the child, because, when they are dead, they are not to be mentioned without tears, and also the feeling in the North of England against perpetuating a favourite baptismal name when death has snatched away its first bearer.² The clan of the Manlii at Rome avoided giving the name of Marcus to any son born in the clan. We may infer from this that the possession of the name was once thought to be bound up with evil consequences, and this notwithstanding the legend that the name-avoidance was due to Marcus Manlius—who proved himself the saviour of the city when the clamouring of geese aroused the garrison of the Capitol to a scaling attack by the Gauls—being afterwards put to death for plotting to found a monarchy.³

Savage and civilized custom alike bear witness to the importance attached to lustration at birth; sometimes without name-giving at the time. Water is *mana*, alike to medicine-man and priest. “From my baptism do I compute or calculate my nativity,”⁴ said Sir Thomas Browne.

¹ Brough Smyth, Vol. I. p. xxi.

² *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 14, W. Henderson.

³ *Worship of the Romans*, p. 249, F. Grainger.

⁴ *Religio Medici*, Works, Vol. II. p. 390.

The Maoris had an interesting baptismal or lustration ceremony, during which the priest repeated a long list of ancestral names. When the child sneezed, the name which was then being uttered was chosen, and the priest, as he pronounced it, sprinkled the child with a small branch "of the karamu which was stuck upright in the water." ¹

Among the Yoruba tribes of West Africa the medicine-man is called in to find out from the gods which ancestor means to dwell in the child so that it may be called by his name. Then its face is sprinkled with water from a vessel placed under a sacred tree. The same kind of ritual is general throughout West Africa. In the place of using water, the Zuni sorcerer breathes on a wand, which he extends towards the child's mouth as he receives his name.²

"The ancients," says Aubrey, "had a solemn time of giving names,—the equivalent to our christening."³ Barbaric, Pagan, and Christian folk-lore is full of examples of the importance of naming and other birth-ceremonies, in the belief that the child's life is at the mercy of evil spirits watching the chance of casting spells upon it, of demons covetous to possess it, and of fairies

¹ *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 185, R. Taylor.

² *Hastings Ency. R. and E.*, Vol. II. p. 369.

³ *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, p. 40.

eager to steal it and leave a "changeling" in its place.

In the fairy tales of Christian Europe the period of danger terminated at baptism, until which time certain precautions, such as burning a light in the chamber, must be observed. In ancient Italy the danger ended when the child received its name. The eagerness of the parents to have their children christened gave unlimited power to ministers; but this parental anxiety has proceeded less from piety than from superstition. Till it was baptized the baby was a thing without a name; and without a name it would possibly not be saved; for how could it, in the resurrection, be identified? It might be carried off by fairies and a changeling substituted for it; and till it was christened it was subject also to the malign power of the evil eye, to avert which each visitor was presented with the propitiatory gift of a piece of bread.¹

(Till recently in Cornwall a prayer-book was put under a child's pillow as a charm to keep away the pixies, and in Cumberland the child was put on a Bible for the same purpose.)²

In Ireland the belief in changelings is as strong

¹ *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II. p. 33, H. G. Graham. *Ib.*, "I wat well, it's a very uncanny thing to keep about a house a body wanting a name." Dugald Graham's Chapbook, *Jockey and Maggy*.

² *Rustic Speech and Folk-lore*, p. 267, E. M. Wright.

as it was in pre-Christian times; both there and in Scotland the child is carefully watched till the rite of baptism is performed, fishermen's nets being sometimes spread over the curtain-openings to prevent the infant being carried off; while in West Sussex it is considered unlucky to divulge a child's intended name before baptism.¹ This reminds us of the incident in the Moray story, "Nicht Nought Nothing," in which the queen would not christen the bairn till the king came back, saying, we will just call him Nicht Nought Nothing until his father comes home.² Brand says that among Danish women precaution against evil spirits took the form of putting garlic, bread, salt, or some steel instrument, as amulets about the house before laying the newborn babe in the cradle. Henderson³ says that in Scotland "the little one's safeguard is held to lie in the placing of some article of clothing belonging to the father near the cradle," while in South China a pair of the father's trousers are put near the bedstead, and a word-charm pinned to them, so that all evil influences may pass into them instead of harming the babe,⁴ and in New Britain a charm is always hung in the house to

¹ *Folk-lore of N.E. Scotland*, p. 11, W. Gregor.

² *Custom and Myth*,[§]p. 89, Andrew Lang.

³ p. 14.

⁴ *Folk-lore of China*, p. 13, N. B. Denys.

secure the child from like peril.¹ In Ruthenia it is believed that if a wizard knows a man's baptismal name he can transform him by a mere effort of will. Parkyns says that it is the custom in Abyssinia "to conceal the real name by which a person is baptized, and to call him only by some sort of nickname which his mother gives him on leaving the church. The baptismal names in Abyssinia are those of saints, such as Son of St. George, Slave of the Virgin, Daughter of Moses, etc. Those given by the mother are generally expressive of maternal vanity regarding the appearance or anticipated merits of the child. The reason for the concealment of the Christian name is that the Bouda or wizard cannot harm a person whose real name he does not know."² Should he, however, have learned the true name of his victim, he adopts a method which comes under the head of sympathetic magic. "He takes a particular kind of straw, and, muttering something over it, bends it into a circle, and places it under a stone. The person thus doomed is taken ill at the very moment of the bending of the straw, and should it by accident snap under the operation, the result of the attack will be the death of the patient." Parkyns adds that in Abyssinia all blacksmiths are looked upon as

¹ *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, p. 293 (1889).

² *Life in Abyssinia*, Vol. II. p. 145.

Boudas. Among the many characters in which the devil appears is that of Wayland the Smith, the northern Vulcan, but perhaps the repute attaching to the Boudas has no connection with that conception, and may be an example of the barbaric belief in the power of iron which, among many peoples, was a charm against black magic.¹ They are credited with the faculty of being able to turn themselves into hyenas and other wild beasts, so that few people will venture to molest or offend a blacksmith. "In all church services in Abyssinia, particularly in prayers for the dead, the baptismal name must be used. How they manage to hide it I did not learn; possibly by confiding it only to the priest."² Mr. Theodore Bent says that it is a custom in the Cyclades to call a child Iron or Dragon or some other such name before christening takes place, the object being to frighten away the evil spirits. Traveling eastwards, we find the Hindu belief that when a child is born an invisible spirit is born with it, and unless the mother keeps one breast tied up for forty days, while she feeds the child with the other (in which case the spirit dies of hunger)

¹ On the taboo on iron, see *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 32, 35, 45, W. Warde Fowler; *G.B.*³, "Taboo," pp. 176, 225; as a charm, *ib.*, pp. 232 *seq.*

² *Good Words*, p. 607 (1868), "An Artist's Jottings in Abyssinia," W. Simpson.

the child grows up with the endowment of the evil eye.¹

Sometimes two names are given at birth, one secret and used only for ceremonial purposes, and the other for ordinary use. The witch, if she learns the real name, can work her evil charms through it. Hence arises the use of many contractions and perversions of the real name, and many of the nicknames which are generally given to children.² Among the Algonquin tribes children are usually named by the old woman of the family, often with reference to some dream; but this real name is kept mysteriously secret, and what commonly passes for it is a mere nickname, such as "Little Fox" or "Red Head."³ Schoolcraft says that the true name of the famous Pocahontas, "La Belle Sauvage," whose pleadings saved the life of the heroic Virginian leader, Captain John Smith, was Matokes. "This was concealed from the English in a superstitious fear of hurt by them if her name was known."

It is well known that in Roman Catholic countries the name-day wholly supersedes the birthday in importance; and, as the foregoing examples testify, the significance attached to the name brings into play a number of causes

¹ *Folk-lore of N.W. India*, Vol. II. p. 2, W. Crooke.

² *Ib.*, Vol. II. p. 5.

³ *Early Hist. of Mankind*, p. 142.

operating in the selection; causes grouped round belief in omens, and in meanings to be attached to certain events, of which astrology professes to be a world-wide interpreter.

The majority of Christendom still attaches enormous and vital importance to infant baptism,¹

¹ "How can your boy sing acceptable hymns to God in His Church if he has not been baptized?" asked the vicar of a parish in Suffolk when the boy's mother expressed a wish that he should join the choir.

"The eight-year-old son of a collier had been drowned in the Neath Canal. Out of sympathy with the parents there was a large attendance at the funeral, among the mourners being a hundred of his schoolfellows. The Vicar used the abbreviated service for the Excommunicated and suicides because the child was unbaptized, and refused to allow the child mourners to sing. By such methods has the Church endeared itself to the hearts of the Welsh people."—*Truth*, July 29, 1914.

"The Church Congress does not often find a better theme for its discussions than that so thoughtfully provided by the Rev. T. S. Curteis, of Sevenoaks. This ornament of the Church of England has added a new terror to death and a new agony to motherhood. He refused to allow a child to be buried in the same coffin as its mother, on the ground that it had not been baptized. It was therefore necessary to make a separate coffin for the dead babe. After the burial service had been read over the dead mother, the body of the little infant was placed in the grave, to use the outraged father's bitter phrase, 'just as though it had been the body of a dog.' The doctrine which bans the unbaptized infant is a devilish doctrine. It is not the doctrine of Him who said: 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God.' The Church which disobeys that mandate is not the Church of Christ."—*Star*, October 5, 1905.

an importance which is shared, for less precise reasons, by rustics, who believe that "children never thrive till they're christened," and that the night air thrills to the cry of the homeless souls of the unbaptized. That superstitions of this order should be rampant among the unlettered evidences their pagan origin rather than the infiltration of sacerdotal theories of baptismal regeneration and of the doom of the unchristened. But between the believers in these theories, and those who see in the ritual of the higher religions the persistence of barbaric ideas, there will be agreement when the poles meet the equator. The explanation which the evolutionist has to give falls into line with what is known and demonstrated about the arrest of human development by the innate conservatism aroused when doubt disturbs the settled order of things. "Creeds," as Sir Leslie Stephen said, "only lived till they were found out," whereas rites survive all dogmas. Like their dispensers, they may change their name, but not their nature, and in the ceremonies of civil and religious society we find no inventions, only survivals more or less elaborated. The low intellectual environment of man's barbaric past was constant in his history for thousands of years, and his adaptation thereto was complete. The intrusion of the scientific method in its application to man's

whole nature disturbed that equilibrium. But this, as yet, only within the narrow area of the highest culture. Like the lower life-forms that constitute the teeming majority of organisms, and that have undergone little, if any, change, during millions of years, the vaster number of mankind have remained but slightly, if at all, modified. The keynote of evolution is adaptation, not continuous development, and this is illustrated, both physically and mentally, by man. Therefore, the superstitions that still dominate human life, even in so-called civilized centres and "high places," are no stumbling-blocks to the student of history. He accounts for their persistence, and the road of inquiry is cleared. Man being a unit, not a duality, thought and feeling are, in the last resort, in harmony, as are the elements that make up the universe which includes him. But the exercise of feeling has been active from the beginning of his history, while thought, speaking comparatively, has but recently had free play. So far as its influence on the modern world goes, and this with long periods of arrest between, we may say that it began, at least in the domain of scientific naturalism, with the Ionian philosophers twenty-four centuries ago. And these are but as a day in the passage of prehistoric ages. In other words, man wondered long chiliads before he reasoned,

because feeling travels along the line of least resistance, while thought, or the challenge by inquiry, with its assumption that there may be two sides to a question, must pursue a path obstructed by the dominance of taboo and custom, by the force of imitation, and by the strength of prejudice, passion, and fear. "It is not error," Turgot wrote, in a saying that every champion of a new idea should have ever in letters of flame before his eyes, "which opposes the progress of truth; it is indolence, obstinacy, the spirit of routine, everything that favours inaction."¹

In these causes lies the explanation of the persistence of the primitive; and of the general conservatism of human nature, whose primitive bases are the unchanged instincts and passions. "The human spirit has ever remained the same."²

"Born into life, in vain,
Opinions, those or these,
Unalter'd to retain,
The obstinate mind decrees,"³

as in the striking illustration cited in Heine's *Travel-Pictures*. "A few years ago Bullock dug up an ancient stone idol in Mexico, and the next day he found that it had been crowned during

¹ *Miscellanies*, Vol. II. p. 77, Viscount Morley.

² "Primitive Man," p. 3, Prof. G. Elliot Smith, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, Vol. VII.

³ *Empedocles on Etna*, Matthew Arnold.

the night with flowers. And yet the Spaniard had exterminated the old Mexiean religion with fire and sword, and for three centuries had been engaged in ploughing and harrowing their minds and implanting the seed of Christianity.”¹

The causes of error and delusion, and of the spiritual nightmares of olden time, being made clear, there is begotten a generous sympathy with that which empirical notions of human nature attributed to wilfulness or to man's fall from a high estate. For superstitions which are the outcome of ignorance can only awaken pity. Where the corrective of knowledge is absent, we see that it could not be otherwise. And thereby we learn that the art of life largely consists in that control of the emotions, and that diversion of them into wholesome channels, which the intellect, braced with the latest knowledge and with freedom in the application of it, can alone effect.

These remarks have direct bearing on the inferences to be drawn from the examples gathered from barbaric and civilized sources. For those examples fail in their intent if they do not indicate the working of the law of continuity in the spiritual as in the material sphere. Barbaric birth and baptism customs, and the importance attached to the Name with accompanying invocations and other ceremonies, ex-

¹ English translation by Francis Storr, p. 106.

plain without need of import of other reasons, the existence of similar practices, impelled by similar ideas, in civilized society. The priest who christens the child "in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,"—without which invocation the rite would be invalid—is the lineal descendant, the true apostolic successor, of the soothsayer or medicine-man. He may deny the spiritual father who begat him, and vaunt his descent from St. Peter.¹ But the first Bishop of Rome, granting that title to the apostle, was himself a parvenu compared to the barbaric priest who uttered his incantations on the hill now crowned by the Vatican.² The story of the beginnings of his order in a prehistoric past is a sealed book to the priest. For, in East and West alike, his studies have run between the narrow historical lines enclosing only such material as is interpreted to support the preposterous claims to the divine origin of his office which the multitude have neither the courage to challenge, nor

¹ If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, could return to the Vatican, they might possibly inquire the name of the Deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in that magnificent temple.—*Decline and Fall*, ch. I. p. 420, Gibbon (Bury's Edition, 1914).

² In a shrine of the Great Mother of the Gods on the Vatican hill the Phrygian priests celebrated the mysteries of her cult, and where the basilica of St. Peter's stands the last taurobolium—originally a rite of the goddess—took place at the end of the fourth century. The sacred sites of the world have so remained from immemorial times.

the knowledge to refute. Did those studies run on the broad lines laid down by anthropology, the sacerdotal upholders of those claims would be compelled to abandon their pretensions and thus sign the death-warrant of their caste. The modern sacerdotalist represents in the ceremony of baptism the barbaric belief in the virtue of water as—in some way equally difficult to both medicine-man and priest to define—a vehicle of supernatural efficacy. It has *mana*. Chrismatories and fonts were ordered to be kept locked lest the contents should be stolen for magical purposes. Cornwall supplied numerous examples of this custom.¹ In the oldest fragment of Hebrew song the stream is addressed as a living being,² and the high authority of the late Professor Robertson Smith may be cited for the statement that the Semitic peoples, to whom water, especially flowing water, was the deepest object of reverence and worship, regarded it not merely as the dwelling-place of spirits, but as itself a living organism. That has been the barbaric idea about it everywhere; and little wonder. For the primitive mind associates life with motion; and if in rolling stone and waving

¹ John Myre's *Instruction to his Clergy*, Early English Text Soc., 1896. And see *Folk Medicine*, p. 89, W. G. Black.

² "Then Israel sang this song: Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it."—Num. xxi. 17.

branch it sees not merely the home and haunt of spirit, but spirit itself, how much more so in tumbling cataract, swirling rapid, and tossing sea, swallowing or rejecting alike the victim and the offering. Birthplace of life itself, and ever life's necessity; mysterious fluid endowed with cleansing and healing qualities, the feeling that invests it can only be refined, it cannot perish. And we therefore think with sympathy of that "divine honour" which Gildas tells us our forefathers "paid to wells and streams"; of the food-bringing rivers which, in the old Celtic faith, were "mothers"; of the eddy in which the water-demon lurked; of the lakes ruled by lonely queens; of the nymphs who were the presiding genii of wells. Happily, the Church treated this old phase of nature-worship tenderly, adapting what it could not abolish, substituting the name of Madonna or saint for the pagan presiding deity of the spring. Most reasonable, therefore, is the contention that the barbaric lustrations reappear in the rite at Christian fonts; that the brush of the pagan temple sprinkles the faithful with holy water, as it still sprinkles with benediction the horses in the *Palio* or prize races at Siena;¹ and that the leprous Naaman repairing to the Jordan,

¹ *Roba di Roma*, p. 454, W. W. Story. And see *Palio and Ponte*: an account of the Sports of Central Italy from the Age of Dante to the XXth Century, William Heywood.

together with the sick waiting their turn on the margin of Bethesda, have their correspondences in the children dipped in wells to be cured of rickets, in the dragging of lunatics through deep water to restore their reason, and in the cripples who travel in thousands to bathe their limbs in the well of St. Winifred in Flintshire and in the spring that bubbles in the grotto at Lourdes. The influence which pagan symbolism had on Christian art and doctrine has interesting illustration in a mosaic of the sixth century at Ravenna, representing the baptism of Jesus.¹ The water flows from an inverted urn, held by a venerable figure, typifying the river-god of the Jordan, with reeds growing beside his head, and snakes coiling round it. Christ means "anointed," and in the use of oil in baptismal rites there is belief in its magical virtue, as exemplified in a prayer in the *Acts of Thomas*—

"O Jesus, may thy victorious power come and may it enter into this oil, even as it came

¹ "Baptism in primitive Christianity was at first symbolical—an act of ritual purification which was believed to indicate the remission of sins and bestowal of the Holy Spirit. But by the second century Christianity had become a mystery in the Greek sense, into which the novice, after a period of preparation, was duly initiated by baptism, and indeed the act was believed to have a magic power to secure immortality, closely parallel to that of the pagan initiation."—*Pagan Ideas of Immortality*, p. 52, Dr. C. H. Moore (The Ingersoll Lecture, 1918).

down into the Cross which hath fellowship therewith . . . and may it dwell in this oil over which we name Thine Holy Name.”¹

(f) *Mana in Initiation Names.*

As used in anthropology, the term “initiation” means the imparting of knowledge of mysteries—magical and ceremonial secrets, which must not, on pain of death, be disclosed—to individuals at a given period of life when they are admitted to full membership of the tribe, or, as among civilized people, to religious communities, or to social organizations, such as freemasonry. From the dawn of thought, dread has ceaselessly played its part round the great events of birth, puberty, marriage and death. It is the arrival of youth of both sexes at maturity as men and women that has given rise to a mass of customs in which mutilation and tests of endurance are leading features, and, what mainly concerns us here, to the bestowal of a new and hidden name on the initiated, sometimes the teaching of another language being added.

In his account of the initiation customs among the natives of the Torres Straits, Dr. Haddon gives a literal transcript of the code of morals enjoined on the youths, which is admirable in its directness and simplicity. “You no steal. S’pose man ask for *kaiki* (food) or water or any-

¹ *Early Christianity*, p. 13, S. B. Slack.

thing else, you give him half what you got. If you do, good boy, if you no do, no one like you. You no go and tell a lie. You speak straight. Look after father and mother, never mind if you and your wife have to go without. Don't speak bad word to mother." ¹

In the manhood-initiation rites of the native Australians a long series of ceremonies is followed by the conferring of a new name on the youth, and the sponsor, who may be said to correspond to a godfather among ourselves, opens a vein in his own arm, and the lad then drinks the warm blood. A curious addition to the New South Wales ritual consists in the giving of a white stone or quartz crystal, called *mundie*, to the novitiate in manhood when he receives his new name. "This stone is counted a gift from deity, and is held peculiarly sacred. A test of the young man's moral stamina is made by the old men trying, by all sorts of persuasion, to induce him to surrender this possession when first he has received it. This accompaniment of a new name is worn concealed in the hair tied up in a packet, and is never shown to the women, who are forbidden to look at it under pain of death." ²

Among the Charaiba or Caribs of the West Indies the arrival of a youth at puberty ushered

¹ *Expedition to Torres Straits*, Vol. V. p. 210.

² *The Blood Covenant*, p. 336, H. Trumbull.

in an hour of severe trial. He was now to exchange the name he had received in his infancy for one more sounding and significant—a ceremony of high importance in the life of a Charaibe, but always accompanied by a scene of ferocious festivity and unnatural cruelty. . . . Penances still more severe, and torments more excruciating, stripes, burning and suffocation constituted a test for him who aspired to the honour of leading forth his countrymen in war. . . . If success attended his measures, the feast and the triumph awaited his return. He exchanged his name a second time, assuming in future that of the most formidable Anonank that had fallen by his hand.¹

In East Central Africa the birth-name is changed when the initiatory rites are performed, after which it must never be mentioned. Mr. Duff-Macdonald says that it is a terrible way of teasing a Wayao to point to a little boy and ask if he remembers what was his name when he was about the size of that boy.² Miss Mary Kingsley confirms these reports of silence and secrecy on the part of the initiated. She says that “the great point of importance between all the West African secret societies lies in the methods of initiation . . . the boys always take a new

¹ *Hist. of the W. Indies*, Vol. I. p. 47, Bryan Edwards (1801).

² *Africana*, Vol. I. p. 428.

name; they are supposed by the initiation process to become new beings in the magic wood and on their return to the village they pretend to have entirely forgotten their life before they entered the wood. They all learn, to a certain extent, a new language, a secret one, understood only by the initiated.”¹ In the Congo, initiation is sometimes a prolonged business; the youth, stupefied by some potion, is carried to the forest, circumcized and declared to be dead. On his return the villagers receive him as one restored to life: he receives a new name and pretends that he has forgotten his parents and friends. Corresponding in detail with this, as set forth in a manuscript by Mr. Dennett which I was shown, are the initiation customs in Loango. Here we seem scarcely removed from the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church when the *Miserere* is chanted and a pall flung over the nun who takes the veil and effaces her old self under another name. Death, rebirth and resurrection are symbolized; “the old Adam” is cast out and a new life begun.

At his baptism an Abyssinian child has two names given him, one for common use, the other remaining secret. Parallel to this is the ancient Egyptian custom of two names, one by which a man was known to his fellows, while the other

¹ *Travels in W. Africa*, p. 531.

was his true and great name by which he was known to the supernal powers and in the other world.¹ The medicine-man among the Aruntas of Central Australia is not given a new name, but the *Irunkarinia* or spirits are believed to tell him and to provide him with a new set of internal organs: this is followed by his resurrection.² The Buddhist priest to whom the mystic doctrine of his religion is imparted in the anointing rite, takes a new name, the Buddhist chip-ko or "monk" changes his family name for "name in religion,"³ and the same custom obtains among Anglican and Catholic monastic orders. Likewise, the Pope, but although, so the legend runs, Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, no pope has ventured to take the apostle's name.

These correspondences bring us face to face with the large question of the origin of the rites and ceremonies of civilized faiths which show no essential difference in character from those in practice among barbaric races. Those who contend, for example, that the ordinance of baptism in the Christian Church is of divine authority, thus possessing warrant which makes it wholly a thing apart from the lustrations and naming-

¹ *Transactions of the Oxford Congress of Religions*, Vol. II. p. 359.

² *Natives Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 524, Spencer and Gillen.

³ *Buddhist China*, p. 157, R. F. Johnston,

customs which are so prominent a feature of barbaric life, will not be at pains to compare the one with the other. If they do, it will be rather to assume that the lower is a travesty of the higher, in the spirit of the Roman Catholic missionaries, MM. Gabet and Huc, who, on seeing the tonsured Buddhist monks with all the apparatus of rosaries, bells, holy water, and relics, believed that the devil, as arch-deceiver, had tempted these ecclesiastics to dress themselves in the clothes of Christians, and mock their solemn rites.

(g) *Mana in Euphemisms.*

Persons and things cannot remain nameless, and avoidance of one set of names compels the use of others. Hence ingenuity comes into play to devise substitutes, roundabout phrases, euphemisms (literally "to speak well") and the like. Many motives are at work in the selection. Both dead and living things are often given complimentary names in "good omen words," as the Cantonese call them, in place of names that it is believed will grate or annoy, such mode of flattery being employed to ward off possible mischief, and also through fear of arousing jealousy or spite in maleficent spirits.

Names are also changed with the object of confusing or deceiving the agents of disease, and even death itself.

The flattering and cajoling words in which barbaric man addresses the animals he desires to propitiate, or designs to kill, may be attributed to belief in their kinship with him, and in the transmigration of souls which makes the beast a possible embodiment of some ancestor or of another animal. Hence the homage paid to it, while the man stands ready to spear or shoot it. Throughout the northern part of Eurasia, the bear has been a chief object of worship, and apologetic and propitiatory ceremonies accompany the slaying of him for food. The Ainu of Yezo and the Gilyaks of Eastern Siberia beg his pardon and worship his dead body, hanging up his skull on a tree as a charm against evil spirits. Swedes, Lapps, Finns, and Esthonians apply the tenderest and most coaxing terms to him. The Swedes and Lapps avert his wrath by calling him the "old man" and "grandfather"; the Esthonians speak of him as the "broad-footed," but it is among the Finns that we find the most euphemistic names applied to him. The forty-sixth rune of the *Kalevala* has for its theme the capture and killing of the "sacred Otso," who is also addressed as the "honey-eater," the "fur-robed," the "forest-apple," who gives his life "a sacrifice to Northland." When he is slain, Wäinämöinen, the old magician-hero of the story, sings the birth and fate of Otso, and artfully

strives to make the dead grizzly believe that no cruel hand killed him, but that he fell—

“From the fir-tree where he slumbered,
Tore his breast upon the branches,
Freely gave his life to others.”

Thorpe says that in Swedish popular belief there “are certain animals which should not at any time be spoken of by their proper names, but always with kind allusions. If anyone speaks slightly to a cat, or beats her, her name must not be uttered, for she belongs to the hellish crew, and is intimate with the Bergtroll in the mountains, where she often goes. In speaking of the cuckoo, the owl, and the magpie, great caution is necessary, lest one should be ensnared, as they are birds of sorcery.¹ Such birds, also snakes, one ought not to kill without cause, lest their death be avenged; and, in like manner, Mohammedan women dare not call a snake by its name lest it bite them.”

In India low-class people call the snake “the creeper by night,”² and among the Cherokees of North America a man bitten by a snake is said to be “scratched by a briar” lest the feelings of the animal should be hurt. The Malays of one jungle will not mention the name of a tiger lest

¹ *Northern Mythology*, Vol. II. pp. 83, 84; and see Lloyd's *Scandinavian Adventures*, Vol. I. p. 475.

² *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 98.

the beast, hearing himself called upon, should come to the speaker. A tiger is therefore usually spoken of as Si-Pudang or "he of the hairy face," or To Blang "the striped one," or some similar euphemism.¹ In Annam he is called "grandfather" or "lord," and both in Northern Asia and Sumatra the same device of some bamboozling name is adopted.

The Kaffirs give the lion complimentary names when there is danger of an attack, but they use its name when there is no risk of his hearing it. Similarly, a porcupine is called "a little woman" or "young lady," lest if called by its actual name it should show resentment by devastating the gardens.²

There is current among the Patani fishermen who are Malays, and, in their religion, Mohammedans, a system of prohibitions in accordance with which certain families are named after certain fish which they will on no account eat and which they refrain from killing. The fishermen are specially careful to avoid mentioning certain words, mostly names of animals, when on the water, and hence express their meaning by a system of periphrases almost amounting to another language, called *balik*.³ "Among the

¹ Letter from Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G.

² *Savage Children*, p. 110, Dudley Kidd.

³ *Man*, No. 88, 1903.

Jews the taboo had great force, for they were forbidden to have leaven in their houses during the Passover, and they abstained from even using the word. Being forbidden swine's flesh, they avoid the word pig altogether, and call that animal *dabchar acheer*, 'the other thing.' In Canton the porpoise or river-pig is looked upon as a creature of ill-omen, and on that account its name is tabooed." ¹

The Swedes fear to tread on a toad, because it may be an enchanted princess. The fox is called "blue-foot," or "he that goes in the forest"; among the Esthonians he is "grey-coat"; and in Mecklenberg, for twelve days after Christmas, he goes by the name "long tail." In Sweden the seal is "brother Lars," and throughout Scandinavia the superstitions about wolves are numerous. In some districts during a portion of the spring the peasants dare not call that animal by his usual name, Varg, lest he carry off the cattle, so they substitute the names, Ulf, Grahans, or "gold foot," because in olden days, when dumb creatures spoke, the wolf said—

"If thou called me *Varg*, I will be wroth with thee,
But if thou callest me *of gold*, I will be kind to thee."

The fishermen of the West Coast of Ireland never talk of rats as such, but use the name "old iron." They believe that rats understand

¹ *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 77.

human speech and will take revenge if called by their names. The Claddagh folk of Galway would not go to fish if they saw a fox, and the name is as unlucky as the thing. Livonian fishermen (and the same superstition is prevalent from Ireland to Italy) fear to endanger the success of their nets by calling certain animals, as the hare, pig, dog, and so forth, by their common names; while the Esthonians fear to mention the hare lest their crops of flax should fail. The salmon is unlucky with the Moray Firth fishermen and the older men will not mention it, they call it the "beastie." With it clergymen, cats and swine rank as harbingers of ill fortune—clergymen being especially bad luck-bringers if they are in the market when the fish is being sold. There is a Jonah touch about this. At sea it is unlucky, as stated by Miss Cameron, to mention *minister, salmon, hare, rabbit, rat, pig, and porpoise*. It is also extremely unlucky to mention the names of certain old women, and some clumsy roundabout nomenclature results, such as "Her that lives up the stair opposite the pump," etc. But on the Fifeshire coast the pig is *par excellence* the unlucky being. "Soo's tail to ye!" is the common taunt of the (non-fishing) small boy on the pier to the outgoing fisher in his boat. (Compare the mocking "Soo's tail to Geordie!" of the Jacobite political song.)

At the present day a pig's tail actually flung into the boat rouses the occupants to genuine wrath. One informant told me that some years ago he flung a pig's tail aboard a boat passing outwards at Buckhaven, and that the crew turned and came back. Another stated that he and some other boys united to cry out in chorus, "There's a soo in the bow o' your boat!" to a man who was hand-line fishing some distance from shore. On hearing the repeated cry he hauled up anchor and came into harbour.¹

If the word "rabbits" is anathema to the Cornish fisherman, "swine" is equally hated by the inhabitants of some of the little fishing towns on the East Coast of Scotland. The horror with which the word is held led to a scene in one of the churches not so very long ago. The minister, in the course of the service, had occasion to read the story of the Gadarene demoniacs, in which the verse occurs, "Now there was there, nigh unto the mountains, a great herd of swine feeding." Scarcely had he uttered the unlucky word than he was interrupted with a wild yell of "Cauld Iron!" a talismanic phrase which the natives believe possesses the power to checkmate the baneful influence of "swine." It is the Scottish equivalent for touching wood.²

During the late war the small holders in the

¹ *Folk-lore*, Vol. XV. p. 76. ² *Daily Chronicle*, May 26, 1911.

Highlands refused to comply with a recommendation from the Board of Agriculture to keep pigs. Lord Leverhulme found this dread of swine deep-rooted in the Hebrides. Perhaps this pig-taboo is an unconscious survival of a totem-prohibition.¹

In Malaya the camphor-gatherers, believing that a spirit inhabits the trees, use special words—"camphor-taboo-language"—to propitiate it, and in the same country, the Pawang, or sorcerer, has a busy time in propitiating and scaring those spirits which had to do with mines. Mr. Skeat says that the miners believe that the tin itself is alive and can of its own free will move from place to place and reproduce itself; hence it is called by other names so that it may be obtained without its knowing it.² The animistic ideas, with their assumption of a spirit incarnate or indwelling everywhere, extends to other metals, there being the clearest evidence of these ideas about iron.³ Silver ore is thus invoked by the miners—

"Peace be with you, O Child of the Solitary Jin Salaka
(Silver),

I know your origin. . . .

If you do not come hither at this very moment,

You shall be a rebel unto God,

And a rebel unto God's Prophet Solomon,

For I am God's Prophet Solomon."⁴

¹ *Times*, May 28, 1920.

² *Malay Magic*, p. 260.

³ *Ib.*, p. 273.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 273.

In the Hebrides the fire of a kiln is called *aingeal*, not *teine*, because the latter is dangerous and ill will comes if it is mentioned.¹

The desire not to offend, to "let sleeping dogs lie," as we say, explains why the Hindus call Siva, their god of destruction, the "gracious one," and why a like euphemism was used by the Greeks when speaking of the Furies as the Eumenides. Mr. Lawson says that belief in Nereids among the Greek peasants is in full swing to-day, and the awe in which they are held survives in their speaking of them as "Our Good Ladies" or the "Kind-Hearted Ones." "I myself once had a Nereid pointed out to me by my guide, who, with many signs of the Cross and muttered invocations of the Virgin, urged my mule to perilous haste along the rough mountain path."²

Both Greek and Galway peasants call the fairies "the others," while the natives of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, Mr. Louis Becke told me, speak of the spirits as "they," "those," or "the thing." With sly humour, not unmixed with respect for the "quality," the Irish speak of the tribes of the goddess Danu as "the gentry"; in Sligo we hear of the "royal gentry";

¹ *Folk-lore*, Vol. X. p. 265.

² *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, p. 131.

in Glamorganshire the fairies are called the "mother's blessing." If the fays are the "good people," the witches are "good dames," and their gatherings "the sport of the good company." It is a Swedish belief that if one speaks of the troll-pack or witch-crew, and names fire and water, or the church to which one goes (this last condition is post-Christian), no harm can arise.¹

The Arabs and Syrians call the jinn "the blessed ones"; they should always be thus addressed when an empty cave or room is entered, lest they pounce on one unawares. "Talk of the devil and you'll see his horns," but he may be outwitted if called by some name unfamiliar to him, or that raises no suspicion that he is being talked about. In the Hebrides he is the "black or brindled one," or the "great fellow." He is the "Old Nick" or "Auld Hornie," who rules in hell, "the good place." An Eastern story tells that the devil once had a bet with someone that he would obtain a meal in a certain city renowned for piety. He entered house after house at dinner time, but was always baulked by the name of Allah, till one day he happened on the dwelling of a Frankish consul who was at table wrestling with a tough beefsteak. "Devil

¹ *Northern Mythology*, Vol. II. p. 84, B. Thorpe.

take the meat," said the consul, and the devil took it.¹

In his *Folk-lore round Horncastle*, the Rev. J. A. Penryn tells a story entitled "The Devil's Supper Party," in which a Methodist preacher is awakened at twelve o'clock one Saturday night by a raging wind, and hears a terrible voice crying out, "Come down to supper." Trembling, he dresses and comes down.

"When he got down he saw a very grand supper laid out on the table, with wine poured out in glasses, and twelve black devils sitting round the table, and a much bigger one at one end, with a chair left ready for him at the other, opposite him. Looking at him, the biggest Devil said: 'Ask a blessing.' He was inspired to say—

" Jesus, the Name high over all,
 In hell or earth or sky;
 Angels and men before Him fall,
 And devils fear and fly."

At the Name of Jesus, the devils all jumped up, and one by one disappeared, the thirteenth and biggest being the last to disappear at the word "fly," and when the preacher looked at the table there was nothing on it.²

¹ *Folk-lore of the Holy Land*, p. 202.

² "Let a man defeat the devils by reading the Scriptures and calling upon the names of the holy ones."—*Buddhist China*, p. 188, R. F. Johnston.

“Even inanimate things,” Thorpe says, “are not at all times to be called by their usual names; fire, for example, is on some occasions not to be called *eld* or *ell*, but *hetta* (heat); water used for brewing, not *vatu*, but *lag* or *löu*, otherwise the beer would not be so good.” Dr. Nansen says that the Greenlanders dare not pronounce the name of a glacier as they row past it, for fear that it should be offended and throw off an iceberg.¹

The dread that praises or soft phrases may call the attention of the ever-watchful maleficent spirits to the person thus favoured, causing the evil eye to cast its baleful spell, or black magic to do its fell work, has given rise to manifold precautions. In modern Greece any allusion to the beauty or strength of the child is avoided; and if such words slip out, they are at once atoned for by one of the traditional expiatory formulas.² The world-wide belief in the invisible powers as, in the main, keen to pounce on mortals, explains the Chinese custom of giving their boys a girl’s name to deceive the gods; sometimes tabooing names altogether, and calling the child “little pig” or “little dog.” Among the Veddás, the

¹ For examples of this see Dr. Westermarck’s *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Vol. I. pp. 262 foll.

² *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 111, Sir Rennell Rodd.

names of children are avoided to avert the attention of the evil Yaku "spirits of the dead," who would bring illness or death on the named.¹ In India, especially when several male children have died in the family, boys are dressed as girls to avert further misfortune; sometimes a nose-ring is added as further device. Pausanias tells the story of the young Achilles wearing female attire and living among maidens,² and to this day the peasants of Achill Island (on the north-west coast of Ireland) dress their boys as girls till they are about fourteen years old to deceive the boy-seeking devil. In the west of Ireland some phrase invocative of blessing should be used on entering a cottage, or meeting a peasant, or saluting a child, because this shows that one has no connection with the fairies, and will not bring bad luck. "Anyone who did not give the usual expressions, as *Mamdeud*, 'God save you'; *Slaunter*, 'your good health,' and *Boluary*, 'God bless the work,' was looked on with suspicion."³ A well-mannered Turk will not pay a compliment without uttering "Mashallah"; an Italian will not receive one without saying the protective "Grazia a Deo"; and the English peasant woman has her "Lord be wi' us" ready when flattering words are said about her babe.

¹ *The Veddas*, p. 103, C. G. Seligman.

² Bk. I. 22. 6.

³ *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 112.

In each case the good power is invoked as protector against the dangers of fascination and other forms of the black art.¹

A survival of this feeling exists in the modern housewife's notion, that if she comments on the luck attaching to some household god, "pride goes before a fall." She may have exulted over the years in which a favourite china service has remained intact, and the next day, as she reaches down some of the pieces, the memory of her vaunting causes the hand to tremble, and the precious ware is smashed to atoms on the floor. It has been often remarked that if any mishaps attend a ship on her first voyage, they follow her ever after. The probable explanation is that the knowledge of the accident befalling her induces an anxious feeling on the part of those responsible for her safety, which often unnerves them in a crisis, and brings about the very calamity which they fear, and which, under ordinary conditions, could be averted.

Among the Hindus, when a parent has lost a child by disease, which, as is usually the case, is attributed to fascination or other demoniacal influence, it is a common practice to call the next baby by some opprobrious name, with the intention of so depreciating it that it may be regarded as worthless, and so protected from the evil eye

¹ *The Evil Eye*, p. 32, F. T. Elworthy.

of the envious. Thus a male child is called Kuriya, or "dunghill"; Khadheran or Ghasîta, "He that has been dragged along the ground"; Dukhi or Dukhita, "The afflicted one"; Phatingua, "grasshopper"; Jhingura, "cricket"; Bhikra or Bhikhu, "beggar"; Gharib, "poor"; and so on. So a girl is called Andhri, "blind," Tinkouriyâ or Chhahkauriyâ, "She that was sold for three or six cowry shells"; Dhuriyâ, "dusty"; Machhiyâ, "fly," and so on. All this is connected with what the Scots call "fore-speaking," when praise beyond measure, praise accompanied by a sort of amazement or envy, is considered likely to be followed by disease or accident.¹

In barbaric belief both disease and death are due to maleficent agents, any theory of natural causes being foreign to the savage mind; hence euphemisms to avert the evil. In the North of Scotland the smallpox is alluded to as *bhean mhath* or the "good wife."² In India (especially in Bengal) it is called the "Mercy of the Mother."³ The Dyaks of Borneo call it "chief" or "jungle leaves," or say, "Has he left you?" while the Cantonese speak of this "Attila of the host of diseases" as "heavenly flower," or "good inten-

¹ *Folk-lore of Northern India*, Vol. II. p. 4, W. Crooke.

² *Superstitions of the Highlands*, p. 237, J. G. Campbell.

³ Letter from Mr. Hemendra Prasâd Ghose, Calcutta.

tion," and deify it as a goddess. The Greeks call it *εὐλογία* or "she that must be named with respect." Both modern Greeks and Slavs personify that disease as a supernatural being; she is to the former "Gracious" or "Pitiful," and to the latter "the goddess."¹

Similarly, the Chinese deem ague to be produced by a ghost or spirit, and for fear of offending him they will not speak of that disease under its proper name.² De Quincey has remarked on the avoidance of all mention of death as a common euphemism; and of this China is full of examples. In the *Book of Rites* it is called "the great sickness," and when a man dies, he is said to have "entered the measure," certain terms being also applied in the case of certain persons. For example, the Emperor's death is called *pang*, "the mountain has fallen"; when a scholar dies he is *pat luk*, "without salary or emolument." "Coffins" are tabooed under the term "longevity boards."³ Mr. Giles says that "boards of old age," and "clothes of old age sold here," are common shop-signs in every Chinese city; death and burial being always, if possible, spoken of euphemistically in some such terms as these.⁴

¹ *Macedonian Folk-lore*, p. 236, G. F. Abbott.

² *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 78.

³ *Ib.*, p. 80.

⁴ *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, Vol. I. p. 402.

Mr. Lawson says of the modern Greeks that “even the more educated classes retain sometimes an instinctive fear of making light of the name of Charon, lest he assert his reality. For Charon is Death.”¹ The belief that spirits know folks by their names further explains the barbaric attitude towards disease and death. “The other day, a woman who had a child sick in the hospital, begged me to change its name for any other that might please me best, she cared not what. She was sure it would never do well, so long as it was called Lucia. Perhaps this prejudice respecting the power of names produces in some measure this unwillingness to be christened. They find no change produced in them, except by alteration of their name, and hence they conclude that this name contains some secret power, while, on the other hand, they conceive that the ghost of their ancestors cannot fail to be offended at their abandonment of an appellation, either hereditary in the family, or given by themselves.”²

In Borneo the name of a sick child is changed so as to confuse or deceive the spirit of the disease; the Lapps change a child’s baptismal name if it falls ill, and rebaptize it at every illness, as if they thought to bamboozle the spirit by this simple stratagem of an alias. When the

¹ p. 98.

² *Journal of a W.I. Proprietor*, p. 349, M. G. Lewis.

life of a Kwapa Indian is supposed to be in danger from illness, he at once seeks to get rid of his name, and sends to another member of the tribe, who goes to the chief and buys a new name, which is given to the patient. With the abandonment of the old name it is believed that the sickness is thrown off. "On the reception of the new name the patient becomes related to the Kwapa who purchased it. Any Kwapa can change or abandon his personal name four times, but it is considered bad luck to attempt such a thing for the fifth time."¹ The Rabbis recommended the giving secretly of a new name, as a means of new life, to him who is in danger of dying. "In all Arabic countries there is a strange superstition of parents (and this as well among the Christian sects of Syria) that if any child seem to be sickly, or of infirm understanding, or if his brethren have died before him, that they will put upon him a wild beast's name, (especially wolf, leopard, or wolverine) so that their human fragility may take on, as it were, a temper of the kind of these animals."²

The Rev. Hilderic Friend vouches for the genuineness of the following story, the bearing of which on the continuity of barbaric and quasi-

¹ *American Folk-lore Soc. Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 133.

² *Wanderings in Arabia*, Vol. I. p. 159, C. M. Doughty (1908 Edition).

civilized ideas is significant: "In the village of S—, near Hastings, there lived a couple who had named their first-born girl Helen. The child sickened and died, and when another daughter was born, she was named after her dead sister. But she also died, and on the birth of a third daughter the cherished name was repeated. This third Helen died, 'and no wonder,' the neighbours said; 'it was because the parents had used the first child's name for the others.' About the same time a neighbour had a daughter, who was named Marian because of her likeness to a dead sister. She showed signs of weakness soon after birth, and all said that she would die as the three Helens had died, because the name Marian ought not to have been used. It was therefore tabooed, and the girl was called Maude. She grew to womanhood, and was married; but so completely had her baptismal name of Marian been shunned, that she was married under the name of Maude, and by it continues to this day." ¹ In some parts of Italy it is believed that a person would soon die if his name were given to his son or grandson. Among the Brazilian Tupis the father was accustomed to take a new name after the birth of each son; and on killing an enemy his name would be taken so as to

¹ *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 79.

annihilate that as well as his body.¹ The Chinooks changed their names when a near relative died, in the belief that the spirits would be attracted back to earth if they heard familiar names. The Lenguas of Brazil changed their names on the death of anyone, for they believed that the dead knew the names of all whom they had left behind, and might return to look for them : hence they changed their names, hoping that if the dead came back they could not find them.² Although the belief, that if the dead be named their ghosts will appear, is found in this crude form only among barbaric folk, there is, in this attitude towards the unseen, no qualitative difference between savage and civilized man. Wherever there prevail anthropomorphic ideas about the Deity, *i. e.* conception of Him as a “non-natural, magnified man,” to use Matthew Arnold’s phrase, there necessarily follows the assumption that the relations between God and man are essentially like in character to those subsisting between human beings. The majority of civilized mankind have no doubt that God knows each one of them and all their belongings by name, as He is recorded to have known men of olden time, addressing them direct or through angels by their names, and sometimes altering these. Take for example : “Neither shall thy

¹ Westermarck, Vol. I. p. 460.

² Dorman, p. 154

name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee" (Gen. xvii. 5). "And he said, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel, for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed" (*Ib.* xxxii. 28). "And the Lord said unto Moses, I will do this thing also that thou hast spoken; for thou hast found grace in My sight, and I know thee by name" (Exod. xxxiii. 17).

Miscellaneous as are the contents of the Old and New Testaments, the relations between the several parts of which have arisen, in many instances, through the arbitrary decisions of successive framers of the canon, the belief in the efficacy of names, and in their integral connection with things, runs through the Bible, because that belief is involved in the unscientific theories of phenomena which are present in all ancient literatures. Man may soar into the abstract, but he has to live in the concrete. When he descends from hazy altitudes to confront the forms in which he envisages his ideas, he finds what slight advance he has made upon primitive conceptions. The God of the current theology is no nameless Being, and one of the prominent members of the spiritual hierarchy is that Recording Angel who writes the names of re-deemed mortals in the Book of Life. Amidst all

the vagueness which attaches itself to conceptions of another world, there is the feeling that the names of the departed are essential to their identification when they enter the unseen, and to their recognition by those who will follow them. Civilized and savage are here on the same intellectual plane.

To name the invisible is to invoke its presence or the manifestation of its power. The Norse witches tied up wind and foul matter in a bag, and then, undoing the knot, shouted "Wind, in the devil's name," when the hurricane swept over land and sea; while the witch's dance could be stopped at the utterance of the name of God or Christ.

(h) *Mana in Names of Kings and Priests.*

Avoidance and veneration superstitions gather force with the ascending rank of individuals. The divinity that "doth hedge" both king and priest, which two offices were originally blended in one man, increases the power of the taboo. Until Sir James Frazer published his *Golden Bough*, the significance of taboo as applied to royal and sacerdotal persons was somewhat obscure. But the large array of examples which his industry has collected and his ingenuity interpreted, make it clear that the priest-king, Rex Nemorensis, was regarded as the incarnation of supernatural powers on whose unhindered and effective working the welfare of men depended.

That being the belief, obviously the utmost care was used to protect in every way the person in whom those powers were incarnated, markedly so in the secrecy of "hedging a king." Among the rules which governed the minutest details of his life, the Flamen Dialis, who, as chief of the Roman hierarchy, was consecrated to the service of Jupiter, was forbidden to touch or even name a goat, a dog, raw meat, beans and ivy, lest harm might come to him for so doing. Plutarch was greatly puzzled in his search after a rational explanation of these and kindred matters, and he has many a fanciful comment upon them, erroneous as well as fanciful, because it did not occur to him that the explanation must be sought in the persistence of the barbaric ideas of remote ancestors.

In China the *ming* or proper name of the reigning Emperor (sight of whom is tabooed when he leaves his palace, even his guards having to turn their backs to the line when the Son of Heaven approaches) is sacred, and must be spelt differently during his lifetime.¹ Although given in the prayer offered at the imperial worship of ancestors, it is not permitted to be written or pronounced by any subject. "The first month of the Chinese year is called *Ching-ūt*. The word *ching* in this particular case is pronounced in the

¹ *Meeting the Sun*, p. 153, William Simpson.

first tone or 'upper monotone,' though it really belongs to the third or 'upper falling tone.'” A Chinese work explains this as follows: There lived in the third century B.C. a noted Emperor who assumed the title of *She Hwang-Ti*. He succeeded to the throne of China (T'sin) at the age of thirteen, and, following-up the career of conquest initiated by his tutor, he was able to found a new empire on the ruins of the Chinese feudal system, and in the twenty-sixth year of his reign declared himself sole master of the Chinese Empire. He was superstitious, and his desire to be considered great shows itself in the manner in which he destroyed the classics of his land, that his name might be handed down to posterity as the first Emperor of China. His name was *Ching*, and, that it might be ever held sacred, he commanded that the syllable *ching* be tabooed. Hence the change in pronunciation referred to.¹ The vast importance attached to this taboo is brought out by the very concessions which have been allowed of late years. The modified taboo was inaugurated in 1846. Under this “the first word of the dissyllabic private name of an Emperor is not to be, in future, in any way ‘avoided,’ whilst even the second character may be used in contemporary literature if suitably mutilated.” Thus at the death of the

¹ *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 73.

late Emperor the character P'u was allowed to be freely used by all, but it was ordered that the character I (meaning "ceremony") should be printed minus the last of its fifteen strokes. "Instantly on the appearance of this decree, T'ang Shad-i whose 'i' happens also to be the second half of the new Emperor's name, memorialized for permission to change this character for quite another 'I' (being the I of 'I-Wo' or 'Jardine, Matheson & Co.');

he also suggested that all the letters of credence to the nine Powers he was visiting should be written accordingly."¹ No Korean dare utter his king's name. When the king dies he is given another name, by which his royal personality may be kept clear in the mass of names that fill history. But his real name, the name he bears in life, is never spoken save in the secrecy of the palace harem. And even there it is spoken only by the privileged lips of his favourite wife and his most spoiled children.² In Madagascar the names of dead rulers are also tabooed: a new name is given them, and the old name must not be pronounced under pain of death. Polack says that from a New Zealand chief being called "Wai," which means "water," a new name had to be given to water. A chief was called "Maripi," or "knife," and knives

¹ *Westminster Gazette*, December 30, 1908.

² *The Times*, August 30, 1908.

were therefore called by another name, "nekra."¹ "In the tribe of the Dwandés there was a chief named Langa, which means the Sun: hence the name of the sun was changed from 'langa' to 'gala,' and so remains to this day, though Langa died more than a hundred years ago."² In Tahiti, when a chief took highest rank, any words resembling his name were changed: "even to call a horse or dog 'prince' or 'princess' was disgusting to the native mind."³ The custom is known as *te pi*, and, in the case of a king whose name was Tu, all words in which that syllable occurred were changed: for example, *fetu*, star, becoming *fetia*; or *tui*, to strike, being changed to *tiai*. Vancouver observes that on the accession of that ruler, which took place between his own visit and that of Captain Cook, no less than forty or fifty of the names most in daily use had been entirely changed. As Professor Max Müller ingeniously remarks, "It is as if with the accession of Queen Victoria, either the word *Victory* had been tabooed altogether, or only part of it, as *tori*, so as to make it high treason to speak of *Tories* during her reign." On his accession to royalty, the name of the king of the Society Islands was changed, and anyone uttering the old name

¹ *Early Hist. Mankind*, p. 147, Sir E. B. Tylor.

² *Golden Bough* ³, "Taboo," p. 377.

³ *Third Voyage*, Vol. II. p. 170, Captain Cook.

was put to death with all his relatives. Death was the penalty for uttering the name of the King of Dahomey in his presence; his name was, indeed, kept secret lest the knowledge of it should enable any enemy to harm him; hence the aliases—in native term, “strong names,”¹ by which the different kings have been known to Europeans. The London newspapers of June 1890 reprinted extracts from a letter in the *Vossische Zeitung* relating the adventures of Dr. Bayol, Governor of Kotonon, who had been imprisoned by the King of Dahomey. The king was too suspicious to sign the letter written in his name to the President of the French Republic, probably through fear that M. Carnot might bewitch him through it.² An interesting comment on the foregoing examples is supplied by a painting on the temple of Rameses II at Gurnah, whereon Tûm, Safekht, and Thoth are depicted as inscribing that monarch’s name on the sacred tree of Heliopolis, by which act he was endowed with eternal life.³

Concerning the names of exalted persons, a custom probably unique obtains among the chiefs of the Kwakiutl Indians of using two different sets of names, one for use in summer,

¹ *Exe-Speaking Peoples*, p. 98, Sir A. B. Ellis.

² *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 310, E. S. Hartland, LL.D.

³ *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 156, Dr. Weidemann.

and the other for use in winter, with corresponding transformations of social life, determined in winter by belief in clan bogies; the ghosts of the tribe moving the people to magic dances with disgusting rites of initiation, the names then used being taboo in summer.¹

In the group of customs hedging-in the royal person and his belongings there lie the materials out of which has been evolved the well-nigh obsolete and long mischievous theory of the right divine of kings, with its resulting belief in their possession of powers bordering on the supernatural, as in the curing of scrofula by their touch. When Charles I visited Scotland in 1633, he is said to have "heallit one hundred persons of the cruelles or Kings eivell, young and olde," in Holyrood Chapel on St. John's day,² and, although William III had the good sense to pooh-pooh it, it was not until the reign of George I that the custom was abolished.

The separation of the priestly and kingly offices, which followed the gradual subdivision of functions in society, tended to increase the power of the priest in the degree that he represented the kingdom of the invisible and the dreaded, and held the keys of admission therein. The Cantonese apply the expressive term "god-

¹ *Golden Bough* ³, "Taboo," p. 386.

² *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 62, Sir J. G. Dalyell.

boxes " to priests, because the god is believed to dwell in them from time to time.

The king, who reigned by "the grace of God," as the term goes in civilized communities, was consecrated to his office by the minister of God, and, hence there could not fail to arise the conflicts between the temporal and the spiritual dignities of which history tells, a modern example of these being the relations between the Quirinal and the Vatican. The prerogatives which the Church claimed could only be granted by the State consenting to accept a position of vassalage illustrated by the submission of Henry IV in the courtyard of Gregory VII at Canossa. Whatever appertained to the sacerdotal office reflected the supreme importance of its functions; the priest, as incarnation of the god, transferred into his own person that which had secured sanctity and supremacy to the priest-king, and the king was so much the poorer. The supernatural power which the priest claimed tended to isolate him more and more from his fellows, and place him in the highest caste, whose resulting conservatism and opposition to all challenge of its ridiculous and preposterous claims have been among the chief arresting forces in human progress. For to admit that these claims were open to question would have been fatal to the existence of the priestly order. The taboos

guarding and regulating the life of the priest-king therefore increase in rigidity when applied to priest and shrine; and how persistent they are is seen in the feeling amongst the highest races that the maltreating or killing of a priest is a greater crime than the maltreating or killing of a layman, and that the robbery of a church is a greater offence than the devouring of widows' houses.

In his *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, Mr. Coulton quotes as follows from an Italian *Relation of England* drawn up by the Venetian Envoy about 1500 A.D.: "In another way, also, the priests are the occasion of crimes in that they have usurped a privilege that no thief or murderer who can read should perish by the hands of justice, and when anyone is condemned to death by the sentence of the twelve men of the robe, if the criminal can read, he asks to defend himself by the book, when a psalter, or missal, or some other ecclesiastical book, being brought to him, if he can read it he is liberated from the power of the law, and given as a clerk into the hands of the bishop."¹ The more usual test verse was Psalm li. 1: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy lovingkindness; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions,"

¹ p. 41.

It was called the "neck verse," because, by reading it, the culprit could save his neck. On so doing, the Ordinary said, "Legit ut clericus" — "he reads like a clerk," and the man was set free. It was not till 1827 that the statute of Benefit of Clergy, after undergoing earlier modifications, was abolished.

What centuries of injustice and intolerable tyranny cast their awful shadow on Europe when, under "benefit of clergy," ecclesiastics, from popes to monks, committed nameless crimes against the community and claimed exemption from trial in civil courts because they were the Lord's anointed. The laying on of hands by one of their own select caste, no matter in what degree he was a man of loose morals, was held to confer a supernatural character on the ordained — be he thief, lecher, or what not. For their own aggrandisement they were maintaining a superstition cruel at the core: offspring of the barbaric assumption that the chiefs and medicine-men of the tribe were gods incarnate. And whenever a priest of the National Church claims to be a special vehicle of grace, it is well to remind him that he is, as Lord Houghton wittily expressed it, "a member of that branch of the Civil Service which is called the Church of England."

Among the adventures which Lucian puts into

the mouth of Lexiphanes, this runs as follows :
 "The first I met was a torchbearer, a hierophant and other of the initiated, haling Dinias before the judge and protesting that he had called them by their names, though he well knew that from the time of their sanctification they were nameless and no more to be named but by hallowed names." ¹ Thirteen centuries later, in his *Moria*, Erasmus launches his dart against "the theologians who required to be addressed as Magister Noster. You must not say Noster Magister, and you must be careful to write the words in capital letters." ² "Presbyter is but old priest writ large," and it was deemed an offence among the Scotch clergy of the seventeenth century to take their names in vain. An Assembly of the Church in 1642 forbade the *name* of any minister to be used in any public paper unless the consent of the holy man had been previously obtained. ³

Royal and sacerdotal taboos have increased force when applied to priests in their ascending degrees from medicine-men to popes ; and perhaps one of the most striking illustrations of this is supplied by the record of customs attaching to the holy and hidden name of the priests of Eleusis. A brief account of this may close the

¹ Lucian, Vol. II. p. 267 (Fowler's trans.).

² Froude's *Erasmus*, p. 140.

³ *History of Civilization*, Vol. III. p. 210, H. T. Buckle.

references to name-avoidance and name-substitution so far as the living are concerned.

Some years ago a statue of one of these hierophants was found in that ancient seat of "the Venerable Mysteries of Demêtêr, the most solemn rites of the Pagan world." The inscription on its base ran thus: "Ask not my name, the mystic rule (or packet) has carried it away into the blue sea. But when I reach the fated day, and go to the abode of the blest, then all who care for me will pronounce it." When the priest was dead, his sons added some words, of which only a few are decipherable, the rest being mutilated. "Now we, his children, reveal the name of the best of fathers, which, when alive, he hid in the depths of the sea. This is the famous Apollonius. . . ." ¹

The name which the priest thus desired should be kept secret until his death was the holy name—usually that of some god—which he adopted on taking his sacred office. Directly he assumed that name, it was probably written on a tablet, so that, as symbol of its secrecy, it might be buried in the depths of the sea; but when he went "to the abode of the blest," it was "pronounced," and became the name by which he was known to posterity. Some interesting

¹ *Trans. International Folk-lore Congress, 1891.* "The Holy Names of the Eleusinian Priests," p. 202, W. R. Paton.

questions arise out of the ceremonies attaching to the name-concealment. Among these, the chief one is the committal to the sea, which is probably connected with lustration rites; a connection further evidenced by the choice of salt instead of fresh water. The custom of sending diseases and demons out to sea in canoes or in toy ships, is not unknown in Malaysia and other parts; but discussion on modes of transfer and expulsion of evils would lead us too far afield, and it suffices to say that, in this custom of the Greek priesthood, there was a survival of the barbaric taboo which conceals an individual's name for the same reason that it burns or buries his material belongings.

(i) *Mana in Names of the Dead.*

Passing from the living to the *dead*, and to *spiritual beings generally*, we find the power of taboo increased in the degree that it invests things more mysterious. The conflicting behaviour of the barbaric mind towards ghosts and all their kin should be a warning to the framers of cut-and-dried theories of the origin of religion, since no one key fits the complex wards of the lock opening the door of the unseen. Sometimes the spirits of the dead are tempted by offerings at the graves; holes are cut in the rude stone tombs to let them out, or to pass-in food to them; at other times, all sorts of devices

are adopted to prevent them from finding their way back to their old haunts, the one object being to "lay the ghost." While memory of them abides, a large number receive a vague sort of worship in which fear is the chief element, only a few securing such renown as obtains their promotion to the ranks of godlings, and, by another step or two, of gods. Others there are for whom no hope of deification removes the terrors of the underworld; while the remainder, in their choice of evils, would accept the cheerless Hades so that they might not wander as unburied shades. All which is bewildering enough and fatal to any uniformity of principle ruling conceptions of another life, but not less bewildering than the result of any attempt to extract from intelligent people who believe in a future state some coherent idea of what happens to the soul between death and the day of judgement. Vague and contradictory as both savage and civilised notions on these matters may be, there is, nevertheless, at the base a common feeling that prompts to awe and hushed tone when speaking of the dead. "It is safest not even to name the dead, lest you stir their swift wrath!"¹ This "avoidance of the actual proper name of a dead man is an instructive delicate decency and lives on

¹ *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 60, Jane E. Harrison.

to-day. The newly dead becomes, at least for a time, 'He' or 'She,' the actual name is felt too intimate."¹ To quote from Mrs. Barrett Browning's "Cowper's Grave," he is

"Named softly as the household name of one whom God
hath taken."

Among a large number of barbaric races the dead is never named, because to do so is to disturb him or to summon him, and that is the last thing desired. The Slatlum tribes of British Columbia will not utter the name of a dead person lest his ghost or spirit is thereby drawn back to its earthly haunts. This is inimical to the ghost, and to the person who, in warning him, invokes his return. When any member of a tribe died, the Tasmanians abstained ever after from mentioning his name, believing that to do so would bring dire calamities upon them. In referring to such an one, they would use great circumlocution; for example, "if William and Mary, husband and wife, were both dead, and Lucy, the deceased sister of William, had been married to Isaac, also dead, whose son Jemmy still survived, and they wished to speak of Mary," they would say, "the wife of the brother of Jemmy's father's wife." So great was their fear of offending the shade of

¹ *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 334.

the dead by naming him, that they took every precaution to avoid being drawn into talk about him with white men. And that reluctance was extended to the absent, Backhouse recording that one of the women threw sticks at J. Thornton on his mentioning her son, who was at school at Newtown.¹ The Tasmanian circumlocution is equalled by that of the Australian native from whom Dr. Lang tried to learn the name of a slain relative. "He told me who the lad's father was, who was his brother, what he was like, how he walked, how he held his tomahawk in his left hand instead of in his right, and who were his companions; but the dreaded name never escaped his lips, and, I believe, no promises or threats could have induced him to utter it."² Another traveller so frightened an Australian black-fellow by shouting out the name of a dead friend of his that the man took to his heels and dared not to show himself for several days. On his return he bitterly reproached the traveller for his breach of taboo. Lumholtz remarks that none of the Australian aborigines "utter the names of the dead, lest their spirits should hear the voices of the living, and thus discover their whereabouts,"³ and Sir George Grey says that the only modification of the taboo which he found

¹ *The Tasmanians*, p. 74, H. Ling Roth.

² *Queensland*, p. 367.

³ *Among Cannibals*, p. 278.

among them was a lessened reluctance to utter the name of anyone who had been dead for some time.¹ In barbaric belief widows are especially liable to be haunted by their dead spouses, which may explain why, to cite an example nearer home, a Shetland Island widow cannot be got to mention the name of her husband, although she will talk of him by the hour.² No dead person must be mentioned, for his ghost will come to him who speaks his name. Dorman gives a touching illustration of this superstition in the Shawnee myth of Yellow Sky. She was a daughter of the tribe, and had dreams which told her that she was created for an unheard-of mission. There was a mystery about her being, and none could comprehend the meaning of her evening songs. The paths leading to her father's lodge were more beaten than those to any other. On one condition alone at last she consented to become a wife, namely, that he who wedded her should never mention her name. If he did, she warned him,

¹ *Travels in N.W. Australia*, Vol. II. p. 232.

² *Early History of Mankind*, p. 144. Not entirely germane to this subject as bearing on the belief in the utterance of the husband's name by his widow, is a story told in Dr. Sidney Hartland's *Ritual and Belief* (p. 209). On February 16, 1912, at Macon in Georgia, U.S.A., the second husband of a woman was actually granted a divorce on the ground that the ghost of her first husband haunted both his wife and himself, making it impossible for them to live together.

a sad calamity would befall him, and he would for ever thereafter regret his thoughtlessness. After a time Yellow Sky sickened and died, and her last words were that her husband might never breathe her name. For five summers he lived in solitude, but one day, as he was by the grave of his dead wife, an Indian asked him whose it was, and in forgetfulness he uttered the forbidden name. He fell to the earth in great pain, and as darkness settled round about him a change came over him. Next morning, near the grave of Yellow Sky, a large buck was quietly feeding. It was the unhappy husband.¹ Conversely, in Swedish folk-lore, the story is told of a bridegroom and his friends who were riding through a wood, when they were all transformed into wolves by evil spirits. After the lapse of years, the forlorn bride was walking one day in the same forest, and in anguish of heart, as she thought of her lost lover, she shrieked out his name. Immediately he appeared in human form and rushed into her arms. The sound of his Christian name had dissolved the devilish spell that bound him. Among both the Chinook Indians and the Lenguas of Brazil, the near relatives of the deceased changed their names, lest the spirit should be drawn back to earth by hearing the old name used; while in another

¹ *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 155.

tribe, "if one calls the dead by name, he must answer to the dead man's relatives. He must surrender his own blood, or pay blood-money in restitution of the life of the dead taken by him."¹ The Abipones invented new words for anything whose name recalled the dead person's memory, while to utter his name was a nefarious proceeding; and among certain northern tribes, when a death occurred, if a relative of the deceased was absent, his friends would hang along the road by which he would return to apprise him of the fact, so that he might not mention the dreaded name on his arrival. Among the Connecticut tribes, if the offence of naming the dead was twice repeated, death was not regarded as a punishment too severe. In 1655, Philip, having heard that another Indian had spoken the name of his deceased relative, came to the island of Nantucket to kill him, and the English had to interfere to prevent it.² If among the Californian tribes the name of the dead was accidentally mentioned, a shudder passed over those present. An aged Indian of Lake Michigan explained why tales of the spirits were told only in winter, by saying that when the deep snow is on the ground the voices of those who repeat their names are muffled, but that in summer the slightest mention

¹ *First Report of American Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 204.

² Dorman, p. 154.

of them must be avoided, lest in the clear air they hear their own names and are offended.¹ Among the Fuegians, when a child asks for its dead father or mother, it will be reproved and told not to "speak bad words"; and the Abipones, to whom reference has just been made, will use some periphrasis for the dead, as "the man who does not now exist."

Among the Melanesians of New Guinea the name of a dead man is banished from the language. When the name is not that of some common object no difficulty arises, but at the death of a person named after something of everyday use it becomes necessary to coin a new word for his name-object, and, to save trouble, they borrow any English word which they happen to remember. Thus at Wagawaga a water-vessel is now called "Finish"; a large bush knife, in all innocence, has come to be known as a "Go to hell." Certain names are there believed to be inhabited by a familiar malignant spirit called *Labuni*, which they can project in the form of a shadow against anyone whom they desire to injure. All sickness and sudden death are ascribed to *Labuni*, but the sorceress is too much feared to be in danger of punishment. Mourning is a very serious business among the Roro-speaking tribes of the south coast. Widows

¹ *Schoolcraft*, Part III. p. 314.

are bound by the usual elaborate taboos . . . for the first few weeks a widow must not leave her house like other folk, but must fling herself headlong from her front door and roll off the platform with a heavy thud.¹

Among the aboriginal tribes of North America, when a man died, the elements composing his name are tabooed, and other names must be instantly conferred on the things denoted by them. Thus, on the decease of chiefs named "Black Hawk" or "Roaring Thunder," new words must be invented to replace "black," "hawk," "roar," and "thunder." It is easily seen that by this process a numerous tribe might, in a very few years, easily change a considerable portion of its vocabulary. The Abipones, according to Dobrizhoffer, entrusted the duty of inventing these new names, as occasion required, to their old women. Three times in seven years, he says, it happened that the name of the jaguar had to be altered, in consequence of the deaths of persons bearing names compounded with that of this animal. Yet this very illustration shows that it was by no means necessary in every case to invent an absolutely new name, for that last bestowed on the jaguar was simply an adjective meaning the "spotted one." Again, if the name of the deceased were conferred on a child newly

¹ *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, C. G. Seligman.

born, the taboo would be discharged; for the title of the living bearer was paramount to that of the deceased. For these and other reasons we are disposed to attribute little substantial importance to changes in language arising from this cause. The general principle of decay and renewal, above indicated, is probably sufficient in itself to account for a transformation of the substance of language once in every eighty years or thereabouts.¹

My friend, the late Louis Becke, told me that "in the olden days in the Ellice Islands, it was customary to always speak of a dead man by some other name than that which he had borne when alive. For instance, if Kino, who in life was a builder of canoes, died, he would perhaps be spoken of as *traura moli*, *i. e.* 'perfectly fitting outrigger,' to denote that he had been specially skilful in building and fitting an outrigger to a canoe. He would never be spoken of as Kino, though his son or grandson might bear his name hereditarily." In keeping with this last remark, among the Iroquois, the name of a dead man could not be used again in the lifetime of his oldest surviving son without the consent of the latter.² In the case of the Masai this custom of avoidance of the name of the dead, *qua* name,

¹ *History of the New World*, Vol. II. p. 93, E. J. Payne.

² *Ancient Society*, p. 79, L. H. Morgan.

and as the word may occur otherwise in the language, that is, as it were, of burying the name, shows in additionally high relief, since the actual corpse is merely cast aside as a thing of naught.¹

To this list might be added examples of like name-avoidance of the dead among Ostiaks, Ainu, Samoyeds, Papuans, Solomon Islanders, and numerous other peoples at corresponding low levels of culture, but that addition would only lend superfluous strength to world-wide evidence of a practice whose motive is clear, and whose interest for us chiefly lies in its witness to the like attitude of the human mind before the mystery of the hereafter.

(j) *Mana in the Names of Gods.*

As with the names of the lesser hierarchy of spirits, so with the name of a god; but with the added significance which deity imports. To know it, is to enable the utterer to invoke him. Moreover, it enables the human to enter into close communion with the divine, even to obtain power over the god himself.

“The Ineffable Name of God and the fear of pronouncing it can be traced to a comparatively remote antiquity. . . . If anyone knows that Name when he goes out of the material body, neither smoke nor darkness, neither archon, angel or archangel would be able to hurt the

¹ *The Masai: their Language and Folk-lore*, A. C. Hollis.

soul that knows that Name.”¹ Hence the refusal of the god to tell his name, and of the devices employed to discover it. On the other hand, the feeling that the god is jealous of his name, and full of threatenings against those who take it in vain, gives rise to the employment of some other name. But, whatever may be the attitude of the worshipper, there is belief in the power of the name, and in virtues inhering therein. The gods whom man worships with bloody rites are made in his own image, and the names given them which he dreads to pronounce are his own coinage. But the lapse of time, ever investing with mystery that which is withdrawn or receding, and the stupendous force of tradition, which transmutes the ordinary into the exceptional, explain the paradox. And any survey of the confusion between persons and things supplies such illustration of the vagaries of the human mind at the barbaric stage that we cease to look for logical sequence in its behaviour. Even where we might feel warranted in expecting a certain consistency, or a certain perception of fundamental differences, we find the insight lacking. Here, too, tradition asserts its power; we see how superficial are the changes in human nature as a whole, and in what small degree the

¹ *The Sword of Moses (An Ancient Book of Magic)*, pp. 7, 14. Translated by Dr. M. Gaster.

“old Adam” has been cast out. A striking illustration of the belief in the power over the god which mortals may secure by knowledge of his name is supplied by the concealment of the name of the tutelary deity of Rome. Plutarch asks, “How cometh it to passe, that it is expressly forbidden at Rome, either to name or to demaund ought as touching the Tutelar god, who hath in particular recommendation and patronage the safetic and preservation of the citie; not so much as to enquire whether the said deitie be male or female? And verely this prohibition proceedeth from a superstitious feare that they have, for that they say, that Valerius Soranus died an ill death because he presumed to utter and publish so much.”¹ Plutarch’s answer shows more approach to the true explanation than is his wont. He continues the interrogative strain: “Is it in regard of a certain reason that some Latin historians do alledge; namely, that there be certaine evocations and enchantings of the gods by spels and charmes, through the power whereof they are of opinion that they might be able to call forth and draw away the Tutelar gods of their enemies, and to cause them to come and dwell with them; and therefore the Romans be afraid lest they may do as much for

¹ *Romane Questions*, 61 (Bibliothèque de Carabas). Edited by Prof. F. B. Jevons.

them? For, like as in times past the Tyrians, as we find upon record, when their citie was besieged, enchained the images of their gods to their shrines¹ for feare they would abandon their citie and be gone, and as others demanded pledges and sureties that they should come againe to their place, whensoever they sent them to any bath to be washed, or let them go to any expiation to be cleansed; even so the Romans thought, that to be altogether unknowen and not once named, was the best means, and surest way to keepe with their Tutelar god.”² According to Macrobius, this deity was *Ops Consivia*, the god of sowing, who would naturally be revered by an agricultural people.³ Pliny says that Verrius Flaccus quotes authors, whom he thinks trustworthy, to the effect that when the Romans laid siege to a town, the first step was for the priests to summon the guardian god of the place, and to offer him the same or a greater place in the Roman pantheon. This practice, Pliny adds, still remains in the pontifical discipline, and it is certainly for this reason that the name of the god under whose protection Rome itself has been is kept secret, lest its enemies should use like tactics.

¹ On the custom of binding gods, see article by William Crooke, *Folk-lore*, 1897, pp. 325-55.

² Plutarch, 61.

³ *Hibbert Journal*, January 1915, article by Prof. H. A. Strong.

The belief that the name belongs to the essence of the personality explains the curious formula in the Umbrian prayer preserved in the *Tabulæ Iguvinæ* where the god Gabrovius is implored to be propitious to Arx Fisia and to "the name of the Arx Fisia," as the name of the city was a living and independent entity.¹ In his *Magie Assyrienne*, M. Fossy says that the Assyrians believed that every city of importance had a secret name which must be conjured before an enemy could take it. Rabelais tells the story that when Alexander the Great besieged Tyre the name of the city was revealed to him in a dream, *i. e.* its secret name.² To this day the Cheremiss tribes of the Caucasus keep the names of their communal villages secret from motives of superstition.³

In old Latium, the pontifices endeavoured to conceal the true names of the gods lest they might be wrongly used for unauthorized purposes. The greater gods of the Roman pantheon were of foreign origin; the religion of the Romans was wholly designed for use in practical life, and the gods who ruled human affairs in minutest detail from the hour of birth to that of death and burial were shapeless abstractions. *Cunina* was the guardian spirit of the cradle; *Rumina*,

¹ *Evolution of Religion*, p. 186, L. R. Farnell.

² Bk. IV. 371.

³ *Golden Bough* ³, "Taboo," p. 391.

the spirit of suckling; Educa and Potina, the spirits of eating and drinking, watched over the child at home; Abcona and Iterduca, the spirits of departing and travelling, attended him on his journey; Adcona and Domiduca, the spirits of approaching and arrival, brought him home again. The threshold, the door, and the hinges, each had its attendant spirit, Limertinus, Forculus, and Cardea; while Janus presided over door-openings, guarding the household from evil spirits. Agriculture being the main occupation, there were spirits of harrowing, ploughing, sowing, harvesting, and threshing; while Pecunia, the spirit of money, attended the trader, and Portunus, the harbour-spirit, guided the merchant vessel safe to port. These vague *numina* are known as "Di Indigetes," and it was part of the duty of the pontiffs to keep a complete register of them on lists called *indigitamenta*. Our interest here lies in the fact that they show how little, if at all, the ancient Roman was above the savage, because he believed that it was sufficient to utter the names of anyone of the Di Indigetes to secure its presence and protection. Hence the importance of omitting the name of no spirit from the pontifical lists.¹

¹ *History of Rome*, Vol. I. p. 120, W. Ihne; *History of Rome*, Vol. I. pp. 34, 111, T. Mommsen; Introduction to Jevons's edition of *Romane Questions*, p. vii; *Worship of the Romans*, p. 134, F. Grainger.

Cicero says that there was a god, the son of Nilus, to pronounce whose name was forbidden, and reluctance to pronounce the proper personal name of the god is found among the ancient Greeks, euphemisms being used, as, *e. g.*, for Persephone and Hades. "Persephone is addressed as Despoina, 'The Mistress,' or as Hagne, the 'Holy One,' and Hades as Ploutôn, 'The Wealthy One.' The power of the divine name was transcended in ancient religions."¹ Behind the sun-worship of the ancient Peruvians was that of Pachacamac, whose name was too sacred to be taken into their mouths. Among the Penitential Psalms of the Babylonian scriptures, which, in the opinion of Professor Sayce, date from Accadian times, and which, in their depth of feeling and dignity, bear comparison with the Psalms of the Hebrews, we find the worshipper pleading—

"How long, O god, whom I know, and know not, shall the fierceness of thy heart continue?

How long, O goddess, whom I know, and know not, shall thy heart in his hostility be (not) appeased?

Mankind is made to wander, and there is none that knoweth;

Mankind, as many as pronounce a name, what do they know?"

Upon which Professor Sayce remarks: "The belief in the mysterious power of names is still

¹ *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. III. pp. 137, 293, L. R. Farnell.

strong upon him. In fear lest the deity he has offended should not be named at all, or else be named incorrectly, he does not venture to enumerate the gods, but classes them under the comprehensive titles of the divinities with whose names he is acquainted, and of those of whose names he is ignorant. It is the same when he refers to the human race. Here, again, the ancient superstition about words shows itself plainly. If he alludes to mankind, it is to 'mankind as many as pronounce a name,' as many, that is, as have names which may be pronounced."¹

The modern worshipper is nearer to the ancient Roman and Chaldean, and to the barbarian of past and present time, than he suspects. Every religious assembly—for even sects who, like the Quakers, eschew all ritual, break the silence of their gatherings when the "spirit moveth"—invokes the Deity in the feeling that thereby His nearer presence is the more assured. So that the line between the lower and the higher civilization is hard to draw in this matter. And although undue stress might be laid on certain passages in the Bible which convey the idea of the integral relation between the Deity and his name, it is not to be questioned that the efficacy of certain

¹ *Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian Religion*, 1887, pp. 350, 353.

rites, notably that of baptism and of exorcism or the casting-out of demons, would be doubted if the name of the Deity were omitted or mispronounced. In an Assyrian text belonging to the period of Asarhaddon (680 B.C.) "the king who is consulting the sun-god concerning success in a war into which he is threatened, prays that the ritual which the enemy may be employing may go wrong and fail" and in this contest occurs the curious petition, "May the lips of the priest's son hurry and stumble over a word. The idea seems to be that a single slip in the ritual-formulæ destroyed their whole value."¹

In Roman Catholic ritual the Host cannot be effectually consecrated if the four words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, are not correctly pronounced. "The bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ when the words of consecration ordained by Jesus Christ are pronounced by the priest in Holy Mass."² A clearer illustration of *mana* as word-power could not be found. It is the same with every act by which approach is made to, and communion sought with, deity.

¹ *Greece and Babylon*, p. 297, Dr. L. R. Farnell.

"There's a great text in Galatians,
Once you trip on it, entails
Twenty-nine distinct damnations,
One sure, if the other fails."

Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister, VII., Browning.

² *Catechism of Christian Doctrine*, p. 49 (Burns and Oates).

In Abyssinia the formula "In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" is used as a spell by itself. So it is with the Moslems, "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." The *mana* is in the Name. Without its invocation, prayer would be in vain : *mana* speeds it home. "Though the modern consciousness may often be unaware of this mystic function of the formula, we may believe that it was more clearly recognized in the early days of Christianity, for in the apocryphal acts of St. John we find a long list of mystical names and titles attached to Christ, giving to the prayer much of the tone of an enchantment."¹ The *mana* in the Lord's Prayer is "Hallowed be thy *Name*." It was believed that the mediæval devil, Titival, collected misread fragments of the Divine Service, and carried them to hell to be registered against the offender.

To return to our immediate subject, that the gods of the higher religions, or their representatives, are described as reluctant to tell their names, and as yielding only through strategy or cunning, is in keeping with barbaric conceptions. In the Book of Judges, xiii. 17, 18, we read that "Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord, What is thy name, that when thy

¹ *Evolution of Religion*, p. 190, Farnell. And see *Threshold of Religion*, chapter on "Spell to Prayer," R. Marett.

sayings come to pass we may do thee honour? And the angel of the Lord said unto him, Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?" (or "wonderful," as in the margin of the Authorized Version). Leviticus xxiv. 16, "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death," and the third commandment in the Ten Words, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain" (Exod. xx. 7), are sometimes cited as the warrant for the avoidance of the "holy and reverend" name Yahwe, or Jehovah; but perhaps the influence of Oriental metaphysics on the Jews, coupled with the persistence of barbaric ideas about names, may have led to a substitution which appears to have been post-exilian. "Adonai" and "Elohim" are sometimes used in the place of Yahwe, but more often the god is anonymous, "the name" being the phrase adopted. A doubtful tradition says that "Jehovah" was uttered but once a year by the high priest on the Day of Atonement when he entered the Holy of Holies, and, according to Maimonides, it was spoken for the last time by Simon the

Just (*circa* 270 B.C.). “Philo, on the other hand, declares simply that it was pronounced only in the sacred precincts, and according to the Jerusalem Talmud it was lawful down to the very end for the high priest to pronounce it—though, finally, only below his breath—in the ceremonial of the Day of Atonement. As late as A.D. 130 Abba Shaul denied eternal bliss to anyone who should pronounce the sacred name with its actual consonants.”¹ “The cruel death which R. Hanina b. Teradion suffered in the Hadrian persecution was accounted for as a punishment for pronouncing that name.”² To quote Rabelais, “If time would permit us to discourse of the sacred Hebrew writ, we might find a hundred noted passages evidently showing how religiously they observed proper names in their significance.”³

In the *Toldoth Jeshu*, a pseudo-life of Jesus of Jewish compilation, there are two legends concerning the Unutterable Name. One relates that this name was engraved on the corner-stone of the Temple. “For when King David dug

¹ *Encyclop. Biblica*, p. 3321.

² Hastings's *Ency. Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VI. p. 296: “Ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv.”—Milton's *Areopagitica*, p. 23. [Chetiv means, read Adonai in place of Yahwe—the unspeakable name.]

³ Bk. IV. 37.

the foundations he found there a stone on which the Name of God was graven, and he took it and placed it in the Holy of Holies. But as the wise men feared lest some ignorant youth should learn the name and be able to destroy the world—which God avert!—they made by magic two brazen lions, which they set before the entrance of the Holy of Holies, one on the right, the other on the left. Now, if anyone were to go within and learn the holy Name, then the lions would begin to roar as he came out, so that from alarm and bewilderment he would lose his presence of mind and forget the Name.

Now Jeshu left Upper Galilee and came secretly to Jerusalem, and he went into the Temple, and learned there the holy writing; and after he had written the incommunicable Name on parchment he uttered it, with intent that he might feel no pain, and then he cut into his flesh and hid the parchment with its inscription thereon. Then he uttered the Name once more, and made so that his flesh healed up again. And when he went out at the door the lions roared, and he forgot the Name. Therefore he hasted outside the town, cut into his flesh, took the writing out, and when he had studied the signs he retained the Name in his memory.”¹

¹ *The Lost and Hostile Gospels*, pp. 77, 78, S. Baring-Gould.

The second legend, which tells of an aerial conflict between Jeshu and Judas before Queen Helena (!), says that "when Jeshu had spoken the incommunicable Name, there came a wind and raised him between heaven and earth. Thereupon Judas spake the same Name, and the wind raised him also between heaven and earth. And they flew, both of them, around in the regions of the air, and all who saw it marvelled. Judas then spake again the Name, and seized Jeshu and sought to cast him to the earth. But Jeshu also spake the Name, and sought to cast Judas down, and they strove one with the other." Ultimately Judas prevails, and casts Jeshu to the ground, and the elders seize him; his power leaves him; and he is subjected to the tauntings of his captors. Being rescued by his disciples, he hastened to the Jordan; and when he had washed therein his power returned and with the Name he again wrought his former miracles.¹

As recently as 1913, the Eastern Church was agitated by the publication of a book by a monk named Ilarion of the monastery of St. Pantelemon, on Mount Athos, in which he puts forward the theory that the Name of God is an integral part of God, and, therefore, itself divine. Archbishop Nikon, the special emissary of the Holy Synod, denounced the book as heretical, and the

¹ *The Lost and Hostile Gospels*, p. 83.

Synod, after resolving that the heresy should be known in future as the "Heresy of God's Name," condemned the book as pestilential. Civil war broke out in the monasteries of St. Pantelemon and St. Andrew, with the result that the contumacious followers of Ilarion, numbering about six hundred, were ousted by Russian soldiers and sent, some to prison, and the rest to exile (the larger number into further Siberia) to derive such consolation as they could from contemplation on the divinity of a word.

Tradition and Scripture are on their side. "Israelitish thinkers and writers never allow us to think that the name of Yahwe (Jehovah) is a separate divine being from Yahwe."¹ Ilarion could cite Ps. liv. 1: "Save me, O God, by thy name"; the passage in Isa. xxx. 27, "Behold the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning with his anger . . . his lips are full of indignation and his tongue as a devouring fire"; also the passage in Jer. vii. 12, that "Yahwe had caused his name to dwell at the first in his place at Shiloh."

Lane says that it is a Moslem belief that the prophets and apostles to whom alone is committed the secret of the Most Great Name of God (El-Izm-el-Aazam) can by pronouncing it trans-

¹ *Encyclop. Biblica*, p. 3268: "Nee nomen Deo quæras, Deus nomen est" (Nor need you seek a name for God; God is his Name).—Minucius Felix, *Octavius*.

port themselves (as on Solomon's magic carpet, spun for him by the jinn) from place to place at will; can kill the living, raise the dead, and work other miracles.¹ By virtue of this name, which was engraved on his seal-ring, Solomon, or Suleyman, subjected the birds and the winds, and, with one exception, all the jinn, whom he compelled to help in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. By pronouncing it, his minister Asaf was transported in a moment to the royal presence. Sakkr was the genie who remained unsubdued, and one day when the Wise King, taking a bath, intrusted the wonderful ring to one of his paramours, the demon assumed Solomon's form, and, securing possession of the magic jewel, usurped the throne, while the king, whose appearance was forthwith changed to that of a beggar, became a wanderer in his own realm. After long years the ring was found in the stomach of a fish, Sakkr having thrown it away on his detection, and so Solomon "came to his own again."²

Damascus was an important centre of the worship of Hadad, surnamed Ramman, "the Thunderer." Of the latter title, to avoid the light use of a sacred-name, Rimmon was an intentional perversion through a change easy in

¹ *Modern Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 361.

² *Group of Eastern Romances*, p. 163, W. A. Clouston.

the consonantal Semitic tongue.¹ In their *Cradle of Mankind*, Mr. and Mrs. Wigram give a modern example of Moslem dread of the divine Name. "Leaving Aleppo, we found the ground scattered with great squared blocks of stone rudely incised . . . a householder who saw us examining them led us to the door of his hut where he showed us another inscription. In this case the lettering was Arabic and we could read no more than the name of Allah—a fact which caused great consternation to the householder, for he had been using it as a threshold." "Melck Taud, the King of the Peacocks, is the Yezedi euphemism for Sheitair (the God of the Christians, Moslems and Jews), who, of course, must never be referred to by the latter disparaging name."²

In that great home of magic, Chaldea, effective as were the qualities ascribed to magic knots, amulets, drugs, and the great body of mystic rites connected with their use, as also to conjuring by numbers, incantations, and so forth, all these yielded to the power of the god's name. Before that everything in heaven, earth, and the underworld bowed, while it enthralled the gods themselves. In the legend of the descent of Ishtâr to the underworld, when the goddess Allat, the Proserpine of Babylonian mythology,

¹ *Syria as a Roman Province*, p. 123, G. Bouchier.

² pp. 8, 98.

takes her captive, the gods make vain effort to deliver her, and in their despair beg Ea to break the spell that holds her fast. Then Ea forms the figure of a man, who presents himself at the door of Hades, and awing Allat with the names of the mighty gods, still keeping the great name secret, Ishtâr is delivered.¹

Inscriptions discovered at Byblus never mention Adonis by name; he is "the highest," or the "satrap god," while the name of Marduk, mightiest of the gods, is declared ineffable.

The great gods of the limitless Hindu pantheon, Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva, have as their symbol the mystic *Om* or *Aum*, the repetition of which is believed to be all-efficacious in giving knowledge of the Supreme. "In India the name of the special deity whom a man worships is always kept a secret. The name is whispered into the ear of the initiated by the spiritual preceptor."²

In China the real name of Confucius is so sacred that it is a statutable offence to pronounce it. Commissioner Yeh, in a conversation with Mr. Wingrove Cooke, said "Tien means properly only the material heaven, but it also means Shang-te, 'supreme ruler,' 'God,' for, as it is not lawful to use his name lightly, we name Him by his dwelling-place which is in Tien."³

¹ *Chaldean Magic*, p. 42, F. Lenormant.

² Letter from Mr. Hemendra Prasâd Ghose, Calcutta.

³ *Folk-lore Record*, Vol. IV. p. 76.

But the rest of this section must be given to the striking example of *mana* in the divine name which is supplied by Egypt.

A Turin papyrus, dating from the twentieth dynasty, preserves a remarkable legend of the great Râ, oldest of the gods, and one who, ruling over men as the first king of Egypt, is depicted as in familiar converse with them. The value of the story, translated by Sir Wallis Budge, demands that it must be given with only slight abridgement.

Now Isis was a woman who possessed words of power; her heart was wearied with the millions of men, and she chose the millions of the gods. And she meditated in her heart, saying, "Cannot I by means of the sacred name of God make myself mistress of the earth and become a goddess like unto Râ in heaven and upon earth?" Now, behold, each day Râ entered at the head of his holy mariners and established himself upon the throne of the two horizons. The holy one had grown old, he dribbled at the mouth, his spittle fell upon the earth, and his slobbering dropped upon the ground. And Isis kneaded it with earth in her hand, and formed thereof a sacred serpent in the form of a spear; she set it not upright before her face, but let it lie upon the ground in the path whereby the great god went forth, according to his heart's desire, into his double kingdom. Now the holy

god arose, and the gods who followed him as though he were Pharaoh went with him; and he came forth according to his daily wont; and the sacred serpent bit him. The flame of life departed from him, and he who dwelt among the Cedars (?) was overcome. The holy god opened his mouth, and the cry of his majesty reached unto heaven. His company of gods said, "What hath happened?" and his gods exclaimed, "What is it?" But Râ could not answer, for his jaws trembled and all his members quaked; the poison spread swiftly through his flesh just as the Nile invadeth all his land. When the great god had stablished his heart, he cried unto those who were in his train, saying, "Come unto me, O ye who have come into being from my body, ye gods who have come forth from me, make ye known unto Khepera that a dire calamity hath fallen upon me. My heart perceiveth it, but my eyes see it not; my hand hath not caused it, nor do I know who hath done this unto me. Never have I felt such pain, neither can sickness cause more woe than this. I am a prince, the son of a prince, a sacred essence which hath proceeded from God. I am a great one, the son of a great one, and my father planned my name; I have multitudes of names and multitudes of forms, and my existence is in every god. I have been proclaimed by the heralds Imu and Horus, and my father and my mother uttered my name;

but it hath been hidden within me by him that begat me, who would not that the words of power of any seer should have dominion over me. I came forth to look upon that which I had made, I was passing through the world which I had created, when lo! something stung me, but what I know not. Is it fire? Is it water? My heart is on fire, my flesh quaketh, and trembling hath seized all my limbs. Let there be brought unto me the children of the gods with healing words and with lips that know, and with power which reacheth unto heaven."

The children of every god came unto him in tears, Isis came with her healing words, and her mouth full of the breath of life, with her enchantments which destroy sickness, and with her words of power which make the dead to live. And she spake, saying, "What hath come to pass, O holy father? What hath happened? A serpent hath bitten thee; and a thing which thou hast created hath lifted up his head against thee. Verily it shall be cast forth by my healing words of power, and I will drive it away from before the sight of thy sunbeams." The holy god opened his mouth and said, "I was passing along my path, and I was going through the two regions of my lands according to my heart's desire, to see that which I had created, when lo! I was bitten by a serpent which I saw not. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water,

I am hotter than fire. All my flesh sweateth, I quake, my eye hath no strength, I cannot see the sky, and the sweat rusheth to my face even as in the time of summer." Then said Isis unto Râ, "O tell me thy name, holy father, for whosoever shall be delivered by thy name shall live." And Râ said, "I have made the heavens and the earth, I have ordered the mountains, I have created all that is above them, I have made the water, I have made to come into being the great and wide sea, I have made the 'Bull of his mother,' from whom spring the delights of love. I have made the heavens, I have stretched out the two horizons like a curtain, and I have placed the soul of the gods within them. I am he who, if he openeth his eyes, doth make the light, and, if he closeth them, darkness cometh into being. At his command the Nile riseth, and the gods know not his name. I have made the hours, I have created the days, I bring forward the festivals of the year, I create the Nile-flood. I make the fire of life, and I provide food in the houses. I am Khepera in the morning, I am Râ at noon, and I am Inu at even." Meanwhile the poison was not taken away from his body, but it pierced deeper, and the great god could no longer walk.

Then said Isis unto Râ, "What thou hast said is not thy name. O tell it unto me and the poison shall depart; for he shall live whose name

shall be revealed." Now the poison burned like fire, and it was fiercer than the flame and the furnace, and the majesty of the god said, "I consent that Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from me into her." Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his place in the boat of millions of years was empty. And when the time arrived for the heart of Râ to come forth, Isis spake unto her son Horus, saying, "The god hath bound himself by an oath to deliver up his two eyes" (*i. e.* the sun and moon). Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis, the lady of enchantments, said "Depart poison, go forth from Râ. O eye of Horus, go forth from the god, and shine outside his mouth. It is I who work, it is I who make to fall down upon the earth the vanquished poison; for the name of the great god hath been taken away from him. May Râ live, and may the poison die, may the poison die, and may Râ live!" These are the words of Isis, the great goddess, the queen of the gods, who knew Râ by his own name. But after he was healed, the strong rule of the old sun-god had lost its vigour, and even mankind became hostile against him: they became angry and began a rebellion.¹

Another papyrus records that the god Set

¹ *The Book of the Dead*: the papyrus of Ani in the British Museum, pp. lxxxix-xci. Cf. Weidemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 54-6.

made attempts to provoke his nephew, the god Horus, to tell his name, whereby Set would gain power over him, but Horus defeated the plot by inventing various absurd names. Among the Egyptian gods, the real name of Amon, whose name is sacred, and of other gods, is unknown, and the hidden names of the great gods of Greece were revealed only to the participants in the Mysteries. In his references to Osiris, Herodotus remarks in one place, where he speaks of the exposure of the sacred cow, "At the season when the Egyptians beat themselves in honour of one of their gods whose name I am unwilling to mention in connection with such a matter,"¹ and in another, "On this lake it is that the Egyptians represent by night his sufferings whose name I refrain from mentioning."² The Father of History here gives expression to a feeling dominant throughout every stage of culture. He differs no whit from that typical savage, the Australian black-fellow, into whose ear, on his initiation, the elders of the tribe whisper the secret name of the sky-god—Tharamūlūn, or Daramūlūn—a name which he dare not utter lest the wrath of the deity descend upon him.³

¹ Bk. II. 132.

² *Ib.*, 171.

³ *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. XIII. p. 192, "Some Australian Beliefs."

In the religion of the Nigerian Ibibio, behind and above the deity Obumo (Thunder God?) looms the dread figure of Eki Abassi (Mother of God) at once mother and spouse of Obumo, the great First Cause and Creator of all, from the Thunder God himself to the least of living things. In the Ibibio language "she is not as the others: she it is who dwells alone, on the other side of the wall." To none now living does the name of the goddess appear to have come down; possibly only to the innermost circle of priests was it known.¹

The Marutse of the Zambesi shrink from mentioning the name of their chief god and use the word Molero, "the above." The name of the supreme goddess of the Maoris was so sacred that it was never uttered, even by the high-class priests, except when absolutely necessary. At all other times she was alluded to as "the Beyond," or "the High One," or some such term. Among the Kurnai the god Munganagana seems to be known to men only. It is in the last and most secret place that the name of the god is communicated to the novices.² The Choctaw Indians regarded the name of their highest god as unspeakable. When they referred to him

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, July 1914, "Some Aspects of W. African Religion," P. A. Talbot.

² *Natives of Australia*, p. 219, N. W. Thomas.

they adopted a circumlocution, for according to their fixed standard of speech, had they made any nearer approach to the beloved Name, it would have been a profanation.¹ The evidence is cumulative that through all stages of belief one formula—*nomina sunt numina*—remains unchanged.

¹ *Religion of Primitive Peoples*, p. 98, D. G. Brinton.

CHAPTER IV

MANA IN WORDS

THERE is no essential difference between Names of Power and Words of Power, and the justification of any division lies wholly in its convenience. For although the implication may be that the one is associated with persons, and the other with things, we have sufficing evidence of the hopeless entanglement of the two in the barbaric mind. Both are regarded as effective for weal or woe through the magic power assumed to inhere in the names, and through the control obtained over them through knowledge of those names. Here the apparatus of the priest—prayer, sacrifice, and so forth—is superseded, or, at least, suspended, in favour of the apparatus of the sorcerer with his “whole bag o’ tricks”—spells, incantations, curses, passwords, charms, and other machinery of white or black magic. In his invaluable *Asiatic Studies*, Sir Alfred Lyall remarks that among the lower religions “there seem always to have been some faint sparks of doubt as to the efficacy of prayer and

offerings, and thus as to the limits within which deities can or will interpose in human affairs, combined with embryonic conceptions of the possible capacity of man to control or guide Nature by knowledge and use of her ways, or with some primæval touch of that feeling which now rejects supernatural interference in the order and sequence of physical processes. Side by side with that universal conviction which ascribed to divine volition all effects that could not be accounted for by the simplest experience, and which called them miracles, omens, or signs of the gods, there has always been a remote manifestation of that less submissive spirit which locates within man himself the power of influencing things, and which works vaguely toward the dependence of man on his own faculties for regulating his material surroundings.”¹

The quality of a thing is credited with an independent personality, as in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, where it says, “Thine all-powerful Word leaped down from Thy royal throne bearing as a sharp sword thine unfeigned commandment” (ch. xviii. 15, 16), while, more emphatically, in John i. 14, we read, “The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,” and in Luke xi. 49, the Wisdom of God talks as a person. The branches of the subject are interlaced; but, broadly classified, Words of Power may be

¹ p. 77 (1884 Edition).

divided into (a) Creative Words, (b) Mantrams, (c) Passwords, (d) Curses, (e) Spells and inscribed Amulets, and (f) Cure-Charms in magic formulæ.

(a) *Creative Words.*

The confusion of person and thing meets us at starting, and the deification of speech itself warrants its inclusion in this section. Probably the most striking example of such deification is the Hindu goddess Vāc, who is spoken of in the *Rig Veda*¹ as “the greatest of all deities; the Queen, the first of all those worthy of worship,” and in one of the Brāhmanas, or sacerdotal commentaries on the Vedas, as the “mother” of those sacred books.² Another hymn to her declares that when she was first sent forth, all that was hidden, all that was best and highest, became disclosed through love. By sacrifice Speech was thought out and found, and he who sacrifices to her “becomes strong by speech, and speech turns unto him, and he makes speech subject unto himself.”³ When Vāc declares—

“Whom I love I make mighty, I make him a Brāhman, a
Seer, and Wise . . .

I have revealed the heavens to its inmost depths, I dwell
in the waters and in sea,

Over all I stand, reaching by my mystic power to the
height beyond.

¹ Vol. X. p. 125.

² *Satapatha Brāhmana*, Vol. III. p. 8; Muir's Sanskrit Text, Vol. V. p. 342.

³ *Literary History of India*, p. 74, R. W. Frazer.

I also breathe out like the wind, I first of all living things.
Beyond the heavens and this earth I have come to this
great power,"

echoes of the sublime claims of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs (viii. 22, 24, 30) haunt the ear.

"The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.

I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.

When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water . . .

Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight."

In the Wisdom of Solomon, the high place of "Chockmah" or Wisdom,¹ as co-worker with the Deity, is still more prominent; in the Targums, "Memra" or "Word" is one of the phrases substituted by the Jews for the great Name; while the several speculations concerning the nature and functions of Wisdom in the canonical and apocryphal books took orderly shape in the *Logos*, the Incarnate Word of God, of Saint John's Gospel.² In Buddhism, *Manjusri* is the

¹ *Buddhism*, p. 201, Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids.

² "At a camp meeting of Seventh Day Adventists in Massachusetts, I heard an ex-cowboy evangelist deliver an impassioned address on the power of the Word. He showed by many citations from the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures that the Book did not teach the direct action of God and Christ, but that whatever they did was accomplished through the power of the Word. It was by the Word, not by God, that the world was created, and it was by believing in the Word that men were saved."—*A Psychological Study of Religion*, p. 152, Prof. J. H. Leuba.

personification of Wisdom, although in this connection we have to remark that this religion has no theory of the origin of things, and that for the nearest approach to the *Vāc* of Hinduism as to the possible influence of which on the wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, and through it on the Logos, we must cross into ancient Persia, in whose sacred books we read of *Honovar* or *Ahuna-variya*, the "Creating Word," or the Word Creator. When Zarathustra (Zoroaster) asks Ahuramazda, the Good God of the Parsi religion, which was the word that he spoke "before the heavens, the water, the earth, and so forth," Ahuramazda answers by dwelling on the sacred *Honovar*, the mispronunciation of which subjects a man to dire penalties, while "whoever in this my world supplied with creatures takes off in muttering a part of *Ahuna-variya*, either a half, or a third, or a fourth, or a fifth of it, his soul will I, who am Ahuramazda, separate from paradise to such a distance in width and breadth as the earth is.¹ In his translation of *Salaman and Absál*, wherein these lines occur—

". . . The Sage began,
O last new vintage of the vine of life
Planted in Paradise; O Master-stroke,
And all-concluding flourish of the Pen,
Kun-fa-Yakún,"

¹ *Sacred Language and Writings of the Parsis*, p. 186, M. Haug.

Edward FitzGerald appends as note on *Kun-fa-Yakún*, “Be, and it is—the famous word of Creation stolen from Genesis by the *Kurán*.” In that book we read, “The Originator of the heavens and the earth when He decrees a matter He doth but say unto it, ‘Be,’ and it is,”¹—a declaration which the Genesis creation-legend, doubtless a more or less modified transcript of Accadian originals, anticipates in the statement, “And Elohim said, Let there be light, and there was light.” In this connection the three shouts of the Welsh, which created all things, should be noted.

The Babylonian cosmogony tablets tell of a chaos whence the great gods were evolved, when “none had come forth and no name had yet been named,”² and a hymn of praise to the god *En-lil* has the verse: “At thy Name which created the world the heavens were hushed of themselves; The Word of *Marduk* (*Merodaeh*) shakes the sea; as the Psalmist declares that the voice of the Lord beateth the cedars.” At *Hermopolis* *Thoth* made the world by speaking it into existence: “That which flows from his mouth happens, and that which he speaks comes into being.” In the papyrus of *Nesi-Amen* the great god *Neb-u-tcher*, when the time to create all things had arrived,

¹ *The Qur'an*, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. VI. p. 15.

² *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 10. Edited by D. G. Hogarth.

says : “ I brought (*i. e.* fashioned) my mouth and I uttered my own name as a word of power and I developed myself out of the primæval matter which I made.” Here, then, is proof that the Egyptians believed that by uttering his own name Neb-u-teher, he brought the world into existence.¹

In a Quiche Indian myth the maker of the world calls forth “ Uleu,” “ earth,” and the solid land appears. A myth of Mangaian Islanders of the South Pacific tells how the Creator of all things, after commanding the land to rise from the waters, surveyed his work, and said aloud to himself : “ It is good.” “ Good,” avowed an echo from a neighbouring hill. “ What,” exclaimed the god, “ is someone here already? Am not I first?” “ I first,” said the echo. Therefore the Mangaians say that the earliest of all existences is the bodiless Voice.² So the lower and the higher culture alike held the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*.

(b) *Mantrams*.

Since the whole world is made up of living names which animate every substance and every body, we need not be astonished, that, by chanting these names, the priest imagines he can command everything. If he “ knows the names (*rokhu*

¹ *Egyptian Magic*, p. 161, Sir Wallis Budge.

² *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, Rev. W. Gill.

ranu) he can with his voice cleave mountains, rend the sky, and make the stars move more quickly or more slowly.”¹

Sir Wallis Budge remarks that among the magic formulæ of which the ancient Egyptians made use for the purpose of effecting results outside man’s normal power, was repetition of the names of gods and supernatural beings, certain ceremonies accompanying the same. For they believed that every word spoken under given circumstances must be followed by some effect, good or bad. The origin of the Egyptian superstition lies further back than Sir Wallis suggests, although he is probably correct in assuming that its development received impetus from the belief that the world and all things therein came into being immediately after Thoth, the god of writing, especially of sacred literature, had interpreted in words the will of the Deity in respect of the creation, and that creation was the result of the god’s command.²

Belief in the virtue of mystic phrases, faith in whose efficacy would seem to be increased in the degree that the utterers do not know their meaning, is world-wide. The old lady who found

¹ Hastings, *Ency. R. and E.*, Vol. IX. p. 152. *Egyptian Names*, Prof. Foucart.

² Introduction to the translation of *The Book of the Dead*, p. cxlviii.

spiritual comfort in "that blessed word, Mesopotamia," has her representatives in both hemispheres, in the *matamanik* of the Red Indian and the *karakias* of the New Zealander, while the Roman Catholic can double the number of beads on his rosary by exchanging strings with the Tibetan. The latter, as we know, fills his "praying-wheels," more correctly, praising-wheels, with charms or texts from his sacred books, the words of wonder-working power frequently placed therein, or emblazoned on silk flags, being "Om Mani padme hum," "Ah, the jewel in the lotus," *i. e.* "the self-creative force is in the kosmos."

In the words *Namo-Omito-Fo* the Buddhist invokes the name of *Amitábha*, the most revered of the meditative Buddhas. One of the *Sutras* or *Dialogues* says "that the man who with steadfast faith and quiet mind calls upon the Name for a period of only a week, or even for a single day, may face death with perfect security, for *Amitábha*, attended by a host of celestial bodisats, will assuredly appear before his dying eyes and will carry him away to a joyful rebirth in that Pure Land in which sorrow and sighing are no more."¹ The first Mazdean prayers in the Parsi religion have become rigid formulæ and "acquired an infinite power of their own, so

¹ *Buddhist China*, p. 99, R. F. Johnston.

much so that they become a weapon for the Creator Himself.”¹ “In India to-day if an ascetic says in one month the name of Radha, Krishna, or Ram 100,000 times, he cannot fail to obtain what he wants,”²—and he will deserve it! The *mana* is made more effective by repetition, as in “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.”

But the most typical of all are the sacred formulas of the Brahmins, the *mantrams* which are believed to enchain the power of the gods themselves. They are combinations of the five initial letters of the five sacred elements which produce sounds, but not words. These are believed to vibrate on the ether, and not on latent forces which are here. They are effective only when the individual who resorts to them is pure in mind and body. This can be attained by the recital of *ajapagayithry*, *i. e.* 21,600 exhalations and inhalations in twenty-four hours. These have to be divided among the deities Ganesa, Brâhma, Vishnu, Rudra, Jâvathara, Paramathra, and the *guru* (teacher) in the proportion of 600, 6000, 6000, 6000, 1000, 1000, and 1000.³

Mantrams are charged with both bane and bliss; there is nothing that can resist their effect. At

¹ Hastings, *Ency. R. and E.*, Vol. VIII. p. 294.

² *Magic and Divination*, p. 59, Dr. T. Witton Davies.

³ *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, p. 260, Edgar Thurston.

their bidding the demons will enter a man or be cast out of him, and the only test of their efficacy is supplied by themselves, since a stronger *mantram* can neutralize a weaker. "The most famous and the most efficacious *mantram* for taking away sins, whose power is so great that the very gods tremble at it, is that which is called the *gayatri*. It is so ancient that the Vedas themselves were born from it. Only a Brahmin has the right to recite it, and he must prepare himself by the most profound meditation. It is a prayer in honour of the sun.

"There are several other *mantrams* which are called *gayatri*, but this is the one most often used."¹ Next in importance to the *gayatri*, the most powerful *mantram*, is the monosyllable Om or Aum, to which reference has been made. But, all the world over, that which may have been the outcome of genuine aims has become the tool of necromancers, soothsayers, and their kin. These recite the mystic charms for the ostensible purpose of fortune-telling, of discovering stolen property, hidden treasure, and of miracle-mongering generally. Certain *mantrams* are credited with special power in the hands of those who have the key to the true pronunciation, reminding us of the race-test in the pronunciation

¹ *Hindu Manners and Customs*, Vol. I. p. 140, Abbé Dubois.

of the old word *Shibboleth*.¹ To the rishis or sorcerers who know how to use and apply these *bija-aksharas*, as such *mantrams* are called, nothing is impossible. Dubois quotes the following story in proof of this from the Hindu poem, *Brahmottara-Kanda*, composed in honour of Siva : “ Dasarha, King of Madura, having married Kalavali, daughter of the King of Benares, was warned by the princess on their wedding-day that he must not exercise his rights as a husband, because the *mantram of the five letters* which she had learned had so purified her that no man could touch her save at the risk of his life, unless he had been himself cleansed from all defilement by the same word-charm. The princess, being his wife, could not teach him the *mantram*, because by so doing she would become his *guru*, and consequently, his superior. So the next day both husband and wife went in quest of the great Rishi, or penitent Garga, who, learning the object of their visit, bade them fast one day and bathe the following day in the holy Ganges. This being done they returned to the Rishi, who made the husband sit down on the ground facing the East, and, having seated himself by his side, but with face to the West, whispered these two words in his ear, ‘*Namah Sivaya.*’ Scarcely had Dasarha heard these marvellous words before a flight of

¹ Judges xii. 6.

crows was seen issuing from different parts of his body, these birds being the sins which he had committed.”

That the *mantrams* do not now work the startling effects of which tradition tells, is explained by the Brahmins as due to mankind now living in the Kali-Yuga, or Fourth Age of the World, a veritable age of Iron; but they maintain that it is still not uncommon for miraeles to be wrought akin to that just narrated, and to this which follows. Siva had taught a little bastard boy the mysteries of the *bija-akshara* or *mantram* of the five letters. The boy was the son of a Brahmin widow, and the stain on his birth had caused his exclusion from a wedding-feast to which others of his caste had been invited. He took revenge by pronouncing two or three of the mystic letters through a crack in the door of the room where the guests were assembled. Immediately all the dishes that were prepared for the feast were turned into frogs. Consternation spread among the guests, all being sure that the mischief was due to the little bastard, so fearing that worse might happen, they rushed with one accord to invite him to come in. As he entered, they asked his pardon for the slight, whereupon he pronounced the same words backwards,¹ and

¹ An illustration of Withershins (German *Wider Schein*) or against the sun, as when the witches went thrice round

the cakes and other refreshments appeared, while the frogs vanished. "I will leave it," remarks the Abbé Dubois, "to someone else to find, if he can, anything amongst the numberless obscurations of the human mind that can equal the extravagance of this story, which a Hindu would nevertheless believe implicitly." Were that veracious recorder of Oriental belief and custom alive, spiritualist *séances* would supply him with examples of modern credulity as strong as those which he collected in the land on which the Mahatmas, so the Theosophists (who have never been granted sight of them) tell us, look down from their inaccessible peaks.

(c) *Passwords.*

The famous Word of Power, "Open, Sesame," pales before the passwords given in the *Book of the Dead*, or, more correctly, in *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*. This oldest of sacred literature, venerable four thousand years B.C., contains the hymns, prayers, and magic phrases to be used by Osiris (the common name given to the immortal counterpart of the mummy)¹ in his journey to Amenti, the underworld that led

anything in that direction, or repeated the Lord's Prayer backwards as an oath of allegiance to the devil. The custom has jocose survival in the objection to not passing the bottle sunwise at social gatherings.

¹ The soul was conceived to have such affinity with the god Osiris as to be called by his name.—Wiedemann, p. 244.

to the Fields of the Blessed. To secure unhindered passage thither, the deceased must know the secret and mystical names of the Gods of the Northern and Southern Heaven, of the Horizons, and of the Empyrean Gate. As the Egyptian made his future world a counterpart of the Egypt which he knew and loved, and gave to it heavenly counterparts of all the sacred cities thereof, he must have conceived the existence of a waterway like the Nile, whereon he might sail and perform his desired voyage. Strongest evidence of the Egyptian extension of belief in Words of Power is furnished in the requirement made of the deceased that he shall tell the names of every portion of the boat in which he desires to cross the great river flowing to the underworld. Although there is a stately impressiveness throughout the whole chapter, the citation of one or two sentences must suffice. Every part of the boat challenges the Osiris—

“Tell me my name,” saith the Rudder. “Leg of Hāpiu is thy name.”

“Tell me my name,” saith the Rope. “Hair, with which Anubis finisheth the work of my embalment, is thy name.”

“Tell us our names,” say the Oar-rests. “Pillars of the underworld is your name.”

And so on; hold, mast, sail, blocks, paddles, bow, keel, and hull each putting the same question, the sailor, the wind, the river, and the river-

banks chiming in, and the Rubric ending with the assurance to the deceased that if "this chapter be known by him," he shall "come forth into Sekhet-Arru, and bread, wine, and cakes shall be given him at the altar of the great god, and fields, and an estate . . . and his body shall be like unto the bodies of the gods."¹

But the difficulties of the journey are not ended, because ere he can enter the Hall of the Two Truths, that is, of Truth and Justice, where the god Osiris and the forty-two judges of the dead are seated, and where the declaration of the deceased that he has committed none of the forty-two sins,² is tested by weighing his heart in the scales against the symbol of truth, Anubis requires him to tell the names of every part of the doors, the bolts, lintels, sockets, woodwork, threshold, and posts; while the floor forbids him to tread on it until it knows the names of the two feet wherewith he would walk upon it. These correctly given, the doorkeeper challenges him, and, that guardian satisfied, Osiris bids the deceased approach and partake of "the sepulchral meal." Then after more name-tests are applied, those of the watchers and heralds of the seven arits or mansions, and of the twenty-one

¹ Budge, pp. 157-60.

² "The oldest known code of private and public morality," *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 196, Le Page Renouf.

pylons of the domains of Osiris, the deceased "shall be among those who follow Osiris triumphant. The gates of the underworld shall be opened unto him, and a homestead shall be given unto him, and the followers of Horus who reap therein shall proclaim his name as one of the gods who are therein."

For their passage to the Land of the Blessed the same conditions appear to have been held for the followers of Mithra, but they had certain aids to smooth their passage thither. The Mithraic worshipper was doubtless permitted to behold such visions as those described in the liturgy of the Paris papyrus, and was instructed in the mystic passwords which he must one day use to unlock the gates of the eight heavens, in the furthestmost of which dwell the gods bathed in eternal light."¹ With this may be compared the assurance given in Rev. iii. 5: "He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father and the angels."

(d) *Curses.*

That which to us is a passing ebullition of feeling dictated against persons or things hated; or a mere expletive; is to the lower culture an entity:

¹ *Quarterly Review*, July 1914; "Mysteries of Mithra," H. Stuart Jones.

mana charged with miasmatic malice. Professor Sayce says that in ancient Assyria “the power of the *mansit*, or curse, was such that the gods themselves could not transgress it.”¹ And to quote Dr. Westermarck, “the efficacy of a wish or curse depends not only on the potency which it possesses from the beginning, owing to certain qualities in the person from whom it originates, but also on the condition of the conductor. As particularly effective conductors are regarded blood, bodily contact, food and drink.”² In Morocco a man establishes some kind of contact with the other person to serve as a conductor of his own wishes and of his curses. Among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula the malevolent dart may pierce the accused one by “sendings” or “pointings.”³ The Irish peasant believes that a curse once uttered must alight on something; it will float in the air seven years and may descend any moment on the person aimed at.⁴ The Manx phrase, *Mollaght Mynneys*, is the bitterest curse in that language: “it leaves neither root nor branch, it is the besom of destruction.” The Druids encompassed a man’s death by “riming” to their victim, laying a spell on him which, in

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 309.

² *Moral Ideas*, Vol. I. p. 586.

³ *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II. p. 299, Skeat and Blagden.

⁴ *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1227, Jacob Grimm.

the agony of fear, proved mortal. "A curse is powerful unless it can be turned back, when it will harm its utterer, for harm some one it must."¹ "Arabs, when being cursed, will lie on the ground that the curse may fly over them; among the Masai, if the curser can spit in his enemy's eyes, blindness will follow. A Borneese whose brother had been killed made a *tegulum*, or little wooden figure, against the murderer, who on hearing of this 'terrific malediction' complained to the Resident, who thereupon insisted on a public taking back or taking off the curse."² The supposed efficacy of the curse among the Burmese has record in a Blue Book (1907) of theft of treasure from a temple. The Pongees, instead of calling in the police, summoned a synod which pronounced anathema in accumulation of curses on the robbers. In twenty-four hours the money was returned. Among the Abyssinians the curse retains its old prestige. When King Menelik bequeathed the succession to his son Jassu, he added to his will this curse: "If anyone should dare to declare 'I will not serve Jassu,' may the land abjure him and may a black dog be born unto him for a son. Know all you whom I

¹ *Saxo Grammaticus*, p. lxxx. Introduction by Prof. York Powell.

² *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Vol. II. p. 119, Hose and MacDougall.

have raised to power. Know all you, great and small, that I curse everyone who disobeys me." To make the succession more sure Menelik provided that the curse should fall on Ras Tasa-mona, should he prove unfaithful to his trust as guardian of Jassu. The operativeness of a curse is believed by the lower classes in modern Greece, and "it is a common custom for a dying man to put a handful of salt into a vessel of water and when it is dissolved to sprinkle with the liquid all those who are present, saying, 'As the salt dissolve, so may my curses dissolve.'" ¹

The personification of the curse has an ancient lineage in that classic land; in the *Eumênides*, the Furies say of themselves that the name whereby they are known in the underworld is *Arai*, or the Curses. And, as among the ancient Hebrews, the iniquity of the fathers would be visited "upon the children unto the third and fourth generation" (Exod. xx. 5), so among the Greeks a curse might lead to the extinction of the race, and even follow the accursed one in the nether world.² Curses engraved on leaden tablets (one runs, "as the lead grows cold, so grow he cold") have been found in thousands in tombs and temples in Greece, Asia Minor (the temple of Pluto at Cnidos being especially rich in them)

¹ *Modern Greek Folk-lore*, p. 388, J. C. Lawson.

² Cf. the story of Glaucos in *Herodotus*, VI. 86.

Italy, and also nearer home. On those *diræ* and *imprecationes* the enemy is consigned to the infernal powers; in one case an angry woman consigned her friend to Hades because she had not returned a borrowed garment! Sometimes, in addition to the inscription of the victim's name on the tablet, a nail was driven through it, and the malediction added, "I nail his name, that is, himself."¹ Nearly one-third of the tablets from Attica contain merely proper names with a nail driven into them. The like applies to the Latin examples. Tacitus records that the name of Germanicus, whose death is said to have been due to Piso's treachery, was found inscribed on a leaden tablet on which was written curses whereby, "in popular belief, souls are devoted to the infernal deities."²

Some years ago, two leaden plates were found under a heap of stones on Gatherley Moor, in Yorkshire. On one was inscribed, "I doe make this that James Philipp, John Phillip his son, Christopher and Tomas his sons shall flee Richmondshire and nothing prosper with any of them in Richmondshire." The second was inscribed to the same effect. Probably the Phillips had

¹ *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 108. And see *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 138-145, Jane E. Harrison; and *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 337-340, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse.

² *Annals*, Bk. II. p. 69.

dispossessed a branch of the family of certain lands. Boundary-gods; Terminus of the Romans, Hermes of the Greeks, the inscribed boundary-stones of the Babylonians which were sacred to certain deities as Neba and Papu, perhaps the Celtic menhirs, certainly the taboo signs whereby savage peoples fence their rights, all witness to the importance accorded to landmarks. The long list of curses in Deut. xxvii. includes one against the man "that removeth his neighbour's landmark," and corresponding examples of imprecations abound, finding their pale survival among ourselves in the threatening bogey—"trespassers will be prosecuted." The curse increases in power with the importance or status of the curser. Among the Tongans, if a man be much lower in rank than the enemy at whom he hurls his imprecations, the curse has no effect. The Australian natives believe that the curse of a potent magician will kill at the distance of a hundred miles, and among the Maori the anathema of a priest is regarded as a thunderbolt which no enemy can escape.¹ The power of the curse of the aged has an example in the story of Elisha who cursed the mocking little children . . . in the name of the Lord, "with the result that there came forth two she bears out of the

¹ *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, Vol. I. p. 148, J. S. Polack.

wood and tare forty and two children of them.”¹ The punishment appears to have been disproportionate to the crime! In Mohammedan countries the curses of saints and shereefs are specially dreaded. A Moorish proverb says, that “if the saints curse you the parents will cure you, but if the parents curse you the saints will not cure you.”² It is written in *Manu*, the law-book of the ancient Hindus, that a Brahmin may punish his foes by his own power, *i. e.* by his words alone. The series of curses given in Deut. xxvii. 15–26, and the penalties on disobedience set forth in xxviii. 15–68, have added force because they were uttered by the Levitical caste as the mouthpiece of Yahwe, and the like applies to the pronouncement of anathemas and excommunications by bishops and priests as the assumed ministers of God. “The situation of the outcasts was in itself very painful and melancholy . . . the benefits of the Christian communion were those of eternal life, nor could they erase from the mind the awful opinion that to those ecclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned the Deity had committed the keys of Hell and Paradise.”³ In Spain the crime of heresy was aggravated by the “inexpiable guilt

¹ 2 Kings ii. 23, 24.

² Westermarek, Vol. I. p. 622.

³ Gibbon, ch. xv. p. 55 (Bury's Edition, 1909).

of calumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.”¹ A specimen of the curse of the Church, which it would be hard to beat, is furnished by Pope Clement VI (1346) in his excommunication of Louis of Bavaria. “Let him be damned in his going out and his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness and blindness and mental insanity! May the heavens empty upon him their thunderbolts, and the wrath of the Omnipotent burn itself unto him in the present and the future world! May the Universe fight against him and the earth open to swallow him up!”²

The penal ordinances of a synod at Toledo show that the clerics, when reading the *missa pro defunctis*, used to introduce the names of living men whose death they thereby sought to encompass.³ Thanks to the heretics who fought and died for freedom, we can smile at what, in bygone days, was an awful shadow, a dreaded calamity, on both individuals and nations. We can listen unafraid to the reading of a Commination Service which recalls only the *Jackdaw of Rheims*.

The inanimate, and the world of plants and animals, have not escaped the *mana* of the word. For the sin of Adam the Lord God cursed the

¹ Gibbon, ch. xv. p. 56.

² Hastings's *Ency. R. and E.*, Vol. IV. p. 717.

³ *Ib.*, Vol. III. p. 420.

earth and also the serpent as beguiler. Jesus splenetically cursed the innocent fig tree, for, says the evangelist (Mark xi. 13) "the time of figs was not yet," and folk-lore abounds with rustic superstitions that trees and crops can be destroyed by incantations. A curious chapter in human history is filled by examples of excommunications and anathematizing, in the name of the Blessed Trinity, of birds which defiled altars with their droppings which fell on the officiating priest; of insects ravaging fields; and of higher animals which superstition held responsible for crimes, and which were hanged or burned accordingly.¹

As with the curse, so with the oath, it is conceived as an entity, hence what has been said about the one applies to the other. Much could be added concerning the variety of custom accompanying oath-taking in both barbaric and civilized communities, here reference is restricted to the connection between the oath and the invocation of divine names, which of course could come into practice only when the theistic stage of religion is reached. The Persians swore by Mithra : the Greeks by Zeus : the Romans by Jupiter Lapis (holding a sacred stone in their

¹ See *Criminal Prosecution of Animals*, *passim*, E. P. Evans, and article by the present writer, "Execution of Animals," *Hastings's Ency, R, and E.*, Vol. V. pp. 628, 629,

hands, as do the Samoans to this day): the ancient Hebrews by Yahwe: the Mohammedans by Allah, while the Christian, following the custom of his forefathers, swears on the New Testament by the help of God. In all the higher religions the sacred books are held or kissed by the swearer. Throughout these oath-takings the *mana* of the god's name is the essence, hence the fear of retaliation by the man who breaks his oath, since the perjurer has sinned against the god himself—taking “his name in vain.”

(e) *Spells and Inscribed Amulets.*

In the famous scene in *Macbeth*, when the witches make the “hellbroth boil and bubble” in their “caldron,” Shakespeare drew upon the folk-lore of his time. Two years before he came to London, Reginald Scot had published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, a work which, in Mr. Lecky's words, “unmasked the imposture and delusion of the system with a boldness that no previous writer had approached, and an ability which few subsequent writers have equalled.”¹ In that book may be found the record of many a strange prescription, of which other dramatists of Shakespeare's period, notably Middleton, Heywood, and Shadwell, made use in their thaumaturgic machinery. Scot's exposure of the

¹ *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, Vol. I. p. 103 (1875 Edition).

“impietic of inchanters” and the “knaverie of conjurers” is accompanied by examples of a number of spells for raising the various grades of spirits, from the ghost of a suicide to the innumerable company of demons. In each case the effectiveness of the spell depends on the utterance of names which are a jumble of strange or manufactured tongues. For example, the spirits of the “Airy Region” are conjured by “his strong and mighty Name, Jehovah,” and by his “holy Name, Tetragrammaton,” and by all his “wonderful Names and Attributes, Sadat, Ollon, Emillat, Athanatos, Paracletus.” Then the exorcist, turning to the four quarters, calls the names, “Gerson, Anek, Nephriion, Basannah, Cabon,” whereupon the summoned spirits, casting off their phantasms, will stand before him in human form to do his bidding, to bestow the gift of invisibility, foreknowledge of the weather, knowledge of the raising and allaying of storms, and of the language of birds. Then the exorcist dismisses them to their aerial home in “the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”¹

The Witch of Endor secured the appearance of Samuel by the mere invocation of his name, a far simpler process than availed the mediæval necromancer, for he had to go to the grave at midnight with candle, crystal, and hazel wand

¹ pp. 481, 482 (1886 reprint of the 1584 Edition).

on which the Name of God was written, and then, repeating the words, "Tetragrammaton, Adonai, Agla, Cabon," to strike on the ground three times with his wand, thereby conjuring the spirit into the crystal. That Witch (1 Sam. xxviii. 11, 12) has her successors in the mediums to whom the bereaved, among these even men, presumably, of high intelligence, repair to be put into communication with discarnates who, in the jargon of spiritualism, have "passed over."¹ These departed ones are credited with ethereal souls in ethereal bodies, clothed, according to the "new revelation," in white robes "made from decayed worsted on your side," so the medium learns from Raymond Lodge's control Fedra, a little Indian girl. On the rare occasions when the *revenants* have, so the mediums report, appeared, sceptics have sometimes possessed themselves of fragments of white robes and other articles which were identified as parts of the stock-in-trade of the medium.

The importance which the ancient Egyptians attached to dreams is well known. It was the

¹ "Oh, the road to En-dor is the oldest road,

And the craziest road of all!

Straight it runs to the witch's abode

As it did in the days of Saul.

And nothing has changed of the sorrow in store

For such as go down on the road to En-dor."

The Years Between, Rudyard Kipling.

universal belief that they were sent by the gods; and as matters of moment hinged on them, magic was brought into play to secure the desired dream. Among the formulæ used for this purpose which survive is the following: Take a cat, black all over, which has been killed: prepare a tablet, and write these words with a solution of myrrh, also the dream desired, which put in the mouth of the cat: "Keimi, Keimi, I am the Great One, in whose mouth rests Mommon, Thoth, Nanumbre, Karikha, . . . the sacred Ianicê ien aeo eieiciei aoeeo," and so on in a string of meaningless syllables which were supposed to convey the hidden name of the god, and thereby make him subject to the magician. Then, as the conclusion, "Hear me, for I shall speak the great Name, Thoth. Thy name answers to the seven vowels." These, Sir W. Budge explains, "were supposed in the Gnostic system to contain all the names of God, and were, therefore, most powerful when used as a spell." ¹

Onomancy, or divination from the letters of a name, has an example in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, wherein Jesus is made to say to Zaccheus, "Every letter from Aleph to Tau is known by its order; thou, therefore, first say what is Tau and I will tell thee what Aleph is." And Jesus began to ask the names of

¹ *Egyptian Magic*, p. 57.

the separate letters and said, "Let the teachers of the law say what the first letter is; or why it hath many triangles, scalene, acute-angles, equangular, unequal-sided, with unequal angles, rectangular, rectilinear, and curvilinear." Then follows the amazement of the hearers, one of them, Levi, exclaiming, "I think no man can attain to his word except God hath been with him."¹ The Levis of to-day are no whit behind their prototype in accepting as "a new revelation" the drivel which fills the organs of the Occultists.

The Babylonian libraries have yielded a large number of incantations for use against evil spirits, sorcery, and human ills generally, the force of the magic conjurations being increased in the degree that they are unintelligible.²

The Sumerian spells were retained in the liturgies long after that language had died out as a spoken one. The archaic songs chanted by the Arval Brothers at their agricultural ceremonies had become unintelligible to them; Latin, long a dead language, survives in Roman Catholic ritual, although not a "tongue understood of the people." For it is needful to preserve the old form of the name, because, although the

¹ *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 72, edited by B. H. Cowper.

² "The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts, and in the East as well as the West the Deity is addressed in an obsolete tongue unknown to the majority of the congregation."—Gibbon, ch. xlvii.

meaning may be lost, another name, or a variation of it, would not possess the same virtue. Although

“The lion and the lizard keep
The courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep,”

these references to the superstitions that dominated the ancient civilizations of the East, and through them, in their elaborated magical forms, of the West, are of service to-day. That they persisted so long is no matter of wonder, when we remember how late in human history is perception of the orderly sequence of phenomena; and that persistence also explains why like confusion prevails in communities where the scientific stage has not been reached. In this matter, even in these post-Darwinian days, “there are few that be saved” from the feeling that, in some vaguely defined way, man can influence the unseen by the power of spoken words. Belief in the power of these was extended to the written word for, to the illiterate, the signs scratched on wood or potsherd, or any other material, would be what the Egyptians called “words of power,” or “words that compel.” Reginald Scot gives the following charm “against theeves,” which “must never be said, but carried about one”: “I doo go, and I doo come unto you with the love of God, with the humility of Christ, with the holines of our blessed ladie, with

the faith of *Abraham*, with the justice of *Isaac*, with the vertue of *David*, with the might of *Peter*, with the constancie of *Paule*, with the word of God, with the authoritie of *Gregorie*, with the praier of *Clement*, with the flood of Jordan, *p p p c g e g a q q e s t p t i k a b g l k 2 a x t b a m g 242 i q*; *p x c g k q q a q q p o q q r*. Oh onelie Father ✠ oh onelie lord ✠ and Jesus ✠ passin through the middest of them ✠ went ✠ In the Name of the Father ✠ and of the Sonne ✠ and of the Holie-ghost ✠.”

With this, those who care to pursue a subject which is the quintessence of the tedious, may compare in an old papyrus an adjuration to be pronounced for the same purpose. “I adjure thee by the holy names, render upon the thief who has carried away (such and such a thing) Khaltchak, Khiam, Khar, Beni (etc.) and by the terrible names *a c e yyy u u ooooo vvvvv zzzzzzzzzz*.”

The word Amulet (Arabic, *hamalah-at*, “a thing carried”) covers all objects used as charms, either worn on the person or attached to things, both living and dead, for luck and protection. Belief in amulets as possessing *mana*, is universal: they are further links in the long chain of magic which connects the lower and higher races: their sources lie in man’s abiding impulse to set up theories of connection based on the striking and

the coincidental. The subject covers an enormous field: here it must be limited to amulets as power-word-carriers. Among the ancient Egyptians the preservation of the name was a matter of first importance because no king could exist without a name: the blotting-out of that was the blotting-out of the life itself. Hence the name was inscribed on amulets "whereby," according to the 25th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, "a person remembreth his name in the underworld," *i. e.* when called up for judgement.¹ Even the gods might lose their names, for of the fiery region of the twelfth domain we read, "No god goes down into it, for the four snakes would destroy their names."² The belief that change of name implies extinction of the name has reference in Isa. lxxv. 15: "And ye shall leave your name for a curse unto my children for the Lord God shall slay thee, and call his servants by another name." The Jewish phylactery, which has a high antiquity, is a small leathern box containing four texts from the Old Testament: Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-22; Exod. xiii. 1-10 and 11-16, written on vellum. It is worn on

¹ "The main object of the careful reiteration of the name in inscriptions on the walls of temples, or stelæ, and other monuments was that it might be spoken and kept alive by the readers."—*Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 294, Prof. A. Weidemann.

² *Amulets*, p. 21, Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie.

the left arm, and on the head, at certain set times of prayer, and has its place among amulets in virtue of the magic believed to inhere in the sacred words and names which it contains. First among these is the mystic, the holy ineffable Tetragrammaton (the whole Jewish magical literature rests on the use of that and of other names of God); then follow names of angels mixed with those of strange gods, Solomon's ring, with which the *Arabian Nights* has made us all familiar, and on which was inscribed "the greatest name of God." Even the Jews use as an amulet the name of Jesus along with the three Magi: these names, in Christian magic, curing epilepsy if the patient wears them on his person. In like manner Christian amulets bore on them the names of the Hebrew god; while both Jew and Christian amulets are inscribed with words from the Greek and Latin. In Jewish tradition when Lilith, Adam's first wife, refused to obey him, she uttered the shem-hamptorash, *i. e.* pronounced the ineffable name of Jehovah, and instantly flew away. The utterance gave her such power that even Jehovah could not coerce her, and the three angels, Snoi, Snsnoi, and Smuglf, who were sent after her, had to be content with a compromise, whereby Lilith swore by the name of the living God that she would refrain from doing any harm to infants

wherever and whenever she should find those angels, or their names or their pictures on parchment or paper, and on whatever else they might be drawn, "and for this reason," says a Rabbinical writer, "we write the names of these angels on slips of paper or parchment and tie them upon infants that Lilith, seeing them, may remember her oath and abstain from doing our infants any injury."¹

Corresponding to the phylacteries are the rolls containing fantastic signs, rhodomantade mixtures of alphabets and other cabalistic rubbish which those very barbaric Christians, the Abyssinians, carry on their person or affix to the lintels of their houses. Among the Gnostics—attempts to classify whom is a hopeless task—the sect of the Basilidians may be chosen as typical believers in the magic of inscribed amulets. These are represented by the Abraxas stones, so called from having that word engraved on them. Taking the numerical virtue of the seven letters they signify the number 365, which the Basilidians believed indicated that number of spirits emanating from the Supreme God. In like profitless play with the occult in numbers was the high magical value which the ancient Jews attached to Exod. xiv. 19–21. Each of the verses contains 72 letters, and one of the mysterious names of

¹ *Modern Judaism*, p. 165, J. Allen.

God consists also of 72 letters; hence, they were believed to represent the Ineffable Name. A book on the history of belief in Magic in Numbers would almost equal in interest the history of belief in Magic in Names and Words.

There lies before me a book, entitled *Kabalistic Astrology or Your Fortune in your Name*,¹ in which, darkened by pages of pseudo-philosophic jargon, a theory is formulated on "the power of Names and Numbers," all names being essentially numbers, and *vice versa*. "A name is a *mantram*, an invocation, a spell, a charm. It gains its efficacy from the fact that, in pronunciation, certain vibrations, corresponding to the mass-chord of the name, are set up; not only in the atmosphere, but also in the more ethereal substance, referred to by a modern philosopher as 'mind-stuff,' whose modifications form the basis of changes of thought. This is evident to us in the fact that names impart to our minds certain characteristics, more or less definite according to the acuteness of our psychometric sense. How different, for example, are the impressions conveyed to us in the names 'Percy,' 'Horatio,' 'Ralph,' 'Eva,' and 'Ruth.' Seeing then this difference, it will not seem wholly improbable that a difference of fortune and destiny should

¹ By "Sepharial." The Astrological Publishing Association, London.

go along with them.” The evidence of astrological logic which this last sentence affords is on a par with what follows throughout the fatuous volume. All names are numbers, and each letter in the name has its numerical and astral value by which can be known what planets were in the ascendant at the time of birth of the person whose horoscope is being cast. Numbers one and four, a modern Numerist tells us,¹ have a vibration from the sun; number two has a vibration from the moon, influencing the soul and heart-plane; while five has a psychic vibration of yellow so intense that only he who understands its import can become a true psychic. Over seven the Numerists get rampageous: because God having ended the work of creation, sanctified that number, it represents the triumph of spirit over matter. The occultist, by virtue of his temperament and attitude, cannot accept the obvious, hence he neglects an interesting branch of study, crammed, like that of the history of the importance attached to the number seven in its influence on custom, law and religion. For bread he gives a stone.²

¹ “ On the Significance of Numbers ” : a series of articles in the *International Psychic Gazette*, October 1917–May 1918.

² The fantastic use of numbers, notably of the number five, has abundant illustration in Sir Thomas Browne’s *Garden of Cyrus*, wherein, as the sub-title denotes, the quincunx is “ artificially, naturally, mystically considered.”

The old astrology had a certain quality of nobleness about it. As Comte has justly said, it was an attempt to frame a philosophy of history by reducing the seemingly capricious character of human actions within the domain of law. It strove to establish a connection between these actions and the motions of the heavenly bodies which were deified by the ancients and credited with personal will directing the destiny of man. But the new astrology is the vulgarist travesty of the old.

(f) *Cure-Charms.*

As gods of healing, both Apollo and Æsculapius were surnamed Pæan, after the physician to the Olympian deities, and the songs which celebrate the healing power of Apollo were also called by that name. Ever in song have the deeper emotions found relief and highest expression, while the words themselves have been credited with magic-healing power. One of the earliest fragments in the Book of Genesis is the song in which Lamech chants his slaying of "a man to my wounding," and "a young man to my hurt,"¹ and as the word charm (Lat. *carmen*, a song) itself indicates, the old incantations were cast in metrical form. Songs are the salve of wounds. When Odysseus was maimed by the boar's tusk, his kinsfolk sang a song of the healing;

¹ Ch. iv. 23.

and when Wäinämöinen, the hero-minstrel of the *Kalevala*, cut his knee in hewing the wood for the magic boat, he could heal the wound only by learning the mystic words that chant the secret of the birth of iron, while he could finish the stern and forecastle only by descending to Tuoni (the Finnish underworld) to learn the "three lost words of the master."¹ The same old hero, when challenged to trial of song by the boastful youngster Joukahinen, plunges him deep in the morass by the power of his enchantment, and releases him only on his promising to give him his sister Aino in marriage.² Fragments of a spell-song in the Saga of the Wolsung's "Mim's Head" tell of Beech-Runes, Help-Runes, and great Power-Runes for whosoever will to have charms pure and genuine till the world falls in ruin.³ In his *Art of Poesie*, written three centuries ago, Puttenham quaintly says that poetry "is more ancient than the *artificiall* of the Greeks and Latines, coming by instinct of nature, and used by the savage and uncivill, who were before all science and civiltie. This is proved by certificate of merchants and travellers . . . affirming that the American, the Perusine, and the very canniball, do sing, and also say, their highest and holiest matters in

¹ *Kalevala*, Rune XVII.

² *Ib.*, Rune VIII.

³ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vol. I. p. 30.

certain riming versicles.”¹ Hence the part which, “dropping into poetry,” plays in saga, jâtaka, and folk-tale, little snatches of rhyme lending effect and emphasis to incident, and also aid to memory, as in the Rumpelstiltskin group, the central idea in which is checkmating the demon by finding out his name, as in the Suffolk variant—

“Nimmy nimmy not,
Your name’s Tom Tit-Tot.”

Italian folk-medicine, which perhaps more than in any other country in Europe has preserved its empirical remedies, whose efficacy largely depends on magic formulæ being uttered over them, has its inconsequential jingle-charms. Traces of the use of these occur among the polished Romans; while Grimm refers to a song-charm for sprains which was current for a thousand years over Germany, Scandinavia, and Scotland.² How the pre-Christian cure-charms are transferred by the change of proper names to the Christian, like the conversion of Pagan deities into Christian saints, is seen in these original and Christianized versions—

“Phol and Woden	“Jesus rode to the heath,
went to the wood;	There he rode the leg of his
then was of Balder’s colt	colt in two,
his foot wrenched;	Jesus dismounted and heal’d
then Sinthgunt charm’d it;	it;

¹ Quoted in *Custom and Myth*, p. 159, Andrew Lang.

² *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1233, J. Grimm.

and Sunna her sister ;	Jesus laid marrow to mar-
and Frua echarm'd it,	row,
and Volla her sister ;	Bone to bone, flesh to flesh ;
'Then Woden echarm'd it,	Jesus laid thereon a leaf,
as he well could,	That it might remain in the
as well the bone-wrench,	same place."
as the blood-wrench,	
as the joint-wrench ;	
bone to bone,	
blood to blood,	
joint to joint,	
as if they were glued together."	

An equally striking example of the blend of the older faith with the newer is given in the charm for ague which was sent by a North Lincolnshire man to the late Andrew Lang and published by him in *Longman's Magazine*, December 1901.

"We used to have a lot of ague about when I was a lad, and my mother dosed the village folk with quinine. She sent me one day with a bottle to the house of an old grandam whose grandson was down with 'the shivers.'

"But when I produced it, she said—

"'Naay lad, O knaws tew a soight better cure than yon mucky stuff.'

"And with that she took me round to the foot of his bed, an old four-post. There on the bottom board were fixed three horse-shoes, points upwards (of course) with a hammer laid 'sloshways' over them. Taking it in her hand, she said

“ ‘ Feyther, Son, an’ Holy Ghoast,
 Naale t’owd divvel tew this poast ;
 Throice I stroikes with holy crock,
 With this mell I throice du knock,
 One for God,
 An’ one for Wod,
 An’ one for Lok.’ ” ¹

There recently came to light a pocket-book of the hapless James, Duke of Monmouth, in which he had written this charm “to procure deliverance from pain.” The Sixth Psalm had to be repeated seven times, the first verse of the Seventh Psalm being added at each repetition. Then an image of the goddess Isis was held up and this prayer offered. “O great God of salvation, may it please you by the virtue of Thy Saint Isis, and by the virtue of this Psalm to deliver me from the travail and torment, as it pleased Thee to deliver him who made this Psalm and prayer.” ²

Probably a like substitution of names disguises many barbaric word-spells; for medicine remained longer in the empirical stage than any other science, while the repute of the miracles of healing wrought by Jesus largely explains the invocation of his name over both drug and patient. The

¹ Woden (whence our Wednesday) a supreme god of the Norsemen: Lok, or Loki, slayer of Balder the Beautiful, is the lame god of the underworld (cf. the Greek Hephæstus), whose daughter, Hel, is queen of that region. The “mell” is Thor’s hammer. And see *Folk-lore*, Vol. IX. p. 185.

² *Blackwood’s Magazine*, April 1918, “A Prince’s Pocket Book.”

persistence of the superstition is seen in a story told, among others of the like character, in Miss Burne's *Shropshire Folk-lore*.¹ A blacksmith's wife, who had suffered from toothache, was given a charm by a young man who told her to wear it in her stays. As soon as she had done so the pain left her, and it never troubled her again. It was "words from Scripture that cured her," she said, adding that she had relieved "a many with it." After some trouble she consented to make a copy of the talisman. It proved to be an imperfect version of an old ague charm given in Brand, and this is the form in which the woman had it. "In the Name of God, when Juses saw the Cross on wieh he was to be erueified all is bones began to shiver. Peter standing by said, Jesus Christ cure all Deseecs, Jesue Christ cure thy tooth ake." The following is a copy of a charm also against toothache, stitched inside their clothing and worn by the Lancashire peasants. "Ass Sant Petter sat at the geats of Jerusalem our Blessed Lord and Sevour Jesus Crist Pased by and Sead, What Eleth thee? Hee sead, Lord, my teeth eeketh. Hee sead, Arise and follow mee and they teeth shall never Eake Eney Mour. Fiat ✠ Fiat ✠ Fiat."² Among cures for toothache in Jewish folk-medicine one prescribes the

¹ p. 181.

² *Lancashire Folk-lore*, p. 77, Harland and Wilkinson.

driving of a nail into the wall, the formula, "Adar Gar Vedar Gar" being uttered, and then followed by these words, "Even as this nail is firm in the wall and is not felt, so let the teeth of So-and-so, a son of So-and-so, be firm in his mouth, and give him no pain." Cure-charms for toothache are widespread. One from Devonshire runs thus : "All glory ! all glory ! all glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was walking in the garden of Gethsemane, He saw Peter weeping. He called him unto Him, and said, 'Peter, why weepest thou ?' Peter answered and said, 'Lord I am grievously tormented with pain, the pain of my tooth.' Our Lord answered and said, 'If thou wilt believe in Me, and My words abide with thee, thou shalt never feel any more pain in thy tooth.' Peter said, 'Lord, I believe ; help Thou my unbelief.' In the Name, etc., God grant — ease from the pain in his teeth." (In certain parts of Devonshire it is believed that to enter a church at midnight and walk three times round the communion table is a preservative against fits.) There is a popular belief that the words "All glory," etc., are in the Bible. Mr. Black, in his *Folk Medicine*, quotes the story of a clergyman who said to one of his sick parishioners when she recited the charm, "Well, but, dame : I know my Bible and I don't find any such verse

in it." The reply was, "Yes, your Reverence, that is just the charm. It's in the Bible, and you can't find it." Which line of argument should commend itself to metaphysicians who hunt in the dark for a cat that isn't there. This variant comes from the Island of Mull. "In the name of the Lord God. Peter sat on a marble stone weeping. Christ came by and asked 'What aileth thee, Peter?' Peter said 'O Lord God my teeth doth itchie.' Christ said, 'Arise Peter and be whole and not only thou but all them that carries these lines for My Name's sake shall never have toothache.'"

According to the Gnostic Valentinus, his name came down upon Jesus in the form of a dove at his baptism. From the earliest Christian era onwards it was held to possess special magic power. According to the Gospel of St. Mark these were the parting words of Jesus: "In My Name shall they cast out demons . . . they shall take up serpents . . . they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover."¹ When Jesus was in Capernaum he would not rebuke "one

¹ "The critical study of the New Testament, as Loisy and others of his school point out, shows that Jesus was undoubtedly a child of his time, that he shewed many of its intellectual limitations and many of its views, both philosophical, historical and eschatological; that some of these views have long been outgrown and some have been shown false by history. Jesus, we have learned, was not

casting out demons in his name.” “Forbid him not,” he said, “for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name that can lightly speak evil of me.” Sometimes, as in this charm for the cure of bleeding, the name of Jesus was coupled with some event in his life. “Jesus that was in Bethlehem born and baptized was in the flumen Jordane, as stante (stood) the water at hys comyng, so stante the blood of thys man N. they servaunte thorw the virtue of thy holy name ✠ from and of thy cosyne swete Sent Jon. And say thys charm fyve times with fyve Pater-Nosters in the worship of the fyve woundys.”

a supernatural being.”—*Hibbert Journal*, January 1919, p. 273, “Again what is Christianity?” Prof. J. B. Pratt.

He accepted the current belief which attributed bodily and mental disorders to demons. The woman whom he delivered from “the spirit of infirmity” he declared to have been bound by Satan for eighteen years (Luke xiii. 16), and the story of the demon-infested Gadarene swine supplies another example of his “limitations.”

What entanglements in labyrinths of logomachies would have been escaped; what economy of conjectures effected—to say nothing of the hatred and awful bloodshed avoided—had theories of the divinity of Jesus never been formulated. They are still being woven; modern theologians think to escape the dilemma by suggestions that Jesus voluntarily emptied himself, for the time being, of his Omniscience; that, as Bishop Gore puts it, “the Very God habitually spoke in His incarnate life on earth under the limitations of a properly human consciousness”; or, as Mr. Chapman says in an Appendix to his *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, “in some manner the Divine Omniscience was held in abeyance, and not translated into the sphere of human action” (p. 304).

In his *Medieval Garner*,¹ Mr. Coulton refers to "a little book still bought by country folk in which the Prayer of Seventy-two names of God is preceded by this rubric: 'Here are the names of Jesus Christ: whosoever shall carry them upon him in a journey, whether by land or sea, shall be preserved from all kinds of dangers and perils, if he say them with faith and devotion.'"²

To the lame beggar who was laid daily at the door of the temple which is called Beautiful, Peter said: "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I to thee; in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth rise up and walk,"³ and the man was cured. Peter tells the marveling crowd that "his name through faith in the name hath made this man strong." So with "the damsel possessed with a spirit of divination." Paul said to the spirit, "I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her." And he came out the same hour.⁴ That *mana* was believed to be possessed by the apostle Peter has evidence in the record of the multitudes of sick

¹ p. 205.

² The great Babylonian god, Marduk, had fifty names, each denoting an attribute.—*Religion in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 40, Prof. M. Jastrow. "The gods name the fifty names of Ninib and the name of fifty becomes sacred to him, so that even in the time of Gudea (c. 2350 B.C.) a temple was actually dedicated to Number Fifty."—*Greece and Babylon*, p. 177, Dr. Farnell.

³ Acts iii. 6.

⁴ *Ib.*, xvi. 16.

folk who were "brought forth into the streets and laid on beds and couches that at least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow them."¹ More tangible were the vehicles of special miracles which God wrought by the hands of Paul, "so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons and the diseases departed from them and the evil spirit went out of them."² The passage has value as evidence of belief in disease-demons. In his *Contra Celsum* (Book III. 24) Origen, who lived in the second century, says that he himself had seen men whose diseases "neither men nor demons could heal," cured by simply calling on the name of God and Jesus. Arnobius, who wrote in the early part of the fourth century, says in his *Adversus Gentes*: "Whose name [*i. e.* Jesus] when heard, puts to flight evil spirits, imposes silence on soothsayers, preserves men from consulting the augurs, and frustrates the efforts of magicians."³

From about this period dates the elaboration of Christian ritual. Altars, shrines and churches, the "natures" (*i. e.* the inherent qualities) of oil, water, salt, candles, even of hassocks, were consecrated by repeating over them the formula "In the name of Jesus Christ," or "In the name

¹ Acts v. 15.

² *Ib.*, xix. 12.

³ *Roman Life and Manners*, Vol. III. 138, L. Friedlander.

of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." It was believed, and, in essence the belief survives, that the invocation of these names expelled any lurking demonic taint in these things and imparted to them a transcendental element which made them impervious to the attacks of the Evil One, or of his myrmidons or agents of black magic.

It is recorded of the Venerable Sister Serafia that "the very name of Jesus was of so sweet a taste in her mouth that on uttering it she frequently swooned away and was therefore obliged to deprive herself of this joy in the presence of others till she was given sufficient robustness of spirit to repress these external movements."¹ The modern church- or chapel-goer knows no such ecstasy as this, but in some way, rarely defined to himself clearly, his emotions are touched, and the divine presence itself seems nearer when he sings—

"How sweet the name of Jesus sounds
 In a believer's ear,
 It soothes his sorrows, heals his wounds
 And drives away his fear.

.
 "O Jesus, sweetest, holiest name
 To God's dear children given,
 A solace in their weariness,
 A foretaste of their heaven.
 No name has such a power as this
 To heal the broken-hearted."

¹ *Siren Land*, p. 169, Norman Douglas.

Doubtless this belief in *mana* in the Name of Jesus accounts for the action of the obscurants of the Upper House of Convocation in passing on the 8th July 1919 a resolution "to provide Collects Epistles and Gospels for the Name of Jesus." ¹

An old, old story. Erasmus tells how he once "heard a grave divine of fourscore years at least . . . he taking upon him to treat of the mysterious name JESUS, did very subtly pretend that in the very letters was contained whatever could be said of it. For first, it being declined only with three cases did expressly point out the trinity of persons, then that the nominative ended in S, the accusative in M and the ablative in U, did imply some unspeakable mystery, viz., that in words of those initial letters Christ was the *summus* or beginning, the *medius* or middle, and the *ultimus* or end of all things. There was yet a more abstruse riddle to be explained, which was by dividing the word JESUS into two parts and separating the S in the middle from the two extreme syllables, making a kind of pentameter, the word consisting of five letters. And this intermedial S being in the Hebrew alphabet called *Sin*, which in the English language signifies what the Latins term *peccatum*, was urged to imply that the holy Jesus should purify us from all sin and wickedness." These, says Erasmus in his

¹ *The Times*, July 9, 1919.

caustic vein, "are among a great many discoveries which had never come to light if they had not struck the fire of subtlety out of the flint of obscurity." ¹

In his *Rosa Medicinæ* generally called the *Rosa Anfica*, which is mentioned by Chaucer as forming part of the library of his "Doctor of Physic," and which was written about 1314, the author, John of Gaddesden, thus commends his treatise: "As the rose overtops all flowers, so this book outtops all treatises on the practice of medicine, and is written for both poor and rich surgeon and physician . . . who will find plenty about all curable disease." The book is rich in remedies for toothache, charms and prayers forming the chief ingredient in these. One example will suffice. "Write these words on the jaw of the patient: In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, Amen. ✠ Rex ✠ Pax ✠ Nax: in Christo Filio and the pain will cease at once, as I have often seen."

In Devonshire a sufferer from "white leg" has a bandage put upon the limb and this formula repeated nine times, each time to be followed by the Lord's Prayer. "As Jesus Christ was walking he saw the Virgin Mary sitting on a cold stone, He said unto her, 'If it is a white ill thing, or a red ill thing, or a black ill thing, or a sticking,

¹ *The Praise of Folly*, pp. 141, 153.

cracking, pricking, stabbing, bone ill thing, or a sore ill thing, a swelling ill thing, or a rotten ill thing, or a cold creeping ill thing, or a smarting ill thing—let it fall from thee to the Earth in My Name and in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen.’” The Virgin and Son are coupled in this Scotch charm for sores—

“ Their soirs are risen through God’s work
 And must be laid through God’s help.
 The Mother Mary and her dear Son
 Lay their soirs that are begun.”

John Mirfield, a London physician of the fourteenth century, “treated chronic rheumatism by rubbing the part with olive oil. This was to be put into a clean vessel while the pharmacist made the sign of the cross and said two prayers over it, and when the vessel was put on the fire Psalm II ‘*Quare fremuerunt gentes*’ was to be said as far as the eighth verse, ‘*Postula a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam.*’ The *Gloria* and two prayers are then to be said and the whole repeated seven times.” The mixture of prayers with pharmacy seems odd to us, but let it be remembered that Mirfield wrote in a religious house, that clocks were scarce and watches unknown, and that in that age and place there was nothing inappropriate in measuring time by the minutes required for the repetition of so many verses of Scripture and so many prayers. The time

occupied I have reckoned to be one quarter of an hour.¹

The Greek Church has special forms of prayer for victims of the evil eye, but the peasants have more faith in the incantations of a witch, who starts her remedy with invocations to Christ, the Virgin, the Trinity and the twelve Apostles, following these with adjurations to the evil eye to depart, while she fumigates the patient with incense or burns something belonging to the suspected enemy who has "overlooked" him, the final *mana* being a recital of the Lord's Prayer.²

Horns, as symbolic of the lunar cusps, are a common form of amulet against the evil eye, whether "overlooking" man or beast, and the superstitious Italians believe that in default of a horn or some horn-shaped object, the mere utterance of the word *corno* or *cornea* is an effective talisman. Mr. Elworthy tells of a fright which he unwittingly gave a second-hand bookseller in Venice when asking about a copy of Valletto's *Cicalata sul Fascino*. On hearing the last two words of the title, "the man actually turned and bolted into his inner room, leaving the customer in full possession of the entire stock." In modern

¹ *Hist. of Study of Medicine in the British Isles*, Norman Moore, M.D.

² Lawson, p. 14.

Greece garlic is one of the popular antidotes to the evil eye, so the term *ακόρδον* is used to undo the effect of any hasty or inauspicious words. The German peasant says *unberufen*¹ (“unspoken or called back”), and raps three times upon wood if any word “tempting Providence” has fallen from his lips. Many a fragment of cabalistic writing is cherished and concealed about their persons by the rustics of Western Europe as safeguards against maleficence; and not a few still resort, in times of perplexity, to the venerable form of divining fate by opening the Bible or some devotional book at random, hoping to see in the passage that first catches the eye direction as to action, or some monition of the future. For this purpose the ancients consulted the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*; but, changing only the instrument, while retaining the belief, *Sortes Homerice* and *Sortes Virgilianæ* have been super-

¹ The origin of the association of this word with touching wood is obscure. One explanation is that in so doing there is invoked the aid of Christ, whose death on the Cross sanctified the wood. Another is that the custom is a survival of the mediæval practice of carrying about a relic of the Cross and touching it as a charm against black magic. A third suggestion is that in the days when churches were sanctuaries where criminals took refuge, they could not be dislodged so long as they clung to the wooden rails of the altar! These far-fetched “explanations” are given in the hope that they may incite to search for the source of what, in a far-away past, may have had some significance.

seded by *Sortes Biblicæ*. Christina Rossetti told Mrs. Katherine Tynan that she never stepped on a scrap of paper but lifted it out of the mud, lest perchance it should have the Holy Name written or printed on it.¹

In North German charm-cures the three maidens (perchance echoes of the Norns) who dwell in green or hollow ways gathering herbs and flowers to drive away disease, may reappear in the disguise to which we are accustomed in the angels of many a familiar incantation, as in this for scalds or burns—

“There were three angels from East and West—
One brought fire and another brought frost,
And the third it was the Holy Ghost,
Out fire, in frost, in the Name of the Father, Son an
Holy Ghost.”

Brand gives a long list of saints whose names are invoked against special diseases, and the efficacy believed to attach to the names of Joseph and Mary is shown by sending children suffering from whooping-cough to a house where the master and mistress are so named. “The child must ask, or rather demand, bread and butter. Joseph must cut the bread, Mary must spread the butter and give the slice to the child, then a cure will certainly follow.”

In the preparation of a drink for the frenzied

¹ *Life of Francis Thompson*, p. 209, Everard Meynell.

the Saxon leech recommended, besides recitations of litanies and the paternoster, that over the herbs twelve masses should be sung in honour of the twelve apostles, while the name of the sick should be spoken when certain simples are pulled up for his use.¹ The gathering of medicinal herbs was accompanied by incantations. Something of poetic charm was lost when these formulæ to the Earth Mother, or All-Healer, were forbidden, although the recital of creeds and paternosters was permitted. *Verbena*, in Latin “a sacred bough,”—our vervain or “holy herb”—was thus addressed when being plucked—

“Hail to thee, holy herb
 Growing on the ground,
 On the Mount of Olives
 First wert thou found.
 Thou art good for many an ill,
 And healest many a wound,
 In the name of sweet Jesus
 I lift thee from the ground.”

Among the Amazulu, the sorcerer Utaki called Uncapayi by name that the medicine might take due effect on him.² A mediæval remedy for removing grit from the eye was to chant the psalm *Qui habitat* three times over water with which the eye was then to be touched, while

¹ *Saxon Leechdoms*, Vol. II. p. 139, T. Cockayne. Quoted in Black's *Folk Medicine*, p. 91.

² Callaway, p. 432.

modern Welsh folk-lore tells of the farmer who, having a cow sick on a Sunday, gave her physic, and then, fearing that she was dying, ran into the house to fetch a Bible and read a chapter to her.¹ *Per contra*, “it is beyond all question or dispute,” said Voltaire, “that magic words and ceremonies are quite capable of effectually destroying a whole flock of sheep, if the words be accompanied by a sufficient quantity of arsenic.” An Abyssinian remedy for fever is to drench the patient daily with cold water for a week, and to read the Gospel of St. John to him; and in the Chinese tale of the Talking Pupils, Fang is cured of blindness by a man reading the Kuang-ming sutra to him.²

The apocryphal letter of Christ to Abgar, King of Edessa, was in great favour as a charm against fever. It was worn on the person or, more often, hung on door lintels with this assurance of its efficacy: “*Si quis epistolat secum habuerit securus ambulet in pace.*” According to the legend the king asked Christ to come and heal him, and Christ, in reply, promised that after his ascension he would send a disciple to him as healer. Obviously writings held sacred would be credited with healing *mana*. In the *Wisdom of Solomon* (ch. xvi. 12) it says: “For of a truth it was

¹ *Welsh Folk-lore*, p. 244, Elias Owen.

² *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, Vol. I. p. 6.

neither herb nor mollifying plaster that cured them, but thy word,¹ O Lord, which healeth all things," and in the *Zend Avesta* it says, "Amongst all remedies this is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word. But, surely, sacred texts have never been so remarkably applied as in an old Welsh custom of tying round the legs of fighting-cocks, before setting them to work, biblical verses on slips of paper, a popular one being that from Ephesians vi. 16: "Taking the shield of faith wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts (spurs?) of the wicked."

Among the Hindus, doctors would be regarded as very ignorant, and would inspire no confidence if they were unable to recite the special *mantram* that suits each complaint, because the cure is attributed quite as much to the *mantram* as to the treatment. It is because the European doctors recite neither *mantrams* nor prayers that the native puts little faith in their medicines. Midwives are called *Mantradaris* because the repeating of *mantrams* by them is held to be of great moment at the birth of the child. "Both

¹ "The greater number of the cures in the Gospels and Acts are by the Word, usually addressed to the patient, but in three instances (Matt. viii. 5; xv. 22; John iv. 46) addressed to the parent or master of the patient."—*Encyclop. Biblica*, p. 3006. In Matt. viii. 5, the centurion said to Jesus, "Speak the word only and my servant shall be healed."

the new-born babe and its mother are regarded as specially liable to the influence of the evil eye, the inauspicious combinations of unlucky planets or unlucky days, and a thousand other baleful elements. And a good midwife, well-primed with efficacious *mantrams*, foresees all these dangers, and averts them by reciting the proper words at the proper moment.”¹ Obviously, it is but a step from listening to the charm-working words of sacred texts to swallowing them; hence the Chinese practice of burning papers on which charms are written and mixing the ashes with tea; the swallowing of written spells known as “edible letters,” given by the Lamas in Tibet as prophylactics,² and the Moslem practice of washing off a verse of the Koran and drinking the water.³ The amulet written on virgin parchment, and suspended towards the sun on threads spun by a virgin named Mary, equates itself with the well-known cabalistic Abracadabra charm against fevers and agues, which was worn for nine days, and then thrown backwards before sunrise into a stream running eastward.

¹ Dubois, Vol. I. p. 143.

² *The Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 401, L. A. Waddell.

³ In his *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, Mungo Park says that, complying with the request of a Bambarra native for a charm, the man washed off the writing with water, drank the mixture, and that none of the charm should be wasted, licked the board on which it had been written (Vol. I. p. 357).

A long chapter could be written on Abracadabra and its kindred. Symbols have played, and still play, no small part in history. Men worship them, fight for them, die for them; who can measure the emotions and the impulses stirred by a piece of coloured bunting? Only when they become credited as actual prophylactics, luck-bringers and the like, forming the stock-in-trade of the nonsense of Occultism, do they fall from their high estate.

It has been remarked already that among all barbaric peoples disease and death are believed to be the work of evil spirits, either of their own direct malice prepense or through the agency of sorcerers. "Man after man dies in the same way, but it never occurs to the savage that there is one constant and explicable cause to account for all cases. Instead of that, he regards each successive death as an event wholly by itself—apparently unexpected—and only to be explained by some supernatural agency."¹ In West Africa, if a person dies without shedding blood it is looked on as uncanny. Miss Mary Kingsley tells of a woman who dropped down dead on a factory beach at Corisco Bay. The natives could not make it out at all. They were irritated about her conduct. "She no sick; she no complain; she no nothing, and then she go die one time." The *post-mortem* showed a burst aneurism. The

¹ *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 512, L. Declé.

native verdict was, "She done witch herself," *i. e.* she was a witch eaten by her own familiar.¹ That verdict was logical enough, as logical as that delivered by English juries two centuries ago under which women were hanged as witches. In trying two widows for witchcraft at Bury St. Edmunds in 1664, Sir Matthew Hale, a humane and able judge, laid it down in his charge "that there are such creatures as witches I make no doubt at all; the Scripture affirms it, and the wisdom of all nations has provided laws against such persons." Given a belief in spirits, the evidence of their direct or indirect activity appears in aught that is unusual, or which has sufficing explanation in the theory of demoniacal activity. In barbaric belief, the soul or intelligent principle in which a man lives, moves, and has his being, plays all sorts of pranks in his normal life, quitting the body at sleep or in swoons, thereby giving employment to an army of witch-doctors in setting traps to capture it for a ruinous fee. Consequently, all the abnormal things that happen are attributed to the wilfulness of alien spirits that enter the man and do the mischief.² The phenomena attending diseases lend further

¹ *Travels in W. Africa*, p. 468.

² In 1882 a Shropshire man found in the crevice of one of the joists of his kitchen chimney a folded paper sealed with red wax, containing these words: "I charge all witches and ghosts to depart from this house in the great names of Jehovah and Alpha and Omega,"

support to the theory. When anyone is seen twisting and writhing in agony which wrings piercing shrieks from him, or when he shivers and shakes with ague, or is flung to the ground in convulsive fit, or runs "amok" with incoherent ravings and with wild light flashing from his eyes, the logical explanation is that a disease-demon has entered and "possessed" him. In Assyria all disease was ascribed to demons, and divination was employed to find out their names. When this was successful, the demon was exorcised by a recital of the names of Marduk or the other great gods, or by making an image of the demon and then ill-treating it. These images have been found in Assyrian palaces and, according to some authorities, are the originals of the horned and tailed devils of mediæval and, till lately, of modern Christian conceptions.¹

¹ "Ottawa, August 1.—Indian tribal custom and the Canadian laws have come into collision in the North-West Territories. A Cree chief and a medicine-man are under arrest at Norway House, Keewatin, for the murder of a squaw, who, according to the custom of the tribe, was strangled while she was suffering from delirium, with the idea of preventing the evil spirit from escaping. The Minister of Justice will order a special trial."—Reuter, *Daily Chronicle*, August 1, 1907.

"The New York correspondent of the *Daily Mail* states that a terrible murder committed in the name of religion, is reported from Zion City, where Mrs. Letitia Greenhaulgh has been tortured to death by her own son and daughter and three other members of the sect of Parhamites, who

The antiquity of the demon-theory of disease has curious illustration in the prehistoric and long-surviving practice of trepanning skulls so that the disease-bringing spirit might escape. Doubtless the disorders arising from brain-pressure, diseased bone, convulsions, and so forth, led to the application of a remedy which, in the improved form of a cylindrical saw, and other mechanism composing the trephine, modern surgery has not disdained to use where removal of a portion of the skull or brain is found necessary to afford relief. Prehistoric trepanning, as evidenced by the skulls found in dolmens, caves, and other burying-places all the world over, from the Isle of Bute to Peru, was effected by flint serapers, and fragments of the skulls of the dead who had been thus operated upon were cut off to be used as amulets by the living, or placed inside the skulls themselves as charms against the

declared that it was necessary to exorcise the evil spirit from the body of the feeble, rheumatic old woman. The five fanatics knelt by the bedside of the aged parent, and after prayer jerked and twisted her limbs. Mrs. Greenhaulgh's erics were greeted with triumphant shouts as being the agonized exclamations of the demon. Finally, the old woman's neck was broken and the 'demon' ceased groaning. Then the fanatics began the ceremony of resurrecting the patient, but their combined efforts failed to restore the corpse to life. All five have been arrested and will be tried on the capital charge."—*Globe*, September 21, 1907.

dead being further vexed.¹ The trepannings in Michigan, about which we have more complete details, were always made after death, and only on adults of the male sex.² They were probably obtained by means of a polished stone drill, which was turned round rapidly. Whether, or in what degree, the Neolithic surgeon supplemented his rude scalpel by the noisy incantations which are part of the universal stock-in-trade of the savage medicine-man, we shall never know; but the practice of his representatives warrants the inference which connects him with the mantram-reciters, the charm-singers, and all others who to this day believe that the Word of Power is the most essential ingredient in the remedy applied.

In every department of human thought there is present evidence of the persistence of primitive ideas. Scratch the epiderm of the civilized man, and the barbarian is found in the derm. Man is the same everywhere at bottom; if there are many varieties, there is but one species. His civilization is the rare topmost shoot of the tree whose roots are in the earth, and whose trunk and larger branches are in savagery. Hence, although the study of anatomy and physiology—in other words, of structure and function—paved the way,

¹ *Prehistoric Problems*, pp. 191 foll., R. Munro.

² *Prehistoric America*, p. 510, M. Nadaillac.

no real advance in pathology was possible until the fundamental unity and interdependence of mind and body were made clear, the recency of which demonstration explains the persistency of barbaric theories of disease in civilized societies. The Dacotah medicine-man reciting charms over the patient and singing "He-la-li-ah" to the music of beads rattling inside a gourd, is the precursor of the Chaldean with his incantations to drive away the "wicked demon who seizes the body, or the wind spirit whose hot breath brings fever," and to cure "the disease of the forehead which proceeds from the infernal regions." The drinking of holy water and herb decoctions out of a church bell, to the saying of masses, so that the demon might be exorcised from the possessed, had warrant, as we have seen, in the legends which tell of the casting-out of "devils" by Jesus and, through the invocation of his Name, by the apostles; while the continuity of barbaric ideas in their grosser form has illustration in the practice of a modern brotherhood in the Church of England—the Society of St. Osmund—based on the theory that not only unclean swine, but the sweet flowers themselves, are the habitat of evil spirits. In the *Services of Holy Week from the Sarum Missal*, the "Clerks" are directed to "venerate the Cross, with feet unshod," and to perform other ceremonies which are preceded by

the driving of the devil out of flowers through the following "power of the word"—

"I exorcise thee, creature of flowers or branches: in the Name of God ☩ the Father Almighty, and in the Name of Jesus Christ ☩ His Son, our Lord, and in the power of the ☩ Holy Ghost; and henceforth let all strength of the adversary, all the host of the devil, every power of the enemy, every assault of fiends, be expelled and utterly driven away from this creature of flowers or branches." Here the flowers and leaves *shall be sprinkled* with Holy Water, and *censed* (pp. 3-5).

Reference to names reputed divine should include that of the Virgin Mary who, according to the *Gospel of James* (commonly called the *Prot-evangelium*), was miraculously conceived "from the Word of the Lord of all" (ch. xi.). She was proclaimed Mother of God at the Œcumenical Council held at Ephesus A.D. 431, and the worship of her *name* remains a feature of Roman Catholicism: the Sunday within the octave of the Nativity being "the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary." Concerning it, a Roman Catholic school-book says, "This name, say the holy Fathers, had not its origin on earth, it came from heaven, from the treasury of the Divinest. . . . Invoke every day the holy name of Mary."¹

¹ *Manual of the Children of Mary*, p. 339.

Where, among our pagan ancestors flowers and insects had been named after the "lady," Freyja, goddess of plenty, that of Mary was given to them. As symbol of her purity, rose and lily have an honoured place. Fancy has run riot in finding mystic meanings in her name, "the sounds and signs of which it is composed witness how all natural perfections are united in the being of the Virgin." ¹ She has *mana* in supreme degree.

¹ *The Sacred Shrine*, p. 547, Yrjö Hirn.

CHAPTER V

THE NAME AND THE SOUL

AT the close of this survey of evidence that the name is believed by barbaric and semi-civilized people to be an integral part of a man, the question which suggests itself is, *What part?*

The importance attached by the ancient Egyptians to the name in connection with its owner's personality has been already referred to. They had no doubt whatever that if the name were blotted out, the man ceased to exist. In their composite and conglomerate theories of the individual we have refinements of distinction which surpass anything known in cognate barbaric ideas. The Hidatsa Indians believe that every human being has four souls which at death depart one after the other. But this is simplicity itself compared to Egyptian ontology. In this we find (1) the *sahn*, or spiritual body; then (2) the *ka*, or double (other-self), which, although its normal dwelling-place was the tomb, could wander at will, and even take up its abode in the statue of a man. It could eat and drink, and, if the sweet savour of incense and other

ethereal offerings failed, could content itself with feeding on the viands painted on the walls of the tomb. Then there was (3) the *ba*, or soul, about which the texts reveal opposing views, but which is usually depicted as a bird with human head and hands. To this follow (4) the *ab*, or heart, held to be the source both of life and of good and evil in the life, and, as the seat of vital power, without which there could be no resurrection of the body, jealously guarded against abstraction by the placing of heart-shaped amulets on the mummy. Next in order is (5) the *khaibit*, or shadow; then (6) the *khû*, or shining covering of the spiritual body which dwelt in heaven with the gods; and (7) the *sekhem*, or personified power of the man. Last, but not least, was (8) the *Ran* or *Ren*, the NAME; that "part of the immortal Ego, without which no being could exist." Extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent the extinction of the *ren*, and in the pyramid texts we find the deceased making supplication that it may flourish or "germinate" along with the names of the gods.¹

The name-soul, *i. e.* the soul itself, was inscribed on scarabei, amulets, stone talismans and other objects, recalling the verse in Rev. ii. 17, "To him that overcometh . . . I will give a white

¹ *Budge*, pp. lxxxvi-xc; *Wiedemann*, pp. 240-243, 294.

stone, and in the stone a new name written which no man knoweth saving he who receiveth it." The Egyptian operation of "making the name live" ran the risk of exposing it to the exorcism of an enemy: hence the inscribed object was hidden or protected by some threatening formula.

✓ Civilized and savage are at one in their identification of the soul with something intangible, as breath, shadow, reflection, flame, and so forth. But it is the cessation of breathing which, in the long run, came to be noted as the never-failing accompaniment of death; and where the condensation of the exhaled breath is visible, there would be support lent to the theory of souls as gaseous or ethereal, a theory to which support is given by the people who dub themselves Spiritualists, between whom and savage races the only difference in soul-conception is the degree of tenuity of vaporousness accorded. The most prominent advocate of this doctrine of the soul, as composed of diaphanous stuff, says that "it will turn out to be a sort of ethereal body as opposed to our obvious material body. . . . Soul will become as real and recognizable, as concrete and tractable as the corpuscles of electricity."¹ *Obscurum per obscurius*: i. e.

¹ Sir Oliver Lodge on "Ether, Matter and the Soul," *Hibbert Journal*, January 1919, pp. 258, 259.

“explain the obscure by something more obscure.” In every language, from that of the barbaric Aino to classic Greek and modern English, the word for “spirit” and for “breath” is the same. Yahwe (Jehovah) breathed into Adam’s “nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul”;¹ and in barbaric belief the soul of the dying man departs through his nostrils. It is by his breath that the medicine-man among the tribe of the north-west Amazons works his cures; “sometimes he will breathe on his own hand and then massage the affected part.”² The association between breath and spiritual transfer has examples in Jesus breathing upon the disciples when imparting to them the Holy Ghost, and in the conferring of supernatural grace in the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. When an ancient Roman lay at the point of death, his nearest relative inhaled the last breath to ensure the continuance of the spirit, while the same reason prompted the act of a dying Lancashire witch, a friend receiving her last breath, and with it, as was verily believed, her familiar spirit.³ Sir Thomas Browne says “that they sucked in the last breath of their expiring friends was surely a practice of no

¹ Gen. ii. 7.

² *The N.W. Amazons*, p. 180, Captain T. Whiffen.

³ *Lancashire Folk-lore*, Harland and Wilkinson.

medical institution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed out that way, and a fondness of affection, from some Pythagorical foundation that the spirit of one body passed into another which they wished might be their own.”¹ Hence, the unsubstantial “name” falls into line with the general nebulous conception of “spirit,” and, were barbaric languages less mutable, it might be possible to find some help to an equation between “name” and “soul” in them. But as even seemingly stable things like numerals and personal pronouns undergo rapid change among the lower races, “two or three generations sufficing to alter the whole aspect of their dialects among the wild and unintelligent tribes of Siberia, Africa, and Siam,” the search is hopeless. Some light, however, is thrown upon the matter by languages in which favourable circumstances have preserved traces of family likeness and of mutations. In asking the question, whether there be any evidence from philology to show what part of a man his name is supposed to be, the late Prof. Sir John Rhÿs has supplied materials for an answer. He says that “as regards the Aryan nations we seem to have a clue in an interesting group of words from which I select the following: Irish *ainm*, ‘a name,’ plural *annam*; Old Welsh *anu*, now *enw*, also a

¹ *Hydriotaphia*, Works, Vol. III. p. 130 (1907 Edition).

name; Old Bulgarian *ime*; Old Russian *emnes*, *emmens*, accusative *emnan*, and Armenian *anwan*—all meaning ‘a name.’ To these some scholars would add, and rightly, I think, the English word *name* itself, the Latin *nomen*, Sanskrit *naman*, and the Greek *ὄνομα*; but, as some others find a difficulty in thus grouping these last-mentioned words, I abstain from laying any stress on them. In fact, I have every reason to be satisfied with the wide extent of the Aryan world covered by the other instances which I have enumerated as Celtic, Prussian, Bulgarian, and Armenian. Now, such is the similarity between Welsh *enw*, ‘name,’ and *enaid*, ‘soul,’ that I cannot help referring the two words to one and the same origin, especially when I see the same or rather greater similarity illustrated by the Irish words *ainm*, ‘name,’ and *ainn*, ‘soul.’ ”

This similarity between the Irish words so pervades the declension of them, that a beginner frequently falls into the error of confounding them as mediæval texts. Take, for instance, the genitive singular *anma*, which may mean either “animæ” or “nominis”; the nominative plural *anmanna*, which may be either “animæ” or “nomina”; and *anmann*, either “animarum” or “nominum,” as the dative *anmannaib* may likewise be either “animabus,” or “nominibus.”

In fact, one is tempted to suppose that the partial differentiation of the Irish forms was only brought about under the influence of Latin with its distinct forms of *anima* and *nomen*. Be that as it may, the direct teaching of the Celtic vocables is that they are all to be referred to the same origin in the Aryan word for breath or breathing, which is represented by such words as Latin *anima*, Welsh *anadl*, "breath," and Gothic *anan*, "blow" or "breathe," whence the compound preterite "uz-on," twice used in the fifteenth chapter of St. Mark's Gospel to render ἐξέπνευσεν, "gave up the ghost." Lastly, the lesson which the words in question contain for the student of man is that the Celts, and certain other widely separated Aryans, unless we should rather say the whole Aryan family, believed at one time not only that the name was a part of the man, but that it was that part of him which is termed the soul, the breath of life, or whatever you may choose to define it as being.¹

The important bearing of this evidence from language on all that has preceded is too clear to need enlarged comment. It adds another item to the teeming mass of facts witnessing to the psychical as well as the physical unity of man.

And not only to his unity, but also to his innate unchangeableness. In his trenchant *Out-*

¹ *Celtic Folk-lore*, Vol. II, pp. 625 foll.

spoken Essays, Dean Inge says that "apart from the accumulation of knowledge and experience there is no proof that man has changed much since the first Stone Age."¹ The Dean has studied anthropology, to his advantage, although at the cost of his orthodoxy, a fundamental article in whose creed is the Fall and Redemption of man. There is no matter of doubt that human instincts, elemental passions and emotions have remained the same since *Homo Sapiens* was evolved from the proto-human. Prof. Elliot Smith, than whom there is no higher authority on the subject, says that "so far as one can judge, there has been no far-reaching and progressive modification of the instincts and emotions since man came into existence, beyond the necessary innate power of using more cerebral apparatus which he has to employ."²

Man felt before he reasoned. As already said, and the fact cannot be over-emphasized, man, as a creature of emotion, has an immeasurable past; as a creature of reason, he is only of yesterday.³ The more unstable his nervous apparatus, the lower is his mentality; the more is he slave of emotions, among which the element of fear plays the leading part. Hence, the implanting of new ideas

¹ p. 2.

² *Primitive Man*, "Proc. British Academy," Vol. VII. p. 12.

³ p. 10.

and the acceptance, with the conclusions to be drawn from them, of new facts, is possible only in so far as they can be brought into harmony with feeling, even, it may be added, with prejudices whose dominance cannot be overrated.

It is to the persistence of primitive ideas and superstitions that the facts presented in this book bring their "cloud of witnesses," among whom it came to the present writer as a surprise that there would be included a Most Reverend Father in God, "by Divine Providence" Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and ten Right Reverend bishops "by Divine permission," who, assembled in Convocation, avowed their belief in Magic in the Name of Jesus.

INDEX

- ABBOTT, G. F., 103
 Abgar, King, 213
 Abracadabra, 215
 Abraham, 108
 Abraxas stones, 194
 Abyssinia, 71, 86
Acts of Thomas, 82
 Adonai, 184
 Adonis, 148
 Ahura Mazda, 16, 161
 Ainu, 56, 89
 Aleppo, 147
 Allah, 147, 181
 Allat, 147
 Amazulu, 13, 55, 212
 Amenti, 170
 Amitábha, 165
 Andamanese, 34
 Animals, 89 foll.
 Animism, 3
 Anubis, 172
 Apollo, 194
 Apollonius, 120
 Arabs, 13
 Aristotle, 19
 Arnobius, 204
 Arnold, Matthew, 77, 107
 Arval Brothers, 186
 Astrology, 192
 Athos, Mount, 144
 Aubrey, 69
 Australian natives, 3, 39, 51,
 66, 84, 87, 154, 178
 Avoidance-customs, 61, 99
 Aztecs, 34

 Backhouse, E., 31
 Baganda, 29
 Baptism, Isis rite of, 8
 Roman Catholic rite of, 22
 Magic in, 82*n.*

 Baptismal names, 64 foll.
 Baring-Gould, S., 143
 Bastian, Dr., 1
 Beeke, Louis, 96, 130
 Benefit of clergy, 118
 Bent, T., 72
 Birth-names, 64 foll.
 Black, W. G., 80*n.*, 200, 212
 Black magic, 11
 Blacksmith-wizards, 71
 Bland, J. O. P., 31
 Blankets as currency, 42
 Blood, mana in, 12
 Boas, F., 41
 Book of life, 173
Book of the Dead, 164, 170
 Boundary-gods, 178
 Bourke, J. G., 17, 45, 52
 Brahma, 148
 Brand, 16, 23
 Brinton, D. G., 156
 Browne, Sir T., 67, 193*n.*, 227
 Browning, 139
 Buckle, 119
 Buddhist monks, 87, 88
 Budge, Sir E. W., 149, 164,
 185, 225
 Burnet, Prof., 13

 Callaway, Bp., 13
 Camera, dread of, 24, 25
 Canossa, 116
 Canterbury, Abp. of, 232
 Caribs, 84
 Catlin, 25
 Catoptromancy, 35
 Chaldean magic, 147
 Changelings, 69
 Chinese Emperor, 110
 Chota Nagpur tribes, 3
 Chrismatories, 80

- Clifford, Sir Hugh, 44, 91
 Clouston, W. A., 146
 Codrington, Bp., 3, 14, 30, 34, 55
 Collectivist, religion as, 6
 Combermere, Lord, 47
 Confucius, 148
 Congo, King of, 18
 Convocation, 206, 232
 Cook, Capt., 50, 113
 Cornford, F. M., 3
 Coulton, G. G., 203
 Creative words, 159
 Croke, W., 73, 134
 Crystal balls, 35
 Cumming, Miss, 65
 Cure-charms, 194
 Curses, 173-181
 Curses, papal, 180
 on plants and animals, 181
 Dævas, 17
 Dahomey, King of, 114
 Damascus, 146
 Davies, T. W., 166
 Days, lucky, 16
 Dead, treatment of, 123 foll.
 Death euphemisms, 103
 DeCle, L., 216
 Delilah, 16
 Demêter, 120
 Demons, 201, 204, 218, 221
 Dennett, R. E., 40, 86
 Dentists, celestial, 15
 Denys, N. B., 70
 Devil, the, 97
 Devil's supper party, 99
 Disease euphemisms, 103
 Dorman, R. M., 14, 25, 36, 125
 Doughty, C. M., 21, 105
 Douglas, Norman, 23, 205
 Druids, 174
 Dubois, Abbé, 167, 215
 du Chaillu, P., 17
 Duff-Macdonald, J., 85
 Durkheim, M., 4, 7
 Ea, 148
 Earth-Mother, 31, 79
 Echo, 36, 163
 Echo-souls, 35
 Edessa, King of, 213
 Edwards, B., 85
 Egyptian double-name, 86
 Eleusis, 119
 Elisha, 178
 Ellis, Sir A. B., 41, 66, 114
 Elohim, 161, 162
 Elworthy, F. T., 34, 209
 Empedocles, 13
Encyclop. Biblica, 31, 142, 145
 Endor, Witch of, 183
 Eno's fruit salt, 20
 Ephesus, Council of, 222
 Erasmus, 119, 206, 207
 Ethereal soul, 226
 Eumenides, 96, 176
 Euphemisms, 88 foll.
 Evil eye, 73, 101, 209
 Evolution, keynote of, 76
 Fairies, 97
 Farnell, L. R., 21, 135, 139, 203
 Fear as primitive, 10, 231
 Fighting cocks, 214
 FitzGerald, E., 162
 Flamen Dialis, 110
 Folk-medicine, 196
 Foundations-sacrifice, 31, 32
 Fowler, W. Warde, 4, 72 *n.*
 Freyja, 223
 Frazer, Sir J. G., 2, 13, 16, 19,
 26, 56, 72 *n.*, 109, 135
 Frazer, R. W., 159
 Friedlander, L., 204
 Friend, Rev. H., 105
 Gadarene swine, 202 *n.*
 Gaddesden, John of, 207
 Galway peasants, 14
 Gaster, Dr., 132
 Gayatri, 167
 Genesis, 162
 Ghose-Prasad, Mr., 102, 148
 Gibbon, 5, 79, 179, 187
 Gildas, 81
 Giles, H. A., 103, 212
 Gill, W. W., 163
 God, Ineffable Name of, 131,
 145, 192
 Name of, Part of, 144
 God-taboo, 137, 142 foll.
 Godfathers, 63

- Gore, Bp. 202 *n.*
 Graham, H. G., 69
 Grainger, 67, 136
 Gregor, W., 58
 Grey, Sir G., 124
 Grimm, 174, 196
 Grinnell, G. B., 53
 Groome, F. H., 26
 Gubbins, Commissioner, 47
 Guiana Indians, 41

 Haddon, Dr., 83
 Hair, seat of god, 16
 Hale, Sir M., 217
 Harrison, Jane E., 7, 122, 177
 Hartland, E. S., 12, 17 *n.*, 20, 31
 Hastings's *Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, 1, 68, 164, 166, 181
 Haug, M., 161
 Hausa tribe, 54
 Hebrew curses, 176
 Heine, 77
 Henderson, W., 67, 70
 Herbs, holy, 212
 Herodotus, 60, 154, 176 *n.*
 Hindu Trinity, 148
 Hirn, Y., 223
 Hogarth, D. G., 162
 Holy of Holies, 143
 Horns, 209
 Horus, 154
 Houghton, Lord, 118
 Howitt, Mary, 30
 Human nature unchanged, 76, 220, 231

 Ilarion, 144
 Iliad, 13
 Impersonal powers, 3
 Im Thurn, Sir E., 41
 Incantations, 212, 221
 Incarnate Word, 160
 Indigitamenta, 136
 Inge, Dean, 231
 Iron-taboo, 72 *n.*
 Ishtar, 147
 Isis, 8, 149, 198

 Jacob, 108
 James, E. O., 9

 James, Gospel of, 222
 Jesus, 21, 82, 98, 143, 185, 190, 196, 199-207
 Jevons, F. B., 133
 Jinn, 97
 Johnston, R. E., 87, 98, 165
 Jordan, 144
 Joyce, T. A., 55
 Judas, 144
 Juno, 36
 Jupiter, 36, 110, 181
 Justinian, 63 *n.*

 Kaffirs, 55
Kalevala, 89, 195
 Kidd, Dudley, 56, 91
 King's evil, 115
 King's prerogative, 116
 Kinsley, Mary, 12, 29, 57, 85, 216
 Koran, 162, 215

 Lamas, 215
 Lang, Andrew, 70, 197
 Language, concrete, 38
 Lawson, J. C., 32, 35, 96, 104, 176, 209
 Leaden cursing-tablet, 177
 Lecky, W. E. H., 182
 Leitrim peasants, 14
 Lenormant, F., 148
 Leuba, J. H., 160
 Lincolnshire ague-charm, 197
 Ling Roth, H., 124
 Lodge, Sir Oliver, 15, 226
 Lodge, Raymond, 15, 184
 Lourdes, 82
 Lucian, 12, 118
 Lucretius, 5
 Lumholtz, C., 124
 Lustrations, 81
 Lyall, Sir A., 1, 157

 Magic, anti-social, 6
 black and white, 10
 defined, 6
 Maine, Sir H., 47
 Malays, 33, 43, 95
 (1) Mana (Magic) in Blood, 12
 Hair and Teeth, 13-16
 Portrait, 23-26

- Mana (Magic) in Saliva, 17-22
 (2) Mana in Birth and Baptis-
 mal Names, 64-82
 Euphemisms, 88-108
 Initiation rites, 83-85
 Names of the Dead, 121-130
 Gods, 131-156
 Kings and Priests, 109-
 120
 Personal, 36-51
 Relatives, 51-63
 Reflections and Echoes,
 33-35
 Shadows, 27-32
 (3) Mana in Creative Words,
 159-162
 Cure-charms, 194-223
 Curses, 173-181
 Mantrams, 163-169
 Passwords, 170-172
 Spells and Amulets, 182-193
 Mangarian Creation-myth, 163
 Manlii, 67
 Mantrams, 163-169
Manu, 179
 Maori, 14, 68, 155
 Marduk, 21, 148, 162, 203 *n.*, 218
 Marett, Dr., 1, 9, 140
 Mary, Virgin, 207, 209, 222
 Masai, 3, 20, 25, 130
 Mass, the, 139
 Menelik, 175
 Mexican idol, 77
 Milesians, 3
 Minucius Felix, 145
 Mirfield, John, 208
 Mirrors, 33
 Mithra, 173, 181
 Monmouth, Duke of, 198
 Montaigne, 5, 18
 Moral codes, savage, 83
 Morgan, L. H., 130
 Mother-in-law taboo, 30, 51 foll.
 Müller, Prof. Max, 113
 Myre, John, 80

 Nail-parings, 16
 Names (see under Mana)
 Nansen, F., 63 *n.*, 99
 Naturism, 3
 Nereids. 96

 Nikon, Archbishop, 144
 Norns, 211
 Numerists, 193

 Oaths, 181
 Occultists, 186
 Oil, magic in. 82
 Om, 148, 165, 167
 Omaha Indians, 3
 Onomancy, 185
 Ophiogenes, 19
Orenda, 3
 Origen, 204
 Osiris, 171, 172
 Osmund, Society of St., 221
 Owen, Elias, 213

 Pagan and Christian rites, 8,
 87, 221
 Palio races, 81
 Park, Mungo, 215
 Parker, Mrs. L., 66
 Parkyns, M., 71
 Parsis, 161, 165
 Passwords, 170-172
 Pausanias, 100
 Payne, E. J., 130
 Personal salvation, 9
 Peruvian sorcerers, 12
 Peter, St., 79, 199-204
 Petherick, Consul, 20
 Petrie, W. M. Flinders, 189
 Phylacteries, 189
 Pig-taboo, 93
 Pixies, 69
 Pliny, 19, 21
 Plutarch, 110, 133
 Pocahontas, 73
 Praise-words dreaded, 99
 Prayer, 140
 Prayer Book, 51
 Priests and kings, 115
 medicine-men, 79,
 taboo, 117
 Primitive ideas, persistence of,
 75, 220, 232
 Pythagoras, 23

 Quakers, 138
 Quamina's debt, 51
 Qur'an (Koran) 162, 215

- Râ, 149
 Rabbit-taboo, 94
 Rabelais, 135, 142
 Race feeling, 48
 Rameses II, 114
 Religion and magic con-
 trasted, 6
Religion of Numa, 4
 Repetitions of God's name,
 166
 Rex Nemorensis, 109
 Rhÿs, Sir John, 228
 Rhÿs-Davids, Prof., 160
Rig Veda, 159
 Ritual, magic in, 7
 Rodd, Sir R., 99
 Roman Catholic Church and
 initiation, 86
 name-day, 73
 sponsorship, 63
 Roman ritual, Host in, 139
 Rome, tutelary deity of, 134
 Rosary, 165
 Rossetti, Christina, 211
 Rouse, Dr., 177
 Runes, 195
- Sabaoth, 166
 Salaman and Absál, 161
 Saliva customs, 17-23
 Sayce, Prof., 137, 174
 Schoolcraft, H. R., 128
 Scot, Reginald, 182, 187
 Secret societies, 85
 Seligman, C. G., 129
 Semites, 13
 Serapis, 21
 Seven, the number, 193
 Sex, disguise of, 100
 Shadow-catchers, 30, 32
 Shadow-soul, 27, 32
 Singhalese, 13, 57, 65
 Skeat and Blagden, 174
 Skeat, W. W., 29, 95
 Slack, S. B., 83
 Smith, Prof. Elliot, 77, 231
 Smith, Prof. W. R., 13, 80
 Solomon's seal-ring, 146, 190
 Song-charms, 196
Sortes, 210, 211
 Soul-idea, Egyptian, 224
 Soul-idea, Hidatsa, 224
 Spiritualist, 225
 Speech personified, 159
 Spells and amulets, 182-193
 Spencer, Herbert, 12, 14, 49
 Spencer and Gillen, 87
 Sponsors, 63
 Statius, 11
 Stephen, Sir Leslie, 75
 Story, W. W., 19, 81
 Suetonius, 22 *n.*
 Sun-worship, 137
 Superstition, persistence of, 76
 Symbolic substitutes, 31
 Symbols, 216
 Sympathetic magic, 14, 29
 Synod, Holy, 144
- Tablets, cursing, 176
 Taboo, power of, 36, 77
 Tacitus, 21, 59, 177
 Tasmanians, 39
 Taurobolium, 79 *n.*
 Teeth superstitions, 15
 Text-swallowing, 215
 Theocritus, 23
 Thief-charm, 187
 Thomson, Joseph, 20, 25
 Thorpe, B., 90
 Thoth, 162, 164
 Thurston, E., 29, 166
 Tin a living thing, 95
 Titival, 140
 Toledo synod, 180
 Toothache cure-charms, 199-
 201
 Torday, E., 85
 Touching wood, 210 *n.*
 Trepanning, 219
 Trinity-invocation, 79, 140,
 183, 205
 Trumbull, H., 84
 Tshi tribe, 40, 66
 Turgot, 77
 Tutelar gods, 133
 Tylor, Sir E. B., 1, 50, 54, 61,
 73, 113, 125
- Unbaptized, treatment of, 74
Unberufen, 210
Upanishad, 34

- Vac, 159, 161
 Varro, 19
 Vatican, 79, 116
Vedas, 167
 Veddas, 52, 99
 Vegetation-souls, 33
 Verbena, 212
 Vespasian, 21
 Voltaire, 213
 Vulcan, 72
- Waddell, L. A., 215
Wakonda, 3
 Water, *mana* in, 67, 80, 222
 Weidemann, Prof., 153, 170, 189
 Wells, sacred, 82
 Westermarck, Prof., 32, 63, 99,
 174, 179
 Whiffen, Capt., 24, 227
 White magic, 11
- Widows, 123, 129
 Wisdom as a person, 160
Wisdom of Solomon, 158, 213
 Witchcraft, 217
 Withershins, 169 *n.*
 Woden, 196
 Woolf, L. S., 57
 Words of Power, 157, 160,
 170
 Wright, E. M., 15, 69
- Yahwe (Jehovah), 141, 145,
 179, 182, 227
 Yeats, W. B., 45
 Yellow Sky, 125
 Yukons, 25
- Zend Avesta*, 16, 214
 Zeus, 181
 Zoroaster, 161

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