

# FOLK-LORE

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

THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY  
*And Incorporating* THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW *and*  
THE FOLK-LORE JOURNAL

VOL. XXIX.—1918



153313  
20/11/19

Alter et Idem

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY BY

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

—  
1918

[LXXVIII.]

## CONTENTS.

---

### I.—(MARCH, 1918.)

	PAGE
Minutes of Meetings: November 21st, 1917; January 23rd, February 20th, and March 20th, 1918 . . . . .	1
Fortieth Annual Report of the Council . . . . .	5
Report of Progress of the "Brand Committee" for the Year 1917	12
Presidential Address.—The Transvaluation of Culture. R. R. MARETT . . . . .	15
The Influence of Burial Customs on the Belief in a Future State. Mrs. HOLLAND . . . . .	34
Parthenogenesis. — In Serbian Popular Tradition. T. R. GEORGEVITCH . . . . .	58
Classified Catalogue of Brand Material. C. S. BURNE . . . . .	66
Honours conferred on Ex-Presidents of the Society . . . . .	96

### II.—(JUNE, 1918.)

Minutes of Meetings: April 17th and May 15th, 1918 . . . . .	97
Magic and Religion: A Criticism of Dr. Jevons. N. W. THOMAS	99
The House in India from the Point of View of Sociology and Folklore. W. CROOKE . . . . .	113
Classified Catalogue of Brand Material. C. S. BURNE . . . . .	146

### III.—(SEPTEMBER, 1918.)

Minute of Meeting: June 19th, 1918 . . . . .	177
Some Mythical Tales of the Lapps. CHARLES J. BILLSON . . . . .	178

	PAGE
A Mediaeval Legend of the Terrestrial Paradise. M. ESPOSITO .	193
The Provenience of Certain Negro Folk-Tales. ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS . . . . .	206
'Prentice Pillars: The Architect and his Pupil. W. CROOKE .	219
'The Black Pig of Kiltrustan. ELEANOR HULL . . . . .	226

IV.—(DECEMBER, 1918.)

The Rosary in Magic and Religion. WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN .	255
Folklore and History in Ireland. D. H. MOUTRAY READ . . . . .	281

COLLECTANEA :—

Medio-pollito (the Half-Chicken) . . . . .	75
Breton Folklore. JONATHAN CEREDIG DAVIES . . . . .	79
The Town of Barbarie. JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY . . . . .	82
The Cherry-Tree Carol. JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY . . . . .	83
Arval or Avril Bread. T. W. THOMPSON . . . . .	84
Scotch Cures for Epilepsy. W. MACKENZIE . . . . .	86
"Couvade" in Ontario. H. J. ROSE . . . . .	87
Matrilineal Kinship among North American Indians . . . . .	87
Folk Customs of the Russian Peasantry. D. E. W. . . . .	155
The Praying Palm of Faridpur . . . . .	158
An Anglesey Superstition: Modes of Protection from Evil Spirits. R. GWYNEDON DAVIES . . . . .	158
Sanctuaries and Fairies in West Ireland . . . . .	159
War Mascots . . . . .	160
The Killing of the Khazar Kings . . . . .	238
A Study of the Folklore on the Coast of Connacht, Ireland. THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP . . . . .	305
Traces of Couvade (?) in England. WINIFRED S. BLACK- MAN . . . . .	319
"King Orfeo." JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY . . . . .	321

CORRESPONDENCE :—

	PAGE
The Bird Cult of Easter Island. ARNOLD BURLEV . . . . .	88
Melanesian Influence in Easter Island. A. C. HADDON . . . . .	161
The Killing of the Khazar Kings. Sir J. G. FRAZER . . . . .	162
Easter Church Ceremonies. E. S. GOODRICH . . . . .	163
Women fertilized by Stones. Sir J. G. FRAZER . . . . .	254
Nature Myths from Samoa . . . . .	254

OBITUARY :—

Mr. Clement Arthur Miles . . . . .	89
Paul Sébillot. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	252

REVIEWS :—

<i>P. Saintyves.</i> Porphyre. L'Antre des Nymphs. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	90
<i>Gerald Friedlander.</i> Jewish Fairy Tales . . . . .	91
<i>J. W. Wickwar.</i> Dreams: What they are, and what they mean . . . . .	93
<i>Dwight Edwards Marvin.</i> Curiosities in Proverbs . . . . .	94
<i>M. Gillett.</i> Folklore, Legend, and Superstitious Customs in connection with Andover and its Neighbourhood . . . . .	94
<i>Sven Magnus Gronberger.</i> St. Bridget of Sweden . . . . .	95
<i>Judah Steinberg.</i> The Breakfast of the Birds, and other Stories . . . . .	95
<i>F. W. Bussell.</i> Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages. J. KENNEDY . . . . .	164
<i>M. E. Dobbs.</i> Side-Lights on the Tain Age and other Studies. J. BAUDIŠ . . . . .	169
<i>W. J. Perry.</i> The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND . . . . .	171



	PAGE
<i>William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki.</i> The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. M. A. CZAPLICKA . . . . .	248
<i>T. R. St. Johnston.</i> The Lau Islands (Fiji), and their Fairy Tales and Folklore. W. CROOKE . . . . .	324
INDEX . . . . .	327

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

---

---

VOL. XXIX.]

MARCH, 1918.

[No. I.

---

---

**WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21st, 1917.**

A JOINT meeting of the Society and the Historical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine was held at No. 1 Wimpole Street, W.—Dr. Raymond Craufurd in the Chair.

A paper entitled "The Medicine Man" was read by Dr. R. R. Marett, and at the conclusion of the meeting a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him, on the motion of Sir W. Osler, seconded by Dr. Haviland Hall.

In acknowledging the vote of thanks, Dr. Marett thanked the Chairman for the hospitality which had been extended to the Folk-Lore Society in inviting its members to the meeting.

---

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23rd, 1918.**

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

THE minutes of the meeting of June 13th, 1917, and of the joint meeting with the Royal Society of Medicine on the 21st November, 1917, were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz. : Lt.-Col. L. A. Waddell, Dr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. J. W. Wickwar, Mr. W. Bouser, Major P. Yetts, and Mr. J. D. Anderson.

The deaths of Judge Baker, Dr. R. Walker, Miss Pochin, Dr. Axel Olrik and Miss S. Morrison : and the resignations of Mr. H. J. Cooper, Mr. G. H. Hughes, the Rev. J. Roscoe, Mr. de Gruchy, Mr. P. G. Thomas, Mr. C. Seyler, Major O'Brien, Mr. A. Garrett and Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson were also announced.

Mrs. Holland read a paper entitled "The Influence of Burial Customs on the belief in a future state," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Dr. Rivers, Mr. H. A. Rose, Miss Burne, Mrs. Coote Lake, and Dr. Bussell took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Holland for her paper.

### ANNUAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20th, 1918.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on this date, the President, Dr. R. R. Marett in the Chair.

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

The 40th Annual Report of the Council, with the Cash Account and Balance Sheet duly audited, and the Report of the Brand Committee for the year 1917, were presented to the meeting, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Sir Everard im Thurn, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted.

The following were duly elected to hold office for the ensuing year, viz. :

As *President*—A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S.

As *Vice-Presidents*—The Rt. Hon. Lord Abercromby, Sir E. W. Brabrook, C.B., V.P.S.A.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne, Edward Clodd, W. Crooke, Sir J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., LL.D.; R. R. Marett, D.Sc.; W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D.; Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D., and A. R. Wright, F.S.A.

As *Members of Council*—Mrs. M. M. Banks; G. R. Carline; M. Longworth Dames; Lady Gomme; P. J. Heather; W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson; Miss E. Hull; Sir E. F. im Thurn, C.B., K.C.M.G.; E. Lovett; A. F. Major; W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S.; H. A. Rose; C. G. Seligman, M.D.; C. J. Tabor; His Hon. J. S. Udal, F.S.A.; E. Westermarck, Ph.D., and Sir B. C. A. Windle, F.R.S.

As *Hon. Treasurer*—Edward Clodd.

As *Hon. Auditor*—C. J. Tabor.

As *Editor of "Folk-Lore"*—W. Crooke, B.A.

The Chairman delivered his Presidential Address, entitled "THE TRANSVALUATION OF CULTURE," at the conclusion of which he vacated the Chair, which was taken by the newly elected President, Dr. A. C. Haddon, who moved a hearty vote of thanks to the out-going President for the services he had rendered the Society during the five years he had occupied the Chair. This was seconded by Dr. Rivers, and carried with acclamation.

---

**WEDNESDAY, 20th MARCH, 1918.**

MISS BURNE (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the meeting held on the 23rd January were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mr. Harold Bayley, the Rev. V. Auguste Demant, Mr. Ramon Meicon, Mr. R. C. Hope, Mr. A. J. Ireland, and Mr. L. W. G. Malcolm. The deaths of Mr.

C. A. Miles and Mr. Thurstan Peter, and the resignations of Mr. E. Caddick and Mrs. Lebour, were also announced.

Mr. W. Crooke read a paper entitled "The House in India in its Sociological and Folk-Lore Aspects," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Dr. Rivers, Mr. Longworth Dames, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, the Rev. Dr. Bussell, and Mrs. Coote Lake took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

## FORTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ever increasing pressure of the war, the Society has gone steadily on its way during the past year in spite of the difficulty of locomotion, and the meetings have been almost if not quite as well attended as in pre-war days.

Twelve new members have been enrolled during the year, and two American libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. On the other hand, as might be expected, there has been a larger number of resignations than usual.

It is with the deepest regret that the Council have to report the death of Dr. H. B. Wheatley, D.C.L., F.S.A., one of the oldest members of the Society. He was rarely absent from any meeting of the Council which it was possible for him to attend, and as Editor-in-Chief of the projected new edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* his judgment and experience have been invaluable. It will be difficult to fill his place there. Another of the older members of the Society who has died during the year is Dr. R. Walker, who joined it in the year 1879.

The Council have also to report the death of Mr. Percy Manning, whose communications to the *Journal* are well known. His valuable collection of MSS. relating to Oxfordshire Folklore has been placed in the Bodleian Library, where it will be accessible to students. Another great loss to the Society is that of Miss Sophia Morrison, a valued correspondent in the Isle of Man.

The total number of members and subscribers (including

those in belligerent countries) now on the roll is 404 as against 419 a year ago. The number of subscriptions for the year still in arrear is larger than usual, and the difficulty of collection is increased by so many members failing to notify the Secretary of their change of address.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year was £373 2s. 4d., which is practically the same as in 1916: but of this amount a larger proportion than usual represents arrears from earlier years.

Meetings of the Society have been held as follows, viz.:

- 17th January. "The Life of the Mountain People in Formosa." Mr. S. Ishii.  
 21st February. (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "Psychology of Culture-Contact." Dr. R. R. Marett.  
 21st March. "The Dream Element in American-Indian Folk-Tales." Miss B. Freire-Marreco.  
 18th April. "Organizations of Witches in Great Britain." Miss M. Murray.  
 16th May. "The Bird Cult and Glyphs of Easter Island" (illustrated by lantern slides). Mrs. Scoresby Routledge.  
 13th June. "Magic and Religion." Dr. F. B. Jevons.  
 21st November. (Joint-Meeting with the Historical Section of the Royal Society of Medicine.) "The Medicine-Man." Dr. R. R. Marett.

On the 19th December Mr. W. Crooke was to have read a paper entitled "The House in India in its Sociological and Folk-Lore Aspects," but owing to a dense fog he was unable to reach his destination by the appointed hour, and the meeting had accordingly to be abandoned, much to the disappointment of those who had come to hear the paper.

The Joint Meeting of the 21st November was held at the Rooms of the Royal Society of Medicine, at 1 Wimpole St., and was very well attended by members of both societies. Miss Murray's paper also attracted a large audience: and all the other meetings were very fairly attended.

It is again a matter for regret that no objects of folklore interest were shown at any of the meetings. It is hoped that members or friends possessing any such objects will exhibit them, even if only informally.

Several additions have been made to the Society's Library during the year, particulars of which have been duly noted in *Folk-Lore*.

The twenty-eighth volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. The cost of paper and labour continues to increase by leaps and bounds, and the Council have again found it necessary to limit the size of the volume and to dispense as far as possible with illustrations. After providing for the ordinary expenses of the Society and the cost of publishing the volume there is a very narrow margin available for additional publications. In these circumstances the Council have thought it prudent to defer the issue of any additional volume until after the war, when they will be better able to take stock of the financial position of the Society. Much to their regret, no further progress has therefore been made at present with the negotiations with Mr. Ishii, referred to in their last report, for the publication of his valuable collection of the *Folk Tales of Formosa*.

The work of the Brand Committee is making steady progress, as will be seen from the Report of the Committee subjoined. In the early part of the year the Council made a grant of £25 to the Committee in order to enable them to secure additional paid labour, which was felt to be necessary if the work was to be completed within a reasonable period. Miss Burne has been energetic in discharging her duties as Secretary of the Committee, and the Council on behalf of the Society tender her and her co-workers their heartiest thanks.

Owing to the disorganization caused by the war, and the absence of both Mr. Sidgwick and Mr. Jackson on active service, no account has as yet been rendered of the sales of the Society's publications during the year, but there is no reason to believe that they have seriously diminished.

The Council desire once again to call attention to the fact that a considerable part of the salvage stock remains



unsold. The volumes have been rebound and are in very fair condition. The price is 4s. per volume, carriage paid, with all faults. They are now stored at Messrs. H. F. Fayers & Co., Bishop's Court, Old Bailey, where they may be inspected by intending purchasers, and Mr. C. J. Tabor, The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, will be glad to hear from prospective purchasers.

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

R. R. MARETT,  
*President.*

---

CASH ACCOUNT AND  
BALANCE SHEET.

CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1917.

RECEIPTS.					
By Balance brought down, . . . . .	£247	11	7		
" Subscriptions for 1917 (317), . . . . .		£332	17	0	
" " 1916 and earlier years (33), . . . . .		34	13	0	
" " 1918, in advance (5), . . . . .		5	5	0	
Interest on Investments, . . . . .	£27	3	9		
" " Money on deposit, . . . . .	7	19	11		
Income Tax returned, . . . . .	35	3	8		
" Sales of Stock (July-December, 1916), . . . . .	8	15	0		
" Transferred from 30th Anniversary Commemoration Account, . . . . .	27	5	1		
		372	15	0	
EXPENDITURE.					
To <i>Folk-Lore</i> :—					
Printing 1 part, 1916, and Index, . . . . .	£67	18	6		
" " 1 part, 1917, . . . . .	65	15	3		£133 13 9
Expenses of Meetings:—	£4	18	6		
Hire of Rooms, . . . . .	0	12	0		
" Lantern, . . . . .	7	0	11		
Refreshments, . . . . .	12	11	5		
Binding of Stock, . . . . .	2	16	0		
Expenses of Management:—	£19	13	0		
Insurances, . . . . .	10	17	7		
Postages, Stationery, and Printings, . . . . .	2	12	6		
Rent of Telephone, . . . . .	10	10	0		
Warehousing Stock, . . . . .	26	18	7		
Brand Committee, . . . . .	60	1	0		
Secretary's Salary, Poundage, and War Bonus, . . . . .	0	13	10		
Miscellaneous, . . . . .	131	6	6		
Expenses of Distribution of Publications (July-Dec., 1916), . . . . .	18	4	0		
" Publishers' Commission on Sales, . . . . .	1	8	8		
" Balance in Bank on current account, . . . . .	£200	0	8		
" " on deposit, . . . . .	200	0	0		
" " Cash in hands of Secretary, . . . . .	1	5	4		401 6 0
		131	6	6	
		18	4	0	
		1	8	8	
		200	0	0	
		1	5	4	
		401	6	0	
		£701	6	4	

BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1917.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
To Sundry Creditors, . . . . .	£287 0 11	By Cash at Bankers, . . . . .	£400 0 8
„ Subscriptions paid in advance, . . . . .	5 5 0	„ „ in hands of Secretary, . . . . .	1 5 4
„ Composition Fees, . . . . .	£23 4 0	„ S. and J. Sales Debtors (Sales in 1917), . . . . .	25 5 7
Less written off, . . . . .	7 7 0	„ Subscriptions in arrear, 1917 (49), . . . . .	£51 9 0
„ Balance to credit of Society,* . . . . .	15 17 0	„ „ 1916 and earlier years (28), . . . . .	29 8 0
	1,194 18 2	„ Investments at cost price :—	
		£500 Canada, 3½% Stock, . . . . .	£498 15 0
		£500 Natal, 3½% Stock, . . . . .	496 17 6
			<u>995 12 6</u>
			<u>£1,503 1 1</u>

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also of bound copies of the salvage stock, of which no account is taken.  
 Considering that about £79 due from alien enemies has not been taken into account in this balance, although included in the last, I find that the arrears were about £56 more than they were a year ago; and I estimate their value at about 50 per cent.  
 Further, I consider that the investments should be written down about 30 per cent. as their early recovery is very doubtful. This will reduce the balance to the credit of the Society by about £335.

\* No allowance has been made for additional volumes for the years 1915, 1916 or 1917.  
 † Exclusive of £61 due from members in belligerent countries.

Examined with Vouchers and Pass Book and found correct.

CHARLES J. TABOR, *Hon. Auditor.*

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

January 23rd, 1918.

I agree with the Auditor's note, the Investments should be written down to market value—i.e. to £70 per cent.—so that the Assets are actual and not artificial.

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer.*

24th February, 1918.

## REPORT OF PROGRESS OF THE "BRAND COMMITTEE" FOR THE YEAR 1917.

THE outstanding event of the year has been the lamented death of Dr. H. B. Wheatley, D.C.L., F.S.A., the Editor-in-Chief under whose guidance the work of revision has been conducted from the first. His sound judgment, his training in historical research, his wide acquaintance with bibliography, and his lifelong experience of literary work, made him invaluable as a leader, and it is with a heavy sense of loss that your Committee present this Report.

The form which the revision of the *Popular Antiquities* should take has undergone various modifications since the commencement of the undertaking; but some three months before his death Dr. Wheatley drew up the following scheme, which has been formally adopted by the Committee and shows the lines on which they propose to work:

- “ 1. The groundwork to be the material gathered by the Brand Committee, and the arrangement of this material to be the main object.
2. Sir Henry Ellis's work (considered as the most complete edition) to be broken up entirely: rejected or retained at discretion. Passages which are retained to be arranged in their proper position in connection with the new material. Additions in subsequently published editions of Ellis and in special copies with MS. annotations to be dealt with in the same manner.
3. Assign all passages retained to the editions in which they respectively appeared for the first time,

- quoting in each case from Bourne (1725), Brand (1777), Ellis's Brand (1813), Bohn's Antiquarian Library (1848).
4. Give general Chapter on various Calendars, and on the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar: Explanation of the "New Style" by Act of Parliament 1752, when eleven days were to be left out after 2nd September. 1752. Certain anniversaries retained on the old dates, while the majority were changed.
  5. Prefix an account of the month itself to the festivals occurring in each month.
  6. Treat the various countries comprised in the United Kingdom separately in order under each festival.
  7. Begin with a concise account précis, or summary, of each custom, and add selected examples or descriptions in chronological order, quoting authorities *verbatim* with references.
  8. Add foreign parallels, if any, at the end of the United Kingdom evidence, in each case.<sup>1</sup>
  9. Be very chary of putting forth theories, however plausible.
  10. Mention the erroneous and untenable theories of previous editions briefly, but do not omit them altogether, or you will give future students the trouble of hunting up and refuting them again."

The material gathered now consists of gleanings from over 900 books, counting every "series" as a single "book." A set of *Fenland Notes and Queries* (mentioned in last year's report as a desideratum) is still to seek, but through

<sup>1</sup> The Committee has accepted this only as referring to Ellis's foreign parallels.

the exertions of Dr. E. S. Hartland a complete set of the *Transactions of the Woolhope Club* has been lent to the Committee and "slipped" by Miss Partridge and Mr. C. J. Billson. The return of the latter to active folklore work is a subject for much congratulation. Oral information also continues to come to hand, frequently prompted by perusal of the Classified Catalogue of Brand Material of which instalments are still appearing in *Folk-Lore*.

Lastly, a definite step in advance has been taken in the selection of sub-editors to deal with the several portions of the British Isles.

The following have consented to serve :

*England*—Miss Burne, Mr. Wright.

*Wales*—(not yet decided).

*Scotland*—Mrs. Banks.

*Ireland*—Miss Hull, Miss Moutray Read.

*Man*—(not yet decided).

*The Channel Isles*—Miss E. M. Carey.

*The Days of the Week* (treated as a separate section)—Lady Gomme.

(Signed) M. M. BANKS.  
A. R. WRIGHT.  
C. S. BURNE, *Hon. Sec.*

---

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

---

### THE TRANSVALUATION OF CULTURE.

THE chair that I am about to vacate has been occupied by me for a round five years ; and, though Roman precedent would justify the omission of the lustral ceremony at the end of such a period did the circumstances seem untoward, there is happily no reason as things are why a purificatory sacrifice should not now be accomplished in my person. My successor, Dr. Haddon, with his catholic experience of anthropological work in the field, the study, and the lecture-room—not to speak of his long connexion with this Society—may be trusted to reinvigorate our fellowship of keen workers as “iron sharpeneth iron.” It is my privilege to be the first to congratulate the Society on having acquired a President so full of *mana*.

During the greater part of the time covered by my term of office a world-war has raged ; nor is the end yet in sight. If, however, much else remain obscure, this at least grows plainer every day, that the war is a war of ideals—that no mere redistribution of territory and of political influence is involved in its issue, but a reconstruction of civilized society, according to one or another of certain conflicting doctrines of human nature and destiny.

Now as students of folklore we are not concerned with problems of social reconstruction. Our business is to cultivate a particular corner of the field of science, and raise a goodly crop of truths ; whereas it is for the



practical man—the food-controller, as it were—to see to it that our produce is not wasted. Nevertheless, how can we afford to shut our eyes to the meaning of this phase of downright revolution through which the world is passing? Suppose it possible for us to make clean abstraction of what such a crisis portends for us as citizens, even so as pure observers and theorists we can surely find here matter for thought in plenty. For in what way chiefly does the revolutionary tendency of the times make itself felt? Are we not conscious, before all else, of a wholesale shifting of values—an utter derangement of the hierarchy of established interests and activities constituting that “old order” which we were brought up to accept? In a word, then, the “transvaluation” of culture provides us with a theme at once topical and, as I hope to show, of fundamental significance for our science. Such transvaluation, I would even contend, yields the ultimate conception of a dynamic type whereby the scope and method of folklore studies ought to be determined.

In the first place, then, we shall all doubtless be agreed that we cannot for methodological purposes dispense with a dynamic conception of some sort; in other words, that folklore research must be regulated by reference to an object which is defined generally as a kind of movement or process. For to describe our science as the study of survivals is apt to prove misleading, at any rate for the outsider. The latter is ready on the strength of the phrase to set us down as mere curiosity-hunters—amiable triflers who collect fossils for fun. Now it might seem enough to reply to such an imputation on our scientific character that we do indeed collect fossils, but in the spirit of the palaeontologist, for whom the inanimate relics bear witness to a life that is gone. But I believe that we should do better to reject the fossil metaphor altogether. As I have argued before this Society on a former occasion,<sup>1</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> See *Folk-Lore*, xxv. 12 f.

would appear, inasmuch as survivals survive, that they are not quite dead after all—that in some humble and surreptitious way of their own they help to constitute and condition the living present, whether it be for worse or for better. From such a point of view, then, it seems of chief importance to enquire what survival is as a process; and, further, how this particular process is related to the other processes that go with it to make up the general movement of history. In short, a dynamic study of the facts relating to survival keeps in touch with reality as manifested in the life-force. A static treatment, on the contrary, can but result in a bloodless typology; while, if it be likewise pseudo-dynamic, and array its arbitrary seriation of types in the guise of a time-order, so much the worse.

Let us, in this connexion, note how the study of savage culture has of late correspondingly felt the need for a more positively dynamic method. That branch of the science of man has, indeed, always sought to proceed upon genetic lines, having from the first been associated with the Darwinian theory of the development of life. But the very comprehensiveness of outlook thus acquired—the age-long and world-wide extent of the interpretation of human history thereby demanded—for a long time caused a somewhat sweeping style of explanation to be attempted. Yet it is easy to exaggerate the evils due to such premature generalization. I do not hold with the current depreciation of the work of the great pioneers of anthropology, to the tacit glorification of their smug successors. One is reminded of the absurd wren in the fable who mounted sky-high on the eagle's back. To ignore what we owe to our spiritual ancestry amounts to a denial of the doctrine of development, and hence is disloyal in two ways at once. The whole history of science proves that it is legitimate to leap from a narrow groundwork of facts to the widest generalizations, so long as the complementary task of verification is thereafter duly

performed. Our business, then, is to complete what our predecessors began. We must sift and test their provisional findings: partly by the discovery of fresh evidence, together with a more accurate presentation of what is already to hand; and partly by a search for middle principles, such as are not to be obtained without intensive study of the details taken group by group instead of in the lump. Now the only natural groups are afforded by the various culture-areas of the world wherein specific developments have occurred in relative isolation. Hence the prime concern of students of savage culture at the present day is to determine how, within such natural provinces, cultural change has in each case proceeded under the joint stress of internal and external influences. But this plainly implies a closer correspondence with the actual ebb and flow of human development—in a word, a more dynamic treatment. As a sheer effect of intellectual perspective, the history of man takes on life and movement by being focussed in the history of a given people.

For the rest, it is plain that, as regards method, no essential difference exists between this branch of the science of culture and our own. Folklore is but social anthropology as applied within the home-circle. Thus there is no reason why some of those who to-day count as savages should not in course of time become well enough educated to study their own institutions in a scientific spirit. Were this to happen, the outcome would be folklore. Moreover, the chances presumably are that the native would carry out the enquiry with more sympathy and insight than the most intelligent of strangers. Meanwhile, whether future folklorists are likely to arise out of present "primitives" or not, the bare notion of such a possibility will serve to illustrate our own position in regard to folklore research. We are ex-savages with customs bearing visible traces of our ancient condition; and, further, being indigenous to the culture-area that we study, we are sympathetically

aware how the drift on the surface answers to deep-moving currents in the social life. Here, then, if anywhere, namely, at home, in the midst of the historical movement in which we ourselves actively participate, we can hope to put anthropological principles to the proof in an intensive and crucial way. Studied thus from within, that apparent medley of functions in which the cultural life of a people consists will gradually reveal itself as a concrete expression of the universal laws of human nature.

So much, then, concerning the dynamic reference—the suggestion of a movement to be studied—which folklore needs to embody in the definition of its end. It remains, in the second place, to ask whether this requirement is not already satisfied by that patient maid-of-all-work, the concept of evolution. Now I have no quarrel with this historic notion. May it long hold its own, if only to prove what a wealth of inspiration may be vested in a single word—or, rather, a single regulative idea. Spencer established it, Darwin accepted it; and, whatever may be thought of its applicability to the cosmic process in general, it is at any rate well fitted to characterize biological process in respect of its prevailing tendency. Let us, then, be resolved to rate anthropology among the evolutionary sciences; ignoring recent attempts to identify evolution with such social development as is independent of intercourse with others—a barren abstraction to which its perpetrators are welcome.

Yet, although the ultimate suzerainty of the evolutionary principle be admitted, does not folklore also have occasion for a departmental formula of its own? After all, evolution stands for vital process only by a euphemism. Development has also its seamy side. There is degeneration to be reckoned with as well. Is the latter, then, the limitative conception that we are seeking? Is folklore to be merely the study of cultural decadence? Speaking for myself, I must own that such a prospect leaves me joyless. Years

ago there was a discussion—initiated, I think, by Mr. Stead—on the question, What are the best hundred books? If I rightly remember, Mr. Ruskin was for excluding Gibbon from the list; and the reason he gave was that he did not care to let his mind dwell on the “decline and fall” of anything. Just so my mind would draw cold comfort, I am afraid, from a pure pathology of institutions; and the thought that these were primarily the institutions of my own country could but serve to make me the more depressed. Even if survival be taken—wrongly, as I believe—to imply as such a moribund condition, revival, clearly, does nothing of the kind; nor can this cognate topic be neglected by us without being false to the facts as we find them.

It is true that this important subject of revival tends, perhaps, to be a little unpopular in folklore circles. Some prefer antiquities such as are only fit for a glass case. The genuine article for them is broken beyond the hope, or rather danger, of repair. They can appreciate a ruin, but hardly the standing edifice, however ancient and however tenderly restored. So it comes about that they construe the notion of degeneration in an inverted sense—topsy-turvywise. This may even, perhaps, be called the folklorist’s fallacy. It is, however, by no means confined to our branch of anthropology. Thus I have heard an all-too-enthusiastic totemist define a god as a degraded totem. Renovation, on this view, spells destruction. The rule that ghosts must not walk is applied to survivals. Let a stake be driven through them at the cross-roads rather than that they should thus unconscionably resurrect. More especially is it resented if revival lift the obsolescent custom to a higher plane of culture. Not only is it unseemly on the part of the unquiet spirit; it is snobbish into the bargain. But it will be urged that I misrepresent the attitude of the folklorist by ignoring his scientific motive. Since his one aim is to reconstruct the original



institution out of its remaining fragments, these are really spoilt for his purpose if they turn out to have been re-adapted. I hope that it will not sound a paradox if I reply to this argument that the original institution in question never existed. Origins are relative, and the regress of conditions is endless. The supposed prototype is but an effect of historical mirage. However far we pursue it, the steadfast illusion keeps its distance, while shifting sands are about our feet as before. There never was a time, in short, when the interplay of old and new did not go on, exactly as it does now—when survival and revival, degeneration and regeneration, were not pulsating together in the rhythm of the social life. It is at least as necessary to read the present into the past as the past into the present. Let it, then, be an article of our creed to recognize the immanence of folklore. Old-fashioned stuff though it be, it belongs to the here and now; and so may at any moment renew its youth in the way that old fashions have. The motto of folklore as of fashion in dress is, Never say die!

Does the transvaluation of culture, then, supply the formula we want? I suggest that it will be found adequate. For it certainly conforms to the two criteria already laid down. Firstly, it is dynamic, connoting a process to be examined. Secondly, it has not the unilinear sense of such a term as degeneration, or even, if taken strictly, the "blessed word" evolution, but indicates process without limiting it to a single direction. It remains to show that it has a further merit, namely, that of signifying cultural process as studied from within. Thus for many purposes it might seem enough to speak of transformation. But change of form is as an object relative to a purely external view of things. It cannot, therefore, stand for the last word in anthropology, unless we are prepared to renounce our birthright of self-knowledge. Even when treated as facts—as they must be in the historical sciences

—values retain their inwardness as expressions of the human will. Transvaluation then, not transformation, calls attention to the living soul of cultural process. It reminds us that our task is to study not merely its “how,” but its “why.”

It may be thought that function, by an enlargement of its biological meaning, can be made to cover the implications here claimed for value. But function, in common with form, had far better, I think, be confined to its proper sphere, namely, that of an exterior history. Besides, where function is at its vanishing-point, value of a sort may still be predicated. Take the case of a custom that to all appearance is utterly effete—the so-called fossil, in fact. It might fairly be judged functionless. Why, then, when so obviously we ought to be done with it, is it allowed to linger on? Because it has what may be termed prescriptive value. After all, the functional view of life is apt to be rather hard and narrow. Your conservative is the born liberal. The squirarchy is long-suffering with the gipsy; whereas bureaucratic efficiency would altogether deny him his idle place in the sun. Sheer customariness, in short, amounts to a kind of value—one that for the most part is apprehended subconsciously, yet is none the less inwardly satisfying. The appeal of the familiar counts among the great equilibrating forces of the moral world. It helps us to maintain a comfortable automatism; and, so long as we do this solely in regard to such things as matter little, we are the better enabled, through economy of effort, to concentrate on the things that matter much. Thus the antiquated custom, though it seem functionless on a sociological or external view, is perceived on a psychological estimate to have value, if only because it is restful—because it passively ministers to the easy-going, effort-saving side of our life.

It is not in value, however, so much as in change of value, that we are now immediately interested. One has

to think of every morsel of folklore as subject to continual process. Such process is ultimately intelligible only in the light of the cultural life as a whole. On the other hand, the student of folklore has a special standpoint of his own that constrains him to regard the general culture-movement from one side—the under-side, as it were. His business is to observe the pivoting that takes place at his end of the shifting scale of values. He watches custom, belief, and story as they fluctuate in importance within this lower hemisphere; whereas what happens to them when they have passed beyond his horizon is the concern of another enquirer, namely, the historian of civilization in its more restricted sense. In a civilized country folklore begins where “clerklore” ends. As soon as the art of writing is well-established, the lettered and the relatively or wholly unlettered classes tend to follow different traditions in regard to all matters of culture. Even if we extend the notion of folklore so far as to attribute it likewise to peoples that are without a literature, the same criterion holds. For here a like distinction may be drawn between the traditions that severally depend on organized and on unorganized folk-memory; such organization being seen in the schooling of the novices at the initiation, the mnemonic exercises of bards and other official remembrancers, the insistence on verbal exactness in religious and legal formularies, and so on.

This view of folklore as belonging to an underworld suggests one of the two main heads under which the modes of cultural transvaluation may conveniently be classed. This first type of movement may be called change of standing, or, if a technical term be required, *metataxis*. It is, so to speak, a vertical process. The unfashionable bit of furniture is cast out of the parlour and goes downstairs to fill a corner of the kitchen or of the children’s play-room. Or, conversely, there is remigration upstairs. The Chippendale masterpiece emerges from the depths to oust in turn some Victorian eyesore. Now it must be



admitted that on the whole a great deal more sinks, than is ever destined to rise, in status-value. The downward way threatens utter extinction; and the history of culture bears witness to an unremitting bustle of spring-cleaning, such as leads not only to the abandonment of worn-out devices, but also, as Dr. Rivers has shown, to the untimely loss of useful arts.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it may be roundly assumed that every denizen of the poorhouse of folklore has seen better days. This is true even when—as, perhaps, is not so often as we are ready to suppose—a custom of the folk can be proved to be a genuine survival of savage times. In that case it certainly had a lesser distance to fall; but, inasmuch as it once formed part of a dominant culture, it has at least to this extent lost caste. Meanwhile, it is by attending carefully to the facts of transvaluation that we are likely to overcome the sluggard tendency to refer folklore in the mass either to a pre-existent savage condition, or, worse still, to the abiding savage instinct of the crowd. As is well known to the medievalist, a great many of the tales and fables, the proverbs, the prognostics, the leechcraft prescriptions, and so forth, in vogue to-day among the folk are but the debased product of yesterday's official wisdom.<sup>2</sup>

The opposite process which Dieterich has termed "revolution from below,"<sup>3</sup> though not so general and consequently not so obvious, must none the less be given its due. It is especially apt to occur in conjunction with what the same writer calls "revolution from without." An invading people, let us suppose, which possesses a higher culture, or a culture that is at any rate secure in its predominancy, engages more or less consciously in a policy of race-amalgamation. Being in a position to pick and choose, it can dignify certain elements of the local

<sup>1</sup> *Fest krift t. E. Westermarck*, 109 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Miss Burne in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 28; and Dr. Gaster, *ib.* xxv. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Folk-Lore*, xxiv. 141.

custom at the expense of others ; and it may well be that such patronage is lent rather to the institutions of the lower orders, who have to be conciliated as future subjects, than to those of the former aristocracy which is once for all dethroned. In such a case there occurs a process which may be named devulgarization. An illustration is to be found in the absorption of primitive cult-elements by Hinduism ; accompanied as it was by the expurgation of grosser details, the invention of justificatory myths, and similar applications of patrician varnish.<sup>1</sup> Apart, too, from conditions of culture-contact—in itself a vast subject, since it may take many other forms than the one just considered—the history of religion is full of revivals that force their way up from below ; the reason being that religious experience is by no means a monopoly of the ruling classes, though these are usually not slow to exploit, if they dare not suppress, such popular transports. Or, again, good examples of this kind of transvaluation are to be obtained from the study of folktales ; which constantly work their way up to the level of polite society, though not without submitting to an obsequious change of garb. Finally, be it remembered that there is an underworld in which all have been reared, namely, the nursery. It may, thanks to a nurse of the old-fashioned type, have direct relations with the other underworld of peasant folklore ; but in any case it has an analogous tradition of its own, and one as conservative as any known to man. Here old-time values retain their spell. We shudder at ogres, and wish to dance with the fairies. These values, moreover, grow up with us, and in variously transmuted forms enrich adult life ; quickening the sense of wonder, the spirit of adventure, the love of simple and vital things. The function of folklore in education is a subject from which a genius might strike fire.

The second main type of cultural transvaluation is change of meaning, or, as it may be phrased, metalepsis.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mr. Crooke in *Folk-Lore*, xxv. 77.

This is, as it were, a horizontal process. If the main interests of life be conceived to stretch longitudinally from pole to pole of the sphere of culture, movement across these lines can, for analytic purposes, be distinguished from movement up or down. A familiar illustration of this kind of change is afforded by the transference of a theme from religion to art. A discarded rite colours an incident in a folk-story; a mask, once of sacred import, decorates the actor in a secular play; a charm against the evil eye becomes an ornament; and so on. What happens in such a case? Regarding it from the psychological standpoint appropriate to the study of value, we may say that a new interest, or fresh system of meanings, has assimilated—or, as a psychologist might put it technically, has apperceived—the theme in question. Now, whereas it was easy to apply the notion of value to the other type of process termed change of standing, since standing and social repute almost come to the same thing, it is not so obvious how change of meaning—that is, assimilation by a new interest—is to be translated offhand into terms of better and worse. Does it necessarily imply decadence, for example, if a custom be dropped by religion and taken up by art? Surely a wise man will say that it depends on the kind of religion and the kind of art involved. Thus it is, to say the least, a moot point whether an amulet is degraded or advanced by being reinterpreted as a trinket. There is, however, one way in which the scientific historian can roughly estimate the comparative value of the interests that are constitutive of a given state of culture. He can class them as life-preserving or merely life-adorning, in so far as they do or do not appear to have a practical and utilitarian bearing on the struggle for existence. On the one hand, government and law, cult and morals, war and commerce, the useful arts and sciences are, plainly, so many nerve-centres of the social organization. On the other hand, what of the speculative sciences

and fine arts, the so-called humaner letters, together with the other recreations and amenities of the social life? Are they not to be reckoned among the luxuries of the leisured class? The folk must be content to live; they cannot, in the Aristotelian sense, live well. Is it not, then, a sign of loss of value past cure if, at their level of penurious existence, a once helpful observance be relegated to the charge of an unpractical interest—if, in short, they merely sing about what they used to do?

Now it has already been admitted that in the underworld of folklore the prevailing movement is downhill. It may well be, then, that the process just described—it might perhaps be termed de pragmatization—is on the whole suggestive of decline. That the institution should first of all disappear; that the associated belief should thereupon persist for a while as a floating superstition; and that, finally, all that remains of either institution or belief should be some memory of it preserved in story: all this represents a familiar mode of cultural degeneration. But it is only fair to remember that, whereas institutions are easily upset, beliefs die hard; and are perhaps secretly biding their time in order that later they may reclothe themselves in an institutional form. For example, we have forcibly put down thuggism and suttee in India, as also twin-murder, the poison-ordeal, and the smelling-out of witches in Africa; but who knows whether, if European control were removed, such barbarities would be found to have lost their appeal? Once more, oral tradition, even when it has come to treat former institutions and beliefs mainly as material for wonder-tales, is capable of keeping alive for ages those germinal ideas and sentiments out of which a whole culture may be reproduced. More especially is this so if the inheritors of the lore differ in language and race from the governing stock; and, in any case, whereas the dominant peoples usually make good learners—the

Normans may be taken as an example—the under-folk ever find it hard to forget.

Change of meaning, then, regarded simply as a transvaluation, may in general be figured as a transverse movement or transference from one interest to another on the same plane of culture. Moreover, since each major interest can be conceived as made up of a number of minor interests similarly juxtaposed—ritual and dogma, for instance, being comprised in religion, dance and song in art, and so on—such a mode of representation may be indefinitely extended. It remains to note that, while we thus characterize the process from the standpoint of value, it is quite open to us to describe it simultaneously from a different standpoint, namely, that of cause. Let me, without attempting to be exhaustive, give a few examples of such causal ways of viewing change of meaning. Thus sometimes we can account for it as a process of modernization. Old songs are accommodated to new instruments. A mummers' play makes room for a popular hero of the day. Unfamiliar animals give way to familiar; as in my own part of the world, where a monstrous dog that still haunts the countryside can be proved by a place-name to have succeeded a werewolf. Under the same head, too, might be brought the far-reaching effects in the way of the reinterpretation of custom that are produced by the introduction of a new calendar. Again, there is the somewhat analogous process of acclimatization, when proximity in space, instead of proximity in time, enables new meanings to triumph over old. Thus the remarkable bird-cult of Easter Island, which Mr. and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge have recently made known to us, now centres round the Sooty tern or "Wideawake," thanks to the fact that this species alone is locally abundant. It is a fair deduction, however, from the thick-hooked beak and gular pouch of certain of the bird-like figures sculptured on the rocks, that we have here to do with an immigrant rite originally inspired by the frigate-



bird.<sup>1</sup> But I must content myself now with having called attention to change of meaning as a main object of research for the student of folklore. To discuss its causes and conditions in detail would carry me altogether too far. A general principle, however, in regard to such causation may be laid down provisionally; namely, that within the domain of folklore the accompanying process of readaptation is always subconscious. A breach in the continuity of tradition having somehow come about, the tissue spontaneously repairs itself, partly by the assimilation of fresh matter, and partly by the coalescence of such elements as survive. Conscious renovation occurs only at a higher level of culture. On the other hand, its ulterior effects will often be noticeable in the nether region of folklore, where most of the material used for patching was acquired at second-hand and has known better times.

Having up to this point tried to keep apart in thought the two types of transvaluation severally described as change of standing and change of meaning, we may now go on to note how, in practice, it is quite possible for these processes to occur together. Indeed, the presumption is that, when a custom has come down in the world, it must likewise have suffered deflection of meaning by the way, as when the festival of a saint declines into a rustic pastime. Equally instructive, however, for purpose of illustration, and at the same time perhaps less obvious, is a twofold movement characteristic of the converse process of revival. It consists in depragmatization conjoined with devulgarization. Folk-institutions are constantly liable to interference from above. Even folk-beliefs cannot be given free expression if they are to escape the assaults of the educated reformer. Hence the trend of cultural degeneration is towards a final rally of the decadent

<sup>1</sup>See Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, in *Folk-Lore*, xxviii. 337 f.; and Mr. Balfour, *ib.* 356 f. and esp. 373.

values under the banner of some unpractical interest—one that, as it were, but dreams of the past—such as festivity, song, or story. Of course such an interest has, and always has had, a specific content of its own. Its matter is never a mere detritus-heap of derived oddments. A good wonder-tale or a good dance has been prized for its own sake ever since there were men and women and children in the world. At the same time, the aesthetic tradition of the folk tends to be the residuary legatee of all other expiring interests. Memory and fancy can still play with thoughts that no longer bear directly on the day's work.

Now, possibly, the sense of beauty depends more on innate predisposition than on education; so that what its selective influence preserves is likely to make equal appeal to all ranks, at any rate among those of the same race. Be this as it may, it is certain that the unconscious art of the folk can develop into art of the conscious and refined order, and must do so if the latter is to be truly national in type. Of course such a process of devulgarization is bound to involve innovation in no small degree. The change will be partly of a technical kind, as, for instance, by way of elaboration and synthesis; but partly also in respect to meaning and spirit, as notably by elevation of the moral tone. Here, then, we have a good instance of the complexity of cultural transvaluation when its movements up, down, and across are followed through a considerable tract of history. A solemn ritual, let us say, is disestablished and descends to the underfolk, the "pagans," deviating from its original meaning as it drops. But the grave of religion is the seed-bed of art. First the popular tradition adopts surviving elements such as lend themselves to imaginative treatment. Then constructive genius re-adapts the rude material conformably to some high moral purpose. Whereupon the cycle of change is complete; the downward way being compensated by the upward way, the falling rain by the reascending vapour.

This must suffice as a rapid survey of a vast subject. My purpose throughout has been purely methodological, namely, to call attention to the essential nature of the supreme object of our research. I have insisted that the student of folklore must ever keep in touch with the movement, the vital thrust, of present reality, instead of approaching history in the spirit of a sexton. But it would exceed my aim no less than my powers to put this principle into practice, by appending a commentary on the European crisis. At most, then, let me acknowledge the eventfulness of the times in a few parting observations. The war is changing all values. So thorough a shuffling must rearrange every card in the pack. Men will come out of this struggle for liberty either less equal or more equal than before. If the cause of equality succeed—if the philosophy, or rather the religion, of the future be that men, though undoubtedly unequal on a mechanical and functional view of society, are nevertheless equal in a spiritual and vital sense—then we may expect the gradual correction of that disparity of social level that hitherto has confined the folk within a narrow world of their own. Spiritual equality, however, is not to be achieved by the bare recitation of a creed. There must be practical realization of the truth that the final cause of the state is not to manage affairs but rather to educate. Shall we say, then, that by education the folk must be abolished in the interest of the people?

To the members of the Folklore Society, however, it may not appear at the first blush that “ ’tis a consummation devoutly to be wish’d.” They will be apt to say in their hearts: No pheasant, no sport; no folk, no science of folklore. I can assure them that survivals, which Tylor, the inventor of the term, identifies with superstitions,<sup>1</sup> are not confined to the folk, as anyone knows who is making a collection of the superstitions resuscitated among all classes by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. [Sir] E. B. Tylor, *Proc. Roy. Inst.*, v. 91.



present war. Besides, the moral of the present discourse is that our interest must not be restricted to the retrograde movements of the cultural life. We must get over our prejudice against revival as a tampering with our museum specimens ; and may even assist, as only those who have knowledge of the facts can do effectively, in the rehabilitation of the simple life, so that it shall be homely, and yet not boorish. The nation can afford to recapture something of its primitive innocence. Two-thirds of education, it is said, are completed in the nursery. So let a nursery of the mind be created for the people out of the aesthetic tradition of the folk, which can be so readapted that all, whether hand-workers or brain-workers, may find nurture therein, as children are taught by playing.

Now our educational experts tell us that more science is the need of the time. It may be so ; but more science must not mean less literature. Physical science by itself would but make us the slaves of a world-machine. We need letters also to keep us humane. The thinking and reasoning powers must not be cultivated at the expense of the emotions ; and, whereas the former are exercised on abstractions, the latter develop only in association with concretes. These concretes are but symbols ; the intrinsic or original meaning of any one of them is as nothing in comparison with its value as a rallying-point of the associations whereby a sentiment is sustained. Bunting is bunting, but the flag is a nation's pride and hope. But associations are of slow growth. The symbols of a people cannot be replaced suddenly, any more than stately trees can be replaced by saplings. Indeed, wholesale deforestation may be the prelude to utter ruin of the land. Thus in the garden of literature it is well to deal tenderly with venerable timber, though it stand, not in tidy rows, but wherever nature planted it. Even so, then, let us be tender with the old themes embodied in our national folklore. Here, despite a certain litter of dead wood, is

many an ancient heart of oak still full of the movement of life—a movement hidden during the dead season and revealed but in a power of sheer endurance, yet, as often as spring calls, becoming manifest in an access of fresh efflorescence and increase.

R. R. MARETT.

## THE INFLUENCE OF BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BELIEF IN A FUTURE STATE.

BY MRS. HOLLAND.

THE choice of this subject has been prompted largely by a study of Sir James Frazer's well-known article "On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrating the Primitive Theory of the Soul."<sup>1</sup>

A disposition to differ from its main positions has given rise to a criticism from the pre-animistic point of view. Following on this, an examination has been attempted, first of certain customs associated with burial, and then of the actual methods adopted by primitive man in disposing of the dead body itself; whereupon certain correlations are indicated with what appear to be derivative beliefs. The problem why the savage should believe in a future life at all is as perplexing as it is strong in its human appeal; and perhaps a useful way of approaching it is to study what the savage thinks of his dead in the light of what he does to them.

The fact that custom once established affords a basis for many and changing interpretations lies at the root of the theory that beliefs can develop out of ritual. Sir James Frazer by no means disposes of this view by maintaining that the savage normally thinks before he acts.<sup>2</sup> To allege that he invariably acts without thinking at all would be indeed to deny to our remote forefathers a degree

<sup>1</sup> "On Certain Burial Customs as Illustrating the Primitive Theory of the Soul," Sir James Frazer, *J.A.I.* 1885, p. 64 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Belief in Immortality*, Sir James Frazer, London, 1913, p. 266.

of intellectual activity that we may hardly refuse to the brutes. All ritual implies a certain degree of pre-existing belief, be it only a belief in the efficacy of the ritual. Our concern here, however, is with the reactive effect of the rite on the idea that it embodies; as seen for instance in what Sir Edward Tylor has called "that interesting form of survival which, keeping up the old ceremony in form, has adapted its motives to new thoughts and feelings" <sup>1</sup>

As a peg on which to hang his speculations, Sir James Frazer has taken up that question asked by Plutarch, why an exile, reported to be dead, for whom funeral ceremonies have been performed, may not re-enter his house through the door, but must find entrance through the roof.<sup>2</sup> The solution offered is that he is still officially dead, and, until he can be reborn ceremonially, must be considered a ghost. As such it is physically impossible for him to cross the threshold, for the simple reason that the threshold has been rendered ghost-proof by a mystic barrier of fire and water, all ghosts being regarded as undesirable and malignant.

Now this explanation is quite clear, and may even be quite true as it applies to the custom of Plutarch's time; but the question for us is whether it carries us back to the primitive motive. It seems possible that, before the etiquette for ghosts was so clearly defined, the exile might have found the same reception, but for reasons more vaguely and impulsively conceived. Surely it was enough that the man was felt to be uncanny; in a sense he had been dead. Some taint of mystic danger therefore attached to him, and he must not be given a chance to contaminate the threshold. It will be remembered how often the corpse itself is taken out through some special opening, that the threshold may remain pure for the living.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Dalton, in *The Ethnology of Bengal*, Lond. 1872, p. 219, says that a new born infant is taken out for the first time through a special opening in the hut. This

These "English answers to a Roman question," however, are merely deductions. In support of a general theory, Sir James Frazer has gathered together a great number of burial customs, and claims that, even when at the time of observation their implication is avowedly that of pollution and purification, such motives are not original; but the stunted survival of animistic beliefs, involving universal fear of the ghost. Thus he says that when mourners among the Siberians, Chinese, or ancient Romans have stepped across a fire ostensibly for purposes of purification on the return from a funeral, this particular rite may have been practised long after the original intention was lost.<sup>1</sup> He concludes: "Wherever we find a so-called purification by fire and water from pollution contracted by contact with the dead, we may conclude that the original intention was to place a physical barrier of fire and water between the living and the dead, and that the conception of pollution and purification are merely the fiction of a later age to explain ceremonies of which the original meaning was forgotten."<sup>2</sup>

Such a doctrine is liable to criticism in at least two ways. In the first place, the view may be challenged that in primitive thought the dead are universally feared and hated. In the second place, we may enquire whether the evidence at our disposal goes to show that the conception of purification and pollution are late and wholly secondary to the clearly conceived ideas of barrier and ghost.

As for fear of the ghost, the mass of evidence in the article before us is not more convincing than that adduced by Dr. Jevons to prove the contrary case.<sup>3</sup> For him the leading motive in burial customs is not fear; but the love

would seem to be to preserve the threshold from the contamination of birth; not to indicate a general belief in the malignity of babies.

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *ib.* p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896, p. 46 *sqq.*

that endures after death. The truth of the matter appears to be that both protagonists have some degree of right. Man's attitude to the dead is a complex of love and fear: love, perhaps, in so far as the departed are still themselves; awe, or even fear, inasmuch as they are mysteriously changed. Either element may predominate in the psychology of any given people, helping to a corresponding extent to colour its beliefs.

It seems unnecessary, however, to assume that beliefs concerning the ghost, whether it be rather loved or feared, provide the sole or even the principal factor in determining the original rite of burial. The burden of the disposal of his dead was laid upon man at the very dawn of his humanity, and it seems reasonable to suppose that, before he evolved so intellectual a belief as that in the existence of spiritual beings, his burial customs, in so far as they were not shaped by mere necessity, were dictated by emotional response to a situation charged with mystery and dread.

It is true that the anthropologist hesitates to say of any one race that it is entirely without any idea of a future life; nor can we claim to have access to the records of any purely pre-animistic community. Yet, when we find the same elements of ritual explained by those concerned with them, sometimes in terms of a belief in spiritual beings, and at other times simply in terms of pollution and purification, it seems more satisfactory, if causal relationship is to be assumed between the two types of belief, to reverse the reasoning of Sir James Frazer, and argue from the simple to the complex, from the reactions of purblind emotion to the explicit tenets of animistic belief.

Let us, by way of a test, apply this method of reasoning to some specific groups of customs associated with the burial of the dead. Such are the abandonment of property in or on the grave, the immolation of widows, the ceremonial of mourning and the funeral employment of fire and water

First, let us consider the abandonment of property. From the Old Stone Age to the present day we have evidence of a widespread custom of placing property in the grave or upon it. Food, weapons, utensils, clothing, ornaments, and the like may find a place there, as well as amulets and other objects of a magico-religious nature. The simplest motive for the act, in so far as it is not perhaps merely affectionate or honorific, as in the case of our own gift of flowers, seems to be an emotional shrinking from the use of the dead man's intimate personal belongings. Thus the Bantu express surprise that we should use them ;<sup>1</sup> the Zulu, according to Bishop Callaway, say explicitly that they are afraid to do so.<sup>2</sup> This illustrates the sentiment of *taboo* in regard to the property of the dead, which is rendered dangerous by the mystic contagion of death. Such a sentiment affords in itself sufficient grounds for the custom of abandoning to the dead the property that was theirs in life. The customs of the Bathonga happen to show an instructive combination of the animistic with the pre-animistic attitude of mind. Certain articles, which have belonged to the dead man, are hung on trees till they are supposed to be purified, when they may be used again with impunity.<sup>3</sup> Here, then, we have to do with a removable contagion. In the grave, however, other articles are buried for his use hereafter. It may be suggested that this represents the animistic development of the simpler conception of *taboo*. But if this indeed be so, and we may assume a similar transition of thought to have taken place elsewhere, it is obvious how easily the presence of these personal belongings in the grave may help to fill in

<sup>1</sup>Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, London, 1904, p. 82. I am indebted to Miss Freire-Marecco for the answer of an Indian at Santa Clara, as to why a dead man's charm-wallet should be buried with him : "That is *his* ; he always had it ; no one else can use it."

<sup>2</sup>Callaway, *The Religion of the Amazulu*, London, 1884, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup>Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1912, p. 140.



the details of the shadowy afterlife. If custom decree that the bow and arrow of the brave be left with him in his last resting-place, at first it will be merely because they are *taboo*, but later on it will be because he seems still to need them ; moreover the place where he uses them must have animals that he can shoot ; and an idea of the Happy Hunting Grounds takes shape. The Wolgal of Australia, buried with his nets and canoe, uses them in the world beyond the sky where there is no dearth of navigable rivers.<sup>1</sup> So, too, if the soul of the Algonquin be equipped with the soul of his spear and of his snowshoes, he will hunt hereafter the soul of the elk as it roams on the soul of the snow.<sup>2</sup>

The custom of breaking the property thus abandoned may be variously explained. It may have originated in the desire to circumvent the thievish instincts of grave-robbers ; or in the fear that if the thief were a clansman, *taboo* would recoil on his folk ; or it may have been a *rite de séparation*, symbolic of the functionless nature of death ; of the bowl of life that is broken, the silver cord that is loosed.

It is not immediately obvious how the food, so often provided for the long journey, could have been included at first in the category of personal belongings. Yet we have some grounds for thinking that it was originally food belonging to the dead, or especially associated with him, that became *taboo* with his death, and shared the fate of his other property. Thus M. Junod tells us of the Bathonga that it is some of the dead man's own corn that is buried with him, and what remains is subject to desacralising ceremonies before it can be eaten.<sup>3</sup> His very gardens must be purified ; while in New Caledonia, not only are his houses, his nets and his other imple-

<sup>1</sup> Howitt, *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, pp. 426, 462.

<sup>2</sup> Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1913, vol. ii. p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i. pp. 141-146.

ments destroyed, but his plantations are ravaged and his cocoanut palms are laid low.<sup>1</sup> In Mabuiag any food of which he was particularly fond, and his drinking water, are placed beside him, while his gardens are destroyed, his cocoanut trees and banana palms are knocked down, and his sweet potatoes are uprooted. Various reasons are assigned by the natives, as notably that it is "like good-bye."<sup>2</sup> Sir James Frazer thinks it is done to drive away the spirit, and asks: "How could he have the heart to return to the garden which in his life it had been his pride to cultivate?"<sup>3</sup> But the reason may be simply that the things are felt to be polluted, are comprised within the shadow of the death fear, and therefore they are tabooed. This view receives support from Mr. Codrington's account of the Melanesians, who say definitely that they do not cut down the cocoanut palms to benefit the ghost; but "because he ate of them, and no one else shall."<sup>4</sup> This attitude would explain the curious fact that the widow in Bartle Bay may not eat any dish which had been a favourite with her husband.<sup>5</sup> Sir James Frazer thinks the fear is that he might be tempted back to earth by the savoury smell of the food he loved in the body.<sup>6</sup> Such an explanation will not cover the facts in Tubetube, where the orphans are debarred from eating fruit, flesh, and garden produce from the father's hamlet or indeed from its neighbourhood, though when considered as the result of an extensive *taboo* they are easy to understand.

Concurrently with other animistic developments we find the idea that this food is actually enjoyed by the departed

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, pp. 248, 249, 250.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 174. Compare Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 147, for purification of the gardens of deceased.

<sup>4</sup> Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 613 *sqq.* and 116 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 208.

after death. The Algonquin, after giving food to their dead, found the bones gnawed in the morning.<sup>1</sup> The Zulu, however, know that it is only the spiritual parts that are consumed, and feel at liberty to eat the material parts themselves when the food has been exposed for a proper interval of time.<sup>2</sup> The idea of the soul's share in a funeral feast may be traced to the times of the early Christians, whom we find reproached as follows by Faustus: "Their sacrifices have ye turned into love-feasts, ye appease the dead with wine and meals . . . verily of their lives ye have changed naught."

Perhaps enough has been said to show that there may be an evolution from the simple conception of a *taboo* on such rude forms of property as the boomerang and spear-thrower of the dead Australian to those animistic ideas that led to the burying of incalculable treasure in the tombs of by-gone rulers and kings.

There remains for consideration, however, another form of property that may be immolated in the grave. The widow of the savage, with her *taboo* "an inch thick" upon her, seems to be at one end of a road, at the other end of which we see a multitude of wives and slaves slaughtered wholesale to minister hereafter to some dead monarch, as in ancient Nubia. The extreme degree of *taboo* attaching to widows, as likewise the stringency of the purifications they must undergo, lends probability to this suggestion. An example taken at random from *The History of the Melanesian Society* tells us of the widow who is forbidden to remarry, who must hide her face, cut her hair, break the lobes of her ears, remain for a year alone in a hut never seeing the light of day, and wear the tokens of her dead husband for the rest of her life upon her person.

The severity of the *taboo* on the widow may vary in

<sup>1</sup> Le Jeune, in Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1913, vol. ii. p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Grout, *Zulu Land*, p. 140; see also Callaway, *Religion of the Amazulu*, p. 11.

various savage areas ; but never the fact. Her pollution is so deep and her life so difficult in consequence, that when further she is persuaded that her death would make an honourable ending, she has been known to object to European interference with the custom. Often she is definitely suspected of causing the husband's death, not necessarily by intent, but simply by virtue of the mystic bond between them. In Central Africa, for instance, if an adulterous wife puts salt into her husband's food he will surely die.<sup>1</sup> In the Congo, the widow, as such, is accused of his death, and we may be sure she pays the penalty.<sup>2</sup> In Madagascar she is reviled because her *vintana* (fate) has been stronger than her husband's, so that she is virtually the cause of his death.<sup>3</sup> The Chiqato, according to Dobrizhoffer, did not wait for the husband to die, but killed the wife to give him a chance of recovery.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is easier, as many examples show, than for a wife, by some incautious act at home, to occasion the death of the husband when far away at his hunting, fighting or fishing. Hence the widow is unpopular, and doubtless better out of the way. The conception that she must die to cheer her husband in his new abode appears to be "another story" dating from the animistic stage of thought.

As regards another custom connected with death, it may be fairly assumed that mourning, especially in its expletive forms, such as ceremonial wailing, the chanting of dirges and the ritual beating of the breast, was due in the first place to a real despair and grief at parting. Later on, these expressions of emotion become conventionalised, and the opinion of others as to the display of proper feeling has to be considered. Thus the Australians taunt each other with having shown insufficient misery at the death

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.I.* xxii. p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Waitz Gerland, in Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.I.* ix. p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Dobrizhoffer, in Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 393.

of an aged relative.<sup>1</sup> Let it be remembered that, according to our authorities, no death is attributed to natural causes in Australia.<sup>2</sup> This fact, which is perhaps somewhat overstated, would account for an added vehemence in the display of grief; for the louder the protestations, the more remote is the chance of a charge of witchcraft being laid against the mourner. In the case of the widow, so often suspected of responsibility for the death, this precaution is especially advisable. Meanwhile, the uses of the dirge seem to develop with animistic beliefs. In Angola it drives away spirits;<sup>3</sup> in Basutoland it is said that were it omitted the ancestors would be angry.<sup>4</sup>

When we come to deal with the practice of fasting during a period of mourning, we surely need not believe with Sir James Frazer that the original motive was a prudent fear of eating the ghost.<sup>5</sup> Savage or sage, man is so constructed that a greater or lesser inability to eat is a well-known physical symptom of sorrow. It is natural, therefore, that fasting should become the symbol of such sorrow in ritual.

A more violent manifestation of grief is very common in Australia, where mourners cut their flesh so that blood runs over the corpse.<sup>6</sup> This highly significant custom will be considered at a later stage.

As for mourning apparel, from a simple coat of paint to all more elaborate fashions, it does not seem to be adopted invariably as a kind of *camouflage* in order to escape the notice of the spirits.<sup>7</sup> This, we are told in the paper under

<sup>1</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, London, 1913, p. 40 *sqq.* See also *The Essential Kaffir*, Dudley Kidd.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, ix. 1896, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Basutoland*, 1903, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> See for example Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 500 *sqq.*

<sup>7</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, pp. 73, 98.

discussion, is the reason why the widow wears a peculiar costume.<sup>1</sup> Yet the widow of the Arunta, according to her own statement, paints herself white in order to attract the notice of her late husband.<sup>2</sup> Whatever later reasons may be assigned, the true significance of mourning apparel seems to be to provide an outward and visible sign of the *taboo* condition and all that it implies, namely, the door barred from without and bolted from within, that protects society from the mourner and the mourner from society.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving the subject of mourning, we may now examine the grounds of another funeral observance, namely, the use of fire and water. Fire that consumes and water that washes away are natural purifiers, and as such it is not surprising that they should appear all the world over in ritual cleansing. Such uses are admirably illustrated in many of Sir James Frazer's examples. Unfortunately he maintains these to be no more than degenerate survivals. For instance, when he tells us that the Jews threw out all the water from a house after a death,<sup>4</sup> we should say that it was because the water was mystically defiled. The leading Talmudists, however, give this notion a neat animistic turn, saying that the water was impure because the Angel of Death had laved his sword in it.<sup>5</sup> Sir James Frazer, meanwhile, thinks that the original reason for throwing out the water must have been that otherwise the ghost might fall in and be drowned. One is tempted to wonder why the ghost should not fall in and be drowned, if he was really so unpopular. And incidentally, what has become of the barrier by water?

Again, and this seems conclusive, what are we to think of such an instance as that provided by the Awemba of

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, pp. 73, 98 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 500, 501.

<sup>3</sup> Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London, 2nd edition, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, "On Certain Burial Customs," *J.A.I.* 1885, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> See note on same page.



Northern Rhodesia, by whom all the fires in the village are extinguished at a death? <sup>1</sup> This is quite impossible to explain on the barrier theory; though we are familiar with the idea that mystic pollution can vitiate the purity of fire itself, necessitating the manufacture of a fresh supply.

It is not suggested, however, that purification furnishes the only or original motive for the world-wide use of these elements in funeral rites. The ceremonial use of fire, for instance, is too well known in its wide diversity to admit of so rash a claim. <sup>2</sup>

Fire seems to have been one of the earliest objects of man's religious regard, and, broadly speaking, to the savage it is auspicious and ritually satisfactory. It would naturally suggest itself, therefore, in connection with funeral ceremonies, merely on the good general ground of being a lucky kind of thing to have about at a time that was felt to be critical and unlucky. Reasons of a more definite kind might suggest themselves later. Thus certain Australian natives light a fire to warm the dead, who are cold in the grave; <sup>3</sup> others have fires kindled nightly to cheer them on their way to the next world. <sup>4</sup> Again, the ghost may wish to revisit the earth and warm himself at the hospitable flame. <sup>5</sup> These notions may have had different origins, but they look more like variants on a common theme, and certainly do not suggest fear.

Sometimes the fire at the grave is no other than the fire on the domestic hearth, the dead being interred beneath the floor of the living-room. Fustel de Coulanges, in his

<sup>1</sup> Gouldsbury and Sheane, *The Great Plateau of N. Rhodesia*, London, 1911, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Blackman, "The Magic and Ceremonial Uses of Fire," *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxvii. No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Chalmers, "Natives of Kirwai Is," *J.A.I.* xxiii. pp. 119, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 442 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, p. 448.



well-known classic, derives Vesta and Agni from the ever-burning fire on the hearth, associating the latter also with the worship of ancestors. A stray hint from *La Cité Antique* is of extreme value to the present argument, when taken together with what we have learned since of the prehistoric hearth and its frequent accompaniment of human remains: "Le grammarien Servius, qui était fort instruit des antiquités grecques et romaines (on les étudiait de son temps beaucoup plus qu'au temps de Cicéron), dit que c'était un usage très ancien d'ensevelir les morts dans la maison, et il ajoute: 'Par suite de cet usage, c'est aussi dans les maisons qu'on honore les Lares et les Penates.' Cet phrase établit nettement une antique relation entre les cultes des morts et de la foyer. On peut donc penser que le foyer domestique n'a été à l'origine que le symbole du culte des morts que sous cette pierre du foyer domestique un ancêtre reposait, que le feu y était allumé pour l'honorer, et que ce feu semblait entretenir la vie en lui ou représentait son âme toujours vigilante."<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes fires are lighted on the grave or in the house to hasten the process of decomposition;<sup>2</sup> or, as among the Narrinyeri, to dry the corpse.<sup>3</sup> This fact, however, will be discussed later in its bearing on a point of singular interest.

After this brief survey of certain customs associated with burial, it may be possible to get still closer to origins if the actual methods of disposal of the dead body be considered. Of these the simplest form is plainly that of its abandonment. We are told of the East African that he simply throws his dead away in the jungle to be devoured by wild beasts;<sup>4</sup> while the Siberians and the Hottentot

<sup>1</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, Paris, 1912, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Van Gennep on "The Betsileo Observances," *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris, 1912, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," in *Native Tribes of S. Australia*, Adelaide, 1879. See also *Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Ch. Eliot, *E. Africa Protectorate*, p. 93, 1905.

abandon not only the dead, but the moribund. The Yakut provides a funeral feast at which the person most concerned actually participates ; being thereupon left in the grave to perish.<sup>1</sup> The Hottentot, however, makes a shelter about his dying fellow, props him up in a crouching attitude, and leaves him with a few provisions and with apologies for thus deserting him.<sup>2</sup>

Here, then, is room for speculation as well as for further research. If we argue from the examples of such lowly types, it is conceivable that, at the nomadic stage which seems to have marked the childhood of the race, the dying man was abandoned with food, water, and a gift of precious fire, even perhaps with his simple weapons and implements.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards, as sedentary conditions came to prevail, the more decent habit of burying the dead might come about, while the old usage hardened into the custom of placing these accessories in the grave with the corpse.

Next in order of simplicity comes the usage of keeping the dead in the dwelling, as is done in many parts of the Pacific ; while the Central African chooses the earthen floor of his dwelling for the shallow grave of his dead.<sup>4</sup> From this pious method the next advance is the abandonment to the recently departed of the hut with its contagion of death, the living proceeding to build a new dwelling for their own use. Sometimes the whole village is deserted. Among the Bathonga a new village must be built as soon as possible after the death of the headman.<sup>5</sup> A less

<sup>1</sup> M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, p. 161. See also *Revue des Histoires des Religions*, xlv. 1902, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Thunberg, *Travels*, London, 1795-6, vol. ii. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> See also Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, London, 1904, p. 247 *sqq.* ; Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, p. 467 ; G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, London, 1884, p. 335 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, p. 554.

<sup>5</sup> Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i. p. 289. See also *Aboriginal Siberia*, M. A. Czaplicka, Oxford, 1914, p. 144.

expensive method is that of building the dead man a small hut on the grave, now removed from the dwelling; as on the Congo,<sup>1</sup> and also in Australia, where the mourner enters the flimsy structure of boughs, saying: "I sit in his hut."<sup>2</sup>

This conception of the grave as the dwelling of the dead leads on to the notion of accommodating him after death in the same way in which he lived in this world. M. Junod explains that the oval cavity in the side of the rectangular grave made for the Thonga represents the hut in which he will lie down and sleep, while the rectangle is the village square, whither he will come out in the evening, as he did erstwhile in life.<sup>3</sup>

From the simple earth grave of South Africa, with its reminiscence of the wattled hut, we may turn to the great rock tombs of the North, derived, as some think, from the cave dwellings found near the Mediterranean coast, and we shall find in the elaborate chamber tombs of Egypt all the paraphernalia of daily life carefully depicted as though to reproduce the details and routine of the dead man's actual home. That he was considered as dwelling therein is clear from the belief that one of his multiple souls had its residence in the grave.

We have now to consider the practice of preserving the more durable portions of the body. It should not be doubted that the original motives prompting the attempt to keep something that survives decay were largely those of natural affection. Among ourselves a lock of hair is a tenderly cherished keepsake. We need not deny similar feelings to the savage, nor express too much surprise at the relative grotesqueness of his fancy for turning such

<sup>1</sup>Hilton Simpson, *Laws and Peoples of the Kasai*, London, 1911, p. 176. See also Torday, *Camp and Tramp in the African Wilds*, London, 1913, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup>Sir George Grey, *Journal of Two Expeditions of Discovery*.

<sup>3</sup>Junod, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 134, 136.

mementoes into personal ornaments. After all, the repulsive hair bracelets and watchguards of the Early Victorian era were sanctioned by contemporary taste. The skeleton itself or parts of it are retained by the savage in what often seems to be purely affectionate remembrance; the Australian mother, with touching devotion, bearing with her the little packet that encloses the remains of her baby.<sup>1</sup>

From the magico-religious point of view we find that in many cases the idea does not seem to go beyond preserving for oneself the *mana* of the dead man, as we see in the Australian custom of tying to the end of one's spear the arm-bone of the deceased, which can only mean that the power of his arm is desired.<sup>2</sup>

By a natural transition we are led on to the practice of preserving the body as a whole. The artificial embalming of the body according to Professor Elliot Smith, arose in Egypt in imitation of the naturally preserving effect of the desert sands.<sup>3</sup> Hence, he says, the custom spread to the various parts of the world where it has been found, and with it spread the now universal belief in immortality to which he believes the custom gave rise. The claim is ambitious, and up to the present lacks sufficient demonstration. For the present, therefore, we must believe that the soul may be older than Egyptian culture; and it is here suggested that the Egyptian method only differs in external detail, not in its deep underlying significance, from many other modes of burial of a much more primitive kind. So, too, the libation formulae which he quotes are presumably only the articulate expression of a general motive which appears more obscurely in many burial customs or in ideas associated therewith.

<sup>1</sup> Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, pp. 248, 250. See also p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> G. Elliot Smith, *Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester, 1915, pp. 35, 36.

As to the Egyptian libations, Mr. Blackman's translation states the intention in precise terms. To quote a typical formula: "These thy libations, Osiris! I offer thee the moisture that has issued from thee, that thy heart, possessing it, may not be still."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blackman says: "The general meaning of these passages is clear. The corpse of the deceased is dry and shrivelled. To revivify it the vital powers that exuded from it must be restored."

This phantasy of ancient Egypt certainly owes much of its vividness to the fact that in such a land the proximity of the arid sands of the desert emphasised the importance of moisture as a life-giving factor, and the sacred Nile itself, so indispensable to animal and vegetable existence, was figured as the fluid element in the divine body of Osiris.<sup>2</sup>

This is not all, however. There are potent reasons of a more general nature for this religious regard for the fluid principle, to understand which we must probe to the very heart of primitive sentiment towards the phenomenon of death.

Certain definite examples have been noted of a belief that the soul is freed by the decomposition of the body.<sup>3</sup>

From a general survey of funeral custom, however, the broad principle seems to emerge that ritual centres mostly about a period which appears to awaken in the savage the deepest awe, the gravest religious anxiety; namely, the interval during which the flesh alters and decays. The

<sup>1</sup>"The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual," Aylward Blackman, in *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup>Blackman, *ib.* pp. 71, 75. See also his "Libations to the Dead in Modern Nubia and Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iii. part 1, Jan. 1916, pp. 31, 33, where he tells us that the women of Nubia of to-day pour weekly libations of water on the graves of their husbands and other relatives, thus affording a parallel to the ancient Egyptian usage of pouring out water once a week for the dead.

<sup>3</sup>Sir James Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*.

durable parts are revered much or little as the case may be ; but the osseous framework is so different from the body in life, so little suggestive of personality, that it cannot produce in the mind of the savage, or indeed of civilised man, the same emotional response as the horrible change wrought by mortality in the flesh that was familiar, nay, perhaps beloved.

Sir Edward Tylor thinks that the savage, asking himself " What is death ? " reasoned that it must be the flight of the soul. One cannot but wonder if it were not rather the decay of the body that struck his imagination as the most characteristic and irrevocable difference. At any rate we find him kindling his fire in an earnest attempt to expedite the processes of nature and to shorten the term of anxiety. At the animistic stage, he emerges with a clearly developed idea that the spirit lingers near the body till the flesh has disappeared,<sup>1</sup> and that during this period the soul is liable to accidents. Sometimes a conventional period is assigned for complete dissolution, and this time, which varies locally, may be perhaps several years, perhaps only forty days, as in Eastern Europe.<sup>2</sup> Corresponding with this period are the religious observances for the safety of the soul, and it is assumed that at its close nature and the mourners alike have done their duty. Primitive folk, however, are wont to make sure of nature. Mr. Lawson gives an account of some Greek peasants whom he surprised in the act of removing from certain of their dead the flesh

<sup>1</sup> Lafiteau, in *Les Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquaines*, Paris, 1724, ch. ii. p. 444, says : The Caribs do not believe that the soul can go to the land of the dead till the bones are fleshless. Im Thurn, in his work on *The Indians of British Guiana*, mentions that the Caribs are said to have removed the flesh by scraping the bones of the dead. Nowadays they light a fire on the grave in the house, possibly to accelerate decomposition. See p. 255 of his work. Kruijt, writing of the Toradja of Celebes, p. 328, says they say, " As long as the soul (?) can be smelt, it is a man."

<sup>2</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 540, 541.



which had taken unusually long to disappear. Their motive for so revolting an act was that, the critical period being so much extended, the souls of the departed might turn into vampires.<sup>1</sup> In all ages and conditions of Greece, nothing was feared so much for the dead as incorruptibility; the boon was a swift and sure dissolution. Hence the popularity of cremation among their rich.

Now there seems little unity of purpose between cremation, for instance, and mummification, so different are they in outward result. Yet the underlying idea seems to be not merely to expedite, as in the savage instances, but actually to eliminate the anxious period of dissolution. The Haida say they cremate to liberate the soul,<sup>2</sup> the Wayana of French Guiana, that the soul may go up in smoke.<sup>3</sup>

As for various forms of 'pre-sepulchral decarnation' or *scarnitura*, such as the tree and platform burial of Australia and elsewhere, the essential details are the same, and merely reinforce the conclusions at which we have already arrived. For an extreme instance, however, of the religious significance attached to the fluids of the body, those who wish may peruse the account of their use in connection with the tree and platform burial of the Hood Peninsula in British New Guinea,<sup>4</sup> or may turn to the similar customs of the Wallaroi<sup>5</sup> and Warraminga<sup>6</sup> of Australia, or of the Papuans of Geelvink Bay in New Guinea,<sup>7</sup> although the study is likely to produce qualms, even, be it said, in the breast of an anthropologist.

In order to establish analogies with the libations of ancient Egypt, the fact must be noted that, as it is precisely

<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 540, 541.

<sup>2</sup> *Int. Arch.* xiii. Supplement, p. 87. <sup>3</sup> *Jesup Expedition*, v. 54.

<sup>4</sup> R. E. Guise, "On the Tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea," *J.A.I.* xxviii. p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 467.

<sup>6</sup> Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 515.

<sup>7</sup> Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, p. 313.



these moist parts which by their complete disappearance leave the body safe in a sense, yet lifeless, so an effort often seems to be made to restore to the dead in some other form the vital element of which death robs them for ever—a rude endeavour, in fact, to reconstitute the organism. To shed the blood, “which is the life, upon the body of the dead,” is perhaps the most direct attempt at securing this result. Many examples come from Australia,<sup>1</sup> where, indeed, blood is not only prized as a strengthening medicine for the living, but when dripped upon the corpse, forms a constant feature of burial rites. The Hebrews were forbidden to cut themselves for the dead,<sup>2</sup> and a similar custom was known to the Peloponnesians, who scourged themselves annually at the grave of Pelops, letting their blood drip upon the ground. Perhaps we may interpret in the same manner the custom of anointing the dead; also of liquid offerings to them, such as gifts of water, milk, oil, wine, or honey. That these are interchangeable seems clear from Mr. Ellis’ account of libations in Dahomey, which may consist of blood, or alcohol, or water. How clear and natural seems the intention of the New Mexican mother who moistens her dead baby’s lips with a few drops from her own breast, or of the African mother who drops a little of her milk into two pots for the twin babies who have been taken from her.<sup>3</sup> Surely the spring of the action is a maternal longing to give once more to her children the life which lately they drew from her.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Belief in Immortality*, pp. 154-158, where it is suggested that the idea is to strengthen the soul for reincarnation. The belief in the latter, however, is not as widespread as this particular rite.

<sup>2</sup> Leviticus, xix. 28; Deuteronomy, xix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, “On Certain Beliefs,” *J.A.I.* 1885. See also De Quatrefages, *The Pygmies*, London, 1895, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Frazer says it is that they may not return to plague her, though he says somewhat vaguely that these examples are “pathetic” (“On Certain Burial Customs,” pp. 74-95). One wonders that the ghosts of these mothers do not return to plague those who have so misrepresented them.

From time immemorial we find the custom of painting with red ochre, or, perhaps, of embedding in it, the fleshless bones of the dead, and it may even be, in the light of the general use of red ochre as a substitute for blood, that we have to do with an intention such as that made explicit in the Pyramid text, namely, of revitalising those who have suffered the greatest of all changes. Of these formulæ it may be pointed out that they offer a satisfactory confirmation of what has been deduced, inasmuch as they represent, not the theories of anthropologists, but the indubitable opinions of those concerned, graven on the enduring rock.

We may note, therefore, that there is this other funeral use of water, quite distinct from any idea of the establishment of a barrier, or of any apparent fear or hatred of the dead. On the contrary, the theme we find so often, of an apparent attempt to revitalise him by blood, water, or wine, can only be due to a loving desire to ensure to the departed his future existence.

From the more general question of the assurance of immortality, we may now pass on to give a very cursory glance at the romantic problem of the Home of the Dead and its geographical position as materially conceived by primitive man. There is some evidence to show that inhumation and the idea of the grave as the house of the dead have led on to an enlarged conception of the colourless life of the tomb as a state of continued existence. Thus the Sheol of the Hebrews appears from its very name, meaning a cavernous recess, to be derived directly from the rock tomb itself.

To the home beyond the sky, however, to which the Winnebago ascends by the Path of the Dead which we call the Milky Way,<sup>1</sup> that upper region where the Australian wanders hereafter,<sup>2</sup> we can find but little clue in burial custom. The connection of ideas must be sought else-

<sup>1</sup> *Schoolcraft, Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, iv. p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Eyre, Australia*, vol. ii. p. 367.

where ; perhaps in the ecstatic phenomenon of levitation, perhaps in the solid appearance in a cloudless land of "that inverted bowl we call the sky" ; or perhaps it was suggested by the free flight of birds, so often taken as the symbol of the homing spirit. Again, it may be due to the association between spirit and air, in which case a definitely animistic origin must be assigned to it.

As to the home of the dead situated on the same earth as ourselves, as in some blessed isle, or on some conspicuous mountain, we are again at a loss for precise reasons. Sir Edward Tylor thinks that the spectacle of the setting sun drew like a magnet a great tide of souls to the West.<sup>1</sup> Thus Procopius writes of the boats laden with souls that crossed from France to the blessed Western Isle that is no other than our own familiar England. Yet the home is not always in the West ; for many another point of the compass is chosen, and the orientation of the dead does not invariably correspond to it ; though in many cases it does appear to suggest the direction in which the soul is to go. But then, we must ask, what are the causes that suggest any particular orientation? Mr. Perry has made an attempt in the Indonesian area to establish a connection between the orientation of houses, a corresponding orientation of graves, and a mythical home of the dead on earth. He believes that such a myth may have an actual historical foundation, since it is certainly customary in some instances to send bodies of the dead back to the land from which the ancestors had wandered.<sup>2</sup>

Another line of enquiry, however, suggests itself. Mr. Crooke, in a lecture delivered recently at Oxford on the subject of Indian House-Life, mentioned incidentally several examples which seem to indicate a rationalistic

<sup>1</sup>Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th edition, 1903, vol. ii. pp. 48-421.

<sup>2</sup>Perry, "Myths of Origin and the Home of the Dead in Indonesia," *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. p. 138. See also his "Orientation of the Dead in Indonesia," *J.A.I.* xlv. p. 281.

basis for orientation followed by a myth of explanation. The houses in these cases are built ostensibly with regard to the home of the dead ; but in each case they actually face away from the prevailing wind. If indeed the tomb be orientated like the house, it would be interesting to trace the connection between the prevailing winds and a later explanation of the locality of the other world.<sup>1</sup>

To conclude, the suggestions that have been made here are doubtless of a slight nature ; but so rapid a survey of burial customs in all ages and climes can but attempt to give a very general idea of the possibility of correlation and causal connection between the various forms of ritual and belief. A considerable harvest awaits those who may be interested in the intensive study, from this point of view, of particular culture areas.

Moreover, the subject is complicated by the presence of additional factors which have had to be eliminated for the purposes of this paper. Thus the converse reaction on ritual of its derivative beliefs, or even of beliefs independently established, should receive due allowance. An example is the differential treatment of the body of the suicide according to the current view of the morality or immorality of his action, and the prevalent belief as to his prospects in a future life.<sup>2</sup> Again, the influence of culture contact must be taken into account. Dr. Rivers has worked out for us in remarkable detail the Melanesian facts with regard to funerary ritual, showing not only how intrusive changes in burial customs may result from migrations, but even how new forms may arise directly from the shock of contact.<sup>3</sup> Once more, the geographical factor must be given full weight, since not only may it

<sup>1</sup> See also Mr. T. C. Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, on "The Maram District of Assam," and Dr. Haddon, in *The Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

bear directly on burial customs, as in the Arctic, where the shallow frozen soil makes deep inhumation impossible ; but also indirectly in its effect on local imagination and therefore on the character of belief. Such conceptions may indeed differ as greatly as the Valhalla of the hardy Norsemen from the languorous paradise of the Orient. Perhaps, however, enough has been said to indicate that, when all these complicating considerations are set aside, there remain substantial reasons for holding that the ritual of burial as such has played an important part in determining the development of belief.

M. A. HOLLAND.

---

## PARTHENOGENESIS.

### *In Serbian Popular Tradition.*

PARTHENOGENESIS is the scientific term for the phenomenon of virgin birth. The first to draw attention to the occurrence of this phenomenon in bees was Gerson, but since then it has been definitely established not only in the case of bees but also in that of other insects, by K. Th. v. Siebold, who recognizes it as a scientific axiom. In Serbian tradition we likewise find traces of this belief in the possibility of virgin birth.

The Serbian National Ballad *Smrt Grozdane Kćeri Dušanove* (The Death of Grozdana, Dušan's Daughter), from Sarajevo<sup>1</sup> in Bosnia, relates how the Serbian Tsar Stjepan Dušan (1331-1355) went a-hunting in the mountains, where he remained for a whole week without succeeding in killing anything. On his way home from his fruitless expedition, he came to a pool from which he desired to drink. While he was drinking, his horse impatiently pawed the ground among the beech-leaves, and in so doing laid bare a skull. When the Vizier Theodore caught sight of the skull, he pushed it with his foot; but the skull spoke and said: "Do not push me with your foot, Vizier Theodore! Thou, Theodore, hast not been Tsar, but this skull has, and as it has been, so shall it be again." When Tsar Stjepan heard this, he commanded that the skull should be removed and brought away. On his return to

<sup>1</sup> *Srpske narodne pesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine* (Serbian National Songs from Bosnia and Hercegovina), collected by B. Petranović, Belgrade, 1867, pp. 146-151.

Prizren—his residence—he cast it into the fire, but by doing this he could not harm it. Then he placed it in a mortar, ground it to powder and deposited it in a golden casket, which he kept in his own private chamber, which the servants never entered.

A year later, just on Easter Sunday, Tsar Stjepan went to church and forgot the keys of his private chamber. His daughter, Grozdana, walking through the palace, came to his private chamber, and when she caught sight of the golden casket she half opened it, and, thinking it contained snuff, sniffed the contents. But after the lapse of half a year, Grozdana's heart "grew big within her." Her mother, noticing it, said to the Tsar :

"O Tsar Stjepan, sun that never setteth !  
Someone has become our daughter's lover,  
Our Grozdana's heart grows big within her."

Tsar Stjepan refused to believe her, as nobody could approach his palace nor kiss the face of Grozdana. But the Tsaritsa did not cease to persuade him, till at last he called his daughter before him, and no sooner had he set eyes upon her than he asked who was it that was visiting the palace and kissing her face? Grozdana in tears replied :

"There is none that cometh to the palace  
Saving only thou and my dear mother,  
Nor has any man ever kissed my face."

Then her father asked her whether she had fallen in love with any man, to which she replied, calling God to witness, that this was not so ; and then she told him all that she had done with the powder, and if he did not believe her, let him hang her on the "dry wild olive tree." But when this was done, the "dry wild olive tree sprouted" and put forth green leaves. When Tsar Stjepan beheld this, he repented of what he had done and buried her honourably.



In a Serbian national tale we find a similar example. The Serbs say, the tale runs, that Constantinople (Carigrad) was not built by man, but that "it was built by itself." They say that once upon a time a certain Tsar went out hunting and, as he was riding along, his horse stepped upon the skull of a man. And the skull said: "Why do you step upon me? Dead as I am, I shall weary you." When the Tsar heard this, he dismounted, took up the skull and carried it home. There he burned it in the fire, and when it had cooled he ground the charred bones to powder. The powder he wrapped in paper and put it in a chest. Some time afterwards, during the Tsar's absence, his daughter, who was a maiden of marriageable age, took his keys, opened the chest and began to examine its contents. When she came to the paper package, she realised that it contained a powder, but she did not know what kind of powder it was. So she placed her finger on her tongue, moistened it, and picked up some of the powder with it to taste it, and find out what kind of powder it might be. Then she folded up the paper just as it had been before and left it in the chest. But from that moment she became pregnant. When, presently, enquiries were made to discover how she came to be in this state, it was found that this thing was due to the skull. In due course, the Tsar's daughter gave birth to a son. When the Tsar took the infant in his arms, the child, small as he was, immediately "seized the Tsar by the beard." Then the Tsar commanded that two dishes should be brought, one filled with red-hot coals and the other with ducats, so that he might see whether the child had acted thus from childish folly or of set purpose. "If the child is merely foolish," said he, "he will stretch out his hands for the red-hot coals; but if not he will try to seize the ducats." When both the red-hot coals and the ducats were brought before the child, he immediately reached for the ducats, taking no notice of the red-hot coals. Then the Tsar understood that

the prophecy of the skull would come true. When the child grew up to be a youth, the Tsar sent him away from home into the world and said to him: "Do not stop at any place until you find the spot where two evils are conflicting with one another." As the youth went through the world, he came to the spot where now stands Constantinople, and there he saw a hawthorn around which a snake had wound its coils. And the snake bit the thorn and the thorn was pricking the snake. Then the lad thought to himself: "These are the two evils," and he went round about that spot to examine it. And as, in thus going round, he came again near to the hawthorn, he stopped and said: "Here I must stop." No sooner had he said this, than, looking back, he saw that right away from the thorn and all the way wherever he had passed, a wall had grown up behind him. But from the spot where he stood to that thorn they say there is no wall in Constantinople unto this day. Had he not looked back and had he not said: "Here I must stop," the wall behind him would have grown up as far as the thorn. Later on he became Tsar there, and wrested the Empire from his grandfather.<sup>1</sup>

Fr. S. Kraus relates two Serbian popular tales from the neighbourhood of the Majeвица Mountain in Bosnia, which likewise contain references to virgin birth.<sup>2</sup>

The first of these tales is called: *Kako se rodio Car Konstantin* (How Tsar Constantine was Born), and it is of the same type as the above-mentioned tale. It runs as follows:

Once upon a time, as the King of the Jews was returning from the hunt, he came upon the skull of a man and he pushed it with his foot. "Don't kick me," said the skull, "for I will judge you." Then the King took up the skull

<sup>1</sup> Vuk S. Karadžić, *Srpski Rječnik* (Serbian Dictionary), under *Carigrad* (Constantinople).

<sup>2</sup> *Jahrbücher für volkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral*, herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich S. Kraus, I. Band, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 47-48 und 49-50.

and carried it home, where he baked it over the fire and put it in a mortar and ground it to powder, and that powder he tied up in a piece of cloth and placed it in a chest. Now the King had a daughter who chanced to find the powder in the chest, and, not knowing what it was, she sniffed it and then replaced it in the chest. But thereby she was presently with child. To her father's questions as to how she came to be with child, she replied it was owing to the powder. Then the King caused a boat to be built for her, and in it he placed food and drink, together with his daughter, and launched the boat upon the sea so that the sea might carry her away, for he was afraid of the words of the skull. In the boat, the King's daughter gave birth to a child; and the boat drifted far away to the coast of an unknown country, where it was washed ashore. There the King's daughter landed and brought up her child, and then they began to wander along the coast. The mother wished to build a house so that they might settle down, but the son declared that he would not build a house anywhere until they had come to the place of evil upon evil. As they journeyed thus, they came to Stamboul (Constantinople) and there they saw a snake which was biting a thorn-bush, and the thorn-bush was pricking the snake so that it was all covered with blood. "See, mother, this is the place of evil upon evil," said the son, "and here will we build our house." Then there came to them the Plague—in the shape of a woman—who said to the youth: "Take me to be your true love and I will build you a town as it were Nature's own work." And he promised he would do as she wished so that she might build the town for him. Then the Plague bade him mount his horse and ride before her towards the place where his town should stand. He obeyed, and wherever he passed, the walls arose and grew up behind him. When he came back to the place where he had started, he looked back; but now the walls of his town would not join up..

Then his mother said to him : “ Do not take her to wife, my son. Why should you entertain this fancy which is surely of the devil ? ” He obeyed his mother and did not marry the Plague, but walled her up with stones, and that is why the plague mostly rages in Stamboul (Constantinople) to this day. Afterwards, the youth proclaimed himself Tsar, and as he was begotten by a bone he was called Kostantin, or Constantine (Serbian Kost=bone). Then he wrested the kingdom from the King of the Jews, and thus the words came true which had been spoken when he was still a bone.

The second tale is entitled : *Sveti Andrija* (St. Andrew), and runs as follows :

Once upon a time, in the days when God still walked upon earth, there lived a man called Andrija (Andrew) who had killed ninety and nine men. Then he repented and went to find the Lord to seek forgiveness. And on his way he met a Saint. The Saint asked him whither he was going. Andrija replied that he was seeking the Lord to beg forgiveness of his sins. Then the Saint said : “ Tell me in what you have sinned and I will tell you what to do to gain forgiveness. I know all about it as well as the Lord himself.” So Andrija told him that he had killed ninety and nine men. Then the Saint bade him go home and for a whole year carry wood to the top of a hill and build it into a pile. When the year was past, he was to stand in the middle of the pile and set fire to it from without, and what remained of his body after the burning would be purified from sin, and his sin would be carried hence with the part of his body that was consumed. This Andrija did, and all the wood was consumed, and himself with it as well. Then it chanced that the Lord passed by with St. Sava, and the Lord said : “ Let us go and see what has remained.” But they found nothing but only the heart, as it had been taken clean out of a man. Then the Lord said to St. Sava : “ Take the heart and we will roast it

to-night for our supper." So St. Sava took it; and when they came home, St. Sava put the heart on the fire to roast it. Now there was a girl in the house, and as the heart was roasting she fancied the smell of it, and kept on asking St. Sava: "Is it done yet?" And suddenly she deceived St. Sava, for she swiftly took up the heart and ate it. Then the Lord asked: "Is it done yet?" St. Sava did not dare to say that the girl had eaten it, but said: "It was burnt." And the Lord replied: "It does not matter; I am not hungry." So they went away. But when the girl became pregnant, the Lord, knowing when her child should be born, came that same evening to the house to sleep there. When the child was born, the Lord said: "Go, Sava, and christen it." Sava asked: "What name shall I give it?" And the Lord replied: "You know. For his first name call him Andrija (Andrew)." So they went away, and the girl brought up the child and when he died he was made a saint; and ever since then Sveti Andrija (St. Andrew) has been worshipped.

The second book of folk-tales collected by R. Strohal<sup>1</sup> contains a tale from Karlovac, entitled: "Of Milutin, the Count's Son," from which the following passage is quoted verbatim:

Once upon a time there lived a rich and powerful Count who had a beautiful wife, and they lived very happily together. They had only one grief, which was that they had no children. Thus they continued for many years until the Count received the command to go to war. He did not return for many years. Once, as his wife was going for a walk, she longed greatly for a child. And at that moment a snowflake fell from the sky upon her breast, and by that flake she immediately conceived and in due course gave birth to her son Milutin.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hrvatskih narodnih pripovjedaka knjiga II.* (Second Book of Croatian Folk Tales), collected by R. Strohal, Karlovac, 1911, pp. 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels to this tale are quoted by Gjuro Polivka ("Paralele narodnim

Besides these tales, Kraus quotes several Serbian popular beliefs of a similar nature. If a woman sleeps naked in the moonlight in a garden, forest or field, she will become pregnant. Children conceived in this manner possess the gift of second sight. Sometimes it is said that their father is a vampire.

According to one tradition, a young girl can become pregnant by passing at noontide through a field of corn in the ear with the sun upon it.<sup>1</sup>

This belief in parthenogenesis has given rise to various abuses, and of this we find frequent traces in Serbian popular traditions.

T. R. GEORGEVITCH.

pripovietkama u Strohalovu Zborniku II.") in the *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* (Collection of the National Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs), book viii. vol. 2, p. 165.

<sup>1</sup> F. S. Kraus, *Anthropophyteia*, i. p. 51.



# CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(Continued from Vol. XXVIII. p. 431.)

## CHRISTMASTIDE.

II. (g) <i>Christmas Fare ; Viands.</i>	LOCALITY.
Frumenty, frumety, furmety (wheat boiled in milk, sometimes with raisins).	
Christmas Eve supper	- North Country.
Sometimes barley used	- South Durham.
Also eaten on New Year's Eve	N.E. Yorksh.
Corn given by grocers	- Swaledale.
Followed by gingerbread, apple pie, cheese	- Filey (fishers).
Also eaten at sheep-shearing	Lincs.
At wakes	- Cheshire.
Occasionally met with	- Salop.
Eaten at tea-time	- E. Yorksh., S. Yorksh.
Christmas Day breakfast	- Suffolk.
Cakes.	
Yule-dough, yull-doo, yill- babby (cakemadein human form, one each distributed to children ; bakers pre- sented)	- - - - Northumberland.
Yule-cake	- - - - Durham, Yorksh.
Yule-cake, unlucky to refuse	Durham (Gainford).
Yule-cake, round plum cake, decorated with pastry checker-work ; eaten on Christmas Eve	- - - - E. Riding.
" Old Wives' cake " (short- bread made and eaten Christmas Eve)	- - - - Swaledale.

- |  | LOCALITY.                   |
|--|-----------------------------|
| "Peppercake" (gingerbread, offered to all comers Christmas Eve) - - -  | Filey, Whitby.              |
| "Ewe-loaf" (? yule-loaf; cake decorated with figure of lamb's head; baker's gift) - - -  | Lancs. (Poulton-le-Fylde.)  |
| Christmas cake or buns (round bit on top called "the Christmas." One apiece, also distributed. Not to be cut before Christmas Day) - - - | Cornwall.                   |
| Slice of cake and glass gin given by tradesmen -   | Falmouth.                   |
| "Wiggs" (caraway buns, eaten dipped in ale, Christmas Eve supper) - - -  | Shrewsbury.                 |
| "Kichels" (flat triangular cakes with currants on top)   | Suffolk.                    |
| "Congleton cakes" or "count cakes" (triangular, a raisin at each point; eaten at school audits and breaking-up) - - -                    | Cheshire (Congleton).       |
| (Bread and) cheese.  |                             |
| Publicans offered bread and cheese to all - - -  | London (Geo. II.).          |
| Offered to all guests during Christmas - - -   | Derbysh., Yorksh.           |
| Cross cut on the cheese -  | Yorksh. (N. Riding).        |
| Cheese completes Eve supper  | Yorksh. (Filey).            |
| Pies.  |                             |
| Apple pie (Christmas Eve supper) - - -   | Yorksh. (Filey, Penistone). |
| Mince-pies (throughout Christmas-tide) - - -   | Universal.                  |
| „ Eaten Advent Eve to Shrove Tuesday (unlucky before or after) - -   | Locality ?                  |
| „ Eaten from <i>O Sapientia</i> onwards - - -  | Dr. Parr (1747-1825).       |
| „ If eaten before Christmas Day, cause "happy months" next year - - -  | Often said.                 |

Mince-pies—	LOCALITY
„ As many as eaten in different houses during the twelve days of Christmas, so many happy months in the next twelvemonth -	Westmd., Cumbd., Northumbd., Lincs., Staffs., Salop.
„ Lucky to keep mincemeat till Easter - - -	Glos. (Churchdown).
Meat in <i>minch</i> -pie, none in <i>mince</i> -pie - - -	Lincs. <sup>1</sup>
Christmas pie watched all night (? while baking) -	Devon.
“ Keeches ” (triangular turnover pasties filled with mincemeat, a pastry bird in centre) - - -	Herrick (17th cent.).
One made for each child <sup>2</sup> -	Northants. ( <i>circa</i> 1860), Notts., Leic., Derbysh. and (?) Warw.
“ Christmas pigs ” (piecrust shaped like pigs, filled with chopped pork or with mincemeat) - - -	North Lincs.
Game pie (raised “ standing pies ” generally provided at inns to set before guests)	Yorksh.
Goose pie - - - -	North Country, Salop.
Giblet pie - - - -	Northumbd., Cornwall.
Haggis (Christmas Day, formerly breakfast, since dinner) - - - -	Northumbd.
Hackings, Hack-pudding (sheep’s heart, suet, fruits, Christmas Day breakfast)	Cumbd. (Whitbeck).
“ Pig-cheer ” (everyone must help to prepare) - - -	Derbysh.
Brawn (daily breakfast during Christmas) - - - -	Cambridge (Clare Coll.), Inner Temple (16th cent.).

<sup>1</sup> Early descriptions of “ Christmas-pie ” always mention chopped “ beeves’ tongue ” among the ingredients.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *N. and Q.* 8th ser. ii. 505.

LOCALITY.

Boar's head (Christmas dinner)	Windsor Castle, Inner Temple (16th cent.), Queen's Coll., Oxford, Suffolk (Hengrave).
Roast sirloin of beef (dinner)	General.
Plum pudding - - -	General.
Everyone must stir - -	Staffs.
Turkey, eaten in - - -	East Anglia about 1585.
Trade in, considerable -	Norfolk, 1817.
Rum-punch (served in loving cup at Christmas parties, etc.) - - - -	Cumbd. and Westmd.
Ale-posset (breakfast dish for guests, or supper at parties)	Cumbd. and Westmd.
Ale-posset (bread soaked in milk, ale poured on it while hot. Christmas Eve supper) - - - -	Derbysh. (Milford).
Wassail-bowl (Christmas cake broken into the bowl, hot ale poured on it, eaten with spoons on Christmas Eve)	Notts.
Lambswool (roasted apples in hot spiced ale) drunk on Christmas Eve - -	Notts.
Toast and spiced ale, or toast and mead (Christmas Eve supper) - - - -	Norfolk.
Hot elderberry wine (Christmas Eve) - - - -	Suffolk.
Toast and cider (hot toast broken into bowls, cider poured on it, eaten with spoons, breakfast, Christmas Day) - - - -	Somerset, Devon (?), Dorset (?).
"Egg-hot," or "eggy-hot" (eggs, hot beer, sugar, rum, frothed up, Christmas Eve supper) - - - -	Cornwall.
Apples eaten - - - -	Devon (Moretonhampstead).
Apple enclosed in "mell" (last sheaf of corn) given to oldest servant - - -	Cumberland.

Nuts eaten (Rhyme: "Crack LOCALITY.  
nuts and cry Yule!") - East Riding.

(h) *Feeding Animals.*

Cattle better fed during  
Christmastide - - - Salop.  
Hay instead of straw, Christ-  
mas morning - - - Heref.  
Extra food, Christmas Eve - Liucs., Devon (Hartland).  
Sheaf of unthreshed oats  
apiece, Christmas [Eve]  
midnight - - - North Riding.  
Ditto, or Christmas morning S. Yorksh., Cumbd.  
"Mell" (last sheaf in har-  
vest) given to best cow - Cumbd.  
"Neck" (last sheaf) given to  
master bullock, Christmas  
Eve - - - Cornwall.  
Sheaf put out for birds - E. Anglia.  
Wheatsheaf hung outside  
church - - - Yorksh. (Ackworth).  
Poultry had double feed - Cheshire (New Brighton),  
*circa* 1820-50.  
Plum-pudding given to  
horses, dog, and cat, before  
eating, for year's luck - Norfolk (Terrington St.  
John).  
"No Christian would turn a  
dog out at Christmas" - Northants.

(i) 1. *Wassailing (i.e. Health-drinking).*

1. Wassailing or "Worsling"  
Orchards; ("apple-howling"  
or "holloing").  
By owner and household,  
Christmas Eve or Old  
Christmas Eve - - Herefdsh., W. Somerset,  
Devon, Dorset.  
By parishioners in procession S. Devon, Cornwall (1824).  
By strolling bands of men,  
during Christmastide - Devon, Somerset, Wilts.  
Ditto, on New Year's Eve - Surrey (Anstead Brook,  
Haslemere), Sussex,  
Kent.  
Ditto, on Old Twelfth Day - Somerset (Rowdon).

	LOCALITY.
Rites : Cake or toast dipped in cider, put in branches or fork of tree, with rhyme <sup>1</sup> and shouts ; frequently guns fired - - -	Devon, Dorset, Somers- set.
“ Rough music ” often added	Dorset.
Cider poured or sprinkled on trees ; dancing round them	Cornwall, 1816.
Buckets of cider with roasted apples drunk in orchard, boy hoisted into branches, trees pelted with apples -	Devon (Torquay).
Trees struck or tapped with sticks while rhyme recited	Surrey (Warlingham), Sussex, Kent.
Cow-horn blown at foot of trees - - - -	Surrey, Sussex (Chailey).
Unlucky to crop to omit Wassailing - - - - ?	?

(i) 2. Wassailing Corn and Cattle,  
Twelfth Eve - - - Herefdsh., Glos.

Thirteen fires lighted on wheatfield ; farmer, men, and  
friends toast each other in cider.

Oxen in “ wainhouse ” severally toasted in ale.<sup>2</sup>

Cake stuck on horn of leading ox, thrown off, becomes  
perquisite of bailiff or of farmer’s wife.

(i) 3. The Wassailing Bough, wessel-  
bob, wesley-bob.

<sup>1</sup> “ Stand fast, root ! bear well, top !

Pray God send a good howling crop !

Hats full, caps full, dree bushel-bags full !

(*cresec.*) Now, Now, Now ! ” (Firearms discharged).

(*Dorset variant.*)

<sup>2</sup> Toast. “ Here’s to thee, Benbow, and to thy white horn.  
God send thy master a good crop of corn,  
Of wheat, rye and barley, and all sorts of grain,  
You eat your oats and I’ll drink my beer,  
May the Lord send us all a happy New Year ! ”

Cf. also Mrs. Leather’s *Herefordshire*, p. 95.



- |   | LOCALITY.   |
|---|---|
| Children carry bough of holly<br>or yew, decorated with<br>fruit or ribbons, sing, <sup>1</sup> and<br>expect pence - - - | Sheffield, Huddersfield,<br>West Riding, Derbysh.<br>(Whittington), Leic.<br>(Claybrook). |
| Sometimes rough wooden<br>cross carried in centre of<br>bough, or alone - - -   | W. Riding (1863).   |
| Bough sometimes of rose-<br>mary, to bloom Old Christ-<br>mas midnight - - -  | Worcester.  |
| (i) 4. The Wassail Bowl (New Year's Eve).   |   |
| Young women carried and<br>offered bowl of liquor, New<br>Year's Eve - - -  | Northumbd. (1777).  |
| (General in 17th cent., cf.<br>Selden's <i>Table Talk</i> ) -   | Lichfield, 1830; Notts. <sup>2</sup><br>1853; Whitby, 1855.                               |
| Young men carried empty<br>bowl to be filled.   |   |
| „ Called Wassail boys -   | Cornwall.   |
| „ Danced, stayed up all night   | Somerset (Langport).  |
| „ Carried cup, handle deco-<br>rated with rosemary;<br>would flower midnight,<br>Christmas Eve - - -                      | Glos. (Forest of Dean).   |

<sup>1</sup> “Here we come a-wandering, among the leaves so green,  
Here we come a-wassailing, so fair-y to be seen,  
Love and joy come to you  
And to your Wassail too,  
And God bless you and send you a Happy New Year!”

(*One of several Yorkshire variants.*)

<sup>2</sup> “Good master, at your door,  
Our wassail we begin,  
We all are maidens poor,  
So we pray you let us in,  
And drink our Wassail.  
All hail, wassail !  
Wassail, wassail !  
And drink our wassail.” (Notts.)

Young men—

LOCALITY.

„ Wassailing band carried  
wooden bowl decorated  
with evergreens and small  
dolls, Gloucestersh. agri-  
cultural toast sung<sup>1</sup> -

Glos. (Cotswold villages).

(i) 5. The Vessel-cup, Bezzle-cup,  
Milly-box<sup>2</sup> or Wassail-box.  
Martinmas to Christmas Eve.

(Women and children ex-  
hibit doll or dolls in box  
decorated with apples,  
oranges, sprigs of box,  
holly, etc.) - - - -

Durham, Derbysh. (Eck-  
ington, Whittington.)  
Notts., Leic. (Clay-  
brook), Lincs. (Grims-  
by), Yorksh. (N., W.  
and E. Ridings, Welton,  
Leeds, Normanton,  
Aberford, Swaledale,  
Richmond, Scarboro',  
Whitby, Filey, Holder-  
ness, Hull, Pontefract,  
Mirfield).

Singers must cross the thresh-  
hold - - - -

Yorksh. (Whitby, North-  
allerton).

<sup>1</sup> "Wassail, wassail, all over the town !  
Our toast it is white, our ale it is brown,  
Our bowl it is made of a maplin tree,  
We be good fellows all, I drink to thee !"

"Here's to our horse and to his right ear,  
God send our master a happy New Year,  
A happy New Year as e'er he did see  
With my wassailing bowl I drink to thee.

"Here's to our mare and to her right eye,  
God send our mistress a good Christmas pye," etc.

"Here's to Fillpail and to her long tail," etc.

<sup>2</sup>See *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii. pp. 94-96 ; vol. xvi. p. 419, and vol. xvii. p. 349, and plate iii. The favourite carols accompanying the box are :

"God rest you merry gentlemen, let nothing you dismay !"

and the benedictory song :

"God bless the master of this house and the good mistress too," etc.

	LOCALITY.
Leaf from decorated box	
cures toothache - -	Ditto.
Unlucky not to give gratuity (usually to first-comers) -	Yorksh. (Richmond, Whit- by, Filey).
(i) 6. Carol-singers called wassailers <sup>1</sup>	Glos. (St. Briavel's). Hants. (West Meon). Norfolk (Yarmouth).

<sup>1</sup> According to *Time's Telescope*, 1820, Christmas Eve, New Year's Eve, and Twelfth Eve were the proper nights for carrying round the Wassail bowl, as then "yet retained in many places."

(To be continued.)

## COLLECTANEA.

---

MEDIO-POLLITO.<sup>1</sup>

### *The Half-Chicken.*

ONCE upon a time there was a beautiful hen, that lived very much at her ease in a farm-yard surrounded by her numerous family of chickens, amongst which was a young cockerel conspicuous for its ugly and crippled form. This was just the one that its mother loved the most—for such is always the way of mothers. The small deformity had sprung from a rickety little egg. It was scarcely more than half a chicken, and looked just as if Solomon's sword had executed upon it the judgment pronounced by that wise king on a certain occasion. It had but one eye, one wing, and one leg, and yet gave itself more airs than its father, who was the finest, bravest, and most gallant cock in all the farm-yards for twenty miles around.

The young cockerel believed himself to be the Phoenix of his kind. If the other young cocks made a mock of him, he thought it was from envy; and if the young hens did the same, he said it was because they were enraged that he took so little account of them.

One day he said to his mother, "Hearken, mother, I am sick of the country. I am resolved to go to court; I wish to see the king and queen." The poor mother began to tremble at hearing these words. "My son," she cried, "who has put this extravagant idea into your head? Your father never stirred from his home, and he has been the glory of his race. Where will you find a yard like the one you have? Where will you find a more

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Spanish of Fernan Caballero's *La Gaviota* by H. T. Francis.

magnificent dunghill, more nourishing and abundant food, a more sheltered hen-yard to walk about in, or a family that would love you more ? ”

“ *Nego*,” said Medio-pollito in Latin, for he plumed himself on his learning, “ my brothers and cousins are ignorant bumpkins.” “ But, my son,” replied the mother, “ have you not seen yourself in a glass ? Don’t you see that you have a foot and an eye too little ? ” “ As far as that goes,” answered Medio-pollito, “ I must say that you ought to drop down dead with shame to see me in this state. It is entirely your fault. From what sort of an egg was I born into the world ? It must have been from an old cock’s egg.”<sup>1</sup> “ No, my child,” said his mother, “ only basilisks spring from such eggs. You were born from the last egg that I laid, and came into the world weak and imperfect, because it was the last egg in the nest. It certainly was not my fault.”

“ It may be,” said Medio-pollito, while his comb grew red as fire, “ it may be perhaps that I shall come across a skilful surgeon, who may supply me with the limbs that are lacking. There is no help here—I’m off.”

When the poor mother saw she was not able to dissuade him from his purpose, she said, “ At least, listen, my son, to the wise counsels of a good mother. Take care not to pass by those churches on which there is the image of St. Peter. That saint is not well disposed to cocks, and still less to their crowing. Also fly from certain people that there are in the world called ‘ cooks.’ Such are our mortal foes, and will twist our necks before one can cry Amen. And now, my son, may God guide you and the blessed St. Raphael, who is the patron of travellers. Go and ask your father for his blessing.”

Medio-pollito approached his father, dropped his head to kiss his foot, and asked his blessing. The worshipful old cock gave it with more dignity than tenderness, for Medio-pollito, by reason of his capricious character, was not a favourite of his.

<sup>1</sup> There is a common popular superstition that old cocks lay an egg from which in seven years comes a basilisk. It is also said that it kills with its look the first person that it sees, but that it dies if the person sees it first (Author’s note).

His mother was so moved with pity that she had to wipe away her tears with a dry leaf. Medio-pollito started at a brisk run, flapped his wing, and crowed thrice in token of farewell. On reaching the bank of a river that was almost dry—for it was the hot season—he lighted on a point in its course where the scanty thread of water was blocked by some branches of a tree. The stream on catching sight of the traveller said, “You see, my friend, how weak I am. I can scarcely move an inch. I have not strength enough to push aside these little boughs that obstruct my course. Nor can I make a circuit to avoid them, because it would very greatly fatigue me. You can easily deliver me from these straits by removing the boughs with your beak. In return for this favour you can not only quench your thirst in my stream, but you can count on my help, when the rain from heaven shall repair my strength.” The chicken replied, “I can, but I won’t. Do I look like a servant to poor dirty streams?” “You will remember me when you least expect it,” murmured the stream in a feeble voice. “You will be boasting next of your swollen stream,” said Medio-pollito, with a cunning look. “One would suppose you are reckoning on having the waters of the flood.”

A little further on the young cock met with the wind, which lay stretched as if dead upon the ground. “Dear Medio-pollito,” he said, “in this world we all have need one of another. Come near and look at me. Do you see how the summer heat has laid me low—me, who lifted the waves on high, and levelled the plains—me who found nothing to resist my power? These dog-days have killed me. I fell asleep, intoxicated with the scent of the flowers, with which I sported, and here you find me fainting away. If you would just lift me two inches from the ground with your beak and fan me with your wing, I should be strong enough to take to flight, and to steer my way to the cavern, where my mother and sisters, the storm winds, are occupied in patching some old clouds that I rent asunder. There they will give me something to refresh me, and I shall recover my strength.”

“Sir,” answered the wicked cock, “often enough have you amused yourself at my expense, pushing me from behind, and



making my tail spread out like a fan, so that all that see me jeer at me. No, my friend, to every pig comes St. Martin's day, so fare you well, Sir Jester." With these words he crowed thrice very loudly, and went on his way as proud as a peacock.

In the middle of a field of stubble, where some labourers had made a fire, there rose up a column of smoke. Medio-pollito drew near and saw a tiny spark, which at times was nearly extinguished amidst the ashes. "Dear Medio-pollito," said the spark on seeing him, "you are come just in time to save my life. For want of fuel I am at my last gasp. I don't know where my cousin the wind has betaken himself, for he always comes to my help in cases like this. Bring some straw to revive me." "What business of mine is this?" replied the cock. "You may burst if you like. What need, plague take it, have you of me?" "Who knows whether you won't be in need some day?" replied the spark, "no one can say of this water I won't drink." "Holla," said the mischievous creature, "are you still boasting?—then take this for your pains." And so saying he covered the spark with ashes; after which he began to crow after his manner, as if he had done a very fine thing.

Medio-pollito now reached the capital. As he passed in front of a church that they told him was sacred to St. Peter, he stepped in front of the porch, and crowed till he was tired, not more to put the saint in a rage, than to enjoy the pleasure of disobeying his mother. On approaching the palace, when he would have gone in to see the king and queen, the sentinels cried out "back!" Then he turned about and made his way in by a back door into a big room, where he saw many people going in and out. He asked who they were, and learned that they were his Majesty's cooks. Instead of running away, as his mother had warned him to do, he went in with crest and tail erect. But one of the urchins threw a glove and knocked him over, and then twisted his neck in the twinkling of an eye. "Come," said he, "let us have some water to pluck this poor wretch." "Water, my dear lady Crystal," said the cock, "oblige me by not scalding me, have pity on me." "Had you pity on *me*, when I sought your help, ill-begotten wretch?" replied the water, boiling with rage,

and flooded him from top to toe, while the young boys left him without a feather to help him.

The cook then seized Medio-pollito and put him on a spit. "Fire, blazing fire," said the unhappy creature, you that are so powerful and so brilliant, take pity on my misery. Restrain your ardour, extinguish your flames, do not burn me." "You rascal," replied the fire, "how have you the face to come to me for help, after having smothered me under the pretext of never wanting my aid? Draw near, and you shall see what is for your good." And in fact, not content with browning him, the fire burned him up, till he was like a piece of charcoal.

When the cook saw him in this condition, he seized him by the foot and threw him out of the window. Then the wind got possession of him. "O wind," cried Medio-pollito, "my dear and worshipful wind, that reignest over all, and obeyest no man, powerful amongst the powerful, have compassion on me, and leave me at peace on this dunghill." "Leave you!" roared the wind, snatching him up as in a whirlwind, and twisting him in the air like a top, "no, not as long as I live!" The wind then lodged Medio-pollito on the top of a bell-tower. St. Peter stretched forth his hand, and fixed him firmly there. Thenceforth he occupies this position, blackened and shrunken, and without a feather. Lashed by the rain, and buffeted by the wind, from which he ever carefully guards his tail. He is no longer called Medio-pollito, but a weather-cock, and you must all know that he stands there, paying the penalty of his faults and sins, his disobedience, his pride, and his wickedness.

---

BRETON FOLKLORE.

*The Legend of Le Roi Grallon and La ville d'ys.*

At Quimper, between the towers of the cathedral, stands an equestrian statue of Le Roi Grallon. He reigned in the fifth century. At that time St. Corentin lived in a hermitage near a spring in the forest. Every morning a little fish used to come out of the well, and the saint, cutting off a piece of its flesh,

used to throw it back into the water. One day he was visited by Le Roi Grallon, and the fish provided a scrap of its flesh for dinner. The cook laughed at the smallness of the supply, but it was miraculously increased until enough for the whole party was provided. St. Corentin in time became Bishop of Quimper, and the King removed his court to Caer-Is. The town stood at a level lower than that of the sea, and a strong dike was built, the key of which was always kept by the King. He had a daughter, Dehut, who fell in love with a dastardly enemy of the King. He persuaded her to steal the key, and then he opened the dike. The King, with his daughter behind him, tried to escape on horseback. But the water gained on them, and the spirit of St. Guenole appeared and shouted to the King to abandon the demon he carried behind him. So he flung her into the water, and the place where she was drowned is known as the Pool of Dahut. Some say she became a mermaid.

On St. Cecilia's Day the choristers sing on the roof of the cathedral, and when the hymn is ended a goblet is thrown down into the square. Any one who can catch it unbroken gains a prize.

#### *Folk-healing.*

At the village of Lanncanon, about 12 miles from Morlaize, I was told that when a peasant injures his hand he goes to a wise woman at Guerlesquin. He brings with him a worm from his own garden, which the woman places on the injured spot, and repeats the names of certain saints to whom Breton churches have been dedicated. The worm soon dies, and the woman directs the patient to make a pilgrimage to that saint whose name she happened to mention at the time of its death. When he comes to the place he mixes some earth from the churchyard with water and applies it to the wound, which rapidly heals.

#### *Holy Wells.*

There is a holy well in the parish of Lanncanon to which women bring their children who are slow in learning to walk. The child's shirt is dipped in the well, and put wet on the child. Similar cures are effected by placing children on a stone known

as the Tomb of St. Augustine in the parish of Plougonven, or on another tomb in the cathedral of St. Paul de Leon. Women carry to a holy well near Quimper the shirts of children suffering from whooping cough. But perhaps the most famous holy wells are those of St. Anne la Palue and St. Anne d'Auray, St. Anne being the patron saint of Brittany.

*Cattle-healing.*

Near Carnac is preserved the head of St. Cornely in a church. When cattle are sick the priest throws holy water over them at the church door, and the owner buys an image of St. Cornely and hangs it in the cattle-shed.

*Apparitions.*

M. Collobert of Lanncanon told me a tale of a farmer in that village who was coming home late from Morlaize. His father's spirit appeared to him on the road and begged him to make a pilgrimage to St. Anne d'Auray and get the priest to say masses for him as he was undergoing tortures in purgatory. When he reached home he found to his great surprise that about the same time the spirit had appeared also in the house.

He also told me about the spirit of Escop Penarstanc. He was once Bishop of Treguier, and was far from being a godly man. So his spirit was condemned to come back every night from the other world, and to say, or at least to try to say, mass, in the church of Plougonven, until he could find a Christian to do it for him. This spirit troubled the neighbourhood for generations. Every night the people were amazed to see the church lighted up. At last a priest conjured the spirit to jump over a precipice into a deep pool, after which it was never seen again.

*Death Portents.*

A young man named Theophile Guyomarch of Scrignac told me of an old woman who possessed second sight, and can always tell when a death is about to occur. One night my informant was passing a house and heard voices praying as they do in

times of mourning. As no one had died in the house he was amazed. But one of the family died a month after. In some places it is believed that if toothache starts at 3 p.m., it is a sign of a death in the house, or at least some misfortune.

*Blessing the Sea.*

In June, 1912, while I was at Quimper, three or four priests from the neighbouring port of Guilvinec went out in boats and threw holy water into the sea. I was informed that the same custom prevails at two other places on the west coast of Brittany. The Breton fishermen also call in a priest to assist at the christening of a new boat.

JONATHAN CEREDIG DAVIES.

Llanilar, Cardiganshire.

THE TOWN OF BARBARIE.

THE above is the name of a game which I found being played by boys in North Co. Dublin (March, 1918). It was played as follows: Some boys line up in a row, one of whom is called the prince. Two others get out on the road and join hands and represent the town of Barbarie. One of the boys from the row then comes up to the pair, walks around them, and asks

“Will you surrender, will you surrender,  
The town of Barbarie?”

They answer

“We won’t surrender, we won’t surrender,  
The town of Barbarie.”

Being unsuccessful he goes back to the prince and tells him that they won’t surrender. The prince then says

“Take one of my good soldiers.”

This is done, and the whole row of boys are brought up one after the other till the town is taken by their parting the joined hands of the pair who represent the town of Barbarie.

(*Note.*—Variants and illustrations of this game are given in the *Dictionary of British Folk-lore*, ed. A. B. Gomme, vol. i. pp. 18-21.)

JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY.

## THE CHERRY-TREE CAROL.

Two versions of the above-named ballad, one in Irish the other in Scotch Gaelic, have not, so far as I know, been identified. In *The Religious Songs of Connacht*, ed. Hyde, vol. i. pp. 276-285, there is given a poem called "Muire agus naomh Ióseph," which is of composite traditional origin, being derived from the recitals of Michael MacRory and Martin O'Callally in the County Mayo. The version contains 20 stanzas, all of which, except the 11th and 12th, are four-line stanzas. Of the 11th and 12th stanzas the editor writes, "These six line verses are alien to the spirit of the Irish language, and probably arise from the first half of the next quatrain being forgotten."

Child gives a similar explanation for a similar extension of the ballad stanza in version B of "The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield" (*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*). Of stanzas 4 and 5 in the latter ballad he wrote :

"It is not supposed that 4 and 5 were originally stanzas of six lines, but rather that one half of each of the two stanzas having been forgotten, the other has attached itself to a complete stanza which chanced to have the same rhyme. Stanzas of six lines formed in this way are common in traditional ballads."

To this theory of stanza-development I can hardly give full consent ; because not always does one find missing sense or even abruptness in such long stanzas. Child considers the added lines as having "chanced to have the same rhyme." Chanced is hardly the word to be used in this instance for such rimes as "bee" and "y," "me" and "thee" are stock ballad rimes. Therefore I am inclined to consider the stanza as not wholly explicable by means of this theory.

Another version of this interesting carol is given in Scotch-Gaelic in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. ii. pp. 162-165. It was taken down from Malcolm MacMillan, Benbecula, and also exhibits stanza-extension.

Both the Irish and the Scotch Gaelic poems above referred to have not, so far as I know, been identified as versions of the widely diffused European ballad known in England as "The Cherry-Tree Carol." In examining the different versions I am



inclined to believe that the Irish, the Scotch-Gaelic, and the English variants are closely connected, while, of course, the latter as well as the European versions seem to derive from the apocryphal legend of the Pseudo-Matthew's gospel which has been printed in Tischendorf's *Evangelica Apocrypha*. The legend is, as a consequence of its origin, to be found in mediaeval literature.

In the English versions the Babe's prediction of His death is sometimes printed as a separate ballad, and this seems to me to account for the composite origin of the Irish version. (*Vid. Religious Songs of Connacht, ut supra*, p. 276.)

JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY.

Barron Hill House, Bailey, Howth, Co. Dublin.

#### ARVAL OR AVRIL BREAD.

(*Folk-Lore*, xxviii. p. 303 ff.)

My mother, aged 67, who was brought up in Westmoreland, has frequently told me of the custom of providing *arval* bread at funerals; she always said *arval* and never *avril*. She spoke as if she remembered this quite well, and I have always thought that the custom was still prevalent amongst the old families of Troutbeck and Applethwaite when she was a girl, but that it was rapidly dying out.

As far as I recollect she spoke of different kinds of *arval* bread : (1) Small cakes of unleavened wheaten bread, generally baked at home. (2) Small thick oat biscuits, quite different from the usual Westmoreland oatcake, which is wafery and baked on large sheets. This, too, was usually if not always baked at home. When not baked at home these oaten biscuits and also the unleavened wheaten cakes were baked by a relative, friend, or near neighbour. (3) Small spiced cakes or sweet biscuits which could be purchased from a shop in Windermere or Kendal.

The cakes or biscuits were, I think, always round, but I am uncertain as to the size, except that they were smallish. They were wrapped in paper, and sometimes a funeral card was

enclosed as well. The stiff funeral cards are a recent innovation, the old-fashioned "card" being printed on thin paper, with black lines round the memorial notice and accompanying verse or verses (if any). Sufficient arval bread was provided for every person "in the bidding" who was to be asked to the funeral, and for friends and relatives coming from a distance. Each farm had its own "bidding," *i.e.* representatives from each house within a certain area had to be "bidden" personally to come to the funeral as a matter of course. Neighbours outside the "bidding" were not asked as a rule unless they were relatives or close personal friends of the deceased. The boundaries of the "bidding" usually coincided with those of the township, I think. One arval cake was given either to each person present at the funeral, or more usually to the chief representative of each family, as they took their leave after the funeral feast; it was not eaten at the feast but taken home. They were sometimes sent to those houses in the "bidding" which could not send a representative to the funeral, though this would not be necessary in most cases, as no one missed a funeral to which he had been bidden except for very exceptional reasons. I imagine the arval bread was eaten the same night, but cannot remember any precise statement to this effect.

Before the funeral, cake and wine were served at the house, and after the funeral there was a feast at which baked meats and wine, amongst other things rich fruit cake, were nearly always provided in large quantities if they could be afforded. Amongst the poor, ale, cheese, oatcake, and wheat bread took their place. The ale or wine was sometimes spiced and sometimes both spiced and served hot. In Westmoreland port wine is regarded as a teetotal drink, and my mother once suggested that this was because it was always used at funerals, when everybody *had* to drink a glass whether they were teetotal or not. Even the poor had one bottle of port, of which everyone must taste.

The people of Troutbeck and Applethwaite were very particular about corpse-ways, and each farm had its own particular corpse-way established by ancient custom. They were occasionally sources of dispute when they ran across a neighbour's fields, and it is said that fences had sometimes to be removed

to allow a funeral procession to pass along its traditional corpse-way.

The Needfire was lighted in Troutbeck as late as 1851, and arval bread is much better remembered than the Needfire.

My mother has never mentioned arval cheese, and this is the only occasion on which I have ever seen or heard any reference to it. Its use must have been discontinued quite early, I should think.

T. W. THOMPSON.

Lynwood, Rushley Road, Dore, nr. Sheffield.

#### SCOTCH CURES FOR EPILEPSY.

THE following note on Scotch cures for epilepsy has been forwarded by Sir James Frazer, who remarks that "the combination of fire with passage through a narrow opening is curious. I do not remember to have met with it before."

"You are no doubt familiar with the old superstitious cure for epilepsy by burying a live cock. There is a well-authenticated case which occurred within two miles of this town about forty years ago. While a number of boys were at play, one of them fell down in a fit. His parents regarded the case as epileptic, and at the spot where the boy fell they dug a hole and buried a cock alive. This was supposed to prevent another attack.

"In the Brahan Wood there are a number of conglomerate boulders, some of considerable size. Two of these boulders lean against each other, meeting near the top. A few years ago an old woman aged 84 died near this town. When she was a child she had a fit—perhaps a convulsion—which her parents supposed to be epileptic. They lighted a fire at the top of the leaning stones, and passed the child through the opening below. This reminds one of the Biblical account of passing through the fire to Moloch."

W. MACKENZIE.

Dingwall.

## "COUVADE" IN ONTARIO.

THE correspondent who formerly furnished me with material for notes on the folklore of the Province of Ontario now informs me of a belief which seems to come under the head of couvade. It is held by some that a pregnant woman may be free from "morning-sickness" and other forms of nausea, while the husband suffers from these discomforts instead. The belief is clearly a faded one; no means are employed to transfer the symptoms from wife to husband—it merely "happens so"; but it would appear to have been strengthened by cases in which a husband did actually have some stomachic trouble before his wife's confinement; my correspondent cites two such cases from his own experience.

H. J. ROSE.

---

MATRILINEAL KINSHIP AMONG NORTH AMERICAN  
INDIANS.

THE theory that primitive society was organised on the patriarchal model, popularised by Sir H. Maine in his *Ancient Law*, was generally accepted until writers like Bachofen and M'Lennan urged the priority of matrilineal kinship. Their view was supported by the investigations into the sociology of the Australian tribes by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen. At present the priority of matrilineal kinship is recognised by most anthropologists. But two eminent American anthropologists, Dr. Lowrie and Dr. Swanson, have questioned its existence among the North American Indians. Their conclusions have been criticised in an elaborate paper by Dr. E. Sidney Hartland (*Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, vol. iv. no. i.), in which he proves that in most of these tribes there is evidence of a previous stage of matrilineal organisation, and that where it is wanting, its absence is due to vicissitudes or other influences to which these tribes have been subjected.

---

## CORRESPONDENCE.

---

### THE BIRD CULT OF EASTER ISLAND.

WITH regard to Mrs. Routledge's article on the "Bird Cult of Easter Island" and to the symbol Ao, it may be of interest to mention that the Maoris when they reached New Zealand brought with them a stone bird which they regarded with extraordinary veneration. It was known, I think, as "Little crying dove," and when lost some years ago caused a great state of agitation; eventually it was found, and the image is now, I believe, in safe custody in one of the strong-rooms of a New Zealand bank. I acquired this information from *The Maoris of New Zealand* by J. Cowan.

With regard to the emblem Ao, one might connote this with the Maori Io, to which Mr. Cowan refers as follows:

"Beneath all the personifications of natural things, of the Sun and Moon and Stars, the Winds and the Ocean, there are faint traces of some still more ancient faith, the belief in a Great First Cause. This supreme Being or Power is Io, a name occasionally to be heard in ancient chants and genealogies. The resemblance of the name to Devus, Deo, Zeus, Iouis, and other forms of the Old World names for the Supreme God, has frequently been remarked upon, but probably the likeness is merely verbal; Io is no doubt a form of *iho*, the core or animating force of all things, the primal energising principle."

The Chaldean "God of *Life*" was sometimes entitled Aa, and it is perhaps worthy to remark that among the Mayas of Central America—the nearest continent to Easter Island and far nearer than New Zealand—Io is said to have been a sacrosanct term

implying "all that which lives and moves," the "Spirit of the Universe."

It seems to have been an almost invariable rule among the ancients to designate the priests of a cult by the name of the fetich or symbol to which they paid their devotions. Thus one finds "The Hounds," "The Bees," "The Doves," etc., etc. To this list may one add the Ao's of Easter Island?

ARNOLD BURLEY.

---

## OBITUARY.

---

### MR. CLEMENT ARTHUR MILES.

MR. MILES, who died on 2nd February, 1918, was a member of the Folk-Lore Society. He had been for many years on Mr. T. Fisher Unwin's literary staff, and had recently been working for the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee. He was author of an important work: *Christmas: in Ritual and Tradition*. He possessed a wide knowledge of European languages, translated Sabatier's *Modernism* and other works from the French, and was co-translator from the Italian of Gayda's *Modern Austria: Her Racial and Social Problems*. His early death at the age of 37 frustrates the promise of a distinguished career.

---

## REVIEWS.

---

PORPHYRE. *L'Antre des Nymphes*, traduit par JOSEPH TRABUCCO; suivi d'un essai sur *Les Grottes dans les Cultes magico-religieux et dans la Symbolique primitive* de P. SAINTYVES. Paris: Émile Nourry. 1918.

M. ÉMILE NOURRY, a member of the Folk-Lore Society, who has written several valuable studies on folklore subjects under the pseudonym of P. Saintyves, has employed this translation of Porphyry's tract on the Cave of the Nymphs mentioned by Homer, as a peg whereon to hang his dissertation on Caves in magico-religious cults and in primitive symbolism.

According to his theory the cave was considered in ancient times as the universal matrix from which the world and men, light and the heavenly bodies alike have sprung, and that the initiation into the ancient mysteries always took place in a cave. Many caves in Palestine and elsewhere now regarded as centres of Christian history or legend, such as the cave of Bethlehem where the Nativity is said to have taken place, were, he contends, originally caves dedicated to the worship of Adonis and similar pagan deities. This is interesting, and in many cases probable; but the author is not always very critical of his evidence, nor does it always appear whether his authorities are cited for the fact or for the tradition. Indeed, in the case of the cave alleged to be the burial-place of Jesus Christ, his quotation from Eusebius seems to show that it was not a prehistoric place of worship. In his reference to the Baptism, too, he has placed the cart before the horse, by making the Fasting and Temptation precede, instead of following, the rite.

Speaking generally, however, the well-known custom of the



Christian Church to seize upon sacred places of older religions and convert them to Christian worship leads naturally to the suspicion that this took place in many more instances than have been identified. And though many of the festivals and of the sacred names are now known to be far older in one form or another than Christianity, probably more remain to be investigated. The author's identifications cannot be regarded as by any means always established; but his speculations are ingenious and should be kept in view for further research. In particular, his suggestion that creation legends are often or usually the libretto of a seasonal or initiatory ritual should not be forgotten.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

GERALD FRIEDLANDER. JEWISH FAIRY TALES. Illustrated by BEATRICE HIRSCHFELD. London: R. Scott. 1917. 8vo. Pp. viii+88.

OUT of the vast treasury of Jewish tales, the Rev. Gerald Friedlander has picked out eight tales. Of course, they are no real fairy tales; it is somewhat of a misnomer. The fairy as we know it from our Western tales is often a mere she-demon in the East, and in these tales there is perhaps only one that approximates to our Western tales. Still they are unquestionably characteristic tales, full of the romance of the East, and cast in the mould of the Jewish spirit, independent of whatever their primitive origin may have been. The tales are: 1. King Solomon and the Worm, *i.e.* the legend of the stone cutting Shamir and the adventures of Benayah who was sent to capture Ashmedai, the King of the Demons, who alone possessed the secret of that stone so essential for the building of the Temple without the use of iron.

2. Falsehood and Wickedness, allowed to enter the ark of Noah as a pair. Wickedness agreed to be the mate of Falsehood on condition that Falsehood should give to Wickedness all the profits made in the ark. In the end Wickedness cheats Falsehood of the whole of her gains in the ark.

3. The Wicked King and His Bride. This is the story published by me some years ago in the *Journal* of our Society from a Hebrew MS. of the twelfth century. Mr. Friedlander, evidently ignorant of that fact, took it from the Jewish-German "Maasse-Buch,"—the Jewish *Gesta Romanorum* of the sixteenth century. I may mention incidentally that at the request of the American Jewish Publication Society I have been engaged for some time already in a complete translation of the above mentioned "Maasse-Buch."

4. The Story of the Two Jewels from the Work of Aben Verga. This is more an allegoric parable than a tale. It is the source of "The three rings" in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*.

5. The Beggar at the Wedding is the disguised Angel of Death, who is appeased by the hospitality shown to him, and the death sentence is averted by the bride's intercession with God.

6. The Clever Wife who was barren and consented to become divorced after ten years of married life if allowed to take with her the best beloved object. She makes her husband drunk at the parting feast and carries him in that state to her house.

7. The coins of Elijah are bringing blessing and riches to the man who, following his wife's advice, accepts the loan of them for the immediate seven years and not the last seven years of his life. He acts charitably and the coins remain with him to the end.

The last (No. 8) is only a fable taken from the collection of Berachyah of the twelfth-thirteenth century, whose relation to the fables of Marie de France is still a problem waiting for final solution.

These tales and apologues belong also to other cycles, and students of folklore have often referred to them; especially is this the case with the first tale, which has a history of its own. The incident alone of the dialogue between Solomon and Ash-medai leads up to that of "Solomon and Markult," and to Bertoldo. Vesselofski has written his famous book *Solomon i Kitovras* about this legend, and follows up many of its main features throughout the literature of the world. Mr. Friedlander has contented himself with the translation of these tales from the Hebrew into English and has presented them to the

reading public without any reference to parallel literature. It is a pity that in his desire to interest the modern and probably youthful reader, he should have modernised the quaint old style which is not the least charm of the old tales.

In spite of these strictures I was bound to make in the name of our science of Folk-Lore, Mr. Friedlander's book deserves commendation as a contribution to the store of Jewish Medieval Tales and apologues, inasmuch as they have been translated directly from the Hebrew.

A special feature of this publication upon which I should like to lay stress, is the spirited illustrations of Miss Hirschfeld. They are taken from the symbolical and ceremonial life of the Jews, and reflect the oriental setting of the tales. The artist is to be heartily complimented on her clever achievement.

M. GASTER.

---

#### SHORT NOTICES.

DREAMS: WHAT THEY ARE, AND WHAT THEY MEAN, by J. W.

WICKWAR. A. F. Denny & Co., London. 2nd ed. 1917.

THIS little book gives a clear survey of an interesting subject. The author explains the origin of dreams as follows: "By the automatic activities of the nerve cells of the brain, conscious and unconscious memories are worked up and visualised into new and startling combinations, and dreams are revivals of actual sensory impressions either in whole or in part." "Memory, including latent inherited ideas, temperament and environment, have some part to play in the control and quality of dreams. . . . Memory plays the most important part, inasmuch as a dream is, in most cases, simply a repetition, a re-formation, and a revealing of past cerebral conceptions." The brain, in short, "may be likened to a sensitised plate used in photography." The best-remembered dreams seem to be those which immediately precede the moment of waking, when the functions suspended by sleep have partially regained their power. A chapter is usefully devoted to demolishing the position of modern psycho-analysts, following the lead of certain German and Austrian writers.

CURIOSITIES IN PROVERBS : A COLLECTION OF UNUSUAL ADAGES, MAXIMS, APHORISMS, PHRASES, AND OTHER POPULAR DICTA FROM MANY LANDS, by DWIGHT EDWARDS MARVIN. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1916.

THE study of proverbs has not attracted the attention it deserves from students of folklore. As an introduction to the subject this book, within its limits, possesses obvious merits. "Americans," he remarks, "have few proverbs owing to the newness of the country and the fact that people from every land enter into the national life. So-called 'American proverbs' are not strictly proverbs, but phrases that have grown out of sectional conditions or peculiar circumstances." Proverbs are classified into Proverbs about Proverbs : Singular Proverbs : Obscure Proverbs : Proverbs founded on Historic Incidents, Legends, Folk-tales, etc. : Bible Proverbs : Christmas and Easter Proverbs : Graceful Proverbs : Impossibilities, Absurdities, Superstitions, Fortune and Luck, Weather, Wit and Humour, Local Characteristics and Prejudices, Rhyming, Grouping, Animal, Contradictory, Whimsical, Questions and Answers, Retorts, Quotations, Similes and Comparisons. Each proverb or group of proverbs is furnished with a commentary, and a full list of authorities quoted is given.

---

FOLK-LORE, LEGEND, AND SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH ANDOVER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD, by M. GILLET. Andover : Standard Printing Co. 1917.

THIS pamphlet is one of a class which deserves record and encouragement. We are told that this part of Hampshire can certainly be called "Ghost Ridden." There is not a village nor a hamlet, and scarcely a house of any size which has not its ghost story of some sort or another." The ghost of a Rector of Vernham Dene, who let his wretched plague-stricken people starve, walks as a grief-stricken figure. On the place where the battle was fought at Deadman's Plaque no trees will grow. At Wherwell the villagers never eat ducks' eggs because

"a duck laid an egg in a crypt under the Abbey. On this egg a toad sat, and as a result a cockatrice was hatched, which inhabited the vault and grew to an enormous size, and killed and ate anybody who entered there; all the time the nuns being in terror lest it should get out. This continued till a man had a good idea. He let down a strong mirror into the vault, and the cockatrice on seeing his own image fought it until he himself was absolutely exhausted, and then the brave inventor went down and despatched the beast." This pamphlet illustrates the store of folk-lore still uncollected. It may be hoped that the author will continue his researches.

---

ST. BRIDGET OF SWEDEN: A CHAPTER OF MEDIEVAL CHURCH HISTORY, by SVEN MAGNUS GRONBERGER; edited by J. J. WALSH. Washington. 1917.

ST. BRIGITT or Brigid or Bridget of Sweden, one of the great women educators and saints of the pre-Reformation period, was born about 1303, and her life was passed on the shore of Lake Velter at a town named Vadstena, where she founded a new order. The author of this interesting study of medieval religious life became assistant librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, knew practically all modern languages, and was an accomplished naturalist. The book is written in a spirit of fervent piety and well deserves publication.

---

THE BREAKFAST OF THE BIRDS, AND OTHER STORIES, from the Hebrew of JUDAH STEINBERG, translated by EMILY SOLIS-COHEN. Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. 1917.

THE author of these stories was born in 1863 at Lipkany, Russia, and died at Odessa in 1908. His purpose in writing the tales was to encourage children to speak and write Hebrew. The book

is valuable as a picture of Hebrew life and thought, and contains some curious facts. Thus, Jewish children in Europe play with the Hanukkah top, on each of the four faces of which is a Hebrew letter—Nun, Gimel, He, Shin—the first letters of the words *Nes Gadel Hayoh Sham*, “a great wonder was (performed) then,” when a handful of Asmoneans defeated the hosts of Greece. The owner of the top sets it spinning, and a reward is fixed for each letter which turns up.

---

HONOURS CONFERRED ON EX-PRESIDENTS OF  
THE SOCIETY.

DURING the last year well-deserved honours have been conferred on two ex-Presidents of the Folk-Lore Society. Mr. E. Sidney Hartland has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of St. Andrews; Dr. R. R. Marett has been elected Membre Correspondant de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie.

---

*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD.  
ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

---

---

VOL. XXIX.]

JUNE, 1918.

[No. II.

---

---

**WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17th, 1918.**

DR. W. H. R. RIVERS IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. N. W. Thomas read a paper entitled "Magic and Religion: a criticism of Dr. Jevons' paper"; and in the discussion which followed Dr. Jevons, Dr. Bussell, Miss Burne, Miss Hull, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge and the Chairman took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Thomas for his paper.

---

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 15th, 1918.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. A. C. HADDON) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.



The election of Mr. G. E. Laurie and Mr. J. Langdon Davies as members of the Society was announced; the resignations of Mr. A. Sidgwick and Mr. R. H. Stephenson were also announced.

A paper by Mr. C. J. Billson entitled "Some Mythical Tales of the Lapps" was read by the Secretary; and a paper by Mr. M. Esposito entitled "The Mediæval Legend of the Terrestrial Paradise" by Miss E. Hull. In the discussion which followed Mr. A. R. Wright, Mr. M. Longworth Dames, Dr. Baudis, the Rev. Dr. Bussell and Mrs. Coote Lake took part.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Mr. Billson and Mr. Esposito for their papers and to the Secretary and Miss Hull for reading them.

---

MAGIC AND RELIGION; A CRITICISM OF  
DR. JEVONS.

(*Folk-Lore*, xxviii. 259 *et seqq.*)

BY N. W. THOMAS, M.A.

(*Read before the Society, 17th April, 1918.*)

THE essence of Dr. Jevons's paper is his suggestion of a criterion to distinguish between magic and religion. He complicates his thesis (1) by a criticism of Sir James Frazer's use of the term magic, (2) by the use of analogies (such as killing and murder, leechcraft and poisoning), which bear no very close resemblance to the matter in hand, (3) by a certain lack of firmness which allows him to speak indifferently of the opinion of the community and the mental attitude of the performer of the rite, as decisive of its character, (4) by a complete reversion, in dealing with spell and prayer, to the Frazerian criterion of an appeal to higher powers as characteristic of the latter, while the efficacy of the former depends on a kind of natural law, as it were, and not on the voluntary yielding of a thinking being. (5) Over and above these excrescences, which do not affect the main thesis, is an assumption, verifiable perhaps but totally unsupported by argument or example, that Dr. Jevons's own view is also that of peoples who believe in magic, which has led the author to lay down that the existence of a world-wide ethical creed of varying content, which distinguishes the licit (called by Dr. Jevons religion) from the illicit (called by Dr. Jevons magic), is adequate proof that magic = the illicit, without

the necessity of enquiring whether the magical is always the illicit or the illicit always the magical.

Dr. Jevons lays down that we should "reserve the term 'magic' exclusively for the proceedings which excite the disapproval of the community." Taken literally, this definition includes under the head of magic not only all crime, but also offences against etiquette! Even if we limit ourselves to the "magico-religious" sphere despised and rejected by Dr. Jevons, the formula gives surprising results. The breach of a ritual prohibition is a proceeding that excites disapproval; it may set in motion the machinery of religion; for its expiation a sacrifice may be needed. There is therefore no doubt as to the nature of the act; it is not an ordinary crime but a violation of the moral code which entails non-natural sanctions. But it can hardly be termed magical without using the term in an altogether unusual sense. Let us look at some of the ritual prohibitions of the Ibo! A child may not crawl out of the house by the gutter-hole; is this to be classed as magic? True, there is no intention in the mind of the child; but a child may equally carry out a rain-making ritual without ulterior motive.

The proof, however, that a definition requires further limitation is evidence, at most, of a lack of experience or of clarity of vision on the part of the definer; it does not mean that the lines on which the definition is drawn are totally wrong. But before we can give an adequate definition of a class of facts, there must be an adequate classification; until a zoologist has within his purview all the genera, he cannot state the differentia of a family; it is by a study of the species and genera that the wider concept is reached, not by an *a priori* definition, as though the idea existed, pre-formed, and the facts had to be cut to fit a Procrustean bed.

A scientific classification is not necessarily identical with the arrangement of the facts that suggests itself to the

untutored mind ; and if the two systems differ, it does not necessarily mean that the scientific mind is at fault. *Primá facie*, the savage mind, even though the essential facts be equally well known to it, is less able to grasp the fundamental principles. We do not argue that scientific biologists are at fault because their ideas are at variance with those of the Central Australian tribes, and though savage beliefs about magic may seem to be nearer to, and therefore more intelligible to the savage mind, it is no more self-evident that the savage knows his own mind than that he knows his own body ; if we can obtain an adequate record of savage ideas, we can proceed to classify them on scientific lines, that is, on lines that are suggested by a study of the facts, and not on pre-conceived principles.

It might therefore be argued that the analogy between white and black magic is false, and that Dr. Jevons's view is correct, though not because it accords with the ideas of believers in magic. But if this were so, a great part of his argument would fall to the ground ; it becomes incumbent upon him to show that his ideas are in themselves reasonable, and not to depend upon a supposed identity of view with believers in magic.

But this argument neglects one of the essential conditions of the problem ; it treats it as if it were a question of physical science.

It is clear that the difference between magic and religion is a psychological one ; it is a difference that must be felt by the believer in magic, as Dr. Jevons himself recognises. It is not enough for the comparative theologian to point out this or that difference in mental attitude, unless the difference is in the mind of the believer in magic.

It is not a question of physical science, and of a classification of the physical forces by which certain effects are produced. Religion is a matter of the soul, and it is for a psychical differentia that we must look if we are to delimit the spheres of religion and magic ; it is not

enough that we students should realise the difference ; it must be in the mind of the man whom we study.

The difference between the appeal to a god and the spell that binds him and holds him to our use is a real one and may be of value in comparative religion ; but if we regard the one as religious and the other as magical, we are setting up our own standards, in the absence of any evidence that the distinction is realised by those who offer the prayer and utter the spell.

At the same time there seems to be some justification in popular usage for this setting up of our own standards ; for witchcraft has usually been regarded as magical by those who do not accept it ; if, however, witchcraft is really a superseded religion in Europe, *i.e.* a false religion in the eyes of those who term it magical, it is clear that a standard is recognised, if we are right in calling it magic, which is not that of the adherent of witchcraft. It must, however, be observed that those who regard witchcraft as magical, though they may not be adherents of the false rite, nevertheless concede a certain reality to it ; the object of the witch's worship is a real personage, though he may be in nature utterly opposed to the normal object of the religious cult. The worship of gods regarded by those who do not worship them as non-existent does not appear to be classed as witchcraft nor regarded as magical. Thus the modern comparative theologian who wishes to classify the spell as magical, because it is intended to coerce, must, if he cites this popular view of witchcraft as his authority, justify his position by accepting the reality of the influence exerted by the spell.

Leaving out of account for the present the spell, it may be admitted that in the magico-religious sphere the illicit tends to be regarded as magical ; this does not, however, mean that all illicit rites are so labelled ; and Dr. Jevons, rightly or wrongly, has not even argued that the two classes are conterminous. Rites may be illicit without

being magical ; would Dr. Jevons suggest that the Israelites who ran after false gods were engaged in magical practices ? If so, can he produce any evidence to show that his point of view is shared by others, or was accepted at the time that the worship of false gods was a serious trouble among the chosen people ? It is, however, éssential to his argument that nothing should be regarded as magical which is not illicit ; and here Dr. Jevons's neglect of crucial, as of all other examples, demonstrates convincingly how far his thesis is the result of introspection, and how little his attitude is based on the actual facts.

The question is ultimately, does the classification suggested by Dr. Jevons group the facts—which are, it must be remembered, in the main mental, *i.e.* beliefs and explanations given by believers in magic—according to their natural distribution ? Or does his classification rend asunder obvious concatenations and place clearly homologous data in different pigeon-holes ?

It is obvious at the outset that references to the licit and illicit, or good and bad *mana*, do not bring us nearer comprehension. No one denies that some rites are approved, some condemned by the opinion of the community. But, in the first place, is the attitude of the community to be decisive ? It can hardly be denied that witchcraft is commonly classed under the head of magic ; yet in the same number of *Folk-Lore* as contains the paper by Dr. Jevons is set forth the thesis that witchcraft is a religion for those who believe in it. Thus there is no consensus ; we cannot class a religion as magic because those who are not its adherents condemn it. Dr. Jevons himself insists that it is the mental attitude of the spell-maker that puts the spell in a different category from the prayer. Does not this hold good also for the mental attitude of those who practise witchcraft ?

Again, if, as appears to be the case, the community labels both the licit and the illicit with the same name—



Dr. Jevons himself uses the terms good *mana*, bad *mana*—what grounds have we for assuming a fundamental difference of attitude towards the two classes? White magic and white witches are familiar to all folklorists, and, whatever else they imply, indicate the existence of elements regarded as akin to black magic and malevolent witchcraft, but approved, not condemned, by the community. If this usage of the terms is legitimate, Dr. Jevons's position is undermined; if he argues that it leaves his contention unassailed, he is throwing over popular usage, on which he professes to found himself.

Perhaps Dr. Jevons will contend that this use of terms is late, and that contact with higher civilisation has hybridised the conceptions of the folk. If so, I can show him an analogous use of terms among the sophisticated natives of West Africa. Among the Ibo the ordinary term for "witch" is *amosu*, which has correlatives in cognate tongues; if you enquire whether there are *amosu* in a town, the informant will certainly understand the term in a bad sense, and reply accordingly. I was one day at Ila engaged in nothing more harmful than shooting green pigeon with an air-gun; as one bird after another came to the ground two old crones, who were standing behind me watching the proceedings, remarked with sage noddings of the head: "Oburo madu, ob amosu"; "they (the white men) are not men, they are wonder-workers (magicians)." There was no suggestion that I was engaged in a malevolent work, no hint of anything opprobrious in the remark; it was as harmless and complimentary as the astonishment of an English villager who sees the electric light for the first time.

I interpret these facts to mean that the popular view of magic is not that which Dr. Jevons imagines it to be. Magic includes the illicit, but is not confined to it.

Without examining further at the present time whether



these facts are of widespread occurrence, I will pass on to other items of Dr. Jevons's paper.

When we come to the question of *mana*, equal difficulties await Dr. Jevons. Let us take the case of tabu! If a common man touches the head of a Polynesian chief, is the resultant disease or illness due to good *mana* or bad? If it is to bad *mana*, where is the malevolent intention or the illicit character that is, according to Dr. Jevons, the mark of the non-religious element? Or, if this case be doubtful, let me cite the biblical example of the man who put out his hand to steady the ark and was struck dead. Will Dr. Jevons tell us that this was bad *mana*? If not, what becomes of his dictum that we can decide whether *mana* is good or bad only by its effects?

Again, let us take the powers attributed to certain members of the Poro secret society, who are credited with the power to send *tumpai*, a kind of mystic fire, through the air to kill people. There is no suggestion that Poro is regarded as illicit by the community; it is not even prohibited by the British Government; its officers therefore cannot be classified as magicians, and punishments inflicted by means of *tumpai* are as judicial as the killing of an enemy by a soldier; the Poro society, so far from being under a ban, is actually an integral portion of the native polity, and gives support to the chief or restrains him, as the case may be. *Primâ facie*, therefore, *tumpai* is good *mana* or caused by good *mana*; but if the sender of it lies down before it comes back, *tumpai* may kill him; is it still good *mana*? If not, will Dr. Jevons insist that the *tumpai* which goes out to kill is not the same as the *tumpai* which flies back? For he has laid down the axiom that the *mana* which produces good results is a different power from that which produces bad results.

Admitted that certain tribes have a special name for evil *mana*, there is nothing to show that this is not an outcome of reflection; certain it is that the negro is apt

to speak of "good" and "bad" medicine; and the fact that he embraces both under the same name, *uxumu*, *ogo*, or what not, is *primâ facie* proof that they are, for him, if not identical, at any rate allied; it matters little whether this classification is original or arrived at as the result of reflection; in either case Dr Jevons's case is contradicted by the facts.

One of the most singular features of Dr. Jevons's paper is his treatment of the question of spell and prayer. On the principles he lays down at the outset, prayer should be distinguished from spell by the motive; in point of fact, he regards the spell as a command, prayer as an appeal, though we are left in the dark as to whether both can be used in a predeistic period, and whether a spell is possible when belief in a god has come.

Again, if a spell is endowed with ineluctable force—and this is believed of some spells—how does this idea of magic differ from Sir James Frazer's conception of it? No question of motive is introduced, and no proof attempted that the spell is always evil—it is, in point of fact, a matter of common knowledge that it is not—yet Dr. Jevons must insist, if the spell is always magical, and the magical is evil, that the spell is always illicit and aims at producing evil results.

If Dr. Jevons's main contention as to magic fails, it will not avail him to establish that the spell is magical. I will not therefore embark on an argument to show that the spell is an integral part of more than one religion; has not the very word religion been associated with the idea of binding the gods? and has it not been argued that in Hindu ritual the spell is supreme?

I will, however, give a couple of examples which appear to prove that the spell is neither illicit nor evil. Dr. Jevons contends that the spell is necessarily magical, but he produces no examples and no evidence in support of his view. If the magical is the illicit, and spells are magical,

spells are illicit and malevolent; but has anyone ever heard that the spell which cures a child of warts is reprobated by the community? Or does Dr. Jevons class it as a prayer?

Take a slightly different case! The Ibo physician, who has learned from one already initiated to concoct and use medicines, employs the following formula: "Once you were wood in the bush, now you are medicine." That is the essential part of the ritual, and without it his drugs are of no avail. Is this a spell or a prayer? In form and intention it can hardly be called anything but a spell; will Dr. Jevons ask us to class it as a prayer? If it is a prayer, to whom is it addressed? If it is a spell, where is the malevolent intention?

In each, therefore, of the three spheres on which Dr. Jevons relies—magic, *mana*, and the spell—his argument is lacking in completeness, and there are relevant facts which show that his category of magic is at variance with the category actually recognised by more primitive peoples and by the lore of our own folk.

The neglect of the crucial case is one of the crying evils of anthropology, and papers like that of Dr. Jevons, entirely divorced from all contact with the facts, so far as can be seen, belong to an age of make-believe, in which, just as each German professor of philosophy constructs or reconstructs the universe according to the dictates of his inner consciousness, either no facts exist, or, at most, only those which fall in with the preconceived ideas of the author. By the side of an inability to look facts in the face, a defective terminology is a minor evil.

Dr. Jevons has devoted a part of his paper to showing that Sir James Frazer, Dr. Marrett and others, use ambiguous terms, hold impossible views, or otherwise put themselves out of court. It is perhaps a little puzzling that he should be so ready to attribute human fallibility to men of his own intellectual status and environment,

and at the same time should believe that the savages whose ideas he is classifying are exempt from human error, even when they are dealing with the deeper mysteries of life, such as religion, which are among ourselves apt to produce a good crop of contradictory ideas.

Dr. Jevons himself is by no means guiltless of ambiguous terminology. I have already cited examples which show that his use of the term "magic" does not agree with that in common use—and it must be remembered that both "magic" and "religion" are terms evolved by civilisation. There are other terms in his paper on the right use of which his whole argument depends; they should above all be free from ambiguity and definite. Dr. Jevons uses these terms, for example, "licit" and "community," without appearing to be in any way conscious of their ambiguity. Even among ourselves it would be difficult, apart from written and case law, to decide what is and is not approved or permitted by the community in ordinary life. But let us limit ourselves to the sphere which Dr. Jevons will not call magico-religious. If a wise woman tells me to cure my warts by burying a piece of meat, there is, I take it, no question of general disapproval<sup>1</sup>; some will term the practice superstition, regardless of the fact that such methods do, in fact, cure warts, and condemn it on this account; but then the epithet "superstitious" may also be used in the heat of controversy of practices well within the sphere of religion.

Will Dr. Jevons agree to class the cure for warts under the head of religion? If not, why not? There is no question of harmful ends being sought by any one concerned; and that is ultimately the criterion set up by Dr. Jevons.

To illustrate the meaning of "licit" and "illicit," Dr. Jevons gives us the analogy of "killing" and "murder"; but, in the first place, we have murder, manslaughter,

<sup>1</sup>I need hardly say this was written before the days of rationing.

justifiable homicide, and simple killing; will Dr. Jevons admit a similar gradation between magic and religion? In the second place, the difference between killing and murder is a legal one; murder is killing without legal sanction, even though the motives may be of the highest kind and the approval of the community unqualified. If, for example, before the outbreak of war, I had killed a spy as the only means of averting a disaster to my country, the act would have been technically murder; so is the killing of a tyrant. Will Dr. Jevons class these among illicit acts? If not, his analogy is a false one.

But the fatal flaw in his argument is really the fact that the community is an indefinite body, and that the results are good or evil according to the point of view. Let us take the case of cursing. We may admit that to curse a thief is justifiable, however much the thief may object, because theft is anti-social; but suppose a man launches a curse against an innocent man or against a man who has excited his envy, what then? The animus is the same in all three cases, and in the two latter, public opinion will not be in his favour. Are we to say that the cursing is religious in the first case, magical in the latter? If so, we disregard the mental attitude of the curser. If, on the other hand, we say that all the cases are magical, we disregard public opinion, which permits the thief to be cursed.

Or let us say that European-made law has made cursing for theft illegal, that the native chiefs who administer it will condemn the curser to fine or imprisonment, and that native public opinion has swung round and condemns this old method of dealing with thieves. Do any of these facts change the psychological attitude of the curser or justify us in classing as magical a rite that we should earlier have put under the head of religion? If not, what becomes of the criterion of public approval?

Again, a curse for the confounding of the enemies of the

community might well rank as licit ; but is the community the kinship group, the quarter, the town or the tribe ? If the cursers are in a minority, does that make the curse magical ? If both sides regard a curse as permissible, does the fact that it is to work evil make it magical ?

Or again, let us agree that rain-making is religious if it benefits the crops, but magical if it is meant to ruin them. What shall we say of the rite that aims at destroying one set of crops and saving another ? And what shall we say of the rain-making rite performed in mere bravado by two small boys, proud of their esoteric knowledge and regardless of material consequences ? If we say that they are borderline cases, does not this mean that magic passes insensibly into religion. And this is precisely what Dr. Jevons set out to disprove.

Or take Dr. Jevons's proof that the Frazer's "age of magic" is impossible. It might appear to those unversed in controversial methods that in order to demonstrate the absurdity of a statement, it is necessary to look at the meaning of it, *i.e.* to use the terms in the sense in which they were used by the author of the statement. Dr. Jevons, on the other hand, proceeds to confound Sir James Frazer, not by showing that he makes unfounded assumptions or contradicts himself, but by substituting his own sense of the term "magic" for that which Sir James Frazer has adopted ; controversy on these lines is easy and entirely barren. Given Sir James Frazer's definition of magic, his "age of magic" is not only arguable, but actually maintained (p. 264) by Dr. Jevons himself ; Sir James Frazer means by his "age of magic" a period in which gods were unknown, and Dr. Jevons argues that religion began by being without gods. The only question is one of names—are we to term this pre-religious age magical ? Dr. Jevons's whole argument against Sir James Frazer depends on the ambiguity of the term "magic." Ultimately, therefore,



we come to the question of what is meant by magic, and this must be discussed with reference to the actual practice of believers in magic, *i.e.* by examining their classification of the facts, and that by a classification of the facts as we view them.

To frame an adequate definition of magic it is necessary to survey the whole field of primitive rites and to group the facts according to their natural affinities without regard to the terminology of the reporter. In only too many cases the native view cannot be discovered; failing some knowledge of the language the observer falls back on his own preconceptions, and while we get a good account of the details of a rite, we get none of the atmosphere with which the native mind surrounds it.

The foregoing discussion has made it quite clear that it is not by approval or condemnation, not even by the intention, that magic is distinguished. In our own witchcraft trials, we can find records of witches being taught to heal as well as to poison. Brand actually distinguishes three classes. So far as witchcraft is concerned, it seems to be regarded as magical, not because it is evil but because it is, as it were, in a kind of subordinate position, or perhaps because it is a cult of an evil deity. It must, however, be recognised that its association with the devil, though not necessarily with a deity, must be post-Christian; if the original objects of the cult were pagan deities, it was not originally either evil or magical; it is a matter for enquiry how far syncretism has been at work, for the witches' Sabbath is known in West Africa, where there is no question of any deity. If there has been a combination of an ancient European cult with witchcraft, some features seem to be adequately explained; others demand a close examination of the evidence for witch beliefs in relation to the theological prepossessions of the inquisitors, and a knowledge of the possibilities by suggestion.

With these problems before us it is clear that we cannot



analyse European ideas as to witchcraft in order to discover the real meaning of magic, unless we are prepared to end with a hybrid and illogical complex of ideas. If the position of witchcraft in Europe were in the nature of a necessary or a natural development, we could of course deal with the situation as Dr. Jevons does with the change of content of the religious idea; but of this there is no suggestion; we must determine the content of magic, if the category really exists outside Europe, for other areas without reference to European ideas, and trace with care the course of development in Europe both of the meaning of the word "magic" and of the complex which it describes.

Derived perhaps in the main from the reading of the Bible, the idea of necromancy as magical is also found in Europe, though it is not prominent. The association of the dead with magic is, however, of wider distribution, and here too an analysis of sources is needed.

There is *primâ facie* no reason for regarding "magic" as an exception to the rule that abstract terms are used vaguely, and it seems probable that this vagueness is due in part to actual hybridisation of ideas from different sources. It may be possible to define the content of magic, so that the definition holds good for all areas; but this result cannot be attained by the rough and ready method of the *ipse dixit*, divorced from serious study of crucial cases.

N. W. THOMAS.

---

# THE HOUSE IN INDIA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SOCIOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

BY W. CROOKE.

(*Read before the Society, 20th March, 1918.*)

THE questions connected with the house and house-building are of special importance to the student of sociology and folklore. The building and occupation of the house mark one of the most momentous transitions in the social history of mankind--the abandonment of nomadic life; the more definite association of the members of the tribe or clan by the foundation of a village, involving the more intimate union of the individual with those who are his blood kindred; the beginnings of communal life, which, again, leads to common worship, to communion with the deity in sacrifice and feast. The construction and occupation of the house thus constitute a *rite de passage*, a break with long established tradition and with the customary amenities of life, the new environment exercising its influence on the inmates, and bringing with it new duties and responsibilities.

Hence it is inevitable that the new dwelling should be protected by a system of devices and taboos designed to avert the dangers which primitive man, surrounded by a host of spirits generally malignant, has constantly before his mind. To this are added the fears inspired by the Evil Eye or by witchcraft. Dangers such as these naturally centre round the house and its tenants, and

the ingenuity of man is ever devising special modes of protection.

The house, again, in its form and adaptation to the use and convenience of its inmates, represents a continuous process of evolution, from the rudest form of shelter which satisfies the wants of the nomad, to the abode which the well-to-do classes provide to secure the comforts and amenities of life, ending with the mansion of the nobleman and the palace of the prince. In civilisations such as ours this process of evolution is often obscure; many of the links in the chain are absent or unrecognisable. It is only by a study of the domestic life of more primitive societies that the facts can be grouped in any semblance of order. Fortunately, in the teeming population of our Indian Empire, with its multitudinous tribes and castes, each more or less completely isolated from the other by differences of race, belief, and culture, we are able to study the successive phases of the evolution. It is, then, mainly to questions connected with the Indian house that I now venture to direct your attention.

A survival of the stage at which houses of any kind were not generally known may be detected in the habit of celebrating sacrifices and other ceremonial rites in the open air. The temple in India is intended merely as an abode for the god, not for congregational worship. As a natural consequence of this we find that most rites and social meetings take place in the open air, without the erection of a special building, and people engaged in the service of the gods or those who adopt a religious life, like many of the ascetic Orders, during their wanderings shelter under trees and never enter a house except perhaps during the torrential rain of the monsoon. This feeling is illustrated by a story told by Mr. Rose of the saint Bahāu-l-haqq tearing away the tapestry from the roof of the tomb of the saint Shaikh Farīd Badru-d-dīn Shakkarganj, by which apparent sacrilege he enabled that saint to attain the highest

heaven, into which his entry had hitherto been impeded by the roof over the shrine.<sup>1</sup>

The materials of the oldest Indo-European houses consisted of wood, basket-work, and clay.<sup>2</sup> In the early period of Indian history brick was used for the foundations and plinths of houses, the upper structure being of wood, which possessed the advantage that wide spaces could be roofed which could not be spanned by masonry arches.<sup>3</sup> The use of stone for architecture dates from the age of the great Emperor Asoka (B.C. 273-32). Even at the present day the hut roofed with straw or reeds is the normal type of house, and there is a remarkable taboo in some places against the use of bricks or tiles for building. In Bengal brick walls are supposed to attract the Evil Eye because such buildings indicate prosperity and naturally attract Nemesis; but some well-to-do people defy the risk because they secure some protection from burglars.<sup>4</sup> In Khāndesh, up to recent times, tiled roofs were proscribed, and the failure of some rich merchants who violated the taboo was quoted as an example to sceptics.<sup>5</sup> In the Panjāb, in some

<sup>1</sup> For hypaethral altars in Greece, see Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd ed. ii. 783; among the Hebrews, Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 75 *et seq.*; in Europe, G. L. Gomme, *Folklore Relics of Early Village Life*, 69; for the Panjab, H. A. Rose, *Glossary, Tribes and Castes, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, vol. i. (still unpublished), p. 534, referring to his paper on hypaethral shrines in the Panjāb (*Punjab Historical Society Journal*, 1914, 144 *et seq.*). Temples dedicated to the Sun in India often have no roofs, in order to allow the luminary to visit his shrine (Rose, *op. cit.* i. 193 note).

<sup>2</sup> O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. F. B. Jevons, 342. The references to the construction and materials of the house in Vedic times have been collected by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i. 229 *et seqq.*; P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, 45 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 129. 443 note. Similar cases are quoted from the Panjab, *Punjab Notes and Queries*, i. 97.

of the submontane tracts, tiled houses are taboo, and in some Muhammadan villages it is the rule that a house is not to be built of brick until the village mosque has been finished. Here, as is not uncommon, practical convenience reinforces the taboo, because, as Mr. Rose points out, mud buildings are much healthier, cooler, and better suited to the wants of the people than those of a more expensive kind.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, again, as the result of a curse, Rājputs in the Pānjab refuse to build brick houses, and a violation of the taboo is supposed to cause death or ruin to the builder.<sup>2</sup> Hindus who revere the Musalmān saint Miān Mitthū will not use bricks in their houses because the saint's shrine is built of this material, and the Chāhil tribe have a tale of the Swan Maiden type, in which the fairy wife escaped through an opening of a house; so, quite naturally, they do not make openings in their roofs to this day.<sup>3</sup> In Kanara most peasant houses are thatched, not on account of poverty, but because established custom, the law of the Medes and Persians, confines the use of tiles to Brahmans and the higher classes.<sup>4</sup>

In early days side by side with the use of the simple hut, for which alone materials are generally available in the great alluvial plains, caves were occupied in the mountainous and hilly tracts. The small cells cut in the rocks of Orissa are said to be among the earliest dwellings hitherto discovered in India.<sup>5</sup> These developed into the great series of Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical cave temples which are the glory of Indian architecture. Even at the present day the use of caves as dwelling-places has not quite disappeared. The Pathāns of the North-West frontier often live in caves, and use them for hiding their families

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report, Panjab, 1901*, i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Punjab Notes and Queries*, i. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *op. cit.* i. 628, ii. 146. iii. 67, ii. 164.

<sup>4</sup> B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, 63.

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 182.

and goods in times of danger.<sup>1</sup> The Baloch will find a place to lay his head in any cavity in the hillside.<sup>2</sup> Valentine Ball found a group of troglodytes in Central India and in the hills below Simla, and he remarks that it is extraordinary how little such people do to protect themselves from the inclemency of the weather: in one case their only protection from the keen hill air was a lean-to of loosely twined branches, such as Palaeolithic man may have used.<sup>3</sup> In Burma groups of ascetics still occupy caves on the cliffs of the Irawadi, and Mr. Nesfield suggests that the Musahars of Bengal, perhaps as a survival of cave life, prefer a hut into which they can barely creep.<sup>4</sup>

The most usual, if not the most ancient, form of the European hut was circular, and Schrader suggests that it was an imitation of the felt-covered, circular tent of the nomad.<sup>5</sup> The Ilyāt hut in Persia consists of a wooden frame of laths in a circular form covered with large felts which are fastened with a cord.<sup>6</sup> The process of converting this into a hut is shown in that of the Turkomāns, where oblong walls about four feet in height are built up of loose stones, and the whole is covered with a black cloth of goats' hair elevated on one or more posts about eight feet high in the middle of the enclosure.<sup>7</sup> The Indian examples seem to indicate that the circular form of the hut was ultimately derived from the habit of bending down, in a circular shape, the branches of some flexible tree like the bamboo. Mr. V. A. Smith has shown that the conical

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. H. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Census Report, Baluchistan*, 1911, i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Jungle Life in India*, 588 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, i. 169; *Calcutta Review*, lxxxvi. 36; see below the account of the Juāng and Orāon huts.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* 345.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Morier, *Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor*, 251, with illustrations.

<sup>7</sup> J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, 636.



form of the stupa, the solid cupola intended for the safe custody of relics, or to mark a spot sacred in Buddhist legend, originated in the curved bamboo roof built over a circular hut-shrine.<sup>1</sup> The origin of the barrel roof of the Buddhist chaitya appears in the Toda hut, "shaped like a half barrel, with the barrel-like roof projecting for a considerable distance beyond the first partition containing the door"; while that used for funereal purposes is rectangular, with a rude thatch supported by a ridge-pole, and end and side posts.<sup>2</sup> A survival of the same kind has been traced in the curvilinear form of the roof in some Bengal buildings of the present day.<sup>3</sup> In the same way, the tents of black wool, woven by Bedawi women, are generally supported by three parallel rows of poles lengthways and crossways—the highest line being the centre—and the covering is pegged down. The result is that the outlines of the roof form two or more hanging curves, and these, as Sir R. Burton remarks, are a characteristic of the Tartar and Chinese architecture; they are preserved in the Turkish, and sometimes in the European kiosque, and they have extended to the Brazil, where the upturned eaves, often painted in vermilion below, at once attract the traveller's notice.<sup>4</sup>

Circular huts are not uncommon in India. In Mallāni, in Rājputāna, the people live in bee-hive shaped huts, each family having a separate enclosure fenced by hedges of thorns, and in the time of the Emperor Akbar the inhabitants of Ajmer used to live in similar huts.<sup>5</sup> In Car Nicobar the huts have the main portion of the building covered by

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 17.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Rivers, *The Todas*, 28, 583 f., 339, with photographs; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, vii. 129, with photograph.

<sup>3</sup> J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1899), 474, 545 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, ed. 1893, v. 307.

<sup>5</sup> *Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii. 274; *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, ed. H. S. Jarrett, ii. 267.



a conical roof made of the mid-ribs of the coco palm or laths of the areca, and with the leaves of the latter the floor is carpeted. These houses have not a nail or peg in the entire structure, the joints being neatly fitted and tied with wisps of cane. In spite of their fragility they stand the violent gales of the monsoon.<sup>1</sup> In Masulipatam that observant traveller, John Fryer, remarked that the poorer houses, "both in their High Streets and Allies, are thatched, cast round as Beehives, and walled with mud."<sup>2</sup> In unsheltered places and at the headquarters of septs the Andamanese built circular huts with eaves nearly touching the ground.<sup>3</sup> The same form is adopted by some of the nomad tribes. The pastoral Baloch, for instance, use a number of long slender poles, bent towards each other, over which are laid pieces of coarse camel-hair felt.<sup>4</sup> Among the same people only the well-to-do use even sun-dried bricks in house building; most of them build with stone and mud with rafters covered with palm leaves, and on the top thick layers of plaster. But one of the tribes will not plaster their roofs because an ancestor died under a plastered roof. Many have merely a "lodge in a garden of cucumbers," but the most characteristic shelter is the hut made of a few bent poles and goats' hair matting.<sup>5</sup>

This early form of circular hut, owing to hieratic conservatism, survives in round temples, like that of Vesta in Rome, and in some Christian Churches, like that of the Temple, St. Sepulchre at Cambridge, Little Maplestead in Essex and St. Sepolchro at Bologna, besides several in Rome, derived from the round temple of pagan times.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. 236 f.

<sup>2</sup> *A New Account of East-India and Persia*, ed. 1909, i. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Census Report*, 1901, 61.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Hughes, *The Country of Balochistan*, 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Census Report, Baluchistan*, 1911, i. 27.

<sup>6</sup> S. O. Addy, *The Evolution of the House*, i. *et seq.*; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. 99; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. iv. 178, xxiii. 609.

This round circular form of temple was derived from the round shepherd's huts in the Campagna, which are in use to the present time.<sup>1</sup>

Another primitive type of dwelling is used by the Gypsy-like vagrants and by some jungle tribes. An encampment of Sānsiyas or Hābūras in Northern India consists of rude shelters of mats or blankets suspended on short poles. They supplement these in the rainy season by booths made of grass, leaves and branches. But the true vagrant, like the Magahiya Dom, makes no hut of any kind; he lives in the open, and it is only in the very worst weather that he seeks shelter under the house eaves in some neighbouring village. The Kilikets, a wandering tribe in Bījapur, live in flimsy reed booths, so small that the inmates cannot stand upright. In obedience to tribal custom they must move to another place every three months, but sometimes, for the sake of convenience, instead of moving the hut, the fireplace is shifted from one corner to another.<sup>2</sup> The huts of the Sholigas of Mysore consist of bamboos with both ends stuck in the ground, so as to form an arch, which is covered with plantain leaves.<sup>3</sup> General Dalton describes the houses of the Juāngs, one of the most primitive tribes of Bengal, who up to a short time ago were clothed only in leaves and are perhaps so still: "They are the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings. They measure about six feet by eight, and are very low, with doors so small as to preclude the idea of a corpulent householder. Scanty as are the above dimensions for a family dwelling, the interior is divided into two compartments, one of which is the storeroom, the other used for all domestic arrangements. The Paterfamilias and all his belongings of the female sex huddle together in this one stall not much larger than a dog-kennel; for the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Roman Studies*, iii. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxiii. 198.

<sup>3</sup> F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, ii. 178.

males there is a separate dormitory.”<sup>1</sup> The doorway of an Orāon hut is about five feet high, and above it is a log which supports the roof, called by the significant name of “the forehead-breaker.”<sup>2</sup>

In the Hill Tracts of Eastern India we meet another type of house. The people “build their houses of bamboo, raised from the ground about ten feet, with numerous smaller bamboo props supporting the floor, the roof, and the walls, in every conceivable direction. The floor and the walls are made of bamboo split and flattened out; the numerous crevices give access to every breeze, and render a hill house one of the coolest and most pleasant of habitations. The roof is of bamboo cross-pieces, thatched with palmyra. . . . This forms an impervious and lasting roof, which need only be renewed once in three years, whereas the ordinary grass-thatched roof has to be repaired every year.”<sup>3</sup> In Orissa the Khond house is made entirely of wood, not a single nail being used, and its owner erects it himself, his only tools being a hatchet and a chisel.<sup>4</sup> In South India the Malāyālams and Ullādans build their houses raised above the ground on clumps or short posts of bamboo to avoid damp.<sup>5</sup>

When we come to the houses of the peasantry and of the artisans and labourers in towns, the form varies from the mere shed, open in front, with three mud walls, and roofed with a sloping thatch of grass and reeds, up to the more pretentious house in which the landlord or his more prosperous tenant lives. If you see a good brick house in a

<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 153 et seq. In Persia a poor man's door is scarcely three feet in height, the object being to prevent servants of the nobles from forcing their way in on horseback, Morier, *op. cit.* 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 47. The beam over the door in the Orāon hut is known as *Kapārphorā*. “skull-breaker,” P. Dehon, *Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1906, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-eastern India*, 42 et seq.

<sup>4</sup> *Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 47.

<sup>5</sup> L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 29 et seq., 59.

village it probably belongs to the money-lender. There are few climates in the world where, except in rainy season, the peasant less needs shelter than in India. He generally lives, works, and sleeps in the open air, and the house is little more than a storehouse for his cattle, grain, implements, and scanty furniture, or for his women folk when he reaches the stage of respectability which allows him to seclude them. To describe a few houses of this typical class.

In Bengal you enter with your face to the east a small door opening on the village street, and thence into an open yard, on the west side of which is the "big hut," with walls of mud, and the roof thickly thatched with rice straw. The middle beam of this thatch is of palm wood, and the floor is raised at least four or five feet from the ground. The hut is divided into two compartments, the one a sleeping-room, the other a store-room. The verandah forms the family sitting-room, while in the sleeping-room are kept the family brass vessels and other valuables. On the south side of the yard is a smaller, ruder hut, used to isolate the wife at her confinement, while at other times the farm implements are kept in it. Other similar rooms are occupied by the owner's brothers or other relations who live with him. Besides these there is a cowhouse with large earthen mangers holding the animals' food, and near it is a granary, in which the grain is protected by ropes of twisted straw, with a straw-rick which supplies fodder.<sup>1</sup>

In Bombay the house of the village headman has walls made of clay mixed with chopped grass and kneaded by the feet of buffaloes. The flat roof rests on beams, the whole covered with clay which is beaten hard and smoothed, a shelter against the pitiless sun, with a slope to carry off the rain water. The poorer tenant occupies a shed partially enclosed with clay walls or wattled boughs, the roof of grass or millet-stalks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lal Bihari Day, *Bengal Peasant Life*, 28 et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 130.

In the northern hills the house assumes the type of the Swiss chalet, the walls of rubble masonry rising sometimes to as many as four stories to make up for the scantiness of the site on the hillside ; the floors boarded, with on two sides strong verandahs ornamented with carved and painted woodwork. The roof is made of shingles of pine or of bamboo, laid over a framework of wood, and kept in their places with heavy stones to prevent damage from storms. Immediately under the roof is a store-room, the floor formed of clay rammed hard, which forms a second roof if a leak chance to occur in the outer roofing.<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly necessary to describe the type of house used in towns, occupied by landowners and wealthy merchants. Such are the fine houses of the Seth merchants at Ajmer and other cities in Rājputāna, Delhi, Agra, or Benares, marvels of decoration in wood or stone, or those of Poona, where from a stone plinth rises a series of stories with verandahs ornamented with woodwork decorated with geometrical figures and flowers in ivory or painted wood. You will generally notice that a bit of the house is left unfinished to avoid the Evil Eye.

When we come to the religious development of the hut, we recognise in the marriage shed or pavilion an ancient model preserved by the spirit of religious conservatism. At the epoch of the Atharvaveda the Indian house was merely a wooden structure. " Pillars, four in number, were erected in the solid ground, and stays were placed obliquely against them. The corner pillars and foundation pillars were fastened together by roof beams. On these were placed long bamboo rods, to act as spars for the lofty roof. Between the corner pillars various posts, according to the size of the house, were also erected. Straw or reeds were used in bundles to fill the interstices in the walls, and to a certain extent to line the whole. Nails, clamps,

<sup>1</sup> Sir R. Temple, *Journals in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, ii. 163.

ords, and straps were used to hold the whole together.”<sup>1</sup> In general pattern at least the marriage shed conforms to this model. The Bhilālas of Central India, when they set about erecting a marriage pavilion, dig nine holes in three rows in front of their dwelling-house. In the four corners holes are dug in which bamboos are fixed, each hole having some coloured rice, a copper coin, and some betelnut placed in the bottom. This done, the bamboos are removed and teak wood posts, this being the sacred tree of the tribe, are substituted, similar posts being placed in the other holes, fixed by cross-pieces of teak, and the roof is covered with bamboos. Then the booth spirit is invited to enter its dwelling, and it is duly installed.<sup>2</sup>

Two classes of house illustrate progress in the direction of communal life: the long house of Eastern India, and that occupied by the joint family in Bengal. The long house of the Garos shelters the owners and his relations. It has three divisions: the first, with a floor of bare earth, holds implements, grain, and sometimes cattle; two or three steps higher is the public living-room, which, without partitions, is divided into well-defined areas—the abode of the house spirits, the liquor-store, the place where the unmarried girls sleep, and in which meals are taken. When a daughter of the house is married, a space is partitioned off for her and her husband in the main room.<sup>3</sup> In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the house is raised about six feet above the ground, access being gained by means of a ladder. In front is a verandah, behind it the bachelors' quarters; at the back of these are the rooms of the married members of the family, separated by mat partitions. These are apportioned according to seniority, one being reserved for

<sup>1</sup> H. Zimmer, quoted by Schrader, *op. cit.* 345.

<sup>2</sup> Major C. E. Luard, *Ethnographic Survey Central India*, art. Bhilāla, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Major A. Playfair, *The Garos*, 35 *et seqq.* For other accounts see *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xvi. 368, xxii. 244; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, part ii. vol. i. 244; Dalton, *op. cit.* 10, 61.



the eldest married member, another for the second eldest, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

In Bengal the remarkable institution of the Joint Family necessitates a special form of house, in which the family group of relatives lives. When one of the sons marries, a new series of rooms or sheds is added to the existing building for his accommodation. The house is ruled by the Karta or family manager, each group often messing apart, while the worship of the family god is carried out in common.

In Northern India traditions of war and rapine exhibit themselves in the form of the village, with narrow, winding lanes, the population crowded within the smallest possible area. In recent times the reign of law has encouraged the foundation of hamlets, an arrangement which results in more general distribution of the manure supply over the area of the village, and brings the cultivator nearer to his fields. In some towns we find a division into wards, each occupied by a special trade, with heavy wooden gates barred at sunset to protect the residents from robbers.<sup>2</sup> In some cities, like Baroda, where the memories of unrest still survive, the houses of the merchants are hidden away in back streets so as to divert attention from their wealth.<sup>3</sup>

The jungle-dwelling Bhils build their houses apart, partly because their next door neighbour may be a witch, and may bring some calamity upon them; partly through fear of infection attributed to evil spirits; partly from the practical consideration of avoiding risk of fire.<sup>4</sup> In Bengal the result of long ages of peace is shown in the straggling villages and scattered huts of the rural population. In

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report Bengal, 1911*, i. 47. Compare the large common house occupied by the members of the Nāyar Taravād, or joint house, of a matriarchal household, L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, ii. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Similar arrangements are found in other oriental countries, like Egypt and Persia, E. W. Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. i. 5; S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, 93.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii. 122, 521.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 26.



Madras, again, the intense dread of personal pollution shown by the Nambūtiri Brahmans and Nāyars causes them to build isolated houses, each enclosed in its own compound, with tank, temple, and snake-shrine, where the inmates live safe from the pollution of low-caste neighbours. With the same object an outer porch is often built where such undesirable visitors may be received.<sup>1</sup> This isolation has sometimes a practical result. In the hill tracts of Mysore "human dwellings are few and far between. A cottage here and there, picturesquely situated on the rising ground bordering the rice fields, and hidden amidst plantations of areca palm and plantains, marks the homestead of a farmer and his family. Towns there are none, and villages of even a dozen houses rare. The incessant rain of the monsoon months confines the people to their own farms. Hence each householder surrounds himself with all he needs, and succeeds in making himself independent of the external world. The conditions of this isolated life are insupportable to immigrants from the plains."<sup>2</sup> A Hindu dreads nothing so much as to be separated from his kinsmen and to be deprived of the protection of his local gods.

Again, among the Mughals, the splendid halls of audience, marvels of work in marble and mosaic, open rooms, the roof supported by lines of delicately carved pillars, follow the traditions of the great reception tents used by the Mongols in Central Asia. This was the pure pan-Asiatic type, common to Nineveh, Persepolis, the palace of the Great Khan who received Marco Polo, and the Winter Palace at Peking. When these Central Asian people settled in the Indian plains, the conditions of zenana life, and in some cases the dread of assassination or outrage, caused them to adopt the plan of building small rooms,

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 172 *et seq.*, 361 *et seq.*; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, ii. 178 *et seq.*, 273 *et seq.*; *Bombay Gazetteer*, xv. part i. 141.

<sup>2</sup> B. L. Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, ed. 1897, i. 3.

with narrow, winding passages, crowded together like a rabbit-warren. The Khwābgāh, or "Dream Chamber," of the Emperor Akbar in his splendid palace at Fatchpur-Sikri, where the monarch and his ladies enjoyed a siesta, is a square of less than fifteen feet. Of the palace of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, built at Delhi in the latter half of the fourteenth century, we are told by a contemporary native annalist that "one of the arrangements was that any person, having a general acquaintance with the palace, after passing through several apartments, would arrive at the centre. This central apartment under the palace was very dark, and the passages were so narrow that if the attendants did not guide the visitor he would never be able to find his way out. Indeed, it is said that a servant once went into that place, and after he had been missing for some days, the guards went in search of him and rescued him from the darkness."<sup>1</sup> The same model was adopted by the princes of Rājputāna, where the entrances of their forts are narrow passages capable of defence against a host. In the palace of the Mahārāna of Udaipur there is not a room into which a moderately sized man could enter without stooping, and access is gained by steep staircases. Louis Rousselet describes the palace at Baroda as "entered by a dark staircase, nearly perpendicular, and so narrow that I could easily touch both walls with my elbows. It was closed at the summit by a heavy trap-door, which a servant opened and then closed behind us. 'How,' I asked myself, 'can people who, as I am informed, live surrounded by almost supernatural luxury, condemn themselves to go up and down such a break-neck affair?' The captain explained the reason of this singularity. The Mahratta nobles came into this country as usurpers; mere peasants' sons, they had expelled the ancient nobility. Being exposed to the vengeance of the dispossessed land-

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. M. Elliot, J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, iii. 299.

owners, each of them made his palace difficult of approach. Afterwards, their constant quarrels with the sovereign induced them to retain, as a measure of precaution, a system established as a protection against the dagger of the assassin. The stair-case always opens into a guardroom; and surprise is impossible, for one man could easily defend the passage against a hundred.”<sup>1</sup> Any one who examines a ground plan of the palace at Knossos will understand why it came to be called the Labyrinth, and will recognise a common feature with the Indian palace.<sup>2</sup> In ancient Greek forts a similar arrangement of the passages caused them to turn from right to left, so that an attacking force would be compelled to expose its right or shieldless side.<sup>3</sup> In the modern Indian house used by the lower classes the entrance has a sharp turn in order to ensure the seclusion of the women.

The Indian house, then, in its plan and materials, is infinitely varied. It plays an important part in the social life of the people, and it is only natural that many taboos and superstitions centre around it.

First comes the selection of the site, a matter of primary importance. This form of divination goes back to early Aryan times. The Matsya Purāna divides earth into classes according to its colour: white and sweet-tasted, called Brāhmana; red and astringent, Kshatriya; yellow, hot and astringent, Vaisya; black, Sūdra—the four original “colours” or classes into which the Indo-Aryans divided the people. For the site of a house Brāhmana is obviously the best, Sūdra the worst. To decide the character of the soil, the builder is advised to dig a pit a cubit in

<sup>1</sup> *India and its Native Princes*, ed. 1882, 89.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, 48; R. M. Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 107 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> C. Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, 103 f.; J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, 13; W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 3 *et seq.*; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 10.

depth, to smear the sides of it with clay, and to place within it a lighted lamp. If the lamp burns uniformly and brightly, the ground is fit for building, otherwise it is bad. Another method was, after excavating the pit, to replace the earth in it. If it should fill the hole and leave a surplus, the omen, according to the rules of sympathetic magic, was favourable; if it barely filled the hole, it was indifferent; if it proved insufficient to fill it, the site was positively bad. The presence or absence of certain trees, again, was a good test of the suitability of the site. If bones, especially those which proved to be those of Chandāla or outcast were found on excavating the foundations, the omen was highly inauspicious. Even if no bones were found, the wise man was advised to perform a special act of expiation to avoid the chance of such dangerous things being found later on.<sup>1</sup> In North India it is believed that if when the excavation is being made the first stroke of the spade turns up charcoal, which savours of the funeral pyre or suggests that fire may destroy the building, the masons will soon die; if broken tiles appear, their wives will die; if ashes are found, the owner will die; if bones, his wife will die.<sup>2</sup>

The jungle-dwelling Savaras place on the proposed site as many grains of rice as there are married couples in the household, and cover them over with a coconut shell. These are examined next day, and if none are missing, the site is approved.<sup>3</sup> When the Shans of Upper Burma are fixing the site of a house, ten baskets of rice are brought to the place, and a grain from each is laid in the middle of the ground, and covered with a mat or basket. Next morning if they are found to be uninjured by ants, grubs, or other creatures, the omen is favourable.<sup>4</sup> In Madras, if the owner should fall ill while the work is going on, no one would

Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo-Aryans*, i. 90 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 311; cf. *Census Report Bengal*, 1911, i. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, part ii. vol. i. 441.

dream of taking over the building and completing it.<sup>1</sup> This explains the state of dilapidation into which houses, even if they belong to wealthy people, are allowed to fall. This is not due to the indifference of the owners, but because they believe that the original builder has exhausted the good luck, and that any one who repairs or adds to an existing temple or other building of the kind gains no merit from his expenditure. At the same time, in more progressive parts of the country, like the Panjāb, it is said to be lucky to be always adding to and repairing a house; but in Bahāwalpur this is qualified by the rule that the extension should be to the front and not to the rear.<sup>2</sup>

In many places, for the same reason, it is held unlucky to build a new village on a deserted site. In such a case it is a good plan to call the brethren together—thus indicating that the matter concerns the group and not the individual, and that the ill luck will not fall upon any single person,—and to plant a pole to the north of the site, the Himālaya being the abode of the gods. Rice, betelnut, sugar, and a piece of red cloth are buried at the base of the pole. If the pole takes root, it is a good omen, and the tree which springs from it becomes the holy tree of the community.<sup>3</sup> In Gujarāt, in some places, the site itself is worshipped, and a wooden peg besmeared with red is driven into the ground and worshipped with an offering of red lac—which looks as if it symbolised a sacrifice, perhaps human—sandalwood ointment and rice; the peg is called that of Shesh Nāg, the world serpent, on which the earth is believed to rest.<sup>4</sup>

In South India, as might have been expected in a Brahman-ridden land, the regulations are more precise. The site should abound in milky trees and flowers; its shape should be quadrangular; it should be smooth and

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Census Report*, 1901, i. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iv. 35.

<sup>4</sup> R. E. Enthoven, *Folk-Lore Notes*, vol. i. Gujarāt, 68.

level, sloping to the east, producing a hard sound when struck; there should be a stream close by running from left to right; the earth should be sweet and fertile, of uniform colour, with water a cubit from the surface—a curious rule which shows how little questions of health affect the matter. Dangerous symptoms are that the ground is circular or semi-circular, in shape like a trident, the back of a fish, an elephant, a turtle, or the face of a cow. It should not be near a place abounding in human skulls, stones, worms, anthills, slimy soil, ashes, or other unclean things.<sup>1</sup>

The site is often fixed by a process of divination. When the site of the city of Mandalay was being selected, a few persons were chosen who had to purify themselves by prayers and incantations. They were sent out at night in various directions, usually to the south. When they arrived at the point fixed they were ordered to wait till they heard someone speak. Whatever was said was carefully recorded and taken to an expert, who interpreted the purport.<sup>2</sup> A common belief is that when one of the local animals shows extraordinary bravery, the site is lucky. When Rāja Darrāva was hunting, a hare turned and killed one of his dogs. Admiring his bravery, he chose the spot as the site of the town of Dhārwär. He thought that a place which bore brave animals would bear brave men.<sup>3</sup> Some Kallans, a vagrant tribe in Madras, were once out hunting, when a peacock attacked their dogs. They believed the land to be so fortunate that they migrated there in a body.<sup>4</sup> A man in Ratnagiri vowed that he would build a mosque wherever a bull that he let loose stopped. Hence the mosque at Bālapur was built on its present site.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anantha Krishna Iyer, *op. cit.* ii. 11. For similar customs in Northern Europe see P. B. Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, ii. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, part i. vol. i. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xxii. 707 note.

<sup>4</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, x. 320 note; cf. W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, 2nd ed. ii. 50.



It is important to link the new settlement with the old home of the emigrants. It is a common practice, when a new hamlet is founded, to take a brick from the shrine of the parent village, and make it the foundation of a new home for the local gods, just as Greek emigrants took fire from the public hearth of their city to light the fire on that of their new home.<sup>1</sup> Naaman, the Syrian, asked for two mules' burden of earth on which he might worship Yahveh in his own country, and David, when driven into exile, complained that he would be unable to worship the god of his own land.<sup>2</sup>

The foundation-laying is naturally an important crisis. In Gujarāt the owner pours water into the first pit which is dug, sprinkles lac and red powder, puts in a betelnut and coins and digs a clod himself to share in the risk.<sup>3</sup> This is because the earth spirits are disturbed by the excavation. In Khāndesh the day is selected by a diviner; the owner worships the ground, and digs a little earth before the labourers start work. When he lays the cornerstone and fixes the post in it, he does worship by pouring melted butter on it till it trickles into the soil, ties a yellow cloth filled with rice and millet round the pole, and lays holy grass on the top.<sup>4</sup> In South Kanara a large square is marked out with lines of whitewash on the ground, with magical symbols in the corners, and a roughly drawn human figure in the centre, round which flowers and boiled rice are laid: this is done on the spot selected for the site,

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Ākās Devī was removed from its original site in obedience to a dream vouchsafed to the village headman. The goddess ordered him to remove five bricks from the original to the new shrine, that she might find a resting-place there (Rose, *op. cit.* i. 330). When a Jew is buried in Holland "a handful of earth, said to have been brought from Palestine, is placed in a bag under the head of the deceased, or spread over his eyes, that he may sleep the sleep of the Just, and recollect his country," A. Esquiros, *The Dutch at Home*, 2nd ed. 1863, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings, v. 17; 1 Samuel, xxvi. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Enthoven, *op. cit.* 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xii. 130 *et seq.*



and the figure represents the earth-spirit supposed to be dwelling in the ground : if this rite is omitted, it is believed that there will be no luck about the house.<sup>1</sup> In the Central Provinces an astrologer calculates the direction in which Shesh Nāg, the world serpent, is lying, and plants the first brick or stone to the left of that direction. The explanation of this is that snakes and elephants are believed to turn, not to the left, but always to the right. If this is done, the house will be more secure and less likely to be shaken down by the movements of Shesh Nāg, which cause the phenomenon known to us as an earthquake.<sup>2</sup> When a Buddhist king laid the foundation of a stupa, he entered the holy site, bowed to the Bhikshus or mendicants, marked out a circle with a pair of silver compasses, placed in the centre eight gold or silver coins surrounded by eight gold or silver bricks, and then laid the eastern brick in a fragrant cement made of jessamine flowers.<sup>3</sup>

Various precautionary rites are done while the house is being built. The door posts are specially important. The Nāgas call the two front posts of the Morang male and female, and attribute sanctity to them.<sup>4</sup> The Lingāyats, when setting up the main door, do the " door consecration " rite, and drive an iron nail into the frame to keep out evil spirits.<sup>5</sup> When the Meitheis fix the first post they bind round the top cloth leaves and flowers, and on its base they pour butter, milk and sugarcane juice, being careful to drop a little gold and silver into the hole in which it is placed.<sup>6</sup> The Kammālans of Madras, when the carpenters

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in South India*, 327 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, iv. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Sir A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, 170 *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. 452. Compare the two posts, Jachin and Boaz, erected in the porch of Solomon's temple—I Kings, vii. 21, 2 Chronicles, iii. 17, Jeremiah, lii. 21, 22 ; J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 308 *et seq.* ; *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 2304 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.* iv. 2 *et seqq.* ; Croke, *op. cit.* ii. 11 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, 122.

begin the work on a new house, kill or cut the ear of a sheep, and smear the blood on the wall or on one of the pillars; when the house is finished, the owner supplies the workmen with at least four goats, one of which is sacrificed at each corner, and a number of fowls, the blood of which is rubbed on the walls and ceiling.<sup>1</sup> The Shans will not begin building a new house until on his birthday the owner offers sacrifice to the earth-spirit.<sup>2</sup>

Particular care is taken to fix the direction in which the house should be built. A Nāyar house may face east or west, never north or south, the east, the region of the rising sun, being generally preferred.<sup>3</sup> Some Nāgas will not build their houses facing west because this is the direction in which the spirits go to deathland. But, as Mr. Hodson observes, the rule has a practical value, because the prevailing winds blow from that direction.<sup>4</sup> So the aspect of all the houses at Delos was regulated by the prevailing north-east winds.<sup>5</sup> The south, possibly because it was the region occupied by the Dravidian tribes hostile to the Indo-Aryans, is generally avoided by orthodox Hindus. But here, again, practical convenience overrides superstition, and in parts of Bengal the doors of houses face south, to avoid the sharp cold north wind in winter, and to get the benefit of the soft south winds in the summer months.<sup>6</sup> In the Central Provinces the Brahmanical rule prevails, and a house should face north or east, not south or west, because the south is the land of Yama, god of death, and the west the quarter of the setting sun.<sup>7</sup> In Madras, again, a house should not be built in front of a temple of Siva, as the eye of that god disperses an evil influence, nor should it be

<sup>1</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.* iii. 113, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. L. Milne, *The Shans at Home*, Introd. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii. 301.

<sup>4</sup> T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal Hellenic Studies*, xxi. 298.      <sup>6</sup> Lal Bihari Day, *op. cit.* 258.

<sup>7</sup> R. V. Russell, *op. cit.* iv. 88.

behind a temple of Vishnu; a site between two such temples is preferred.<sup>1</sup>

The shape of the house is also carefully regulated. According to the Agni Purāna, the ground-plan of every building should have four equal sides; <sup>2</sup> but modern practice varies, and in Bengal the oblong shape, with a rectangular courtyard in the centre, is preferred. The Meit̄heis say that the number of bamboos forming the thatch-frame should not be equal on the north and south; luck lies in odd numbers, and if they were equal trouble would befall the owner.<sup>3</sup> In the Panjāb a house with the front narrower than the back is called *gaumukha* or "cow-faced," and is lucky; one with the front wider than the back is *sherdahān*, or "tiger-mouthed," and is unlucky; the number of the stairs should be uneven, and when you go upstairs you should place the left foot on the lowest step.<sup>4</sup> In parts of Bengal there is a prejudice against square houses; they should be oblong, and the two longer sides should run north and south.<sup>5</sup>

Omens naturally play a part in such beliefs. The Ghasiyas of Mirzapur abandon a new house if on the first night of occupation they hear the bark of a female jackal.<sup>6</sup> In the Central Provinces, if the main beam cracks it is a very bad omen, and if a vulture or a kite perches seven days running on the roof sickness or other misfortune is sure to follow.<sup>7</sup> In Madras if a goat climb on the roof of a house trouble is sure to follow. One way to avoid this danger is to cut off the ear of the animal and throw rice soaked in the blood on the roof; another way is to drag the beast round the house and kill it with a club; others burn a handful of the thatch as a mode of expiation.<sup>8</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> Padfield, *op. cit.* 5.

<sup>2</sup> Rajendralala Mitra, *op. cit.* i. 53 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Hodson, *The Meit̄heis*, 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Census Report*, 1911, i. 46.

<sup>6</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, ii. 28

<sup>7</sup> R. V. Russell, *op. cit.* iv. 89.

<sup>8</sup> F. R. Hemingway, *Gazetteer of Tanjore*, i. 66.

dog barking on the roof is equally dangerous, because if this happens in dry weather it portends an epidemic; if in wet weather, an excessive fall of rain; when a man comes to ruin, a common proverb says: "he is like a dying dog climbing a roof."<sup>1</sup> In the Panjāb, if a buffalo has been possessed of the devil to such a degree that it has got up on the top of a house, not a difficult feat in the hills, it is so unlucky that the beast is given to a Brahman.<sup>2</sup> Petronius speaks of *asinus in tegulis*, and "until the ass ascends the ladder" is a phrase of the Rabbins for what will not take place. *Si ascendit asinus per scalas, invenietur scientia in mulieribus*, which I leave as it is found in Buxtorf's Latin version.

The danger attending entry into a new house is everywhere recognised.<sup>3</sup> It is a serious crisis accompanying a new departure, and the damp of the walls, emanations or microbes disturbed in the course of excavation are a source of evil which primitive men translate into a visitation of demons or evil spirits. The Emperor Jovian is said to have been "suffocated in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal, which extracted from the walls of his apartment the unwholesome moisture of fresh plaster," says Gibbon.<sup>4</sup> People now attribute it to carbon monoxide gas.<sup>5</sup> Among the Izhuvans of Madras, after a new house is finished, the head carpenter does worship, and a few days before the date fixed for occupation sacrifices of

<sup>1</sup> *Id. Gazetteer of Trichonopoly*, i. 87; E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions in Southern India*, 57.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Rose, *op. cit.* ii. 141 note. Once, when a tiny fig-tree sprouted on the roof of the temple in the precinct occupied by the Arval Brethren, a solemn service, in which all kinds of piacula were offered to the gods, was held. W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 436 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 462 *et seqq.*; Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed.; *Taboo and the Peril of the Soul*, 63 *et seq.*; J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, ed. 1888, p. 45; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, 264 *et seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Decline and Fall*, ed. W. Smith, iii. 232.

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. xxi. 895.

goats and fowls are offered to demons of the lower order who are supposed to have been dwelling in the wood used in the building. This is said to be a survival of tree worship ; more probably a propitiation of demons. The rite is followed by a clan feast, showing that the matter concerns the tribe, and that the kinsmen share in the risk.<sup>1</sup>

The rite practised by the Tiyan tribe is intended to propitiate Vastu-purusha, the local spirit, the *genius loci*. The Gulikhan, a troublesome spirit, is appeased. All the workmen walk thrice round the house, breaking coconuts on the walls, and howling to drive away any lurking spirits. The house is then put in charge of a man who is not the owner. It is not easy to get a person to undertake this dangerous office, for Gulikhan, the ejected spirit, is believed to possess him. Hence the "scapegoat" is usually a poor man who undertakes the duty for a consideration. After the workmen have given over charge to him, he is taken into the middle room, and made to stand facing the door, with one foot on a plantain leaf, apparently a primitive mode of insulation. Pieces of the thatch are tied to his clothes, and he shuts the door, opens it, and shuts it again. From outside the head carpenter asks him if he has taken over charge. He replies evasively : "Have the workmen got their wages?" The carpenter does not answer, because, if he did, the danger would be transferred to himself. So he replies : "I did not ask you about our wages. Have you taken charge?" He answers : "Yes." Then he opens the door and with the plantain leaf in his hand makes his escape without looking back. The people pelt him with bananas, and hoot at him as he runs. After this, cow's milk boiled with rice is cooked in the house, of which everyone partakes, and the owner is able to occupy his house.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anantha Krishna Iyer, *op. cit.* i. 281 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 91 *et seq.* The rite known as Vastu-yāgam, practised at the foundation-laying by the Nāmbūtiri Brāhmins of Cochin, shows more

We have an account of a similar "scapegoat" rite from Northern India, known as *Griha-pravesa*, or "house-entering." A Pandit is sent for and does the usual worship. At its close the householder calls in a barber, whom he worships with an offering of water and washed rice, and asks him to light an oil lamp and set it with some flour in a cup. The barber moves the cup and lamp five times over the head of the house-owner, thus taking the ill luck on himself, and the Pandit tells him to run away at full speed taking with him the cup and its contents. While he is running the people pelt him with grains of rice. When he has escaped he appropriates the contents of the cup and flings the lamp into a pool of dirty water. The lamp is said to represent Bhairon, an old earth god, whose priest is the barber. The moving of the lamp over the head of the owner is said to signify that Bhairon has abandoned his rights over the site.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Shans, when the owner comes to take possession of a new house, he is met by an old man who wishes him safety from all misfortune; the old man here probably represents the "scapegoat," though this fact is not clearly stated. Then a fire is kept lighted for seven days in the centre room; this is to "air" the house, in other words to drive out evil spirits. When the house is first occupied, it is a good plan to bring in pots full of water; cooked rice, and green leaves which do not easily wither. The pots should not be cracked, and none of the contents should be spilled—a piece of sympathetic magic to produce good luck.<sup>2</sup> In Bombay dancing girls are invited to dance in a new house, because "without the jingling of the bells on their feet a house does not become pure," or rather, because the bells scare evil spirits.<sup>3</sup> In the Panjāb an

priestly influence. L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, ii. 179 *et seqq.*

<sup>1</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iv. 4 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. L. Milne, *op. cit.* 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Panjāb Notes and Queries*, i. 74.



earthen pot is sent into the house before the owner and his family take up their quarters there. Sometimes husband and wife enter with their sheets knotted together, as was done on their wedding day, doubtless to mark the new departure and as a fertility charm. The gods who control luck are worshipped, and the rite ends with the lighting of the sacred fire as a protective.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rose<sup>2</sup> quotes, on the authority of Dr. Francke, a more drastic method used in the Sutlej valley, where a Lama recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to make his house habitable. When the Orāons build a new house, the ancestors are invited to enter it, and a sacrifice is always offered on the first day the house is occupied.<sup>3</sup>

I have not been able to procure much in the way of parallels to these customs in this country. Mrs. Leather kindly informs me that in Herefordshire, on entering a new house, the paws of the family cat are buttered and she is put in through the window backwards. It is held unlucky to move in the furniture before coal, bread and salt are taken in, and on the Welsh border it is said to be very unlucky to go into a new house. Why is the cat put in tail foremost? Miss Burne kindly suggests that the cat represents a sort of foundation sacrifice, like the dog which was passed over the Devil's Bridge as the first passenger, and she notes that things done backwards are an element in various charms and spells. This may be so, or perhaps the cat is sent in backwards to show that she is not under duress, and that she can come out when she likes by "following her nose." From Ireland it is reported that when you are moving it is unlucky to take your cat with you, and hence in Dublin many cats are left derelict, and suffer terribly.<sup>4</sup> In Lancashire, when moving into a new house, the wife brings with her a Bible, salt and oatmeal,

<sup>1</sup> *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* i. 64.

<sup>3</sup> P. Dehon, *Memoirs Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1906, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, iii. 359.

and puts them into one of the cupboards ; the Bible is said to act as a protective, and the meal and salt are emblems of prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

When this primitive "scapegoat" rite passes into the hands of the Brahmans, it rapidly develops into an elaborate piece of ritual. In Bombay this is known as *Vastu-sānti*, or "Vastu-quieting," Vastu being the house spirit. The owner of the house and his wife bathe, and sit on wooden stools within a circle drawn with quartz powder, into which no demon can penetrate. The host, taking water in his right hand, says : " I perform the rite of Vastu-soothing so that in future I and my family may live safely in our new house." He throws the water on the ground, while the priest says : " Let those Bhūts or evil spirits which live on this site depart, and let all evil spirits be destroyed by the Lord Siva ! " Then a mound symbolising an ant-hill, the abode of snakes, is raised, and surrounded by a thread of cotton fixed on posts. The owner makes an offering and prays : " May the Nāgas or serpent-gods go to the depths of the earth, and let the Lokapālas or benign guardians of the four quarters, who prolong life and strength, abide in this dwelling ! " After this Vastu, the site spirit, and Dhruva, the polar star, emblem of stability, are worshipped. At the foundation pillar of the house, known as the " Lucky Post," a pit is dug and filled with water, on which a little oil is poured. If the oil on the surface of the water takes the form of a tortoise, on which the earth rests, it is believed that the house will last long and that the owner will prosper. Then a golden image of Vastu is buried face downwards in a box and worshipped.<sup>2</sup> The burial face downwards, which is often done in the case of dead scavengers whose ghosts are dreaded, seems to be intended to hold the earth spirit safely entombed and incapable of doing mischief.

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, iv. 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, xx. 524 et seqq.

The rites here described are closely connected with the Foundation Sacrifice, which is familiar to all students of folk-lore, and need not be further discussed.

The house is liable to pollution in various ways, even by trifling accidents, such as bees hiving on it or any kind of fungus growing inside. These necessitate minor forms of purification. Worst of all is a death occurring inside the house. Hence a dying person is removed into the open air. Semi-nomadic tribes, like the Bhils, when a death occurs, permanently abandon their huts, and make a new settlement elsewhere. They also believe that the best cure for a man who has been long sick is to change his house. This is not what we call "change of air"; but a long-continued illness is supposed to be due to some dangerous spirit influence attached to the site. It is obvious that the idea of "pollution" is secondary; the primitive idea is that the place is occupied by some sulky, malicious spirit, irritated at being disturbed from his accustomed abode, and ready to give vent to his ill will on the occupants if they are lax in doing the necessary suit and service.

Almost every part of the house has its special sanctity, or is subject to some special taboo. The most vital question in a caste-ridden country is the preparation of food. Hence the cooking-place is carefully guarded, and even its position and orientation are regulated because it might offend the spirit world if its opening was fixed in the wrong direction. But it is remarkable that the Hindus seem never to have impersonated the hearth spirit, like the Greek Hestia, who played no small part in the developed polytheism, but was never established as a separate anthropomorphic personality. Neither of the sacred trees, varieties of the fig, should be planted in the yard, lest the leavings of food may fall upon them, and thus offend the deities who reside in them. It is also dangerous to plant the Nīm tree there, because it is the tree of ascetics, and contemplation of it by the householder may rob him of his desire for offspring,

and thus lead to the extinction of the family. Bananas should not grow near a house, because it is dangerous to hear the sound of the bursting of the pods. Best of all is the holy basil, because it sanctifies the air as it passes into the house.<sup>1</sup>

The door is carefully guarded and the archway is regarded with veneration, as is the case in China and Japan.<sup>2</sup> In Madras the principal doorway is called the "Lions' Gate," and over it the crosspieces, like the Lions' Gate at Mycenae, are carved to represent lions, elephants, horses or parrots, according to the taste of the owner in devising means of protecting his house. The erection of the door-frame is a serious business, the woodwork being smeared with saffron and red powder, and flowers or strings of mango leaves hung above it.<sup>3</sup> If a death occurs in the house, the corpse should not be removed by the front door, lest the ghost should find its way back. So a hole is broken in the back wall through which the body is taken out.<sup>4</sup>

The main pillar, as we have seen, is erected with due ceremonies, and probably represents the tree round which tribes like the Argippaeans built their houses. "Each of them," says Herodotus,<sup>5</sup> "dwells under a tree, and they cover the tree in winter with a thick white felt, but take off the covering in the summer time." This reminds us again of the olive tree round which Odysseus built his bedchamber.<sup>6</sup>

The threshold marking the division of the spirits without and the spirits within, is a holy place. It is the abode of

<sup>1</sup> R. V. Russell, *op. cit.* iv. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, 3rd ed. 36; B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 3rd ed. 407 f.; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, 231 f.

<sup>3</sup> Padfield, *op. cit.* ii. *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> This was done when the body of the Emperor Akbar was removed from the Agra Fort for burial. Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, 1917, p. 327, where other references are given.

<sup>5</sup> iv. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Odyssey*, xxiii. 190 *seqq.*; W. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, III.

Lakshmi, goddess of wealth and good luck, and any one else who sits there is likely to be plagued with haemorrhoids. When a woman in Central India dies after delivery her body is carefully removed, and an iron nail is driven into the threshold of every house which her body passes.<sup>1</sup> In North India when a man is suffering from stone in the bladder, he gets up very early in the morning, rolls seven times on his own threshold, eats a couple of radishes which have been exposed all night to the dew, and the cure is certain.<sup>2</sup>

When the poor souls of the dead wander about feeble and lonely till their funeral rites are done, they may be heard moaning and twittering on the ridgepole. Hence it is a place under taboo, and it is wise to protect it by setting up an old discarded earthen pot, decorated with a streak of whitewash. In Madras the ridgepole is worshipped while lying on the ground across two pieces of wood; it is decorated with flowers and garlands, and worship is done to it before it is placed in position.<sup>3</sup> In parts of Upper Burma the belief prevails that if a house be built without a ridgepole the inmates will be attacked by a tiger.<sup>4</sup> In pictures of houses among some tribes of Assam and Burma the beams forming the gables are prolonged into a fork, or a rude representation of something like the Cross of St. Andrew is made. In Lāhul the roof is surmounted by a ram's head, the symbol of creative power.<sup>5</sup> In some cases this has come to be purely decorative, but in its original form it serves as a protection against the Evil Eye and other spirit dangers.<sup>6</sup>

Similar protectives are those which the Nicobarese call

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report Central India*, 1911, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Padfield, *op. cit.* 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, part ii. vol. ii. 647.

<sup>5</sup> Rose, *Glossary*, i. 91.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xi. 27, 64; T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheiis*, 8.

“spirit scarers,” life-size figures of human beings armed with spears, animals such as fish, crocodiles, birds, or pigs, and similar objects connected with their animistic beliefs, painted in colours on spathes of the areca palm ; just above the house ladder a figure of an armed man is often painted. A row of pigs’ jaws often forms part of the decoration, but these are talismans or mementoes of sport, but are designed as a proof of the skill of the housewife in rearing large pigs for food. Models of ships, often seen on their houses, are only signs to traders that the owner is ready to deal in coconuts.<sup>1</sup>

In Northern India you will notice many devices of the same kind—an image of Ganesa, god of luck, or of Hanumān, the monkey god, the emblem of virility ; gods or goddesses at work destroying demons, and so on. Often you will see a figure of Mr. Thomas Atkins standing in a truculent attitude, but in the true spirit of conservatism in religious art, he is dressed not in khaki but in the red uniform of John Company, and carries the old Brown Bess musket which he used in the wars of the eighteenth century.

Sir James Frazer has exhaustively discussed the sanctity of the head, and the danger resulting from a person being over you in an upper story. There are various *ex post facto* explanations of the prejudice against building second stories in a house ; that, as the Meithei say, some people were once watching a boat-race from a bridge, the structure gave way and some one was drowned ; that, as the Burmese think, a private house should not be higher than a monastery, and so on.<sup>2</sup> All this is beside the point, and besides the idea about the sanctity of the head, people like the Hindus who are sensitive about personal pollution, naturally dislike placing themselves in a position where they are subject to such risks.

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report Andaman Islands, 1901, 216.*

<sup>2</sup> Hodson, *op. cit.* 79 *et seq.* ; H. Yule, *Narrative of a Mission to the Court of Ava, 163.*



This long discussion does not exhaust a very complicated subject. But I have perhaps said enough to show that the study of the house in India is of some interest from the point of view of sociology and folk-lore; that it is the result of a process of evolution, and that in India these successive stages are more clearly traceable than in many other countries. The superstitions connected with it bring us back to the basis of the animistic beliefs of the Hindus, the constant danger to which they are exposed from ubiquitous hosts of evil spirits, the Evil Eye, and witchcraft. The precautions adopted to repel such dangers rest on well-established principles, and it is interesting to watch how these primitive rites, when they come into the hands of the Brahman priesthood, rapidly develop into an elaborate system of ritual on which endless labour and exorbitant sums of money, which the peasant often finds it difficult to provide, are expended.

W. CROOKE.

## CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX. p. 74.)

(k) <i>Strolling Visitors.</i>	LOCALITY.
<p><i>Waits</i> (instrumental musicians :<sup>1</sup> generally perform during night of Dec. 24-25). Employed by municipality (<i>obs.</i>) - - - - -</p>	<p>Berwick, Scarboro', Don- caster, Nottingham, Cambridge, Leicester, Chester, etc.</p>
<p>Licensed to solicit money within definite area (down to 1820-30) - - - - -</p>	<p>London Parishes.</p>
<p>Entirely independent ; and lingered into 19th century "Timbrel-waits" (tin-kettle music by boys, before Christmas) - - - - -</p>	<p>Country towns (sporadic).  Wolverhampton, York- shire towns.</p>
<p>"Bletherhead bands" (nigger minstrels) perambulate streets - - - - -</p>	<p>Bradford.</p>
<p><i>Carol-singers</i> (perform at house- doors, night or day, some- times with instrumental accompaniment - - - - -</p>	<p>General.</p>
<p>Sing on church-tower - - - - -</p>	<p>Berks. (Newbury), Hants. (Crandall).</p>
<p>At holy wells - - - - -</p>	<p>West Cornwall.</p>
<p>In Minstrels' Gallery - - - - -</p>	<p>Exeter Cathedral.</p>

<sup>1</sup> But the name is often applied to singers, e.g. "The singing waits, a merry throng" (Clare, *The Shepherd's Calendar*).

At choir-supper, Christmas  
 Eve - - - - - LOCALITY.  
 Oxford (Magd. Cell.).  
 (Cf. Wassailing, above.)<sup>1</sup>

*Masqueraders.*

Mummers (costumed figures,  
 with blackened faces, enter  
 unannounced, and sweep up  
 hearth without speaking - West Riding.  
 Hoodeners (carol-singers ac-  
 companied by a "hobby-  
 horse" masquerader,  
 extort money) - - - Thanet and East Kent.  
 "The Broad" (wassailers  
 accompanied by man per-  
 sonating bull, called the  
 Broad) - - - - - Glos. (Kingscote).  
 "The Horse's Head or Queen's  
 Pony" (Hobby-horse  
 parody of the Doctor inci-  
 dent in the play of St.  
 George) - - - - - District between Ponte-  
 fract and Doncaster.

Sword-dancers (perform in  
 character, introduced by  
 song) - - - - - Northumbria.  
 Called *Guizards* - - - - - Co. Durham (Swalwell),  
 Northumbd. (Ears-  
 don), West Riding  
 (Kirkby Malzeard,  
 Grenoside, nr. Eccles-  
 field, etc.).

Mummers' Play of St. George  
 acted - - - - - General.  
 Performers called Guisers,  
 Geese-dancers, Morris-  
 dancers, Mummers, Tip-  
 tceers, etc. - - - - - In various counties.

(l) *Games and Sports.*

Boar-hunting, Christmas to  
 Candlemas - - - - - Essex Forests.  
 Fox-hunting, Christmas to Lady  
 Day - - - - - Essex Forests.

<sup>1</sup> It is desired to form a Bibliography of Christmas Carols. Information will be welcomed.

## LOCALITY.

Squirrel-hunting	-	-	-	Norfolk and Suffolk.
Bull-baiting	-	-	-	Suffolk.
Butcher provided bull to be killed by undergraduates				Oxford.
"Cabsow" or "shin-up" (a kind of hockey)	-	-	-	Lincs. (Grimsby, Cleethorpes).
Quintain (medieval athletic sport).				

*Indoor Games.*

"Bite-apple" or "souze-apple" (see November)	-	-	-	Lancs., Staffs., Salop.
Snap-dragon	-	-	-	General.
Card-playing	-	-	-	Universal.
Apprentices allowed to play cards at Christmas, 1446				Walsall.
Children's gambling game with pins	-	-	-	Cornwall.
Blindman's Buff, turn-the-trencher, hunt the slipper, puss-in-the-corner, hot cockles, hide-and-seek (in various forms), Bobby Bingo, oranges and lemons, Buff, forfeits, memory games, etc., commonly played.				
Christmas Tree introduced	-			<i>Circa</i> 1789.
Christmas Cards introduced	-			1850-60.
Christmas Pieces (children's specimens of calligraphy, disused)				<i>Circa</i> 1830.
Christmas Pantomimes introduced	-	-	-	1702, <i>ut dicit.</i>

## III. LOCAL OBSERVANCES.

(a) *Bell-ringing Customs.*

Christmas Eve.				
Two bells rung, 4 p.m.	-			Wolverhampton.
"Cheese-and-bread bell,"				
7 p.m.	-	-	-	Hexham Priory.
Peal rung, 8 p.m.	-	-	-	Yorkshire (general).
"The Devil's Knell" (passing bell) midnight	-	-	-	Yorkshire (Horsbury, Dewsbury).

LOCALITY.

- Peal rung at midnight - - - - - Beds. (Gt. Barford, Woburn), Herts. (Abbots' Langley, Ashwell, etc.), Lincs. (Kirton in Lindsey, 1640; cf. *In Memoriam*, No. xxviii. Staffs. (Bilston, 1685, etc.; Wolverhampton, 1893).
- Submerged bells thought to be heard at midnight - - - - - Salop (Bomere), Notts. (Raleigh).
- Christmas Day.  
 Peals rung - - - - - Beds. (Cranfield<sup>1</sup> Goldington, Flitwood), Glos. (Ruardlean, by bequest), Hants. (St. Mary Bourne<sup>2</sup>), Herts. (Rushden, King's Walden<sup>3</sup>), Lincs. (Edenham, S. Kelsey, etc.<sup>4</sup>), Rutland ("in most places"), Yorksh. (Wensleydale, called Virgin's Chimes).
- "Pye bell," between noon and 1 p.m. - - - - - Worcester (St. Helens).
- "Plum-pudding bell" rung by request, a month before Christmas - - - - - Worcester (St. Martins).
- Twelve days of Christmas, Curfew or "Culfer" rung on two bells, 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. - - - - - Leeds (18th cent.).
- Twelve days of Christmas, Curfew silent - - - - - Salop (Cleobury Mortimer).

<sup>1</sup> North, *Ch. Bells of Beds.*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> "At Christmas the bells had no rest" (Stevens, *St. Mary Bourne*).

<sup>3</sup> North, *Ch. Bells of Herts.*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid. Lincs.*, pp. 220-221, "in very many places."





	LOCALITY.
Vicar gave beef, mustard, bread and cheese to all comers on Christmas Day, down to 19th cent. - - - - -	Staffs. (Gt. Barr and Aldridge).
Vicar provided bread, cheese, and beer for tithe-payers after evening service, to 1814 -	Berks. (Cumnor).
Ferryman remitted toll on Christmas Day and received loaf from parishioners; his dog fed at Vicarage - - -	Notts. (North Clifton).
Bread, ale, and mince-pies distri- buted to poor by Rector on <i>Old</i> Christmas Day - - -	Dorset (Piddlehinton).
Tenants-at-will made customary presents to Lord of Manor at Yule; he entertained them and their wives at dinner -	Ashton-under-Lyne, 1422.
Feast in reeve's house; mince- pies; free drinks while candles burning. Associated with memory of King John - - -	Somerset (North Curry).
Break-up school-feast, cakes and sweet ale (Pegge) - - - -	Derbysh. (Whittington).
"Rumbald Whitings" (eight finest whittings from each boat sold to provide supper for fishers, Christmas Eve - - -	Folkestone.
<i>(d) Doles (cf. St. Thomas's Day).</i>	
Plums distributed to inhabitants	Stafford (Forebridge).
Annuities to Widows, by bequest	Oxford (St. Thomas's).
Beef, by bequest, 1729 - - -	Exeter (St. Mary Major).
<i>(e) Other Customary Gifts.</i>	
Officers of King's Bench Court to Judges - - - - -	See <i>Report of Royal Commission</i> , 1820.
Tenants of Selby Abbey to Con- vent - - - - -	Yorksh. (Selby, 1597).
Lord of Manor to Tenants, yule logs - - - - -	Northumbd. (Belford), 1890-1900.
Grocers gave plums to customers	
Bakers, a cake - - - - -	Northants., 1854.

	LOCALITY.
Chandlers and grocers, Christmas candles - - - -	Yorksh.
Master joiners, yule-logs - -	Yorksh.
"Hardgrain," a present of wheat or money made to children at Christmas - - - -	Lancs. (Hund. of Lons- dale).
Stocking hung up to receive gifts	See Henderson, p. 67.

(f) *Household Festivities.*

Households of Nobility and Squirearchy (17th cent.). Tenantry assembled at day- break; hospitality to all comers; servants dancing, masquerading, joined in games	General (cf. <i>Round about our Coal Fire</i> ).
Guessing identity masked fellow-servants, 1795 -	Aston, nr. Birmingham.
Farmhouses (dances, collec- tion for fiddler) - -	Somerset.
Cottages ("crusty loaf and mouldy cheese" ready for all comers) - - - -	Derbyshire.

(g) *Holidays, Merrymaking, etc.*

Plough not worked (see Plough Monday).	
Household work intermitted -	South and West Salop.
Servants equalled masters -	Norfolk.
Servants leave places, Dec. 26; spend Christmas Week at home	Cheshire, North Staffs. North-east Salop.
Fairs in Christmas Week.	
Gauby Far (formerly Hiring Fair) - - - -	Shrewsbury.
Gauby Market (ditto) - -	Salop (Newport).
Giglet Fair (a pleasure fair, introductions unnecessary <sup>1</sup> ) - - - -	Cornwall (Launceston), Devon (Okehampton).
" Merry Nights " (subscription dances at public houses -	Cumbd. and Westmd.
" Treating " expected from all comers, under pain of " stang- riding " or " basketing " -	Ditto.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mistletoe.

	LOCALITY.
" Yule-girth " (immunity for bad characters during holidays) proclaimed - - - -	York.
Watch and Ward kept three nights by Customary Tenants, 1555, 1667 - - - -	Chester.
Yule-waiting or " yolwayting " by customary tenants (1183, compounded for money payment, 14th cent.) - - -	Durham.
Customary tenants watch twelve nights, turn and turn about - - -	St. Paul's Cathedral.
Ditto, 12 men and horses 12 nights, stick pins on leaving	Yorksh. (Wadsley).
Tenure of Breadsall by serving lord (Earl of Lancaster) at dinner and supper on Christmas Day - -	Tutbury.
The Lord of Misrule (leader of Christmas revels, in royal, noble, and official households)	London, Westminster, Greenwich, etc., 16th century.
Styled Abbot of Misrule at court - - - -	1489.
Held office Hallowmas to Candlemas inclusive.	
Styled " Christmas Prince " or " King of Christmas " -	Inns of Court.
Held office Hallowmas to Shrovetide - - -	St. John's College (Oxford).
Elected St. Edmund's Day (Nov. 19).	
King's Lord of Misrule accompanied by masquerade procession visited city.	
Dined with Lord Mayor and Sheriffs - - - -	1551, etc.
Dined at Temple - - -	1561.
Stayed all night in Poultry -	New Year's Eve, 1557-8.
Mayor kept open house 12 days. Lord of Misrule appointed, 1567 - -	Chester.

*Catalogue of Brand Material.*

	LOCALITY.
Lords of Misrule at Easter and Whitsuntide also, 1555 <i>et sqq.</i> - - - -	Melton Mowbray.
Collected money (forexpenses of sports ?) - - - -	Melton Mowbray.
<i>The Finger-stocks</i> ; an instru- ment into which the Lord of Misrule put the fingers of misdemeanants against Christmas rules (1686) -	Staffs. (Beaudesert).
<i>Business Customs.</i>	
Hiring Servants (see above) -	Cheshire, North Staffs., N.E. Salop. "
Woodcutting rights begin -	Herefd. (Yatton).
Boar payable to Lords of Manor Lessee of Tithes gave boar's head to be wrestled for - - - -	Kent (Denford). Essex (Hornchurch).
" Hogling-money " (?) due -	Surrey (Wandsworth, 1455).
Warden to pay dues to Corpus Christi guild-master - -	Coventry.
Outgoing Masters of Cappers Guild to deliver up accounts, 1520 - - - -	Coventry.
Town servants to receive liveries, 1534 - - - -	Coventry.

(To be continued.)

---

## COLLECTANEA.

---

### FOLK CUSTOMS OF THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY.

THE following extracts from the *Bulletin* of January, 1918, issued by the Friends War Victims' Relief Committee, are published with the kind permission of the honorary secretary.

#### *Russia. Mogotovo. Apple Sunday.*

Last Sunday was "Apple Sunday." Outside the church the people in their gay clothes crowded round a cart buying apples, and then took them into the church to be blessed. It is impossible entirely to follow the service; there is much repetition, singing "Gospodu, Gospodu pomedus!" ("Lord! Lord! have mercy upon us!").

#### *A Russian Peasant Wedding.*

A few days before the wedding I was called from the work-room, not knowing for what. I went to find it was a sort of betrothal feast which I was expected to partake of. A dirty cloth was spread on the table, and on it lay a few raw salt fish, sour black bread, and the samovar was steaming. They gave me tea out of a cup that everyone took it in turns to drink out of, and when I refused sugar they insisted on putting a handful of dirty dried apricots in my cup. I then had to have one of the fish, which by the way had been kept too long before salting. I thought it would do to pretend to eat it, but it was soon noticed, and the bridegroom's father took it from me and tore it open, saying that was the way to do it. No plates, knives or forks were used. We were told that the wedding was to be

at 10 a.m., so were hurrying ; a little nephew of the bride came round to tell us to hurry at 8 a.m., or we would be late, so we rushed round expecting to find them all in holiday best, but not at all. There was great activity in the little kitchen about 14 ft. square, where they all lived (sixteen persons). Great quantities of large thin brown pancakes were being made, and awful-looking lumps of dough with sugar on them. In the middle of this the bride was gathering together her wedding garments, and several friends were standing round weeping. The bride took all her clothes to the room which they had vacated for our use as a workroom, when she dressed. She had unbleached calico garments, very thick and coarse, and five petticoats, all different bright colours, with yards and yards of material in them, then a black satin skirt, and purple silk blouse, and a pair of goloshes, several sizes too large, the gift of the bridegroom. All her girl friends then arrived to do her hair ; it was combed with half a comb. They divided it in the middle, they flattened it as tight as it is possible to flatten, they licked it ! and smoothed it down until not one hair was out of place. Then they placed a large silk handkerchief over her head, covering her face. (The bridal dress is never used again until she is buried in it.)

The father and mother still dressed in rags came in with an eikon ; a dirty old coat was thrown on the floor. The girl then prostrated herself first to the eikon, held by the father, then to the mother, chanting and weeping all the time. Then the oldest sister-in-law held the eikon, and the same thing was gone through. This latter was also the official weeper. The mother, who is a charming old lady and who considered us her private property, and without whom the workroom would be a poor place indeed, had deputed the weeping to the daughter-in-law, as she said the medicine she had got from the aptek had done her cold no good, so she could not weep. They all chanted and howled at the top of their voices, the tears streaming down their faces. In the middle the mother turned to me, and in cheerful tones said, " Is it so with you ? "

The bridegroom was then seen coming up with his father, etc. The bride in a state of collapse, still covered up, was set at a



table in the corner, while all her girl friends sat round. In came the bridegroom, aged 17 years, led by the best man by a handkerchief, looking very shy and unhappy. The best man then bargained with the girls to get up and let the bridegroom sit by the bride. There was a great deal of noise, and at last they agreed to move for 30 kopeks each. No sooner had the girls got up than six or seven little boys took their places. They also had to be bribed to move; at last they accepted 10 kopeks each, though reluctantly. The groom then sat by the bride, who held his handkerchief; she also had one. After that healths were drunk, all out of one glass, the father of the bride and the official weeper being the only members of the bride's family taking part. The others only looked on. Then the bride and groom together were blessed first by the bride's father, then by the mother. He was dressed more or less like a European, all except a very large, many-coloured, many-ended tassel, sticking out under his coat behind. This looked very ludicrous when he prostrated himself. At the bridegroom's house, before he goes to get the bride, there is singing and rejoicing; they are acquiring a new member, whereas the other family are losing one.

They then drove to church, where there was another couple, also very young. They held each other's handkerchiefs all the time, and were led forward when necessary by them. Huge royal-looking crowns were placed on their heads, and after the ceremony they went all round the church kissing the eikon. On their return from church they went first to the bridegroom's house, where they feast, then to the bride's, where they are received with joy by the parents, who do not go to church. Sometimes this takes two days. We begged to be excused from this part of it, as meals in this part of the world are not altogether an unmixed pleasure.

D. E. W.

## THE PRAYING PALM OF FARIDPUR.

CALCUTTA, 4th January.

UNDER the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay Sir J. C. Bose delivered a lecture this evening on "The praying palm-tree."

Sir J. C. Bose said that perhaps no phenomenon was so remarkable and shrouded with greater mystery as the performances of a particular palm tree near Faridpur. In the evening while the temple bells rang calling the people to prayer the tree bowed down as if to prostrate itself, and erected its head again in the morning. This process is repeated every day of the year. The phenomenon had been regarded as miraculous and pilgrims had been attracted in great numbers. It was also alleged that offerings made to the tree had been the means of effecting marvellous cures.

The lecturer first obtained photographs of the two positions which proved the phenomenon to be real. The next thing was to devise a special apparatus to record continuously the movement of the tree day and night. The records of the palm tree showed that it fell with the rise of temperature and rose with the fall. The records obtained with other trees brought out the extraordinary and unsuspected fact that all trees are moving, such movement being in response to changes in their environment.

*Pioneer Mail*, Allahabad, 11th January, 1918.

AN ANGLESEY SUPERSTITION: MODES OF PROTECTION  
FROM EVIL SPIRITS.

FOR the following note the Editor is indebted to Sir James Frazer.

Twenty-five years ago an old man in one of the parishes of Anglesey invariably bore or rather wore a sickle over his neck—in the fields, and on the road, wherever he went. He was rather reticent as to the reason why he wore it, but he clearly gave his questioner to understand that it was a protection

against evil spirits. This custom is known in Welsh as "*gwisgo'r gorthrwm*," which literally means "wearing the oppression." *Gorthrwm*=*gor*, an intensifying affix=*super*, and *trwm*=heavy, so that the phrase perhaps would be more correctly rendered "wearing the overweight." It is not easy to see the connection between the practice and the idea either of overweight or oppression; still, that was the phrase in common use.

For a similar reason, that is, protection from evil spirits during the hours of the night, it was and is a custom to place two scythes archwise over the entrance-side of the wainscot bed found in many of the older cottages of Anglesey. It is difficult to find evidence of the existence of this practice to-day as the old people no doubt feel that it is contrary to their prevailing religious belief and will not confess their faith in the efficacy of a "pagan" rite which they are yet loth to abandon.

R. GWYNEDON DAVIES.

---

#### SANCTUARIES AND FAIRIES IN WEST IRELAND.

MR. T. J. WESTROPP, who is doing excellent work on the investigation on scientific lines of prehistoric remains in Ireland, has republished from the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxxiv. Section C, No. 3) a paper on "The Ancient Sanctuaries of Knockaincy and Clogher, Co. Limerick." Here a cairn commemorates the cult of the goddess Aine, of the god-race of the Tuatha De Danann. She was a water-spirit, and has been seen, half-raised out of the water, combing her hair. She was a beautiful and gracious spirit, "the best-natured of women," and is crowned with meadowsweet (*spiræa*), to which she gave its sweet smell. She is a powerful tutelary spirit, protector of the sick, and connected with the moon, her hill being sickle-shaped, and men, before performing the ceremonies, used to look for the moon—whether visible or not—lest they should be unable to return. They used to comb the sheaves on St. John's Eve, carrying lighted wisps to bring luck

to crops and cattle. One day some girls saw her, and she showed them, through a ring, that the hill was crowded with fairies. Her son, the magic Earl of Desmond, is still seen riding over the ripples of Loch Gur until his horse's golden shoes are worn out. The paper is a valuable contribution to the pre-historic mythology of Ireland.

---

#### WAR MASCOTS.

THE lighter side of the Imperial War Museum Exhibition at Burlington House is the collection of soldiers' and sailors' "Mascots" of all nations.

These have been gathered together by Mr. E. Lovett, of the Folk-Lore Society.

The collection includes many ordinary superstitions, such as bits of coal for luck, but there are others peculiar to the war, and especially interesting are the Russian ikons, and also the metal Greek crosses of the patterns of the seventeenth century.

Belgium is largely represented by charms made from the copper and aluminium of enemy projectiles, and especially hearts, anchors, and crosses.

The Italian charms and amulets are mostly of mother of pearl or coral, and include fishes and hands and long fingers destined to ward off the "evil eye."

The English mascots are very varied, and pertain to different counties and localities. A Northamptonshire regiment's mascot is some hairs of the regimental goat enclosed in a glass disc. The Irish charms are generally the four-leafed shamrock in Connemara marble.

A German iron medal is a sailor's mascot against drowning, and bears the Latin motto "In tempestate securitas."

"Touch-wuds," black cats, gollywogs in wool, Teddy bears, penguins, are there in dozens, and stones with holes in them from the West of England.

*The Evening News*, 14th January, 1918.

---

## CORRESPONDENCE.

---

### MELANESIAN INFLUENCE IN EASTER ISLAND.

IN a late number of *Folk-Lore* (vol. xxviii. p. 356) Henry Balfour contributed a very interesting and suggestive paper on Melanesian influence in Easter Island; I now offer additional evidence in support of his hypothesis.

L. Choris gives an illustration of a canoe from Easter Island with a double outrigger composed of two booms, the ends of which are tied directly to the float (*Voy. pitt. autour du monde*, 1822, pl. x. fig. 1); this has been copied by H. Stolpe (*Ymer*, 1883, p. 177, fig. 9). G. Friederici says that the double outrigger certainly occurred on the Marquesas at the time of the Mendaña Expedition (*Mitt. aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten*, Erg-heft, Nr. 5, 1912, p. 243). G. Brown states that the beautiful carved-built sailing canoes of the Samoan Islands had an outrigger "on both sides" (*Melanesians and Polynesians*, 1910, p. 350). So far as I am aware, this type of canoe has nowhere else been reported in past or recent times from Polynesia. On turning to Melanesia, we find canoes with double outriggers in the extreme north of New Guinea as far east as Cape d'Urville and in the Torres Straits district, but this is another story. A canoe of the Easter Island type is found in the Nissan group (Sir Charles Hardy Islands) between Bougainville and New Ireland (F. Krause, quoting R. Uhlig, *Fahrbuch d. städt. Mus. f. Volkerkunde zu Leipzig*, i. 1906 (1907), p. 133, fig. 101). Guppy says that the general absence of outriggers is characteristic of the Solomons group, and adds, "For sea-passages, greater stability is sometimes given to the large canoes of the straits, by temporarily fitting them with an outrigger on each side, in the form

of a bundle of stout bamboos lashed to the projecting ends of three bamboo poles placed across the gunwales of the canoe" (*The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, 1887, pp. 146, 149). Friederici, in a letter dated July 14, 1913, says, "I have now no doubt that the *kōp* [the Nissan double outrigger canoe] has been brought by a Philippine or sub-Philippine wandering stream to New Ireland and neighbourhood, and that the double outrigger has in course of time been displaced by the Melanesian single outrigger and has stood its ground only in the island of Nissan."

Further support for a Melanesian element in the population of Easter Island is supplied by W. Volz (*Arch. f. Anth.* xxiii. 1895, p. 97 ff.), who studied a collection of some three dozen adult skulls from that island. Of these 15 are stated to be, without doubt, western Melanesians; 7 are eastern Melanesians; 10 belong to Polynesian races; and 4 represent survivals of a very old population of Australian origin, but more nearly approach other survivals of Australians, especially in New Zealand (with traces elsewhere in Polynesia and in Melanesia), than the actual Australian type. He believes that the last formed the oldest population of the island, but it is uncertain whether they are aboriginal or brought by Melanesians. Next came the Melanesian immigration, how or when is unknown. The last element being the Polynesian migration, for which he estimates an approximate date of 1400 A.D. The suggestions of Hamy, Joyce, Pycraft, and Keith alluded to by Balfour thus receive reinforcement.

There can, I think, be no doubt that Melanesian blood and culture are in part responsible for the peculiar culture of this remote island.

A. C. HADDON.

#### THE KILLING OF THE KHAZAR KING.

IN my article on this subject in *Folk-Lore*, December 31st, 1917, there occurs a mistake which I desire to correct. The note on p. 405 has been misplaced; it should appear on p. 407

at the end of the article. It supplies the authorities for the quotation as to the manner of determining the length of the reign of the Turkish kakhan in ancient days. These authorities are Klaproth and W. Radloff, to whom I refer in the misplaced note on p. 405. The quotation is from Klaproth. Both writers refer to the Chinese originals vaguely without naming their authorities. I can now add that the passage is translated from the Chinese in substantially the same way by Stanislas Julien in his *Documents Historiques sur les Tou-Kioue (Turcs) traduits du Chinois* (Paris, 1877), p. 8.

J. G. FRAZER.

---

EASTER CHURCH CEREMONIES.

DEAR SIR,

I should be very much obliged to you for references to any works dealing with Eastern church ceremonies in Southern Italy. The ceremony I am anxious to learn about is one performed in Ischia, and I believe in former years also in Naples. It is remarkable because after its conclusion the people let free a large number of captured birds.

E. S. GOODRICH.

Department of Comparative Anatomy,  
The Museum, Oxford.

---



## REVIEWS.

---

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND HERESY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

By the Rev. F. W. BUSSELL, D.D. London: Robert Scott. 1918.

NEITHER the title nor the introduction to this work gives a clear indication of its multitudinous contents; nor is it quite easy to do so. It opens with speculations regarding the Indo-Aryas before they crossed the Hindu-Kush; it sometimes reaches down to the present day; and it ends with a sketch of social and political conditions in mediaeval Europe. Its main subject is the religious philosophy, explicit or implied, in certain great religions; but it has a secondary aim to show the influence religion had on the social polity, more especially in Christendom and Islam. Many other matters, ancient history and ethnology, folk-lore and magic, Nestorian and Buddhist missions, these and half a hundred other subjects pass under review. The author's sympathies are generous and large, his reading is wide, and his learning is great. He has a lively sense of similarities, often superficial but sometimes worthy of attention; and he occasionally has keen flashes of insight. We may smile when we are told that Buddha was a Saco-Thracian and that his native clan of the Sakyas were the Scythian Sacae; but Dr. Bussell is seldom dull, and even his idiosyncrasies are entertaining. He has a strong objection to the use of capital letters, although this is by no means consistently carried out. We recognise old friends under new names; for instance Pelagius is Morgan; and Dr. Bussell holds pronounced views on many subjects. He thinks democracy is near allied to absolutism, in illustration of which he might have cited the Ultramontanes

and Rome. The tyranny of the many, he says, is worse than the tyranny of one; and the passion for reforming one's neighbours seldom goes with the reform of oneself. He considers the modern state as godless and immoral, and modern kings he holds little better than sworn captains of banditti. He pours contempt on the smug self-satisfaction of the mid-Victorian era; and he ridicules Bagehot's defence of constitutional monarchy as camouflage for a Whig oligarchy. In brief he expects no salvation from the present trend of social evolution.

The work falls into two rather loosely connected parts. The first three hundred pages, one third of the whole, are devoted to India and to the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia and the Far East. India has at one time or another given expression to almost every mood of religious thought; nowhere else has the sacrificial system, or asceticism, or the divinity of a sacred caste been carried to such extravagant lengths. Its intellectual quest in search of religious truth is more noticeable still. This quest was dominated by a single idea and a single passion—the thought of transmigration, the moral causality of this life determining our future existence, was the impelling notion, the desire to escape from the unmeaning and endless cycle of being the lesson drawn. The quest culminated in the famous monist idealism of the Vedanta. The philosopher puts aside all passion, action, desire, and rises by virtue of inward contemplation to the knowledge of the identity of himself with the divine *Atman*. Autotheism Dr. Bussell calls it. Beside the *Atman* there is nothing; only ignorance and illusion, the fleeting stuff of the dreams of the unchanging spirit.

Buddhism is the second great contribution of India to religious history. Beginning as a religion of ascetics, it developed, especially among the Indo-Scyths, and partly under Christian influences, into a universal religion. Its metaphysic is hard to understand, and its ethics though noble are limited; but it has an altruistic ideal above that of any non-Christian religion. Dr. Bussell has interested himself greatly in India; his knowledge of it is considerable; and both Indian monism and Buddhist altruism have attracted his very special attention. Although he usually follows Deussen in his account of Indian philosophy,

he appears to have studied it for himself at first hand. But it is in his treatment of Buddhism that he is at his best; and his treatment of it has the merit of originality. He looks upon Buddha as a great religious genius, which of course he was. But while Buddhism is usually regarded as pessimistic, a way of escape from sorrow and pain, Dr. Bussell regards the inward peace of the Buddhist monk to be a message of gladness to the world. And he admires the Buddhist conception of the world process as an effort of nature to rise out of and above itself, an effort which ends after the lapse of centuries in the production of a *Bodhisat*. This, says Dr. Bussell, is a consistent *cosmodice*, an interpretation of the world process as rational and moral.

When our author treats of Indian monism and Buddhism, or Indian folk-lore and the like, he is on firm ground. But the known facts regarding ancient India are comparatively few, and modern theories are many. Many of these theories are attractive, but it should be distinctly understood that judgment is still in suspense on many of the subjects treated of. For instance it is a favourite theory with certain scholars, and one which Dr. Bussell adopts, that Indian philosophy sprang out of a Kshatriya revolt against Brahmanical sacerdotalism. It may be so, but the facts are capable of another and perhaps a more natural explanation. Nor is it probable that the Sakyas were purer Āryas than their neighbours. Everything points the other way. The Āryas on either bank of the Gandak had been separated for centuries from the main body of the Ārya tribes; they lived in the midst of a Dravidian population; Buddha's regard for the Sudras and for Dravidian cults was probably due to a large admixture of Dravidian blood; and his whole missionary activity was confined to Āryo-Dravidians. Many similar instances could be quoted, but Dr. Bussell can always fall back on well-known authorities for his statements, and we have noted only one serious error. The years A.D. 400-600 were not the most flourishing period of Indian Buddhism (p. 210). Except in its native country of Behar, Buddhism throughout Northern India was everywhere on the decline. It was being rapidly supplanted by the neo-Hinduism of the Gupta period. A more correct view is given on p. 134.

India and Greece were the two great homes of ancient philosophy, and while Indian philosophy was monist, Greek philosophy was uniformly dualistic. We have only incidental references to Greek philosophy, in which Dr. Bussell is a master ; but we have instead an account of various religions and religious movements in the Near East, more especially the physico-ethical dualism of Zoroaster, the astral cult of Babylonia, and the orgiastic worships of Asia Minor.

The oriental empires and then the Macedonian and the Roman brought all these into close contact, and ultimately under Hellenistic and Jewish influences there arose the so-called oriental philosophy which found expression on the one hand in Gnosticism and Manichaeism, and in neo-Platonism on the other. The soul of man is the subject of this new philosophy ; it is regarded as a visitant from the divine pleroma ; it has fallen into sin and misery ; and it seeks redemption. The upward path may be physically considered, as in Gnosticism, and astral fatalism as the barrier to be overcome. Or we may rise through the intellect to intuition, ecstasy, and mysticism, as in Neo-Platonism, a philosophy which was Christianised by the Pseudo-Dionysius. All these currents of thought had their influence in the Middle Ages, and all find a place in the present work.

The Middle Ages are ushered in by the rise of the Mediaeval Papacy, the advent of Islam, and the rule of barbarian chiefs throughout the Western Empire ; and they close with the dawn of the Italian Renaissance and the exile of the Popes from Rome. During these seven centuries (A.D. 600-1300) Christendom and Islam between them divided the civilised world from the Atlantic to the Pamirs. It was no time for original thought or the cultivation of philosophy ; and indeed Dr. Bussell contends that philosophy has made no notable advance since the days of Proclus. The entire energies of the Mediaeval period were devoted to the assimilation of foreign elements and to the elaboration of a new society—a remark which applies not only to Europe and the Mediterranean basin or the Near East, but also to Northern India, the former home of philosophy but now of the Rajputs, and hermetically sealed against all

foreign influences except from the south. We may ask then why did Dr. Bussell select this period as the special characteristic of his work? Doubtless because of the second of the two objects he had in view—to show the influence of religious ideas upon the social structure. Both Christianity and Islam were universal religions; both claimed to be founded upon revelation; and every man was bound to be a believer. Religion formed the widest basis of union and the distinctive line of cleavage; it dissolved the old links and the former polities; and it determined a man's status. A man's politics meant a man's creed, as they do in the East at the present day. His fellow believers take the place of tribesmen and kinfolk. Society was regulated by a divine law which could not be annulled. Every man had his recognised place, his duties, and his rights in the social order; wars were waged for the maintenance of rights; and kings were liable to deposition if they violated the sacred law. The social structure was founded on a larger and more pervasive moral basis than ever before or since; and theology was universally held to be the Queen of Sciences.

This is the subject of the last part of the present work, more especially in the supplementary essays, which are excellent. But it is also here that the subject of heresies comes in. Scholasticism attempted to reconcile free thought and human knowledge with theological dogma; between schoolmen and theologians conflicts were frequent; thus heresies arose; and since the framework of society was religious, these heresies usually took the form both in Christendom and Islam of a social revolt. Oft-times the so-called heretics were merely pietists who protested against the worldly compromises of the Church; but divergences were sometimes fundamental. For instance, Bulgaria and the south of France were permeated by Manichæan doctrine. Dr. Bussell is successful in showing that the opposition to and persecution of the heretics came rather from the laity than from the Church. But I think that the historical importance of these heresies is somewhat overrated; and I confess that I find the very full details given of them sometimes wearisome.

The heresies of Islam had a greater political importance than those of Christendom before the Reformation. Dr. Bussell's



treatment of Islam in general is not very sympathetic, but he gives an excellent account of the so-called Arabian philosophy, through which the traditions and results of Hellenic philosophy were transmitted to the schoolmen. His chapters on Averroes and on the "natural theology" of Aristotle are especially noteworthy.

These outlines may give the reader some idea of the learning, the wide reading, and the varied interests which the book displays. Dr. Bussell's method is not always easy to follow, nor is the arrangement of subjects always what one would expect. Dr. Bussell doubtless had excellent reasons for the plan adopted, but the reader sometimes feels that he progresses, like Tristram Shandy, not in a straight line but by zigzags. The chief obstacle to the enjoyment of the book is its unwieldy size; and it badly needs a proper index. Some of the chapters have a useful bibliography, but in most cases this is wanting, although the specialist will easily recognise the authorities followed. Our author is sparing in references, and in one or two cases he appears to have taken them at second-hand. The book is an essay in a region and on a scale unattempted heretofore; and it is both stimulating and enjoyable.

J. KENNEDY.

---

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE TAIN AGE AND OTHER STUDIES. By M. E. DOBBS. Price 2s. 6d. net. Dundalk. 1917.

THIS book is to be welcomed because it approaches seriously some difficult questions of Irish pre-history and gives a careful collection of the materials, especially from Mac Firbis (MacFir Bisigh). It deals with Clanna Dedad, Conganchnes, Eochu Mac Luchla, Etar and Cóir Anmann; to these are added two interesting studies (Orgain Dind Ríg or Chariot Burial; the Black Pig's Dyke) which are reprints from the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*.

Miss Dobbs' researches are to be encouraged because the questions she deals with are often discussed with little or no method; yet a careful collection of materials is the only method

possible. She gives a good collection of facts, and moreover quotes her sources in full so that everybody can judge for himself. A good feature of her papers is the fact that she does not rely on the genealogies alone, but also derives her information from the sagas. This is very important, because the sagas, especially in cases where a personage is inseparably connected with a saga motive, etc., cannot be so easily altered as a genealogy could be and often was.

Miss Dobbs seems to overrate the importance of the agreement of the Irish tradition, *e.g.* she says (p. 22), "Taking all the traditions about Clanna D[edad] as a whole they are consistent and rational. There are contradictions in details . . . The Irish records acknowledge this . . . Where they speak decidedly, therefore, they must have good ground for believing their statements to be founded on fact. The references to Clanna D. come from over twenty different MSS. It is impossible they could be drawn from one source." Yet the case seems somewhat different: There was an early Irish tradition, but this represents already a *redaction* of certain local sources, and this tradition was a standard for later generations, divergent local traditions being carefully (or not carefully) adapted to this standard. If we find that all the traditions agree about a certain subject, it is little wonder; yet the inconsistencies in traditions are far more important, because they may represent a local tradition which may be more valuable than the current literary tradition.

The statement that Clanna Dedad were a powerful tribe until the time of Móg Nuadat contradicts the statement that Clann Dedad was exterminated by the Clann Rury (Rudraige) (see L.U. 22<sup>b</sup>).<sup>1</sup> The fact that the enemies of Clanna D. (Síl Ebhír) relate that Clanna Dedad had once overthrown their ancestors is not so decisive as it seems. It may be a fiction intending to represent the ruling race, *Síl Ebhír*, *i.e.* descendants of *Ebher*, as reinstalled in a sovereignty which they really did usurp.

Miss Dobbs quotes a passage suggesting the Érna ware Fir Bolg<sup>2</sup> (see also Hogan *Onomasticon Gaedelicum*, sub "Erna")

<sup>1</sup> A West Munster people.

<sup>2</sup> But note also Keating's statement (ii. 230), "it was in the time of Duach Dallta Deaghaidh that the Érna came to Munster: and according to Cormac



and *sub.* "Clanna Dedad"), yet this name means often a stratum of population and not a race, and so the people designed as Fir Bolg may be racially quite different from Fir Bolg<sup>1</sup> as a tribe.

As regards Congaňchnes, it must be remembered that he is a mythical personage, brother of the quite mythical Cú Roí, and so it is perhaps too much to conclude that he was a real Munster settler (or representative of Munster settlers) in Ulster. His supposed Munster origin might as well indicate that the Congaňchnes saga belonged to a tribe deriving their origin from the same stock as Ptolemy's Ivernii Ir. Érnae, but residing somewhere near<sup>2</sup> or in Ulster, *i.e.* kinsmen of Érnae but not their descendants.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, it would be good if Miss Dobbs paid more attention to the Irish language.

These remarks, however, are not intended to discuss the merits of Miss Dobbs' book; it is a useful book, and everybody should welcome further studies in this branch of Irish philology.

J. BAUDIŠ.

THE MEGALITHIC CULTURE OF INDONESIA, by W. J. PERRY, B.A.  
Manchester: University Press. Longmans, Green & Co. 1918.

The object of this book, as announced in the introduction, is to provide evidence in support of Prof. Elliot Smith's thesis

in his Psalter it was the Clanna Rudhruighe who banished them to Munster." The statement that Dedu expelled the Fir Bolg (Dobbs, p. 20) does not prove anything, but it does not corroborate that Ernae *were* Firbolg. (The statement that the Picts banished the remnants of Fir Bolg from Islands is an interesting analogy.)

<sup>1</sup>So *Fir Bolg of Badbagna* were probably a real Fir B. tribe. These were probably related to Fir Domnan of Irros Domnann, for we find them (L. U. 21<sup>b</sup>) helping the latter. On the other hand Gaileoin (perhaps of Bythonic or Gaulish origin; cpr. Ptolemy's *Menapii*) are regarded by some as Fir Bolg (but in the Ulster saga Gaileoin are simply Leinstermen).

<sup>2</sup>C. Z. iii. 41-42 says that *Eraind* (Érna) occupied a territory as far as Uisnech Mide.

<sup>3</sup>Dál Fiatach, Dál Riada derived their origin from the ancestors of the Érnae, and so did also Conaille of Murthemne who were, however, according to other traditions, Picts, viz. J. MacNeill, *Early Ir. Population Groups*, § 121.

that megalithic monuments wherever found must have been the work of people sharing a common culture, and that culture derived from Egypt. This thesis has been complicated by Dr. Rivers, who, dealing with the megalithic monuments of Oceania, has contended that they were probably the work of sun-worshipping immigrants. Mr. Perry's aim, therefore, is to trace the course of this immigration into Melanesia. In Indonesia, he tells us, "occupies a position of peculiar importance in relation to the main argument as to the origin and nature of megalithic monuments, for it forms the sieve through which any extensive migration from the west to Oceania must pass. Any migration into the Pacific of sun-worshipping megalith-builders should have left traces of their passage in Indonesia." But these hypothetical sun-worshipping, megalith-building immigrants have proved a somewhat elusive people. It is true that Mr. Perry's investigations, as they proceeded, showed plenty of megaliths; they showed plenty of microliths also, inextricably mixed up with the megaliths. Worse than that, "the attempt to record only the facts concerning the sun-cult proved abortive; for it was difficult to discover any standard to which facts could be referred." In these circumstances Mr. Perry was compelled either to abandon the attempt to collect the evidence desired, or to include and present as such evidence very much more of doubtful value for his purpose. "The problem became so involved that it was at length decided to collect and examine the whole of the evidence concerning stonework in Indonesia, irrespective of the purpose to which the latter was put, stone implements alone excepted." [Why except stone implements?] And with regard to the sun-cult "the difficulty of deciding which facts to retain for examination, and which to reject, was avoided by including in the survey all practices, beliefs and tales concerning the sun that it was possible to collect."

To make even this diluted evidence available, Mr. Perry has had to make a number of assumptions. There are a few, and only a few, places in the world where mankind has not passed through, or is still in, the stone-age. Mr. Perry practically admits this. "At every stage in the presentment of the evidence," he says, "customs and beliefs will be revealed in

Indonesia for which more or less close parallels are found widespread throughout the world. As the aim of this book is to set forth the Indonesian evidence impartially and to extract the story it reveals, the wider issues have been deliberately suppressed for the present." In the face of this he assumes that everywhere in Indonesia the use of so universal and ready a material as stone was unknown to the primitive inhabitants, and that it was introduced from elsewhere by a mysterious band of immigrants (not necessarily in every case the same band), who added to their favours by becoming missionaries bringing the new cult of the sun. In most of the islands hereditary chiefs are now found: hereditary chieftainship, therefore, was introduced by the stone-using immigrants. Where stone seats are used, it is the chiefs who sit upon them: therefore such seats must have been due to their ancestors. The inference is the same whether the stones were set up for seats, or are no more than occasionally used as resting-places by wayfarers, or for coffins, or even if only ghosts sit on them. The same mysterious immigrants brought the cult of the dead. They are responsible for all sacred stones, whether small or large, and for the awe of, and observances at, natural rocks. Stories of petrification, so common all over the world, are referred to the same people. Traditions relating to beings from the sky are assumed to mean "the stone-using immigrants." Sometimes these beings are the supreme gods of the people who tell of them, as in the case of Lumawig, the Supreme Being of the Bontoc Igorot. No matter; Mr. Perry knows better. They were commonplace human "stone-using immigrants," subsequently elevated to that dizzy eminence. Some of these peoples have a tradition that they have descended from the incestuous union of a mythical pair. It is due to the naughty influence of the "stone-using immigrants," because they "practised incestuous marriages." Phallic magic and phallic symbols are not uncommon in some islands. The explanation is easy: the stone-using immigrants brought a phallic cult with them to Indonesia. Dead warriors or chiefs go to a different land of the dead from common people: of course; they are the descendants of "the stone-using immigrants."

Nor do Mr. Perry's assumptions end here. But a point comes at which the reader, remembering Mark Twain, is ready to exclaim: "Enough, enough! Lump the whole thing! Say the stone-using immigrants created Indonesian civilization to exhibit Mr. Perry's amazing audacity of assumption, his ingenuity, and the tenuity of his proofs." The truth is that he has taken too large an order, and he has not set about the right way to execute it. It may be quite correct that a civilization marked by megalithic monuments has penetrated the great archipelago. The way to prove it is by the slow and patient method applied to our own megaliths—by the spade, by anthropometry of the living and dead, by linguistics, by minute investigation of the customs of the people and their traditional tales, such as Dr. Rivers' methods further east have exemplified, not by a rapid and superficial sketch in which assumptions are multiplied and interpretations posited "according to the scheme of this book." Far be it from me to wish to discourage any earnest worker in the field of anthropology—least of all one who, like Mr. Perry, has youth with all its immeasurable advantages on his side, has ability and enthusiasm for research. Such workers are needed more than ever. But let him see to it that his methods are scientific, that his inferences are sound, carefully thought out and checked, and that the authorities he makes use of are accurately represented.

This last point is important. It corresponds to one of the cardinal rules in forensic advocacy—not to overstate the evidence of the witnesses you are about to call. For example, whatever might be the meaning of a distinction the author is seeking to establish between the fate after death of the nobles and that of the common people in these islands (and it is manifestly capable of more than one interpretation), it is certain that his authorities do not always support his facts. In Watubela the ghosts of warriors as a class do not go to the moon: what Riedel, whom he cites, says is that those who fall in war go immediately to the moon and seldom return like the ghosts of other people to the earth. Their residence there is a special personal reward. Nor do the ghosts of Bontoc Igorot warriors go to the sky indiscriminately. Only the warrior whose head has been taken

in war is believed as a special honour to go to Lumawig, the Supreme Being. There is no ground in Prof. Wilken's statement, which Mr. Perry cites, for saying that after death *notables* in Minahassa go to the sky, while *commoners* go to the forest: the distinction is solely between rich and poor. The passage quoted from Wilken on another page is inaccurately translated. What he says is: "The surmise that the worship of Pulodoliru and Pulodoraë [on the island of Savu] has developed from an original worship of the sun and the earth [not the sun only] is certainly not hazardous. Here merely a conjecture can be made as to the meaning of [not 'There can be only one opinion as to'] the names of these two deities. *Pu* means lord and *lodo* sun, while *liru* is heaven, firmament, and *raë* earth. The expression *Pu-lodo* is rightly to be translated Lord Sun [not the sun-lord], and must originally have been used without addition of the word *liru* or *raë* when as yet the sun itself, the visible heavenly body, was adored." He continues: "Gradually it is probable, as this fetishistic adoration more and more receded into the background, *Pu-lodo* became an expression for god, superior being, without thereby definitely thinking of the god of the upper regions derived from sun-worship. So also the deity contemporaneously evolved from the worship of the earth may have been stamped with this name; but it would then have been necessary for the purpose of distinguishing them to add in the one case *liru*, heaven, in the other *raë*, earth. Pulodoliru means thus god of the heaven, and Pulodoraë, god, or perhaps goddess, of the earth." The point which Mr. Perry misses, which indeed does not fit in with his theory, is that the worship of these islands is not, and probably never was, a sun-cult exclusively, but a worship of the heavens and the earth, the two powers male and female on whom jointly the population acknowledges constant dependence. Mr. Perry always forgets this dual worship, important as it is. On another page he represents Ten Kate as describing an offering-place at Kewar, Lamakera (a misprint for Lamakenen) in central Timor, "close to some platforms made of immense stones." Ten Kate only says "in the immediate neighbourhood of some other larger platforms of stone." There is nothing to show that he refers to a megalithic structure.

Without going further it is obvious that Mr. Perry's references require to be verified. We are all liable to jump to conclusions and to find in our authorities what we wish or expect to find. This very human weakness requires watchfulness and discipline, for it is apt to lead us to astonishing results. It is impossible to follow Mr. Perry in all his conclusions—too frequently nothing more than assumptions “according to the scheme of this book.” But as the investigation, it appears, is only part of a wider enquiry “into the distributions and associations of these and other cultural elements, and into their mode of dispersal,” in the course of which it will be necessary “to examine all the regions of the earth in detail, as well as to synthesize the results obtained,” he may safely be left to the task, in the assurance that long before he comes to the end of it he will have learned many things and unlearned many things that will put a very different complexion on the phenomena he has dealt with here.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

---

ERRATUM.

Vol. xxix. p. 89, line 8, *for* “Arnold Burley” *read* “Arnold Bayley.”

---

*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD.  
ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C. 2.



# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

---

---

VOL. XXIX.]

SEPTEMBER, 1918.

[No. III.

---

---

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19th, 1918.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. A. C. HADDON) IN THE CHAIR.  
THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Mr. G. R. Dampier and the resignations of Mrs. Janvier and Mrs. Burgess and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Oriental Institute, Vladivostock, were announced.

Miss Moutray Read read a paper entitled "Further Studies in Irish Folk-Lore"; and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Hull, Professor Baudês, and Mr. Longworth Dames took part.

In illustration of the paper Miss Moutray Read exhibited a pair of Limerick gloves, lent by Miss Burne.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Moutray Read for her paper.

## SOME MYTHICAL TALES OF THE LAPPS.

BY C. J. BILLSON.

(*Read before the Society, 15th May, 1918.*)

A LARGE proportion of the Lappish songs and tales which have come down to us have been gathered by different scholars from the lips of A. Fjellner, a former pastor of Sorsele in Lappmark. Fjellner was the son of mountain Lapps, and was born "sub Jove frigido," high up on the snow-clad mountains of the Herjedal, near the borders of Norway, on 18th September, 1795. His father dying when he was nine years old, the boy was sent to school by a distant relative. After passing through school and the gymnasium at Hernösand, he entered in 1818 the University of Upsala. All his holidays and University vacations were spent with his own relatives, amongst whom he led the nomad life of a mountain Lapp, tending reindeer on the hills, and often, in the long winter evenings, listening to the stories and poems that were sometimes recited and sometimes sung by old people. The name of Fjellner was adopted, after a custom not unusual with educated Lapps, from the circumstance of his birth on the mountain FELL. (Cf. Fjell-ström, Fjell-man.) In the year 1820 he left the University, and, after spending some years as a missionary among the Lapps, lived as a pastor's assistant in Jukkas-järvi from 1831 to 1842. In the latter year he set out, in true Lapp fashion, with his wife, two children and eleven reindeer, and made his way across the mountains to Sorsele, where he remained as pastor for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Fjellner's unique knowledge of Lappish songs and stories

<sup>1</sup>O. Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, Helsingfors, 1876, pp. 3-6.

became partly revealed in the year 1849, when the venerable pastor of Umeå, J. A. Linder, published in a Swedish journal the translation of a hitherto unknown poem called *Peiven Parnek*, "the Sons of the Sun," the words of which he had taken down from Fjellner's dictation.

The riches of his memory were afterwards placed at the disposal of Mr. J. U. Grönlund of Stockholm, and of Baron Gustaf von Düben. These communications formed the basis of von Düben's chapter on Lappish poetry in his comprehensive work on Lapland and the Laplanders. This book was published in the year 1873, and in the following summer another scholar, O. Donner, made a journey to Sorsele, and there found the pastor blind and bowed with age, and no longer able to write. Nevertheless, he was able to dictate to the German scholar the original versions of many different poems, which were afterwards published by him, in the year 1876, in his *Lieder der Lappen*.

The "Sons of Peive, the Sun," both in substance and in form, resembles a common type of Finnish song, several specimens of which are given in Lönnrot's *Kanteletar*, e.g. *Kanteletar*, Part III. Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, pp. 307, 311, 314 and 315 (3rd edition, Helsingfors, 1887). The latter are mainly derived from Russian sources, but the Lappish poem bears also the signs of Scandinavian influence. It was taken down by Fjellner in the district of Tornio, or Jukkasjärvi (Lappmark), from the dictation of a Lapp named Leuhnje, but Fjellner stated that the song was also sung further south in Herjedal, and he had heard it and previously written it down in other districts and dialects.

The Sons of Peive are the inhabitants of Peive-Pele, Sunside, "illa pars montis quae vergit in meridiem,"<sup>1</sup> a region which is opposed to Ittka-pele, North-side, "illa pars montis quae ad septentrionem vergit,"<sup>2</sup> or, as it is

<sup>1</sup> *Lexicon Lapponicum* (Lindahl & Öhrling), Stockholm, 1780, p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 82.

sometimes called, Ija-pele, "regio nocturna," Night-side,<sup>1</sup> or Mano-pele, Moon-side. By the Sun-side the Laplanders indicated the coast lands lying south of the Arctic circle, where dwelt the children of the Sun, the Sons of Day.

The side of the Moon and Night lay north of the Arctic circle, where lived the children of the Moon, the Sons of Night.

The mythical ancestress of the children of Day is the Sun's daughter, and the children of Night are descended from the Moon's daughter. These two beings play a great part in the legends of Lapland, and around them are grouped a series of allegorical or mythical songs—upwards of 100 in number, according to Fjellner. They still appear in modern tales as good and bad fairies.

From the Sun's daughter were descended Kalla-parnek,<sup>2</sup> famous men of old, who discovered ski-shoes, and who hunted and tamed deer. They now live in the sky. One is Orion; Sirius is called Kalla-parne, and other stars and constellations bear their name, children of the Sun. The Great Bear is their bow, and the Pleiades their store-house. The stars of Cassiopea are the deer which they hunt; Jupiter is the shining elk, Venus the variegated doe. The *Song of the Sun's Children* opens with an account of the birth of a son of Peive, a child of Kalla-lineage. When the population of the country is very scanty, this child is born, of immense physical strength, who begins life, like Kullervo in the Kalevala, by kicking his cradle to pieces. When he grows up, he sails with some noble companions to the country of the Giants, which lies beyond the North Star. On arriving there, after a year's voyage, they are seen by a blind giant's daughter, who is washing clothes on the sea-shore. She asks them why they are come, and

<sup>1</sup> As in the song of Pišša Pašša, v. 220, Donner, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of *Kalla* seems to be an elderly married man, and, secondarily, famous, *vir pruestans, laudatus* [*Lex. Lapp.* p. 119], but it may have some connection, as Donner suggests, with the Finnish *Kaleva*. The Finns call Orion "Kaleva's sword."

warns them that she and her family will devour them. The Son of Peive replies that Sar-akka, the Birth-goddess, has given him tough muscles and great strength, derived both from father and mother, and that Uks-akka, another Birth-goddess, mingling in his mother's milk, has filled him with understanding. He has come to seek a help-mate and wife. The giant's daughter thereupon falls in love with him, and goes to inform her father. The blind giant intends to devour the Son of Peive, but first he challenges him to a wrestling bout, and bids him stretch out his hands, that he may feel how strong they are. His daughter, alarmed on the hero's account, gives him an iron anchor, which he holds out to the giant. The blind ogre, on feeling it, remarks that the fingers of the Sons of Peive are exceedingly hard. Then the hero, by the girl's advice, offers her father, as betrothal gifts, a cask of oil and a cask of tar to drink, and a horse to eat.<sup>1</sup> The giant soon becomes intoxicated, and, after vainly grasping and wrestling with the anchor, bids them sit down, and signifies their betrothal by scratching their little fingers and mixing the blood, and certain knots are then tied, which it was the Lappish custom to tie on betrothal, and to undo after the marriage had been consummated. The giant gives his daughter for dowry gold and silver fragments torn from the cliffs of Giant-land. She also bears away from her old home, in her lover's boat, three locked pine-wood chests, red, white and blue.

“Death was there, and Peace, and Warfare,  
Fire and Blood and Plague and Sickness,  
And the towels, trebly knotted,  
Of *Sar-, Uks- and Mader-akka,*  
Breeze, and gale and roaring tempest.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. a Finnish tale quoted in *Folk Tales of the Magyars* (London (F. L. S.), 1889), p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> Mader-akka, “Old Earth woman,” had three daughters, Sar-akka, Juks-akk, and Uksa-akka, “old Birth-woman,” “old Bow-woman” and

While the lovers are embarking, the Giant's sons return from hunting, and, missing their sister, ask their father where she is. He replies that Peive's son is carrying her off in his boat. The brothers immediately launch another boat, and start in pursuit. The lovers discover that the brothers are gaining upon them, whereupon the bride unties one of her knots, and the boat, aided by the breeze which immediately springs up, shoots ahead and leaves the pursuers far behind. But the girl's brothers redouble their exertions, and once more threaten to overtake them. She unties a second knot, and a gale springs up, which carries them out of danger. Again, however, by straining every nerve, the giants draw near to the lovers' boat. The bride then unties the third knot, and a violent tempest comes on :

" Father Ilmar's self grew angry ;  
Angry grew the Sky Lord's servant."<sup>1</sup>

So the lovers escape again, and night puts an end to the chase. Next morning, as soon as the sun has risen, the brothers mount a headland to look for their sister, but are turned into peaks of stone, and now they may be seen rising above the Lofoden Islands. The hero and the giant's daughter are happily married ; and some verses, added in later times, and only in the Tornio version, declare

"old Door-woman." They were the goddesses of Birth, corresponding to the Scandinavian Norns, and are said to have been unknown to the Eastern Lapps. Mader-akka gave to the young bride three chests with their keys. They contained magical instruments, which could help her in danger, so long as she was chaste. The three knots are the same as those referred to by J. Scheffer, *Lapponia* (Frankfurt, 1673), p. 144 sqq. ; G. von Düben, *Om Lappland och Lapparne* (Stockholm, 1873), p. 277, etc., the well-known instrument of Lapland wizards for raising winds. On the nature of these knots, or *Nodi Virginitatis*, see von Düben, p. 324, note 4.

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that these verses do not occur in an earlier copy of the song written out by Fjellner in a southern dialect about 1835. Ilmar also occurs as a Wind-god on some magic drums, but only, it is said, among the Eastern Lapps. He is the Finno-Ugrian air-god, *Ilmarinen* (Finnish, *ilma*, air ; *Votiak*, *Innar*, the supreme god).



that she was the ancestress of many illustrious men, of whom King Charles XII. was one.<sup>1</sup>

In the ancient series of tales, gathered mainly from Fjellner, concerning the daughter of the Sun and the daughter of the Moon, we recognize, as Professor Moltke Moe has observed,<sup>2</sup> the fragmentary remains of a sort of national epic. These compositions, couched in a kind of rhythmical prose which now and then rises into regular trochaic verse, portray the early development of man, and particularly of the Laplander. They describe his progress since the days of the Golden Age, when all the springs flowed with milk, and nobody had any need to work. Violence and Crime put an end to this happy state. Then men hunted and killed reindeer; but, when they had caught them, they slew them at once; it was far too much trouble to tame them.

Njavvis and Attjis hunted and caught reindeer. They established marriage, binding their wives by sacred oaths.<sup>3</sup> The wife of Njavvis, Njavvis-ene,<sup>4</sup> was a daughter of the Sun; the wife of Attjis, Attjis-ene, was a daughter of the Moon. Both Njavvis and Attjis were murdered, and, at the time of their murder, their two wives were both pregnant. Their widows did not fish nor hunt, but they tethered the reindeer that were caught, and looked after them, and tamed them. And because the reindeer were tamed by women, women have always had the largest share of the herd.<sup>5</sup> But men first hunted and caught

<sup>1</sup> Donner, pp. 61-82.

<sup>2</sup> In his introduction to *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn*, by Q. Qvigstad and G. Sandberg (Christiania, 1887), p. xx. This introduction is a valuable essay on the diffusion of folk-tales.

<sup>3</sup> E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1894), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *ene* or *edne* = mother, wife.

<sup>5</sup> "As soon as the new-born Babe is Baptised," says Tornaeus, "if it be a girl, the Parents present her with a She Reindeer Calf, and put her mark on its horns." So soon as she gets the first tooth, they give her another, called Pannixcis, *i.e.* the Tooth Reindeer. These reindeer are carefully kept, and

reindeer, and still it was their part to kill them, and to cut them up and cook them. Men have, therefore, the first portion at meals, and the master of the household has his portion cut off nearest the head.

Njavvis-ene had a fair, smiling countenance, long flowing hair, a lofty forehead, dark regular eyebrows and gentle eyes. Her nose was small and aquiline, her neck of dazzling whiteness, her hands soft, and her body plump and well-liking. She walked erect, with graceful gait, and wore fine, dark skins.

Attjis-ene, on the contrary, had a long, dark, morose-looking face, loose, tangled hair, a broad wrinkled forehead, a pointed chin, broad mouth, big teeth and a tall, thin body. Her voice was particularly piercing and unpleasant, and she was thinly clad in white clothes.

Both widows bore children. Njavvis-ene had a son; Attjis-ene a daughter. The children grew up. One day the widows went together to gather cloud-berries. "Whoever fills her basket first shall have the boy," said Attjis-ene. Njavvis-ene would not agree to this proposal at first, but at last she consented. Then Attjis-ene put some moss and twigs into her basket, gathered a few cloud-berries, and pretended to have filled the basket. "Now my basket is full first," she said. "The boy is mine: you must take the girl." When Njavvis-ene found that she had been cheated, she would not let the boy go, but Attjis-ene took him away from her by force, and gave her own daughter to her instead.

As soon as the boy grew big enough to be of use, Attjis-ene went off, taking her herd of reindeer away from that of

their increase preserved for the child's use. See Scheffer, pp. 293 and 306, 307. These reindeer appear to have been given to boys as well as girls (Rheen, *apud* Scheffer, p. 307). Cf. K. Leem, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiae eorumque lingua vita et religione* (Copenhagen, 1767), p. 457. So, too, Regnard in Pinkerton's *Voyages* (London, 1808), vol. i. p. 165. It is stated by Fjellner that women inherited a considerable share of the household effects of deceased husbands or relatives (see von Düben, p. 312, note).

Njavvis-ene; because she thought that her herd would thrive better with the help of the boy. "I shall soon be much richer than you," she said, boastfully. "I shall kill lots of reindeer."

It happened one spring-time that there was a very great flood. Njavvis-ene was without any food. Her foster-daughter was hungry, and cried for something to eat. Then Njavvis-ene put a pot of water on the fire, and placed in it some dry bones, and a piece of bark, which she pretended to cook, in order to deceive the girl. The boy learned of his old playmate's sad plight, and took a piece of meat from Attjis-ene, went to Njavvis-ene's hut, climbed up on to the roof, and let the piece of meat down by a string into the pot. Njavvis-ene saw the boy's reflection in the water that was in the pot, lifted up her eyes and said, "Hullo! my son!" "What?" said he. "Am I your son?" She answered: "Follow me to a spring of water, and we will look at our reflections." They did so. The boy exclaimed, "Yes, indeed, my mother!" and embraced her. Then she told him how when young he had been fraudulently obtained and forcibly taken away by Attjis-ene. He said, "It is right that those who steal men should die!" So he went home and killed Attjis-ene. While she was dying, she seized him round the thigh, squeezed him so hard that the sinews of the hip were strained, and said:

"Though I helped to tame reindeer,  
I am slain ungratefully by thee;  
But one heritage I leave thy race;—  
When among kinsmen far removed  
Some one's hip aches, and is tortured with cramp,  
It is I who squeeze the sinews."

Therefore the Laplanders say to this day, when they feel cramping pains, "*Attjis-ene suonab tuorela*," "Attjis-ene is pulling the sinew."

Yet no blessing came with Attjis-ene's herd, from which she expected so much profit; for her evil influence extended

even to that. When she was dying, she spitefully caused her reindeer to disperse, and changed them into other animals. Some became frogs and toads, and therefore these creatures must not be disturbed. One kind of beetle (*Silpha lapponica*) is also a descendant of her herd.

Njavvis-ene's herd of reindeer increased so fast that she could not tend them all, and a great number escaped.

Mankind multiplied, and food became insufficient. In the Golden Age men had taken milk from the springs ; now they learned to milk reindeer. And, as milk was the gift of God, none must be thrown away. If any is spilt, it must be gathered up again. Still one may, with impunity, throw a little milk on the ground for the beetles who represent the herd of Attjis-ene, for they must be fed.

As reindeer increased, they wandered further afield, and became more shy. So the Dog was installed in the service of men, the Laplander's best friend. In one case, however, he threatens misfortune,—if he is neglected in his old age ; and therefore the Laplanders are very careful to kill their dogs when they are old, but before they are too old.

It is also told of Attjis-ene that, after her departure from Njavvis-ene, when she became more wicked every day, she was impregnated by the North Wind, and bore a son, Atsits, who is also called Attjevits and Askevits, and whom the Swedes call Askfis. He was harsh and strong like his father ; jealous, arrogant and sly like his mother. He ill-treated reindeer, pulling off their horns, and playing all manner of tricks. At last he even bantered the Moon, his mother's father, because he was paler than the Sun. And therefore he was cast up into the Moon, and sits there still, with a reindeer's horn in one hand, while in the other he holds his own head, which was cut off as a punishment for his crimes. Anyone who has good eyes can see him.

The good daughter of the Sun, Njavvis-ene, lived long. When she felt that death was drawing near, she asked to

be buried on the top of a high mountain. And this was done, and the mountain is called "The Mount of the Sun's Daughter" to this day. She was shrouded in birch-bark, but lay upon a bed of njavvi, the long hairs on a reindeer's neck, from which her husband took his name. She was covered over with njavvi, with sand on the top of that; and flat stones were placed round her grave, a marking-stone at her head, another at her feet, and another at each arm. The headstone and the covering slabs were engraved; the slabs were covered with turf, and on the foot-stone was written:

"Lift the turf; read the epitaph."

The grave is still on the Mount of the Sun's Daughter.

But she herself is not there. Her spirit wanders abroad in the likeness of a beautiful damsel, with a spirit-herd, throughout all Lapland. When she is awake, she is invisible; but, when she is asleep, she can be seen, and her herd too.

"Under wet black rocks,  
In green and grassy mountain places,  
The Sun's Daughter is seen slumbering.  
Whoso shall awake the Sun's Daughter with his embrace,  
Kiss the dreamer out of her slumber,  
He shall obtain the fair sleeper,  
Obtain her strong and fertile herd."

But, in trying to take Njavvis-ene and her herd, one is not always successful.

The story of the lazy fellow who found her asleep is given by von Düben, and a variant of the same song is to be found in Donner's collection.<sup>1</sup>

The tale was that a lazy fellow once found the Sun's Daughter sleeping, with her herd around her. She said, "Very good; you have embraced the Sun's Daughter. Now make a house for her, but be careful that not a single

<sup>1</sup> Von Düben, p. 336; Donner, p. 103.



ray of sunlight gets into it, and then we can stop there." The lazy man did not make the house quite sun-proof, and in the morning one bright beam of sunshine poured through a chink. Up jumped the Sun's Daughter. "Ha! Ha!" she exclaimed. "I can see the eyes of my father and mother." Then she called to him, "Follow me! Don't look behind! Hear what you hear, but don't look round; only follow me!" The herd of reindeer leaped forth violently, boggarts and ghosts howled shrilly and threateningly, nearer and nearer. The lazy man was frightened, and looked back. In a trice a third part of the herd disappeared. Again she cried, "Follow! Follow! But don't look back!" He followed; but the spirits came so close that he thought they would seize him, and he looked back again. In an instant the remaining two-thirds of the herd disappeared. Then the Sun's Daughter exclaimed, "Follow them yourself, and let the reindeer which have galloped off be wild reindeer!" And this is why everyone who watches reindeer must be alert and wakeful; for the Sun's Daughter is looking on hard by, "glad to reward, swift to punish."<sup>1</sup>

According to another tradition, which is recorded by Qvigstad and Sandberg, Attjis-ene, or Hatsjaedne, as she is there called, became herself a beetle.

The *silpha lapponica*, or sexton beetle, which lives on carrion, was once, as the tale runs, a human being, who had a fine house and was rich and prosperous. But she was ugly and malicious, and skilled in witchcraft, and able to transform herself into many different shapes. Hatsjaedne was her name; and she had a daughter who was no better than herself. They both lived by stealing, and as long as they kept on earth, their business prospered, but when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Suomen Kansan Satuja ja Tarinoita*, vol. i. (Helsingfors, 1852), p. 8, where Lippo (*Lappo*), whose son is said to have been the ancestor of the Laplanders, marries a daughter of Tapio, the Forest God of the Finns. In this tale Lippo is told to build a hut which must exclude the light, and the third night fails to do this, and consequently loses his wife.



they tried to carry on their wretched trade in heaven, they fared badly.

Hatsjaedne had a neighbour named Njavitsaedne, who was kind and good-natured, but poor. One sheep was all she had in the world. Hatsjaedne wanted to take this away from her, but she dare not do so in the daytime. One day she said to her daughter, "My dear daughter, I am so longing for some fresh meat! Let us take Njavitsaedne's sheep as soon as it is dark!" Unfortunately the moon was shining that night, and although they waited a long time, hoping that it would disappear behind a cloud, it did not. Hatsjaedne became very impatient, and said to her daughter, "Daughter dear, take a bucket of tar and a brush, and turn yourself into a bird, and fly up into the moon, and smear it all over, so that it shall not hinder our business." The girl did as her mother bade her, took tar bucket and brush, changed herself into a big bird, and flew up to the moon. It was her last journey; for the moon held her tight, so that she could not get away. There she had to stay; and there she may still be seen, when the sky is clear, with her bucket and her brush. Her mother was changed into a sexton beetle, which always crawls along the ground, except in still and sultry weather, when it flies for a few minutes in the sun, but soon settles on the ground again.

In Enara Hatsjaedne was believed to have had a sister, from whom some of the mountain Lapps were descended, who were all strong and healthy men, but rough and reckless. They never used medicine, nor consulted doctors, and, if they cut themselves, the wound healed quite well and easily. An old Lapp named Vuolle, who lived for some winters by the Lake of Samekjavre, came of this stock. It was said of him that, when he put on new boots, it did not matter to him whether they fitted or not; if they would not go on, he simply cut off a bit of his foot. There was also an old woman at Pasvikelven, who was

of the blood of Hatsjaedne. She taught the people to be always in a hurry, and to do things quickly and badly, as they do.<sup>1</sup>

There is another story told about Attjis-ene, in which she is introduced as a wicked witch. The story itself is of Russian origin, and probably came to the Lapps from Finland, where it is called "The Girl who came out of the Sea."<sup>2</sup>

In an old poem called *Peiven Manak*, "The Children of the Sun," it is related that the daughters of the Sun and Moon caught and tamed the calves of wild reindeer, but that the daughter of the Moon treated them badly, and at last killed them, so that she had no reindeer left; whereupon she was taken up to the Moon, whither also her son Askovits, in punishment for his impudence, was sent. The Sun's daughter, on the other hand, kept her reindeer calves, from which there grew a great herd of reindeer. She was the ancestress of the Sun's sons, the giant brood of Kalla-lineage above mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

In the song of Piššan Paššan parne, "The Son of Pissa Passa," the chief of Sunny-side marries the daughter of the chief of Night-side, and is murdered by a Stalo, who takes away his herd of reindeer and his hidden treasure. His wife, who is pregnant at the time, escapes, and bears a son. The son, when he is grown up, learns his father's fate, and takes vengeance on the Stalo.<sup>4</sup>

Encounters between Lapps and Stalos are common in Lappish tales. The Stalo is generally described as a big, strong, well-armed man, often good-natured and chivalrous,

<sup>1</sup> Q. & S. *Lappiske Eventyr og folkesagn*, p. 67 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Q. & S. p. 70, J. A. Friis, *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn* (Christiania, 1871), p. 14; J. C. Poestion, *Lapplandische Märchen* (Vienna, 1886), p. 39. For the Finnish version see *Suomen Kansan Satuja ja Tarinoita* (Helsingfors, 1852), p. 100, "Meresta-nousija Neito"; and Schreck, *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi* (Christiania, 1871), p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Donner, pp. 83-89.

but simple and clumsy, and therefore no match for the superior shrewdness of his small antagonist. He is sometimes represented as a man-eater, and sometimes as blind or one-eyed, and especially as leading a solitary life in the wilds (whence a recluse is now nick-named a Stalo).<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful if the Stalo is purely mythical. The stories about him have probably as much historical basis as the numerous tales about the struggles between Lapps and Tsjuderne—the Chudic Finns of the Baltic and other coasts. Professor Friis thinks that the Stalos were old Viking rovers from Norway and Sweden, and he quotes from L. Laestadius the case of a Lapp woman who reckoned her descent from a Stalo in the twenty-fourth generation, which would give the Stalo's date about 1000 A.D.<sup>2</sup> The name is generally thought to mean "Steel One" (from the Norse *Staal*), referring to their armour. The silver that was obtained in fight with a Stalo was called "Stalo-silver," and L. Laestadius says that "a good deal of this silver is still found among some Lapp families, and passes amongst them by inheritance from father to son. It consists chiefly of buttons or buckles and brooches, which the Lapps fasten to their belts. But the shape of these silver buckles is quite different from the shape of the silver ornaments which are now and were formerly used by the Lapps."<sup>3</sup>

It may be added that, in addition to the old tales of the Sun's children, legends are current both in Finnish and Swedish Lappmark about a certain Lapp family named after the Sun Peive, or Baeive, who were famous for their heroic strength and courage. They lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Enara, and the first we hear of is Peter Baeive, who had three sons, Vuolab (Olaf) Isaac, and John, all of whom were men of might, but the most illustrious was Olaf. According to one story, Peter was

<sup>1</sup> *Lex. Lapp.* p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> Friis, *Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn*, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Friis (*Eventyr*), p. 74.

a zealous worshipper of his Seita, or idol, but after it had failed to respond to his oblations and prayers, he was disillusioned, and burned it, and forthwith converted his zeal into the service of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> It is said that he was associated with a Finnish priest named Mansueti (*circ.* 1648) in the extirpation of paganism in Finnish Lappmark.<sup>2</sup> Others tell the idol-burning story of Olaf, ascribing his conversion to the preaching of a missionary whom he met while travelling in Finland.<sup>3</sup> Of his heroic deeds there are many tales. It is related how he overcame and slew Stalos, how he could outrun a wild reindeer or a wolf, how he once slew a bear with his naked hands, how he rowed his boat some thirty miles single-handed against a boat rowed by eight Russians and beat them, and how his three sons, Vullusj, Hanusj and Sarasj (little Ole, little Hans and little Sarak) likewise excelled in strength and ability.<sup>4</sup> Another member of the family, presumably, was Andrew Baeve, who circumvented and slew the Bailiff of Vadsø, after the Bailiff had transformed himself into a Stalo.<sup>5</sup> On the south side of the Varanger Fjord is a place which is called "Baeive Vuolab's Bay," where Olaf used to fish, and a rock hard by also bears his name.<sup>6</sup> According to Castrén, Olaf Baeive travelled in Karelia, and there slew in hand-to-hand combat the most doughty champion of the heathen; and Tornaeus states (in 1672) that the glory of the family name is derived from the heroic warfare which its members waged for the Cross in the north of Sweden and in Finland.<sup>7</sup> The legends would seem, therefore, to have become attached to this family only during the last two or three centuries, since it rose to distinction, and so the name *Peive* may not, in this case, carry with it any ancient tradition of *Kalla*-lineage.

CHARLES J. BILLSON.

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Poestion, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Von Düben, p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> Q. & S. p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Q. & S. p. 117 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> Friis (*Exentyr.*), p. 29; Poestion, p. 155.

<sup>6</sup> Q. & S. p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> Q. & S. p. 123, *note*.

## A MEDIAEVAL LEGEND OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

BY M. ESPOSITO.

(*Read before the Society, 15th May, 1918.*)

### I.

“OF Paradise I cannot speak properly, for I was not there; and I repent not going there, but I was not worthy.” Such is the admission of that most notorious liar usually spoken of as “Sir John Mandeville,”<sup>1</sup> and we may rest assured that for once in a way he had so far forgotten himself as to lapse into the truth.

What was denied even to “Mandeville” had, however, been granted to another and (if possible) more illustrious personage. “Paludanus,” writes Mr. S. Baring-Gould,<sup>2</sup> “in his *Thesaurus Novus*<sup>3</sup> relates, of course on incontrovertible authority, that Alexander the Great was full of desire to see the terrestrial Paradise, and that he undertook his wars in the East for the express purpose of reaching it, and obtaining admission into it. He states that on his nearing Eden an old man was captured in a ravine by some of Alexander’s soldiers, and they were about to conduct him to their monarch, when the venerable man said, ‘Go and announce to Alexander that it is in vain

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 1848, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> In his interesting, if somewhat superficial, essay on the *Terrestrial Paradise* (*Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, First Series, 2nd ed., 1868, p. 254).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Baring-Gould is apparently quoting from the collection of Sermons of Pierre de la Palud (d. 1342). I have looked through the Lyons edition (3 vols. 1571-76), but without finding the passage in question.

he seeks Paradise; his efforts will be perfectly fruitless, for the way of Paradise is the way of humility, a way of which he knows nothing. Take this stone and give it to Alexander and say to him, "From this stone learn what you must think of yourself." Now this stone was of great value and excessively heavy, outweighing and excelling in value all other gems, but when reduced to powder it was as light as a tuft of hay, and as worthless. By which token the mysterious old man meant, that Alexander dead would be a thing of nought."

Mr. Baring-Gould has not attempted to trace the "incontrovertible authority" on which Paludanus related this curious story. Let us endeavour to do so here.

In the Middle Ages there were two Alexanders, the Alexander of history and the Alexander of legend. Needless to say, the latter was far better known and appreciated than the former, and almost every literature possesses its version or versions of the Alexander-Romance. The most widely diffused of these versions were naturally the Latin ones, which with very few exceptions can be ultimately traced to a Greek original dating back to the third century. It is in one of these exceptions of non-Greek origin that we find the theme of the story told by Paludanus. This is the little tract usually known as the *Iter ad Paradisum*,<sup>1</sup> an edition of which was published by the present writer some few years ago.<sup>2</sup> Its contents may be summarized thus :

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the articles of W. Hertz (*Abhl. der philos. Cl. der K. B. Akad. in München*, 19, 1891, pp. 51-89), and Friedländer (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 13, 1910, pp. 199-202).

<sup>2</sup> *Hermathena*, xv. 1909, pp. 368-382. My edition is based on the oldest and best MS. (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 82), which can with certainty be assigned to the twelfth century. I have also collated Trinity College, Dublin, E.5.20 (of cent. XV.). Both these MSS. appear to have been executed in England. A few other copies are extant: Cambridge, St. John's College, 184; Auxerre, 7; Paris, 8519; Madrid, Ee. 103; Pavia, University Library, cxxx.D.22; Wolfenbüttel; Munich, 9529 and 11029; British Museum, Royal 12.E.i. (of cent. XIV.).



Alexander, having conquered India, comes to a very broad river, which he learns to be the "Ganges or Phison whose source is the Paradise of Pleasure." Having selected five hundred of his bravest companions, he embarks on a vessel which he finds ready prepared and sails up the river. After thirty-four days of terribly difficult and dangerous navigation against enormous waves, they arrive before a vast city surrounded by an impenetrable wall,<sup>1</sup> so covered over with moss that no trace of opening nor even of the stones could anywhere be seen. For three days they sail along the wall in the vain hope of finding some entrance. At last, on the third, a small window is discerned, at which some of Alexander's companions putting off in a light bark proceed to knock loudly. The window is soon opened, and an inhabitant blandly inquires who they are and what is the purpose of such an unexpected visit. "We are," say they, "the envoys of no ordinary king, but of Alexander who rules the world. His lordship desires to know of what race and laws you are, what are your forces and who is your king? He orders you, if you wish to preserve your peace and safety, to make no show of ambition, but to do as all other races and pay him a tribute."

To this speech the inhabitant, in no way perturbed, replied, "Cease to worry me with your threats, but patiently await my return." After two hours he re-appeared, and handing the envoys a gem of wonderful brilliance and colour, which in size and shape exactly reproduced the human eye, said, "The inhabitants of this place send to Alexander this stone which will put an end to his desires, for once he learns its virtue and nature he shall lay aside all ambition. Nor is it prudent for you to remain any longer in these regions, for should even a slight breeze arise you will without doubt be shipwrecked and destroyed.

<sup>1</sup>This notion of Paradise as a town surrounded by a wall occurs also in the Ethiopic and Serbian versions of the Alexander-Legend.

Wherefore return to your companions and give thanks to the God of gods for the good fortune granted you."

Alexander returns to Susa and consults in secret all the wisest of the Jews and Greeks as to the meaning of these mysterious events, but receives no suitable explanation. At last he meets with an aged Jew named Papas,<sup>1</sup> who, hearing of his successful voyage, exclaims, "O King, fail not to repay to the God of Heaven what you owe him, for never before has anything similar been conceded to a mortal. Frequently in the past have adventurous youths essayed to navigate that river, but all in vain. You, however, have been permitted by divine grace to reach that city and receive replies denied to all others."

Alexander replies that clearly the Scripture was right in asserting that wisdom was the property of the ancient,<sup>2</sup> and producing the gem given him by the inhabitant of the mysterious city asks for an explanation of its meaning. The Jew thereupon calls for a balance and weights of gold. The stone is placed in one pan and the weights added by degrees to the other. Each time, however, the stone draws up the weights. The largest balance in the town is now sent for and loaded with beams and as much gold as possible. On placing the stone in the opposite pan it immediately descends as if it were only drawing down the lightest feather. Reverting to the smaller balance, the Jew places in one pan the gem and covers it with a small quantity of dust; it is now easily drawn up by the smallest weight. On taking out the weight and throwing in the lightest feather in its place the result is the same.

Alexander, amazed beyond description at these experiments, begs the Jew to clear up the mystery of the stone and hidden city.

"O King," replies the aged man, "the city you saw is the abode of souls freed from their bodies, placed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Papias* according to the Dublin MS.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander is here made to quote the Book of Job (xii. 12).

Creator in an inaccessible position on the confines of the world.<sup>1</sup> Here they await in peace and quiet the day of their judgment and resurrection, after which they shall reign for ever with their Creator. These spirits, anxious for the salvation of humanity, and wishing to preserve your happiness, have destined this stone as a warning to you to curb the unseemly desires of your ambition. Remember that such insatiable desires merely end by enslaving a man, consuming him with cares and depriving him of all peace. Had you remained contented with the inheritance of your own kingdom you would have reigned in peace and tranquillity, but now, not even yet satisfied with the conquest of enormous foreign possessions and wealth, you are weighed down with cares and danger. This stone by its nature is symbolical of your condition. In shape and appearance it resembles the human eye, which, as long as it is possessed of vital spark, seethes with desires growing more and more insatiable in accordance as they are satisfied, as we saw in the first experiments with the balance. Once, however, the vital spark is removed, and the eye is consigned to the earth, it ceases to desire or require anything and is good for nothing. Wherefore the lightest feather, which is of some small use, was easily able to outweigh this stone when covered with dust. Therefore, O King, lord of the world, this stone warns you to renounce the pursuit of your ambitious designs and to harbour thoughts of prudence."

Alexander dismisses the old man with rewards, and casting aside his former ambition returns slowly to Babylon, where he meets his fate, poisoned by a retainer, after the fashion foretold to him in India by the trees of the sun and moon.

<sup>1</sup> In the Syriac version it is said that God had made Paradise inaccessible, so that men could not satisfy their curiosity by getting there. This is in opposition to a Talmudic story, but it is not known whether the notion that Alexander had actually reached the confines of Paradise is of Hebrew or Christian origin (cf. Nöldeke, *Wiener Akad. Denkschriften*, 1890, 38, v. p. 29).

This interesting Latin story was, as we shall presently see, translated or rather adapted from a Jewish original of much earlier date. Linguistic considerations lead us to assign the Latin text to the earlier part of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> The name of the compiler is not known with certainty. Several of the later manuscripts<sup>2</sup> preface the tract with the words, "Solomon, teacher of the Jews, relates the following story," but it is not clear whether this Solomon is intended as the author of the original Hebrew romance, or merely designates the Latin translator.

In its Latin form the story, which shows evident traces of having been revised by a Christian, achieved a considerable popularity, and we find it worked into a number of Latin and vernacular compilations,<sup>3</sup> in certain cases with considerable variations, which show that some other recension of it was also current with which we are not now acquainted. Thus in French literature it appears in several metrical versions of the *Roman d'Alexandre*,<sup>4</sup> and in a prose compilation of the thirteenth century known as *Les Faits des Romains*. In the latter version the deviation is particularly marked :<sup>5</sup>

Alexander journeys so far east that he reaches the spot where the sun rises. There he finds a vast river, the Ganges, identified with the Gyon, one of the four rivers

<sup>1</sup> Paul Meyer (*Alexandre le Grand*, ii. p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Those at Dublin, Munich, and Pavia.

<sup>3</sup> The impostor "Mandeville" borrowed some details from it, as I have pointed out in a communication to *Notes and Queries* (December 26, 1914, p. 5c5). It was used also by the author of the *Speculum Laicorum*, written about 1272, and by Robert Holcot (d. 1349).

<sup>4</sup> P. Meyer (*Romania*, xi. 1882, pp. 219-247; *Alexandre*, ii. pp. 201, 221).

<sup>5</sup> Paul Meyer (*Romania*, xiv. 1885, p. 14; *Alexandre*, ii. pp. 356-361). The story as told in the *Faits* was reproduced about 1261 in another French compilation, the anonymous continuation of the *History* of William of Tyre (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux*, ii. 1859, pp. 586-589).

of the terrestrial Paradise. By order of the king two knights, Mitone and Aristeus, sail up the river till they come to a castle situated on the bank. On the opposite bank is a lofty mountain, and between the mountain and the castle is stretched a chain, in such a fashion as to render further progress impossible. In despair our two knights agitate the chain violently. Soon an old man, whose garments emanate a delicious perfume, appears at one of the windows of the castle. They beg him to raise or lower the chain that they may continue their exploration, but the old man refuses and tells them that he is the servant of a far greater Lord than Alexander, and warns them against prying into the secrets of the Ruler of the World. "For more than three thousand years," he says, "have I guarded this chain, and in all that time but two men have passed,<sup>1</sup> one before the Deluge and one after, and they dwell over beyond in the garden where is the tree of immortality. Nor will I stir from here until the day of Judgment." Finally he urges them to return and presents Mitone with a stone for Alexander. On this stone is engraved a human eye, and its meaning is afterwards explained to the king by Aristotle, who takes the place of the Jew in the *Iter ad Paradisum*.

In German poetry the episode of the *Iter* was related by the priest Lamprecht<sup>2</sup> (about 1150), by John Enenkel<sup>3</sup> (1250), and by Ulrich von Eschenbach<sup>4</sup> (1290).

We find it also in an interesting Italian poem discovered by Arturo Graf,<sup>5</sup> which recounts the journey of Ugo d'Alvernia (Huon d'Auvergne) to the regions of the Under

<sup>1</sup> Probably Elijah and Enoch are intended. In the "Christian" Ethiopic version Alexander actually holds converse with them (Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, ii. 1896, p. 477).

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander*, verses 6571-7126, ed. H. Weismann, i. pp. 368-399.

<sup>3</sup> Toischer (*Sitzb. der P.-H. Cl. der Wiener Akad.* 97, 1881, p. 389).

<sup>4</sup> Toischer, *ibid.* pp. 382-387.

<sup>5</sup> *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, i. 1878, p. 92.



World, but I have failed entirely to find any trace of it in English literature. Nor does it appear in the Scotch or Irish versions of the Alexander-Romance.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

One of the most striking features of the scholarship of the present day is the care with which editors seek to unravel the sources of the documents they are investigating. Many a scholar of sixty or seventy years past would be sorely disconcerted could he but see the manner in which works edited by him as original compositions of this or that ancient author have now come to be analyzed and set down as mere compilations from previously existing materials. Such is emphatically the case with the mediaeval Alexander literature.

When thirty years ago Professor Wesselofsky<sup>2</sup> came to study the version of the Alexander-Romance current among the Slavonic nations and the Rumanians, which he calls the Serbian version, he was easily able to establish the fact that many of the incidents in the journey of Alexander to the land of the Blessed or his intercourse with the Brahmans and their king Dindimus or Dandamis, as well as his journey to the fount of life, occur already in Christian legends of the second and third centuries, in the lives of Zosimos and in the apocryphal account of Macarius of Rome and his three companions.<sup>3</sup> Others, too, have succeeded in tracing certain details to a Chaldaean source, the Babylonian history of Gilgames.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Going further afield, we find it in the Serbian version (ed. Istrin, Moscow, 1893); see Wesselofsky in *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iv. 1897, pp. 545, 553.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Izū istorii romana i povēsti*, Petrograd, 1886, i. pp. 129-511. Most valuable too is his study in the *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iv. Petrograd, 1897, pp. 533-587.

<sup>3</sup> See on this point Gaster (*Journ. R. Asiatic Soc. of Gr. Britain*, 1897, p. 487).

<sup>4</sup> Bruno Meissner (*Alexander und Gilgames*, Diss., Halle, 1894); Darmesteter *Zendavesta*, iii. 37-39; Friedländer, *Die Chahhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig, 1913.



As for the story narrated in the *Iter ad Paradisum*, it is also to be sought for in oriental literature. A remarkable parallel may be traced to an episode in the Talmud,<sup>1</sup> but undoubtedly the direct source is to be found in the Hebrew version of the Alexander-Legend. A manuscript of this version was unearthed at Damascus by Professor Harkavy, who has published a most valuable Russian dissertation on the subject.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently the Hebrew text was translated into English by M. Gaster,<sup>3</sup> a Rumanian scholar, to whose researches the study of Hebrew and Slavonic literature is much indebted. Gaster was fortunate enough to discover a manuscript as old as the twelfth century, but the version itself is much more ancient—probably even earlier than the seventh, as he suggests.

That we have in this version the original of our legend will be evident from the following extract :<sup>4</sup>

Alexander and his companions come to the land of Ofrat, where they find a large river. The entire host cross the river and arrive before a very large gate about thirty cubits high. The king goes from that place and wanders among the hills with all his army for fully six months, till the hills come to an end and they emerge in a plain, where stands another immense and beautiful gate, whose height the eye of no man can reach. Upon it there is an inscription. Menahem,<sup>5</sup> chief of the scribes, reads the inscription, which says : “ This is the gate of the Lord, through which the righteous shall enter.”

<sup>1</sup>G. Levi (*Parabole, leggende e pensieri raccolti da libri talmudici*, Firenze, 1861, p. 218); Carraroli (*La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, 1892, pp. 125-129).

<sup>2</sup>*Neizdannaya Versiya romana obŭ Alexandrŭ*, Petrograd, 1892.

<sup>3</sup>Article cited above, pp. 485-549.

<sup>4</sup>I cite almost textually Gaster's excellent translation (chapters 37-38 of the *Romance*, pp. 530-531).

<sup>5</sup>With this name compare those of Raḥâmân in the Ethiopic; Simon, Solomon and Papias, in the French poetical versions and *Iter* (Meyer, *Alexandre*, ii. pp. 105, 247). Harkavy suggests a reminiscence of “Eumenes” (cf. Wesselofsky, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iv. p. 549).

Menaḥem explains the letters and the words to the king, who exclaims: "This certainly is the Garden of Eden!" The king then cries out: "Who is there upon this gate?" and a voice answers: "This is the gate of the Garden of Eden, and no uncircumcised man may enter it." Accordingly, in the night-time, Alexander circumcises the flesh of his foreskin, and his physicians cure him immediately by means of herbs.

On the morrow the king says unto the gate-keepers: "Give me a token and I shall go on my way." They then give him a box in which was something like a piece of the eye. The king stretches forth his hand to lift it from the ground, but is unable to do so. He then cries out and says: "What have you given me?" They reply: "This is an eye." "What is the use of it to me?" the king says. "This is the sign," say they, "that thine eye is not satisfied with riches, nor will thy desire be satisfied by thy roaming over the earth." "But how," said Alexander, "can I lift it from the earth?" "Place," say they, "some dust upon the eye, and then thou canst do what thou wilt with it, and this is a sign that thine eye will not be satisfied with riches until thou return to the earth from which thou wast taken."

The king does so: he scatters some dust on the eye, and, lifting it from the ground, places it in his treasure-house, to be a remembrance of his having obtained a token from the Garden of Eden.

The substance of the foregoing narrative is identical with that of the *Iter ad Paradisum*.<sup>1</sup> There are, of course, differences of detail due to the necessity of the translator or adapter conforming to the tastes and ideas of his Western readers.

<sup>1</sup> It may also be remarked that the story of the stone is introduced into the Ethiopic and Arabic versions, both of unknown date (Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, ii. 1896, p. 271). It comes from the Talmud (*Tamid*, 32<sup>b</sup>), which with the Midrash has supplied many episodes to the Jewish Romance (Gaster, *loc. cit.* p. 489).

It is indeed singular to observe how the personality of Alexander has been metamorphosed in its successive passage from the literature of one nation to that of another. In general, the Alexander of Romance has become a religious hero.<sup>1</sup> We have seen how in the Hebrew version he readily embraces Judaism when forced by circumstances to do so, and no doubt his mild treatment of the inhabitants of the Holy City gave rise to the belief that he might worship the God of Israel. To that of Christianity there was but one step, and in the Syriac, Ethiopic, and Western versions he appears as a convert and quotes the Bible. Alberic of Besançon, Lambert le Tort and other vernacular poets have invested him with all the attributes of a mediaeval knight, and Persian writers such as Firdusi or Nizami have not hesitated to paint him as a follower of Mahomet.<sup>2</sup>

As a rule, it may be said that whereas the Western nations were more attracted by the stories of Alexander's bravery and liberality, what appealed most to the Eastern imagination was, in the words of Professor Wesselofsky, "the mystery of the greatness and power of the man, helpless before death." This latter conception appears once only in Western versions—in the legend we have been studying in these pages.

Although this legend enjoyed but a limited popularity compared with other branches of the Alexander-Romance, we cannot deny the wide diffusion of a belief that the Macedonian hero had undertaken a voyage to Paradise. A charming example of this belief occurs in a Russian folk-tale rescued from oblivion by Professor Wesselofsky, and buried away by him in the pages of a learned Russian review.<sup>3</sup> He relates it on the authority of an old gardener

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gaster, p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> See Gaster (*loc. cit.* p. 488).

<sup>3</sup> *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, iv. Petrograd, 1897, p. 559. It is much to be regretted that so few Western scholars are able to avail themselves of the writings of Russian historians and philologists, who are by no means so rare as is usually imagined. For a valuable study of Russian folk-mythology see

dwelling in the village of Goosefka in the Government of Saratov :

When Alexander of Macedon conquered the whole world he decided to visit Paradise. To find his way to it he procured a Bible in his own kingdom. It was not a Bible as we have them now, but an old one as they had them in the days of Adam, and in it was described the way to reach Paradise. He took all his army and started on his way according to this Bible. Now he was getting quite near when the angel who guards Paradise runs to God and says : " O God ! Alexander of Macedon is coming to our Paradise." Then God causes wide rivers to flow across Alexander's path, but the warrior builds ships and bridges, crosses the rivers and advances to Paradise. Again the angel runs to God : " O God ! Alexander is coming." Then God puts in his way thick forests filled with huge fierce beasts. Alexander catches the beasts, feeds his army with them, cuts down the forests and comes nearer. Once more the angel runs to God and says : " Alexander is coming." Then God raises in front of the king impassable mountains, but Alexander takes pick-axes, hammers and shovels, and breaks a passage through the mountains ; one sees no one, but one hears a great noise as of thunder under ground.

The angel tells this to God, who only now guesses that Alexander must have a Bible to help him. He commands the angel to get possession of it.

Alexander lies down to sleep, but he does not let go the Bible and holds it tightly by one corner. The angel arrives and seizes the book. Alexander wakes up and squeezes his fingers more tightly round the corner. The angel gives a strong pull and draws the Bible out of

Dragomanov (*Mélusine*, iii. 1887, cols. 171-175). The so-called Breton "Alexander," published by Luzel (*Mélusine*, iii. 1887, cols. 487-496) is a commonplace tale, and has little or no affinity with the real Alexander-Romance.

Alexander's hand, all except the two corners, which remained between his fingers.

However, the king does not grieve long over his loss, but orders a new Bible to be made to fit the remaining corners. It was soon ready, but it was not the same Bible. It leads Alexander round and round but not a step nearer.

When Alexander sees that he cannot reach Paradise he says to his army : " Why should we go and look for Paradise when we can make one of our own ? " And so he started to plant trees, and everybody followed his example. And this was the origin of all our fruit trees.

Are we to see in this tale a far-off reminiscence of the Jewish Romance or of the *Iter ad Paradisum* ? That is what Professor Wesselofsky does not tell us, and what we may well be content to leave undecided.

M. ESPOSITO.

---

## THE PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN NEGRO FOLK-TALES.

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

### II.

#### *The Pass-word.*

IN the Cape Verde Islands "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" is a true folk-tale—I have called it "The Seven Robbers."<sup>1</sup> Whether the island tale came from Portugal as a folk-tale or as literature I do not know. The evidence as far as it goes is in favour of the second hypothesis. In the Portuguese collections accessible to me I have not found "The Seven Robbers."<sup>2</sup> The literary version of the tale I found known to a Saõ Nicolau Islander in Newport, Rhode Island, and to a Boa Vista friend of his in New Bedford.<sup>3</sup> But whether as a Portuguese or as a Cape Verde Islands folk-tale the following tale is of interest as representing probably the initial variant of a great number of variants of "Ali Baba" in negro folklore.

<sup>1</sup> But the tale of "Ali Baba and the Piece of Lead" is given by Braga as a folk-tale (*Contos Tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*, No. 78, Porto, 1883). See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xx. 1907, pp. 113-116, for a Spanish-Tagalog variant of Ali Baba, "The Fifty-one Thieves," and *ib.* xxiv. 1911, pp. 424-8, for a new Mexican variant.

<sup>2</sup> Both men told me the tale. The Boa Vista man subsequently showed me the text he had procured from Lisbon through his Saõ Nicolau friend. The one seminary of the Islands is located on Saõ Nicolau, and Saõ Nicolau Islanders are accounted the best educated men of the group.

<sup>3</sup> One of the two variants recorded by Edwards in the Bahamas (*Bahama Songs and Stories*, No. xx. *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* iii. 1895, appears to me to have a literary source.



*The Seven Robbers.*

Once there were two brothers ; one was rich, the other was poor. The poor brother gave the rich one his three sons to christen. Every day the children went to their godfather to get bread. Then he said that giving them bread every day was very expensive. One day one of his god-children came to his house to get bread. He took the bread, he threw it in his face, he said, " Do not come to get bread any more." The poor brother got grass for a living. One day he went out early for grass. He was too early, he sat down to wait for daybreak. He saw seven robbers come out through the rocks. He heard them say where they were going to steal. One said, " I'm going to Providence " ; another said, " I'm going to Newport " ; another said, " I'm going to San Francisco." After they left he went to the rock, he said, " Rock, open." He entered, he found all kinds of money on the ground like grass. He had only one donkey, no sack. He took off his trousers, filled them with money, saddled them on his donkey, he went home. Next day he borrowed a donkey, making two, and he took with him a sack. When he came home with all this money he saw he had too much money not to measure it. He sent to borrow a *quarta* from his rich brother. He measured the money, he buried it under the bed. Next day he went again with four donkeys, he sent to borrow the *quarta* again. Before this he bought food by the *litre*. His brother thought he could buy only by the *litre*, not by the *quarta*. He put some tar on the *quarta* he lent. He measured, when he sent the *quarta* a pound of gold stuck to the bottom of the *quarta*. The rich brother found it. He went to ask his brother where he got it. The poor brother said that was a *quarta* of corn which he bought. The rich brother answered, " No, I found a pound sticking to the *quarta*. If you don't tell me, I'm going to denounce you in the

city." The poor brother told him how he saw the robbers come out of the rock as well as how he got the money. The rich brother said, "You must take me there to get some money." "Yes, I will take you. Yes, go and come at midnight, we will go." The man went home, but as he was in a hurry to get the money he came back at ten, he crowed like a rooster. His brother said, "Go home. You are not a rooster. When it is time, I will call you." He went, in half an hour he came back. His brother said, "It is still too early, but let us go." The rich brother took five donkeys, the other took two. They went to the same place, they sat down to wait. When it was time out came the seven robbers. The poor brother counted them. When all seven had gone and left, he said, "Rock, open." They went in, they collected the money together. There was a bar of gold. The rich brother said, "I will take it with me." The poor brother said, "No, don't take it. It's the only one here. They would discover it, they would miss it." The rich brother took it, however, he put it in his sack. Next day he did not wait for his brother, he went alone with twenty donkeys. The robbers had not missed the gold bar. He loaded his donkeys, he left. The next day he took forty donkeys. After he came there, six robbers came out, they left one there to catch the man who came there to steal. He counted "One, two, three, four, five, six, six, it can't be six, it's seven." He counted again. "That's six, but I'm going to make it seven. . . . Rock, open." He went in, he filled his sack. The robber who was inside caught him. He put irons on his hands and feet, he left him until the other robbers came. They took him, they skinned him, they cut him up joint by joint, they left him there. A day passed, he did not come home. His wife went to the house of her brother-in-law. She said to him, "If you don't go get your brother, I'll denounce you in the city." He answered, "I'll go for him, but I believe

they've killed him." He went to the same place. Seven robbers come out as usual. He said, "Rock, open." The first thing he saw was his brother lying dismembered in the middle of the floor. He put him in the sack, took it on his back and went home. He said to his sister-in-law, "I found my brother cut up piece by piece. I'm going to look for a shoemaker to sew him together. I'll put him in a bed, we will make out he died sudden." (The woman had three boys and one girl.) "If one of your boys wants to be a doctor or a priest we'll make him one. If the other wants to be a governor we'll educate him for it. The girl we'll teach what she wants to know. What money you want, when you need it I will give it to you to the end of your life." They put the dead man in bed, the shoemaker came and sewed him up, they gave him a lot of money for his work. When the seven robbers came they did not find the dismembered man, they said, "The robber has been again in our house." The next day they left one robber in the house again, but no one came. The captain of the robbers said that he was going into the city to see where they had buried him. The first house he came to was the house of the shoemaker. The shoemaker was at work. The captain said to him, "Can you sew well [enough] to make a pair of shoes?" The shoemaker answered, "That is nothing. Yesterday I sewed up a man's body that they cut up joint by joint." He had agreed with the poor brother not to tell. The captain knew that was the place. He said to the shoemaker, "Go with me. Show me the place. I'll pay you twice as much as they paid you." The shoemaker showed the place. The captain went home, he put the six robbers each in a barrel, he rolled the barrels on the road. He rolled them to the house of the widow. He asked her if she wanted to buy molasses. The woman said no. The boys went to the house of their uncle, they asked him to buy the molasses. They told the captain to put the

barrels in the house of their uncle. While they were cooking for the captain, the children took the corkscrew to get out the molasses. They bored a hole in the barrel, the man inside the barrel asked, "Is this the time?" The little boy said, "No, wait a while." He told his mother that somebody was inside the barrel. The mother went and bored holes in all the barrels. "Is this the time?" they asked. "Wait a while," said the woman, "Wait a while." The woman took a club, she went behind the captain sitting at table. She gave him a blow on the head, she killed him. The woman put on the fire a big pot of water. She turned up all the barrels, in each she made a big hole. She poured boiling water into the barrels, she killed all the robbers. Then she sent to summon two kinsmen. They dug a big hole in the court, they buried the bodies. The poor brother went back to the rock, he took out the rest of the money, he brought it home, he divided it with the widow. The eldest son of the woman became a doctor, the second son a governor, the youngest a priest. The girl became a schoolmistress. The four children and the widow together built a fine house in their place. The road to their house was paved with gold. When the widow died she left all her wealth to my father. My father was so mean he drank up all the money and left me none.

Between this Cape Verde Islands variant and the following variant from Northern Nigeria occurs a gap which I have no doubt will be filled in when larger collections of African tales are available.

"Dodo [a mythical monster], The Robber, and the Magic Door.—Soon the Women met a certain Robber who said that he was going to commit a theft in Dodo's house. So they said, 'When you go, say to the door "*Zirka bude*" [open], and when you have stolen what you want, and have gone out again, say "*Zirka Gumgum*" [shut].' So he went to Dodo's house and said, '*Zirka bude*,' and the door

opened. And he went in and stole Dodo's riches, but when he was ready to go away again he forgot the words, he could then remember only *Zirka Gumgum*, and immediately he had said this the door jambed more tightly than ever into the wall.<sup>f</sup> Then he tried and tried to get out, but he could not do so.

"Now the Women from where they were standing began singing, 'O Mad Robber, we gave you the chance to steal, but we did not give you forgetfulness,' and they went off home. So Dodo when he returned caught the Robber in his house, and he killed him, and stuck his body on a spit. Soon the flesh was cooked, and then Dodo ate it."<sup>1</sup>

Since the Hausa are Mahometans, likewise great travellers and traders, this tale may well have been learned more or less directly from Arabic sources. The following variant from the Cape Verde Islands is probably more indirect.

*Picking Teeth ; The Password ; In the Ashes.*

There was a wolf with Tubinh.<sup>2</sup> One day they separated, Lob going to Ferrero and Tubinh to Sparadinha to meet again at Figondago. When they meet Lob asks Tubinh, "Xubinh, how is it you are so fat and I am so thin? Where is it you eat?" "I've been going about getting rats and lizards under the stones, *Ti'* [uncle] Lob. That's what makes me fat." "This is the seventh day I've been eating lizards," Lob says. "I've a little tail in my teeth. Come take it out." Tubinh took a needle to get it out. "No, Xubinh," objects Lob, "don't you remember it was a needle which sewed for the *mortelha* [mourning] of

<sup>1</sup> Tremearne, A. J. N., *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, pp. 211-12, London, 1913. In a variant a woman succeeds in stealing food from Dodo's house, but when her husband goes to the house he is caught.

<sup>2</sup> Dialectical for *subrinho*, nephew. Lob and Tubinh figure in a cycle of tales in the Cape Verde Islands as Boukee and Rabbit figure in a Bahama cycle.

our mothers?" Tubinh took a pin. "No, Xubinh, don't you remember pins were used as nails in the casket of our mothers?" Tubinh took a straw. "No, Xubinh, don't you remember it was a straw that choked our mothers to death? Why don't you take it out with your fingers?" Tubinh went to take it out with his fingers, Lob closed his teeth on his fingers. "Xubinh, you are a smart fellow, but I am smarter than you. Remember I am your uncle. I won't let you go until you tell me the truth about where you eat." "*Ti'* Lob, I eat at *Ti'* Ganga.<sup>1</sup> I was afraid to take you there. You are very cowardly, you might perish. If *Ti'* Ganga catches us there she'll kill us." "Xubinh, you take me there." "Well, when we go take a bag with you, when you eat one egg, put fifty in the bag." They go, Tubinh puts a hundred eggs in the bag, he eats one, Lob when he eats two hundred, he puts one in the bag. "Time to leave, *Ti'* Lob," says Tubinh. "I have still an empty place in my stomach," says Lob. "I have still to eat for my grandfather, for my father, for my mother, for my wife and for my children." Tubinh leaves him there, he tells Lob when he is ready to come out to say, "*Port' toboc tobac.*" When he is out, to say, "*Port' burnec'.*" When Lob is ready to come out he says, "*Port' burnec', port' burnec',*" and the door shuts tight. He can't get out, he sits down by the door. Tubinh is outside, he sees *Ti'* Ganga coming, near by on a little hill, he sings,

My little stick of *ortolu*  
Which beats *Nho Ti'* Lob.  
*Ti'* Ganga comes from the woods.

Inside the door Lob sings,

Subrinh', you are disingenuous,  
You bring me into a person's house to eat well.  
You know I have little luck.  
*Port' burnec' burnec'.*

<sup>1</sup> A water-fowl.



Outside, *Ti'* Ganga sings,

Uañ ! Uañ ! rain falls, sun shines, frost falls.  
I am coming.

Tubinh sings,

My little stick of *ortolu*  
Which beats *Nho' Ti'* Lob.  
*Ti'* Ganga comes from the woods.

Lob sings,

Subrinh', you are disengenuous,  
You bring me into a person's house to eat well.  
You know I have little luck.  
*Port' burnec' burnec'.*

Now *Ti'* Ganga comes up with her bundle of wood. She puts it on the ground, she says, "*Port' toboc' tobac'.*" Inside the door Lob sings, "*Port' burnec'.*" Again *Ti'* Ganga says, "*Port' toboc' tobac'.*" Again Lob says, "*Port' burnec'.*" *Ti'* Ganga sits down, she says, "Door, every day when I say, '*port' toboc' tobac'.*' you open, why don't you open to-day?" Then the door flew open, and Lob ran under the bed. *Ti'* Ganga made coffee, she drank, she lay down in bed. She broke wind. "You stinking pig!" exclaimed Lob under the bed. *Ti'* Ganga looks around everywhere. She sees nobody. She goes back to bed. She breaks wind again. "You stinking pig to break wind with me under the bed!" This time *Ti'* Ganga sees Lob under the bed. He came out, he jumped up, he caught hold of the roof truss. *Ti'* Ganga began to beat him. "*Ti'* Ganga, my hand is tired. My whole body is tired!" "Come down then and let me kill you." Lob dropped, he fell into a pile of ashes, he was lost. Just then Tubinh passed by. "Oh Subrinh', come here, come here!" called *Ti'* Ganga, "Lob was here, he disappeared from sight." Tubinh said, "The Barela race never die without breaking wind." Lob heard, he

broke wind like a blast, he discovered himself. Then *Ti' Ganga* killed him.<sup>1</sup>

The central tale in this group of tales is familiar to and very popular among all the Cape Verde islanders. Were they to give it a name it would probably be, *Ti' Ganga*. One has only to mention *Ti' Ganga* to prompt the tale. A close variant to it is the following tale from the Bahamas.<sup>2</sup>

Now this day b'o' Rabby came to b'o' Boukee, and said, "Man, you know I could carry you to a house where plenty food." Anyhow, next day they start. When they got there, they said, "Open, ca-banger, open!" The door open. When they got in, "Shut, ca-banger." The door shut. Now they start to steal. Now some tamaring (tamborine?) was there. Now when they had their bag half full, b'o' Rabby gone to the tamaring, took it up an' beat.

Sting bow, sting, you bellee full go long.

He gone now. Bo'ou Boukee gone, take up one and start.

Sting bow, sting, you bellee full go long.

He throw that down, he pick another.

Sting bow, sting, you bellee full sit down.

So he start to get again. So when he listen, he heard, "Open, ca-banger, open." The door open, an' b'o' Boukee

<sup>1</sup> For other African variants see Sierra Leone, Cronise, F. M., and Ward, H. W., *Cunnie Rabbie, Mr. Spider and the other Beef*, pp. 233-4, London and New York, 1903. Yoruba, Ellis, A. B., *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 271-4, London, 1894. (This tale appears to be a translation of a tale originally recorded in French. Basset, R., *Contes Populaires d'Afrique*, pp. 217-20, Paris.) In the Yoruba variant Lizard takes Tortoise to a rock full of yams. "Rock, open," is the pass-word, and "Rock, shut." The plantation owner, a man, catches Tortoise, who had put yams on his back, yams on his head, yams on his arms, and yams on his legs.

There is a Banto tale of opening a rock by magical formula during flight. See, for example, the Herero tale of "The Fleeing Girls and the Rock," in *Folk-Lore Journal* [South Africa], ii. 1880, pp. 80-85, which appears in a measure reminiscent of "The Pass-word."

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, Elsie Clews, "The Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas," 5, ii. *Memoirs American Folk-Lore Society*, xiii. 1918.

ran under the bed. So they put child under the bed, an' gave her her food. So b'o' Boukee said, "Give me some." She gave him. "Give me more." She gave him. "Give me the pan." She gave him. He did that four times. Then, when they look under the bed, they said, "Oh! Boukee here." So they took him out, and sixteen double swish on him; and fast they gave him the cut, he said, "Shut, ca-banger." And when the child said, "Boukee, say 'gomma maura,'" b'o' Boukee pitch out de door and he heavy—the pitch he pitch knock me here to tell that story.<sup>1</sup>

In the Bahamas the setting of the pass-word pattern has been even more variable than in the Cape Verde Islands. An excellent illustration is the Bahama tale of

*The Pass-word; The Tree Closes.*

Once Rabby went an' he fin' a tree with honey in it. Ev'ry mornin' he have honey to drink with. B'o' Boukee always sen' de boy over to b'o' Rabby for a little bit of fire, an' b'o' Rabby always give de boy honey in de mornin'. So b'o' Boukee say, "Boy, where you get de honey?" An' boy say, "B'o' Rabbit give me some." So b'o' Boukee went over to b'o' Rabbit an' say, "B'o' Rabby, were you get honey?" Say, "I know where dere a tree full of honey." Say, "Well care [carry] me dere." Say, "I'll care you dere to-morrer." Boukee gone, gather up all de casses [cases] he could to go for honey. So b'o' Rabbit say, "Where you goin' with all dem t'ings?" B'o' Boukee says, "I want plenty honey."—"Min'," he says, "can't be there too long, 'cause b'o' Long-Tus' an' b'o' Johnny-Bear

<sup>1</sup>In several particulars, for an even closer variant, compare "De Wolf, De Rabbit, an' De Whale's Eggs," in Christensen, A. M. H., *Afro-American Folk-Lore, Told round Cabin Fires on the Sea Islands of South Carolina*, pp. 108-116, Boston, 1892. The Wolf tricks Rabbit into putting his hand in his mouth to help him cut his teeth; Wolf protests that he has a big family and he must get enough for them; Wolf hides behind the door; Whale catches and kills him.

will kill you." So de nex' mornin' b'o' Rabby an' b'o' Boukee went. When dey got dere, dey say,—

" Timmy fee,  
Timmy fin."

An' de tree bruk open. B'o' Rabbit take a bucket an' he dip out his bucket full. An' b'o' Boukee shove he head, an' de tree close on his neck. B'o' Boukee look up. Long-Tus' an' b'o' Bear be acomin'.<sup>1</sup> An' when he put his han' up an' shove dat tree, he peeled his skin right off. An' when he get home, his chillun look up, he say, " Pa has a raw head." An' he say to them, " Why you don' say, " A raw head an' a bloody bone." An' when de chil' ran feel his head, he slap him, an' de chil' darted, an' I flash him an' cause me to be here to tell you dat story.<sup>2</sup>

The pattern of the pass-word is used in several other ways in the Bahamas and elsewhere. It is the introduction to the tale of " In the Cow's Belly," a tale in which, in Sierra Leone Frog and Spider, in the Cape Verde Islands Lob and Tubinh, in the Bahamas Rabbit and Boukee, go into the cow to cut flesh.<sup>3</sup> The animals use the pass-word to go in—" Cow open " or "*Vaca, abri nhefa, dexan entra* (Cow, open mouth, let me in)," "*Vaca, fixa nhefa, dexan sai* (Cow, shut mouth, let me out)," or " Open, gobanje, open," " Shut, gobanje, shut,"<sup>4</sup> and Lob or Boukee<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In a Louisiana variant it is Sunday dresses and new shoes for his children Compair Bouki goes to get from the tree. Forgetting to say " Tree, open ! " Bouki is caught by the thieves who hid their booty in the tree. They gave Compair Bouki such a beating he could hardly move. (Fortier, Alice, *Louisiana Folk-Tales*, p. 112; *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* ii. 1895. For the pattern applied to a tree see too Hartt, C. F., *Amazonian Tortoise Myths*, pp. 17-18, Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, 31.

<sup>3</sup> The provenience of the rest of this tale we shall consider in a later article.

<sup>4</sup> Or " Hopen, Kabendye, hopen ! " (*Bahama Songs and Stories*, pp. 77-8).

<sup>5</sup> In the Sierra Leone tale (Cronise and Ward, pp. 231-38), instead of forgetting the pass-word, Spider cuts into the cow's heart and the cow drops dead. This version, the proper version of " In the Cow's Belly," is also told in the Bahamas. " The Pass-word " has obviously been spliced into " In the Cow's Belly."

forgets it when he wants to come out. In the Cape Verde Islands the pass-word or formula is also used in connection with a *mama peixe caball*, a mother sea-horse. You say in the tale, "*Mama (breast) bax'*," and the sea-horse comes in to the beach, you say, "*Mama riba*," and she goes out to sea. The water homologue in the Bahamas occurs in a tale about Rabbit and Boukee crossing a river to get pumpkins. Rabbit tells Boukee to say, "Low water, low," but Boukee forgets and says, "Flow water, flow." Common to both island groups is a tale of an ascent to Heaven. In the Cape Verde Islands tale the pass-word serves as a means for bringing down the fig tree—" *Figerinha, bax', bax'*," "Little fig-tree, down, down," " *Figerinha, tip, tip*," "Little fig-tree, up, up,"<sup>1</sup>—on which Lob eats and, forgetting the formula, is carried on up to the sky; in the Bahamas the formula brings down the spirit house—"Susie come down, Susie go up" or "Mary come down so low," "Mary go up so high."

With a North Carolina variant of the foregoing down and up variants, I will conclude our pass-word series, a series of tales that illustrates remarkably well, I think, whatever the vicissitudes, the immense vitality of the folk-tale.

One day, in the old times, Ann Nancy<sup>2</sup> started out to find a good place for to build her house; she walk on till she find a break in a nice damp rock, and she set down to rest, and take 'servation of the points to throw her threads.

Presently, she hear a gret floppin' of wings, and the old Mr. Buzzard came flying down and light on the rock, with a big piece of meat in he mouth. And Nancy, she scroon in the rock and look out, and she hear Mr. Buzzard say, "Good safe, good safe, come down, come down," and sure 'nough, when he say it three times, a safe come down,

<sup>1</sup>Or *Figerinha, dixé dixé, Figerinha, subi subi*.

<sup>2</sup>Annanci, the Spider of the West Coast and of the West Indies. In the Bahamas I found the name likewise converted into the woman's name, Nancy.



and Mr. Buzzard he open the door and put in he meat and say, "Good safe, good safe, go up, go up," and it go up aright, and Mr. Buzzard fly away.

Then Ann Nancy, she set and study 'bout it, 'cause she done see the safe was full of all the good things she ever hear of, and it come across her mind to call it and see if it come down; so she say, like Mr. Buzzard, "Good safe, good safe, come down, come down," and sure 'nough, when she say it three times, down it come, and she open the door and step in, and she say, "Good safe, good safe, go up, go up," and up she go, and she eat her fill, and have a fine time.

Directly she hear a voice say, "Good safe, good safe, come down, come down," and the safe start down, and Ann Nancy, she so scared, she don't know what to do, but she say soft and quickly, "Good safe, go up," and it stop, and go up a little, but Mr. Buzzard say, "Good safe, come down, come down," and down it start, and poor Ann Nancy whisper quick, "Go up, good safe, go up," and it go back. And so they go for a long time, only Mr. Buzzard can't hear Ann Nancy, 'cause she whisper soft to the safe, an' he cock he eye in 'stonishment to see the old safe bob up and down, like it gone 'stracted.

So they keep on, "Good safe, good safe, come down," "Good safe, good safe, go up," till poor Ann Nancy's brain get 'fused, and she make a slip and say, "Good safe, come down," and down it come.

Mr. Buzzard, he open the do', and there he find Ann Nancy, and he say, "Oh, you poor mis'erable creeter," and he just 'bout to eat her up, when poor Ann Nancy, she begged so hard, and compliment his fine presence, and compare how he sail in the clouds while she 'bliged to crawl in the dirt, till he that proudful and set up he feel mighty pardoning spirit, and he let her go.<sup>1</sup>

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

<sup>1</sup> Backus, E. M., "Animal Tales from North Carolina," No. v. *J. Amer. Folk-Lore*, xi. 1898.



## 'PRENTICE PILLARS: THE ARCHITECT AND HIS PUPIL.

BY W. CROOKE.

IN many parts of the world a tale is current which usually assumes two forms. In the first class come the stories of a builder or architect and his pupil. The latter executes some work which surpasses that of his master, who in mortification commits suicide, or through jealousy kills the pupil. In the second group the builder or architect executes a work, and his employer, a King or Rāja, orders him to be killed or mutilated in order that he may not bring glory to another employer by executing a work as great or greater than that which he has completed.

Of the first group I have found the following instances :

One of the circular windows in the transept of Lincoln Cathedral is said to have been designed by an apprentice. According to one story, the master, in mortification at the superiority of his pupil's work, committed suicide : by another account, in his rage he killed his pupil. Marks of human blood, which can never be washed out, are said to be visible ; similar tales are told of the 'Prentice Pillar at Roslin Abbey, of the 'Prentice Window at Melrose, and of two rare windows in Rouen Cathedral, in all of which cases the master is said to have killed his apprentice.<sup>1</sup> The classical prototype of these stories is the tale of Talos or Perdix, nephew of Daedalus, who invented the saw, an

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, v. (1852), pp. 395-498 ; 5, i. (1874), p. 346 ; vii. (1877), p. 374.

idea suggested to him by the backbone of a fish or the teeth of a serpent ; the chisel ; the compasses ; the potter's wheel. His skill aroused the envy of Daedalus, who flung him headlong from the summit of the temple of Athena on the Acropolis at Athens ; but the goddess caught him as he fell, and changed him into a partridge (*perdix*).<sup>1</sup> This legend has been fully discussed by Sir James Frazer, who considers the suggestion that through the Cretan story of Talos, the Attic legend is connected with the Phœnician cult of Baal-Moloch ; he dismisses as fanciful the theory of Bachofen that the murder of Talos by his maternal uncle embodies a reminiscence of an attempt to renounce and abolish the ancient matriarchal system in favour of the patriarchal type.<sup>2</sup>

Tales of the second group, in which the successful builder or architect falls a victim to the jealousy of his master, who fears that he may lose reputation if a like or better building is erected for a rival prince, seem to be more common. The following are some examples :

“ Nemedius built two royal seats in the island [Ireland], which were called Cinneich, at Joubhniallain, and Raith Ciombhaoith, in Seimhne. These places were erected by the four sons of Madain Muinreamhair, who were called Fomhoraice ; their names were Bog, Robhog, Rodin, and Ruibhne. These master builders and their countrymen were distinguished by the name Fomhoraice, because they were a sort of pirates or sea-robbers, that came originally from Africa, and settled from that time in the north of Ireland. The next morning after these palaces were finished, Nemedius commanded the four builders to be slain, out of jealousy, lest they should afterwards erect other structures that should exceed his in state and magnificence. These brothers were killed at a place called

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, viii. 247 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, ii. 232 ff. ; *The Golden Bough*, 3rd edition, “ The Dying God, 74 f.

Doire Lighe, and there they were buried.”<sup>1</sup> “Master Hans Brüggemann, born in Husum, was a skilful artisan and able man. It was he who made the beautiful altar-piece for the monks of Bordesholm, which in the year 1666 was removed to the Cathedral of Sleswig, on which it is said that he and his men laboured for seven years, and of which every figure was steeped in oil to prevent injury from worms. When his work was finished King Christian II. and his queen Elizabeth came to see it, on which occasion Brüggemann, availing himself of his opportunity, carved likenesses of them both in wood, which he placed on two pillars on each side of the altar. When the Lübeckers saw this work they wished Hans Brüggemann to execute an altar-piece for them equally beautiful. This he not only engaged to do, but also to make one still more wonderful. Hereat the monks of Bordesholm were stung with jealousy, and gave him something which caused a fluxion and weakness of his eyes, so that he could no longer work. He died in the town of Eiderstädt, near Bordesholm.”<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thorpe adds: “Of the altar-piece of the Church of Nörre-Broby, in Fyen, it is also said that when the artist had completed it he was asked whether he could execute another better, or equally good, and on his answering in the affirmative, they put out his eyes.”

A tale of the same kind comes from Arabia. Nu'mān I. (*circa* 400 A.D.) “is renowned in legend as the builder of Khawarnaq, a famous castle near Hira. It was built at the instance of the Sāsānian king, Yazdigird I., who desired a salubrious residence for his son, Prince Bahrām Gor. On its completion, Nu'mān ordered the architect, a ‘Roman’ (*i.e.* Byzantine subject) named Sinimmār,

<sup>1</sup>Jeffrey Keating, *General History of Ireland*, trans. Dermod O'Connor, ed. 1854, p. 76 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup>B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, ii. 255, quoted in 7, *Notes and Queries*, iv. 304 f.

to be cast headlong from the battlements, either on account of his boast that he could have constructed a yet more wonderful edifice 'which should turn round with the Sun,' or for fear that he might reveal the position of a certain stone, the removal of which would cause the whole building to collapse."<sup>1</sup> According to another Arabian story, quoted by Mr. W. A. Clouston,<sup>2</sup> 'Antar, the Bedouin poet-hero, acquired the sword Dham, forged out of a thunderbolt which had killed one of the Chief's camels. When the smith delivered the sword to his patron he said, "This sword is sharp, O Chief of the tribe of Ghaylib—sharp indeed, but where is the smiter for this sword?" Quoth the Chief, "As for the smiter, I am he," and he instantly struck off the smith's head, so that there should never be another sword Dham.

Tales of this kind are very common in India: in most of them the successful artist is mutilated or tortured. In one case, that of Tirumala Nāik of Madura (A.D. 1623-59), the king is said to have immured in a dungeon and starved to death the builders of his famous palace, so that another building like it should never be erected. He had a bas-relief of the artists made and fixed on the palace walls. Another tale of the same kind is current in Baroda. When the Diamond Gate at Dabhoi was built it was named after the architect who designed it. The Rāja was jealous lest the architect might go elsewhere and design a building as good or better. So on the completion of the gate he caused the architect to be buried under the adjoining Kālika Māta temple. His wife, however, managed to keep him alive by passing to him milk and other liquid food through the interstices of the stones. Six years

<sup>1</sup> R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 1907, p. 40. Another version of the story from the *Heft Menzer*, or "Seven Faces," of the Persian Abdallah Hatifi, who died A.D. 1520, is quoted by Mr. W. A. Clouston, 7. *Notes and Queries*, iv. (1887), p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> 7, *Notes and Queries*, iv. p. 141.

later the Rāja had reason to deplore the loss of his architect, whereupon the latter was brought out, a little worn, but ready to turn his hand to the next job.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient town of Punvarānagad in Cutch was built by Punvar, Chief of Kera. He was noted for his cruelty, and, quarrelling with his family, he resolved to found a city and call it after his own name. When the city was finished, the architect was rewarded by having both his hands chopped off, so that he might not do work like it for any one else.<sup>2</sup>

Two versions from the Panjāb are remarkable for the ingenious explanation of the story suggested by Mr. H. A. Rose.

Gugga, the workman who built the temples at Brahmaur in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right hand cut off by the Rāna, whose house he had built, and was then accidentally killed by a fall from the temple porch after he had completed the building.<sup>3</sup>

At Bhalāwag the Rāja built many tanks. "After making all the tanks, the Rāja sent for the builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward all he asked for. But people then became envious of the kindness shown to him by the Rāja, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of Musāhib or courtier, and so they told the Rāja that if the builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Rāja's memory would not be perpetuated, and that steps should be taken to prevent this. The Rāja said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he had already thought of it. So the builder was sent for, and although he tried to satisfy the Rāja that he would never make the same kind of tank at any other place,

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii. p. 548.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* v. p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Rose, *Glossary Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Provinces*, i. [still unpublished], p. 207, quoting *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 298.

the Rāja paid no heed to his entreaties, and had his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill he could do some work with his left hand, and he, accordingly, built two temples, one at Jāthia Devi, and the other at Sada, both places now in Patiāla territory.”<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of people being buried as “guardians of the gate,” because it was believed that the spirit would survive and do watch and ward over the city wall or the entrance through it, Mr. Rose observes : “This idea of the guardian spirit may explain many folk-tales in which the artificer is rewarded by being sacrificed by his patron, ostensibly to prevent his skill being employed by a rival. . . . This may be a variant of the superstition that the new structure must be guarded by a spirit as its custodian. Once granted that necessity, what spirit could be more suitable than that of the architect himself?” This theory, linking together two chapters in folk-belief, is decidedly attractive. But it may be remarked that, in the Indian form of the tale, the architect is generally mutilated or tortured, not killed ; and it is not easy to connect the tales which I have quoted with the numerous examples collected by Dr. E. Sidney Hartland.<sup>2</sup>

It is needless to speculate how far these stories are historically true. It is quite possible that a master-builder, mortified at his failure, may commit suicide, or that, in a fit of jealousy, he may kill his successful rival, particularly if he was his own pupil. It is equally possible that an Eastern despot, believing that his reputation depended on the completion of some unique building, may slay or mutilate the unfortunate architect, in order to prevent him from doing similar work elsewhere. It is also not

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* i. p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Article “Foundation,” J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia Religion and Ethics*, vi. p. 109 *et seq.* Cf. article, “Bridge,” *ibid.* ii. p. 850 *et seq.*



improbable that the beauty of some window, pillar, or building may have originated the tale of the fate of the unfortunate apprentices.

It may be hoped that this slight discussion of the tales of this type may lead to further investigation and the collection of additional instances.

W. CROOKE.

## THE BLACK PIG OF KILTRUSTAN.

BY ELEANOR HULL.

ON April 27th of this year the following notice appeared in the *Irish Times* :

### A COUNTY ROSCOMMON APPARITION.

“Our Tulsk (Co. Roscommon) correspondent writes as follows :—A strange apparition has appeared at Kiltrustan, near Strokestown, in the shape of a black pig. Two little girls saw the pig, but, strange to say, none of the older people can see it. A clergyman visited the place, but could see nothing, although the little girls could see it, and they pointed out to him where the pig was standing. The apparition has caused tremendous excitement in the district, where the people believe that this is the ‘black pig’ spoken of in the prophecy of Columcille. Crowds, full of awe, are visiting the place, and the children of the parish are in a state of terror. Two men who cut a tree on an old rath or fort are ill, and many attribute their illness to the appearance of the pig.

“In a later message our correspondent says—The scare over the apparition of the ‘black pig’ at Kiltrustan is growing, and hundreds are visiting the place daily, but none can see the pig but the two little girls who first saw it, and a companion. These three children see the pig every day at the same place, and several clergymen have visited the scene. The children are scared all around the place from going to school, and the whole thing remains a mystery.”

So remarkable an apparition aroused curiosity, and the legend is growing rapidly in interest and completeness. A later report adds several new details, *Irish Times*, May 1st :

#### THE KILTRUSTAN BLACK PIG.

##### *Prophecies of War.*

"A correspondent who has visited the district of Kiltrustan, in the County Roscommon, where the mysterious black pig is said to have appeared recently, says that a few yards from the roadway there is a small plantation which, according to local tradition, is haunted. Contrary to the wish of the old people in the neighbourhood, two young men cut one of the trees in the plantation. Both of them are now understood to be ill, a fact which is considered significant in view of Columcille's prophecy. An intelligent little girl of about 12 years of age was the first to observe the black pig. The peculiarity of its movements attracted her attention, and, somewhat terrified, she informed the schoolmaster of what she had seen. Convinced by the child's earnest demeanour, the teacher accompanied her to the plantation, but could not see the pig, although the child insisted that the animal was there, and was not then alone, but was accompanied by six bonhams. The girl's story was confirmed by other children who arrived later. To adults the pig and bonhams were quite invisible. On the following day the pig could clearly be seen by the children. When some of the more adventurous elderly people approached the tree stumps, the children cried out in horror that the pig was right beside them, and actually passing across their feet. Clergymen visited the scene of the strange visitation, and the fears of the people were gradually subdued. For a third time the pig and bonhams were noticed, but since then the animals have not appeared. The affair caused an extraordinary sensation all over County Roscommon. Some

people were naturally sceptical, and treated the whole story as an absurdity; yet many people who live in the district believe implicitly that the children did not lie. That the appearance of the black pig portends serious trouble in Ireland is generally believed, and legends relate that all along and north of the valley of the Black Pig there will be awful slaughter of the Irish race. The pig was prophesied to appear thrice during the Great War, and if he could run along the valley to Lough Boderg, near Kilmore, there would be great trouble, which could only be averted by a one-eyed marksman shooting the animal at Bonnyglass, a field behind Kilmore Rectory."

The re-appearance of the Black Pig at this moment appears to be by no means an accidental occurrence. The so-called *Prophecy of St. Columcille*, to which reference is made, is a long, ill-written, and quite recent prose tract which has been widely circulated and is firmly believed in the North of Ireland. It foretells a massacre of the Catholics by the English (or sometimes by the Orangemen) in the Valley of the Black Pig, and it contains such blood-curdling details as these: a "Black Bill" will be passed by the English Parliament and "will be privately communicated to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (said to be Lord Abercorn), who will call upon all the Protestant Clergy of Ireland to appear in Dublin and, under Seal of Secrecy, to sign the Bill." We are glad to find that there are five righteous men among them who refuse to sign so nefarious an act, the purport of which is thus described: "The purpose of the bill is to murder the Catholics, as far as the strength of the Protestant army can go over the kingdom; and that will be the parts of the Land called the Valley of the Black Pig, comprehended in the Province of Ulster, the Counties of Sligo and Leitrim in Connaught, north of the Shannon River, and the County of Longford and the North-Western corner of West-Meath and East-Meath, aided and assisted by ten thousand of the Scotch

mob commanded by one Campbell, of the Argyle family; will be the actors in the bloody deed" . . . "The massacre will begin, after the putting out of a false notice all over Ireland to lull the Catholics into security, at 11 o'clock, on a Sunday night," the squadrons of the enemy having put to sea on Friday. There will be a thick mist and fog, and on the day of the carnage it is to be as dark as night, "and will be so all over the Valley of the Black Pig, unto the end of the business, which will last and continue for four nights and three and a half days, *i.e.* from Sunday night at 11 o'clock to the next Thursday forenoon between 10-11 o'clock." Above three thousand souls will be saved in the dens and caves of two mountains in Donegal, but in no other parts of the province of Ulster or any of the places above mentioned. "But the only part of real safety will be the west part of the County of Galway and Mayo, near the shore of the West Sea." Elsewhere it is said that the massacre will last for eight weeks, and that 40,000 Catholics will be butchered in the Valley of the Black Pig.

It is comforting to find that all these fearful happenings were to take place "in the reign of the thirteenth King and Queen from the commencement of heresy in England" (*i.e.* in the reign of George IV, or William IV., the thirteenth sovereign of England as we include or exclude Henry VIII. himself), so that they may be peacefully looked upon as being in the past, not in the future. It is called the Battle of Saingail, and is connected with the downfall of England, which country is to be beaten by the Scotch, and whose downfall is announced in these highly poetic words:

"England, tho' greatest, do sudden die,  
And then do entirely ruined lie,"

and the prophecy adds: "The Saxons will flee beyond the Sea, and not remember to come back, according to Berchain the sage; in my book I found it." It is no doubt especially this cheery prognostication of England's

downfall that has prompted the revival of the legend at this moment.

The pamphlet is said to be "Compiled from original documents by an eminent Divine of the Catholic Church." It was printed anonymously and without date by G. P. Warren, Thomas St., Dublin. It is styled "Prophecies of St. Columcille of the Remarkable Events that will happen to England and Ireland before and after the war," no doubt the Napoleonic Wars, when such prophecies were rife in both countries. St. Columcille is brought well up to date by such notices as: "The Remains of a noble warrior, who was once Emperor of France, but died in Exile, in a small African Island (a Prisoner of the English) will be honorably removed to Paris and a monument raised to his memory by the people of France," or again, by the allusion to the crusade of Rev. Father Mathew against intemperance in the South of Ireland in 1838, or the mention, among other evil deeds of England, that "newspapers will be prevented to be given publicity," or that "men and lads that are fit to carry arms will be forced away, and the old men turned three times in their beds to see if they are fit to serve." With these cheering views as to the probable acts of their Orange or Saxon neighbours and the equally firm conviction of the Protestants that Catholic Ireland is eagerly awaiting a chance to fall upon them, it is little wonder that the two sections of the people do not "understand" one another.

Nicholas O'Kearney (*Prophecies of St. Columbkille*, 1856) tells us that the tradition of the massacre is nowhere so vivid or so firmly believed as in the Barony of Farney, Co. Monaghan. The children of Farney used to mark out for themselves the places in which they would take refuge on the night of the terrible massacre, and the belief that some parts of Connaught and above the Boyne were safe has given rise to the saying, "Better a peck of meal above Boyne, than a bushel of gold in Dundalk." At Roosky



in Leitrim, where the Pig's Dyke ran into the Shannon, an old man said to Mr. De Vismes Kane, apparently *à propos* of nothing, "If the Great War arose, we should have to cross the Shannon at once, before the bridge at Roosky would be broken down, or we would all be killed." Though these so-called *Prophecies of St. Columbkille* have "caused the breaking up of many a happy home in Ulster," there is, we need scarcely say, no sign whatever of them in the older poems which go under that title, so far at least as these have as yet been printed. So-called "Prophecies" are attached to the names of most of the Irish Saints, and Columcille comes in for the supposed authorship of the larger number of them. They are, however, late compositions of no merit or interest. When the story of the massacre was concocted later still, it was evidently considered that his name would add solemnity to the horrible idea.

But the tradition of the Black Pig is as ancient as anything we have in these islands, and it is specially connected with the great ditch known as the "Black Pig's Dyke" (*Gleann na muice duibhe*) or "Race" or "Rut," called also the "Worm Ditch" in some parts, which can be traced in fragments all across the north of Ireland from Bundoran on Donegal Bay, across Fermanagh, Cavan and Monaghan, turning north between Armagh and Down, and which probably formed the ancient southern and eastern boundary of Ulster. At its junction at the S.E. corner, where it turns due north, lay the great fort or rampart of the Dorsey, the main entrance into Ulster, or the "Gates of the North." The main drift of the legend is that of a magical pig that raged westward through Ireland, tearing up this deep furrow with its snout. Along its course we find such names as Moylemuck, "The Bald Hill of the Pig"; Tober-na-Mucky, "Well of the Pig"; Carrick-na-Muic, "The Pig's Rock," a great stone which has two marks made on it by the magical pig, etc. Near Roosky on the borders of Leitrim

and Longford, two large stones are shown as the place where the pig was killed. The people say that the French troops passed through this district in 1798, and followed the Valley of the Black Pig all the way to Ballinamuck, where they were defeated.<sup>1</sup> Rev. Canon Naylor, in identifying the course of the Black Pig's Valley at the Bundoran end, says, "The Moy (Magh), a plain near Belleek, is known traditionally as the Plain of the Black Pig,—here they say it was actually killed." Mr. Kane calculates that the total length of the earthworks, exclusive of river and lake connections, must have been about 130 miles.

Of the legends, ancient and modern, connected with the Dyke, the earliest seems to be that found in *The Tale of the Fate of the Children of Tuireann*, one of the three Sorrowful Tales of Erin, where Cian, Father of Lugh, changes himself into a Druidical pig and begins rooting up the earth to save himself from the three sons of Tuireann, who are bent on his destruction. Two of the sons of Tuireann, however, are struck with a Druidical wand, and become two slender fleet hounds, and they pursue the man-pig till he reaches a grove of trees, where the third brother flings a spear at him and kills him. The main portion of the story is taken up with the terrible "eric" laid upon the murderers by Lugh and the almost insurmountable difficulties they meet with in obeying his demands.<sup>2</sup>

Later versions vary the legend by making the ancient

<sup>1</sup> O'Donovan writes: "Ballinamuck, 'the mouth of the pig's ford.' What pig? The Black Pig who rooted up the Dane's Cast in Co. Armagh." The Dane's Cast is a portion of a second or inner rampart which passes through Scarva and Poyntz Pass. See W. F. De Vismes Kane's "Researches on the Black Pig's Dyke," in *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii. sec. C. No. 14; and vol. xxxiii. sec. C. No. 19. Also Miss M. E. Dobbs' paper on the same subject in *Sidelights on the Táin Age*, pp. 79-86.

<sup>2</sup> The tale has been published by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, 1901. Cian's grave, called Cnoc Cian mic Cainte, or in English, Killeen, was in existence up to a recent period, when an ignorant farmer tore it down. It was about 1½ miles north of Dundalk.

demi-god possessed of Druidical arts into a schoolmaster ; he was a magician of great power who used to turn his two pupils into animals for sport. In revenge the schoolmaster was changed by the mother of the boys, a red-haired woman, into a black pig. He fled across country, leaving a deep track behind him, until he reached the Shannon, where, at Roosky, he was overtaken and slain by the woman at Crook-na-muck (*Cnoc-na-muice*), "the hill of the pig." In a version of the story given by O'Donovan, the boys were changed into swine and were chased by O'Neill's dogs and ran, one towards Lough Neagh (the Dane's Cast) and another westward along the Dyke or Worm's Ditch, while a third crossed the Lake at Mucknoe, near Castleblayney. Near Drogheda and the Boyne, the story goes that it was a king of Tara who changed the schoolmaster into a black pig and chased him northwards, where he tore up the furrow. Most of the legends are associated with Meath and Tara. Elsewhere it is a demon who assumes the form of a black pig, and it is followed and killed by St. Patrick.<sup>1</sup>

Col. Wood-Martin has an interesting version of the story in his *Rude Stone Monuments of Sligo* (p. 230). He says that in the immediate neighbourhood of Scurmore is a tumulus styled "The Grave of the Black Pig." It gives its name to the townland of Mueduff ("Black Pig"). This tumulus or earth-covered cairn is about 126 feet in circumference, 8 feet in height, 39 feet in N. and S. and 35 feet in E. and W. diameter. The legends regarding it are as follows : Many years ago there was in the North of Ireland an enormous magical boar, which committed great devastations throughout the country. All the huntsmen of the kingdom assembled with the determination to pursue and kill the animal. This so much annoyed the boar, that,

<sup>1</sup> In addition to Mr. Kane's papers, see an article by Mr. L. Murray, in the *Louth Archaeological Journal*, i. No. 2, 1905, and N. O'Kearney's *Prophecies of St. Columbkille*, 1856 (Introduction).

finding the Province of Ulster uncomfortable, he made off ; but he was finally overtaken in Co. Sligo in the Valley of the Black Pig, near the townland now known as Mucduff. Here the beast turned at bay, but he was eventually slain and buried on the spot. His pursuers standing round and viewing the proportions of the dead boar with amazement, one of them incautiously stroked the skin the wrong way. One of the bristles pierced his hand, and being venomous, he fell down writhing in agony. He besought his companions to bring him a drink from a fount near by. None of them, however, could carry the magical water, which trickled through their fingers as they tried to convey it to the wounded man, and he died in agony. This is evidently a variant of the well-known story of the death of Diarmuid in the hunting of the Boar of Ben Gulban, where Finn refused the water that would have restored him to life. The boar was in this case also a human being transformed into a beast, and its life and that of Diarmuid were magically united so that the death of the one meant the death of the other. In one version Diarmuid's foot is pierced by a spine as he paces the skin of the slain boar backwards to measure its length. The same tradition prevails in the Scottish Highlands.<sup>1</sup> Though the traditions of Fionn Mac Cumhall (Finn MacCool) are more alive in the South of Ireland than in the North, it is remarkable that Ben Gulban (now Benbulbin), where the boar was slain, is also in Co. Sligo. It may therefore be a direct version of the original Black Pig story. A woman told the relater of the Sligo incident that a grave in Ulster similar in size and shape was also called Mucduff and the Grave of the Black Pig. It is not on the Ordnance Survey Map, but there are Upper and Lower Mucduff townlands in Co. Wicklow. In Sligo there are three townlands

<sup>1</sup>The story of *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne* was published by the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, 2 vols. 1881. Compare the tale of the *Death of Adonis*.

beginning with Muc, *i.e.* Mucduff, Muckelty, and Muck Island, and eighty-one others throughout Ireland. Names beginning with Muc, "a pig," or Torc, "a boar," are found in every part of the country, and an old name for Ireland is Muic-inis, or "hog-island," because it appeared to the early invaders to take the shape of a hog as they approached it.

The hunt of magical boars or swine is the theme of many tales. In the Battle of Magh Mucramha, or the "Plain of Swine-counting," magical pigs issued from the Cave of Cruachan in Roscommon. Nothing green would grow for seven years in any district where they passed. Nor could they be numbered, and when Meave and Ailill attempted to count them, they fled from the country and disappeared.<sup>1</sup> In the "Colloquy" we have the killing of the "Pig of Preservation," a huge boar with nine tusks slain by Caeilte and Donn, and distributed by Patrick to the men of Ireland to preserve them against their enemies. It is said to have been the last "prophylactic pig" in Ireland, and seems to have been a sacrificial beast. A former pig of the same kind is mentioned in the story as being the cause of the feud of Clan Morna with Clan Baeisne (*i.e.* of the Connaught clans with Leinster). Magical pigs were hunted by the hounds of Manannan Mac Lir, and there is a place called Muc-inis (Pig Island) in L. Conn, Co. Mayo, where magical pigs were slain by Mod. One of the most Irish of the old Welsh tales is the *Hunt of the Twrch Trwyth*, the terrible enchanted boar that had "laid waste the fifth part of Ireland."<sup>2</sup> Other similar hunts that occur to us are the Chase of the Boar of Ceis Choraind, of the red drove of swine by Nel on Magh Ai, and of the six red magic men- and women-swine of Drebrui, which were under the protection of Angus Mac ind Oc, and were chased

<sup>1</sup> *Silva Gadelica*, ed. Standish Hayes O'Grady, Trans. p. 353; *ibid.* pp. 158-160.

<sup>2</sup> Kilhwch and Olwen, on the "Twrch Trwyth," in the *Mabinogion*.



by Meave's hounds and killed in various parts of Connaught.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that nearly all these enchanted swine were transformed human beings; that they were connected with the earliest race of deified beings, Manannan, Lugh, Lir and Angus; and that they were usually slain in Connaught. We recall also the pigs of Manannan in the Irish Elysium, which could never be wholly consumed, and which preserved those who partook of them from decay or death;<sup>2</sup> the "Pig of Truth," which could not be cooked if any falsehood were uttered while it was in the pot; and the importance attached to the ceremonial division of the boar at a feast, as in the *Story of Mac Datho's Pig and Hound*.

In the late Celtic period the figure of a boar was used as a decoration, and small figures of the animal in bronze have been found in Ireland; one is preserved in the National Museum, Dublin.<sup>3</sup> It was represented on coins in every part of Gaul, as well as on those struck by the cognate races of Britain, Spain, Illyria, and Galatia.<sup>4</sup>

The connection between magic swine and prophecies is a very old one. In Welsh literature the ancient poems of the Avallenau or "Apple-tree poems" and their later imitations, the Hoianau, = *hoian* or *oian* "to listen," so called from the opening words of each stanza, preserve this idea. The latter poems are also called Porchellanau or "Piglings." Both are found in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, and both, among other predictions, foretell the downfall of the Saxon and the triumph of the Cymry. In the Avallenau such lines as these occur:

<sup>1</sup> "The Metrical Dindshenchas," ed. by Edward Gwynn, *Todd Lectures*, vol. x. part iii. pp. 438, 404, 150, 386.

<sup>2</sup> With this should be compared the "Pig of Preservation" mentioned above. It is probably a reminiscence of an earlier ceremonial or sacrificial boar.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Horae Ferales*, pl. xvi. p. 190, for boar on bronze shield found in the R. Withern.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. article by M. de la Saussaye, *Rev. Numismatique*, 1840, p. 91.



“Hear, O Little Pig, there will come on Thursday  
Joy to the Cymry of mighty battles.

· · · · ·  
On the Saxons there will be a slaughter of ashen spears,  
And their heads will be used as balls to play with.”

(*Stanza I.*)

“Sweet apple-tree of delicate blossoms  
Which grows in the soil amid the trees,  
The Sibyl foretells a tale that will come to pass—

· · · · ·  
Before the child (Cadwaladyr) bold as the sun in his courses,  
Saxons shall be eradicated and bards shall flourish.”

(*Stanza VIII.*)

or in the Hoianau :

“Listen, O Little Pig ! utter not a whisper  
When the host of war marches from Caermarthen.

· · · · ·  
When the Saxons shall be slain in the conflict of Cymmerau  
Blessed will be the lot of Cymry, the people of Cymrwy.”<sup>1</sup>

It is no doubt on these ancient poems, and others like them, that the later idea of prophecies connected with the Black Pig is founded.

ELEANOR HULL.

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 370 ; ii. 18 ; and i. 482 ; ii. 21 ; and Stephen's *Lit. of the Cymry*, p. 236.

## COLLECTANEA.

---

### THE KILLING OF THE KHAZAR KINGS.

(*Folk-Lore*, xxviii. 382 *et seqq.*)

*The killing of the Old Men in the Serbian popular tradition.*

IN *Nova Tskza* (New Spark) of 1898 Mr. S. Trojanovitch, Director of the Serbian Ethnographical Museum in Belgrad, has published an article with the title "Lapot," in which he collected many examples of Serbian popular tradition, and several references to the old Serbian custom of killing off the old men, when they were incapable of moving or when they became a burden on their families. This custom was called by the Serbian people *Lapot*.

I have not at hand Mr. Trojanovitch's article, but I remember that his explanation of this custom was from the economical point of view, *i.e.* the old men could not work, they must be waited upon by the others, they caused trouble, they did not deserve to live, therefore they must die. Further, I remember that the killing of the old men was a solemn affair. The killing was announced in neighbouring villages. "In this and this village, in this and this house, there will be a *Lapot*, the people are invited to come to the wake." In the house in which the old man was to be killed, everybody wore their best clothes, and so did the old man too. What was very important is the old man was not reluctant to die; on the contrary, he was ready to submit himself to the old custom.

In the next year (1899) I began to publish "Kazadžić," the first Serbian folk-lore review, and in September and October Nos. of this review I published the folk-tale, "How the killing

of the old men was stopped," which was sent to me by Mr. I. L. Szećković from Paraćin, a town on the river Morava. The tale runs :

" In old times it was the habit to kill old men when they had passed fifty years. A man who was nearing his fiftieth year had a good son, who was very sorry for his father and hid him in a wine vat, in which he cared for him secretly. Once he bet with some of his neighbours who should see the first rising of the sun in the morning. The merciful son told his father of his bet and his father said to him : ' Be careful, and when you are at the place to see the rising of the sun take the precaution not to look to the east as the others will do, but look instead to the west at the highest point of the mountains and you will see first the rays of sun on the heights of the mountains and you will win the bet.' The son did as his father had advised him, and so saw first the rising of the sun. When the neighbours asked him who had advised him what to do, he said it was his father, whom he must hide and protect from a forced death. The people were astonished at such clever advice and concluded that the old men are clever and that they do not deserve to be killed but respected (" Kazadžić " Nos. Sept.-October 1899, p. 209).

In " Kazadžić " in Nos. of June and July 1900 I published another popular tradition of the killing of the old men, which was sent to me by Mr. P. Variljević from the village of Krepoljin in Eastern Serbia, in the district of Omolje. The tradition runs :

" On the right bank of the river Mlava, near the village of Krepoljin, is situated a very high hill, *Gradatr* (Fort) by name, on which one can see the ruins of an old disabled and deserted fort. The popular tradition says that it was once a Roman or Latin fort. The Romans who occupied this fort were very bellicose people. Their leader ordered all the holders of the fort up to forty years of age to be active fighters, from forty to fifty to be guards of the fort, and after fifty to be killed, because they have no military value. Since that period the old men were killed.

" An old man who was nearing his fiftieth year had a grandson who was very fond of him. On the eve of the day on which the old man was ordered to be killed the enemy attacked the

fort. The grandson used this opportunity and forced his grandfather to fly. The old man fled and hid himself in a cave which was in the neighbourhood. After the enemy were dispersed, and when the people looked for the old man, they could not find him.

“Some time after the leader commanded them to be ready to go to war in a distant land. At the moment when the army was prepared to start, the grandfather appeared secretly to his grandson and said to him: ‘For this long way ride a mare which has a colt, and when you come to an unknown land, kill the colt, and then go farther. God protect you! farewell!’

“The grandson obeyed the orders of his grandfather, rode a mare with a colt and went with the leader and his army to the war. They went for three days and then they came to a river, on the opposite side of which was a dense forest. The young man looked on all sides and was sure that he was in a perfectly unknown land. Then he secretly killed the colt. Crossing the river the army marched through the forest. After six days of travelling they came to a vast plain, where they found the enemy waiting for them. The fight was very severe, and at the end the leader and his army were defeated and forced to flee. The vanquished army did not know the way, but the mare of the young man went in the direction where her colt was lost and so led them to the river, from which they knew the way to their own country.<sup>1</sup> Everybody was astonished,

<sup>1</sup>The Serbs have a tale which bears out the story of the mares and the colts and which runs: “There was an emperor who came with his army to the end of the world, where begins the dark country in which was absolute darkness. He wished to proceed into it, but he did not know how he could return. At length he came to the conclusion that he would leave the colts behind and go farther into the darkness and trust to the mares to get them out again. When they proceeded into the dark country, they heard under the feet of their horses something making a noise like the crunching of small stones. They could not see what it was, but they heard a human voice which told them, ‘Who takes some of these stones will repent, he who does not take will repent too.’ Some of them thought, ‘When I repent I will not take some’; the others thought, ‘When I repent I shall take some.’ When the mares took them back into the light they saw that the small stones were diamonds, and then they who had not taken repented because they had not taken, and they who had taken repented because they had not taken more” (Vuk S. Kazadžić, *Lexicon Serbico-germano-latinum*, s.v. *Tama* (Darkness)).

and the leader asked the young man who taught him to act so, and he, after some hesitation, told him that it was his grandfather. When they came home the leader invited the old man, recognised his cleverness and ordered that further on the old men should not be killed, but respected, because they knew much more than the young men ('Kazadžić' 1900, Nos. June and July, pp. 129-130)."

It seems to me that both the illustrations I have given of the Serbian tradition are in concord with Sir James Frazer's theory regarding the killing of the divine King.

In large Serbian families (*zadruga*) the heads of them (*domaćin*) have even to-day very great power and authority. In the inner affairs of the family they are the masters of all property. They keep all money, they buy and sell, they distribute all work among the members of the family, they punish disobedience and reward the good and industrious. In foreign affairs they are the representatives of their families in all questions. Although to-day they consult the older and cleverer members of the family in all important questions, their will is supreme. Only what they arrange is of value, and what the other members of family arrange has neither value nor importance. Their power is for all their life. Only in case of their grave illness or their obvious incapability another of the family may be elected to the head.<sup>1</sup>

In old times the power of the *domaćin* was unlimited. He was not only owner of all property of the family, but even the master of the fortune and life of every member of it. His power and high authority were regarded as divine and nobody dared to oppose them. Even to-day we hear among the people the proverb "God is the oldest, and then is the *domaćin*" (*Stariji Bog, pa domaćin*). In the domestic religious services he performed the part of a domestic priest. The veneration of the *domaćin* did not cease even after his death. According to the idea of Serbian scholars the common Serbian custom *slava* (the literal meaning of this word is "celebration," but it also

<sup>1</sup>To give an idea of to-day's authority of the *domaćin* (head), I include here the Serbian story, "Au Puits," by L. Lararevitch (*La Patrie Serbe*, 1917, No. 8, pp. 350-361).

has the meaning of "renown" or "glory") is nothing more than a relic of the old pagan ancestor worship, which with the transition to the Christian faith was transformed into the worship of some Christian Saints (most frequently St. Nikolas, St. Michael Archangel, St. Georg, St. Demetrius, or St. John).

Perhaps the tradition of the killing of the old man by the Serbs "as soon as he shows signs of ill-health or failing strength, springs directly from their profound veneration for him and from the anxiety to preserve him or rather the divine spirit by which he is animated in the most perfect state of efficiency," or "that their practice of killing old men is the best proof they can give of the high regard in which they hold him."<sup>1</sup>

Be that as it may, I think it is not without interest to record the Serbian popular tradition about this old custom.

Besides these examples, I have in 1900 taken notice of the following :

Tasa Alić, an old man, born in the village of Dobrujevatz, near Aleksinatz, who at that time was more than 70 years old, told me that he heard when he was a child that in the old times the men lived very long, and when they became a burden on the family they were taken into the forest and there killed.

Iovan Cakic, born in the village of Bzra, near Leskovatz, who was more than 60 years old, told me that he heard in his childhood that in the old times when a man became old he was killed, but he did not believe it.

In 1905 I was in East Serbia. On the 29th of June (o.s.) I was on the way between the villages of Kaona and Ranovatz. I asked an old Roumanian peasant woman if she had ever heard that it was once the custom to kill the old men. She answered me that in old times the men died and after forty days they arose again and lived a very long time, and became so old that they could not move and were a great trouble to the family. In order to deliver them, the family made cake of maize, put it on the head of the old man and struck with an axe till the old man was killed. They did so, as it would seem, to make out that the bread had killed him. But from the time when St. Lazar came to life again, men when once dead do not

<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Bough*, part iii. p. 27.



rise again and the custom was stopped. [Szpski Križevni Glasnik (*Serbian Literary Review*) vol. xvi., 1906, 774.]

In East Serbia the people say for a very old man: "He is prepared for the axe," or "He is ready for the axe," which means "He is not for this world," but this is only fun.

#### *Funeral Games.*

Concerning the funeral games of the Serbian people I know very little. In the Middle Ages there were many public games in Serbian Lands.<sup>1</sup> Near many old Serbian cities there are now places with the names which are derived from the games: in Belgrad, *Tzkalište* (from *tzčati*=to run) *i.e.* foot-race, horse-race; near the old Serbian city of Ravno in East Serbia (now in ruins) is the village *Potskanje* which means the same as *Tzkalište*; near the old Serbian city of Bovan, between Aleksinatz and Soko Banja (now in ruins too) is a small plain which bears the name *Tikanje* with the same meaning and so on. But whether these names are in any relation with the public funeral games I do not know. But in Serbian popular tradition I have found some traces of them, viz., in a Serbian popular song.

One song has the title "*Ženidba Milic Barjaktara*" (The marriage of Milić the Ensign-bearer) in the "Collection of Serbian popular songs," collected nearly a hundred years ago by Vuk S. Kazadžić (vol. iii.). The song runs:

"Milić Ensign-bearer collected the wedding party from all Bosnia and Herzegovina and went to Zagorje on the Adriatic coast to celebrate his betrothal to the beautiful Lepasava, the daughter of Vid Maričić. Lepasava was so beautiful that when Milić saw her, he asked her mother: 'From where did you get your beautiful daughter, did you make her of gold, did you shape her of silver, did you rob her from the sun, or did you bear her?' Then her mother began to cry and said to him: 'I have neither made her of gold, nor have I shaped her of silver, nor have I stolen her from the sun, but I bore her. I had eight such girls and all eight I have betrothed, but none of them lived to reach

<sup>1</sup>C. Fizeček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbian*, iii. Teil, pp. 55-59.

the house of her intended husband, because they are of a bewitched family.' Afterwards Milić went with his betrothed to his house. When they came to the middle of the mountains beautiful Leposava died. He buried her there and went on to the house. But when he arrived he died too. When the wedding-guests saw him dead "they reversed their lances and danced the usual dance in reverse order singing a mournful dirge."

Nearly the same verses we find in two or three other songs to describe great sorrow.

#### *The Stars.*

The Serbian peasants think that "every human being has his own star in the sky, which is bright till he dies, and when he dies the star turns dark."<sup>1</sup>

"When the star falls from the sky the people who see it ought not to speak about it, because a slave to whom this star belonged has escaped from prison. When somebody says: 'I have seen the fall of the star,' 'the slave will be taken.'"<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Game of Troy.*

On page 77 of "The Golden Bough" (Part iii.) Sir James Frazer mentioned some names of the games in North Europe "which clearly indicate their connexion with the ancient Game of Troy."

The Serbs have two popular dances which may indicate the connexion with the Game of Troy (in Serbian *Troja*). These dances are *Trojanka*<sup>3</sup> and *Trojanac*. The signification of the word *Trojanka* is "a lady or a woman from Troja," or "Trojan woman," and of the word *Trojanac* "a man from Troja," a "Trojan."

Though there are many Serbian dances which are derived from the names of the places or from the names of the countries (*Nisevljanka* from Niš, *Vranjanka* from Vranje, *Bitoljka* from

<sup>1</sup> M. Dj. Milićević, "The Life of the Serbian Peasants" in *The Ethnographical Collection of Serbian Royal Academy*, vol. i. Belgrad, 1894, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> M. Dj. Milićević, *The Principality of Serbia*, Belgrad, 1878, pp. 572 and 636.

Bitolj (*Bitolj* = *Monastery* in Macedonia), *Sarajevka* from Sarajevo (in Bosnia), *Makedonka* from Makedonija (Macedonia), *Bosanka* from Bosna (Bosnia), *Sremčica* from Srem (Sirmium), *Vlahinja* from Vlaška (Rumania), and so on, I thought some years ago that it might be that the names *Trojanka* and *Trojanac* are derived from *tri* (three) upon the rhythm of these dances.<sup>1</sup> I am not sure if my theory is correct or not, because I do not understand music; it is merely a supposition.

It may be possible that the names are in connexion with *Trojan* (Roman Emperor), who is very popular in Serbian tradition.<sup>2</sup>

Be that as it may, I send some musical records of *Trojanac*.

## TROJANAC.

NOTICED IN WEST SERBIA BY V. R. GEORGEVITCH.

## I.

TROJANAU (obako sam pa ja zademamio u Godgiri).

The image shows four staves of musical notation for the dance 'Trojanac'. Each staff is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The first staff has a 4-measure phrase with trills and a 3-measure phrase. The second staff has a 4-measure phrase with trills and a 3-measure phrase. The third staff has a 4-measure phrase with trills and a 3-measure phrase. The fourth staff has a 4-measure phrase with trills and a 3-measure phrase.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ethnographical Collection of the Serbian Royal Academy*, vol. ix. Belgrad, 1907, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See C. Fizeček, *Geschichte der Serben*, i. Gotha, 1911, pp. 57-58.

## II.

TROJANAU (kori sam vysyg ja zادهpamio u Godgiri).

Musical score for 'TROJANAU' in G major, 2/4 time. The score consists of three staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. It contains three measures of music with wavy lines above the notes, followed by three measures of eighth-note patterns labeled 1, 2, and 3. The second staff continues with similar notation, including wavy lines and eighth-note patterns labeled 1, 2, and 3. The third staff also follows this pattern, with eighth-note patterns labeled 1, 2, and 3. Dashed boxes group the eighth-note patterns in each staff.

## TROJANAC.

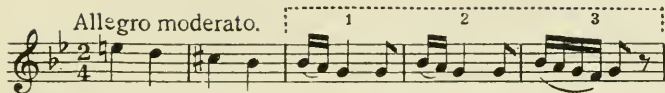
NOTICED BY B. FOKSIMOVITCH.

## I.

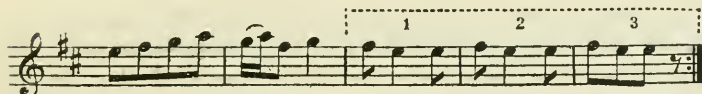
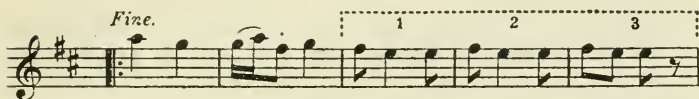
Musical score for 'TROJANAC' in G major, 2/4 time, marked 'Allegro.' The score consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. It contains three measures of music with wavy lines above the notes, followed by two measures of eighth-note patterns labeled 1. The second staff continues with eighth-note patterns labeled 2 and 3, followed by a double bar line and two measures of eighth-note patterns with wavy lines. The third staff contains eighth-note patterns labeled 1, 2, and 3, followed by a double bar line and two measures of eighth-note patterns with wavy lines. The fourth staff contains eighth-note patterns labeled 1, 2, and 3, followed by a double bar line and two measures of eighth-note patterns with wavy lines. Dashed boxes group the eighth-note patterns in each staff.

II.

Allegro moderato.



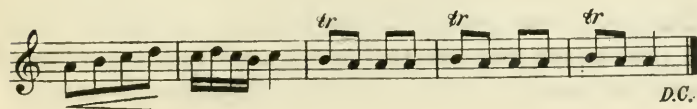
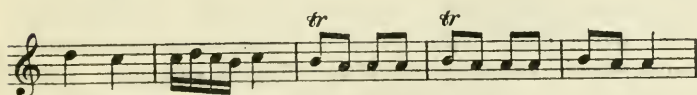
*Fine.*



TROJANAC.

NOTICED BY K. MANOJLOVITCH.

TROJANAU.



D.C.

## REVIEWS.

---

### THE POLISH PEASANT THROUGH AMERICAN EYES.

THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA. Monograph of an Immigrant Group. By WILLIAM I. THOMAS and FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. 5 vols. The University of Chicago Press. 1918.

THE announcement of this work, promising a valuable addition to the ethnography and folklore of the European peasant, was welcomed by all who knew the scarcity of such data in the English language. For we must remember that it is not for the lack of written materials regarding Eastern Europe that they are not used in scientific speculation in the west. But it is easier to quote ethnological examples from Australia and Africa, which are to be found in the English language, than from any part of Europe outside France or Germany.

Polish literature stands amongst the richest in monographs on Customs and Traditions, but owing to these detailed studies there seems to be a lack of synthetical books summarising these researches. Hence the difficulty of advising the translation of a particular book on Polish folklore. Nevertheless it is easy to furnish the requisite references to anyone proposing to write a synthetic book. The authors of this work, therefore, were in the particularly happy position of having no predecessors or competitors, either in the Polish or English language. Again, the subject they have chosen is satisfactory in this sense, that, of all the Slavs, the Polish peasant is most free of either Turko-Mongol or West European admixture. It is obvious from his customs and traditions that he has never been under Tartar rule, and though for the last century Poland has been under



Russo-German domination, of all the social groups it is the peasantry which foreign influence has affected the least. It can be partly accounted for by the peasants' conservative devotion to old religious and national traditions, but still more by their fanatical attachment to the land.

With the industrial development of Poland many peasants, tempted by higher wages, migrated to the towns and thus broke their direct contact with the land—yet it failed to affect to any great extent their religious and national outlook. But the changes in their individual and social life, due to emigration abroad, are far deeper. Hence a comparative study of the peasant at home and abroad is interesting as a means of observing the influence of change of environment. Here it must be remembered, however, that only the first generation of emigrants can be studied for this purpose, and also it must be taken into account that with the exception of political exiles it is usually one type—and that a highly commercialised one—which emigrated. When dealing with the emigration to the United States particularly (for the Polish peasant emigrates also to Germany, France, Siberia and Brazil) it is most interesting to watch the contact between the least educated members of a nation, conscious of its ancient traditions, and members of the American nation, advanced in culture among all classes but whose traditions are now in the making. Naturally mutual understanding can only arise with the loss of the Polish peasant's original character.

The joint authors of the volumes under consideration have realised the immensity of the subject since on the very first page they say: "The present study was not, in fact, undertaken exclusively or even primarily as an expression of interest in the Polish peasant . . . but the Polish peasant was selected rather as a convenient object."

In the same preface, p. 8, the authors give us the contents of the five volumes, which they call "largely documentary in their character."

"Volumes I. and II. comprise a study of the organisation of the peasant primary groups (family and community), and of the partial evolution of this system of organisation under the

influence of the new industrial system and of immigration to America and Germany. Vol. III. is the autobiography (with critical treatment) of an immigrant of peasant origin but belonging by occupation to the lower city class, and illustrates the tendency to disorganisation of the individual under the conditions involved in a rapid transition from one type of social organisation to another. Volume IV. treats the dissolution of the primary group and the social and political reorganisation and unification of peasant communities in Poland on the new ground of rational co-operation. Vol. V. is based on studies of the Polish immigrant in America, and shows the degrees and forms of disorganisation associated with a too rapid and inadequately mediated individualisation, with a sketch of the beginnings of reorganisation."

It is regrettable, after such an introduction, the volumes themselves do not justify the great expectation aroused by the high standard of other American works on immigrants, to mention Professor Boas's eminent researches alone. Thus, although in their programme the authors propose to deal with the Polish immigrant in Vol. V., as a matter of fact he forms the subject of all the volumes without a necessary preliminary sketch of his life in Poland.

If an attempt of this sort is made in the Introduction (pp. 87-303), it is as vague and inadequate as may be expected from an American who lacks both access to the necessary printed materials and personal contact with the peasant in Poland—apart from the fact that it is more difficult for an American to study a Polish peasant than for a member of a nation possessing its own peasantry. Hence our disappointment can be ascribed to the Polish collaborator, whose name is well known in a different sphere of research, but who in this instance has neglected such important sources as the series of *Wisła* (Vistula), an ethnographic periodical which we venture to suggest will give him much more suitable information than the paper *Gazeta Świąteczna* (Warsaw), to which he acknowledges his indebtedness.

If the reader who approaches this work hopes to learn from it where in the old and new world Polish peasants live, how

many there are, how much land they own, what is the history of their class and their relations with Poland as a whole, what is the difference between Polish and other European peasants and what hopes they raise for the future,—he will not find it in any of these five volumes.

He will find very little of what can be called social anthropology, *i.e.* the structure of their society and the chief events —“rites de passage”—of their life, and perhaps a little more about the “church” and “folklore” religious beliefs. All these most interesting details are scattered here and there in the first 200 pages of the Introduction, which contains a valuable collection of facts, whilst about 800 pages of the first two volumes are occupied by letters between the peasants who emigrated to America and their kin at home. Possibly three or four of such documents would not be out of place, but to give so much space to monotonous and far from reliable data (the Polish peasant seldom creates his letters, but brings such information as he wishes to convey into the conventional scheme of letter-writing) proves that the authors were unaware of more valuable sources of information. Yet whether we call the work ethnological, or sociological, or place it under the head of folklore, we might have expected to have at least some of the most important social or religious ceremonies described in full with all their crude and symbolic details, instead of being given them *à discretion* of the authors.

However interesting Messrs. Thomas and Znaniiecki's personal methodological note may be (pp. 1-86), it obscures in its erudition the methods of thought and habit of the Polish peasant, to whom after all these five beautifully printed volumes profess to be devoted.

M. A. CZAPLICKA.

## OBITUARY.

---

### PAUL SÉBILLOT.

IN the death, on the 23rd April last, of M. Paul Sébillot, the founder, and for many years the secretary of the Société des Traditions Populaires, and editor of the *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, our French colleagues and the scientific world have suffered a severe, if not irreparable, loss. He was born at Matignon, Côtes du Nord, in 1843, of an old *bourgeoise* family. His father and forefathers for several generations had been medical practitioners. Dinan and Rennes were the scenes of his early education; and he was destined for the practice of the law. But his tastes were artistic rather than juridical, and it was on this side of his nature that he was first attracted to the study of folklore. To an intensely patriotic Breton like himself his native scenes and the stories, songs and sayings current among the people, were his inspiration, though he probably owed not a little also to those distinguished Bretons who, more than half a century ago, had begun to study the literature of Brittany and other Celtic countries, and whose studies led naturally on to that of popular traditions everywhere and in all forms. Of that band of pioneers I think only the venerable M. Henri Gaidoz still survives.

M. Sébillot is probably most widely known by his collections of Breton folktales obtained at first-hand from the peasantry of Upper (*i.e.* French-speaking) Brittany. But unsurpassed in charm as these tales are, they are by no means his only, perhaps not his most important, contributions to traditional science. He was an unwearied and methodical worker. Indeed,

none but such a student could have accomplished his voluminous labours, which have laid his fellow-students under a debt they can never adequately repay to his memory. His longest work, that remarkable digest, *Le Folklore de France*, in four volumes, is indispensable to every one who desires information on its subject. Scarcely less important (though occupying a smaller space) are two later books—*Le Paganisme Contemporain chez les Peuples Celto-Latins*, and *Le Folk-lore, Littérature orale et Ethnographie traditionnelle*. In these three books he gathered up the scientific results of his life's labours.

M. Sébillot also published two volumes of verse inspired by his native Brittany: *La Bretagne enchantée* and *La Mer fleurie*. He had a reputation as a painter, which his devotion to folklore alone prevented him from developing; and specimens of his art are preserved and prized in the public galleries of Brittany. He was vice-president and president of the Société d'Anthropologie, taking for many years an important part in its affairs. His gaiety of disposition made him widely loved, and adds poignancy to the regrets of his relatives and of his friends, whether in France or elsewhere. He was married to a sister of M. Yves Guiot, the French publicist, well known and widely honoured in this country as well as in his native land. His son, Paul Yves Sébillot, inherits his artistic, literary and traditional tastes, and has already made his mark in at least one delightful volume.

M. Sébillot's health had been failing for some time, but his intellectual activity and interests were unimpaired; nor was his end expected so soon by those who were about him. He died, we are told, before his hour, broken by the effect of the moral energy that strains everyone of us in these days when our hopes of a free and peaceful Europe have been so rudely threatened. His labours, however, were accomplished—labours such as few men have the capacity and the opportunity to perform. His memory will be held in reverence by his English as by his French colleagues, and wherever the study of tradition penetrates in the years to come.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

---

### WOMEN FERTILIZED BY STONES.

WITH reference to my paper "Jacob and the Mandrakes," published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Mr. W. Mackenzie, Procurator Fiscal of Cromarty, writes me from Dingwall (10th September, 1917) as follows: "We are not without some traces and traditions of phallic worship here. There is a stone in the Brahan Wood which is said to be a 'knocking stone.' Barren women sat in close contact upon it for the purpose of becoming fertile. It serves the purpose of the mandrake in the East. I have seen the stone. It lies in the Brahan Wood about three miles from Dingwall."

J. G. FRAZER.

---

### NATURE MYTHS FROM SAMOA.

*Folk-Lore*, xxvi. 172; xxviii. 94.

REV. E. E. V. COLLOCOTT, who forwarded the second collection of these tales through Rev. E. Brown, writes that they were collected in Tonga by the late Dr. J. E. Moulton.

---

### ERRATUM.

Vol. xxix. p. 144, line 7, after "these are" insert "not."



# Folk-Lore.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.

---

---

Vol. XXIX.]

DECEMBER, 1918.

[No. IV.

---

---

## THE ROSARY IN MAGIC AND RELIGION.

BY WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN.

*(Read before the Society, November 20th, 1918.)*

I HAVE been recently engaged at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, in labelling, cataloguing and arranging a collection of rosaries, a large part of which formed the Tylor collection, presented to the Pitt-Rivers Museum by Sir Edward Tylor shortly before his death. This very interesting piece of work was entrusted to me by the Curator, Mr. Henry Balfour, and I desire to take this opportunity of thanking him, not only for giving me the chance of doing such an instructive and fascinating piece of work, but also for much kindly help and guidance in many ways, amongst others, for reading through the whole of the MS. of my article on Rosaries which I have written for Dr. James Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The paper which I have the honour of reading to this Society and my article for the above-mentioned encyclopædia are based on the collection of rosaries at the Pitt-Rivers Museum.

I also wish to express my grateful thanks to Dr. W. Crooke for invaluable help in dealing with the rosaries of India, on which he is so great an authority. A large number of the rosaries included in the Pitt-Rivers Museum were presented by him some years ago.

My thanks are also due to the Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., who has been most kind in checking all my work on Christian rosaries. He moreover supplied me with a number of references in literature, and, what is of greater value still, has given me several of his own learned papers on the subject. I am also indebted to him for the loan of a number of the slides which I propose to show you.

To Dr. Gaster I would express my gratitude for much kindly encouragement in my work and for invaluable help and criticism.

The Rosary is designed as an aid to the memory, and, when used in religious exercises, provides a convenient method for counting the recitation of prayers, or the repetition of the names and attributes of the Deity. It generally consists of a string of knots or beads.

The use of such an instrument is very widely spread, but its earliest home seems to be in Asia, where it can lay claim to a fairly venerable antiquity.

Time will not permit me to discuss at any length the possible origins of the rosary, and indeed I can do no more than put forward suggestions, it being out of the question at this stage to interpret facts with any certainty.

The use of knots as mnemonic signs is almost universal, and such a simple device may have been invented again and again; its appearance in many countries does not necessarily prove that it was invented in one locality and transmitted thence to other centres.

In the *quipu* of ancient Peru is seen perhaps the highest development of a system of knots as a means of aiding the memory and for keeping records. It was a system of

knot-writing, each knot having a separate meaning, the different coloured cords also having each its own significance.<sup>1</sup> In China in the times of Yung-ching-che, it is stated that the people used little cords marked by different knots, which, by their numbers and distances, served them instead of writing.<sup>2</sup> In the rosary used by the Shin Gon sect of Buddhists in Japan there is a knot formed by the union of two strings which hang from the main string of beads, and it is said to resemble an ancient Chinese character which means "man," being one of a combination of characters used in representing one of the many attributes of Buddha.<sup>3</sup>

The use of knots as mnemonic signs for purely secular purposes still persists in many countries. In this country it is a common practice to tie a knot in a handkerchief as an aid to memory. The same custom is found in India, the knot being usually tied in the strings of the *paejamas* (drawers).<sup>4</sup> Such customs are apt to disappear with the advance of culture and the introduction of less cumbrous methods, being retained only for religious purposes. Such a survival of the use of knots for keeping records is seen in some rosaries at the present day in the Greek Orthodox Church, in Egypt, and in India. It will be noted that these rosaries made of knots are highly ceremonial. I shall speak of them later on when dealing with the different religions.

I should like to draw the attention of the Society to an article written by Dr. Gaster in *Folklore*, vol. xxv., June 30th, 1914, pp. 254-258, where he suggests that knots provide us with the origin of the rosary beads. I hope to

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind* (London, 1865), pp. 154-158. See also Marquis de Nadaillac, *Pre-Historic America*, pp. 456-458; fig. 202.

<sup>2</sup> A. Y. Goquet, *Origine des lois, des arts et des sciences* (Paris, 1758), vol. i. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, ix. (1881), 177.

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Temple, *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. (1885), 571.

be able to bring forward evidence which certainly seems to corroborate his theory.

Dr. Crooke considers that "the belief in the efficacy of beads is at the basis of the use of rosaries," the value being attached to the *material* rather than the form.<sup>1</sup>

Notched sticks are also of universal use for record-keeping, such as the tally-sticks which were utilised in England and Ireland almost up to the present day. In Ireland in quite recent times such sticks have been employed to record the number of prayers uttered, and the suppliant would leave such a stick as a votive offering at some sacred well. Mr. Henry Balfour has called these sticks "votive rosaries."

*Age of the Rosary.* The oldest reference to rosaries, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is to be found in the literature of India. In the Jaina Canon, composed, I believe, two or three centuries B.C., they are referred to as forming one of the appliances of Brahmanical monks.

References in later literature occur in Brahmanical works only.<sup>2</sup> The following passage from the Buddhist "Forty-two Points of Doctrine," art. 10, alludes to the rosary: "The man who, in the practice of virtue, applies himself to the extirpation of all his vices is like one who is rolling between his fingers the beads of the chaplet. If he continues taking hold of them one by one, he arrives speedily at the end. By extirpating his bad inclinations one by one, a man arrives at perfection."<sup>3</sup>

*Distribution.* The rosary is found to be in use among Hindus, Buddhists, Muhammadans and Christians. It also has a use among some Jews.

*Hindu Rosaries.* It is generally considered that the Hindus were the first to evolve the rosary. The Sanskrit name for it is *japa-mālā*, "muttering chaplet"; sometimes it is called *smarani*, "remembrancer," because by

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore of Northern India*, vol. ii. p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Leumann, "Rosaries mentioned in Indian Literature," *Oriental Congress Rep.*, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Dr. Zerfū, *Journ. Soc. of Arts*, 1873, p. 469.

means of its beads a certain number of prayers, or mantras, may be counted. The operation of thus counting is resorted to by Ascetics to promote contemplation and mental abstraction.

The rosary differs according to the sect to which it belongs, and the number of the beads also varies. Devotees of Siva are supposed to use a rosary of thirty-two beads, or that number doubled; on the other hand, worshippers of Vishnu are said to use one with 108 beads. This rule does not seem to be very strict, as the number 108 is also sometimes found on Saivite rosaries; and indeed the beads may run into several hundred irrespective of the sect. To each rosary there are generally one or more terminal beads which are not usually counted in with those on the main string.

*Materials.* The materials of which the beads are made play a very important part in Hindu rosaries; they also are of great variety, each having a specific purpose.

A favourite bead of the worshippers of Siva is that known as *Rudraksha* ("eye of the god Rudra or Siva"). These seeds, according to a Siva legend, are said to be the tears of Rudra (or Siva), which he let fall in a rage (some say in grief, some in ecstasy), and became crystallised into this form. In the Punjab importance is attached to the number of facets on the seeds. These slits, which run from end to end of each seed, are called "mouths" (*munh*). A one-mouthed rudraksha affords a very valuable amulet, and, if the owner cannot be induced to part with it, it must be stolen from him and thereafter encased in gold and carefully preserved as a family relic. Such beads can only be obtained from the most accomplished Jogis, and the would-be owner of such a treasure must be prepared to pay any price that is demanded of him. *Rudraksha* seeds with eleven facets are worn by celibate Jogis, while the married ones wear those with two; the five-faceted seeds being sacred to the monkey god, Hanumān.<sup>1</sup> The five

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 408.



facets are also sometimes thought to stand for the five faces, or the five distinct aspects of Siva.<sup>1</sup> The worshippers of Vishnu favour smooth beads, especially those made of the *tulasi*, or holy basil (*Ocimum Sanctum*). The Saktas use no beads but count to 100 on the three joints of each finger on the right hand, each ten being marked off on the joint of one of the fingers on the left hand. When they have gone through 100 recitations in this way, they place that number of millet grains before them. This is repeated till the required number is reached. The Atithis of Bengal break up their rosaries into separate parts which serve them as ornaments also. They wear a string of beads from the elbow, a wristlet with five beads, while hanging from each ear is a pendant of three beads.<sup>2</sup> Among the Jains the laity generally use the rosary when repeating the *navakar mantra*, to which great sanctity is attached. The materials vary according to the use to which they are put, and the wealth of the owner. The poor Jains generally have to be content with rosaries made of cotton thread and sandal-wood; their richer co-religionists using beads of red coral, crystal, cornelian, emerald, pearl, silver and gold. In this sect there are two special uses of the rosary when rosaries of five different colours are used, viz., red, yellow, green, white and black. They are used on some occasions for the repetition of certain mystical formulae and incantations to appease and propitiate certain deities on special occasions. They are also used for the repetition of mystical formulae, charms, spells, and incantations, with a view to obtaining certain benefits from the deities. They may, moreover, be used for harmful purposes—to injure hostile or obnoxious people, or to disable them, to make them ill, to kill them, to subdue them, to obtain their affections, to make them inert or to summon them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. (1893), 84.



Among devotees the size of the rosary beads is very important ; the larger they are the more effective is the rosary, and the greater the merit attained by the user of it.<sup>1</sup>

The rosary plays an important part in the initiation ceremony, when children are admitted to the religion of Vishnu at the age of six or seven years. The rosary used on this occasion generally has beads made of *tulasi* wood. It is passed round the neck of the candidates by the priest (*Guru*), who teaches them one of the sacred formulae, such as "Homage to the divine son of Vasudeva," "Homage to the adorable Rama," or "Adorable Krishna is my refuge."<sup>2</sup>

A high-caste Brahman is careful to conceal his hand in a bag when telling his beads, so that he may not "be seen of men." This bag is called "cow's mouth," *gaumukhi*. It is often beautifully embroidered and is of a particular shape.

In the monasteries a novice is instructed to be very careful not to lose his beads ; should he do so, he is allowed no food or drink till he has recovered them, or, failing this, till the Superior has invested him with another rosary.

Further special uses for the different kinds of beads are as follows : "If a rosary be used in honour of a goddess the beads should be of coral (*prával*) ; if in honour of Nirgun Brahma, they should be of pearl (*mukta-mala*) ; if with the object of obtaining the fulfilment of wishes (*ivásná*), they should be of *rudrakshas* ; . . . if with the object of obtaining salvation (*moksha*), they should be of crystal (*spathik*) ; and if with the object of subduing the passions (*stambhan*), of turmeric roots."<sup>3</sup>

The Sikhs have a rosary which consists of knots instead of beads. This is an interesting form of rosary, as possibly it is a survival of an early method of keeping count by a system of knots. It is made of many strands of wool,

<sup>1</sup> See Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*, p. 113 f.

<sup>2</sup> Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> K. Raghunathji, *Punjab Notes and Queries*, iii. 608.

knotted together at intervals—108 knots in all. This kind of rosary is not very durable, the material of which it is made being liable to the ravages of moths. Another kind used by Sikhs is made of iron beads, arranged at intervals and connected by slender iron links. They have a rosary also which is peculiar to them and is worn like a bracelet on the wrist. It is made of iron and has twenty-seven beads. The rosary with this number of beads has a particular name (*Lohé ká Simarna*), and it forms also a tribal mark.<sup>1</sup> The Sikhs also have a bracelet rosary with knots instead of beads.

There is a certain number of verses which contain rules about rosaries. Among them are the following<sup>2</sup>: “The wood of the nim tree, *Nagelia putramjiva*, conch shell, lotus fruit, and gems, *kusa* grass and *rudraksha*, are proper articles to make beads for telling spells (*mantrá*) on. Their efficacy is according to the order in which they are placed; the last one being the best.”

“If you tell your *mantra* on your fingers once you will have the reward for telling your *mantra* only once, but if you do so on beads of *nim* wood once, you will have the reward for telling it ten times. If you do so on beads of conch or gems or coral, you will have the reward for telling it a thousand times. If you do so on beads of pearl once, you will have the reward for telling it ten thousand times. If you do so on beads of gold, you will have the reward for telling it a hundred thousand times. If you do so on beads of *kusa* grass, you will have the reward for telling it a million times; and if you do so on beads of *tulsi* wood, you will have the reward for telling it innumerable times. . . .”

“Those that are noisy, easily moving, broken, knotty, and strung together on a broken thread are fit to be worn by a hypocrite.”

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> Pandit Râmgcharib Chaubé, *N. Ind. Notes and Queries*, iii., May, 1893, 57.

“Rosaries strung on a dirty thread are calculated to bring misery to the persons who use them. . . .”

“The thread of the rosary should not be touched with the forefinger, nor should one shake the hand while telling the beads.”

“Putting the rosary on the middle part of the right-hand thumb, move the beads.”

“Drawing the beads with the middle finger is calculated to realise the desires of the person who tells the beads.”

“One should not draw the beads with other fingers, nor should one touch the beads with the nails.”

“In default of rosaries of wood one can use the rosary of *kusa* knots on the fingers. One should tell the beads in this way with his mind undisturbed and closely attentive.”

In order to strike fear into their oppressors Brahmans sometimes keep their hair unshaven and allow their nails to grow to a great length. At the same time they wear about their neck and hold in the hand—usually the right hand—beads of earth on which they tell *mantras*. It is believed that by so doing they destroy the oppressor root and branch.

*Charms.* It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the rosary proper and a charm; indeed the rosary itself is often a charm. Some of the snake-charmers in India use rosaries made of snake-bones which are hung on to their musical instruments. The beads of these rosaries are sometimes used as charms to cure snake-bite by tying them on to the wrist of the sick person.<sup>1</sup> In some parts of India similar rosaries are used as protective charms by snake-charmers. Faqirs use rosaries made out of the vertebrae of a snake which they carry about to show that they can cure snake-bite.<sup>2</sup> Such a rosary is sometimes worn tied to the turban, and a special *mantra* is recited on these

<sup>1</sup> *N. Ind. Notes and Queries*, iii. 56.

<sup>2</sup> W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 408.

beads to effect the cure. This is an example of the universal belief in the "doctrine of signatures."

There is a rosary much used by Hindus of the Śakti sect which is called *Putr Jiwa* ("which gives life to sons"). It is composed of beads made of light-coloured seeds, oval in shape, which grow very plentifully. This rosary is used by a Hindu when he wants a son. No doubt the idea of fertility is involved here.

Another rosary, used by Hindus who wish to get rid of their superfluous flesh, is made of small, almost black seeds, dry and shrivelled-looking, being rather like dried currants in appearance. Doubtless the user of such a rosary hopes that by repeating prayers on it he may obtain a likeness to the seeds, and shrivel up and decrease in size himself.

A rosary from the Partabgarh district <sup>1</sup> consists of very small beads, *plus* the terminal, and is finished with a tassel of pink wool. This rosary is stated to be used to prevent the effect of the "evil-eye."

*Buddhist.* The Buddhist rosary is probably of Brahman origin, and here again the number of beads on the string is usually 108. This is said to correspond with the number of mental conditions, or sinful inclinations, which are overcome by reciting the beads. Moreover, 108 Brahmans were summoned at Buddha's birth to foretell his destiny. In Burma the footprints of Buddha have sometimes 108 sub-divisions, in Tibet the sacred writings (*Kahgyur*) run into 108 volumes; in China the white pagoda at Peking is encircled by 108 columns, and in the same country 108 blows form the ordinary punishment for malefactors. Again in Japan, at the *bommatsuri* or *bonku* (festival of the dead), observed from 12th to 15th July, 108 welcome-fires are lighted on the shores of sea, lake, or river; and 108 rupees are usually given in alms.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the full rosaries of 108 beads, smaller ones are

<sup>1</sup> Specimen in Tylor coll. at the Pitt-Rivers Mus.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi. 335 f.

also used, the number of beads representing the chief disciples of Buddha.

*India.* In India the Buddhist rosaries seem to differ but little from many of those used by Hindus. Some are made of more costly materials than others, the more valuable being of turquoise, coral, amber, silver, pearls, or other gems. The poorer people usually have their rosary beads made of wood, pebbles, berries, or bone, and they are often satisfied with only thirty or forty beads.

*Burma.* The Burmese rosary again has 108 beads. It seems to be used merely as a means of counting the repetitions of the names of the Buddha trinity, viz. *Phra* (Buddha), *Tara* (Dharma) and *Sangha*. On completing a round of the rosary the central bead is held, and the formula "*Anitsa, Dukka, Anatha*," "All is transitory, painful, and unreal," is repeated.<sup>1</sup> The monks sometimes wear a rosary called *bodhi*, with seventy-two beads. These beads are said to be made of slips of leaf on which charmed words are inscribed. The leaves are rolled into pellets with the aid of lacquer or varnish.<sup>2</sup> A rare and costly rosary which is sometimes found among rich lay devotees has beads made of compressed sweet-scented flowers. The flowers are pressed into hard cakes and then turned on a lathe into beads. They are said to retain their scent for many years.<sup>3</sup>

*Tibet.* The rosary is an essential part of a Lama's dress, and is also worn by most of the laity of both sexes. It bears the name *phreng-ba*, "a string of beads," and the act of telling the beads is called *tañ-c'e*, which means literally "to purr like a cat," the muttering of the prayers being suggestive of this sound. The rosaries have 108 beads on the main string. The reason given for this number is that it ensures the repetition of a sacred spell 100 times, the

<sup>1</sup> L. A. Waddell, *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, lxi. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, p. 282.

<sup>3</sup> L. A. Waddell, *Pro. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1892, p. 190.



eight extra beads being added for fear of omission or breakage. There are three terminal beads which are called collectively "retaining or seizing beads," *dok-'dsin*. They symbolise "the Three Holy Ones" of the Buddhist trinity.

The Tibetan rosaries usually have a pair of pendant strings on which are threaded small metal beads or rings. These serve as counters. Sometimes there are four strings attached. Each string usually has a different terminal. The beads on the string which terminates with a *dorje* (Indra's thunderbolt) register units, those with a bell mark tens of cycles. By means of these counters 10,800 prayers may be counted, but the number uttered depends largely on the leisure and fervour of the devotee. Old women are especially zealous in this respect. In addition to these counter strings various odds and ends often hang from the rosaries, such as metal tooth-picks, tweezers, etc.

The materials of which the beads are made vary according to the sect, the god or goddess addressed, and the wealth of the owner.

Importance is attached to the colour of the rosary, which should correspond with the complexion of the deity worshipped.

One rosary used by Lamas is made of discs cut from a human skull, often that of a deceased Lama. These beads are usually divided into groups by four Raksha beads of large size, and the rosary is often passed through another one composed of other beads.

A rosary composed of beads made of the vertebrae of a snake is used by sorcerers for divination and other purposes in their magic art. Usually there are about fifty vertebrae on a string.

The laity use rosaries made of any kind of bead, and they are not tied by rules as to colour. Also the counter strings attached generally end with a *dorje*, recording only units of cycles, this being sufficient for the bead-telling of the laity.



In Tibet the rosary is used for other purposes besides that of prayer, sometimes serving as a personal ornament, and also as a means of reckoning sums.<sup>1</sup> It is also used in divination,<sup>2</sup> the ceremony being performed by the more illiterate people and by the Bon priests. First a short spell is repeated, and then the rosary is breathed upon and a fairly long prayer is recited in which the petitioner begs various religious protectors and guardians that "truth may descend on this lot," that light may descend on it, and "truth and reality appear in it." After the repetition of this prayer, the rosary is taken in the palm and well mixed between the two revolving palms, and the hands clapped thrice. Then, closing his eyes, the devotee seizes a portion of the rosary between the thumb and finger of each hand, and, after opening his eyes, counts the intervening beads from each end in threes. The result depends on whether the remainder is one, two, or three in successive countings.

The Lamas sometimes use their rosaries to drive off evil spirits. A procession is formed once a year, and part of the performance consists in the Lama flourishing his rosary round about to drive away devils from the village.<sup>3</sup> Rosaries are also used to drive away hailstorms.<sup>4</sup>

*China.* The full Buddhist rosary in China has the usual number of 108 beads, with three dividing beads of a different size and colour. As in other countries, the materials composing them vary. There is also a smaller rosary of eighteen beads, corresponding to the eighteen *Lohans* (chief disciples of Buddha), each bead being sometimes carved into an image of a *Lohan*. The Chinese name for rosary is *su-chu*. The ends of the rosary strings are usually passed through

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Rockhill, *Rep. U.S. National Mus.*, 1893, p. 695. Cf. the *Abacus* in China and Japan.

<sup>2</sup> *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, pp. 330 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Anthropol. Soc. Bengal*, vol. x. (1914), p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, pp. 271-276.

two retaining or terminal beads, one being large and globular in shape, the other small and oval. Sometimes the larger one contains a sacred relic or a charm.<sup>1</sup>

Part of a Chinese official's dress consists of a rosary of 108 beads of large size, with dividing beads. The latter are sometimes made of richly enamelled silver, and the colour varies with the rank of the official, yellow being the highest grade.<sup>2</sup> These official rosaries are elaborate and sometimes very costly. They are worn only by dignitaries on state occasions. They are not apparently of religious significance.

As a religious instrument the rosary seems to be chiefly used to count the repetitions of set phrases whereby the devotee stores up merit for himself. If these repetitions are performed in temples, the greater the merit of the votary.<sup>3</sup> The rosary is also used as a means of counting prostrations and prayers. The devotee will prostrate himself and strike the ground with his forehead, at the same time muttering a formula. At the end of each prostration and repetition a bead is moved along the rosary string which hangs round his neck.<sup>4</sup> On occasions of sickness or death there is a ceremonial performance with the rosary. The officiant must either be taken from a certain class of Taoist priests, or be a priest of Buddha. On these occasions the priest chants in a monotonous sing-song certain quotations from the sacred books. Count of these repetitions is kept by means of a rosary, and the benefit and merit obtained by them accrue to those who employ the priests and pay them.<sup>5</sup>

*Korea.* The Buddhist rosaries of Korea have 110 beads, though, according to the classics, the number is 108, the two extra beads being large ones—one at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi, 338.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Ischii for this information.

<sup>3</sup> J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, ii, 386 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 387.

or head of the rosary usually containing a *swastika*, the other dividing the rosary into two parts. Each of these beads is dedicated to a deity, and every bead on the string has its own special name. On laying aside the rosary the following sentences should be repeated :

“ Oh ; the thousand myriad miles of emptiness, the place which is in the midst of the tens of hundred myriads of emptinesses, eternal desert where the true Buddha exists. There is eternal existence with Tranquil Peace.”

There is also a small rosary which, if used every day in the four positions or states, viz. going forth and remaining at home, sitting or lying down, enables the votary to see the land of Bliss in his own heart. “ Amita will be his Guardian and Protector, and in whatever country he goes he will find a home.”<sup>1</sup>

*Japan.* It is in Japan that the Buddhist rosary reaches its most complicated form, and each sect has its own special rosary. There is, however, one which is used by all sects in common, and is called the *Sho-zuku-jiu-dzu*. This rosary is also usually carried by monks and laity of all sects, on all occasions of religious state, on visits of ceremony, at funerals, etc. The dividing beads on the main string show where a special invocation should be uttered, the rosary being, at the same time, raised to the forehead with a reverence.

The Jōdo sect uses a rosary which consists of two rings of beads, like two bracelets, one being passed through the other. The invention of this rosary is ascribed to Awano-suka, who was one of the personal attendants of the founder of this sect. The idea was that such a rosary could be manipulated with one hand (the left) only, thus leaving the right hand of the attendant free for serving his superior and carrying out his orders. By this means the faithful retainer could combine both his spiritual and secular duties.

The rosary plays an important part in certain ceremonies

<sup>1</sup> See E. B. Landis, *The Korean Repository*, vol. ii. No. i., Jan., 1895.

performed for special purposes. One of these ceremonies is held for the purpose of curing and preventing disease, and also for dispelling evil spirits. In one of these rites only monks who have undergone a special training may officiate. The monks are trained at a celebrated monastery of the Nicheren sect in Shinōsa.<sup>1</sup>

According to one authority,<sup>2</sup> the rosary in Japan plays an important part in the social as well as in the religious life of the people. In the tea-room there is always a hook on which to hang a rosary, and one of value, historical or otherwise, is much appreciated as an ornament for this room. It is said that rosaries were carried by all the soldiers in the Russo-Japanese war. The dead also have a rosary slipped on the wrist, whether they are buried or cremated.

A rosary that has been consecrated over the sacred flame and incense of a venerated temple acquires special value for the devout.

*Muhammadan.* The rosary used by the followers of Islam generally consists of ninety-nine beads with a terminal bead called the *Imām*, "leader." Its chief use is for counting the recital of the ninety-nine names of God, the *Imām* being sometimes used for the essential name, *Allāh*. This rosary is divided into three parts, thirty-three beads in each, by beads of another material or shape, or by tassels which are often made of gold thread or of bright coloured silks. A smaller rosary of thirty-three beads is very commonly used, and the devotee will go round this three times to get the full repetition of the ninety-nine names. At the present day the rosary is used chiefly by the older or more devout Muhammadans; among the younger people it is tending to become merely something to hold in the hand and finger during leisure hours.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of Buddhist rosaries in Japan, see J. M. James, *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, ix. 172-182.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi. 342.

Tradition says that the Prophet attributed great merit to those who recited the names of God and repeated certain formulae. "Verily," he says, "there are ninety-nine names of God, and whoever recites them shall enter into Paradise," and, "whoever recites this sentence [the *tasbih*, "I extol the holiness of God," and the *tahmid*, "God be praised"] a hundred times, morning and evening, will have all his sins forgiven." <sup>1</sup> At another time the Prophet promises, as a reward for the repetition of a sacred formula, that the devotee "shall receive rewards equal to the emancipation of ten slaves, and shall have one hundred good deeds recorded to his account, and one hundred of his sins shall be blotted out, and the words shall be a protection from the devil." <sup>2</sup>

The date of the introduction of the rosary among Muhammadans is uncertain. It has been often assumed that it was taken over by them in a fully developed form from Buddhism. But tradition and various passages in the early literature point to a primitive form of rosary, such as would not have been used if borrowed from a people who had it already in a highly developed form.

Muhammadan tradition points to a very early use of the rosary, dating it back even to the time of the Prophet himself. In support of this belief it is related that Muhammad reproached some women for using pebbles in repeating the *tasbih*, etc., suggesting that they should rather count them on their fingers.<sup>3</sup> Another tradition, collected in the ninth century A.D., relates that Abu Abd al Rahman, on visiting a mosque and seeing some of the worshippers engaged under a leader in the recitation of 100 *takbir*, 100 *takhlil*, and 100 *tasbih*, keeping count of these by means of pebbles, reproached them and said: "Rather count your sins and I shall guarantee that nothing

<sup>1</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi. 348.

<sup>2</sup> Hughes' *Dic. of Islam*, p. 625, s.v. "Tahlil."

<sup>3</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi. 349.



of your good works will be lost.”<sup>1</sup> These two examples seem to show that a primitive form of rosary was in use at this time—the “beads” being merely pebbles, apparently unstrung.

The materials of which the rosaries are made are numerous, though each sect tends to have its own specially sacred form of bead. The Wahhabis use their fingers, on which they count their repetitions.<sup>2</sup> Wooden beads are used by all sects, and beads made of clay from Mecca are highly valued. Pilgrims from this sacred city sometimes bring such rosaries back with them.<sup>3</sup> Datestones are also much used, as are also horn and imitation pearls and coral. Beads made of earth from Kerbala, where Husain is buried, are sacred to the Shiahs, and are used by members of this sect only. These beads are believed to turn red on the ninth day of Muharram, the night on which Husain was killed. Some of the rosaries have as a terminal a complicated knot, usually made of bright-coloured silks; this knot is of a form characteristic of Muhammadan rosaries. Another material often used is camel bone. Sometimes beads of this material are dyed red in honour of Husain, who was killed in his conflict with Yazid, the seventh Khalifah, the red colour representing his blood. Sometimes the beads are dyed green, this being Hasan’s colour. Hasan, Husain’s elder brother, met his death by poisoning. The poison turned his body green after death, hence these beads are in memory of his tragic end.<sup>4</sup> Faqirs, on the other hand, prefer glass beads of various colours, and also amber or agate.<sup>5</sup>

In Egypt, on the first night after a burial, certain

<sup>1</sup> H. Thurston, *Journ. Soc. Arts*, l. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro. U.S. National Mus.*, xxxvi. 349.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 444.

<sup>4</sup> This information was given me by Mr. Yusuf Khan of Queen’s College, Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 410.



ceremonies take place at the house of the deceased, among them being that of the *subhah*, or rosary. After nightfall a certain number of fikees, sometimes as many as fifty, assemble, one of them bringing a large rosary of 1000 beads, each bead being about the size of a pigeon's egg. Certain passages from the Qur'ān are recited, after which the formula "There is no Deity but God" is repeated 3000 times. Count of these repetitions is kept by one of the fikees by means of the rosary. Certain other sentences are recited after this, and then one of the officiants asks his companions, "Have ye transferred [the merit of] what ye have recited to the soul of the deceased?" They reply, "We have transferred it," and add, "and peace be on the Apostles, and praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures." This ends the ceremony of the *subhah*, which is repeated on the second and third nights if the family can afford it.<sup>1</sup>

A further interest is attached to this ceremony in Upper Egypt, because a primitive form of rosary is often used on this occasion. A fikee will bring a plain cord with him, and, as he recites each formula or passage from the Qur'ān, he makes a knot in his cord till he has reached 1000. The merit in this case also is conveyed to the deceased. The cord with its knots is afterwards thrown away.<sup>2</sup>

The rosary is also used in Egypt in what is called making an *istikharah*, "application for the favour of Heaven, or for direction in the right course." Lane<sup>3</sup> describes it as follows: The performers take hold of any two points of a rosary; after reciting the *Fat'hah* (first chapter of the Qur'ān) three times, he counts the beads between these two points, saying, as he passes the first bead through his

<sup>1</sup> Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 531 f. This ceremony is performed to facilitate the entrance of the deceased into a state of happiness. Lane says that it usually occupies three or four hours.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Manzalaoui and Mr. Alam for this information.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Egyptians*, p. 270.

fingers, "[I extol] the perfection of God"; in passing the second, "Praise be to God"; in passing the third, "There is no Deity but God," repeating these formulae in the same order to the last bead. Should the first formula fall to the last bead, the answer is affirmative and favourable; if to the second, indifferent; but if to the last it is negative.

*Christian.* The introduction of the rosary among Christians has been attributed to various people, among them being St. Aybert de Crespin, Peter the Hermit, and St. Dominic. There has been a fairly widely accepted theory that the rosary was introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades, having been imitated from Muhammadans. But later research seems to show that, though it is possible that such a means of counting prayers may have become more popular at this period, an earlier date should be assigned for its use in Western Europe. It is stated by William of Malmesbury<sup>1</sup> that the Lady Godiva of Coventry, wife of Count Leofric, bequeathed to the monastery which she founded "a circlet of gems which she had threaded on a string, in order that by fingering them one by one as she successively recited her prayers she might not fall short of the exact number." Lady Godiva died before 1070, so that some mnemonic device seems to have been in use prior to the preaching of the Crusades. The case of the Egyptian abbot, Paul, who died in 341, is related by Sozomen (c. 400-450) in his Ecclesiastical History,<sup>2</sup> where it is stated that the saint daily recited 300 prayers, keeping count by means of pebbles in his cloak, dropping one of them at the end of each prayer. Here is a much earlier and more primitive method of record-keeping, which looks as if the rosary may have evolved independently in some centres, and had not been taken over from others in an already developed form.

By the thirteenth century the making of paternosters,

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls series), bk. iv. ch. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Bk. vi. ch. 29.

as the beads were then called, had become a specialised industry both in Paris and in London.

It has been suggested that the rosary probably arose from a practice in early Christian times of making repeated genuflexions and prostrations, sometimes combined with prayers or sacred formulae.<sup>1</sup> This form of self-discipline was practised in Eastern Europe and in Ireland, spreading from these two widely separated centres, over the greater part of Europe. Such a form of asceticism survives in the Greek Church at the present day.

*Roman Catholic.* The full Dominican rosary numbers 150 beads, these being divided into sets of ten by fifteen larger beads. These beads form the chaplet. A pendant, consisting of a cross or crucifix and one large and three smaller beads, is usually attached. The number 150 corresponds with the number of the Psalms, and this number of paternosters was recited by monks whose education was not sufficient to enable them to learn the Latin Psalms. This would explain how the strings of beads used for thus keeping count came to be called "Paternosters."

The name "Rosary," now given to this devotion, seems to be of comparatively late date—according to one authority not appearing till the fifteenth century. The following charming story is told to explain the origin of this name, though, as Father Thurston has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the story is older than the name it professes to explain. The legend occurs in many of the collections of the "Miracles of Our Lady," which were very popular in the Middle Ages. I give it in Father Thurston's own words: "A youth was accustomed to make a wreath of roses or other flowers every day, and to place it upon the head of Our Lady's statue. He became a monk, and in the cloister his occupation no longer permitted him to observe this pious practice. Being

<sup>1</sup> H. Thurston, "Genuflexions and Aves: a Study in Rosary Origins," *The Month*, cxxvii. (1916), 441 f., 546 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Soc. Arts*, Feb. 21st, 1902, pp. 271 f.

much distressed, he asked counsel of an aged priest, who advised him to say fifty *Aves* every evening (in some versions it is 150, in others twenty-five), which would be accepted by Our Lady in lieu of the garland. This the young man faithfully observed, until one day, being upon a journey, he has to pass through a lonely wood where robbers were lying in wait. They were employed in watching him, feeling sure of their prey, when he, unsuspecting of their presence, remembered that his *Aves* were not yet said, and forthwith stopped to say them. Then to their surprise, the robbers saw a most glorious lady stand before him and take one after another from the lips of the kneeling monk, fifty beautiful roses, which she wove into a garland and placed upon her head. The robbers, so the legend tells, conscience-stricken at the vision, were all converted to a better life, and themselves soon after entered the monastery."

The word 'bead' (Anglo-Saxon *beade* or *bede*) meant originally 'a prayer.' In the *Vision of Piers Plowman* the expression "bedes byddyng" is found. Again in Spenser's *Faerie Queen* we read :

"All night she spent in bidding of her bedes  
And all day long in doing good and godly deeds."

The expression "a pair of beads," sometimes met with in early literature, means "a set of beads." We find this term used in the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where the Prioress carries her beads upon her arm :

"Of smal coral aboute hir arm she bar  
A peire of bedes, gauded al with grene ;  
And ther-on heng a broche of gold ful shene,  
On which ther was first write a crowned A,  
And after, *Amor vincit omnia.*"

Ladies sometimes wore these beads as a girdle. In some of the early representations of prayer-beads on tombs the rosary is exhibited not as a circle, but, especially in

the case of men, as a single string, with the two ends unattached and hanging free. Occasionally these two ends are attached at two different points of a girdle. This form is also seen in some old pictures.<sup>1</sup>

The materials composing the beads varied, and still vary, very much, often depending, as is the case among other religions, on the rank and wealth of the devotee. Chaplets of wood were used at funerals by poor bedesmen, and in 1451 Lord John Scrope wills that "twenty-four poor men clothed in white gowns and hoods, each of them having a new set of wooden beads," should pray (on them) for him at his funeral, with the liberty to "stand, sit, or kneel" at their pleasure.<sup>2</sup>

*The Rosary as a Charm.* I now give an example of what might perhaps be called a magico-religious use of the rosary. In certain parts of Poland, namely in the districts of Piotrkow, Czestochowa and Plock, the following custom is in use to keep off lightning.

During a storm a rosary with beads of cedar-wood from the Holy Land—or one made in imitation—is carried round the house three times, together with a little bell called "the bell of Loreto," and sometimes also a lighted candle, blessed on Candlemas Day. The bell is rung, and the rosary is used with the words "God save us" at the large beads and "Holy Mother, be our mediator" at the small ones.<sup>3</sup>

*Orthodox Churches.* In Greek and Slavic monasteries part of the investiture of the Little Habit and the Great Habit is a rosary in the form of a knotted cord which is bestowed ceremonially upon the monk or nun. The knotted cord, as I have already pointed out, is possibly a very primitive form of rosary, and, in this case, it is seen surviving in a highly ceremonial function.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Feasey, *The Reliquiary*, vol. v., No. 3, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Miss Czaplicka for this information.



The Greeks call the knotted cord a *komvoschinion* (κομβοσχοίνιον); the Russians give it the old name of *vervitsa* ('string'). In popular language it bears the name *lestovka* because of its resemblance to a ladder (*lestnitsa*).<sup>1</sup> There is also a string of beads called *komvologion* (κομβολόγιον) by the Greeks, and *chotki* by the Russians. This, according to one authority, is not a religious appliance, but is used by ecclesiastics and laity merely as an ornament or as something to hold in the hand.<sup>2</sup>

The *komvoschinion*, as used by monks on Mount Athos at the present day, has 100 knots, divided by three beads of large size into four equal parts. It has a pendant with three more knots, and terminates with a small cross-shaped tassel. This rosary is used by monks of the highest grade to keep count of a definite number of prostrations every day, a prayer being repeated at the same time. These prostrations are sometimes imposed on a monk as a penance. The *komvoschinion* is also used for counting any kind of prayers or devotional exercises.<sup>3</sup>

This form of *komvoschinion* is used by Hellenic monks in Greece, Turkey, and the East generally, as well as on Mount Athos.

Among the Russian monks the knotted cord used by them is the old Slavic *vervitsa*. It has 103 knots or beads, separated into unequal groups by larger beads. The groups are arranged as follows: 17 + 33 + 40 + 12, and an additional small bead at the end. In the Slavic *vervitsa* the lower ends are fastened together; they terminate in three flat triangles, inscribed and ornamented. Sometimes these rosaries are made of little rolls of leather chain-stitched together, being divided by larger rolls. The

<sup>1</sup> N. F. Robinson, *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches*, p. 159 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 155. Father Thurston, however, doubts whether this clear distinction is justified by usage.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 155.



terminals are inscribed in Church Slavic (ancient Slavic) with the words "Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, a sinner." This kind of rosary calls to mind the popular name for it, viz. *lestovka*, as it certainly might be thought to resemble a ladder in shape. This rosary is also used for counting a number of prostrations. The *vervitsa* is a purely monastic or ascetic devotion; it is not indulged in by the Orthodox laity, though the laity of the Russian sects, called "Old Believers," have adopted it.

*Coptic.* The rosaries used by the Copts of Egypt have forty-one, or sometimes sixty-one, beads. They are used for counting a similar number of repetitions of the "Kyrie eleison." This petition is repeated in Arabic or Coptic, with the addition, at the end, of a short prayer in Coptic. Sometimes the Copts resort to what is, presumably, a more primitive method of keeping record of their prayers, and count on their fingers.<sup>1</sup>

*Jewish.* It now remains to mention the use of the rosary by the Jews. Among these people it has lost all religious importance, having been taken over by them from the Turks and Greeks. They use it merely as a pastime on the Sabbaths and holy days. No manual labour being permitted on those days, they occupy themselves with passing the beads through their fingers. These rosaries sometimes have thirty-two beads, sometimes ninety-nine. Dr. Gaster has suggested to me that there may be a cabalistic reason for the number thirty-two. It is the mystical number for the "ways of wisdom" by which God created the world. They stand at the beginning of the so-called Book of Creation, and they play an important rôle in the cabalistic literature. It may be that this has influenced the number of beads on the smaller rosaries.

I desire to thank the Society for giving me this opportunity of speaking on a subject which I have found most

<sup>1</sup> Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 541.

interesting myself, and I trust that the material I have collected may be of some use to others. I conclude this paper with the hope that no one will quote against my array of very miscellaneous facts a proverb from Assam which protests against a love of futile display in the words : " There are many rosaries, the beads of which are not told in devotion." <sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Some Assamese Proverbs*, compiled and annotated by Captain P. R. Gurdon, I.S.C. Quoted in a review of the book in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xxviii. p. 809.

## FOLKLORE AND HISTORY IN IRELAND.

BY D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

*(Read before the Society, June 19th, 1918.)*

IF Ireland was but an island in the South Pacific, it is safe to assert that it would be the happy hunting ground of the ethnographer, anthropologist, and folklorist. Having the fortune to be one of the islands of the British Archipelago it is therefore supposed to be known, and, consequently, to a large extent is an undiscovered region. So greatly was this the case that my previous paper on Irish folklore came to be written because it had been asserted that there were practically no Calendar Customs in Ireland. Some work has been done since then, with the result that Miss Burne, now editor-in-chief of the new "Brand," after looking through the collected matter for May, commented that the Irish Calendar Customs for that month were more fresh, more alive, and more complete, than from any other part of the kingdom.

But if much has been done, far more remains for the doing, and the matter with which the bulk of my paper deals to-day is one that has many gaps to fill, as may be judged by the fact that on looking through the Calendar Customs "slips" I could find practically none but my own work that touched at all on the subject.

Taking Ireland, then, as in many respects a folklorically undiscovered country, let us try to apply to its study some of the maxims laid down by Dr. Marret in his last presidential address. To get the folklore of a country into focus something more is needed than a pile of orderly MS.

“slips.” If we were dealing with a far off island we should enquire into its geographical and topographical conditions, its history, religious system or systems, and social organisation in general. They are equally of importance as aids to the study of one of the British Isles. Yet the very first point—geographical control—is usually ignored, though the effect of geographical conditions on the story of Ireland, and consequently on its folklore, has been deep and far reaching.

Consider for a moment Ireland's position on a map. It is not only an island, that is to say cut away from the mainland, the centres of life and cultural movements, but it is an island separated from these by another and a larger island. Obviously the first “injustice to Ireland” was that she was not placed by Nature in the situation occupied by her dominating sister. Such interference with a country's “place in the sun” cannot be rectified by centuries of protest and invective. Furthermore, climatic conditions serve to exaggerate the evil, for those very portions of the island furthest removed from influences that make for progress, by geographical influences are subjected to a more enervating climate than the districts more favourably placed. Therefore both climate and situation are factors that should be taken into careful consideration when examining the radical causation of Irish problems.

Nor is this all. If Ireland was cut off from the continental tide of cultural movement she was by that very isolation protected from early interference, and was able at one time to develop a degree of civilisation of her own far ahead of her neighbours. Yet this apparently beneficial factor has, in truth, been her undoing. There was no stimulus of conflict. She never had the steadying if drastic treatment of Roman subjugation to imbue a sense of discipline, to incite a recognition of the need and values of organisation, and to lay the foundations of national

unity. She never, in short, realised that in this world "no man liveth to himself," so that in the twentieth century she can still be torn and racked by a faction whose very name betrays incompetence to achieve in the ultimate—Sinn Fein—ourselves alone.

It is extraordinarily evident, once critical attention is drawn to the point, how that insidious "ourselves alone" pervades Irish history and permeates Irish thought. Ireland has suffered terribly. But her sufferings are not peculiar in the history of mankind. The horrors of the Elizabethan wars, the Ulster rebellion, the Cromwellian campaign, do not stand out as solitary instances of brutal doings. Their counterpart is to be found in other places. The sack of Drogheda was a small thing compared with the sack of Magdeburg. The massacres—be they of Irish by English, English by Irish, loyalists by rebels, or rebels by royalists, are not the only, or by any means the worst massacres the world has known. Ireland, with too much of the "inward-turning eye" talks, and what is worse thinks, as though they were. But Scotland passed through days as black, wars as destructive, legislation as crippling, as any Ireland has experienced—yet Scotland does not pose as a "most distressful country." It is evident that we must go deeper than surface matters to find a reason for this difference. Race does not explain it. Racially the two countries are very nearly akin. If Scotch settlers were brought to Ulster in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Irish invaders had settled in Scotland in the third. The folklore of the Highlands and Islands has more in common with Irish folklore than any other; in fact, Joyce refers the student to it for knowledge of primitive Irish customs and beliefs. Am I wrong then in suggesting that the determining factor has been geographical control?

History is a longer and terribly complex matter to deal with. It is becoming more and more evident that the study of folklore and history are interdependent. If folk-

lore supplies footnotes to history it, in turn, enables the student to make a true digest of folklore. If scientific rather than sentimental treatment were accorded Ireland we would be facing a very different set of problems in that island. The Americans have recently discovered that much of the misunderstanding and prejudice that existed in the United States as regards Great Britain was due to the faulty teaching of history, and the one-sided and frequently erroneous text-books employed in the education of the young. If this is true about America it is a thousand times more so in the case of Ireland. Unfortunately not history but confirmative argument on the side of each disputant has been too much the desideratum, let the politics be what blend soever of red, yellow, or blue, and so careful a student as Lecky will be disregarded in favour of a more prejudiced and infinitely more ignorant writer who wears the coloured label they themselves affect. One party is fed with tales of terror rooted in the misgovernment of England ; another is fired with horrific details of the misdoings of rebellious Ireland. And a vivid imagination is the gift of the land.

It is true that History provides but little more than an articulated skeleton at best ; Literature tricks it out with raiment ; but it is to Anthropology that the student of the future will look for provision of flesh and blood to complete the picture. For folklore reflects history. It is the record of the life of the people. It is affected by contemporary events, even by the fluctuating politics of the day, in just so great or so little degree as the folk themselves are affected. Where politics have a dominating influence on life, as unhappily has been—and is—the case in Ireland, politics mould, mar or make folklore. The lore may be entirely diverse from the political event that gave it inception. As a contemporary instance may I remind you of the sale of primroses in Dublin on April 19th to which I referred in my last paper. The orange lilies of the Twelfth of July do not come into quite the same category ; they have



retained their significance, the reason for their use is generally known, and they are the memento of an event rather than a selected symbol for an ideal.

To some extent her geographical position and its consequences were doubtless the reason why Ireland, though she had a plethora of saints—with a few of more than local importance—produced no great national leaders, at least none of more than local importance. Even Lecky seems to have found no clue, at least he suggests none, to the problem why Ireland with her higher culture never developed a Clovis or an Alfred. Yet she had more centuries to achieve this than France or England took in the doing. With conditions primarily more favourable she achieved less. It would seem as though the Irish were themselves cognisant of this failure, or was jealousy the only reason why they turned so often to others than those of their own blood for leadership, and offered the kingdom to an Edward Bruce, a Philip of Spain, or a Louis of France? Yet that Irishmen make unrivalled leaders the British Empire has cause to know. I yield to none in admiration of my countrymen. Where would the British Empire be to-day had we not had a Wellington and a Roberts?

But lacking the leaven of organisation bequeathed by Imperial Rome to her conquered territories, the Irish social system was largely deficient in those elements that make for consolidation. The bond of kindred only was not sufficient to withstand the onslaughts of the Danish pirates. In Anglo-Saxon England it gave way to institutions making better for general unity of purpose and protection. In Gaelic Ireland this was not the case, which probably explains why Ireland suffered more lasting damage at the hands of the sea rovers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may make my arguments clearer if I summarise briefly the account of the Irish social structure given by Joyce in his *Social History of Ireland*.

The country was divided into five provinces, each comprised a number of tribes subdivided into clans, and these were again divided into families. Joyce

The Irish are not racially homogeneous. To judge by legends Irish Princes had a preference for seeking brides from alien countries. Trade and pillage brought adventurers from other lands to the Irish shore. For the most part the coast lands only were affected by these intruders, and especially the towns. Despite their many misdoings in the land Ireland has to thank the old pirates from the Baltic and North Seas for the foundation of some of her finest cities. Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, for example, were originally settlements of Danes,—the last of whom, according to tradition, embarked from the Rock of Dunmaul in the Giant's Causeway, where oral history states that "in the olden times" all the rents of Ireland were paid. If all the Danes did leave, a tradition history does not entirely reject the word "Sept" as modern and incorrect. The political unit was the tribe (Tuath). A combination of two, three or more tribes was a Mor-Tuath. The family consisted of all the descendants of any living couple. The clan (Clann meaning children) comprised several families, the nearly-related descendants from a common ancestor. The Tuath consisted of a number of clans supposed to be descended from a common ancestor. [The nomenclature is not up to date in accordance with the Handbook, but I summarise Joyce.] Besides blood relationship there was relationship by adoption, either of an individual—with the consent of a representative family circle—or of a group, that is to say a small tribe might be adopted by a larger for purpose of common defence, etc. There was further what Joyce calls religious relationship, *i.e.* gossiped; and also fosterage—considered a most sacred tie. There were four degrees of kings—over-king, king of the province, king of the mor-tuath, king of the tuath—small wonder it is said that every Irishman claims a king for forebear! Next in rank came the nobles, large owners of property, some of it land. Below these were the non-noble freemen, rent-paying, with property in cattle. The fourth grade consisted of freemen with little or no property. Finally came those who were not free born. As regards the division of land each tribe held a definite district, and each clan its sub-district. Individual tenure: the king held a portion as mensal land for life, this descended by tanistry. Private property in land descended by inheritance, and included the homestead and ground held by every free member. Thirdly, there were tenants. Tribe lands—arable—were held by clans in subdivision from the tribe and liable to gavelkind. Pastures were common-land. Sometimes land was held by a family, but not by any individual member.

corroborate, other encroaching strangers ere long took their place. Apart from the intermixture of Danish, Norman, and English immigrants, the Plantation—or rather plantations—of Ulster were not the only official settlements of folk of alien blood in the land. King's County and Queen's County were "planted" among others; it is said that Cromwellian soldiers settled in Tipperary, which has been given as the explanation of the fine physique of Tipperary men, so different from the small dark type found in Longford for instance; German Palatines were brought over at the commencement of the eighteenth century to Wexford, Limerick, and Kerry; there was a considerable influx of French Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Tradition has it that the glossy black hair seen in the south and the west are the heritage bequeathed to their descendants by survivors of the Spanish Armada. Either more survived than history wots of, or the survivors were unduly prolific. Actually Spanish blood must have been more frequently introduced through trade connections than by accident of war.

The Anglo-Norman invaders brought with them their own Feudal System, which, diametrically opposed as it was to the indigenous system, might have done for Ireland what Roman methods did for England, had the whole island been brought into subjection under it. This was not done. The Norman adventurers who settled in Ireland, removed from central constraint became, notoriously, "more Irish than the Irish," and succeeding efforts to superimpose English methods, laws, customs, and organisation were a continual seesaw between suppression and concession, the one raising hatred, the other contempt—a dangerous combination. The conditions that made for an absence of cohesion among the Irish themselves in a measure operated to hinder amalgamation of native and foreign elements in the population. The latter remained distinct or were submerged. And when to

these natural factors artificial ones were added a fine hot-bed of trouble was well in preparation, and the resultant clash of cultures, intermittently intensified, has continued to this day.

It is to one section of the transplanted customs I wish to draw your attention to-day, for though the pages of *Folklore* have record of Irish legends, charms, May customs and Hollontide doings, there is no reference to the purely urban customs connected with civic life in Ireland. Naturally these have much in common with English municipal customs, yet if it were only to mark those very similarities, or to note digressions from the parent type, it seems to me they would be worth consideration.

So far as municipal organisation and government were concerned Irish towns were modelled upon the examples of English towns. It was, you will remember, customary in mediaeval days, when a town obtained a charter, to borrow the experience of an older town and copy the successful features of its administration and privileges. It became what is known as the mother town or city. So when the Plantagenet kings, as bribes or rewards, began to bestow rights of local self-government on their Irish towns, Bristol was the city most frequently selected as prototype, and her charters were adopted as the model for those granted to the greater number of Irish municipal institutions. The daughter town not only copied the administrative of her mother town, but also would appeal to the latter for solution of legal or civic difficulties. There are frequent references, for instance, of appeals by Dublin to Bristol for such aid. The chief magistrate of Irish municipalities appears for a long time to have been more often termed the Sovereign than the Mayor of the town. Wesley, during his visit to Belfast, refers to the Sovereign not the Mayor, even in his day.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are many tempting premises in connection with the word, but, so far, I have not been able to make good any that suggested themselves to me,

The dates for the election and swearing in of the town officers varied. As a rule the new Mayor took office on Michaelmas Day. There is more divergence of dates for their election. Midsummer claims most, either the Day or the Monday after it, as at Kilkenny and Carrickfergus. Dublin's Lord Mayor and Aldermen were elected in April, the Portreive on St. Matthew's Day—to take office on St. Canice's Day. Galway's Mayor and Bailiffs were chosen at the "Short Council" on the last day of July. Waterford's Mayor was chosen by the Council on the Monday after the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and took his "corporal oath on the Holy Evangelists yearly on the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel."

The growth of the towns is in itself a proof of the need that existed for outside stimulus. They were the outposts of invading culture, and the antagonism between town and country is a factor to be noted. While country districts clung undisturbed for the most part to the old ways, the towns ostentatiously followed the new. The place-name Irishtown preserves the memory of legislation that restricted intercourse between the English, or Anglicised citizens, and the "mere," that is the pure or unmixed, Irish.<sup>1</sup> These, for fear of treachery, were, as a rule, debarred from holding any civic post, and business with them had in certain cases to be conducted outside the walls. Even marriage with an Irishwoman was enough in some places to bring a loss of privileges to the adventurous husband. Cork was "so compassed with rebellious Neighbours," Fynes Moryson reported in 1603, that the citizens "of old

or were suggested by others. The N.E.D. gives sovereign as an obsolete name for the chief magistrate, more general in Ireland than in England.

<sup>1</sup> Spencer used the term "meer Irish" to denote the pure bred Irish. He also wrote of "meer English" in the same sense, but the "meer Irish" has been quoted as an instance of English contempt, and used to embitter feeling between the two countries.



not daring to marry their Daughters to them, the custom grew and continues to this Day, that by mutual marriages one with another all the citizens are of kin in some degree of Affinity." In this connection it is not without interest to note that the office of major became at one period hereditary in Cork.

Given these conditions it is not surprising to find continual feuds between the urban and rural population, such as that between Waterford city and the O'Driscols. "Yet this," according to an old MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, "did not hinder the mayor and a chivalrous party of his citizens from going by sea on Christmas eve (A.D. 1453) well armed," be it noted, "to Baltimore, and presenting themselves to O'Driscol and his family at their Christmas dinner in the hall. They soon relieved them of their terrors, by telling them they had come, not to injure them but to carol and to dance. And having enjoyed his hospitality, they brought O'Driscol and his family back with them to Waterford, to partake of the city festivities, and to dance on St. Stephen's Day." <sup>1</sup>

On the face of things it would seem probable that an incident in connection with such local warfare gave rise to the custom of blocking the Irish, or West Gate of Carrickfergus on Christmas Eve with carts, cars, gates, planks, and so forth, collected by young men and boys. There is, however, doubt as to the early origin of the practice, for M'Skimmin declares some of the older inhabitants denied knowledge of it in their young days, and he mentions a "vague" tradition that it arose from Protestants having barred out Roman Catholics. It does not appear very likely though that an event of this kind should not be remembered other than vaguely if it occurred in the lifetime of living man, and the reason is just such a reason as, knowing no other, an Antrim man would proffer. The town's historian specifically states that there was no

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast, *Crom. Set.*, p. 297.



animosity in those days between members of the rival churches.

However this may be, the charter granted to Killmallock in 1482 sets forth that: "The King considering the many losses, hazards, burnings and other grievances which the town of Killmahalloke and his liege inhabitants thereof had sustained from his Irish enemies and English rebels . . . for the better government and defence of the town . . . grants a license to the Burgesses and their successors yearly to elect from among themselves, on the Monday after the 29th September, with the consent of twelve of the better and chief Burgesses, or the major part of them, one of the Burgesses to be Sovereign." Dingle, again, "for the faithful services of the inhabitants, done from time to time to the King and his progenitors" was made a "free town and borough corporate with a sovereign elected yearly on St. James's day, to enter on his office the Michaelmas following. To have a sword and mace carried before him . . . with a liberty of two English miles, round the parish church."

From their beginning the towns were built and organised for purposes of defence. According to the "Statuts of Kilkenny" it was ruled "That the Burrow Towns be made sure and fast and the Customs yerely be well bestowed upon the Walls and Ditches of the said towns on their proper costs, six Days in the month of March any yere from henseforward to repaire and make fast their Walls and Ditches." Not a few towns won their charters by giving military aid beyond their own vicinage to the Lords Deputy—for all maintained their trained forces. Dunganvan citizens—the town was incorporated about 1463—obtained a charter "for their fidelity to the crown during the Rebellion in Queen Elizabeth's time." The town's privileges were renewed in the charter that "changed the government of the Portreive into that of a sovereign, Recorder, and twelve Brethren, who were to be yearly

chosen five days after the Feast of St. Peter. The Admiralty of the harbour was granted to the Sovereign with the same extent of power as the Mayor of Bristol had."

The ceremonies consequent on the possession of Admiralty rights by Mayors of seaport towns are by no means the least interesting of Irish municipal customs. These, mediæval observances that have lingered on to our day, have a dramatic touch about them certain to appeal to the Irish temperament. What is more characteristically Irish even is the uncertainty of record regarding such mere details as dates! To a certain extent the day must depend upon the tide, the lowest tides obviously being a desideratum.

The charter granted to Cork city by Edward IV. gives the franchises of the city seawards as including all strands "in and to which the sea ebbs and flows, in length and breadth within the aforesaid two points, called Rewrawne and Renowdran." "We have," says Gibson, "neither of these 'aforesaid two points' marked on any ancient or modern map of Cork . . . but conclude it is between these two points outside the harbour's mouth where the Mayor of Cork throws the Dart." He quotes a local paper, unnamed and undated, which describes how, "having reached the necessary point at the Harbour's mouth, the Mayor put on his robes, and the Collar of SS, took the arrow, which was about a yard and a half in length with a heavy iron barbed head, and proceeding to the bow of the vessel, accompanied by the entire of the party (sic), threw it into the water amid a loud cheer."

Cf. similar customs at Sandwich in connection with Canute's grant in 1031. Also at Fordwich, and the fief held by Yorkshire constable by shooting an arrow annually into the sea.

Very similar was the Limerick custom. Lenihan quotes from White's MSS. "The Order of Franchises of Limerick": "On Thursday, the 10th of September, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and rest of the Corporation, in the King's yachts, went

down the river, in order to assert and make good his right of being admiral of the river Shannon. On Thursday, the 12th of September (sic), the Mayor held a Court of Admiralty on the island of Inis Scattery, and on Friday, the 13th, he sailed to the mouth of the Shannon, where, between the heads, he threw a dart into the sea to point out the limits of his jurisdiction; at the same time it happened that a sloop of war entered the river, whom the Mayor compelled to lower her colours and her foretopsail in acknowledgement of his Power of Admiralty in said river Shannon. The Mayor and Corporation returned to Limerick on Saturday, the 14th, by ringing of bells, etc."

In connection with this there is a feature of the famous Claddagh village that is worth repeating. Hardiman, in his *History of Galway*, in a long footnote on the Claddagh community and customs, mentions the following: "This colony from time immemorial has been ruled by one of their own body, periodically elected, who somewhat resembles the Brughaid or head villager of ancient times, when every clan resided in its hereditary canton. This individual, who is dignified with the title of mayor, in imitation of the head municipal officer of the town, regulates the community according to their own peculiar laws and customs, and settles all their disputes. His decisions are so decisive, and so much respected, that the parties are seldom known to carry their differences before a legal tribunal, or to trouble the civil magistrates. They neither understand nor trouble themselves about politics, consequently in the most turbulent times their loyalty has never been questioned, and they are exempt from all government taxes. Their mayor is no way distinguished from any of the other villagers, except that his boat is generally decorated with a white sail, and may be seen at sea (at which time he acts as admiral) with colours flying at the mast-head gliding through their fleet with some appearance of authority."

This is all the more interesting as I do not think the mayor of Galway had any admiralty rights, at least Hardiman mentions no such custom as those performed by the mayor of the senior city of Limerick.

The Dublin ceremony smacked more of the Mayor and less of the Admiral. Every member of the twenty-five city companies, "prepared as for a jubilee" to accompany the Lord Mayor on his tri-annual tour round "the fringes." Dublin claimed to have "the most magnificent of showy processions . . . except those of Rome," and visitors from England would come to witness the sight. When the procession reached the strand the Lord Mayor rode out into the sea as far as his horse could find foothold, and between the Black Rock and the Lighthouse hurled a lance out into the water. Where it struck made the limits of municipal jurisdiction for the next three years.

Different writers have suggested a variety of meanings and origins for these customs, ranging from Druidical magic rites to the Venetian marriage of the Adriatic! For my part I do not see that any such abstruse explanation is necessary to seek. To measure by a bowshot or a spear's cast is no new thing, nor need one smell magical rites in the doing. It was a practical act. Magic may accumulate round it, as for that matter it may around anything. But the act gave rise to the magic, not the magic to the act, and the act in the first instance was purely utilitarian. If the Danes measured in this fashion the custom may well enough have come down from the days when their long barques lay in the fair harbours of Ireland, and Danish settlements arose where the Irish cities stand to-day; but as a mayorial custom it is nothing more than a picturesque survival of primitive methods, a symbol to be classed with the thrusting of the Lord Mayor's sword through a hole in the wall when, during the perambulation of Dublin, he skirted the Earl of Meath's liberties—or the arying of a silver oar by the Bailiffs of Carrickfergus,

without which sign of jurisdiction they could arrest for recovery of debt no sailor or other person in any vessel.

From these dignified proceedings to civic drinking bouts may seem a sad falling off—though a feast, or a drinking, would be, after all, but the natural end—in Ireland—of any ceremonial display, and I have one or two notes on this point which may at least amuse you.

James II. annulled the Dublin charters, and as he did elsewhere, dismissed all except Jacobite Aldermen. The deposed Aldermen, however, continued to assemble privately at an alehouse in Skinner's Alley. There they elected their own Lord Mayor and officers, until after the Battle of the Boyne they were reinstated in office by William III. From this originated the name of the first Orange Association, which was called the Association of the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley. According to Barrington, "A lord-mayor was annually appointed; and regularity and decorum . . . always prevailed until, at least, towards the conclusion of the meetings . . . King William's bust being placed in the centre of the table. . . . Their charteredish was sheeps trotters (in allusion to King James's running away from Dublin), rum punch in blue jugs, whiskey punch in white ones, and porter in its pewter. . . . The real business began by a general chorus of "God Save the King!" The "lord-mayor" then gave the charter-toast, "always given with nine times nine." On July 1 "Every man unbuttoned the knees of his breeches and drank the toast on his bare joints":

"The glorious,—pious,—and immortal memory of the great and good King William—not forgetting Oliver Cromwell, who assisted in redeeming us from popery, slavery, arbitrary power, brass-money, and wooden shoes. May we never want a Williamite to kick the . . . of a Jacobite! and a . . . for the Bishop of Cork! And he that won't drink this whether he be priest, bishop, deacon, bellows-blower, grave-digger, or any other of the fraternity



of the clergy ; may a north wind blow him to the south, and a west wind blow him to the east ! May he have a dark night—a lee shore—a rank storm—and a leaky vessel to carry him over the river Styx ! May the dog Cerberus make a meal of his rump and Pluto a snuff-box of his scull ! and may the devil jump down his throat with a red hot harrow, with every pin tear out a gut, and blow him with a clean carcase to hell ! Amen ! ”

According to Charles Kingsley the Irish conception of a Saint was an individual with great cursing powers. The gift has not died out of our land.

Those were the days when an Orange Corporation had the pedestal of King William's equestrian statue in College Green painted orange and blue, and decked it annually on the anniversary of the Boyne with orange lilies and ribbon, while a bow of green was placed beneath the uplifted foot of the horse.

Drinking was not confined to one city or faction, it would appear to have been a regular municipal accomplishment, nor is it one peculiar to Ireland. Among the old city records of Waterford is this naive entry :

It was decreed by the Mayor and Council in 1496 that “ whensoever it shall fortune any of the VI *Sondayes* of the *Lenten* in which, by the old and laudable custome of the citie the drinking is holde and kepte, to fall voide by the death of any person, or otherwise, than of the Maire for the tyme being, have none of the same *drynking dayes* the Council shall assyne the same day to the Maire,” and in 1503 it was added that no one should be allowed to come to these Sunday “ drinkings ” except members of the Council. At Dingle, an old writer quoted in the Kilkenny Archaeological Society's Transactions, describes how, “ Upon the Sunday the Sovereign cometh into the Church with his Serjeant before him, and the Sheriffs and others of the Towne accompany him, and then they kneele downe every man by himself privately to make his prayers. After this



they rise and go out of the church againe to drinke, which, being done they returne againe into the church and then the minister beginneth prayers." Obviously something other than ecclesiastical spiritual assistance was needed to bring the worthy Corporation, as by law demanded, to the services of the Established Church! In the north we get a soberer touch. At Carrickfergus not only were the freemen obliged to attend the Mayor to church on Sunday, but at each Quarter Sessions enquiry was made anent such attendance, and if the aldermen and burgesses "ordained to have and wear gowns" duly wore them "upon every Sunday and Holydays in the Church and the Court."

Sundays were not the only Calendar dates to be observed by Irish corporations, and as one of the sub-editors of the new "Brand" I wish to draw your attention to these local observances, and enlist your interest and assistance. I merely mention the following as examples of what may be found—and when found made a "slip" of!

The Festival of St. George was an important thing once in Dublin, and Ledwich notes that on St. George's Day there was a great cavalcade in Kilkenny, "when the Lords rode in their places." This is interesting, taken in conjunction with the town's armed forces, for "in 1479, a military society, called the fraternity of St. George, was instituted for the defence of the counties . . . [Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Louth] and consisted of thirteen principal men, resident in those counties, who all met in Dublin on St. George's day in each year, and chose from amongst themselves a captain or leader." The society ceased to exist in 1494 "not having been found to answer the designed end."

A custom that arose out of an incident in party feuds took place in Dublin on Corpus Christi Day. The Lord Mayor, as chief magistrate, had to walk barefoot through the city "in open procession before the sacrament" in expiation of the city's "execrable offence"—as the Legate

put it—of a man having been killed in the chancel of St. Patrick's during a fight between the followers of Ormonde and Kildare. But the custom cannot have been of long continuance, for one can hardly picture a Protestant Lord Mayor submitting to it.

Hardiman mentions a Claddagh custom at Midsummer: "The Nativity of St. John the Baptist," he says, "they celebrate by a very peculiar kind of pageantry. On the evening of that day the young and old assemble at the head of that village; and their Mayor, whose orders are decisive, adjusts the rank, order, and precedent of this curious procession. They then set out, headed by a band of music, and march with loud and continued Huzzas and acclamations of joy, accompanied by crowds of people, through the principal streets and suburbs of the Town: the young men all uniformly arrayed in short white jackets, with silken sashes, their hats ornamented with flowers, and upwards of sixty or seventy of the number bearing long poles and standards with suitable devices, which are in general emblematic of their profession. To heighten the merriment of this festive scene, two of the stoutest disguised in masks, and entirely covered with parti-coloured rags, as 'merry-men' with many antic tricks and gambols, make way for the remainder. In the course of their progress, they stop with loud cheering and salutations opposite the houses of the principal inhabitants, from whom they generally receive money on the occasion. Having at length regained their village, they assembled in groups, dancing round, and sometimes leaping and running through their bonfires, never forgetting to bring home part of the fire, which they consider sacred; and thus the night ends as the day began, in one continued scene of mirth and rejoicing."

A curious feature in Irish urban history is the connection of the mayors with bulls and bull-baiting. The last public act of the Mayor of Carrickfergus was to go to Church in

procession. Then to the Castle, the haunt of the spirit or goblin Button-cap, whose appearance on a cannon heralded any commotion, so he was probably visible on these occasions, as will be evident. At the Castle the Mayor elect was sworn into office, after which, says M'Skimmin, "a bull was fastened to a ring in the market-place, and baited with bull-dogs. In the evening the Mayor gave a banquet, known as the Mayor's Feast, to various members of the Corporation. It was a matter of great pomp up to the nineteenth century. Baiting ceased," he says, "about 1804," but eight years later one "Arthur Chichester gave a bull to be baited, in order to revive that *humane* sport"—and the Mayor had to disperse the mob. After the bull-baiting was stopped an animal was still killed on that day, and the flesh given to the poor, each claimant receiving also half a loaf. According to the Statutes of Knockfergus "if anie man doe bye anie horse or beefe after sone sett untill the next daye at 6 of the clock in the morninge, to forfeyte 7s. 8d. to the maior." Moreover, the Mayor as Clerk of the Market had the tongues of all bullocks or cows killed on Friday whose flesh was sold in the market on Saturday.

"In Waterford and other towns," says the author of *Sketches in Ireland Sixty Years Ago*, "on the election of every mayor, he was surrounded by a mob, who shouted out, 'a rope, a rope, a rope!' and the new mayor never failed to grant their demands. A rope two inches in diameter, with a competent leather collar and buckle, had been previously prepared, and was then delivered to the claimants, who bore it away in triumph, and deposited it in the city jail-yard, to remain there till wanted. We have an extract before us from the old corporation books of Waterford dated 1814, October, in which month the slaughtering season commenced: 'Ordered, that a bull-rope be provided at the charge of the city revenue.' Under this sanction the populace assumed the authority of seizing all the bulls, and driving them to the bull-ring to be baited

before they were killed. The place for baiting them was an open space outside the city gate, called Ballybricken. It was surrounded with houses, from which spectators looked on, as at a Spanish bull-fight. In the centre was the ring through which the rope was passed. It was surmounted by a pole, bearing a large copper bull on a vane. In 1798, when bull baits were prohibited, this apparatus was removed, and the sport discontinued; but prior to that it was followed with the greatest enthusiasm; and it was not unusual to see eighteen or twenty of these animals baited during the season. . . . When, on occasions, a rope was refused by a refractory mayor, or a new one was required, the bull was driven through the streets of the town, and sometimes even into his worship's shop or hall, as a hint of what was wanted, and the civic authorities were often called out with the military to repress the riots that ensued."

A special law was passed in Dublin during George III.'s reign forbidding bulls to be seized on the way to or from market. Dublin bulls were baited in the Corn-market, and you may remember my previous account of the Mayor of the Bull-ring, who was guardian of the bachelors, and kissed the brides at the aforesaid ring. The slang song, "Lord Altham's Bull," describes a bull drive as mentioned above, and tells how:

"We drove de bull down Corn-market  
As all the world might segee."

There is reference to this also in another slang song dealing with the theft of a May Bush by the Liberty boys, in consequence whereof it was threatened that a bull should be driven down their streets:

"For de loss of our bush, revenge we will get  
Ri rigidi, ri ri dam dee,  
In the slaughtering season we'll tip 'em a sweat,  
Rigidi di do dee.

We'll wallop a mosey down Mead-Street in tune  
And we won't leave a weaver alive in de Coombe  
But we'll rip up his tripe bag, and burn his loom  
Ri rigidi, di do, dee ! ”

Fights between the different city companies were only to be expected in a land where faction fights may be considered calendar customs. Smith, in his *History of Cork*, mentions “ great riots between the weavers and butchers at the fair of this city ” in the beginning of June. Thistelton Dyer, of course, quotes Fitzgerald's account of the Midsummer Day march of the Limerick tradesmen, with “ their merry-men ” who, like those with the Claddagh fishermen's Midsummer procession, “ played a thousand antic tricks.” But the finale was not so peaceful as in Galway, for “ the day generally ended in a terrible fight between the Garryowen and Thomond Gate boys (the tradesmen of the north and south suburbs).” A Limerick ballad gives the tale of the “ Battle of the Mayor's Stone.”

“ We are bold Limerick Clothiers, we'll have you for to know  
That we must bear the sway wherever we shall go ;

Though Vulcan with his weapons had sworn he'd kill the  
Weavers,

Assisted by the Carpenters, and by the Masons too—  
There were Tinkers, Bricklayers, Glaziers with Stone Cutters  
and Braziers,

All joined against the Weavers, but all it would not do.  
For as we sat merry boozing, the plot it was concluding  
Which spread a vast confusion outside of Thomond Gate,  
But these dogs they were so footy, in as they had no booty,  
We taught them then their duty and made them soon  
retreat.

For when first they did attack us with adzes keen and axes,  
They stood as if already fixed our Clothiers to destroy ;  
But soon we did attack them, and nobly we did whack them,  
To our great satisfaction we worked them sore annoy.”



There are many verses descriptive of the fortunes of the fight, and one tells how "their daughters, wives and elders like poisoned Salamanders" joined in the fray! The finale is typical:

"Now Clothiers sit ye merry, drink brandy, wine, and sherry,  
Malaga and canary, fill bumper, do not spare!"

At Drogheda again we find annual battle waged between north and south, the part of the city on opposite sides of the Boyne. This took place on Shrove Tuesday. One side was led by the "Mayor of Flea Lane," an obscure lane in the suburbs behind Millmount (which is an earth-work "connected by a raised causeway or bridge" with a bank abutting on the Boyne, says the *Dublin Penny Journal*). The "Mayor of Flea Lane" crossed the bridge over the river and entered the northern part of the town "mounted on an ass, in mock procession, attended by his sheriffs, bailiffs, and other officers, all fantastically dressed with straw, and each bearing the insignia of his dignity, together with several ragamuffins disguised in petticoats and masks and armed with blown bladders on poles" to clear a way. The cavalcade was "preceded by a 'bough' or garland," and music. The principal streets were traversed and contributions levied. Meanwhile another party entered by Lawrence's Gate, "the Mayor of the Chord" and his followers "generally dressed in cast-soldiers' clothes." They marched "in another direction until evening, or they conceive they have enough collected, when they meet and after a mock encounter between the 'bladder-men' . . . all adjourn to the 'chord field' outside Lawrence's Gate and spend the evening in mirth and jollity."

The "Mayor of the Chord" and the "chord field" certainly suggest the Mayor of the Bull-ring and "A rope, a rope!" But so far as the sham fight is concerned history gives an explanation, without which guidance the folklorist might stray to many a false premise. Drogheda originally



was not one borough but two, Drogheda in Louth, and Drogheda in Meath, each with its charters and gilds, till Henry IV. united them and made Drogheda "a 'corporate' county." The story goes that one Father Philip Bennett in order to stop the dissensions between north and south which led to frequent fighting and often to bloodshed, "invited both sides to hear a sermon on Ps. cxxxiii." During the course of it he "thrice asked the congregation with energy 'will ye be united in the body of Christ?' Alderman William Symcock answered in the name of all, 'We will'—they then feasted at the convent of St. Mary Magdalene and by the advice of Father Bennett sent a petition to the King, who granted a charter on December 15th, following, 'uniting the two sides into one Town of Drogheda, and under one mayor, and forming it into a special county.'"

Here then is History explaining Folklore. Reciprocally may we not find Folklore illuminating some dark passages in Irish history? At least Folklore may have a message and a lesson as well for the English, who appear incapable of remembering the past, as for the Irish, who refuse to look anywhere else. These matters of local officials decked out in brief authority may seem trivial and without importance, yet they are links in the chain of national life, links at present rather loose and dislocated I fear me. But they bear witness to the introduction of a measure of organisation and consolidation for which scant credit is given to England. The fact that so many of the customs hinged upon, or resulted in fightings, is no surprising feature in the municipal history of a land where dissensions have been rife from time immemorial. In common with the folk who introduced them many of the transplanted customs have been submerged—some, as I may show at another time, survive, attached to quite other observances than were theirs originally. But for the most part the engrafted customs have proved ephemeral. They are the fashions

of the folk, the outcome of the thought and events of the moment, and like all fashions fugitive. They are mainly concerned with mutable matters of form and ceremony, but of no vital import, while the indigenous growth survives in the more private but more essential acts and beliefs. The persistencies are to be found connected with such immutable matters as life and death, birth and marriage.

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

---

## COLLECTANEA.

---

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

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP.

PERHAPS the wildest and least studied section of the wild western coasts of Ireland, the very fringe of the ancient world, is the shores and islands of the counties of Mayo and Galway. Even at the close of the last century one found districts evidently but little altered from the time when, two centuries before, they had been described by the "chorographer," Roderic O'Flaherty, in his *Hiar Connacht*. I myself have photographed the "Cashlain Flaineen," the charm intended to lure the shoals of fish within the nets, and have put turf on the Beltane fire; have seen the canvas "curragh" left adrift by poor people "because it drowned a boy," and the pipes left on the graves as an offering to the dead. I have seen the mirage of the lost islands, and heard the reputed wailing of the spirits of those lost at sea. But the old order changeth; already schools and newspapers are at work, and soon the rites which were done and talked about without hesitation may be only done furtively and concealed from enquirers.

The old beliefs are getting forgotten by the older and despised by the younger people, and much must be lost when the old peasantry die. The work done by me had been better done by dwellers on that wild coast; but few indeed show interest in such a pursuit, and the old Ireland is passing away for ever, more and more speedily. I may therefore give the notes that I have collected, supplemented by those of my friends, and not excluding what I have reason to believe is genuine in the note

of the older workers. I have collected my share without leading questions or the desire (so apparent in some of my predecessors, like the Knights and, at times, Otway and Lady Wilde) of "making a good story." I also try to locate them as carefully as possible, for the too common custom of telling stories "out of space out of time" is misleading and unscientific. Here and there I may have been hypercritical in rejecting some of my predecessors' statements, such as the oath on the skull and the key in Knight's version of the legend of Dundonnell; but it is wisest to omit anything that savours of the artificial adornments of native legends by the writers of 1840. The peasantry, if not prompted, seem usually reliable; tourists are too rare for the establishment of that detestable by-product the story-telling guide, and one local version verifies that told by a different person. Occasionally I have found different names given to the same place, or the same name given to different places, like Leimataggart, but I hardly think this was done to deceive. It springs from careless hearsay among the younger people. In the case of "Leimataggart," it was probably caused by the transfer of the tradition from the true site to more accessible spots for the amusement of visitors. I follow the lines of my folk-lore survey of Co. Clare in these pages as far as possible.

#### I. *Place Names.*

It is probably my own limitations which prevent this section being of as much interest as ought to attach to such a study. I tried to collect names along the whole coast, but save in Cliara (Clare Island) I was rather struck with the poverty of the coast names when compared with the rich harvest of Co. Clare, and, indeed, those of Kerry, Cork and Waterford. I never found the Mayo folk churlish or unwilling to help. I was, on the contrary, most pleasantly impressed with their hospitality, courtesy and accessibility. They are most intelligent people, and ready to impart what they know, yet I failed to get many names not on the Ordnance Survey maps, especially along the north coast. Professor MacNeill gathered a rich

harvest at Cliara, where, however, my harvest was only less extensive. It may be that the low shore, with its endless creeks, was more bound up with the interests of the inhabitants than the great ramparts and bastions, six to nine hundred feet high, and only pierced by three bays, along the edge of Tirawley and Erris. I did not work out the endless whale-backed islands of Clew Bay, where the names are fairly abundant, and the low featureless shore of the southern half of the Mullet may possibly have lent itself to little nomenclature.

Perhaps the oldest local legend, here as in Co. Clare, is that of the sons of Huamore, a tribe of the Firbolg, contemporaries of Queen Medb and the Red Branch heroes at the beginning of our era. To it the Aran forts, Dun Aengusa and Dun Chonchobair, with, perhaps, the river Dail and Murbach in Mayo and Tawinloch on Cliara, or Tawin (in Galway Bay) owe their names. Of the same great cycle of tales of Flidais and Fergus and his compeers we find trace at Dun Fiachrach, Dunaneanir, Duncarton and Dundonnell; round Belmullet and Duniver in Achill. The second epic cycle, that of Finn, gives the names of the Seefins and Knockaveen (cnoc na bh Fian, hill of the Fiana).

Famous cows, the "Boruad," the "Glasgeivnagh," and the "Bofinn" have an echo in "Brian Boru's well" on Ardillan.<sup>1</sup> Dunnaglas fort and Bealaglas channel between the Achills (probably only "Green pass") and Inisbofinn. Altnapeastia, the cliff of the *peist*, or sea dragon; Lugnademon, the demon's hollow; Owennaphuca (near Omey), Foheraphuca (in Achill) and Sochaunaphuca (Cliara) stream, cliff, and lakelet, of the Púca, the elfish horse, or goat fiend; Greatman's Bay, Cuanphirmorea; the Big man's leap, Leamanirvore and the Leap of Geodruisge and those of "Eanir" and Fiachra's sea horse in the Mullet; various sidh (fairies or fairy mound) names and Ooghnasheefroge (fairies' creek) in the Mullet;<sup>2</sup> and I hear there is a Fear brega rock near Dunfeeny in north Mayo. The Boughil rocks are called from petrified boys, at Inishturk and

<sup>1</sup> So at Elmvale, near Inchiquin Lake, Co. Clare, the Toberboruadh is mis-called "Brian Boru's well."

<sup>2</sup> Bald's map of Mayo, 1813.

Inishark—all tell their own tale. Other names allude to legends, like Dunbriste, “the broken fort”; Lugnaphoilla, “the hollow of blood,” where the great “Battle of Cross” was fought; the Dane’s Prison, Leckaprison and Prisoon respectively in the Mullet, Cliara and Bofin. Allusive and sarcastic names are not absent (a few coarse) like Buddagh, Buddavanagh, Calliaghcrom, “the three Hags,” “The Crew” Sraher (pack saddle), Ton Tuahail, the Three Leimataggarts (Priest’s Leap), belong to the Christian period, so do a galaxy of Saints’ names—Downpatrick, Rosserk, Croaghpatrick, the Mionnaun,<sup>1</sup> Trabride, Caherpatrick, Cruachmacdara, Gregory’s Sound, and endless wells and churches. There is a rich store of names derived from animals—horses, colts, cattle, sheep, lambs, goats, kids, wild boar, dogs, pigs, seals, porpoises, herrings, crabs, limpets and even butterflies.<sup>2</sup>

O’Donovan gives a warning that many of these names are arbitrary, given by a single person, and perhaps only used by a single family, some perhaps made up on the spur of the moment. My own experience supports this suggestion.

## II. AND III. *Banshees and Death Omens.*

In recent years (in connection with the pagan sanctuaries, cemeteries and places of assembly) I have studied the question of the beliefs of the pagan Irish just before the introduction of Christianity and their survival in subsequent folk-belief. To these studies, published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vols. xxxiii. and xxxiv., and the *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, vol. iv., I must refer students for proofs and arguments. I need only here briefly state that down to the tenth century Christian writers spoke candidly about the Irish gods, but from A.D. 950 the prejudice against Norse and Danish paganism led scholars to dispose of the old

<sup>1</sup>From St. Benen or Benignus, disciple of St. Patrick, the name was corrupted to Mionnan, “kid,” and a legend of his transformation to one invented.

<sup>2</sup>I think “beetle” only means the wooden implement for beating clothes during washing.



deities by turning them into human ancestors.<sup>1</sup> Later on some, who had not attained this respectable position, were turned into demons (in the modern sense), but the "unscholarly" peasants kept them as fairies (*síd*, *siabra*, *Fir síd*, etc.), the men of the *síd* or "fairy mounds." The older *síd* was an anthropoid god, as large or greater than a man, gradually he became a little elf. With great Brito-Gaulish gods, like Lug, Nuada, Segomo, Catabodua, etc., were non-Celtic gods, like Aengus and Bodbh Dearg, and the Irish Neptune, Manannán mac Lir, who "keeps his human size," and is still "alive and venerated" on the coasts of Mayo and Galway. I therefore prefer in this section to use "fairy" in its modern connotation, regarding *síd* as being better translated as "god," and not (as so common with scholars of Irish literature) as "elf," "goblin," or "demon," all most misleading translations.

The Banshee, as a goddess "fallen on evil days" from her high estate, naturally claims precedence, but unfortunately (though I found mention of her frequently) none of the vivid and suggestive tales found in Co. Clare were noted by me along the coasts of Connacht. I accordingly treat of her along with other death omens, as in no case did I find any belief in her protective power, elsewhere her last trace of godhead. I found belief in her at Portacloy and the Mullet at the N.W. angle of Co. Mayo, on the islands of Cliara (Clare Island) and Inishbofin. In the peninsula of the Mullet Mr. J. A. Nolan of Belmullet and Messrs. F. C. Wallace and P. T. Reilly of Carn told Dr. Charles Browne<sup>2</sup> that the principal death omens were the keening of the Banshee, the death watch, the howling of a dog at night, and the creaking of furniture. Several persons had heard the cry of the Banshee before the death of a relation, but no details were told me; perhaps I was too much a stranger to be taken into the sanctuary of such solemn recollections. The Banshee

<sup>1</sup> Of course the oldest pedigrees usually have ancestral *gods*: thus the Munster princes derive from Nuada and Lug, the O'Healys from Manannan. The O'Briens have the war goddess Macha, under her name Dairine, changed to an ancestor along with Lug, Nuada and (apparently) a *nephew* of the British war god Segomo or Camulos Nia Segamain.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. R. I. Academy*, vol. v. ser. iii. "Ethnography of the Mullet," etc.

appears in Mayo as a dark cloaked grey-haired woman sitting on a rock or fence near the house moaning or crying, more frequently heard than seen. She is occasionally confused with the Púca and with the fairies. In Connemara she wears a red cloak, and sings before a death; her voice travels with the gust of wind. Maxwell in *Wild Sports of the West* tells how the Banshee comes in a storm. This was in the N.W. corner of Mayo.<sup>1</sup> I nowhere heard of the ponylike or goatlike Púca round this coast; it was known as of human shape. I hope some local student may be able to get more information on the subject.

Near Creggs at Lettermullen on Galway Bay is a curious rock from which a child's voice is heard crying before the death of any of the village children. In the same place Dr. Browne found a belief that four magpies (elsewhere foretelling a birth) or a raven sitting on a house are death omens. So is the apparition of a headless man sitting on a boat on the shore before any fatality. In some cases a coffin is heard being made outside the house of the doomed man, or his wraith is seen to walk past and suddenly vanish. This last in Co. Limerick was rather a sign of recovery or long life. One man when going from Lettermullen to Co. Mayo saw the death coach and died shortly afterwards. In short, Dr. Browne and I were much impressed by the gloomy beliefs which preponderate on that section of the coast of Galway.

Near Ballycroy on Blacksod Bay the chief death omens mentioned are the appearance of a black dog or a white cow, both ghosts; the last is especially feared.

On the north coast of Mayo east from Portacloy the crickets usually foretell death, "for they are hundreds of years old and very cunning and understand all that they hear." It is evidently their long gathered wisdom and experience, not any malicious element, that makes them prophets. I saw a cricket run out past the hearth and stay. "Look how the cricket is listening to your story," said my host. He seemed to have no prejudice against it. On Cliara, Loughaunaphuca was thought to be haunted—"the Púca was seen there and might

<sup>1</sup> *Wild Sports of the West*, vol. i. p. 67.

be seen yet,"<sup>1</sup> but I could learn nothing of its shape and doings. I also heard that the weird cry of the curlew and other shore birds in the darkness was feared as ominous.

The only Mayo story of the death coach (if such it be) which gave any details I was unable to locate, save as in the county. I heard it as told in Roscommon.<sup>2</sup> Lord Tirawley was a sensual, reckless young man and a misleader of his companions. One night a heavy carriage drove up to his door as he was carousing. The servants, unaccountably scared by the fierce ringing of the bell and knocking, long hesitated to open the door; when at last they did so they saw a great black coach surrounded by a crowd of attendants dressed in black and holding torches. A stately man, also in black, got out and beckoned Lord Tirawley into an unfurnished wing of the building opposite to the dining room. They were long together, and when the peer rejoined his guests he told them with tears that he was given a warning to repent as he was doomed to die after a year. He for some months led a reformed and even pious life, then he gradually lapsed and led a wilder life than ever, though he still said that the coach would come on the anniversary of its former visit. When that day came he asked a large party of revellers to keep him company. As the evening darkened he sat in gloomy silence till the hour had come and gone, then he burst out into reckless mirth and a wild revel began. Midnight struck, and a heavy rumbling silenced the mirth and blasphemy; the knocking was heard; the servants opened, and the dark stranger entered. He stood at the door and beckoned to the doomed lord, who rose and followed him like a sheep-walker. They passed to the innermost room of the opposite wing, leaving the doors open so all could be seen from the hall. The stranger drew a ship on the wall; it became solid and moved out; he got on board, Lord Tirawley followed, and the ship sailed round and passed through the wall, which closed upon it, and neither of its occupants was seen again on earth!

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. R.I. Academy*, vol. xxxi. "Clare Island Survey," part 3.

<sup>2</sup> From Mr. Donnellan at Dingle.

IV. *Fairies, Fairy Forts and Mounds.*

Going round the coast of Mayo I found traces of fairy belief everywhere, but, as I was a mere bird of passage, gathered few detailed stories. Fairy belief at Portacloy centred round *sidh* mounds. One was a hillock called *Cruickeen na sheehoge*, or "fairy mound," in a little river glen near Benwee and Dunminulla. The loneliness of the spot prevented Dr. Fogerty and me from getting any information about it when examining the promontory forts of Dunanierin or Dookeeghan and Dunminulla. At the latter great rock platform the swan children of Lir, the sea god, had been used to rest, so the place behind Benwee was a haunt of gods and their degenerate equivalents, the fairies. Caesar Otway<sup>1</sup> (who here got his information from a most reliable informant, Lieut. Henri, who during over forty years' coastguard service had amassed a large collection of notes), tells one tale of this place. The *Sheehoga* or "gentry" were powerful in the glen, so when Otway sent one Bryan O'Donnell one evening from Portacloy to the Dookeeghan coastguard station, and the latter returned six hours later covered with mud and in abject terror, no one but Otway felt much surprise. O'Donnell ran in crying; "It's all true," and told how on his journey he saw a cluster of pale lights, which he supposed to be Cariateige village, when he fell into a mud-pool and heard laughter and clapping of hands all round him. When he got out he saw lights flashing in every direction and that he was hopelessly lost on Benwee. He remembered to turn his coat, and at once, after six hours' wandering, found himself back at Portacloy. "Sheehoges, pookies, ghosts and hobgoblins" were then very abundant in Erris; as I said, the pooka was merely a malicious sprite, not (at least in my informant's tales) a demon horse or goat. He appears in human form below the fort of Dunminulla.

In the Mullet and the Mayo Islands a person born in the early morning is supposed to be able to see ghosts and fairies. One such person said, "It is true in my case."

A less reliable witness than Henri—a "reduced gentleman,"

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrrawley*, p. 123.

Michael Anthony O'Donnell, of Termoncarra, in the Mullet, locally known as "Master Mickletony"—gave Otway a mass of fairy lore. It tallies enough with local belief apart from its "dressing up," however, to be a valuable indication of Mullet folk-lore in 1838. Fairies were even then scarce, but Mickletony had seen and felt them seven years before.<sup>1</sup> After supper with a friend he was groping his way along a "togher" or bog-causeway in the mirk of a clouded evening. He met a little man with green eyes, a long face and long crooked black nose holding a "live turf" (a bit of burning peat) in a "clip" by way of a lantern. O'Donnell asked his escort and light to Court Clough, and found it very hard to keep up with his conductor, who hopped and leaped along till the breathless man had to ask for time. Every now and then the stranger blew up the turf, and strange faces appeared grinning and peering out of the gloom. At last O'Donnell saw he was being led into the sandhills and got thoroughly frightened, when he remembered and lit his pipe. As the true fire blazed the fairy gave a cry like a curlew and vanished. He "signed the cross, said a pater and an ave and fell asleep," awaking at sunrise. Otway, who untactfully jested at the tale, found that Mickletony took it very seriously and was certain it was a design of the "Phouca" to mislead and injure him. Fortunately his offence took the form of telling a corroborative story.

"Miss Ellen," the daughter of the Protestant clergyman of Termoncarra Glebe in the time of Mickletony's father, fell in love with a French skipper, was betrayed and wasted away. Her father sent for a famous holy man, "Friar Cook, from Achill, who after six months cured her, won her to his faith and tied a "gospel" round her neck. Soon afterwards a man named Teeling from Sligo made honourable proposals for marriage with her; she refused, and he in sudden anger snatched the "gospel" from her neck, when she fell dead. It was firmly believed that the fairies (and not the very natural delicacy and nerve collapse after her misfortunes and the excitement of an offer which must have painfully recalled the past) caused her untimely death.

<sup>1</sup> *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 73.



On Inisbofin and Inishark tales are told of fairy blight, and (like in Munster) when an eddy of wind and dust reaches you, you should take off your hat and say, "Good morning" or "Good evening," for fairies are in the *sideán* or fairy blast. There is no concealment as to the meaning of the act, though the young people are shy, fearing ridicule. Lady Ferguson gives cases (one, I think, from these islands) but she does not give clearly the localities of her stories or their periods, most important for their value. A pretty little girl was busy in a turnip field when a blast swept by and chilled her. She began to pine away, and her people made her worse by ill-treating her to expel the fairy possession, regarding her as a changeling. At last a "wise woman" was consulted, and bade her family dip her in a boghole every day for a fortnight in the name of the Trinity and of the Saints. The cure was completely successful.<sup>1</sup> A more tragic story is told (somewhere in Mayo), where a "wasting man" used to be locked up at home while his family were at the Mass. Someone said he had escaped and had been seen "bowing in a field" in their absence, so they, abusing and threatening to burn him, forced him to go out into the field, where he lay down and was soon after found to be dead.<sup>2</sup>

Lieut. Henri found on Inisbofin (before 1838) a belief in Inishbofin that the hills were full of fairies, who could be heard "romping and carousing inside." They carried off children, robbed dairies of milk and butter, and they could be killed by a stab with a black-handled knife. One, more wily and dangerous than the rest, caused a shower of herrings to fall in order to tempt a man to eat fairy food.<sup>3</sup> Had the man yielded he should have lived with his deceiver till the day of judgment.

One man, who fortunately for himself was wearing a scapular and carrying a black-hafted knife, was passing a *rath* (early ring mound), when an obtrusive fairy came out with a "flagger" (leaf of yellow iris) and hit him on the face; the man struck

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Cures*, etc., Lady Wilde, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Legends*, etc., Lady Wilde, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Erris and Tyrawley*, p. 397. The *Dind Senchas* tells of a wonderful shower of fish near Clew Bay.



back and found his knife covered with blood and fled at the fairy's groan. When at last he ventured to return in the morning he only found a heap of slime as if a dead frog had melted there. This was told to Henri by the Bofin school-master, "M'C——." <sup>1</sup>

He was told by a man from Omev Island that one snowy day a millstone floated down lightly to earth; it had fairy meal on it, and remained an undoubted relic of the fairy folk. <sup>2</sup>

Though Maxwell <sup>3</sup> inclined to telling picturesque tales, I found some of his stories well attested by local belief. Unfortunately they are, where reliable, brief and bald, relating to "butter taking" and the power of certain lochs near Ballycrov to cure cattle.

Dr. Browne and I in the "nineties" of the last century, and I between 1909 and 1912, found much information about the fairies. We exchanged notes, so I will give the combined results, adding that the larger portion (save perhaps on Cliara and Bofin) was gathered by Dr. Browne during his very valuable ethnological researches. On Cliara or "Clare" Island (I prefer the proper Irish name as less confused with the county Clare and the several towns of the name in it and the counties Galway and Mayo) Sergeant MacGolderic, Mr. Edward O'Malley and Mrs. C. Kelly told Dr. Browne <sup>4</sup> (I had much confirmation from several of the O'Malleys and Mr. and Mrs. MacCabe there, 1909-1911) numerous stories of interest. One John Neddy saw about a hundred fairies in white running on the mountain side in the spring of 1896. They are thought to be the least guilty of the fallen angels condemned to wander on the earth (like the undying Jew) till the day of judgment. I heard vague but contradictory tales of their ultimate fate. A girl was once carried off by them, and they were removing a child when it was rescued by some people who passed at the critical moment. At childbirth a protective red cord should be tied round the wrist of the mother and another round that

<sup>1</sup> *Ervis and Tyravoley*, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Wild Sports of the West*, vol. ii. p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 64-66.

<sup>4</sup> "Ethnography of Clare Island and Inishturk," *ibid.* vol. v. ser. iii. p. 63.

of the newborn child. If the tails of cattle are cut or marked it is attributed to the fairies. Fairy ships and boats sail in the air and are often seen over Inishturk. One ship sailed over Cfiara, and magic lights are often seen out to sea. There are two reputed fairy mounds on the island. A fine bronze sword was thrust out of the earth in one and secured for archaeology. As to the ships, Irish annals tell how in 1161 "demon ships were seen to sail against the wind" in Galway harbour before the fort (*dun*) of Gaillimh (Galway) was destroyed. A hearth should be swept and the fire made up when the family go to bed, so that the fairies can warm themselves there.

Mr. Michael Lavelle, his brother Rev. Edward Lavelle, a priest on Cliara (Clare Island), and Mr. Myles Joyce, the schoolmaster on Bofin (Inishbofin),<sup>1</sup> were stores of such local tales. One man subject to epileptic fits used to tell wondrous stories of his dealings with the fairies on such occasions.

The Allies family on Bofin were invaluable to us and Professor Haddon from their local knowledge. Mrs. Allies was once told by several of the islanders that they had seen numbers of little men dressed in green and led by two dressed in black running over the hills, and Mr. Cyril Allies, when rabbit shooting, was informed by an old man that a crowd of fairy girls were around him. He offered a large reward to be shown one or to be allowed to photograph one, but down to my visit in 1911 the reward was unclaimed, and I recently heard with regret of the death of this kind and hospitable gentleman so bound up with the recollections of all explorers of Bofin in the last thirty years.

On one occasion his quarrymen stopped work because the rock was getting very hot from all the "good people" inside it. One variety of fairy, the *Fir dearg* or Red Man, is mentioned. I reserve the better known Bofin legends of the discovery of the island, the fairy woman and the enchanted "white cow," whence the name "Inis bofin" is derived.

On the Mullet peninsula we found on different occasions many tales of fairies. "They" have been seen dancing and making fairy rings on the sward and riding on stems of the "bohilaun"

<sup>1</sup> The Lavelles are not (as some have said) French settlers, but of an old Irish family, Mullavell.

(ragwort, *Senecio*); they dwell in the grassy mounds and in the sandhills. They cause the *ignis fatuus*, the St. Elmo's fire (which I am told has been frequently seen in the sandhills round Binghamstown), and the mirage, so often seen from the shore or from boats, sailing in ships in the air and landing from them. They cause wasting, disfigurement, epilepsy and disease in men and cattle, being very malicious, jealous and revengeful for real or imaginary insults or trespass. Men have got paralysed and have wasted away after meeting a fairy blast. One man found and used a razor which was a fairy one and gave him a disfiguring skin disease. They carry off women after childbirth to nurse their young, or carry off human babes leaving their own instead; but these beliefs are numerous and important, and I reserve them for a separate section. Cattle are shot with stones and can only be cured by a "fairy dart" or ancient stone arrowhead. These objects are kept in numerous wrappings by every properly qualified "fairy doctor," who rub them on the sick beasts with appropriate charms or prayers, the latter kept as professional secrets. At Illaunaglas in the Mullet some sickness arose and a "fairy doctor" was called in. He declared that it arose from the resentment of the fairy folk, owing to the defilement of their playground by keeping a manure heap on the south side of one of the houses. It was removed, and soon afterwards the sickness, for very obvious reasons, disappeared. Similarly, dirty water should never be thrown out of a house between sunrise and sunset. I have met this belief everywhere in Connacht and Munster. On Inishark (Shark) it suffices to give the warning cry, "Take care of the water!" before throwing it out in the dark. Once it is said that this was omitted and a bitter cry was heard, a black lamb tottering in and dying on the next night. It was buried, but returned again till a priest laid it. The lamb's grave was opened and nothing was found in it.<sup>1</sup>

A strip of skin from an ass is a powerful protective against fairies, and is worn by women in childbirth. This is said to be because the ass stood beside the Blessed Virgin and screened her when our Lord was born. I do not know whether I should

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Legends*, vol. i. p. 150.

not better have segregated these cures with medical lore, but thought it was well to complete the fairy lore as far as I was able.

At Ballycrooy on Blacksod Bay, a lonely and somewhat inaccessible place, Mr. Michael Conway told Dr. Browne<sup>1</sup> that there were three classes of fairies dwelling respectively in the sea, air and earth, they injured human beings and animals. If one of the latter was shot a "wise man" passed a "fairy dart" thrice over and under the beast with suitable incantations. Not long before 1896 a child was carried for three miles away by the fairies, but it was rescued, I could not learn how. He also knew of a man who, coming within hearing of the fairy revels, danced to "the music of their sweet pipings," and died within a year.

Lady Wilde tells of a man on Shark (Inishark) Island, being weatherbound and unable to go to Bofin for tobacco, lost his temper and beat his wife. When he went out he met a stranger who offered to put him across the Sound. A number of men and ladies passed on horses; he sprang up on one of the mysterious steeds, which sprang to a rock midway between the islands. At this the cavalcade cried out that a mortal was among them and they tried to drown him, but a red-haired man rescued him and brought him back to Shark, warning him never to beat his wife again. The origin of this improving tale is evident. On Inisbofin it is unlucky even to speak of the fairies on a Wednesday or a Friday. One should watch and wave burning straw over the children, and if the horses are restless one should go into the stable and spit thrice, for evidently the fairies are there. The fairies have spears of fish bones or stone and are of two sorts, one being gentle and loving, the other kind malignant and friends of Satan.

A tale is told on Inishark a replica of that of "Daniel O'Rourke and the Eagle" in Crofton Croker's fairy legends, and probably brought in by some stranger. It tells how one Shaun More carried sacks for the fairies and received various gifts till he became rich and proud and quarrelled with his benefactors, challenging them to fight. His flight on the eagle's back,

<sup>1</sup> "Ethnography of Ballycrooy," *Proc. R.I. Acad.*, vol. iv. ser. iii. p. 104.

short sojourn on the moon, fall upon the gander and quarrel with the whale, are all identical with Croker's episodes.<sup>1</sup> As I did not visit Shark I give these on Lady Wilde's authority; her Bofin tales seem to be generally reliable and unvarnished.

Mr. Allies told us much about the prophylactics and spells for the safety of men and animals used against the fairies in Bofin, but these must be reserved for a later section on charms and cures. The natives imagined that swarms of fairies surrounded the Allies children, and ran to spit on the infants' clothes as a preservative. I shall have to deal with the other aspects of this subject in the section on the evil eye, as it is rather hard to decide to what section to allot one's notes.

In Mayo and the neighbouring Sligo fairy-doctors are not uncommon. They usually possess elf-bags, containing in one recent case 3 or 4 ancient flint arrow heads, a piece of silver with a cross on it, and 3 pieces of copper. Some have 7 or 8 flints, though only one was used in the disenchanting acts. Cows were also treated with water from three boundary streams, ladies-mantle juice and salt; the coins and one arrow head being dipped in it. It was given in three draughts to the cow, the rest poured on her back or into her ears.<sup>2</sup>

(To be continued.)

---

#### TRACES OF COUVADE (?) IN ENGLAND.

AN interesting fact has lately come under my notice which appears to belong to the "Couvade" cycle of ideas. I note that in the March number of this Journal Mr. H. J. Rose published a short paragraph entitled "Couvade in Ontario," where beliefs seem to prevail similar to those which I have recently discovered to exist in some parts of England.

In a case which came under my immediate notice a woman, whose husband is a sailor now serving in the Mediterranean, was pregnant. She was in excellent health; but her husband,

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Legends*, etc., vol. i. pp. 56, 114, 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish Naturalist*, xiii. p. 219 (Dr. A. D. Evelyn).



I was told, though so far away from her, had to suffer in her stead. He continued to be poorly and out of sorts; until at one period his wife became unwell, when he immediately recovered. I find that this belief in the husband suffering if the wife keeps well during her pregnancy is believed in all round Oxford. Mrs. Seligman has kindly made enquiries for me in the neighbourhood of Thame, and there the husband suffers from neuralgia if the wife is immune.

The same idea holds sway in parts of Cheshire. I have been told of two cases in a small village in that county. My informant knew the people well.

In the first case the wife was expecting her second child, and on one occasion some of her friends, knowing that she was in this condition, came to enquire after her health. Having duly expressed their sympathy with her, she said: "Oh, I am all right, J—— is bearing the little one this time, and he is awfully bad," and there was great chuckling among the women. Indeed, the man suffered so badly from "morning sickness" that he was obliged to give up his work for a time, and my informant told me that she saw him going about looking an absolute wreck. He also suffered from neuralgia.

In the other case in this village where there was this vicarious suffering on the part of the husband, the wife eventually had twins. The man's discomfort did not end with his wife's confinement; for the twins were bad sleepers, and he and his wife had to walk up and down their room a great part of the night, each trying to soothe a fractious infant!

It would be interesting to find out if such ideas exist where *couvade* is or was practised.

A further case of sympathetic transference came under my notice a few days ago. The people concerned are well known to my informant, and they live in Oxford.

In this case the wife suffered very badly from haemorrhoids, and her husband had frequently begged her to see a doctor, but in vain. He happened on one occasion to express great sympathy with her, just before she became pregnant. The haemorrhoids were, according to my informant, immediately transferred to the husband, who has suffered from them off



and on ever since. The wife, however, is completely cured. Now, whenever he offers her sympathy if she is not well, she warns him to beware of what happened before when he expressed his compassion for her.

I am offering these few notes in the hope that I may obtain fuller information on the subject, and I shall be very glad to hear from others of similar or kindred ideas.

WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN.

“ KING ORFEO.”

“ KING ORFEO ” is the name of a ballad that relates the story told in the mediaeval romance of Orpheus. That the story of Orpheus could have become popular without the aid of a romance is possible, for it is told in Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, which, as is known, was translated by King Alfred. We can thus point to a source for the ballad independent of romance, and it is remarkable that this fact was not referred to by Child when considering the origin of the ballad. Boethius' work was popular before the mediaeval romance properly existed, whilst in later days its circulation was wide. As Guizot remarked : “ Ce petit volume de Boëce eut un grand rôle, et se maintint pendant près de mille ans au premier rang parmi les manuels favoris de l'Europe barbare et féodale. C'était en l'an 1300 un des quatre classiques de la bibliothèque de Paris.”

In the *American Journal of Philology*, vii., 176-202, Professor Kittredge made a study of the romance of Orpheus, particularly in regard to its relation to the Irish tale of the Wooing of Etain. In regard to the ballad there is, with the exception of the substitution of Ferrie for Tartarus in the classical story, but one trait that is perhaps distinctively Celtic. It is found in the following lines :

And first he played da notes o noy,  
 And dan he played da notes o joy.  
 An dan he played da göd gabber reel,  
 Dat meicht ha made a sick hert hale.

These lines recall the three types of music frequently mentioned in early Irish literature, namely, *goltraighe*, *geantraighe*, and *suantraighe*. In the Irish tale *Cath Muige Mucrime*, Fer fí mac Eogabail plays these three latter kinds of music. (Vid. *Silva Gadelica*, p. 311, ed. S. H. O'Grady.) In the Irish tale the first type of music produces weeping, the second laughter, the third sleep. It would seem, therefore, that the ballad, as recorded, supports to a great extent Professor Kittredge's theory of Celtic origins in regard to the theme in its romance setting. Despite, however, the Celtic traits in the ballad, as it is recorded, attention has to be paid to the story's relation to the Danish ballad "Harpens Kraft." (Sophus Bugge: *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, vii.) The theory of Celtic influence on the ballad is rather strengthened by the fact that there is a lack of Continental ballad versions dealing with the Orpheus theme. In fact, in view of the theme, as told in the ballad and the romance, bearing such a distorted resemblance to the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice, the very name of the ballad might be questioned. To do so would, however, betray a lack of temperate criticism; but the suggestion bears very much on the importance which we should attach to the presence in a ballad of an historical or a classical character, as giving an indication of either its age or origin. To illustrate this point I shall quote what M. Pol de Courcy has written concerning the Breton ballad, "Les Aubrays et le More du Roi": "Les Aubrays est le nom d'une seigneurie du pays de Retz apportée en mariage, en 1455, à Roland de Lannion, par Guyonne de Grezy, dame des Aubrays. Le ballade ne peut pas, par conséquent, être antérieure à cette époque, et nous la croyons bien plus moderne." (Child, *The Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, Introd. to Johnie Scott.) "The ballad," wrote Child, "can be no older, unless the Seigneur les Aubrays has displaced an earlier hero; but what means have we of deciding that question?" The real question is, Can such displacement take place? Clearly yes; and a study of ballad variants helps forward, in many cases, the solution of the question, because versions of the same ballad often differ in regard to the person whom they make the hero. Now, if this displacement can take place in

the variants of a ballad, it is not impossible to imagine a case in which only those versions survive in which the displacement of the earlier hero has taken place. Therefore to consider a ballad's origin or date from evidence such as that to which I have referred, is not always conclusive; for it is the action or plot that gives to the ballad its place in a comparative setting, and not merely the accidental circumstances of place or person which, whether through literary influence or through a process of localisation, it may possess.

JOSEPH J. MACSWEENEY.

Bailey, Howth, Co. Dublin.

---

## REVIEW.

THE LAU ISLANDS (FIJI), AND THEIR FAIRY TALES AND FOLKLORE. By T. R. ST. JOHNSTON, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. London: The Times Book Co. Ltd. 1918.

THE Lau Islands lie in the South Pacific, between Fiji and the Tongan group, their position having an important influence on the Ethnology, customs, and belief of the people. "Fiji," as Mr. Johnston points out, "is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuan" is found. Apparently from the former race most of the traditions recorded in the book were obtained. In an excellent Introduction the author, who served for nearly ten years as Commissioner of the District, describes the varied drifts of culture which are now represented in the popular beliefs. We already possess a large store of legends and folklore from this region, collected by Mr. Basil Thomson and other writers, and the present book does not add much to our knowledge. The people themselves believe that their ancestors came from some islands in the south-west; his account of South Sea Magic, one of the most valuable chapters, shows a Papuan origin: in the "South Sea Symposium" the legends come from the south-east, and in the tale of the Shark God the Papuan element is again noticeable. Burotu, the native Paradise, is situated in the north-west. "*When a man goes to Burotu, and when a white wave comes, wait, and do nothing: but when a red wave comes, jump. For the red wave is the true*

*ferry-boat to Burotu.*" Demons are supposed to be unable to cross a barrier of fire or water. The various tabus necessary before practising magic are well described in the chapter entitled "South Sea Magic." Another interesting account is that of the Polynesian customs, called Yalovaki, or "soul-catching," when the soul of a man who lies in the conclave of the chiefs has his soul caught, as in a net, in a scarf thrown over his head. Another chapter is devoted to an account of Dakuwaqa, the great shark-god, the ancient king of all fish. Of another god we are told: "In the old times we of Ono had a god . . . a fearsome thing of awe, and it was seldom seen. He was a head only, and used to roll. . . . It usually comes at dusk. One is perhaps sitting on the mats inside one's house, looking out through the open doorway, when a cold feeling comes over one, and one sees Ulupoka [the head god] come rolling and bouncing horribly across the *rara*, and then he comes over the threshold, wriggling across the mats, snarling with an evil look—one cannot get away, but has to sit there waiting," till he bites one's toes and departs. It may be hoped that Mr. Johnston will give us some more samples of Fijian folklore.

W. CROOKE.

---

*Books for Review should be addressed to*  
THE EDITOR OF *Folk-Lore*,  
c/o MESSRS. SIDGWICK & JACKSON, LTD.  
ADAM ST., ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C. 2





## INDEX TO VOL. XXIX. (1918).

- Abbot of Misrule, the, 153
- Africa, Central: tabu of the widow, 42
- Algonquin tribe: provision of food for the dead, 41
- Altars, hypaethral, 115
- Andamanese: type of hut used by, 119
- Anglesey: mode of protection from evil spirits, 158 *seq.*
- Animals fed at Christmas, 70
- Apparitions: in Brittany, 81
- Apple Sunday in Russia, 155
- Archways: protection of, 142
- Arrowheads, stone: believed to be fairy darts, 317
- Arval: avril bread, 84 *seqq.*
- Ass, the skin of: a protection against fairies, 317
- Atharvaveda: account of house-building in, 123
- Athos Mount: use of rosaries at, 278
- Atit, Atith sect: use of rosaries by, 260
- Auditor, Honorary, of the Society: appointment of, 3
- Awemba tribe: fire extinguished at death, 44 *seq.*
- Balance sheet of the Society, 10 *seq.*
- Baloch tribe: form of hut used by, 119
- Banshee, the: in Ireland, 308 *seqq.*
- Bantu tribe: fear of using goods of the dead, 38
- Barefoot, Mayor walking, 297
- Baroda State: forms of houses, 127
- Basil, the holy: a material for rosaries, 260
- Basilisk: bringing forth a cock's egg, 76
- Bathonga tribe: food provided for the dead, 39; disposal of goods of the dead, 38; village deserted on death of the headman, 47
- Baudis, Dr. J.: review of M. E. Dobbs, *Sidelights on the Tain Age and Other Studies*, 169 *seqq.*
- Beads: used as mnemonic signs, 257; used in charms, 263; meaning of the word, 276
- Bedawi tribe: use of tents, 118
- Bell-ringing at Christmas, 148 *seqq.*
- Bengal: houses in, 115; form of the roofs, 118; types of house, 122, 125; type of villages, 125; orientation of the house, 134
- Bhairon, an earth-god, 138
- Bhil tribe: method of house-building, 125
- Billson, Mr. C. J.: on Some Mythical Tales of the Lapps, 178 *seqq.*
- Black Pig of Kiltristan, 226 *seqq.*
- Blackman, Miss W. S.: on The Rosary in Magic and Religion, 255 *seqq.*; on Traces of the Couvade in England, 319 *seqq.*
- Blessing the sea in Brittany, 82
- Boar's head at Christmas, 69
- Bombay: types of houses, 122; ritual at entering a new house, 138
- Bonfires in Ireland, 298 †
- Brand Committee: Report of, 12 *seqq.*; classified catalogue of material, 66 *seqq.*, 146 *seqq.*
- Bread and cheese at Christmas, 67
- Bread-beating at death, 42
- Breton folklore, 79 *seqq.*
- Brick walls attract the Evil Eye, 115
- Buddhists: use of rosaries by, 264
- Bull-baiting in Ireland, 298 *seqq.*
- Burial customs: influence of, on the belief in a future state, 34 *seqq.*
- Burma: use of rosaries in, 265

- Business: customs of, at Christmas, 154
- Cakes eaten at Christmas, 66 *seq.*
- Camel bone: a material for rosaries, 272
- Car Nicobar: type of huts in, 118 *seq.*
- Carol, "The Cherry Tree," 83 *seq.*
- Cat: first entry of, into a new house, 139
- Cattle: healing of, in Brittany, 81
- Caves: used as dwelling-places in India, 116
- Charms: as distinguished from rosaries, 263
- "Cherry Tree," a carol, 83 *seq.*
- Chigato tribe: tabu of the widow, 42
- China: knots used as mnemonic signs, 257; use of rosaries in, 267 *seq.*
- Chittagong: type of houses at, 124
- Christian Churches: rosaries used by, 274 *seq.*
- Christmas: customs, 146 *seq.*; fare at, 66 *seqq.*; pigs, 68
- Circular huts and churches, 117 *seqq.*
- Claddagh village: customs at, 293, 298
- Cock: laying an egg from which comes a basilisk, 76
- Connacht Coast, study of folklore in, 305 *seqq.*
- Cooking-place, tabu regarding, 141
- Copts: use of rosaries, 279
- Coral: used as a material for rosaries, 261
- Cork: city, charter of, 292
- Corn and cattle: wassailing of, on Twelfth Eve, 71
- Corpse: removed by special opening, 35; parts preserved as relics, 48 *seq.*; removal of flesh from, 51
- Council of the Society: appointment of members, 3; Annual Report of, 5
- Couvade, the: traces of, in Ontario, 87; in England, 319 *seqq.*
- Cow: white, an omen of death, 310; famous, in Ireland, 307
- Crickets: believed to foretell death, 310
- Crooke, W.: on The House in India from the point of view of Sociology and Folklore, 113 *seqq.*; 'Prentice Pillars, the Architect and his Pupil, 219; review of T. R. St. Johnston, *Lau Islands (Fiji) and their Fatry Tales and Folklore*, 324 *seq.*
- Crystal: used as a material for rosaries, 261
- Culture: the transvaluation of, 15 *seqq.*
- Cuttings of the flesh in mourning, 43, 53
- Czaplicka, Miss M. A.: review of W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 248 *seqq.*
- Dahomey: funeral libations, 53
- Date stones: used as a material for rosaries, 272
- Dead: home of the, 54 *seqq.*
- Death; omens of, in Ireland, 308 *seqq.*; in Brittany, 81
- Dirges: sung at death, 42
- Divination: rosaries used in, 267
- Dog: black, an omen of death, 310
- Doles at Christmas, 151
- Dom tribe: use of huts forbidden, 120
- Doors: how protected from evil spirits, 142; posts, customs connected with, 133
- Drinking in Ireland, 296
- Drogheda: faction fights at, 302
- Dublin: annulment of charters, 295; perambulation of, 294
- Easter Island: bird cult in, 88 *seq.*; Melanesian influence in, 161 *seq.*
- Eastern Church: ceremonies of, 163
- Egg-hot: at Christmas, 69
- Egypt: chamber tombs in, 48; use of rosaries in, 272 *seq.*; by the Copts, 279
- Embalment of the corpse, 49
- Epilepsy: cures for, in Scotland, 86
- Esposito, Mr. M.: on "A Mediæval legend of the Terrestrial Paradise," 193 *seqq.*
- Evil Eye, the: attracted by brick walls, 115; protection of huts from, 123

- Examination of the dead, 52
- Fairies: in Ireland, 312 *seqq.*; forts, in Ireland, 312 *seqq.*; blight, in Ireland, 314; darts, in Ireland, 314; doctors, in Ireland, 319; mounds, in Ireland, 312 *seqq.*
- Faridpur: praying palm at, 158
- Fasting in mourning, 43
- Feasts: feasting at Christmas, 150, 152
- Feudal system: in Ireland, 287
- Fire: use of, in mourning, 44, 45
- Folk-healing: in Brittany, 80
- "Folk-lore," appointment of Editor, 3
- Folk Tales:
- Daughter of the Sun and Daughter of the Moon, 185
  - Le Roi Grallon and La Ville d'ys, 79 *seq.*
  - Medio Pollito, the Half Chicken, 75 *seq.*
  - Picking Teeth: In the Ashes, 211
  - Password, the, 215
  - Seven Robbers, 207
  - Sleeping Daughter of the Sun, 187
  - Sons of Peive, the Sun, 179
- Food for the dead, 39
- Foundation-laying: in India, 132
- Francis, H. T.: on "Medio Pollito," 75 *seqq.*
- Frazer, Sir J. G.: Killing of the Khazar Kings, 162 *seq.*
- Games: The Town of Barbarie, 82; at Christmas, 147
- Gaster, Dr. M.: review of G. Friedlander, *Jewish Fairy Tales*, 91 *seqq.*
- Georgewitch, Mr. T. R.: on "Parthenogenesis in Serbian Popular Tradition," 58 *seqq.*
- Ghasiya tribe: omens in house-building, 135
- Ghost, fear of the, 135
- Godiva, Queen, 274
- Goodrich, E. S.: on "Eastern Church Ceremonies," 163
- Grallon, le Roi, tale of, 79 *seq.*
- Grave: the dwelling-place of the dead, 48
- Greek Orthodox Church: ceremonies of, 163; use of rosaries, 277 *seqq.*
- Griha-pravesa: rite of house-entering, 138
- Gulikhan: a house spirit, 137
- Hackings at Christmas, 68
- Haddon, Dr. A. C.: on "Melanesian influence in Easter Island," 161 *seq.*
- Haggis at Christmas, 68
- Haida tribe: cremation of the dead, 52
- Hall, Miss E.: on "The Black Pig of Kiltrustan," 226
- Hartland, Dr. E. S.: on Matrilineal Kinship among North American Indians, 87; reviews of J. Trabucco, *Porphyre, L'Autre des Nymphes*, 90 *seq.*; W. J. Perry, *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*; obituary of M. Paul Sebillot, 252 *seqq.*
- Hebrews: prohibition of cutting for the dead, 53
- Holland, Mrs. M. A.: on "Influence of Burial Customs on the belief in a Future State," 34 *seqq.*
- Honours conferred on Ex-Presidents of the Society, 96
- Hoodeners at Christmas, 147
- Hottentot tribe: disposal of the dead, 47
- House, the: in India, 113 *seqq.*; burial, 47; materials used by Indo-Europeans, 115; [site fixed by divination, 131; precautionary rites in building, 133 *seq.*; direction of, 134; shape of, 135; danger of entering for the first time, 136; pollution of, 141
- Human sacrifice: in India, 139
- Imām: "a leader," the chief bead in a rosary, 270
- India: the house in, 113 *seqq.*; knots used as mnemonic signs, 257; rosaries, uses of, 265
- Indians of North America: matrilineal kinship among, 87
- Initiation rites: use of rosaries in, 261
- Ireland: fairies and sanctuaries, 159 *seq.*; tally sticks, use of, 258
- Izhuvan tribe: rites at entry into a new house, 136 *seq.*

- Jain sect : use of rosaries, 260  
 Japan, use of knots as mnemonic signs, 257  
 Jevons, Dr. F. B. : criticism of his views on Magic and Religion, 99 *seqq.*  
 Jews : use of rosaries among, 279  
 Jogī sect : use of rosaries, 259  
 Jovian, Emperor : death of, 136  
 Juāng tribe : type of huts used by, 120
- Kammālan tribe : ritual at house-building, 133  
 Kennedy, J. : review of Dr. F. W. Bussell, *Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages*, 164 *seqq.*  
 Khāndesh : use of tiled roofs in, 115  
 Khazar Kings : killing of, 162 *seq.*, 238 *seqq.*  
 Khond tribe : type of hut used by, 121  
 Kiliket tribe : type of hut used by, 120  
 Kilmallock : charter of, 291  
 King Orfeo : ballad of, 321 *seqq.*  
 Knife : black-handled, a protection against fairies, 314  
 Knots : used as mnemonic signs, 256  
 Korea : use of rosaries, 268
- Lamas : ritual at entering a new house, 179  
 Lambswool at Christmas, 69  
 Lapps : mythical tales of, 175 *seqq.*  
 Lead : sanctity of, 144  
 Libations at funerals, 53  
 Limerick : franchises of, 292 *seq.*  
 Lingāyat sect : door consecration, 133  
 Lord of Misrule at Christmas, 153  
 Lovett, Mr. E. : collection of war mascots, 160
- Mabuiag : food for the dead, 40  
 Mackenzie, Mr. W. : on cures for epilepsy in Scotland, 86  
 MacSweeney, Mr. J. J. : on The Town of Barbaric, 82 ; The Cherry-tree Carol, 83 *seq.* ; King Orfeo ballad, 321 *seqq.*  
 Madagascar : tabu of the widow, 42
- Madras : types of houses, 126 ; rules of house-building, 129 *seq.* ; orientation of the house, 134 ; omens in house-building, 135  
 Magic : definition of, 111  
 Magpies : omens of death, 310  
 Mallāni : round huts in, 118  
 Mana, 105  
 Manning, Mr. P. : death of, 5  
 Mantra : spells recited on rosaries, 262  
 Masquerades at Christmas, 147  
 Masulipatam : huts at, 119  
 Mayors : election of, in Ireland, 299  
 Meetings of the Society : Minutes of, 1 *seqq.*, 99 *seq.*, 177  
 Meithei tribe, ritual in house-building, 133  
 Melaneseans : food for the dead, 40 ; *see* Easter Island.  
 Milky Way : the home of the dead, 54  
 Mince pies at Christmas, 67 *seq.*  
 Morrison, Miss S. : death of, 5  
 Mourning : dress, customs, 43  
 Mughal Emperors : type of their palaces, 126 *seq.*  
 Muhammadans : use of rosaries, 270 *seqq.*  
 Mysore : types of villages in, 126
- Nāga tribe : customs of house-building, 133  
 Nambūtirī Brahmins : type of houses, 126  
 Narrinyeri tribe : custom of drying the corpse, 46  
 Negro folk-tales, 206 *seqq.*  
 New Caledonia : food for the dead, 39  
 Nicobarese : protectives used on houses, 143 *seq.*
- Obituary notices : C. A. Miles, 89 ; Paul Sébillot, 252 *seqq.*  
 Ontario : survivals of the cou-vade, 87
- Painting the bones of the dead, 54  
 Panjāb : tabu of brick houses, 116 ; rules of house-repairing, 130 ; omens in house-building, 136  
 Paradise : terrestrial, mediaeval legend of, 193 *seqq.*  
 Parsons, E. C. : on " The Provenience of Certain Negro Folk-Tales, 206 *seqq.*

- Parthenogenesis in Serbian tradition, 58 *seqq.*  
 Paternoster, the, 274 *seq.*  
 Pearls : used as beads in rosaries, 261  
 Persia : form of the house doors, 121  
 Peru : use of the Quipu, 256  
 Pies at Christmas, 67  
 Pillars of house, veneration of, 142  
 Plum pudding at Christmas, 69  
 Poland : rosaries used as charms, 277  
 Poles : erected at village site in India, 130  
 Poro : a secret society, 105  
 'Prentice pillars : the architect and his pupil, 219 *seqq.*  
 Presidential address, 15 *seqq.*  
 Property broken or destroyed after death, 38, 39
- Quipu, the : use of, in Peru, 256
- Rājput tribe : objection to use of tiled houses, 116  
 Read, Miss D. H. Moutray : on "Folklore and History in Ireland," 281 *seqq.*  
 Reviews : Bussell, F. W., *Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages*, 164 *seqq.* ; Dobbs, Miss M. E., *Sidelights on the Tain Age and other Studies*, 169 *seqq.* ; Friedlander, G., *Jewish Fairy Tales*, 91 *seqq.* ; Gillett, M., *Folklore, Legend, and Superstitious Customs in connection with Andover and its neighbourhood*, 94 *seq.* ; Johnston, T. R. St., *The Lau Islands (Fiji) and their Fairy Tales and Folklore*, 324 *seq.* ; Marvin, D. E., *Curiosities in Proverbs*, 94 ; Perry, W. J., *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, 171 *seqq.* ; Steinberg, J., *The Breakfast of the Birds*, 95 ; Thomas W. I., and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 248 *seqq.*  
 Trabucco, J., *Porphyre, L'Antre des Nymphes*, 90 *seq.* ; Walsh, J. J., *St. Bridget of Sweden*, 95 ; Wickwar, J. W., *Dreams, what they are, and what they mean*, 93
- Ridgepole, the : beliefs regarding, 143  
 Rosary, the : in Magic and Religion, 255 *seqq.*  
 Rose, H. J. : The Couvade in Ontario, 87  
 Rudrāksha beads : used in rosaries, 259  
 Russia : folk customs of the peasantry, 155 ; use of rosaries, 278
- St. George's Day in Ireland, 297  
 St. John Baptist : nativity of, 298  
 Saiva sect : rosaries used by, 259  
 Sakti sect : rosaries used by, 264  
 Savara tribe : selection of house site, 129  
 Scapular : a charm against fairies, 314  
 Scotland : cures for epilepsy, 86  
 Sea, the : blessing of, in Brittany, 82  
 Serbia : traditions of Parthenogenesis, 58 *seqq.*  
 Shān tribe : entry into a new house, 138 ; selection of house site, 129 ; house-building, 134  
 Shesh Nāg : the world serpent, 133  
 Shin Gon sect : use of knots as mnemonics, 257  
 Sholiga tribe : huts used by, 120  
 Sikhs : use of rosaries, 261  
 Site of houses, how selected in India, 128 *seq.*  
 Skull : human, used in rosaries, 266  
 Snake : vertebrae of, used in rosaries, 263, 266  
 Spells in magic, 106  
 Sticks : knotted, used as mnemonic signs, 258  
 Storms, charming of, 277  
 Sword dancing at Christmas, 147
- Tabu : in connexion with houses, 113  
 Tally sticks : use of, 258  
 Temples : churches, circular, 119  
 Thomas, Mr. N. W. : criticism of Dr. F. B. Jevons on Magic and Religion, 97 *seqq.*  
 Thompson, Mr. T. W. : on arval, avril bread, 84 *seqq.*  
 Threshold : protection of, from impurity, 35 ; a sacred place, 142



- Tibet : use of rosaries, 265 *seqq.*  
 Tirawley, Lord : legend of, 311  
 Tiyan tribe ; ritual on entering a new house, 137  
 Toda tribe : form of hut used by, 118  
 Towns : Irish, administration of, 288 ; appointment of officials, 289  
 Treasurer, Honorary, of the Society : appointment of, 3  
 Trees : rules about planting near houses, 141  
 Turkomān tribes : tents of, 117  
 Udaipur : palace, construction of, 127  
 Vagrants : in India, use of tents, 120  
 Vaishnava sect : use of rosaries, 259  
 Vastu-purusha : a local spirit, 137 ; Vastu-sānti rite, 140  
 Vessel cup at Christmas, 73  
 Vice-presidents of the Society : appointment of, 3  
 Villages : types of, in Northern India, 125  
 Visitors at Christmas, 146  
 Wahhābi sect : use of rosaries, 272  
 Waits at Christmas, 146  
 Wallaroi tribe : disposal of the corpse, 52  
 War mascots : exhibition of, by Mr. E. Lovett, 160  
 Wassail bowl on New Year's Eve, 72 ; wassailing at Christmas, 70 ; wassail-bowl at Christmas, 69 ; wassailing bough, the, 71  
 Water : use of, in mourning, 44  
 Wedding : peasant, in Russia, 155 *seq.*  
 Wells : holy, in Brittany, 80 *seq.*  
 West : the home of the dead, 55  
 Westmoreland : arval, avril bread, 84 *seqq.*  
 Westropp, Mr. T. J. : Sanctuaries and Fairy Forts in Ireland, 159 *seq.* ; a study of the Folklore on the Coast of Connacht, 305 *seqq.*  
 Wheatley, Dr. H. B. : death of, 5  
 Widow under tabu, 41 *seq.*  
 Witchcraft : a form of religion, 103  
 Wolgal tribe : use of property in the other world, 39  
 Zulu tribe : fear of using goods of the dead, 38