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PRIMITIVE PATERNITY

THE MYTH OF SUPERNATURAL BIRTH IN RELATION TO THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

BY

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PREFACE

In the year 1894, in the first volume of a study of *The Legend of Perseus* (3 vols., London, D. Nutt, 1894–5–6), I examined the world-wide story-incident of Supernatural Birth. Summing up the results of the inquiry, I suggested that the incident and the actual practices and superstitions corresponding to it originated in the imperfect recognition, or rather the non-recognition, in early times of the physical relation between father and child. At that time I was not in a position to carry the conjecture further. It remained, however, in my mind as a subject for investigation. During the period that has since elapsed large contributions have been made by explorers, missionaries, and scientific anthropologists to our knowledge of savage and barbarous peoples in many parts of the world. In the light of these contributions I now venture to lay before the reader the case for the conjecture I made sixteen years ago.

The beliefs, customs, and institutions of tribes in a low degree of civilisation are our only clue to those of a more archaic condition no longer extant. They are evolved from them, and are in the last resort the outgrowth of ideas which underlay them. When, therefore, we find a belief, a custom, or an institution—still more when we find a connected series of beliefs, customs, and institutions—overspreading the lower culture we

may reasonably infer its root in ideas common to mankind and native to the primitive ancestral soil. The inference is greatly strengthened if vestigial forms are also found embedded in the culture of the higher races. It is raised to a certainty if unambiguous expression of the ideas themselves can be discovered to-day among the lower races. The advance of even the most backward from primeval savagery has been so great that a large harvest of these ideas is not to be expected. But the researches of the last few years have yielded enough, it is hoped, to afford a satisfactory solution of, among others, the problem under consideration in these volumes.

The Legend of Perseus has been out of print for several years. Consequently I have not hesitated to make use of the material comprised in the first volume. The myth of Supernatural Birth is now admitted to be in one form or another practically universal, and I have deemed it enough to present as the starting-point of the inquiry a mere summary of the stories. Of the other material I have made larger use; but its presentation has been revised, and much new and important matter has been included. The chapters that succeed, occupying the remainder of the first and the whole of the second volume, are intended to exhibit the argument from institutions and customs. Incidentally they traverse conclusions arrived at by some distinguished anthropologists on the subject of the conjugal relations of early man. But this is beside their chief object, and I have abstained from controversy.

HIGHGARTH,
GLOUCESTER,
August, 1909.

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CHAPTER I

THE STORIES

The subject proposed. Stories of supernatural birth defined. Birth as a result of eating or drinking. Birth from absorption of some portion of a dead man. Birth from smell or from simple contact with a magical substance. Mediæval and other fancies as to the Annunciation. Impregnation by wind, by bathing, by rain or sunshine, by a glance, by a wish.

STORIES of supernatural birth may be said to have a currency as wide as the world. Everywhere heroes (and what nation has not such heroes?) of extraordinary achievement or extraordinary qualities have been of extraordinary birth. The wonder or the veneration they inspired seems to demand that their entrance upon life, as well as their departure from the earth, should correspond with the total impression left by their career. Moreover women desirous of offspring are everywhere found to make use of means to produce conception analogous to and often identical with the means attributed to the mothers of those heroes: means that in any case are equally remote from the operations of nature. To examine these phenomena, so extended if not universal in their range, and to determine if possible alike the origin of the stories and of the customs, is the object of the following pages.

The attempts of savage and barbarous peoples to explain the existence of the universe as they conceive it, or of mankind, abound in tales of personages in human form, though often monstrous in proportions, who because they are the beginnings of the race cannot be described as issuing from birth. Thus, to give a familiar example, the giant Ymir, in the Scandinavian mythology, was produced by the melting of the primæval ice; from his sweat other beings were produced who became the progenitors of the Frost-giants; subsequently the first man and woman were formed from two pieces of wood. Cosmogonical myths of this kind are not within the scope of the present inquiry. As little have we to do with heroes who were the result of amours between women and beings of supernatural order, whether in human form or that of the lower animals. Such heroes were indeed born. As the children of gods like Zeus or Apollo they boasted a supernatural parentage. But though their fathers were no ordinary mortals the manner of their generation was regarded as taking the normal course.

Our concern is with children whose mothers gave them birth without sexual intercourse, and as the result of impregnation by means which we now know to be impossible. It will not be necessary to treat the stories at length. A summary sufficient to mark the salient points will enable us to enter upon the inquiry as to the ground of the belief which they embody. Stories which include the incident of supernatural birth may be divided into two kinds: *Märchen*, or stories told for mere pleasure without any serious credence being attached to them; and sagas, or

stories believed in as recording actual events. Between these two classes there is often no clear line of demarcation. Especially in the lowest stages of culture it is often difficult to say whether a story is regarded as a narrative of facts or not. In either case we expect to find marvels. In either case the realm in which the personages of the story live and move and have their being is beyond the realm of nature as we understand it. It is a fantastic world where magic reigns, where shape-shifting is an ordinary incident; but it is the world in which the savage dwells. For him it is hardly too much to say the laws of nature do not exist: everything depends on the volition and the might of beings conceived, whatever their outward form, in the terms of his own consciousness. In such a world events happen that we know to be impossible. The conviction of their impossibility however is arrived at only gradually; and not until intellectual evolution has reached a much higher stage can we distinguish with certainty between the *märchen* and the saga. Even then when marvels are rejected as matters of everyday occurrence they are often held to have occurred in exceptional persons, and they form the subject of many a saga sacred or profane.

In this brief account of the stories therefore I shall confine myself in the main to those I have called sagas. They are as widespread as the *märchen;* they rest upon the same foundation; they result from the same view of the universe; many of them are a part of the religious tradition of the peoples who tell them. I hope the selection which follows will present typical specimens and enable the reader to judge of the world-

wide distribution of the stories and their inexhaustible wealth.

We will take first the stories in which pregnancy is attributed to eating or drinking. Heitsi-eibib, the divine ancestor of the Hottentots, owed his birth to this cause. In one of the legends a young girl picks a kind of juicy grass, chews it, and swallows the sap. Thence becoming pregnant she gives birth to the hero. In another legend it is a cow that eats of a certain grass, and Heitsi-eibib is consequently born as a bull-calf.[1] The quasi-divine hero of the tribes of British Columbia, Yehl, was many times born. His ordinary proceeding was to transform himself into a spear of cedar, a blade of grass, a pebble, or even a drop of water. In this form he was swallowed by the lady who was destined to bear him.[2] The Sia, a pueblo-people of the south-west of North America, relate that their hero Poshaiyänne, was born at the pueblo of Pecos, New Mexico, of a virgin who became pregnant from eating two piñon-nuts.[3] According to the sacred legends of the Hopi, another pueblo-people, a horned *Katcina*, a mythological personage, appeared in a time of religious laxity and of distress to the oldest woman of the Pátki tribe, and directed that the oldest man should go and procure a certain root and that she and a young virgin of the clan should eat of it. After a time the old woman, he said, would give birth to a son who would marry the virgin and their offspring would redeem the people. The *Katcina* was obeyed,

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||goam*, 69, 68.

[2] Bancroft, iii. 99, apparently quoting Holmberg, *Ethn. Skizz.*; Niblack, *Nat. Mus. Rep.* 1888, 379. The incident is very common in stories of the North-West.

[3] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 59.

and the old woman brought into the world a son with two horns upon his head. But the design of the supernatural power was frustrated by the people, who called the child a monster and killed it. The virgin also gave birth later to a daughter, whose offspring, twins, were sacred beings known as *Alósaka*. They however in their turn were put to death, and the miseries of the people continued.[1]

Fo-hi, the founder of the Chinese Empire, was the child of a virgin named Ching-mon, who ate a certain flower found on her garment after bathing.[2] The ancestry of the present or Manchu dynasty is traced to a similar adventure on the part of a heavenly maiden who found on the skirt of her raiment after bathing a red fruit, placed there by a magpie, and having eaten it was delivered of a son ordained by heaven "to restore order to disturbed nations."[3] The story in one form or other is in fact quite common in the east of Asia. Not less common is it in India. Of the birth of Râjâ Rasâlû, the hero of the Panjâb, we are told that Rânî Lonân, one of the two wives of Râjâ Sâlbâhan of Siâlkot, fell in love with her stepson Pûran and because he did not return her passion traduced him to her husband, who cut off his hands and feet and threw him into a well. Pûran however survived this treatment, and being rescued by the Guru Gorakhnâth, a Brahman of great sanctity, became a celebrated fakir. Not knowing who he really was

[1] Fewkes, *Amer. Anthr.* N.S., i. 536.

[2] De Charencey, 204, citing Barrow's *Voyage to China.*

[3] James, 31 note, citing a Chinese chronicle; De Charencey, 185, citing Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha;* and 195, citing Amyot, *Ambassade mémorable à l'Empereur du Japon.* The story, however, is not Japanese.

the rânî and her husband desirous of offspring came to him to pray for a son. He induced her to confess her crime; then revealing himself he gave her a grain of rice to eat and told her she would bear a son who would be learned and brave and holy. That son was Râjâ Rasâlû, a monarch identified with the historical Sri Syâlapati Deva.[1] The birth of an older but equally famous hero, Visvámitra, is attributed by the *Vishnu Purana* to a similar cause.[2] Gûgâ Pîr, the Mahratta saint, was born of a mother whose husband had deserted her, but who received from Gorakhnâth some resin to be eaten mixed with milk. Her father's mare Lillî, licking round the basin of resin and milk, also became pregnant and foaled the winged stallion Lîlâ, afterwards Gûgâ's steed. We need not pursue Gûgâ's wonderful career in detail. Suffice it to say that this mode of propagating the species was a family specialty. His mother's sister brought into the world two sons from two barleycorns given her by the Gurû Gorakhnâth; and he himself was childless until his guardian deity bestowed upon him a similar gift, by means of which he obtained from his wife a son and from his favourite mare the famous steed Javâdiyâ.[3] The traditions of the Malayan Minangkabau population of the Highlands of Sumatra speak of a particular kind of cocoa-nut called *niver balai* that had the property of causing pregnancy without fleshly intercourse. The hero Tjindoer Matŏ was thus called in allusion to this immaculate generation.[4]

[1] Temple, *Leg. Panj.* i. 1; Steel, 247.

[2] Wilson, *V. P.* 399 (*l.* iv. *c.* 7).

[3] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* iii. 96 (par. 205); Elliot, *N. W. Prov.* i. 256; Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* i. 211.

[4] Van der Toorn, *Bijdragen*, xxxix. 78.

Such marvellous tales are not confined to transactions of the distant past. Mabâ' Seyôn is a saint whose deeds are related in an Ethiopic manuscript of the fifteenth century, probably written very shortly after his death. His miracles were numerous. A barren woman came to him one day for help, promising that if the Lord gave her a son she would dedicate him as an offering to the commemoration of the Redeemer. The saint "gave her some of the bread of the commemoration of the Redeemer, and she ate it," and the saint blessed her. So successful was the performance that in two years she returned with two children.[1] A satiric poet of the court of Earl Eric Hakonsson, a Norse ruler who assisted in the conquest of England by Sweyn and Cnut, recounts in one of his lampoons that a nameless lady ate "a fish like a stone-perch, soft of flesh," which "came ashore with a tide on the sand." The outward and visible signs of her resulting pregnancy are described with gusto. She gave birth to a boy, "a currish morsel."[2] This lampoon, if not based on actual gossip respecting the persons intended to be satirised, is at all events evidence that such a birth was not then reckoned impossible. A story current in Iceland in the middle of the last century witnesses to the same belief. It is that a lady of rank who desired to have a child laid herself down at a brook, on the advice of three women who appeared to her in a dream, and drank from it. In so doing she contrived

[1] *Lady Meux Manuscript No.* 1. *The Lives of Mabâ' Seyôn and Gabra Krastôs.* The Ethiopic Texts edited with an English translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. Litt.D. (London, 1898, 64.)

[2] *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 109.

that a trout came swimming straight into her mouth. She swallowed the fish and her wish was by that means fulfilled.[1] The three women of the lady's dream are obviously mythological figures of pre-christian antiquity. In the modern European *märchen* belonging to the cycle of Perseus, one of the favourite agencies of conception is a fish. The typical story comes from Brittany, and is called the King of the Fishes. A poor and childless fisherman once caught in his net a fish whose scales shone like gold. It prayed for life, which was granted and the fisherman obtained a bountiful catch in exchange. But the fisherman's wife desired to eat the King of the Fishes; and when her husband again caught it he was not to be moved by its supplications. The fish then directed its captor to gives its head to his wife to eat, and to throw the scales into a corner of his garden and cover them with earth, promising that his wife should give birth to three beautiful boys with stars on their foreheads, and that from its scales should grow three rose-trees corresponding to the three children. One of the rose-trees was to belong to each of the boys and to become his life-token, so that when he should be in danger of death his tree should wither.[2] In some variants parts of the fish are to be given to the fisherman's mare and his bitch, which accordingly bring forth young to the number of the children. Beyond the limits of Europe the Tupis of Brazil in one of their sacred legends represent a supernatural being as fertilising a young virgin by the gift of a mysterious fish;[3] and in

[1] Bartels, *Zeits. Ethnol.* xxxii. 54, citing Arnason.
[2] Sébillot, *Contes Pop.* i. 124 (Story No. 18).
[3] Denis, 94.

Samoa a similar incident occurs.[1] Flesh-meat is more common as a fecundating substance in North American tradition.[2] It is significant in this connection that the ordinary mode of wooing in many of the North American tribes was by gift of the produce of the chase.

In Ireland the legends of supernatural birth date back to heathen times although not put into writing until after Christianity had become the dominant religion. We have space only for one or two. In the saga entitled "Bruden da Derga," Etáin, the daughter of a more famous heroine of the same name, was married to Cormac, King of Ulaid. Being barren she applied to her mother, who made her some pottage. She ate it; but the result was not wholly satisfactory, for she gave birth to a daughter, whereas Cormac desired a son. No other child was born; consequently he forsook her.[3] The births both of Conchobar and his sister's son Cuchulainn were ascribed to their mothers having drunk water and swallowed worms in the draught.[4] Of another sister of Conchobar it is quaintly said that she "suffered from hesitation of

[1] von Bulow, *Internat. Arch.* xii. 67.

[2] Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, 155; Kroeber, *Univ. Cal. Pub.* iv. Amer. Arch. 199, 243; Catlin, i. 179 (*cf.* Will and Spenden, *Peabody Mus. Papers*, iii. 139, 142).

[3] The Sack of Dá Derga's Hostel. Translated by Prof. Whitley Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* xxii. 18.

[4] *Rev. Celt.* vi. 179; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Epopée Celt.* 16; both translating MSS. of the fourteenth century now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; *Rev. Celt.* ix. 12; D'Arbois, *op. cit.*, 37, translating *Leabhar nah Uidhre* (Book of the Dun Cow), MS. dating back to about the year 1100. According to one account however, Dechtire, Conchobar's sister, succeeded in vomiting the creature forth "*and thus becoming virgin again.*" She then conceived in the ordinary course.

offspring, so that she bore no children." A certain Druid, however, promised her offspring if his fee were good enough. On her accepting the terms, he fared with her to the well and there he "sang spells and prophecies over the spring. And he said: 'Wash thyself therewith and thou will bring forth a son; and no child will be less pious than he to his mother's kin to wit, the Connaught-men.' Then the damsel drank a draught out of the well, and with the draught she swallowed a worm, and the worm was in the hand of the boy [*sc.* whom she thereby conceived] as he lay in his mother's womb, and it pierced the hand and consumed it." The boy was Conall Cernach.[1] As Irish civilisation advanced, however, such incidents were frequently softened into mere dreams. Thus the Irish life of Saint Molasius of Devenish preserved to us in a manuscript written probably from dictation in the sixteenth century presents the holy man's mother as dreaming "that she got seven fragrant apples and the last apple of them that she took into her hand her grasp could not contain it for its size; gold (as it seemed to her) was not lovelier than the apple." Her husband interprets the dream of "an offspring excellent and famous, with which the mouths of all Ireland shall be filled:" an interpretation justified of course by the saint's birth. We can hardly doubt that as the story was originally told Molasius was the direct result of his mother's eating an apple. The same manuscript indeed contains an account of his blessing a cup of water and giving it to a childless woman to drink with

[1] Nutt, *Bran*, ii. 74, quoting translation in Whitley Stokes' *Irische Texte* of an eleventh-twelfth century work.

intent that she should thereby become pregnant; and "the very noble bishop Finnacha" was the result.[1]

But not merely animal and vegetable substances, even stones have been described as fructifying women. We have already found an instance of this in the traditions of the north-western tribes of Canada. The Aztecs too attributed the birth of their famous god Quetzalcoatl to a precious green stone, identified by Captain Bourke with the turquoise, but perhaps rather jade, which his mother Chimalma found one day and swallowed.[2] A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.[3] In the extreme north-east of Asia in a lower stage of culture than the Chinese or the Aztecs, the Koryaks report similar incidents. For example, two incautious ladies, we are told, found an arrow and ate it. Thereafter one of them gave birth to a son with five fingers, and the other to a daughter with only three.[4] In India the Jain *Kathákoça*, or Treasury of Stories, relates that a female servant who had become a devout convert having died, "her soul was conceived again" by Jayá the wife of King Vijaya-varman. "At that moment the Queen saw a flaming fire enter her mouth. The next morning she told the King, who said: 'Queen, you will have a truly

[1] *Silva Gad.* ii. 19, 23, translating MS. in the British Museum. Stories of dreams of this kind are common as an alternative to the more materialistic concept. The dreams of Athelstan's mother and Cyrus' mother are the best-known examples of a numerous class.

[2] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* ix. 590, quoting Mendieta.

[3] De Charencey, 202.

[4] Jochelson, *Jesup Exped.* vi. 214.

remarkable son.'" And the epithet was certainly justified by the account which follows of that son's adventures in the process of securing a harem.[1] The Celtic saint Aidan or Maedoc was born of a star which fell into his mother's mouth while she slept.[2]

In various parts of the world stories have been told of women who have been fertilised by semen imbibed through the mouth or even through the nose. An Irish manuscript of the beginning of the fifteenth century tells us that Cred the daughter of Ronán, King of Leinster, gathered cress on which the *sperma genitale* of a certain robber Findach by name had just fallen and ate it, "and thereof was born the ever-living Boethín."[3] We need not dwell on this unsavoury subject. Let it suffice to say that stories containing this incident are found among the Salish of North America, among the ancient Peruvians, and repeatedly in India. The Gipsies of Southern Hungary tell a tale of a woman who was transformed into a fish as a punishment for repulsing Saint Nicholas when he appeared to her as a beggar. She was condemned to remain in that form until impregnated by her husband. This was effected by devouring a leaf on which some of his spittle had fallen.[4]

The drinking of water or some other liquid is a frequent cause of impregnation. The birth of Zoroaster is attributed in a Parsee work of the ninth century A.D. to his mother's drinking of homa-juice and

[1] Tawney, *Kathákoça*, 64.

[2] *Rev. Celt.* v. 275.

[3] Prof. Whitley Stokes, *Rev. Celt.* ii. 199, translating the *Leabhar breac*, a MS. now in the Royal Irish Academy.

[4] von Wlislocki, *Volksdicht*, 300.

cow's-milk infused with his guardian spirit and glory.[1] The mother of Nanabozho, the culture-hero of the Lenape of the Delaware, became pregnant in consequence of drinking out of a creek.[2] One rainy autumnal night a woman of Annam put an earthen vessel to receive the drippings of her roof and saw a star fall into the vessel. She drank the water and became pregnant. She was delivered of three eggs from which three serpents were hatched. They were heavenly genii, and two of them are still worshipped as the tutelary divinities of the village in which they were born.[3]

Almost any portion of a human body may be possessed of fructifying power. The *märchen* attribute it variously to a hermit's heart cooked and eaten, to the gratings of a bone found in the churchyard or to the ashes of a burnt skull. According to a manuscript in the Khedivial Library at Cairo a bone crushed in the hand of a man and thrown on the dungheap grew up into so fine a tree that no one had ever seen the like. His daughter desired to see this tree. Drawing nigh to it she embraced it and kissing it took a leaf in her mouth. As she chewed it she found the taste sweet and agreeable and accordingly swallowed it. At the same instant she conceived by the will of God.[4] The analogy of other stories leads to the belief that the tree here is neither more nor less than a transformation of the man from whose bone it grew. The oldest known story wherein transformation of this kind forms an incident is the Egyptian tale of the Two

[1] *Sacred Books*, v. 187. See a curious tradition concerning the birth of St. John the Baptist, cited by Saintyves, *Les Vierges Mères*, 263.

[2] Brinton, *Lenape*, 131.

[3] Landes, *Annam.*, 12.

[4] Oestrup, 26.

Brothers. The manuscript now in the British Museum was written by the scribe Enna, or Ennana, and belonged to the monarch Seti II., of the nineteenth dynasty, before he came to the throne. We have the story therefore in the shape it bore about the earlier half of the thirteenth century before Christ. It is long, and I have only space for the material points. Bata, the hero, is betrayed by his wife, who becomes the King's mistress and by her advice causes the king to put her husband to death. Bata's brother, however, restores him to life, and he assumes the form of a great bull with all the sacred marks. In this form he obtains an opportunity to make himself known to his wife. She for her part was by no means pleased to see him; and having wheedled an oath out of the king that he would grant her whatsoever she asked, she demanded the bull's liver to eat. As he was being slain two drops of his blood fell upon the King's two door-posts, and forthwith grew up two mighty persea-trees. One of these trees spoke to the King's mistress, accusing her of her crimes and declaring: "I am Bata, I am living still, I have transformed myself." She persuaded the King to cut the trees down; but while she stood by to watch, a splinter flew off and entering her mouth rendered her pregnant. In due time she gave birth to a son, who was none other than a new manifestation of Bata. When at the King's death he succeeded to the throne he summoned the nobles and councillors; his wife was brought to him and he had a reckoning with her.[1]

[1] *Records of the Past*, ii. 137; Maspero, 3; Le Page Renouf, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xi. 184. Bata and his brother were worshipped at Cynopolis. The former, whose name means "the soul

Bata's metamorphoses are parallel to a long series of similar adventures found in *märchen* and saga all over the world. For the present we confine ourselves to a few examples in which birth is occasioned by a woman's consumption of some portion of a dead human body. The twin heroes of the Bakaïri of Central Brazil owed their origin to a woman who was married to a jaguar. In her husband's house she found many finger-bones; for the jaguar was accustomed to kill and eat Bakaïri and to make his arrow-heads from their finger-bones. Two of these bones she swallowed; and the story expressly says that it was from them and not from her husband that she became pregnant.[1] Among the legends current in classical times of the birth of Bacchus was one that claimed him as the son of Jupiter and Proserpine. According to this story he was torn in pieces by the Titans, but his heart was pounded up and given by Jove in a drink to Semele, whence he was born again of her.[2] The story with some slightly different details was told in connection with the Orphic mysteries in order to identify Zagreus and Dionysus but it is probably in origin independent of them and was only seized upon and adapted to their requirements as stories have been in all ages and by all religions. At all events, as Prof. Jevons observes, the incident "in which some one by swallowing a portion of the bodily substance of the hero becomes the parent of the hero in one of his re-births . . . must have been familiar to the average Greek, else it would not have proved so successful as

of the loaves," seems to have been identified with Osiris, and the latter with Anubis (*Rev. Hist. Rel.* lvii. 89).

[1] von den Steinen, 372. [2] Hyginus, fab. 167.

an explanation of the fundamental identity of Zagreus and Dionysus."[1] The relics of Christian saints and martyrs have a special procreative virtue. A Nestorian legend edited from a Syriac text by Dr. Wallis Budge relates that a certain man whose name was Zedkôi of the village of Perâth was deprived of the blessing of children. He came with his wife to Rabban Bar 'Idtâ and with bitter and sorrowful tears besought his help. On the promise if she have three sons to give one of them to the holy man, the latter says to the woman: "My daughter, take these three little cakes of martyr's dust and go to thy house in faith, and each day take one little cake." Her compliance is rewarded by the birth of a son, whom she sets apart in payment of her vow, and by the subsequent birth of two more boys.[2] In a Breton legend the Apostle Philip is burnt to death in obeying a command of the Saviour to set fire to a chapel. "Poor Philip!" says the Saviour; "but let us see if we cannot find any remains of him, any piece of calcined bone." He finds a piece of bone which has the shape of a soup-spoon, and puts it in his pocket. That evening He comes with Peter and John to a farmer's house. They are well received; but there are only two spoons. The Saviour produces the bone and asks the servant-maid if the soup is good. "I think so," she replies. "But have you tasted it?" "No." "Then take a spoonful to see." And He gave her a spoonful of soup, but she swallowed the bone-spoon and all. "Good God!" she exclaimed, "I have swallowed the spoon. I don't know how that happened." Of that spoon she became pregnant,

[1] Jevons, *Introd.* 356.
[2] Budge, *Rabban Hormuzd*, ii. 262.

and was turned out of the house. In a stable on the straw she gave birth to a magnificent boy who was no other than Saint Philip born again.[1]

In tales of both hemispheres women are represented as conceiving by smell or by simple contact of the magical substance. When from the blood of the mutilated Agdestis a pomegranate-tree sprang up, Nana the nymph gathered and laid in her bosom some of the fruit wherewith it was laden, and hence in the belief of the Greeks, Attis was born.[2] Danae conceived Perseus through the shower of gold. The ancestress of one of the clans of the Lynngams in the Khasi Hills of Assam was conceived by the touch of a flower which fell on her mother as she slept.[3] A legend of the island of Tanah-Papua relates that the hero Konori owed his birth to a marisbon-fruit flung on the breast of a maiden.[4] Coatlicue, the serpent-skirted, was the mother of Huitzilopochtli, one of the great Aztec deities. A little ball of feathers floated down to her through the air. She caught it and hid it in her bosom; nor was it long before she found herself pregnant.[5] Further north, in a Wichita tale, a man of extraordinary powers contrives that a maiden shall pick up and put in her bosom a small bone-cylinder or pipe-bone, such as used to be worn round the neck. It disappears and she becomes pregnant without

[1] Luzel, *Lég. Chrét.* i. 44.

[2] Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, v. 6; Pausanias, vii. 17 (5). According to the latter the tree was an almond-tree.

[3] Gurdon, 195.

[4] Bastian, *Indonesien*, ii. 35; *cf.* Featherman, Papuo-Mel. 43.

[5] Bancroft, iii. 296, quoting Torquemada; Brinton, *Essays*, 94; G. Raynaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxviii. 279, 280, quoting a hymn preserved by Sahagun.

having been embraced by a man.[1] In a Hopi story a young woman is fecundated by wet clay while she is kneading and trampling it to prepare it for making pottery.[2] Servius commenting on the *Æneid* has preserved the legend that Cæculus the founder of Prænestе, was conceived by a spark that leaped into his mother's bosom. In India we hear of a woman who was fertilised by happening to sit down on a rock on which the childless Rajá Bhishma had lain and slept.[3]

More direct masculine action is sometimes invoked. The Buddhist Birth-stories comprise a narrative to which we shall have occasion to refer in another connection, wherein a childless queen is impregnated by a divine being by means of the touch of his thumb.[4] Sagas from New Guinea and British Columbia represent impregnation as effected by the finger.[5] The saliva of the lynx in a tale told by the Indians of Thompson River falling on a girl's navel causes conception.[6] The Todas tell how an eagle fertilised a woman by sitting on her head. In another story a Toda divinity knocks a woman on the head with an iron stick which he habitually carries, and at once she becomes pregnant.[7] In a Balochi tale a remarkable boy is begotten, as he himself subsequently assures his mother's husband, by the shadow of Ali, of whom the Balochis are devoted followers. The lady's husband was away at Delhi with his army. As she was one day washing her head a shadow passed in

[1] Dorsey, *Wichita*, 172. [2] Voth, 155.
[3] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* iii. 141 (par. 297).
[4] *Jātaka*, v. 144 (Story No. 531).
[5] *J. A. I.* xix. 465; Boas, *Ind. Sag.* 198.
[6] Teit, 37 [7] Rivers, 196, 191.

front of her and disappeared; from that shadow the child was born.[1]

Conception takes place sometimes by the hand or the foot. Hun Ahpu and Xbalanque, the twin divinities honoured by the Quiché of Central America, were born in consequence of the head of their murdered father spitting into a maiden's hand.[2] A similar incident is told by the people of Annam concerning an historical personage who was put to death in the year 1443 of our era.[3] In China the *Shih-King* relates of Hâu-*Kî*, the ancestor of the kings of *K*ân, that his mother *K*iang-Yüan was childless until she trod on a toe-print made by God. That instant she felt moved; she conceived and at length gave birth to a son. The poet does not mention her husband, and the common Chinese tradi- represents her as a virgin.[4]

Impregnation by an unusual part of the body is in fact by no means a rare incident in sacred and historical traditions. During the Middle Ages it seems to have been seriously believed—at all events the idea was current—respecting the conception of Jesus Christ. The Fathers had dwelt upon the physiological details of the Incarnation with prurient rudeness. They were as familiar with at least the negative results of the miracle, as minute and positive

[1] Dames, 138.

[2] *Popol Vuh*, 89.; *Journ. Am. F. L.*, xx. 148.

[3] Landes, *Annam*. 63. In two Yana myths from California a child originates directly from masculine spittle without female intervention (Curtin, *Creation Myths*, 300, 348).

[4] *Sacred Books*, iii. 396. There seems some ambiguity in the word translated God (see *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xli. 11; xliii. 137). The historian Se-ma-thsien, who flourished in the middle of the second century B.C., relates that *K*iang Yüan became pregnant by walking on the footsteps of a giant (De Charencey, 199).

in their descriptions, as if they had made an obstetrical examination. In their zeal for the virginity of the Saviour's mother they insisted that he was conceived and born without any physical changes in the body that bore him.[1] This naturally led to speculation on the manner of this conception. Grave divines like Saint Augustine asserted that "God spake by the angel and the Virgin was impregnated through the ear."[2] The hymn of Saint Bonaventura phrases it:

Gaude Virgo, mater Christi,
Quæ per aurem concepisti,
Gabriele nuntio.

Painters represented the Holy Ghost as entering at Mary's ear in the shape of a dove, or hovering over her while a ray of light along which the babe is descending passes from his beak to her ear.[3] Other opinions, however, seem to have contended for popularity with this. In the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, for example, are benches carved by Domenico di Niccolò, the backs of which are inlaid with intarsia work illustrating the Nicene Creed. One of them shows the Annunciation with a full-formed babe descending in rays from the Father's outstretched finger. The Church of the Magdalen at Aix in Provence contains a picture, attributed to

[1] Lucius, *Anfänge*, 427. The context of the passage just cited from the *Shih King* asserts the same phenomenon of Hâu *Kî*'s birth: "There was no bursting nor rending, no injury, no hurt; showing how wonderful he would be."

[2] Several passages from the Fathers are collected by Maury, *Lég. Pieuses*, 179 note.

[3] Lecky, *Rationalism*, i. 232; Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, 322. The hymn was popular, whether written by the gentlest or the most arrogant of mediæval saints.

Albert Dürer, wherein waves of glory descend from God the Father, and in the midst of them a microscopic babe floats down upon the Virgin. These works of art leave the precise channel of impregnation vague. They embody an opinion which seems to have been common in the fifteenth century, namely, that Our Lord entered already completely formed into the Virgin's womb—an opinion which orthodox theologians in their perfect acquaintance with the divine arrangements were able summarily to pronounce heretical. A picture by Fra Filippo Lippi, painted for Cosmo de' Medici and now in the National Gallery, exhibits the Virgin seated in a chair with her Book of Hours in her hand. The angel bows before her. Above is a right hand surrounded with clouds. A dove, cast from the hand amid circling floods of glory, is making for the Virgin's navel and is about to enter it; while she, bending forward, curiously surveys it. So Buddha in the form of a white elephant entered his mother's right side.[1] The parallel is instructive. Mohammedan tradition, it may be added, ascribes the miraculous conception by the Virgin to Gabriel's having opened the bosom of her shift and breathed upon her womb.[2] In like manner one of the variant legends of the birth of the Aztec divinity, Quetzalcoatl, relates that the Lord of Existence, Tonacatecutli appeared to Chimalma and breathed upon her,

[1] *Sacred Books*, xix. 2; Rhys Davids, *Birth Stories*, 63, translating the *Nidâna Kathâ*; Id. *Buddhism*, 183. In the earlier accounts the incident appears only as a dream; later it is soberly related as a fact. A similar story is told in China of Laotzŭ; but it is probably borrowed from Buddhist tradition.

[2] Sale, *Koran*, note on ch. xix. citing Arab authors.

thereby quickening life within her, so that she bore Quetzalcoatl.[1]

Wind has been deemed sufficient to cause the birth of gods and heroes. The examples most familiar to us are those of Hera, who conceived Hephaistos without male concurrence by simply inhaling the wind, and of the maiden (in Longfellow's poem called Wenonah) who was quickened by the west wind and bore Michabo, the Algonkin hero better known to us as Hiawatha. The incident appears in the mythology of more than one American people. In the Finnish *Kalevala* the virgin Ilmatar is fructified by the east wind and gives birth to the wizard Väinämöinen.[2] The Minahassers of Celebes claim to be descended from a girl in primæval days who was fecundated by the west wind.[3] According to the tradition current in the Luang-Sermata group of islands in the Moluccas the earth and the sky were once nearer together than they are now. The sky was then inhabited, but not the earth. One day, however, a sky-woman climbed down along a rotan-palm-tree whose root is still shown turned to stone on the island of Nolawna. Arrived on earth she was impregnated by the south wind and bore many children, who had access to the sky, until the Lord Sun, as the result of strife with them, cut the rotan in two.[4] In a

[1] Brinton, *Amer. Hero-Myths*, 90; Bancroft, iii. 271; both citing the Mexican Codex in the Vatican and the Codex Telleriano-Remensis. See also Preuss, *Globus*, lxxxvi. 362, who claims that according to Mexican belief the masculine breath was necessary to conception.

[2] Kalevala, runes i. xlv.; *cf.* Abercromby. *Finns*, i. 316, 318, 322.

[3] J. A. T. Schwarz, *Int. Arch.* xviii. 59.

[4] Riedel, 312.

Samoan tale a snipe is fecundated in this manner, and bears a daughter.[1]

Stories of conception by bathing have been seriously believed alike in the Old and New worlds. A Zulu saga represents a king's daughters as bathing in a pool in the river. The youngest, a mere child, comes out with breasts swollen as large as a woman's. By the counsel of the old men she is driven away. After wandering from place to place she gives birth to a boy who grows up a wise doctor. From what is said of his beneficent deeds it has been conjectured that we have here a corrupted account of Our Lord's birth, derived possibly from the Portuguese.[2] There is however no evidence to support this improbable suggestion: the story in all its details is purely native. The Black Kirghiz of Central Asia asserted that their great foremother was a princess who became pregnant by bathing in a foam-covered lake.[3] Some of the Algonkins traced the lineage of mankind from two young squaws who swimming in the sea were impregnated by the foam and produced a boy and girl.[4] Virtually the same incident appears not infrequently in North American tradition. The Yurupari of South America relate a story of some women who were forbidden by an old wizard to bathe in a certain holy pool. They disobey and are fertilised by his semen which is mingled with the water.[5] The same incident was part of the religious belief of the ancient Persians. Three drops of the seed of Zoroaster, we are told in

[1] *Int. Arch.* xvi. 90.
[2] Callaway, *Tales*, 335.
[3] De Charencey, 184, citing Girard de Rialle, *Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale.*
[4] Featherman, *Aoneo-Mar.* 80.
[5] Ehrenreich, 47.

their sacred books, fell from him. They are preserved by the agency of angels and at the appointed time a maid bathing in the lake Kâsava will come in contact with it, will conceive by it and bring forth Saoshyant, the Saviour who is to reduce all peoples under the yoke of the true religion and prepare the world for the general resurrection.[1] In the twelfth century the Moorish philosopher Averrhoes of Cordova related, as having actually occurred, a case of a woman who became pregnant in a bath by attracting the semen of a man bathing near. In Christian Europe, it is needless to say, parthenogenesis was long held possible. Controversy on the subject was lively even in the seventeenth century.

Rain has begotten children too. Montezuma, the culture-hero of the Pueblos of New Mexico, was the son of a maiden of exquisite beauty but fastidious and coy. When the drought fell on her people she opened her granaries and fed them out of her abundance. "At last with rain fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower, and that son was Montezuma."[2] The Pimas of California, the Mojave of the Rio Colorado in Arizona, and the Apaches all tell the same story.[3] According to the Chinese historian Ma-twan-lin, the founder of the kingdom of the Fou-yu was the wonderful son

[1] Indeed she will be thrice fecundated and bear three sons; or three maidens will be thus successively fecundated. *Sacred Books*, iv. lxxix; v. 143 note, 144; xxiii. 195, 226. See also Tavernier, *Six Voyages*, l. iv. c. viii; E. Blochet, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xxxviii. 61.

[2] Bancroft, iii. 175 note; De Charencey, 235; Cushing, *Zuñi F. T.* 65

[3] Payne, i. 414 note; *Journ. Am. F. L.* ii. 178.

of a woman on whom, so she said, a vapour about the size of an egg descended from the sky and caused her pregnancy.[1]

So also the rays of the sun fertilise women. Perhaps this was the original form of the story of Danae: the incident appears in several modern European *märchen* which are variants of that story. In China impregnation by the sun seems to have been a common fate of the mothers of distinguished emperors.[2] A Japanese legend tells of a poor maiden, into whose body as she slept by the shore of a lagoon the rays of the sun drove like the shafts from a celestial bow and caused her to be pregnant. She was delivered of a red jewel which, acquired at length by the chief's son, was changed into a fair girl and became his wife.[3] A Siamese legend reported by a Jesuit father in the seventeenth century attributes the birth of the deity Sommonocodon (an obvious form of Buddha) to the same cause.[4] The Admiralty Islanders deduce the descent of mankind from a woman who was fecundated by the sun.[5] The Samoan saga of the invention of the fish-hook relates that a woman was fructified by the rays of the rising sun and directed by a sunbeam to call the child Aloaloalela.[6] Among the Pueblo peoples of North America the tale recurs more than once. In all cases the offspring are twins, who are benefactors of their tribe.[7] The Kwakiutl

[1] De Charencey, 188, citing the Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denis.
[2] Instances are collected by De Charencey, 208, 203.
[3] *Rev. Hist. Rel.* lii. 43 note, 46 note.
[4] *Second Voyage du Père Tachard*, 247.
[5] *Anthropos*, ii. 938. [6] *Int. Arch.* xv. 170.
[7] Matthews, *Navaho Leg.* 105, 231; Fewkes, *Journ. Am. F. L.* viii. 132; Cushing, *Zuñi F. T.* 431; *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 43.

Phaethon named Born-to-be-the-Sun was begotten by the sun's suddenly shining on the small of a woman's back.[1] A hero of the Skidi Pawnee of the plains was the offspring not of the sun but of a passing meteor that flashed upon a maiden at night while her father and mother were standing on guard beside her.[2] In Egypt Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, was believed to have been begotten by a blaze of light descending from heaven (according to Plutarch, from the moon) upon the cow which was to become his dam.[3]

Analogous to this method of impregnation is the glance of a divine or quasi-divine being. To this cause in Kirghiz tradition was ascribed the birth of the famous Genghis Khan.[4] According to orthodox belief in India Parvati, the consort of Siva, was conceived by a look and spit forth upon the world. The Brahmans have a legend whereby the Musahar, a Dravidian jungle-tribe in the eastern part of the United Provinces, descend from a maiden who waited on a certain hermit. Siva visited the hermit in disguise and his eye fell on the girl. From that glance she became pregnant, and the twin children, boy and girl, whom she bore were the ancestors of the Musahar.[5] Similar incidents are reported in legends from Further India and the Marquesas.[6] The culture-

[1] Boas and Hunt, *Jesup Exped.* x. 80.

[2] Dorsey, *Skidi Pawnee*, 307.

[3] Herod. iii. 28; Mela, i. 9; Ælian, *De Nat. Anim.* xi. 10; Plut. *De Iside*, 43.

[4] Radloff, iii. 82.

[5] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, iv. 16, quoting *Calcutta Rev.* lxxxvi. 15.

[6] De Charencey, 210, citing Father Giov. Fil. Marini; Southey, *Commonpl. Book*, iv. 41, quoting Picart; Ellis. *Polyn. Res.* i. 262.

hero and creator (or rather transformer) of the Hupa of California fertilised two women by his look. The incident is related not merely in the sacred narrative, but also in a charm used to facilitate childbirth.[1] The Yana, another Californian tribe, tell of two sisters each of whom gave birth to a boy in consequence of the chicken-hawk's son's looking at them through his fingers.[2] At Rome the birth of Servius Tullius was by tradition imputed to a look. His mother, Ocrisia, was a slave of Tanaquil the wife of Tarquinius Priscus. The likeness of a phallus appeared on the hearth; and she, who was sitting before it, arose pregnant of the future king. The household Lar was deemed his father, in confirmation of which a lambent flame was seen about the child's head as he lay asleep.[3]

Numerous *märchen* found throughout the continent of Europe belonging to the cycle of the Lucky Fool, represent conception as the result of the utterance of a wish by a man. The power to wish with effect is bestowed sometimes by a supernatural being, sometimes by one of the lower animals. But in a story from Damascus a supernatural being himself is by this means the father of the child.[4] So in a saga of the Wishosk of California a supernatural being bearing the euphonious name of Gudatrigakwitl, who was as near an approach to a savage creator as can be found, seems to have formed everything by a wish.

[1] Goddard, *Hupa*, 126, 279.

[2] Curtin, *Creation Myths*, 348.

[3] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 70. Ovid (*Fasti.* vi. 629) and Arnobius (*Adv. Gent.* v. 18) regard Ocrisia as not quite so innocent. According to the former, Vulcan it was who was the father. Livy (i. 39) rationalises the tale; Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch add pomp and circumstance.

[4] Oestrup, 57 (Story No. 3).

Afterwards he went about and when he saw a woman and wished her to be pregnant, forthwith she conceived.[1] Sometimes a wish uttered by the woman herself has the same effect. Dr. Paton reports two Greek tales from the Ægean, in one of which a woman wishes for a child "were it but a laurel-berry," in the other for "a son even though he were a donkey." In both the wish is granted literally.[2] The might of a curse or any other verbal charm is one of the commonplaces of folklore. It is deeply rooted in savage belief, where the mere expression or even the formation without expression of a wish is sufficient to obtain the result. Assyrian tablets and Egyptian hieroglyphs yield incantations without number. The repetition of these formulæ is supposed to produce the effect desired. Virtue, or to use a Melanesian term *mana*, goes out from the speaker or the chanter, or the person who wills the event; and the object is attained. Stories of pregnancy caused by a wish are merely examples of incantation employed for a particular purpose. The power which animates the form of words is magical, that is to say, supranormal; it is *mana*.

The tales of Supernatural Birth are practically inexhaustible. In the foregoing pages I have done no more than select and summarise a few belonging to various types within the limit of our inquiry, namely, narratives of births independent of sexual intercourse but the result of means we now know to be inadequate and inappropriate for the reproduction of mankind. It is not too much to say that the myth of Supernatural Birth as thus defined is worldwide. Efforts have often

[1] Kroeber, *Journ. Am. F. L.* xviii. 96.

[2] *F. L.* xi. 339; xii. 320.

been made to prove that it has travelled from one centre and thence become diffused throughout the earth. Such efforts are generally connected with a desire to uphold the truth of divine revelation, and consequently to trace the tale to a corrupted form of Hebrew-Christian tradition. They are doomed to failure. The myth is too far-spread—what is more important, it is much too deeply rooted in the savage belief and practices of both hemispheres—to be accounted for by the plain and easy theory of borrowing. This I shall proceed to show in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

MAGICAL PRACTICES TO OBTAIN CHILDREN

It is still thought possible to obtain children in the manner described in the stories. Use of vegetable substances. The Mandrake. Use of animal substances. Use of minerals. Sacred wells. Use of water and other liquids. Ceremonies to obtain a transfer of fecundity or of the life of another. Bathing or sprinkling. Puberty rites and taboos of girls considered as means to obtain, or for the moment to avoid, conception. Conception by sun, moon, stars, fire. Midsummer fires. The Lupercal. Discussion of the meaning of the blows by the Luperci, and similiar practices in Europe and elsewhere. Conception by the foot. The attempt to share the fecundity of another. The virtue of sacred vestments. Amulets. Contact with sacred stones, images, and other substances. Marriage rites. Jumping over a stone, broomstick, or other object. Votive offerings and the throwing of stones. Vows. Simulation. Belief in fecundation by the eye and ear and by wind. The stories, beliefs, and practices disclose an ancient and widespread belief that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by sexual intercourse.

SINCE then, amid all differences of race and culture, birth has thus been held, broadly speaking over the whole world, to have been caused on various occasions in the marvellous ways enumerated in the foregoing chapter, it is natural to ask whether it has also been thought possible still to make effectual use of such means to produce pregnancy in barren women. The

answer is, that it has been, and still is, thought possible. In other words, the traditions of past miracles are organically connected in the popular mind with practices expressly calculated to produce repetitions of those miracles. It will be observed, however, that parthenogenesis is often spoken of in the stories; whereas, for the most part, the object of the practices I am about to describe is to promote conception by women who are in the habit of having sexual intercourse. The distinction is often immaterial. In the stage of civilisation, whether among a barbarous or savage people, or among the more backward classes of modern Europe, wherein the stories are told and the practices obtain, medicine and surgery are not as yet separated from magic, nor is there any clear boundary in the mind between the natural and the supernatural. We cannot, therefore, speak positively as to the meaning and intention of all the practices. But it is clear that a large number of them, as well as of the stories, imply, if we are not told in so many words, that the origin of the child afterwards born is not the semen received in the act of coition, but the drug or the magical potency of the ceremony or the incantation. In the stories, especially those that have reached us from a comparatively developed civilisation, this is often emphasised by the allegation of the mother's virginity. Among savages and very commonly among peoples whose civilisation is low, though they may be above the status of actual savagery, virginity is of little account, and maidenhood, except of mere infants, is practically unknown. But the fact that the failure of the ordinary means of reproduction in these circumstances leads to the trial of other methods presupposes

a faith in the latter as an efficient means to the end. And such means are used not merely in combination with, but in many cases independently of, sexual intercourse.

One of the favourite methods of supernatural impregnation in the stories is by eating some fruit or herb. Nor is this method by any means neglected in practice. The maxim attributed to the Druids leaps to the mind, namely, that the powder of mistletoe makes women fruitful. In this form it is perhaps apocryphal; but Pliny records their belief that a decoction of mistletoe gives fecundity to all barren animals; and in the book of medical recipes deemed to be derived from the ancient Physicians of Myddfai in Carmarthenshire and printed in the year 1861 from a Welsh manuscript bearing date in 1801, we find it stated that such a decoction causes fruitfulness of body and the getting of children.[1] The same virtue is ascribed to the plant by the Ainu of Japan, who hold it in peculiar veneration and among whom barren women have been known to eat it in order to bear children.[2] We are not called upon to decide whether in the Welsh book, the virtues of the magical plant have faded into merely natural efficacy. Two manuscripts are printed in the volume. The earlier includes two recipes for the cure of sterility in women, apparently regarded as a disease to be dealt with by ordinary medicaments.[3] On the other hand, in the

[1] Pliny, xvi. 95; *Meddygon Myddfai*, 269. The Physicians of Myddfai were of supernatural descent, and their knowledge and skill were attributed in the first instance to their fairy ancestress. Both MSS. comprised in the volume sadly need careful reprinting and proper editing.

[2] Batchelor, 222.

[3] *Meddygon Myddfai*, 7, 27, 45, 76.

later manuscript something more than the light of common day still glorifies the rosemary. Among other things we are told that to carry a piece of this plant is to keep every evil spirit at a distance, and that it has all the virtues of the stone called jet. It was because it was obnoxious to evil spirits that it was used at funerals. But it was not only used at funerals. There is a story told by an old writer of a widower who wished to be married again on the day of his former wife's funeral, because the rosemary employed at the funeral could be used for the wedding also. For its use at weddings there was an additional reason which may be inferred from the Welsh manuscript, where it is prescribed as a remedy for barrenness.[1] For the same purpose it was administered elsewhere by physicians in the seventeenth century with grains of mastic,[2] and it appears to have a reputation still in some parts of Belgium.[3]

We turn to less ambiguous proceedings. Among the ancient Medes, Persians and Bactrians the juice of the sacred soma was prescribed to procure for unproductive women fair children and a pure succession.[4] Thus the birth of Zoroaster himself was, as we have seen, believed to have been caused.[5] One of the rules for the performance of the Vedic domestic ceremonies,

[1] *Meddygon Myddfai*, 263; Friend, 113, 124, 581. Compare the parallel uses of rue (i. *Arch. Religionsw.* 108; Höfler, *Volksmed.* 104).

[2] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 434. Some of the many similar prescriptions by physicians and in folk-medicine are given in the context. A Gipsy charm quoted by Leland from Dr. von Wlislocki prescribes oats to be given to a mare out of an apron or gourd, with an incantation expressly bidding her "Eat, fill thy belly with young!" (*Gip: Sorc.* 84).

[3] *Am Urquell*, vi. 218.

[4] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 431, citing Duncker.

[5] *Supra*, p. 12.

given in the *Grihya-Sûtras*, directs the householder who does not study the *Upanishad* treating of the rules for securing conception, the male gender of the child, and so forth, to give his wife in the third month of her pregnancy, after she has fasted, in curds from a cow which has a calf of the same colour as the dam, two beans and a barleycorn for each handful of curds. Then he is to ask her: "What dost thou drink?" To which she is to reply: "Generation of a male child." When the curds and the question and response have been thrice repeated, he is to insert into her right nostril the sap of a herb which is not withered.[1] One can hardly doubt that this is a ceremony to procure offspring, though according to the rubric not performed until after conception has taken place. Modern Hindu women adopt various means for this purpose. "The most approved plan," says Mr. Crooke, "is to visit a shrine with a reputation for healing this class of malady. There the patient is given a cocoa-nut (which is a magic substance), a fruit or even a barleycorn from the holy of holies." A cocoa-nut in particular "is the symbol of fertility, and all through Upper India is kept in shrines and presented by the priest to women who desire children."[2] Every morning at the shrine of Siva an offering of milk, honey and small cakes is made. "A woman who eats these offerings is preserved from sterility"—that is, she is blessed with issue.[3] In Bombay a woman who wishes for a child, especially a son,

[1] Sacred Books, xxix. 180; *cf.* 395.

[2] Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* i. 227; ii. 106.

[3] *Mél*, viii. 109. A number of prescriptions of vegetable and animal substances from old pharmaceutical and magical sources have been collected by M. Tuchmann, *Id.* vii. 159, *sqq.*

observes the fourth lunar day of every dark fortnight as a fast and breaks her fast only after seeing the moon, generally before nine or ten o'clock in the evening. A dish of twenty-one balls of rice like marbles having been prepared, in one of which is put some salt, it is then placed before her; and if she first lay her hand on the ball containing salt, she will be blessed with a son. In this case no more is eaten; otherwise she goes on until she takes the salted ball. This is a ceremony which may only be observed a limited number of times; once, five, seven, eleven or twenty-one times. If she fail altogether to pick out the salted ball first, she is doomed to barrenness.[1] At the festival of Ráhu, the tribal god of the Dosádhs of Behar and Chota Nagpur, the priest distributes to the crowd tulsi-leaves which heal diseases else incurable, and flowers which have the virtue of causing barren women to conceive;[2] but whether they are to be eaten or (more probably) worn does not appear.

An old Arab work relates concerning the Isle of Women at the extremity of the Chinese Sea, that it was reported to be inhabited only by women who were fertilised by the wind, or according to another manuscript by a tree the fruit of which they ate.[3] The

[1] *Ind. N. and Q.* iv. 106.

[2] Risley, i. 256. In ancient Greece certain flowers possessing similar virtue were sacred to Hera (Farnell, i. 182). Mr. Rose has collected (*J. A. I.* xxxv. 271 *sqq.*, 279 *sqq.*) a number of observances by Hindoo and Mohammedan women in the Panjab during and previously to pregnancy. They include in all cases the gift of fruits, rice, and sweets to the woman. Sometimes where these gifts are made to a woman already pregnant she divides them among the kinswomen (even young girls) who assemble on the occasion, the idea being as Mr. Rose with probability concludes "to convey equal fertility to all of them."

[3] *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, 71.

eating of fruit is in fact practised by Arab women to procure fecundity.[1] A Tuscan woman who desires offspring goes to a priest, gets a blessed apple and pronounces over it an invocation to Saint Anne.[2] The mother of the Virgin is a most sympathetic saint for these cases, since she only gave birth in her old age. Presumably the apple is then eaten; but Mr. Leland in reporting the custom does not explicitly say so. In the Morbihan a story is told of a girl who was crossed in love and bargained with the Devil for the man of her choice, the consideration being her first child. The Devil however was defrauded by her husband, who plunged the child immediately on birth into a large basin of holy water. In revenge the Evil One carried off the mother, and she was found by a *seigneur* of Pléguien hanging by the hair to one of the oaks in his avenue. He took her down. She was just able to tell him her story, and to add that she had by incessantly making the sign of the cross protected herself from the tortures which the Devil had designed for her in hell, and consequently he had kicked her with one blow back to earth, where she had been caught by the tree. Before she had time to give her name and place of abode she died. Since that time, whenever a woman of the neighbourhood desires a child she eats a leaf

[1] Jaussen, 35.

[2] Leland, *Gip Sorc.* 101; *Id. Etr. Rom.* 246. At King-yang-fu in the Chinese province of Kan-su a goddess of fecundity is worshipped by the women. Her shrine is on the top of a mountain and is approached by a long flight of stone steps, which the devotee must ascend on her knees. The goddess appears in a dream and gives fruit to the pilgrim, an apple or a peach if she is to have a boy, plums or pears if a girl (*Anthropos*, iii. 762).

of the oak in question, and her wish is sure to be gratified.[1]

In the county of Gömör, Hungary, it is believed that a bride, who, at the beginning of summer eats fruit which has grown together (*zusammengebackenes Obst*) will give birth to twins.[2] In the Spreewald no Wendish woman dares to eat of two plums grown together on one stalk, or she will bear twins.[3] An unmarried girl in Bavaria will not venture to eat two apples or other fruit which have grown together, or she will when married bear twins.[4] In Poitou a woman who eats a fruit having two kernels in one envelope will suffer the same penalty.[5] The aboriginal inhabitants of Paraguay supposed that a woman who ate a double ear of maize would give birth to twins.[6] In the East Indies the Galelarese are also of opinion that if a women eat up by herself a twin banana (that is, two bananas the rinds of which have grown together) she will have twins.[7] On the island of Rügen, in Mecklenburg, Voigtland and Saxon Transylvania and about Mentone only pregnant women are threatened with the penalty.[8] Among the Tagalas the husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden for the same reason to eat such fruit.[9] These taboos are

[1] *Rev. Trad. Rop.* xvii. 111. Compare Queen Isolte's lily (*De Charencey*, 230).

[2] Temesváry, 10.

[3] von Schulenburg, 232.

[4] Lammert, 158.

[5] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 391.

[6] Featherman, Chiapo-Mar, 444.

[7] *Bijdragen*, xlv. 467.

[8] *Am Urquell*, v. 180; Ploss, *Kind*, i. 30; Wuttke, 376; Johann Hillner, *Programm des Evang. Gymnasiums in Schässburg*, 1877, 13; J. B. Andrews, *Rev. Trad. Pop.* ix. 111. The limitation to pregnant women is probably a late form of the superstition.

[9] H. Ling Roth, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxii. 209. In the island of Aurora, a woman sometimes takes it into her head "that the

inexplicable save on the supposition that the fruit causes pregnancy.

The Kwakiutl of British Columbia chew the gum of the red pine. "That of the white pine is not used by girls, because it is believed to make them pregnant."[1] The Querränna, one of the cult societies of the Sia, possess a medicine called *sewili*, composed of the roots and the blossoms of the six mythical medicine plants of the sun, archaic white shell- and black stone-beads, turquoise and a yellow stone. This is ground to a fine powder with great ceremony. To a woman who wishes to become pregnant it is administered, a small quantity of the powder being put into cold water, and a "fetish" of Querränna dipped four times into the water. A single dose ought to be sufficient. The same medicine is also administered on ceremonial occasions to the members of the society for the perpetuation of their race; and the *honaaite* (priest or theurgist) taking a mouthful squirts it to the cardinal points, "that the cloud people may gather and send rain that the earth may be fruitful." Querränna was the second man created by Ûtset, one of

origin, or beginning, of one of her children is a cocoa-nut, or bread-fruit, or something of that kind"; and this gives rise to a prohibition of the object for food, just as in the case of a totem (Codrington, in *Id.* xviii. 310; *Rep. Austr. Ass.* ii. 612). I hardly know how to account for this notion except by the suggestion that such a woman may have eaten the fruit about the time her pregnancy commenced, and thence have been led to believe that the pregnancy was due to it. Upon inquiry, however, of Dr. Codrington, he informed me that he had never heard of any belief of the kind. It is perhaps worth noting as a coincidence, if nothing more, that on Lepers' Island, the two intermarrying divisions are called "*branches of fruit*," "as if," says Dr. Codrington (*Melanesians*, 26), "all the members hang on the same stalk."

[1] Boas, in *Rep. Brit. Ass.* 1896, 579.

the creative heroines of the tribal mythology. He received from the sun the secret of the medicine which would make both the earth and women fruitful. Hence the society bearing his name has charge of the medicine and performs the rites necessary for both purposes.[1] Among the Kansa, a Siouan tribe, a man was reported as having had a red medicine, which was used for women who desired to have children, for horses and for causing good dreams; but whether it was to be taken internally does not appear.[2] In the Lower Congo a barren woman goes to a *ngang'a ndembo*, who takes certain leaves (the identity of which is kept secret), squeezes their juice into palm-wine and gives it to her to drink.[3] The Czech women of Bohemia drink an infusion of juniper to obtain children; and coffee enjoys a high reputation in Franconia. In China and Japan a medicine called *Kay-tu-sing*, made from the leaves of a tree belonging to the *Ternstromaceæ*, is given at full moon with cabalistic formulæ. In the Fiji Islands the woman bathes in a stream, and then both husband and wife take a drink made with the grated root of a kind of bread-fruit tree and the nut of a sort of turmeric, immediately before congress. Siberian brides before the marriage-night eat the cooked fruit of the *Iris Sibirica*. Asparagus seeds and young hop-buds prepared as salad are given to women in Styria against barrenness. They are then required to abstain from conjugal relations for two months, and be bled, before resuming them. Serb women get a woman already pregnant to put yeast into their girdles; they

[1] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 113, 33, 71.
[2] *Ibid.* 418. [3] J. H. Weeks, *F. L.* xix. 419

sleep with it overnight, and eat it in the morning at breakfast.[1] The Mexican population just within the southern boundary of Texas make a decoction of a plant called the *Yerba Gonzalez*, which must be prepared before the rising of the moon and set to cool in the moonlight the same night. A barren woman must drink of this decoction and take a bath in it every eighth day, and immediately afterwards take a purge. This procedure lasts for forty days, during which no conjugal relations are allowed. She then rests a day from all labour and at night under the direct rays of the moon she takes a final bath in the decoction, after which she may be sure of offspring. When she feels that her wish has been granted she must present herself at the first soul-mass before the altar of the Virgin and there dedicate a *milagro* (literally, miracle), a votive offering of silver in the shape of a boy or girl, according to the sex of the child she desires.[2] At Kalotaszeg, in Hungary, the sterile woman eats every Friday before sunrise cantharides and hemp-flowers boiled in ass' milk, and shaking the bough of a tree says: "Mr. Friday went to the forest, there met Mrs. Saturday, and said to her, 'Let us embrace.' Mrs. Saturday thrust him away and said, 'Thou art a dry twig; when thou art green again, come to me!' Twig, give me strength; I give thee mine."[3] This

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 434, 431, 432, 445, citing various authorities. But as usual after Dr. Bartels' editing it is not possible in all cases to identify them. The case last cited seems to be a bridal ceremony.

[2] *Globus*, lxxxviii. 381.

[3] Temesváry, 9. Another version is given by von Wlislocki (*Volksleb.* 137), who adds a detail rendering it still clearer that the object is to unite the woman to the fruitful tree. The Ottoman Jews have a custom which points to the same idea. In order

ceremony is evidently an attempt to obtain by magical means the productive virtue of the tree, and probably was originally independent of the medicament. In Friuli, when a bride is introduced into the nuptial chamber her husband causes her to eat a slice of quince.[1] In ancient Greece the bride and bridegroom used to eat of a quince together.[2]

It is not irrelevant here to recall that European children who are curious to know whence their little brothers and sisters have come are often told that they come from a tree or a plant. Thus, in England they are said to come out of the parsley-bed or the cabbage-bed; in Belgium and in France they are

not to lose her children the mother about to give birth puts an apple on her head. According to a Midrash the Israelite mothers in Egypt, before Moses, used to be delivered under the apple-trees to avoid the persecutions of the infanticide King (*Mél.* viii. 267). This practice is alluded to as still rife in the *Song of Solomon*, viii. 5. The last sentence in the Magyar spell above makes allusion to the reciprocal influence of the woman and the tree, when thus united. This of course logically results from the union. In Swabia a woman who is "in an interesting condition" for the first time ought to eat of a tree which bears for the first time; then both of them will become very fruitful. To this, however, there is one exception: if an apple be grafted on a whitethorn, and some of the fruit be given to a pregnant woman to eat, she cannot bear (Meier, *Sagen*, 476, 474). It is a saying at Pforzheim, "To make a nut-tree bear, let a pregnant woman pick the first nuts" (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1802). The idea of reciprocal influence is very common in folklore, and is the foundation of many magical practices (see ii. *Leg. Pers. passim*).

[1] Ostermann, 348.

[2] Plutarch, *Solon*, xx. Among the Manchus the bride and bridegroom sit on a bed face to face. An *offspring dumpling* is then brought in and handed to the bridegroom, who eats a mouthful. It is next handed to the bride, who takes a small piece into her mouth and afterwards spits it out, as an omen that the marriage will be productive of a numerous offspring (*F. L.* i. 488).

found under the cabbages (under the parson's cabbages, at Stavelot), or they are dug out of the garden by the midwife ;[1] at Siena, the midwife is said to have found them under a tree or a cabbage ;[2] in the Abruzzi, the child is said to come from a tree or to be found under a tree or in a hedge, in a bunch of grapes, in a pumpkin, or the like ;[3] in various parts of Germany children are said to come out of a hollow lime-tree, beech, or oak, or out of the vegetable-garden.[4] It may be thought that this is merely a convenient way of parrying awkward questions. It would seem, however, to be more than this. In England, in France, and in the Walloon Country a quasi-sacred character is attached to parsley. A parsley-bed must not be dug up nor the parsley transplanted, lest some one in the family die or other ill-luck ensue. Even to plant it is to dig the grave of the head of the family or one of the kindred ; on the other hand, to neglect to weed it is to incur misfortune, so closely is it associated with the life of the family.[5] In various parts of France cabbages are given to the newly-wedded pair as a ritual article of food on the marriage night. They are served either in broth in the course of the evening or cooked together with a fowl and partaken of after the pair have retired to the nuptial couch. The plantation or transplantation of a cabbage by the bridegroom is sometimes part of the wedding ceremonies.[6]

At Bruneck, in the Tirol, a great hollow ash is shown from which children are brought. At Aargau

[1] *Bull. F. L.* ii. 112, 148 ; Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 474.
[2] *Archivio*, xiii. 475. [3] Finamore, *Trad. Pop. Abr.* 56.
[4] *Am Urquell*, iv. 224 ; v. 162, 287.
[5] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 463, 464, 473. [6] *Ibid.* 515.

such a tree is called the child-pear-tree. At Nierstein, in Hesse, is a great lime-tree from which children for the whole neighbourhood are fetched. At Gummersbach is another. A short distance from Nauders, in the Tirol, stood a sacred tree, the last of the wood. It was a larch. Torn and maimed by age and storms, it was reduced to a mere trunk, and at last cut down in the winter of 1855, though the stump remained in the ground for several years longer. From this sacred tree it was believed that children, especially the boys, were brought. From its neighbourhood superstitious awe prevented timber or firewood from being gathered. Crying or screaming near it was deemed a serious misbehaviour; quarrelling, cursing, or scolding was looked upon as an offence that called to heaven for instant punishment. It was generally believed (and the belief was supported by at least one current story) that the tree would bleed if hacked or cut, and that the blow would fall at the same moment on the tree and on the body of the offender who dared to use his axe or knife upon it; nor would the wound heal in his body until it healed in the tree.[1] On the road from Boitzenhagen to Knesebeck, in a district of northern Germany remote from railways, stands an oak called the Children's Tree. It replaces a much older tree, which has disappeared. The people of Boitzenhagen have to go to Knesebeck for baptisms. They always halt on such occasions beside the tree to partake of cakes and brandy, and are careful to give the tree its share of both. Wedding processions also halt and adorn its twigs with coloured ribbons; the

[1] Zingerle, *Sagen*, 110; *Am Urquell*, iv. 224; v. 287; Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, 13 (No. 15).

more rapidly these ribbons decay and perish, the greater the luck of the marriage. A story is now told to explain the name of the tree from a child who was said to have been forgotten there and torn to pieces by a wild boar; but it is more probable, as Dr. Andree remarks, that the tree was an old and sacred tree whence children were believed to come. The observances just mentioned point at least in that direction, and seem to show that it was regarded as in some way a fecundating power.[1] This, in fact, is the light in which the Bahoni, a Bantu people on one of the tributaries of the Upper Congo, regard the kola-tree which occupies the centre of each of their villages. Under it assemblies are held; it "belongs to the chief, and is supposed to exercise an influence upon the fertility of his wives. When one of the latter menstruates the chief gives it a cut to remind it of its duty." Its fruit is considered an aphrodisiac, and is reserved to the chief and privileged guests.[2]

Before passing from the eating of fruit and vegetables, let me point out that the *dudâim*, for which Rachel bargained with Leah, seem to have been possessed of power to put an end to barrenness; and this, as we gather from the record in Genesis, quite independently of sexual intercourse, for Rachel, who was bitterly envious of Leah's fertility, gave up her husband to her sister in exchange for them. From the Septuagint and Josephus downwards the *dudâim* have been identified with the mandrake, a plant which has been during all history credited with supernatural

[1] *Zeits. des Vereins*, vi. 366. Other examples are cited by Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, 19 *sqq.*

[2] Torday and Joyce, *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 291.

powers.[1] In particular, it has been held potent as a cause of pregnancy. Henry Maundrell, travelling in Palestine in the spring of 1697, little more than two centuries ago, was informed that it was then customary for women who wanted children to lay mandrakes under the bed.[2] It is probable that he did not learn the whole truth. At the present day, in the extremely modern city of Chicago, orthodox Jews are living who import mandrakes from the East. These mandrakes "are rarely sold for less than four dollars, and one young man whose wife is barren recently paid ten dollars for a specimen." The roots, from their shape, "are still thought to be male and female; they are used remedially, a bit being scraped into water and taken internally; they are valued talismans; and they ensure fertility to women."[3] The root of the mandrake, or mandragora, in common with that of several species of plants, has a rough resemblance to human shape—a resemblance which was and still is heightened by art. From this resemblance, according to the doctrine of Signatures, it probably was that the belief in its magic, and especially its procreative, power arose. The prescription current in the Middle Ages for gathering mandrakes dates from classical times. Pliny directs those who gather the plant to take care to keep on the windward side, to circumscribe it thrice with a sword (that is evidently, to surround it with a magic circle drawn with iron) and then to dig it up at

[1] *Gen.* xxx. 14; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 19. The mandrake seems to be still used by Jewish and Moslem women in Palestine, (*Folklore*, xviii. 67). It is said to smell offensively. This probably applies only to the root, since the golden-yellow fruit is aromatic (*Internat. Arch.* vii. 204; *Song of Solomon*, vii. 13).

[2] *Early Trav.* 434.

[3] Starr, in *American Antiquarian*, 1901 (1902?), 267.

sunset.[1] A dog was sometimes tied to it, and then called or enticed away. The dog's efforts to move pulled the plant out of the ground. This proceeding, it may be observed, is recommended by Josephus in respect to a plant which he calls *baaras*, and which, perhaps, is the mandrake, though he states its only use is to drive out demons.[2] A dog is said to be still used near Chieti, in the Abruzzi; and the Danubian Gipsies, when they gather a kind of orchid called by them boy-root, lay the root half-bare with a knife never before used, and tie a black dog by its tail to it. A piece of ass-flesh is then offered to the animal, and when he springs after it he pulls out the plant. The representation of a linga is carved out of the root in question, wrapped in a piece of hart's leather, and worn on the naked arm to promote conception.[3] The *Shang-luh* (*Phytolacca acinosa*) has a similar reputation among the Chinese to that of the mandrake, and for the same reason—its anthropomorphous root. We are told, on the authority of a Chinese herbal, that its black ripe fruit is highly valued by rustic women as favouring their fertility. Sorcerers dig it up with magical rites, carve the root into a closer human likeness and endow it by means of their spells with the capacity of telling fortunes. Finally, without enumerating all the parallel beliefs, like the mandrake, it is

1 Pliny, xxv. 13. See Dr. Colley March, in *F. L.* xii. 340.

2 Josephus, *Wars*, vii. 6. The use of the dog is reported by Ælian (*Nat. Anim.* xiv. 27) to obtain a herb he called cynospastos, or aglaophotis.

3 De Gubernatis, *Myth. Plantes.* ii. 215 note. Prof. Starr (*loc. cit.*) notes that this root does not simulate human form, but it does suggest the male organ. His article contains an excellent summary of what is known about the mandrake.

esteemed as a philtre, and is believed to grow upon the ground beneath which a dead man lies, just as the mandrake was believed to grow beneath the gallows.[1] The significance of this will appear by-and-by.

Animal substances of various kinds are taken with intent to obtain children. An insect in India called *pillai-púchchi*, or son-insect, is swallowed in large numbers by women in the hope of bearing sons.[2] Kamtchatkan women who wish to bear eat spiders.[3] To this day, in Egypt and the Eastern Soudan, the scarab, which was sacred among the ancient Egyptians, is "dried, pounded, and mixed with water, and then drunk by women, who believe it," we are told, "to be an unfailing specific for the production of large families."[4] The women of the Lkuñgen, one of the British Columbian tribes, drink a decoction of wasps' nests, or of flies—insects both of which lay many eggs.[5] Among the Southern Slavs, the wife who desires offspring places a wooden bowl full of water beneath a beam of

[1] For further details about the mandrake and other plants to which similar beliefs attached, see *Internat. Arch.* vii. 81, 199; viii. 249; xii. 21; Hertz, *Die Sage vom Giftmädchen* (*Abhandl. k. bayer. Acad. Wiss.* 1893), 76; De Gubernatis, *op. cit.* ii. 213; T. W. Davies, *Magic Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews*, London [1898], 34; and Prof. Starr's article already referred to. Certain roots are also held by the Pawnees of North America to be transformations of a primitive race of giants destroyed by Tirawa, the head of the tribal pantheon. These roots are in the shape of human beings. They are possessed of curative powers, and for that purpose are dug up with ceremonies, incantations, and an offering of tobacco-smoke (Dorsey, *Pawnee Myth.* i. 296). A similar (perhaps the same) root was known and prized among the Algonkins (Charlevoix, vi. 24).

[2] *Panjab* (*Indian*) *N. and Q.* iv. 107 (par. 415).

[3] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 432, citing Krashneninnikov.

[4] Budge, *Egypt. Magic*, 39.

[5] Boas, *Rep. N. W. Tribes*, in *Rep. Brit. Ass.* 1890, 577, 581.

the roof where it is worm-eaten and the worm-dust falls. Her husband strikes the beam with something heavy, so as to shake the dust out of the worm-holes; and she drinks the water containing the dust that falls. Many a woman seeks in knots of hazelwood for a worm, and eats it when found.[1] All these women thus do voluntarily what the mothers of Conchobar and Cuchulainn are reported to have done against their wills. Hungarian Gipsy-women gather the floating threads of cobweb from the fields in autumn, and in the waxing of the moon they, with their husbands, eat them, murmuring an incantation to the Keshalyi, or Fate, whose sorrow at this season for her lost mortal husband causes her to tear out her hair. These threads are believed to be the Keshalyi's hair; and the incantation attributes the hoped-for child to them, and invites the Fate to the baptism.[2] A Gipsy tradition from Transylvania derives the origin of the Leïla tribe from a king's daughter who ate some of the hairs of a compassionate Keshalyi, dropped for the purpose in her way.[3]

The last-mentioned practice, as well as some referred to on a previous page and some of the others which follow, are not confined to women. They seem to have been extended by analogy to the other sex. The fish is a prolific symbol so well known that it is not surprising occasionally to find its use thus extended. English gallants at one time were said to swallow loaches in wine to become prolific. Farquhar in

[1] Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, 531. Compare a Gipsy story, von Wlislocki, *Volksdicht.* 343.

[2] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Zig.* 13.

[3] von Wlislocki, *Volksdicht.* 183.

The Constant Couple, written at the end of the seventeenth century, puts into the mouth of one of his characters the words: "I have toasted your ladyship fifteen bumpers successively, and swallowed Cupids like loaches in every glass."[1] Dr. Schultz, curator of the Ethnographical Museum at Leyden, received not long ago from a friend who had returned from the Dutch East Indies a Flute-fish (*Fistularia serrata*), given to him by a Chinese in the Segara Anakkan, or Children's Sea, a district on the south coast of Java, with the assurance that if the husband of a childless woman ate it, he would obtain the desired offspring.[2]

A curious tale is told by the famous French traveller Tavernier, of events that happened at Ahmadábád when he was there about the year 1642. The wife of a rich merchant named Saintidas, being childless, was advised by a servant in her household to eat three or four of a certain little fish. Her religion forbade animal food; but the servant overcame her scruples, saying that he knew how to disguise it so well that she would not know what she was eating. She accordingly tried the remedy, and the next night she conceived by her husband. Before the child was born, Saintidas died, and his relations claimed the inheritance. They treated her assertion that she was pregnant as a lie or a joke, seeing that she had been married fifteen or sixteen years without bearing. The governor, however, on being appealed to, compelled them to wait until she was delivered. When this happened, they alleged that the child was ille-

[1] Southey, *Commonpl. Book*, iii. 20, 75.
[2] *Int. Arch.* ix. 138.

gitimate. The governor consulted the doctors, who advised that the infant should be taken to the bath, and that if the mother's story were true the infant would smell of fish. The experiment was tried, and the child's legitimacy was held to be proven. The inheritance was considerable, and the relatives were persons of position. Not satisfied with the result, they went to Agra and appealed to the King, who ordered the test to be repeated in his presence. It was repeated, with the same success as on the previous occasion; and the widow and child retained the property.[1] This train of incidents is reported to us from a high stage of civilisation. Consequently it would be in vain to expect to find in anything like purity the ideas which it embodies. But in spite of impurity, in spite of the share apparently assigned to the husband in the procreation of the infant, it is clear that the fish is regarded as much more than a medicine for an abnormal condition of the wife's body. It is a true fertiliser, a true begetter, one of whose most distinctive characteristics is reproduced in the offspring. The Gonds of India perform, a week after a death, the rite of bringing back the soul of the deceased. "They go to the riverside, call out the name of the dead man, catch a fish, and bring it home. In some cases they eat it in the belief that by so doing the deceased will be born again as a child in the family."[2] Here the practice has become connected with a belief which we shall discuss in the next chapter. On every Christmas Eve unfruitful wives among the Transylvanian Saxons eat fish and throw

[1] Tavernier, *Trav. in Ind.* i. 75.
[2] Crooke, *Things Indian*, 221.

the bones into flowing water, in the hope of bringing children into the world.[1]

Like some other rites for producing fertility, rites in which fish play a part are performed on the occasion of a marriage. "The Brahmans of Kanara take the married pair to a pond and make them throw rice into the water and catch a few minnows. They let all go save one, with whose scales they mark their brows. If there be no pond near, the rite is done by making a fish of wheat-flour, dropping it into a vessel of water, taking it out and marking their foreheads with the paste."[2] The so-called Spanish Jews at Constantinople and elsewhere have a custom that the newly wedded bride and bridegroom immediately after the religious ceremony jump three times over a large platter filled with fresh fish. According to other accounts they step seven times backwards and forwards over a single fish. The ceremony is expounded in the *Jewish Chronicle* to be the symbol of a prayer for children.[3] Thus in the contemplation of the more enlightened members of the community a magical rite has faded into a mere symbol. In our own country a practice analogous to that attributed to the gallants of the seventeenth century still lingers in regard to cattle. A clergyman on the Welsh border wrote to me five or six years ago: "I happened to be talking the other day with our blacksmith's wife when we passed the brook where her husband's apprentice was groping for fish. She remarked: 'I wish he could get me a live trout.' I asked for what purpose. She replied: 'To put down

[1] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Sieb. Sachs.* 54.
[2] Crooke, *Things Indian*, 222.
[3] Löbel, 287; *N. and Q.* 6th ser. viii. 513; ix. 134.

our heifer's throat, to make her take the beast.'" In the light of the instances already cited, and of the stories recounted in the previous chapter, we need have no doubt that the live trout was originally not a mere aphrodisiac, but taken in this way possessed real procreative power.

Among the Australian aborigines of Tully River, in Northern Queensland, sexual intercourse is not recognised as a cause of conception so far as they themselves are concerned, though it is admitted in the case of the lower animals and is a mark of the inferiority of the latter. They hold that a woman bears children because she has been sitting over a fire on which she has roasted a particular species of black bream, which must have been given to her by the prospective "father"; or because she has purposely gone a-hunting and has caught a certain kind of bull-frog. Though we are not told what she does with the creature we may assume that she eats it, since little comes amiss to an Australian native in the shape of animal food, unless there be any taboo upon it. It may be added that a third cause assigned for a woman's conception is that "some man may have told her to be in an interesting condition," just as the Lucky Fool does in the stories referred to in the previous chapter. Twins are accounted for by her having dreamed of being told by two different persons to conceive. A fourth cause is that she may have dreamed of having the child put inside her, presumably by a supernatural being.[1] The Ottoman Jews

[1] Roth, *N. Q. Ethnog.* Bull. v. 22 (par. 81); 25 (par. 92). According to Strehlow the Arunta share the belief of the Tully River tribe in the distinction between the mode of propagation of human beings and that of the lower animals (Strehlow, ii. 52).

prescribe for a woman who has only given birth to daughters, and who desires also sons, to eat after taking a bath a whole cock, intestines, comb and all :[1] a prescription which would seem to make rather an exorbitant demand on her appetite and digestion. The Ainu of Japan persist in regarding the flying squirrel as a bird. It is called *At kamui*, a name said to mean "the divine prolific one," for it is believed to produce as many as thirty young at a birth. When a woman has no children her husband is advised to hunt for one of these "birds." Having caught it he cuts it up, cooks it, and offers *inao* (willow wands, whittled, with the shavings still attached) to the head and skin, and prays: "O thou very prolific one, I have sacrificed thee for one reason only, and that is that I may use thy flesh as a medicine for procuring children. Henceforth, please cause my wife to bear me a child." He is then to take the flesh and give it to his wife to eat, telling her that it is the flesh of some kind of bird, but carefully concealing the fact that it is that of a flying squirrel ; for if she know, or even guess, what it is the ceremony would be useless, and she would bear no children.[2]

Barren women among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia ate a roasted mouse of a certain species. An alternative prescription where male children were desired was a buck's penis.[3] The ancient Prussian bride having been struck and beaten, and so

[1] *Mél.* viii. 270.

[2] Batchelor, *Ainu F. L.* 339. The *inao* were perhaps phallic emblems in origin, though apparently this significance is not now attached to them by the Ainu (Aston, *Shinto*, 193).

[3] Teit, in *Mem. Am. Mus.*, Anthrop. i. 509.

put to bed, a dish of buck's, bull's, or bear's sweetbreads was served to the wedded pair.[1] The corresponding portion of a hare was prescribed in wine by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers to the woman who desired a son. "In order that a woman may kindle a male child," a hare's intestines dried and sliced and rubbed into a drink is also recommended in the leech-book to be taken by both husband and wife. If the wife alone drank it, she would produce an hermaphrodite. The hare's magical reputation is well known; nor are the foregoing the only remedies from its flesh directed in the same work for the same purpose. Four drachms of female hare's rennet to the woman, and the like quantity of male hare's to the man were to be given in wine; and after directing that the wife should be dieted on mushrooms and forego her bath we are told: "wonderfully she will bring forth"[2]—which we shall not be inclined to dispute. In Fezzan a woman's fruitfulness is said to be increased by the plentiful enjoyment of the dried intestines of a young hare that has never been suckled. The flesh of the kangaroo, like the hare a swift animal, is held by the Australian aborigines to cause fertility.[3] Hare's flesh, especially the testicles, is esteemed a specific against impotence and childlessness in Saxon Transylvania, where also a fox's genital organs dried and rubbed to

[1] Schröder, 171, citing Hartknoch; Ploss, *Weib.* i. 445. Meletius, arch-presbyter of the Ecclesia Liccensis in Prussia, however, writing in the sixteenth century states that the sweetbreads are those of a goat or a bear (*F. L.* xii. 300). Among the Istrian Slavs an hour after the married pair retire a roast hen is served to them in bed (Dr. F. Tetzner, *Globus*, xcii. 88).

[2] Sextus Placitus, *Sax. Leechd.* i. 347, 345.

[3] Ploss, *Weib.* i. 431, 432, citing Nachtigall and Junk.

powder are given to women against barrenness.[1] Italian women are given not merely vegetable drugs like an infusion of valerian, cypress scrapings and the bark of the black mulberry, but also mare's milk, a hare's uterus and a goat's testicles.[2] And similar nostrums sometimes of the flesh of one animal and sometimes of another are to be found in many of the mediæval works on medicine and exorcism.[3]

The same train of reasoning is evident in the prohibition, current among the Coast-Salish of north-western America, to an unmarried woman to eat either breast or tenderloin of any animal. It was believed that if she ate the tenderloin of both sides of an animal she would give birth to twins.[4] The Perak Semang are said to hold a complicated belief in a soul-bird. A child as soon as born is named from a tree standing near its birthplace, and the after-birth is buried at the foot of the tree. An expectant mother visits her birth-tree, as it is called, or a tree of the same species if too far away to reach the identical tree, and there deposits an offering of flowers. A young bird newly hatched inhabiting the tree contains the soul of her expected child, which has been committed to it by Kari the chief god. This bird she must kill and eat, otherwise her child will be stillborn or die shortly after its birth. The expression used by the Semang of Kalantan to describe a woman who is in hope of offspring is: "she has eaten the bird." Twins arise from eating a

[1] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Sieb. Sachs.* 169, 103.

[2] Zanetti, 103. The author discredits the statement of another prescription said to be given to couples desiring children.

[3] *Mél.* vii. 159 *sqq.*
Boas, Rep. N. W. Tribes, *Rep. B. A.* 1889, 842.

soul-bird with an egg.[1] So in the Murray Islands women eat pigeons, females to get girls and males to get boys.[2]

In England the belief in the consumption of certain kinds of animal food as a cause of pregnancy seems to have survived into modern times. I quote from a letter written to me by a lady who has herself made valuable contributions to anthropology: "Mrs. G., a charwoman who worked for me in 1876, and who lived with her husband in a street leading out of Theobald's Row, W.C., told me that she and her husband had been married for some years, and had given up all hope of having children, when she, at the instance of her husband's mother (who lived in the same house with them), determined to try other than lawful means. She went out one evening, and, at a butcher's shop some long distance from where she lived, contrived to steal two sausages, which she ate raw then and there in a side-turning off the street, her mother-in-law keeping guard for fear of detection, in fact keeping the butcher in talk while her daughter-in-law stole and ate the articles. This action was kept a profound secret from the husband until the means adopted were found to be effectual. A boy was born at the proper period of time, or, as Mrs. G. said, that day nine months; and he was fat and rolly like a sausage! Unfortunately he died soon afterwards. Perhaps this was not surprising, as he was given a small piece of sausage to eat after his birth. The reason assigned for this was that he might not be too fond of sausages as he grew up, refuse other food, and so 'pine away.' His mother

[1] Skeat and Blagden, ii. 3, 4, 6, quoting Vaughan-Stevens.

[2] Haddon, *Torres Str. Rep.* vi. 105.

and grandmother attributed his death partly to bronchitis and partly to the fact that strict secrecy had not been observed about the stolen food. They had afterwards gone before the child's birth to the butcher and paid him for the two sausages, telling him the circumstances. He sympathised with them and Mrs. G. added that he told them a similar story about his own wife, or mother, she did not remember which." [1]

Eggs are naturally supposed to ensure pregnancy. Probably it is for this cause that they are forbidden to adolescent Eskimo girls in Baffin's Land.[2] Among the Ruthenians a domestic hen is killed, and the small unripe eggs found in her body are put into the vagina of a barren woman.[3] A Gipsy husband will sometimes take an egg and blow the contents into his wife's mouth, she swallowing them, in order that she may bear;[4] or in Transylvania she will give him at full moon the egg of a black hen to eat by himself.[5]

As might be expected, eggs like other objects believed to produce fertility are prominent objects in various parts of the world, especially the East, at

[1] My correspondent adds that another woman whom she knew, a fairly well-educated woman whose husband was in business as a trunk-maker, had twins at her first *accouchement*. "They were the colour of scarlet, just like boiled lobsters." One of these twins died; the other as she grew up continued to have red marks on her skin. Their mother attributed this condition to the lobsters whereof she and her husband had partaken on their wedding night. This would appear to show a similar belief, but in a somewhat later stage exemplified in the old Prussian and other marriage-rites already mentioned.

[2] Boas, *Eskimo of Baffin's Land*, in *Bull. Am. Mus.* xv. 161.

[3] Kobert, 116.

[4] Leland, *Gip. Sorc.* 101.

[5] von Wlislocki, *Volksdicht.* 314.

marriage ceremonies. In them too, as in other marriage ceremonies discussed in the present chapter, the fertilising power of the object itself passes into a charm or a mere symbol of good wishes. The West Russian Jews, particularly the strict sect of the Chasidim, have the custom of setting a raw egg before a bride at the wedding feast, a symbol of fruitfulness and that she may bear as easily as a hen lays an egg.[1] At Gossensass in the Tirol, when the wedded pair come to the inn to pay for the wedding-feast, after the business is settled it is the custom to serve the bride with a hard-boiled egg on a large iron fork; and she is expected to eat it alone.[2] In the seventeenth century, a French bride, in order to be happy in her marriage, on entering her new home on the wedding-day trod upon and broke an egg, and wheat was thrown over her.[3] Fertility is obviously regarded as the first condition of happiness here. Among the Sundanese in West Java a hen's egg is placed before the door of the newly wedded pair; which appears to imply a similar rite of breaking it. In East Java the Tenggerese bridegroom on the last day of the festivities breaks an egg and the bride smears her feet with its contents mixed with turmeric.

The direct fertilising power as distinguished from the magical effect or the symbolism of the egg tends to fall into the background when both husband and wife share the virtue of the egg in food or other ways. Among the Mordvins a pot of groats, an omelet and a baked egg are always put upon the table at the bride's house in the elaborate ceremonies of the day before

[1] Andree, *Juden*, 145. [2] *Zeits. des Vereins*, x. 401.
[3] Thiers, *ap.* Liebrecht's *Gerv. Tilb.* 259 (No. 475).

the marriage. In Great Mandheling and Batang Natal (West Sumatra) the bride and bridegroom must each eat a piece of the white and the yolk of the eggs which lie on the top of the rice at the wedding ceremony. In Minahassa they erect a small altar and offer on it some rice and a boiled egg. They afterwards consume the offering, calling down thereby the divine blessing. Among certain of the Dyaks a hen's egg is struck upon the teeth of the wedded pair and then held under their noses. Among the Orang Maanjan of Borneo they are smeared with a mixture of the contents of an egg and blood of a fowl or pig: this is the binding ceremony. Among the Olon Lavangan, another tribe of the same island, the chief takes a hen's egg, opens it with a knife and smears the contents on the foreheads of the pair.[1] In Armenia and Kurdistan the Mohammedans take various measures against unfruitfulness in marriage. One of these consists in the priest's writing the one hundred and twelfth chapter of the Koran upon an egg and giving the bride and bridegroom each one half of the egg to eat. Or else he writes it upon a triangular spear over which they are required to jump.[2] In Sikkim a present of eggs is an offer of marriage and the acceptance of the gift is an acceptance of the offer. Among the Shan of Further India the gift of eggs among other things to the bride and her parents is expected from the bridegroom. In South Celebes a hen's egg is always to be found among the wedding presents and

[1] These and other customs have been brought together by Dr. R. Lasch, *Globus*, lxxxix. 104.

[2] Volland, *Globus*, xci. 344. Compare the Jewish rite of jumping over fish, *supra*, p. 51.

it is expressly said to hint at offspring.[1] But we need not pursue the subject of symbolism of eggs on such an occasion.

Among the Schokaz stock in Hungary a woman who has already several children looks for a stone which has been thrown at an apple-tree and has remained on the tree. She takes it down, puts it into an egg, on which at new moon she pours water and gives to drink of it to the barren woman. Finally, she herself takes the latter's bridal shift and wears it for nine weeks.[2] This complex rite is evidently an amalgam of more than one simpler ceremony, all directed to the same end; and it will be discussed more fully hereafter. Meanwhile, it may be observed that the virtue of the egg as a fertilising medium obviously passes into the water, and is imbibed in the draught. A magical rite in vogue on the island of Keisar in the East Indies appears also to be formed of originally independent elements. There an infertile woman takes a hen's first egg to the expert in these matters, commonly an old man, and asks him for help. He lays the egg on a nunu-leaf, and with it presses her breasts, muttering congratulations the while. Then he boils the egg in a folded Koli-leaf, takes a piece, lays it again on the nunu-leaf, and causes the woman to eat it. After that he presses the leaf on her nose and breasts and rubs it upon both her shoulders, always from above downward, wraps another bit of the egg in the nunu-leaf, and causes it to be kept in the branches of one of the highest trees in the neighbourhood of her dwelling.[3] In this ceremony

[1] Lasch, *ubi sup.*

[2] Temesváry, 8. See *post*, p. 114.

[3] Riedel, 416.

a hen's first egg is used. On the other hand, in Galicia the *last* egg laid by a hen is taken. It is credited with having two yolks, and with being no bigger than a pigeon's egg. A barren woman who swallows its contents will henceforth bear; or it is given to a cow or other animal with a similar object.[1]

At the domestic sacrifices offered by the ancient Aryans of India the celebrant's wife usually assisted. Among those rites for which the *Grihya-Sûtra* of Gobhila gives minute directions is the Anvashtakya rite, the object of which was the propitiation of the ancestral spirits. Three Pindas, or lumps of food, consisting of rice and cow-beef mixed with a certain juice, are offered. After the offering, if the sacrificer's wife wish for a son, she is to eat the middle Pinda, dedicated among the manes especially to her husband's grandfather, uttering at the same time the verse from the *Mantra-Brâhmana:* "Give fruit to the womb, O Fathers!"[2] No doubt the virtue of this prescrip-

[1] *Am Urquell*, iv. 125.

[2] *Sacred Books*, xxx. 110. There are numerous prescriptions in the sacred books of India for securing male children. One other may be selected here. A fire is directed to be churned with the *ficus religiosa* and the *mimosa suma* while a hymn from the *Atharva-veda* expressive of the symbolism of the act is recited. Fire thus obtained is thrown into ghee prepared from the milk of a cow with a male calf; and the ghee is put with the thumb up the right nostril of the pregnant woman. Some of the fire is cast into a stirred drink with honey and the drink is given to the woman. Finally the fire is surrounded with the wool of a male animal and the wool is then tied as an amulet upon the woman (*Sacred Books*, xlii. 460, 97). Here the woman is already pregnant and the rites (the symbolism of which is obvious) are only employed to influence the sex. But they are on similar lines to those intended to procure offspring. It should be noted that the reading here is uncertain. Mr. Bloomfield adopts *male* (animal) as yielding a better symbolism than *black*, the alternative reading.

tion consists in the food's having been part of the sacrificial offering. But the cow is so intimately connected with the well-being of many of the peoples of the Old World, and has consequently become so well-recognised a symbol of fecundity, that we need not be surprised to find it employed in charms to produce offspring. An old English recipe for a woman who miscarries is to let her take milk of a one-coloured cow in her hand and sup it up into her mouth, and then go to running water and spit out the milk therein. Next, she must ladle up with the same hand a mouthful of the water and swallow it down, uttering certain words. Lastly, she must, without looking about her either in her going or coming, return, but not into the same house whence she came out, and there taste of meat.[1] In Iceland, as a remedy for sterility, a woman was given without her knowing what it was, the evening after-milkings still warm to drink, or testicles of the wild goose to eat.[2] In Pomerania the prescription is milk from a cow which has just begun to give milk, warm from the udder half an hour before congress.[3] Rye boiled in ass' or mare's milk at the new moon is given to barren women by the Schokaz in Hungary.[4] In Belgium, women desirous of offspring are advised to drink a mixture of the milk of the goat, ass and sheep.[5]

Of mineral substances, Russian women take saltpetre; and in Styria a woman will grate her wedding-ring and swallow the filings.[6] Chinese "medical works declare jade-grease or jade-juice to operate very

[1] *Sax. Leechd.* iii. 69.
[2] *Zeits. f. Ethnol.* xxxii. 60.
[3] *Am Urquell*, v. 179.
[4] Temesváry, 8.
[5] *Bull. de F. L.* ii. 82.
[6] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 434, 443.

efficaciously in curing women from sterility. In fact," says Dr. De Groot, "as those substances may instil life into such creatures, they cannot fail to intensify also their life-producing power. They lengthen of course the life of whomsoever takes them. They pass for mystic products of mounts which contain jade. The belief in their reality rests merely on some hazy passages" of old authors.[1] It was a classical superstition that mice were impregnated by tasting salt;[2] and the reader need hardly be reminded of the salted ball of rice in the ceremony already referred to as performed by Hindu women. Not long ago, "in the Beaujolais, women afflicted with sterility scraped a stone placed in an isolated chapel in the middle of the prairies. At St. Sernin des Bois (Saône-et-Loire), they scraped the statue of St. Freluchot," and swallowed the scrapings in water from a neighbouring well. This was the practice in divers parts of France with regard to the statues of a saint variously called Foutin, Photin or Foustin. The saint in question is not in the official calendar, though he has doubtless received popular reverence from ancient times. To him were attributed all the prerogatives of the heathen deity Priapus; and it was from those portions of his statues which indicated his powers that his devotees obtained the necessary powder. At Bourg-Dieu in the diocese of Bourges a similar saint was called Guerlichon or Greluchon. There after nine days' devotions women stretched themselves on the horizontal figure of the saint and then scraped the phallus for mixture in water as a drink. Other saints were worshipped elsewhere in France with equivalent rites

[1] De Groot, *Rel. Syst.* iv. 330. [2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 85.

Down to the Revolution there stood at Brest a chapel of Saint Guignolet containing a priapian statue of the holy man. Women who were or feared to be sterile used to go and scrape a little of the prominent member which they put into a glass of water from the well and drank. The same practice was followed at the chapel of Saint Pierre-á-broquettes in Brabant until 1837, when the archæologist Schayes called attention to it, and thereupon the ecclesiastical authorities removed the object of scandal. Women have however still continued to make votive offerings of pins down almost, if not quite, to the present day. At Antwerp stood at the gateway to the church of Saint Walburga in the Rue des Pêcheurs a statue, the sexual organ of which had been entirely scraped away by women for the same purpose.[1]

The drinking of water under certain conditions has been held to be productive of children. In the first instance I am about to mention however reliance is not placed wholly on the draught. Beside the Groesbeeck spring at Spa in the Ardennes is a foot-print of Saint Remacle. Barren women pay a nine days' devotional visit to the shrine of the saint at Spa and drink every morning a glass of the Groesbeeck water. While drinking, one foot must be placed in the holy foot-print.[2] Maidens in more than one of the tales of supernatural birth have proved the efficacy of divine foot-prints. In other cases it is unmistakably the draught which has the virtue. A glass of water from the well of Saint Roger

[1] Sébillot, *Amer. Anthrop.* iv. 92; *Id. F. L. France* iv. 172; Dulaure, 204 *sqq.*, where further details are given; Bérenger-Feraud, *Superst.* ii. 191, 193; Ploss, *Weib*, i. 444 quoting an author not named; d'Alviella, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* liii. 73.

[2] Wolf, *Niederl. Sag.* 227; *Bull. de F. L.* ii. 82.

at Elan also in the Ardennes is drunk by sterile women who wish for children.[1] "According to the legend of Saint Armentaire written towards the year 1300 the fairy Esterelle dwelt near a spring, whither the Provençals brought her offerings and she gave enchanted drink to barren women."[2] One of the seven lustral springs around the church of Saint Nicodemus near Locminé (Morbihan) is visited by young wives who having drunk a little of the water climb without looking behind them into the belfry and there in order to ensure the success of their wishes sit for a few moments in an old armchair. The fountain of Sainte Eustelle adjoining the Roman amphitheatre at Saintes in the department of Charente Inférieure is resorted to by wives whose hopes of offspring have been delayed and who drink of it nine mornings in succession. That of Saint Rigaud at Monsole, which it is said flows over the saint's body, also possesses the privilege of rendering women fruitful; but it does not appear what is the actual ceremony performed there. The sacred wells of France having fecundating powers are in fact very numerous.[3] Without specifying any more of them we may turn to our own country. Probably at one time our springs were not less potent or numerous. Some of them still retain their reputation. There is a well called Dewric Well at Bretton, near Eyam in Derbyshire, the water of which is said to make any woman who drinks of it fruitful.[4] A spring at Burnham near Barton-upon Humber was, until the last half-century at any rate, believed to remove the curse of sterility.[5] At Saint

[1] Meyrac, 45. [2] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, ii. 197.
[3] *Ibid.* 232, 233, 376; Cuzacq, 110.
[4] Addy, 59. [5] *Ant.* xxxi. 373.

Maughold's Well in the Isle of Man women sat in the saint's chair and drank a glass of water from the well. Here, as at Locminé, contact with the chair seems to have been necessary in addition to the draught.[1] In Germany the same belief in the power of certain wells is equally found. The Amorsbrunnen near Amorbach in Bavaria is one of these; the Gezelinquelle near Schebusch, not far from Cologne, is another.[2] A Sicilian priest named Maggio, director of the Congregazione della Sciabica, writing in the year 1668, mentions that water derived from a spring beneath the altar of the Madonna della Providenza at Palermo, and consecrated yearly on the fourteenth of January, possessed remarkable powers of curing disease. It was given with much faith and devotion to persons who were possessed or bewitched. It was also given to sterile women and to women who were about to bring forth.[3] But in Italy itself at the present day the most valued specific against barrenness is the water of the well of Our Lady of Lourdes. At Perugia in particular the church of Santa Maria Nuova does a profitable trade in Lourdes water, which is said to be sent direct from Lourdes to Rome and there authenticated by the pontifical seal. It is drunk in faith by wives desirous of children and also by fathers whose longings for offspring have not been fully satisfied. And it is all the more prized because in Italy there are no fountains having the virtue in question.[4] In this respect the Italians are less fortunate than even the Tusayan of North America. The latter have a legend

[1] *F. L.* v. 221, citing Sacheverell.
[2] *Ant.* xxxviii. 300; *Am Urquell*, v. 287.
[3] *Archivio*, xv. 56.
[4] Zanetti, 103.

of one of their women who being pregnant was left behind on the Little Colorado during their wanderings. Under the house where she dwelt is a spring, and any sterile woman who drinks of it will bear children.[1]

Other water than that of sacred springs is also capable of fecundating women. In Thuringia and Transylvania women who wished to be healed of unfruitfulness drank consecrated water from the baptismal font.[2] But woe to the husband at Stettin who dared to do so! At her next delivery his wife would present him with twins. The water of baptism poured before the door of a childless couple in the island of Rügen would bring them children.[3] In a certain district of Hungary a barren woman seeks a spring which she has never before seen and drinks of it.[4] Among the Palestinian Jews childless women drink water wherein moss plucked from the ruins of the temple-wall has been boiled, in order to get children.[5] On the other hand unmarried girls in Brunswick refrain from drink after eating sour kraut, lest they become pregnant.[6] At Nuoro in Sardinia the wise women advise poultices on the spine; they also advise drinking, and especially bathing, in the sea.[7] A Malagasy woman whose marriage has not been blessed with issue is made to drink litres and litres of water

[1] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* viii. 32. The Crow Indians have also a sacred spring whither barren women go to pray; but it does not appear whether or not they drink or bathe (*Field Columb. Mus. Anthrop.* ii. 316).

[2] Witzschel, ii. 244; von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Sieb. Sachs.* 152 Hillner, 38.

[3] *Am Urquell*, vi. 146.

[4] Temesváry, 8.

[5] *Am Urquell*, v. 225.

[6] Andree, *Braunsch.* 291.

[7] *Rivista*, ii. 423.

until her stomach is so full that it will not hold another drop.[1]

Masur women in the province of West Prussia make use of the water which drips from a stallion's mouth after he has drunk. Worse is said to be done in Algiers. There when a woman has already had a child, but has ceased for a long period to conceive, she must drink sheep's urine, or water wherein wax from a donkey's ear has been macerated.[2] Mr. Thomson, the traveller among the Masai of Eastern Africa, had the reputation of being a great *lybon* or medicine-man. He was applied to by a wealthy old Masai and his wife for a medicine to obtain children. He was requested to spit on them, which, he says, "I did most vigorously and liberally, my saliva being supposed to have sovereign virtues."[3]

A Transylvanian Gipsy woman is said to drink water wherein her husband has cast hot coals, or, better still, has spit, saying as she does so: "Where I am flame, be thou the coals! Where I am rain be thou the water!"[4] A South Slavonic woman holds a wooden bowl of water near the fire on the hearth. Her husband then strikes two firebrands together until the sparks fly. Some of them fall into the bowl, and she then drinks the water.[5] For Arab women the third chapter of the Koran (which, among other things

[1] Mondain, 44. In South-eastern Africa a potion is given instead of water to a childless Ronga woman. It is drunk mixed with native beer, and she is required to take it for months. In this case, however, the husband shares it (Junod, *Baronga*, 63).

[2] Ploss, *Weib*. i. 443, 431.

[3] Thomson, *Masai Land*, 287.

[4] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 443, citing von Wlislocki in general terms.

[5] Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, 531.

relates the birth of the Virgin Mary) is written out in its whole interminable length with saffron in a copper basin; boiling water is poured upon the writing; and the woman in need drinks a part of the water thus consecrated, and washes her face, breast and womb with the remainder.[1] At Bombay a barren woman would cut off the end of the robe of a woman who has borne at least one child, when it is hung up to dry; or would steal a newborn infant's shirt, steep one end of it in water, drink the water and destroy the shirt. The child to whom the clothing belonged would then die and be born again from the womb of the woman performing the ceremony.[2] Other women in India drink the water squeezed from the loincloth of a *sanyásí*, or devotee, after washing it for him.[3] We can only surmise that this practice is followed in the hope of obtaining the benefit experienced by the Princess Chand Ráwati and other heroines of Indian literature and folklore.[4]

Be this how it may, there is a group of practices to which reference must be made, and which fully match the foregoing in nastiness. Unfortunately the dislike

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 435, citing Sandreczki.

[2] *Mél.* vi. 109, quoting Rehatsek in *Journ. Anthrop. Soc. Bombay.*

[3] *Panjab (Indian) N. and Q.* iv. 107 (par. 415). Even more disgusting is the rite described by the Abbé Dubois as practised at a temple famous all over Mysore (Dubois, 601). In Egypt in the seventeenth century childless women resorted to certain naked ascetics to kiss their sexual organs (Stoll, 653, quoting Thévenot). The same is said to be still done in India.

[4] See Sir R. C. Temple, *F. L. Journ.* iv. 304; De Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* ii. 331; *Panjab N. and Q.* ii. 19 (par. 122); Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 251. The incident of conception by semen imbibed through the mouth or nose may in fact be said to be somewhat of a favourite in Indian stories.

of nastiness is an extremely civilised feeling; and when we read of these things we must remember that we ourselves are not very far removed from a date when powder of mummy was one of the least objectionable of the grosser remedies in our forefathers' pharmacopœia. We have already found that a Gipsy woman will drink the water wherein her husband has spit. What is the meaning of the expression "He is the very spit of his father!" current not only in England, but also, according to the learned Liebrecht, in France, Italy and Portugal, and alluded to by Voltaire and La Fontaine, if it point not back to a similar, perhaps a more repulsive ceremony formerly practised by the folk all over Western Europe? In Pomerania when a women is barren it is recommended to give her another woman's milk to drink.[1] In Olchowiec (Russia), water containing three drops of blood from the navel of a new-born child is given. Other women, especially Jewesses, are said to suck blood from the child's navel, and in doing so they should swallow three times.[2] Ukrainian women drink water in which a portion of an umbilical cord has been soaked.[3] An immigrant Russian Jewess having given birth to a child in the hospital at Boston, one of her neighbours, a woman, asked to see the after-birth. In answer to inquiries why she wished to see it, she said that she had heard that to eat a placenta is a certain means of curing sterility, and she wanted to try.[4] A Polish woman, to get children, procures a small jar of the blood of another woman at her first child-bearing, and drinks it mixed with brandy.[5] Among some of the

[1] *Am Urquell*, v. 252. [2] Kobert, 92. [3] *Mél.* viii. 38.
[4] *L'Anthrop.* ix. 240. [5] *Am Urquell*, iii. 147.

Roumanians in Hungary it is the custom that a barren woman eat the dried remains of the navel-string and drink some of the blood. Elsewhere in Hungary a barren woman is given some of the lochial discharge of a woman at her first child-bed. Serb women are advised to bathe in water in which is the placenta of a woman who has just been delivered. Ruthenian women sit on a still warm placenta. Elsewhere in Hungary women follow the Polish practice just mentioned.[1] In Sicily they are prescribed powder of dried after-birth in pills.[2] A Kamtchadal woman who, on bearing, desires to become pregnant soon again, eats her infant's navel-string.[3] Among the Ottoman Jews a woman who has only had one child, and has afterwards ceased to bear, may recover her fertility by eating the foreskin removed from a child by circumcision.[4] In Bombay a childless woman secures a few drops of the water from the first bath or washings of a woman who has been recently delivered, and drinks them. The object seems to be to transfer the fecundity of the one woman to the other: hence precautions are jealously taken against the practice.[5]

Among the Gipsies of Roumania and southern Hungary a sterile woman scratches her husband's left hand between finger and thumb; and he returns the

[1] Temesváry, 8. It is also believed among the Magyars that the after-birth of a boy or girl placed under the bed will ensure the procreation of a child of the same sex; but the husband must be careful which side he gets into bed—on the right side for a boy, on the left for a girl (von Wlislocki, *Volksleb. Mag.* 80).

[2] Pitrè, *Biblioteca*, xix. 448.

[3] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 432, citing Kraschneninnikov.

[4] *Mél.* viii. 270.

[5] *Panjab N. and Q.* i. 100 (par. 772).

compliment. The blood of both is received in a new vessel, and buried under a tree for nine days. It is then taken up and ass' milk poured into it. Husband and wife drink the mixture before going to bed, with an incantation which reminds us of the Zulu story of the blood in the pot; for its earlier lines run thus: "In the dawn three Fates will come. The first seeks our blood; the second finds our blood; the third makes a child thereout."[1] The powers of both husband and wife appear to be thus increased. It is rather the women who are directly acted on in the Malagasy rite of "scrambling." This rite is performed on a lucky day at the end of the second or third month from the birth of a first-born child. The friends and relatives of the child assemble. Some fat from an ox's hump is minced in a rice-pan, cooked and mixed with a quantity of rice, milk, honey and a sort of grass called *voampamoa*. A lock of the infant's hair ceremonially cut from the right side, and known as "the fortunate lock" is cast into the rice-pan and thoroughly well mixed with the other ingredients. The youngest female of the family holds the pan, and a general rush and scramble for its contents ensues. In the scramble the women take a prominent part, "as it is supposed that those who are fortunate enough to obtain a portion may confidently cherish the hope of becoming mothers." The rice-pan used becomes taboo for three days.[2] Presumably the contents are

[1] *Am Urquell*, iii. 7. In the Zulu story referred to, a pigeon cups the heroine and causes the blood to be put into a pot which is kept covered for two moons when the heroine finds two children in the pot (Callaway, *Tales*, 105). The story is a favourite among the Zulus, Kaffirs and Basuto, and several variants are known.

[2] Ellis, *Hist. Mad.* i. 253.

devoured after the scramble, though the account I cite does not say so. Transylvanian Gipsy women make a cut in the little finger of an unbaptized child, and suck the blood to promote their conception.[1]

A woman of the Hungarian population of Transylvania hangs for nine consecutive months at the time of full moon on a tree, a cloth on which are some drops of blood of her last previous period and says: "Tree, I give thee my blood, give me thy strength, that thereby I may with my blood breed children."[2] This perhaps may be explained by the doctrine of Transference, by which a disease is believed by the ceremonial acts and words to be transferred to some other object and the patient freed. I am by no means sure, however, that the underlying idea is that of simple Transference, since a prayer for the tree's strength in exchange is included in the rite. It may be that the intention is no more than that of the prescription for a barren Gipsy woman. If such a woman succeed in touching a snake caught in Easter- or Whitsun-week, she will become fertile by spitting on it thrice and sprinkling it with her menstruation-blood, repeating the following incantation; "Grow quick, thou snake! that I thereby may get a child. I am lean now as thou art, therefore I have no rest. Snake, snake, glide hence; and when I am pregnant I will give thee a crest (*Haube*), that thy tooth may by that means have much poison!"[3] Here the woman conjures the snake to grow fat, in order that

[1] *Am Urquell*, iii. 8. [2] Temesváry, 9.

[3] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Zig.* 66. This work, when cited, must be understood, unless otherwise expressed, to deal with the Gipsies of the Danubian countries, where alone, the author says, they are unsophisticated.

she may do so too. The object of bestowing her secretions upon it is to unite herself with it, because the secretions which are in contact with the snake will still be in mystical union with the body from which they have emanated. They will thus form a bond between the snake and the woman ; and her body will share the improved condition of the snake's body. In the same way I incline to think that the intention of the Transylvanian rite is to unite the woman with the tree that she may share its strength, and not to transfer her barrenness to it, of which there is no hint in the incantation. Upon this notion is founded a practice in German Togoland where on the occasion of a birth one of the women in attendance buries the placenta. If she has not yet borne she micturates over it before covering it up, hoping then soon to have a child herself.[1] A Magyar believes that he promotes conception by his wife if he mix with his blood white of egg and the white spots in the yolk of a hen's egg, fill a dead man's bone with the mixture, and bury it where he is accustomed to make water.[2] Apparently his potency is held to be thereby increased. In some parts of Hungary an unfruitful woman spits on Christmas night in a spring,[3] thus uniting herself with its fertilising power. The principle is of endless application.

I have just mentioned a dead man's bone as the receptacle of a magical mixture of blood and other ingredients. According to a Mexican saga a dead man's bone, when sprinkled with blood, produced the

[1] *Globus*, lxxxvii. 75.
[2] *Am Urquell*, iii. 269. For other cases see *Ibid.* 8.
[3] Temesváry, 10.

father and mother of the present race of mankind.[1] Portions of corpses are, in the opinion of many people, as valuable for unfruitful women as the blood and secretions of living persons. The Magyars not merely use a dead man's bone as a magical phial: they also hold that such a bone shaved into drink and given to a woman will promote conception; or if given to a man they will enhance his potency.[2] Danubian Gipsies are said to make, for protection from witchcraft, little figures of men and brutes out of a sort of dough of grafting wax taken from the trees in a graveyard, mixed with the powdered hair and nails of a dead child or maiden, and with ashes left after burning the clothes of one who has died. The figures are dried in the sun, and when required for use are ground into powder. Taken in millet-pap in the increase of the moon this powder accelerates conception.[3] Mr. Lane records disgusting practices on the part of barren women at Cairo. Near the place of execution there was a table of stone where the body of every person who was, in accordance with the usual mode of punishment, beheaded is washed before burial. By the table was a trough to receive the water. This trough was never emptied; and its contents were tainted with blood and fetid. A woman who desired issue silently passed under the stone table with the left foot foremost, and then over it. After repeating this process seven times she washed her face in the trough, and giving a trifling sum of money to the old man and his wife who kept the place, went silently away. Others, with like

[1] Southey, *Commonpl. Bk.* iv. 142; Featherman, *Chiapo-Mar.* 136.

[2] von Wlislocki, *Volksleb. Mag.* 77.

[3] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Zig.* 103.

intent, stepped over the decapitated body seven times, also without speaking; and others again dipped in the blood a piece of cotton wool, which they afterwards made use of in a manner which Mr. Lane declines to mention.[1]

In the Panjab also indescribable cures for barrenness are often adopted. One of the more respectable remedies is said to be that of bathing over a dead body. For this purpose murder is even committed. Another is that of eating a loaf cooked on the still burning pyre of a man who was never married and therefore never transmitted life, and who was the only or eldest son in his family and so received the fullest possible measure of vitality.[2] Low caste women believe that bathing underneath a person who has been hanged is efficacious. Women of the middle-classes with the same object try to obtain a piece of the wood of the gallows.[3] In Gujarât, when a Jain ascetic of the Dûndiya sect dies in pursuance of a vow to starve himself, women who seek the blessing of a son try to secure it by creeping under the litter on which his corpse is removed, or by joining in the scramble for fragments of his clothes.[4] Some at least of these practices (and the list might be

[1] Lane, i. 393, 394. There is an analogous way of treating barren cows in German East Africa (*Globus*, lxxxvii. 308).

[2] Census of Ind. 1901, xvii. 164. Sir R. C. Temple records a case of conviction of two women, a mother and daughter, of Daboli in the Panjab. The mother desired a male child and being told by the *faqir* that if she killed the eldest son or daughter of some one and bathed over the body she would have her wish gratified, she with her daughter's help seized and murdered a child answering the equirements and performed the ceremony (*J. A. I.* xxxii. 237).

[3] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* i. 86. *Cf. J. A. I.* xxxv. 278.

[4] Forbes, *Râs Mâla*, 611; Dayá, 82.

lengthened) are more revolting than the incidents in the numerous stories wherein portions of dead bodies, given to maidens and other women, render them pregnant. Special power is, as we might expect, ascribed to saints, ascetics and persons put to a violent death. The latter are often apotheosised, quite independently of their character, or the reason for their untimely decease. Executed criminals share the honour with the most harmless martyrs; and ruffianism is no bar to divinity. That corporal relics of such personages should have the power of kindling new life in a barren woman may perhaps be regarded as only one of their wonder-working powers. But there would seem to be a further reason. Ascetics do not transmit life in the ordinary way. Those who suffer violent death are cut off before they have exhausted their power of transmission. In either case, therefore, there remains a fund which may be drawn upon by contact, or the performance of the proper ceremonies. Both stories and practices, however, point beyond an unexhausted power of transmission to the possibility of securing the life itself. It will be more convenient to pursue this subject in the next chapter.

The water wherein the Cairene women washed would owe its power to the putrefying blood. Washing in water endowed with supernatural power is not uncommon elsewhere. Incidental allusion has already been made to the practice, which we may now further illustrate. Transylvanian Saxon women not only drink of baptismal water: they also wash in it, preferably on Midsummer Day.[1] Among the Galician Jews unfruitful women when they bathe according to their

[1] von Wlislocki, *Volksgl. Sieb. Sachs.* 75, 152.

ritual dip themselves nine times under water.[1] An Ottoman Jewess who desires children takes her bath holding in her arms a young girl whose future fecundity thus passes directly to her.[2] Saint Verena, one of the illustrious obscure of mediæval mythology, bathed in the Verenenbad at Baden in the Aargau, and thereby conferred on it such virtue that pregnant women or such as wish for children, if they bathe there, soon attain their desire.[3] The reference to pregnant women must no doubt be understood of those who wish to avoid miscarriage and to be safely delivered. German tales and popular saws used to speak—perchance they still do—of a Kinderbrunnen, or Children's Well, whence babies were fetched. I have already mentioned some of which the water was drunk for the purpose of procuring issue; and we may perhaps infer that similar rites were practised at the rest. The Bride's Well, in Aberdeenshire, was at one time the resort of every bride in the neighbourhood on the evening of her marriage. Her maidens bathed her feet and the upper part of her body with water drawn from it; and this bathing, we are told, "ensured a family."[4]

Of the Cupped Stones of Scotland two may be mentioned as having the same property. The first is a stone basin called Saint Columba's Font, said to have been used by Saint Columba himself for baptism when he visited King Brude in his castle near Inverness. It lies in the old graveyard of Killianan at the mouth of the burn of Abriachan, on the shores of Loch Ness. Rain-water collects in the hollow, and generally remains even in the hottest weather.

[1] *Am Urquell*, iv. 187.
[2] *Mél.* viii. 270.
[3] Kohlrusch, 324.
[4] Rev. W. Gregor, *F. L.* iii. 68.

Among the virtues of this water are said to be "salutary effects in connection with child-bearing," and women, if report be correct, "frequented it in this belief till recently;" but whether it was of inward or outward application is not stated. The other stone is at Arpafeelie, near Inverness. Of this we are told that it possesses similar virtues to those of the former, "when childless women bathe in its cloud-drawn waters immediately before sun-rise."[1] An egg-shaped pebble of quartz two inches long by an inch and a half in greatest diameter was formerly used in the western division of Sandsting parish, Shetland, as a cure for sterility. The would-be mother washed her feet in burn-water (that is, water drawn from a running stream) in which the stone was laid. As in the cases just mentioned, however, none of the details of the rite have come down to us. The stone was said to have been brought originally from Italy. "Unlike most charms, it was not preserved in one family, but passed from the hands of one wise woman to another, the trust being only relinquished when the holder was on her death-bed."[2]

Among the springs on the continent of Europe, which we know were frequented by women for the purpose of obtaining children, the rites practised at very few are recorded. The Hermitage of Nuria, in Catalonia, is celebrated for its *olla*, or basin, into which barren women have only to dip their heads, after reciting some Paternosters, to recover their fecundity. There is also a fountain near Bizanos, in

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotl.* xvi. 377, 387 (1882).

[2] *Id.* xviii. 452, quoting letter from Mr. James Shand of the Union Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, the then owner.

Béarn, to which women who desire to become mothers go to bathe.[1] At Lanty near Luzy, and at the spring of the Good Lady at Onlay (Nièvre), they wash their breasts and then go and pray in the church. Some of the French, and especially Breton fountains, as well as a brook near Morlaix, have the reputation of assuring fecundity to mares and other domestic animals by outward application.[2]

In Sardinia, as we have seen, women are recommended to bathe in the sea. In Aglu, Morocco, a Schluh woman "desirous of knowing whether she will be blessed with a child or not," goes to the sea-shore on Midsummer Day and the two following days, and "lets seven waves go over her body each time; then she knows that, if she is going to have a child at all, she will have it very soon." In this case, as Dr. Westermarck observes, "magic has dwindled into divination."[3] In Southern Mexico "there are special streams in which [Tlaxcalan] women bathe to ensure fecundity. Such a stream is the Sawapa. . . . It is also believed that bathing in the *temascal*," or sweat-bath, generally found in the enclosure of a dwelling-house "aids to fecundity."[4]

In India the practice of bathing for this purpose is well known. The well into which Pûran, that Panjâbî

[1] Chauvet, 57 note. For other cases in which the rite is not specified see Sébillot, *Petite Lég. Dorée*, 213; Cuzacq, 110.

[2] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, ii. 233, 381; iii. 79; *Id. Paganisme*, 228. In the Frick valley (Canton of Aargau, Switzerland), at certain times a jocular tribunal is held upon unmarried women over twenty-four years of age, and wine is poured into their laps. Probably this is to be explained in the same way (Hoffmann-Krayer, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volkskunde*, xi. 265).

[3] *F. L.* xvi. 32.

[4] Starr, *Ethnog. S. Mexico*, i. 22.

Joseph, was thrown, is situate in the high road between Siâlkot and Kalowâl. His residence in it sanctified it to such an extent that the women of those parts believe that if they bathe in it they will become fruitful.[1] "In a well in Orissa the priests throw betel-nuts into the mud, and barren women scramble for them. Those who find them will have their desire for children gratified before long."[2] Here again magic is dwindling into divination. Indian women sometimes, as we have seen, adopt more questionable means: the following examples may be added to those already mentioned. They wash naked in a boat in a field of sugar-canes, or under a fruiting mango-tree.[3] Mangoes, it will be remembered, are favourite fruits for obtaining issue in Indian tales. According to another prescription the patient should begin by burning down seven houses. But English law is unsympathetic to this procedure; and women have to content themselves with burning secretly at midnight on Sunday under a cloudless sky, and if possible at a cross-road, a little grass from the thatch of seven dwellings. At this fire they heat the water wherein to bathe.[4] Or on a Sunday or Tuesday night or during the Diwali festival the woman sits on a stool, which is then lowered down a well. She there strips and bathes, and being drawn up again performs the *chauk-purna* ceremony with incantations taught by a wizard. If there be any difficulty about descending a well, it seems she may perform the ceremony beneath a pipal-

[1] *Leg. Panj.* i. 2.

[2] Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* i. 50, citing Ball, *Jungle Life in India.*

[3] *Panj.* (*Indian*) *N. and Q.* iv. 110 (par. 425).

[4] *Ibid.* i. 15 (par. 125); 63 (par. 527); 100 (par. 770); ii. 185 (par. 981); iii. 98 (par. 447); *N. Ind. N. and Q.* i. 50 (par. 372).

tree. It is believed that after such a ceremony the well runs dry and the tree withers.[1] In other words, the woman has succeeded in obtaining a transfer of their life. In the Panjab there is still another way of obtaining issue. On the night of the feast of Diwali—always a night in the moonless half of the month—the husband draws water at seven different wells in an earthen pot, and places in the water leaves plucked from seven trees. He brings the pot to his wife at a spot where four cross-roads meet. She must bathe herself with the water unseen by anybody, and then put on new clothes, discarding her old ones.[2] Or else the woman perfectly nude covers a space in the middle of the crossway, and there lays leaves from the five royal trees, the *Ficus religiosa*, *Ficus indica*, *Acacia speciosa*, mango and *Butea frondosa*. On these she places a black head representing the god Ráma, and sitting on it she washes her entire body with water drawn in five pitchers from five wells, one situate in each quarter of the town or village and one outside it to the north-east. She pours the water from the pitchers into a vessel whose bottom is pierced by a hole whence the contents may flow over her body. The ceremony must be accomplished in absolute solitude, and all the utensils must be left on the spot.[3]

Among the ancient Greeks and Latins various

1 *Ind. Cens.* 1901, xvii. 164.

2 *Panj. N. and Q.* ii. 166 (par. 886).

3 *Ibid.* iv. 88 (par. 346). "For the same reason," says Mr. Crooke, "after childbirth the mother is taken to worship the village well." He describes the ceremony, and adds others (*F. L. N. Ind.* i. 51). "Bathing when standing or sitting on a dead male buffalo's head" is also stated to be a method of obtaining children (*Panj. N. and Q.* i. 100, par. 770). Does this explain the "black head" mentioned above?

streams and springs were deemed of virtue against barrenness. Dr. Ploss cites divers classical writers as recording the claims of the river Elatus in Arcadia, the Thespian spring on the island of Helicon, the spring near the temple of Aphrodite on Hymettos, and the warm springs of Sinuessa in Campania. Others might easily be found, if necessary, both ancient and modern. A curious rite is repeated among the Serbs. A young, sterile married woman cuts a reed, fills it with wine, and sews it, together with an old knife and a wheaten cake, in a linen bag. Holding this bag under her left arm she wades in flowing water, while some one on the brink prays for her: "Fulfil my prayer, O God; O mother of God;" and so on through the whole gamut of sanctities. During this prayer the wader drops the bag in the stream, and coming out sets her feet in two caldrons, out of which her husband must lift her and carry her home. Here we have unmistakably a prayer and offerings of food and drink to the water, the latter remaining but little changed from ancient times, while the former has put on a Christian guise.[1] Among the Mordwins in the Russian Government of Tambov the barren woman goes at midnight to a river holding in her hands a live cock which she has previously loaded with silken threads hung with tiny bells. She prostrates herself a certain number of times; then, praying the *ved-ava*, or water-spirit, to render her fertile, she flings the bird into the water. In the adjoining Government of Penza, she takes some oatmeal, millet and hops and one kopeck in a basket, and placing the whole on the river-bank, she prays the *ved-ava*

[1] *Ploss, Weib*, i. 437, citing Petrowitsch

to forgive her, and "*de se faire une place dans son ventre.*" On her return home she knocks at the door, saying: "The wood to be dried up, I to be swollen up!" The *ved-ava*, it should be noted, are not merely river-spirits; they dispense rain and fertility. Imagined themselves as females in human form, they are protectresses of love and of the fecundity of women. Young couples pray to them for children and it is to their anger that sterility is ascribed: hence probably the prayer for forgiveness just mentioned.[1] There is no bathing mentioned in these rites. We find it, however, practised in the parallel case of the Burmal er Rabba spring near Constantine, in Algeria, frequented both by Jewesses and Moors for the removal of infecundity. Each of these women slays a black hen before the door of the grotto, offers inside a wax-taper and a honey-cake, takes a bath and goes away assured of the speedy accomplishment of her wishes.[2] Childless couples in Palestine "go long distances to bathe in certain pools; and barren women visit the hot springs in various districts, not as might be supposed for any medicinal properties, but because the *jinn* who causes the vapour is regarded as being capable in a definite and physical sense of giving them offspring."[3] The Oromó of East Africa believe in a multiplicity of supernatural beings called by the generic name of Ajâna. Some of these have their seat in the depths of streams and springs. Their presence lends the water supernatural power. The

[1] Smirnov, i. 432, 397, 398. Kara Kirghiz women spend a night beside a holy well; but the ceremonies practised are not given, unless they include that mentioned *infra*, p. 113 (*Radloff*, v. 2).

[2] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 437.

[3] Mrs. H. H. Spoer, *F. L.* xviii. 55.

wells and rivers they haunt are therefore much resorted to. Unfruitful women especially believe that by bathing in rivers thus consecrated the desired fertility may be obtained.[1]

In the same way it is precisely while bathing that the women of a certain tribe in Northern Queensland are believed to be impregnated. This is done by a nature-spirit, called Kunya, who makes babies out of pandanus-root and inserts them into women in the water.[2] The population of the Seranglao and Gorong Archipelago between Celebes and New Guinea is Mohammedan, at least in name. Among the ceremonies for the production of children we are vaguely told that infertile men and women are made to bathe in a particular manner.[3] In the partially Christianised Ambon and Uliase Islands persons who have no children take drugs or "bathe in a certain prescribed manner;" but what that manner is our authority leaves undescribed.[4] In the Archipelagoes of Watubela, Aaru and Sula barren women and their husbands go to the ancestral graves, or if Moslems on Friday to the so-called *Kub Karana*, or sacred tomb, to pray together with some old women. They bring offerings, which include water, and a live goat, or if heathen a young pig. The husband prays for a medicine, and promises, if a child be given him, to offer the goat (or pig, if a heathen), or to give it to the people to eat. It is expected that after this the medicine will be prescribed to both husband and wife in dreams. They both wash in the water they have brought,

[1] Paulitschke, ii. 36.
[2] Roth, *N. Queensland Ethnog.* Bull. v. 23, § 83.
[3] Riedel, 176.
[4] *Id.* 75.

which is consecrated by thus standing for a while on the grave and eat *sirih-pinang* together, putting some also on the grave in a dish. They take the goat or pig back home, to be sacrificed in accordance with the husband's vow, only if the wife become pregnant.[1] The heathen Dyaks of Borneo offer domestic fowls and other birds to water-gods against unfruitfulness, which these divinities inflict upon women, or remit, at their own uncontrolled pleasure; but it does not appear that the votaries bathe. The barren woman (or sometimes a man) gives a big feast called Cararamin and goes to the haunt of the Jata, or divinity, in question in a boat beautifully decorated, taking the birds with gilded beaks as offerings. These birds are either thrown alive into the water, or their heads are merely cut off and offered, while the bodies are consumed by the votaries. In many instances, we are told, carved wooden figures of birds are made use of, instead of the real article.[2] The nature-goddess of the Yorubas on the West Coast of Africa is represented as a pregnant female; and the water that is consecrated by being kept in her temple is highly esteemed for infertility and difficult labours.[3] Probably it is for external application as in the case of the corresponding goddess of the neighbouring Ewhe.[4] The Wandorobbo of German East Africa celebrate a feast

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 438, citing an article by Riedel in *Bijdragen*.

[2] *Ibid.* 436, citing Hein.

[3] *Ibid.* 439, citing Bastian. I suspect the goddess referred to is Odudua, who is strictly speaking the Earth-goddess (see Ellis, *Yoruba*, 41). But there is nothing to identify the passage of Bastian referred to; and if there were, we should probably be no better off. The blessings invoked by students on both Bastian and Bartels will always be of a limited character.

[4] Spieth, 716.

from time to time to pray Uëd, their god, for children. At this feast the married women sit in a circle round a small fire, in which are sprinkled by way of incense the waxen dregs of honey-beer. They sing, calling on Uëd, while an old man of distinction sprinkles them with honey-beer. After a quarter of an hour or so of this they get up and dance, still singing. The ceremony closes with a meal of flesh-meat and honey-beer.[1]

Most of these observances include bathing or washing or at least sprinkling with water or some other liquid as an integral part of the rite. Where this is not the case the water-god is invoked. The fertilising power of liquids, especially water, is thus recognised in them all. This would seem to be the chief idea underlying the rites in connection with water performed by a bride on being brought to her new home. It would be wandering too far from our present subject to discuss these rites, which are often very complex. But one at least of the objects they have in view is the production of offspring. I add a few references below for readers who wish to pursue the inquiry.[2] Meanwhile it will be seen that the practices whether of drinking or bathing reviewed in

[1] Merker, 250.

[2] Jevons, *Plutarch's R. Q.* ci.; *L'Anthropologie*, iii. 548, 558; *Congress* (1891) *Rep.* 345; Kolbe, 163; Rodd, 94; Dalton, *passim;* Ploss, *Weib*, i. 445; Winternitz, *Allind. Hochz.* 47, 101; Löbel, 149, 175, 203; Hoffmann-Krayer, *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk.* xi. 265. I may add as evidence at once of a belief in the value of washing for the production of children and of a different view of the operation of water, that about Adaël, west of the White Nile, in Equatorial Africa, the Kich negresses do not wash in water, but "in liquids much less innocent," unless they want to be sterile (Ploss, *Weib*, i. 439, apparently citing Brehm).

the preceding pages bear, in their simpler forms at any rate, a remarkable analogy to the incidents in the stories wherein we are presented with birth as caused by these means. As far as the more complex practices differ, their difference arises by development of ritual or the necessity to screen the real substance of the rite from the jealousy of a predominant religion.

Having regard to the legends of Danae and the Mexican goddess who was fructified by the rain we may note that Hottentot maidens must run about naked in the first thunderstorm after the festival when their maturity is celebrated. The rain, pouring down over the whole body, has the virtue of making fruitful the girl who receives it and rendering her capable of having a large offspring.[1] On the other hand, young unmarried Bushmen women and girls must hide themselves from the rain,[2] probably because they may be rendered pregnant thereby. Among the Bamonaheng, one of the sub-clans of the Bakwena, the principal clan of the Basuto, a cripple named Ntidi used to have a great reputation for assisting barren women by his prayers. Such women used to go to pray in a cavern, and if water fell on their heads it was ascribed to him, and they firmly believed that their prayers were heard.[3] The Ts'ets'ăut, a Tinneh tribe of Portland Inlet, British Columbia, forbid a girl who is undergoing her seclusion at puberty to expose her face to the sun or to the sky, else it will rain.[4] It may be suspected that here, as among the Bushmen, we have a taboo

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||goam*, 87. [2] Lloyd, *Rep.* 21.

[3] Jacottet, in *Bull. Soc. Neuchat. Géog.* ix. 136. Sometimes it was small stones which fell on the women, without their knowing whence.

[4] Boas, *Brit. Ass. Rep.* 1895, 566; *Id. Chinook Texts*, 246.

against premature exposure to rain. It is even possible that a similar belief in the power of rain to fructify women was once common in Europe. In Iceland a light rain at a wedding is still a sign of a fruitful marriage.[1] It is accounted lucky in this country; and luck in marriage we know means above all things children. On the Riviera a rhyme declares that "if the bride and bridegroom wet their feet they will be three within the year"—that is, they will have a child.[2] A saying current in many parts of Germany points in the same direction, namely, that when it rains on St. John's Day the nuts will be wormy and many girls pregnant[3]—unless as a Slav practice already cited may suggest the pregnancy be the result of their eating the wormy nuts.

The legend of Danae, however, suggests, and several of the other stories I have cited assert, that supernatural pregnancy was due to the rays of the sun. The ancient Parsees, as we might have expected, believed that the beams of the rising sun were the most effective means for giving fruitfulness to the newly wedded; and even to-day, in Iran and among the Tartars in Central Asia, the morning after the marriage has been consummated the pair are brought out to be greeted by the rising sun.[4] The same custom was formerly practised by the Turks of Siberia.[5] At old Hindu

[1] *Zeits. f. Ethnol.* xxxii. 60.

[2] J. B. Andrews, *Rev. Trad. Pop.* ix. 116.

[3] Wuttke, 81. In Hainault a profusion of fruit on the nut-trees prognosticates many bastards during the year (Harou, 28).

[4] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 446, without acknowledgment, but apparently on the authority of Vambery (*Das Türkenvolk*, p. 112), who is cited by Frazer (*G. B.* iii. 222 note) for the custom.

[5] Frazer, *loc. cit.*

marriages, the bride was made to look towards the sun, or in some other way exposed to its rays.' This was performed the day before the consummation of the marriage, and was expressly called the Impregnation rite.[1] At the present time among Hindus in the old North-Western Provinces, a woman who is childless and desirous of being blessed with a child, stands, after bathing, naked facing the sun, and invokes his aid to remove her barrenness.[2] Among the Chaco Indians of South America, the bride and bridegroom sleep the first night on a skin with their heads towards the west; for, we are told, the marriage is not considered as ratified until the rising sun shines on their feet the succeeding morning.[3] Whether or not it is really their feet on which the sun is expected to shine, the ratification of the marriage by the sun must be intended to obtain the blessing of fertility.

Allusion has been made to the puberty customs of the Bushmen and the T's'ets'āut. In the lower culture it is usual that girls on attaining maturity are placed in retreat; but in consequence of the vagueness with which the rites are described we are often left uncertain whether they are simply banished from society for a time as "unclean," or are immured with special precautions against sunshine. Moreover, it is no uncommon phenomenon that in course of time and cultural changes the real object of a ceremony is forgotten, and the ceremony itself modified—perhaps in consequence of this forgetfulness, perhaps for other reasons —or at least the account given of it by the people who

[1] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, ii. 149, citing Bühler.
[2] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* iii. 35 (par. 71).
[3] *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* N.S. iii. 327.

practise it is not to be relied upon. The general subject of puberty customs is too wide to be fully discussed here. I shall therefore adduce only a few cases in which the intention to screen from the sun is either expressed, or a matter of obvious inference.

Dr. Frazer has made a large collection of such cases of which it is necessary to do little more than remind the reader.[1] They include examples from various tribes of South America in which the pubescent girl is confined, usually in her hammock, but at all events closely covered up, for a longer or shorter period, and corresponding examples from the East Indies, both continental and insular, in which the unfortunate victim is immured in the dark, sometimes even for years. The requirement is often express that the sun must not shine on her, and where it is not so stated it is obvious from the description of the rites. The case of the Cambodian maiden is particularly significant. She is said at puberty "to enter into the shade." She is kept in the house and is only allowed to bathe after nightfall when people are no longer recognisable, and has to submit to other rules. This seclusion lasts from months to years, according to the social position of the family; but it is interrupted during eclipses, when she is allowed to go out to worship the monster that produces eclipses by seizing the heavenly bodies between his teeth, praying him to listen to her prayers for good fortune.

Among the Indians of the various tribes of British Columbia and Alaska the seclusion from the sun was very stringent, although it varied in time from a few days to two years, and the details differed from tribe

[1] Frazer, *G. B.* iii. 204 *sqq.*

to tribe. To the tribes mentioned by Dr. Frazer may be added the Chinook, the Squamish, the Lillooet and the Haida. Among the Chinook a girl must remain hidden for five days. A potlatch is then made; she is brought out to dance and afterwards hidden again. For fifty days she must not eat fresh food. For a hundred days she must not warm herself by the fire, nor look at the people, nor at the sky, nor pick berries. When she looks at the sky bad weather is the result; when she picks berries it rains![1] A Squamish girl does not seem to have been secluded; but she was kept indoors at work all day long after puberty, and during her catamenia she was not allowed to go near the fire.[2] Among the Lillooet a girl was isolated in a small lodge made of fir-branches or bark. She painted her face red. Each evening at dusk she left her lodge and wandered about all night, returning before sunrise. Even then she wore a mask of fir-branches. Among the Lower Lillooet many girls wore masks of goat-skin which covered head, neck, shoulders and breast, leaving only a small opening from the brow to the chin; and before going out every one had to paint the exposed part of her face. Girls remained isolated for not less than one year nor more than four years; but two years was the usual time. They performed at night ceremonies intended to influence their future course of life and obtain easy delivery.[3] Of the Haida ceremonies it is only necessary here to refer to two. Among the Masset the girl remained behind a screen in the house. She was subject to

[1] Boas, *Chinook Texts*, 246.
[2] Hill-Tout, *B. A. Rep.* 1900, 484.
[3] Teit, *Jesup Exped.* ii. 263.

certain dietary regulations for two years. She was not allowed to look at the sky or go down to the beach like other people, or it would become bad weather. Among the Stastas the maturing girl had to wear a large hat covered with green paint which protected her face from the sun and fire.[1] The Malemut and other Eskimo about Bering Strait compel a girl to live for forty days in a corner of the hut with her face to the wall or in summer in a rough separate hut, her hood over her head and her hair hanging dishevelled over her eyes. She is not allowed to go out at all by day and only once during the night when every one is asleep.[2] In south-western Oregon the Takelma girl is subjected to a number of ceremonies and taboos. "She was not permitted for instance to look at the sky or to gaze too freely about her; and to ensure this a string of the blue jay's tail-feathers tied on close together was put about" her forehead and tied to her back hair, "an arrangement that effectually screened from her view everything about her." She sleeps with her head in a funnel-shaped basket, the declared purpose (which may be very different from the real purpose) being to prevent her from dreaming of the dead—a bad omen.[3]

The Paliyans of the Palni Hills in the south of India celebrate a feast when a girl attains maturity. Two weeks previously a grass-hut is built for her. There she remains shut up for twelve days, food being brought to her once or twice a day. On the morning of the thirteenth day the matrons of the settlement

[1] Swanton, *Jesup Exped.* v. 49, 50.
[2] Nelson, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xviii. 291.
[3] E. Sapir, *Amer. Anthrop.* N.S. ix. 274.

forcibly drag her to some neighbouring pond or stream and plunge her seven times into the water. She is then brought back to her hut and there confined for two days more, during which time no food at all is given her. On the fifteenth day she is at last set free, the hut where she was immured is burnt down, and a grand feast takes place in which all the families of the settlement join, the headman of the tribe or his representative sometimes presiding and receiving a gift, such as a skin or valuable roots. The whole day is given up to mirth and gaiety, to eating, drinking and dancing. In the Madura district two of the castes of the plains observe a similar custom of shutting up girls at the time of puberty, the Valayans for fourteen and the Parivarams for sixteen days; but the accompanying rites differ in some particulars from those of the Paliyans.[1] Mr. Macdonald, a missionary, speaking generally of the Bantu tribes of South Africa, especially of those of the south-east, tells us that if menstruation "commence for the first time while a girl is walking, gathering wood, or working in the field, she runs to the river and hides herself among the reeds for the day, so as not to be seen by men. She covers her head carefully that the sun may not shine on it and shrivel her up into a withered skeleton, as would result from exposure to the sun's beams. After dark she returns to her home and is secluded" in a separate hut, where a small portion is partitioned off for her at the farther end. There the sunshine, it may be observed, can by no possibility reach her; and there she remains under taboo, with some other girls to attend her, for about three weeks. She then leaves the hut,

[1] Father Dahmen, *Anthropos*, iii. 27.

washes, and after certain ceremonies is received as a woman.[1] Ordinary girls among the Barotse pass through comparatively simple ceremonies of purification, and are initiated into the mysteries of adult life by certain old women. But the case of a daughter of the royal house is by no means so simple. She is required to spend three months not merely in retirement but in the darkness of a hut alone. She is forbidden to speak to the slave-girls who attend her. From her seclusion she issues so transformed with the fat which is the result of good feeding and complete inaction that she is hardly recognised. She is taken by night to the river and bathed in the presence of all the women of the village. The next day she appears in public decked with ornaments and paint and tattooed around the eyes, a woman and ready for marriage.[2] Among the Bavili in French Congo the girl on attaining maturity is caught and forced into what is called "the paint-house." There she is kept, painted red and carefully fed and treated until she is considered ready for marriage, when she is washed and led to her husband.[3] Among the Bashilange on the rivers Lulua and Kassai in south-west Africa a girl is shut up for from four to six days in a hut. When she is let out again her whole body is rubbed with powdered tukula wood and castor oil and her face is painted red. The occasion is one of great rejoicing; and she is carried on a man's shoulders through the village.[4] Among the natives of Loango girls at puberty are confined in separate huts. The

[1] *J. A. I.* xx. 116.
[2] Béguin, 112.
[3] Dennett, 20.
[4] *Mittheil. der Afrik. Gesellsch. in Deutschland*, iv. 259.

Awankonde of Lake Nyassa and the Wafiomi of Eastern Africa also seclude girls for a considerable period, apparently in the dark. On New Pomerania, the largest island in the Bismarck Archipelago, the Sulka bride is taken to her future husband's parents some time before the wedding. They keep her secluded in a cell of their house, where she is tattooed and where she is required to observe abstinence from certain foods and can make no fire. On going out for any purpose she must be covered up from head to foot, and must whistle that men may get out of her way. Thus she passes the time until the wedding-day.[1]

On the island of Mabuiag, in Torres Straits, the girl is put into a dark corner of her parents' house surrounded with bushes, which are piled up so high around her that only her head is visible. Here she remains for three months. The sun may not shine on her; or as one of the natives expressed it, "he can't see daytime, he stop inside dark." On the adjacent island of Muralug, a rough bower-like hut is built for the girl on the beach, and she lies inside, in a shallow excavation in the sand. She is not liberated for two months. On the Cape York Peninsula of Australia, a girl at puberty has to lie in a humpy, or shelter, for from four to six weeks. She may not see the sun, and towards sunset she must keep her eyes shut until the sun has disappeared, "so sun don't strike him." Similar but less lengthy is the seclusion among the Otati of the neighbourhood of Gape Granville, on the east of the same peninsula and the Uiyumkwi of Red Island, the former only lasting during the flow of the

[1] *Arch. Anthrop.* N.S. i. 210.

catamenia, while the latter is reduced to a few hours.[1]

The foregoing examples are drawn from the Eskimo and the tribes of British Columbia, from the aboriginal inhabitants of various parts of South America, from the Bantu of Africa, from the Hindus and the Cambodians, from more than one of the East Indian islands, from Melanesians, Papuans, the islanders of Torres Straits, and tribes of the extreme north of Australia. Most of the cases from so wide an area were discovered by the almost limitless research of Dr. Frazer. They raise, as he has pointed out, the suspicion that the stories of impregnation and capture by the sun are echoes of puberty rites in which exposure to the rays of the sun is forbidden. It would not necessarily follow that the original reason for concealment from the sun was fear of impregnation by that luminary; though having regard to the stories and to the beliefs respecting impregnation disclosed in the present chapter, it is probable. Puberty is a crisis of extreme importance in life. The precautions taken with regard to girls indicate that they are held, not merely to be charged with malign influence, but to be specially sensitive to the onset of powers other than human. They may very well be supposed liable at that moment to impregnation by the unusual means of sun or rain. We have seen that Hottentot maidens are rendered fruitful by a thunderstorm, and that other tribes very low down in culture have customs and beliefs pointing in the same direction; and we seem to find traces of such beliefs even in Europe. A presumption is thus raised in favour of the parallel belief

[1] *Torres Straits Rep.* v. 203 *sqq.*

in impregnation by the sun; and though we cannot be said at present to have actual proof of it, the wedding ceremonies I have cited greatly strengthen the presumption.[1]

The belief in conception by the moon is rare. It was perhaps the belief, as we have seen, in ancient Egypt with regard to the bull-god Apis. It is still found in Brittany.[2] The Ja-Luo of Eastern Uganda hold that "a woman can only become pregnant at the time of the new moon, and generally that the moon has a great deal to do with the occurrence."[3] In some of the East Indian islands a star is credited, as in several stories, with it. In Amboin and Uliase albinos are attributed to conception by a falling star; by the people of Seranglao and Gorong the morning star is accused as the cause.[4]

Fire, in various parts of Europe, is believed to cause conception. About Ranggen in the Tirol a barren woman is advised to creep into a baking oven while it is still warm.[5] Dr. Frazer has pointed out that the custom of leaping over bonfires has this among other things for its object. At Cobern, in the Eifel, an

[1] One difficulty in the way of identifying the immurement in the stories as an echo of the puberty rites is the fact that in many, if not most, of the tales the child is immured from infancy. This is probably a mere exaggeration. On the other hand, such cases are not unknown in savage life, as among certain branches of the Iroquois, when a child (boy or girl) is closely secluded from every one except the appointed guardian, and only allowed out of his place of concealment at night. This seclusion lasts until puberty. It is generally occasioned, as in the stories, by some omen or prodigy accompanying birth; and the child is regarded as possessed of magical power (*Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xxi. 142, 255).

[2] Luzel, *Rev. Celt.* iii. 452; *Rev. Trad. Pop.* xv. 471.

[3] *J. A. I.* xxxiii. 358.

[4] Riedel, 75, 176.

[5] Zingerle, *Sitten*, 26 (No. 152).

effigy is burnt on Shrove Tuesday; the people dance round the pyre and the last bride must leap over it. In Lechrain a young man and a young woman leap together over the bonfire on Midsummer Day. If they escape unsmirched, the man will not suffer from fever, and the girl will not become a mother within the year—the flames will not have touched and fertilised her. In Ireland barren cattle are driven through the midsummer fires; and a girl who jumps thrice over it will soon marry and become the mother of many children. In various parts of France a girl who dances round nine fires will be sure to marry within the year. While in some parts of France and Belgium it is the rule that the bonfires usual on the first Sunday of Lent should be kindled by the person who was last married.[1] The relation of these beliefs and practices to those which exhibit bonfires as quickening and fertilising influences over the vegetable world is clear. For details reference must be made to the pages of *The Golden Bough.*

The specific manner, however, in which the fires were supposed to work their beneficent purpose is a subject of conjecture rather than of absolute proof. It has been suggested that it was by purification. The fumigation which human beings and cattle would undergo in passing through or over the fire, and which would be conveyed to the fields and fruit-trees by the flames and smoke of the fire and of the torches lighted at its glowing embers, would drive away evil influences. That this idea in fact enters into some of the celebrations is clear, if not expressly affirmed by those who indulge in them. But it by no means accounts for all

[1] Frazer, *G. B.* iii. 244, 270, 305, 314.

the rites. It seems that on the whole the explanation of the fires given by Mannhardt and Frazer is the true one, namely, "that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to secure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals and plants." Such fires are mimetic rites. The power ascribed to them of bringing about the occurrence which they mimic, namely, the supply of sunshine, would, by a confusion of thought common to magic, be extended and identified with the power of the sun itself. Contact with them, therefore, or with the smoke or embers, or with torches kindled at them, would produce the same effect as exposure to the rays of the sun. We have seen that the sun is believed to fertilise not merely the fields but human beings also, and that marriage rites and not improbably puberty ceremonies have reference to this belief—a belief, moreover, of which expression is found in many of the stories. We accordingly conclude that these fires are believed to have a direct and immediate influence on fecundity, whether of the fields and fruit-trees or of women, similar to that ascribed to the sun.

A corresponding question arises as to the exact operation of a famous Roman rite. The festival of the Lupercal has been elaborately discussed by Mannhardt and more recently with great care by Mr. Warde Fowler. "On February 15," says the latter, "the celebrants of this ancient rite met at the cave called the Lupercal, at the foot of the steep south-western corner of the Palatine Hill—the spot where, according to the tradition, the flooded Tiber had deposited the twin children at the foot of the sacred fig-tree, and where they were nourished by the she-wolf." There, after a

sacrifice of goats and a dog, and the offering of sacred cakes made by the Vestals from the first ears of the last harvest, "two youths of high rank, belonging, we may suppose one to each of the two collegia of Luperci, . . . were brought forward: these had their foreheads smeared with the knife bloody from the slaughter of the victims, and then wiped with wool dipped in milk. As soon as this was done they were obliged to laugh." The Luperci then "girt themselves with the skins of the slaughtered goats, and feasted luxuriously; after which they ran round the base of the Palatine Hill, or at least a large part of its circuit, apparently in two companies one led by each of the two youths. As they ran they struck at all the women who came near them or offered themselves to their blows, with strips of skin cut from the hides of the same victims", with which they were girt. The course taken up by the runners has not been completely described; but their object was apparently a *lustratio* of the Palatine city. It is aptly compared by Mr. Fowler with the old English custom of beating the bounds of the parish, "when the minister," says Bourne as quoted by Brand, "accompanied by his churchwardens and parishioners, [was] wont to deprecate the vengeance of God, beg a blessing on the fruits of the earth and preserve the rights and properties of the parish."[1] The women were struck according to Juvenal on the open hand, according to Ovid on the back. The object was beyond doubt to fertilise them. The only dispute is whether that fertilisation was accomplished by purification, by driving out the demon of sterility, or directly by the touch of the sacred thongs.

[1] Fowler, 310 *sqq* Brand, i. 168.

Mannhardt has collected a long series of examples, chiefly from ancient and modern Europe, of the ritual use of blows.[1] Dr. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* has added a considerable number from various other parts of the world.[2] The conclusion at which the former arrived was that they all belong to a cycle of related customs, of which some have preserved one morsel of old tradition and others have preserved others, and that the object of all alike was the expulsion of the demons of sickness and sterility from mankind and from plants. This conclusion has been strengthened by Dr. Frazer's collection. Yet I am by no means persuaded that it is entirely accurate for all the cases cited. There is a great temptation to interpret in the same way customs which assume a similar, even if not quite the same, form. The possibility, however, of the conflation of two or more rites originally distinct, and the alternative possibility of one rite's being influenced in its form by a rite perfectly distinct in purpose though similar in expression, must never be omitted from our calculations. The practice of throwing a stone or a stick upon a cairn of stones, or of tying a piece of rag from one's clothing on a bush above a sacred well, or throwing a pin into the well itself is very widespread. When in Sweden a piece of money is thrown upon a cairn, instead of a stick or a stone; or when the Scottish peasant hammers a bawbee, instead of a nail, into the withered trunk of the Wishing Tree of Loch Maree; the ceremony has obviously

[1] Mannhardt, *BK.* 251 *sqq.*; *Id.*, *Myth. Forsch.* 113 *sqq.*

[2] Frazer, *G. B.* iii. 129, 215, 217. Probably the worshippers of Demeter at the Greek festival of the Thesmophoria were beaten for the purpose of increasing their productiveness; but we do not know of what wood the rods were made (Farnell, iii. 104).

undergone some change of this kind. Whatever may have been the intention in adding a stone to a cairn, or hammering a nail into a sacred tree, we cannot doubt the analogy in form between this act and the much less archaic gift of money at a shrine has struck the peasant's mind and caused a substitution of the more valuable for the less valuable object bestowed. So it seems to me that the rite of beating a patient in order to drive the demon of sickness or some other evil being out of him has been confounded with the similar rite of striking to cause some good to enter him. These two distinct rites have in fact undergone conflation, the same act which drives out the demon being held to induce the desired good.

M. Salomon Reinach has objected to Mannhardt's interpretation that the latter has overlooked the importance of striking with the branches of certain definite trees or plants, or with thongs made from the hides of certain animals.[1] It may be replied that certain plants are endowed in the popular belief with the property of drawing away or keeping at a distance, witches and devils. This must be admitted. But here again arises the difficulty, of disentangling notions which have grown together for ages. The difficulty, however, does not attach with the same persistence to all. At Hildesheim the women and girls are struck at Shrovetide with a small fir-tree or a stalk of rosemary.[2] In Altmark at the same period a band of men-servants goes from farm to farm with music and beats with birch-twigs first the mistress, then her daughters, and lastly the servant-maids.[3] These are only samples of

[1] *L'Anthrop.* xv. 52.
[2] Mannhardt, *BK.* 254.
[3] *Ibid.* 256.

the use of three different plants, of which more are recorded in Mannhardt's pages. We have already seen that rosemary is prescribed for barrenness. The fir is a symbol of fertility. In North Germany brides and bridegrooms often carry fir-branches with lighted tapers. At Weimar and in Courland firs are planted before the house where the wedding takes place.[1] The ceremonies concerning the fir practised at a wedding by the Little Russians at Volhynia are specially instructive. When the wedding procession returning from the church draws nigh to the bridegroom's house, a loaf of bread and a branch of fir or pine are adorned with mountain-elder, white blossoms and ears of corn and oats, and carried thence by the *boyarin* or master of the ceremonies into the bride's house. At the appearance of the fir the bride must modestly lay her face upon the table and carefully hide it. The bridegroom goes thrice round the table, takes a cloth, lifts up the bride's head, kisses her and places himself again at her side. The fir and the loaf are set on the middle of the table opposite the bridal pair. The bride's mother showers nuts and oats over her new son-in-law, and sprinkles him with holy water. Ears of corn are then fastened by the bridesmaids on all present, beginning with the bridegroom.[2] Save for the use of holy water, which is an intrusive element, the whole object here is directly to produce fertility. In particular, that this is the purpose of the introduction of the fir is strikingly shown by the ritual modesty of the bride. The same interpretation is to be put upon the use of the birch-twigs in the custom, practised

[1] De Gubernatis, *Myth. Plant.* ii. 333.
[2] Mannhardt, *BK.* 222.

about Roding in the Upper Palatinate, of beating the bride as she walks up from the church-door to her seat opposite the bridegroom.[1] There would be no sense in expelling demons at that moment and in that place. Moreover, the various uses of the birch exhibited by Mannhardt, and especially its connection with the Mayday or Whitsuntide festival, seem unmistakably to prove that, like the rosemary and the fir, its virtue is not really that of exorcism but of fertilisation.

From these examples it is clear that M. Reinach is right in insisting upon the need of paying attention to the material with which the blows are struck, in order correctly to interpret their meaning. At the Lupercal the blows were struck with thongs made of the hides of the sacrificed goats. The Luperci, clothing themselves with the hides, cut strips from them for the purpose. The custom by which the officiant at a sacrifice, or the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered, puts on the skin of the victim, is widely spread. Its object is to identify the worshipper with the victim, to obtain for him its sacred character, to impart to him, as Robertson Smith says, "the sacred virtue of its life." Thus the Luperci by clothing themselves in the skins were identified with the victims, were indued with their qualities, furnished with their sacred virtue. Striking others with those skins, they were able to impart to them something of the same qualities. Here is no element of purgation or of exorcism: the object is direct and immediate fertilisation. The story told by Ovid to explain the rite confirms this interpretation. It is to the effect that after the Rape of the Sabines the wives acquired by

[1] Mannhardt, *BK.* 299.

the Romans remained barren. Juno, having been consulted in her sacred grove on the Esquiline, replied: "*Italidas matres sacer hircus inito!*" An augur recently banished from Etruria (the Etruscans were famous for augury) interpreted the oracle. He offered a goat in sacrifice, and by his command the women exposed their backs to blows from thongs cut from the hide. The happiest results followed; the women became mothers, and Rome was saved from extinction.[1] It is perfectly true that this is an ætiological tale, invented long afterwards to account for a rite the origin of which was unknown. It is only cited here to show that the ancients attached no purgative quality to the blows: they understood their purpose to be no less and no more than that of fecundating the childless women who submitted to them.

The same direct action is to be attributed to the blows bestowed in the county of Békés, in Hungary, on sterile women. They are struck with a stick which has been first used to separate pairing dogs. In the county of Bács a barren woman is fumigated with the hairs of pairing dogs, or with Christmas crumbs. In the same county a Serb woman, who has already borne and is therefore endowed with fecundity, will communicate it to a barren friend by spanning her waist at Christmas with a doughy hand. Among the Schokaz the unfruitful woman sleeps on a cloth wherewith she has touched two pairing dogs. The Slovaks in county Gömör beat her with the material in which the midwife has wrapped a child at birth; and we are expressly told that they believe that by this means she becomes pregnant.[2]

[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 429.

[2] Temesváry, 8.

Mannhardt has noted that in many of the periodical ceremonies he has recorded the blows are specially aimed at women and girls. Thus, in addition to the instances already mentioned, in Shaumburg the men-servants at Shrovetide strike the maids and married women on the calves so vigorously that the blood often flows. The next night, however, the maids have their turn, and doubtless repay with interest what they have received.[1] In Ukrainia on Palm Sunday, scarcely have the people left the church when the boys brandish the willow-rods recently borne in the procession and lay them about the backs of all who are near them, but preferably on the women and girls.[2] The "Easter-smack" which is given in many parts of Germany and Austria is often bestowed only on the women.[3] In some parts of Voigtland the girls are whipped by the lads with nosegays.[4] In Voigtland and the whole of the Saxon Erzgebirge the lads on Boxing Day beat the women and girls, if possible while they are still abed, with birchen twigs which have already sprouted, bound together with red ribbons, or with something else that is green, such as rosemary-stalks or juniper-twigs.[5] From a police regulation in the archives of Plassenburg dated in the year 1599 we learn that it was then the custom at Christmas for strong men-servants to penetrate into the houses, strip

[1] Mannhardt, *BK.* 254.

[2] *Ibid.* 256. So in some parts of Greece people beat one another with palm-branches on coming out of Church on Palm Sunday (*Revue Archéologique*, 1907, 55). Surely no devils can withstand the Palm Sunday service in the Greek church, and need to be exorcised in this way!

[3] Mannhardt, *op. cit.* 261.

[4] *Ibid.* 264.

[5] *Ibid.* 265.

the girls and women and beat them with switches or rods.[1]

Other examples might be added; but without lengthening the European list, let us compare these with one from the utmost East. The *Makura no Sōshi*, a Japanese work written about the year 1000 A.D., tells us that it was the custom, at the festival held in honour of the Sahe no Kami, or phallic deities, on the first full moon in every year, for the boys in the Imperial Palace to go about striking the younger women with the potsticks used for making gruel on the occasion. This was supposed to ensure fertility. Probably the practice was by no means confined to the boys in the palace, for "the Japanese novelist and antiquary Kiōden, writing about a century ago, informs us that a similar custom was at that time still practised in the province of Echigo. He gives a drawing of the sticks used for the purpose, of the phallic character of which" in Mr. Aston's opinion "there can be no doubt." The figure reproduced by Mr. Aston would certainly seem to bear out his opinion.[2] Here the occasion, the form of the instrument and the effect attributed to the blows are strikingly similar to those we have been examining, and confirm the interpretation I have ventured to place upon the European customs.

Certain marriage ceremonies have the same object. At Athens the ægis of Athene was taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women.[3]

[1] Mannhardt, *op. cit.* 267. Compare with the above the custom in the Bohemian Riesengebirge and the rhymes uttered as the various limbs and organs are struck (*Zeits. des Vereins*, x. 332).

[2] Aston, *Shinto*, 190. Compare the use of similar instruments in Bulgaria at Carnival (*Arch. Religionsw.* xi. 408).

[3] Farnell, i. 100.

The ægis was a goat-skin, and we can hardly doubt that it was brought into contact with the bride for the purpose of rendering her fruitful. The ceremony, it would seem, was not performed actually on the wedding-day ; but many such ceremonies are. The custom observed from India to the Atlantic Ocean of throwing grain and seeds of one sort or another, over a bride, and apparently that of flinging old shoes, are intended to secure fecundity. The wandering Gipsies of Transylvania are said to throw old shoes and boots on a newly married pair when they enter their tent, expressly to enhance the fertility of the union. In Germany, pieces of cake are thrust against the bride's body.[1] At a certain stage in the wedding ceremony of the German Jews, the friends who stand round throw wheat on the couple and say, "Be fruitful and multiply."[2] The same object is visible in the custom of the Berads in Bombay, by which the bride is made to stand in a basket of millet.[3] The Oráons require the bridegroom to perform the essential ceremony of marking the bride with red lead, while both are standing on a curry-stone, under which a sheaf of corn lies upon a plough-yoke.[4] An equivalent rite is found very generally in Northern India, and its meaning cannot be doubtful. So, among the people of Great Russia the nuptial couch is made with great

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 445 ; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1794. In Zennor and adjacent parishes in Cornwall, it was the custom to flog a newly married couple to bed with "cords, sheep-spans, or anything handy for the purpose," as a fecundity-charm. But it is obvious that the custom described was in the last stage of decay ; and it has now come to an end. No certain conclusion can therefore be drawn from the miscellaneous character of the implements made use of (*F. L. Journ.* v. 216).

[2] Andree, *Volksk. Jud.* 144.

[3] *F. L.* xiii. 235.

[4] Dalton, 252.

ceremony of forty sheaves of rye, over which the sheets are spread. Barrels full of wheat and barley are set round it, and at night the wedding torches are stuck in them.[1]

Among the Masai of German East Africa many women, especially women hitherto barren, take part in the festival at the circumcision of the youths. The barren women come in order to be pelted by the youths with fresh cow-dung, for by the universal belief of the Masai they will thereby be rendered fruitful.[2] Possibly the same may be the meaning of a curious rite performed by the Australian blackfellows in Victoria when a girl attains the age of puberty. She is rubbed all over with charcoal and spotted with white clay. "As soon as the painting is finished she is made to stand on a log, and a small branch, stripped of every leaf and bud, is placed in her right hand, having on the tip of each bare twig a very small piece of some farinaceous food. Young men, perhaps to the number of twenty, slowly approach her one by one; each throws a small bare stick at her, and bites off the food from the tip of one of the twigs, and spits it into the fire, and, returning from the fire, stamps, leaps and raves, as in a corrobboree." The sticks are afterwards buried to prevent sorcerers from taking

[1] Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.* 355. The same chapter is rich in illustrations of the custom of throwing grain and seeds of various kinds over a bride, and of decking her with ears of corn and so forth, and abundantly justifies Mannhardt's observation that "the custom undeniably takes its rise from the feeling of a sympathetic connection between mankind and seed-bearing grasses and the comparison between the fruit of the body and of corn."

[2] Merker, 61. Their neighbours the Nandi apparently consider the mere presence of a barren woman at a certain part of the boys' circumcision ceremonies enough to cause pregnancy (Hollis, *Nandi*, 55, 68).

away the girls' kidney-fat, and the branch is burnt. "The young men who threw the twigs and bit off the food are understood to have covenanted with her not to assault her, and further to protect her until she shall be given away to her betrothed; but the agreement extends no further; she may entertain any of them of her own free will as a lover."[1] The agreement may extend no further. A youth who has taken part in a solemn ceremony performed for the benefit of the girl may by tribal law be under a special obligation not to offer her violence. But that this is the purport of the ceremony we must take leave to doubt. It does not explain the details. The connection with the puberty rites, the ritual spitting out of the food into the fire by the youths, the intimate relation created between the sticks and the girl's body and the consequent fear of magical influence through them, and the right of the girl afterwards to entertain any of the youths as a lover, all alike negative the establishment of any fraternal bond between her and the youths, such as would be implied by a covenant of the kind indicated; all alike point to some effect to be wrought upon her; and that effect can only be a strengthening for the duties of adult life, among which the bearing of children occupies by far the most prominent place. But we require to know a little more about the circumstances, and in particular how the youths are selected, and what if any preparation they undergo, to pronounce definitely on the question.

[1] Brough Smyth, i. 61. It is said that in New Caledonia the ground is thrashed by boys with sticks, with the idea of making it fruitful; but the fact does not rest on direct evidence (J. J. Atkinson, in *F. L.* xiv. 256).

We have seen that in the stories a woman is sometimes said to conceive by the foot. An Asturian ballad ascribes to the borage the power to affect any woman treading on it as it affected the unfortunate Princess Alexandra.[1] In Brunswick a maiden who treads on an egg-shell will become pregnant in the same year.[2] This is a case in which magic has weathered down to augury: originally we may presume the maiden was believed to become pregnant at once by the act of treading on an egg-shell. In Auvergne a woman or girl becomes pregnant by setting foot on a hedgehog in the fields, and at the end of nine months gives birth to a large litter of hedgehogs. The village gossips even yet speak of girls who have suffered from this misfortune. In the Haute-Loire it is enough for a woman at her monthly period to pass over a hedgehog hidden under the leaves to cause her to litter six weeks later a whole basketful of young hedgehogs. Probably, as M. Sébillot observes, to this superstition must be traced the term of abuse *Jane d'eurson* (hedgehog brat) applied to children in the neighbourhood of Metz.[3] The mode of revenge adopted by a rejected lover among the Sulka of new Pomerania is to take a certain fruit and cut it open or bore a hole in it and insert some lime over which an incantation has been pronounced. Then he throws the fruit on a path over which the woman will pass, generally dashing it upon a hard object so that it will fall to pieces. If the woman thereafter walking along the path happen to

[1] De Charencey, 230.

[2] Andree, *Braunschw. Volksk.* 291. On the other hand in Japan women must not tread on egg-shells, otherwise child-birth will be difficult, or they will get leucorrhœa (H. ten Kate, *Globus*, xc. 129).

[3] *Rev. Trad. Pop.* xii. 547; Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 15.

tread on a piece of the fruit she will become pregnant, and the pregnancy will be repeated so frequently that she will die of it.[1]

Among the Kara Kirghiz a solitary apple-tree is often regarded as sacred. Rolling or wallowing beneath it in prayer seems a method approved among the women for obtaining pregnancy.[2] In Japan it is enough to squat down on the spot where a birth has just taken place.[3] A Kwakiutl woman in British Columbia is delivered sitting on the lap of a friend over a pit or hole in the ground, into which the child falls. When twins are thus born all the young women go to the pit "and squat over it leaning on their knuckles, because it is believed that after doing so they will be sure to bear children."[4] In Saxony about Chemnitz a table-cloth acquires prolific virtue by serving at a first-christening-dinner; and it is sometimes cast over a barren wife.[5] In the same way in Italy a childless woman will borrow from a friend her shift and wear it at the moment of coition. Dr.

[1] Father Rascher, *Arch. Anthrop.* N.S. i. 219. In a variant ceremony when a girl who is undergoing her seclusion previous to marriage is concerned, the man waits by the house in the first quarter of the moon until she comes out of doors for recreation in the moonlight. He then takes some lime, steps up to her and blows it against her mouth. The result will be that after her marriage she will bring forth monstrous births or become so often pregnant that at last she will die.

[2] Radloff, v. 2. The apple-tree is a well-known symbol and therefore cause of fecundity. Among the Southern Slavs the bride is unveiled beneath an apple-tree and the veil is sometimes hung on the tree (Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, 450). In some parts of England a fretful child is said to have come from under a crab-tree (Addy, 144).

[3] H. ten Kate, *Globus*, xv. 129.

[4] Boas, *B. A. Rep.* 1896, 575.

[5] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1795.

Zanetti who reports this superstition also states that some persons wear sacred vestments on such an occasion; but whether those persons are men or women does not appear. Near Gubbio a barren woman is frequently advised to draw off the first milk of a goat, before the newborn kid is allowed to suck, to make a cheese of it, and to wear the cheese tied up in a rag continually under her clothes.[1] In all these cases prolific virtue is communicated by contact.

It is sometimes enough if not the woman herself but some article of her clothing be placed in contact with the fruitful object, as in a Bosnian custom by which a childless woman seeks for a plant called *apijun*, cuts its roots small, and steeps them in foam she has caught from a millwheel, afterwards drinking of the liquid. She then winds her wedding-girdle round a newly grafted fruit-tree, when, if the graft prosper, she also will bear. A still more complex rite is recommended when a woman has been married for upwards of eleven years without having had issue. A lady friend who is so fortunate as to be in that state in which "women wish to be who love their lords" must endeavour to find a stone lying in a pear-tree, as sometimes happens when it is thrown at the ripening fruit and caught by one of the branches. She must then shake the tree until the stone fall. This she must catch in her hands ere it reach the ground, carry it in the left skirt of her dress to the brook, put it into a pitcher, fill the pitcher from the brook so far as to cover the stone, and carry it home. Next, she gathers dewy grass (it is not stated what she does with it), and speaks into the pitcher and into the water the

[1] Zanetti, 104, 103.

conjuring formula: "So-and-so shall conceive." After that, she brings the pitcher with the water to the barren woman to drink, and winding the wedding-garment (it does not appear what portion of the dress is meant) of the latter about her own body, wears it for three months or longer, until the woman for whom the ceremony is performed shall feel that her desire has been accomplished. The friend, however, must not eat even a morsel of bread in the patient's house.[1]

In this performance as in the former two distinct rites are employed, in the hope that one will be successful if the other fail. The potion carries us back to the fertilising means discussed earlier in the chapter. The stone shaken down from the tree can hardly be understood to represent anything but a pear; and inasmuch as the patient cannot eat the stone, its virtues as fruit (enhanced by its being plucked by a woman already pregnant) are transmitted to the water which is given her to drink, the intention being made effectual by the utterance of the command, "So-and-so shall conceive." In the second rite, included alike in both customs, the quasi-permanent contact of the fruitful tree or the pregnant woman with the barren woman's clothing though detached from her body is sufficient, by a magical doctrine which I have considered elsewhere, to secure the transmission of prolific virtue to her. Arab women attempt the more direct method of transmission by borrowing the robe of a friend who has already proved her fecundity.[2] So Egede, the Danish missionary to Greenland, tells us of the Eskimo that "to render barren women fertile or

[1] Dr. Krauss, in *Am Urquell*, iii. 276. *Cf.* the variant rites practised by the Schokaz, *supra*, p. 60.

[2] Jaussen, 35.

teeming they take old pieces of our shoes to hang about them; for, as they take our nation to be more fertile and of a stronger disposition of body than theirs, they fancy the virtue of our body communicates itself to our clothing."[1] This virtue, however, is often looked upon as transferred by the same means from one body to another, to the detriment of the former. Such appears to be the danger contemplated by the superstition in the Erzgebirge that a bride must not give away the first shoes she casts off, lest she become unlucky.[2] That is to say, her luck (by which fertility was doubtless originally meant, and in which it is still the chief element) would be given away with the shoes. We shall meet with further examples of transfer in the next chapter.

The virtue of sacred vestments is derived from contact with persons either personally or ritually holy. One in that condition, as the tales abundantly witness, has the power of fecundating barren women. The relics of Lha-tsün, the patron saint of Sikhim, are celebrated as a certain cure for barrenness. They consist of his full-dress robes, including hat and boots, his hand-drum, bell and *dorje*, or Buddhist sceptre typical of the thunderbolt, and a miraculous dagger

[1] Egede, *A Description of Greenland* (London, 1818), 198. The first edition of the Danish original was published in 1741. Compare the custom of flinging old shoes at a bride (*supra*, p. 109). The wearing of a garment belonging to a prolific friend may be compared with a custom among the Besisi of Selangor in the Malay Peninsula. In the course of a ceremony for the purpose of promoting the fertility of a mangostin, the fruit-tree is decorated with festoons of palm-leaves and they are allowed to remain upon it (Skeat and Blagden, ii. 302). The analogy is perhaps even closer with the practices of simulation by means of a living child or a doll described on a later page.

[2] Wuttke, 376.

for stabbing the demons, and are kept at Pemiongchi monastery. Couples who desire children and can afford the necessary expense, have a preliminary worship conducted in the chapel of the monastery lasting one or two days. "Then the box containing the holy relics is brought forth and ceremoniously opened, and each article is placed on the heads of the suppliant pair, the officiating priest repeating meanwhile the charm of his own tutelary deity. Of the marvellous efficacy of this procedure, numerous stories are told." And should two sons result, one of them would certainly be dedicated to the Church.[1] Here the husband shares the rite. The Blackfeet, in common with other North American tribes, attribute a mystic power to the small whirlwinds which frequently arise on the plains; and with this belief the moth is associated as the depositary or as the origin of the power. "The medicine-men claim to use the power of the moth in making childbirth easy, producing abortion, preventing conception, &c. Sometimes if a medicine-man wishes a woman to have children, he prays to the power of the moth and slyly sits upon the woman's blanket." Thus by his powerful touch he evidently communicates impregnating virtue to her clothing. While I am mentioning the Blackfeet, I may add an example of their practices recalling another mode of causing conception familiar in the stories. "The image of a moth," we are told, "is sometimes worn on the head of a man in the belief

[1] Waddell, 51. A slipper of one of the goddesses worshipped by Chinese women in the province of Kan-su to obtain children is borrowed by the suppliant from her shrine and returned after delivery. Presumably it is worn as an amulet, but the account I cite is not explicit on this point (*Anthropos*, iii. 763).

that the power [of the moth] will pass into any woman the wearer may fix his mind upon, and cause her to become pregnant."[1] So the Lucky Fool wished the princess to become pregnant, and it was done.

I have mentioned some articles of clothing which are obviously worn as amulets. Amulets, in fact, are believed to play a great part in procuring offspring. A few examples will suffice to illustrate a superstition of very wide extent. In the Gironde women carried away "in order to facilitate childbirth" pieces of a stone which formerly existed at Avensan.[2] Among Bavarian women, to carry about under the left arm a certain small bone of a stag was a prophylactic against sterility.[3] Hungarian Gipsy women carry a little snail-shaped object; and if within three years this is not effectual they give up hope.[4] The ancient Hindu women wore a bracelet to ensure conception. The spell preserved in the *Atharva-Veda* for use in connection with this bracelet addresses it, praying it not merely to open up the womb that the embryo be put into it, but also to furnish a son and it would seem bring him into the womb. In the commentary on another spell of the same collection we learn that while reciting it an arrow is broken to pieces over the woman's head and a fragment is fastened upon her as an amulet. Milk of a cow which has a calf of the same colour as herself is then poured into a cup made from a plough; rice, barley, and leaves from certain other plants are mashed up in it, and it is put up the woman's

[1] *Journ. Am. F. L.* xviii. 260.
[2] Sébillot, *Am. Anthrop.* N.S. iv. 92, citing Daleau.
[3] Lammert, 157.
[4] Temesváry, 7. The object in question is perhaps phallic.

right nostril with the officiant's right thumb. This rite is an amalgam. The recited spell, the amulet and the mixture conveyed into the woman's nose are doubtless all separately potent: their combined effect ought to be decisive.[1] In Persia the mandrake is said to be worn as an amulet. The women of Mecca commonly wear a magical girdle to yield them fertility.[2] A Chukchi female shaman showed a recent scientific traveller a stone of peculiar shape, which she called her husband. She said she loved it more than her living mate, and averred that most of her children were conceived from it.[3] Similarly on the Banks' Islands women take certain stones to bed with them to become fruitful.[4] By the Australian women of Tully River in Northern Queensland twins or triplets are often accounted for as a punishment inflicted by a mother-in-law for neglect. The process is simple. The old lady plants two or three pebbles underneath her daughter-in-law's sleeping-place and the result is assured.[5]

From north to south of the African continent amulets are prominent among the means of obtaining offspring. A porcupine's foot is a favourite talisman

[1] *Sacred Books*, xlii. 96, 356. In a note on a previous page I have mentioned a third spell (p. 61) to ensure male issue from a women already pregnant. Strabo (xv. 1, 60) mentions on the authority of Megasthenes that among the Garmanes the physicians can cause people to produce numerous offspring and to have either male or female children by means of charms. Among the bunches of charms worn by Korean women are "curious little twin Josses which are supposed to insure the wearer becoming a mother of sons" (*J. A. I.* xxiv. 311). Here it may be the sex rather than the mere production of the offspring which is intended to be insured.

[2] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 437, 439.

[3] Bogoras, *Jesup Exped.* vii. 344.

[4] Codrington, 184.

[5] Roth, *N. Q. Ethnog.* Bull. v. 25 (par. 92).

among the Moorish women of Morocco.[1] On the Upper Niger the women of certain tribes wear about their loins a score or so of leathern strings, whence are suspended small figures, cast in copper and representing tortoises, lizards or horses. These are amulets which, it is said, have the virtue of giving many children.[2] In German territory on the other side of the continent the Masai women hold a solemn festival of prayer for children. They assemble with a wizard or medicine-man, and each receives from him an amulet to hang from the girdle of her skin-apron. Then he sprinkles them on head and shoulders with a medicine composed of milk, honey-beer, and another secret ingredient, in return for which he is rewarded with a payment in sheep. The rest of the day is spent in dancing and singing, the burden of the songs being a prayer for children. Another amulet believed to promote conception is also worn by Masai women round the neck.[3] The Warundi, who, like the Masai, inhabit German territory, are prolific and anxious to have children. They too make use of amulets; these are of various kinds of native wood, but how prepared we are not told.[4] Among the Baganda every woman who wishes for a large family wears a *musisi*, or multiplier. It consists of a ball of white clay with a piece of tanned hide sewed round it.[5] The Awemba women between Lakes Tanganyika and Bangweolo

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 437.

[2] Binger, i. 250.

[3] Merker, 201, 202.

[4] van der Burgt, 85 (art. Mariage).

[5] Cunningham, 253. Men sometimes wear this amulet because it gives courage. Another amulet called *magalo* "facilitated the begetting of children." It seems also to have been used for divination (*Ibid.* 255).

wear an amulet called the *mapingo* composed of two tiny horns of duiker, in the hope that they may bear children.[1] Among the Kaffirs of South Africa an amulet to remove the reproach of a childless woman is made by the medicine-man of the clan from the tail-hairs of a heifer. The heifer must be given to the husband by one of the wife's kinsmen for the purpose; and the charm when made is hung round the wife's neck.[2] The intention here seems to be to transfer the fertility of the animal to the woman. On the other hand the Northern Basuto of the Transvaal lay the fault of childlessness on the husband. He has done to death by witchcraft one of his kin, or committed some other wrong towards the dead man, who is therefore angry. After consulting a wizard and ascertaining to whom the evil is to be ascribed, he goes to the grave, acknowledges his fault, prays to the dead for forgiveness, and takes back from the tomb a stone, a twig, or some other object, which he carries about, or deposits in his courtyard, as a fetish or an amulet. If he duly honour it, it will restore the good understanding between the deceased and himself, and give him the benefit he desires.[3]

Phallic images have special importance as amulets. In the interior of Western Africa, over the border of Angola, on the way from Malange, barren women have been found wearing on a string round the body two little carved ivory figures representing the two sexes.[4] The phalli worn by Italian women are

[1] *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 154.

[2] Theal, 201. The Barotse have also amulets to obtain children (Béguin, 124). In fact the custom is universal in Africa.

[3] Ploss, *Weib.* i. 439.

[4] Ploss, *loc. cit.*

familiar to every student of folklore; and the images made of boy-root and worn by Danubian Gipsies, have already been mentioned.[1] Similar figures in wood are worn in some districts of Bavaria by newly married women among their beads, or depending from the strings of their bodices. They are amulets against barrenness.[2]

The practices of what is called phallic worship have been described at sufficient, if not more than sufficient, length in the pages of Dulaure and other writers, many of whom have been inclined to see in what is often no more than a magical rite something like the foundation of all religions. The truth is that phallic worship strictly speaking—the worship of a deity of fertility under sexual emblems—is by no means an early or a universal cult. It can only become prominent in a population having a settled abode and cultivating the soil; its orgiastic developments are sporadic. So intimately however is sexual emotion mingled with the emotions we group together under the name of religion, that it is anything but surprising to find linked with religious worship both sexual ideas and practices and attempts to secure in other than the normal manner the blessing of offspring. We have already discussed some phallic practices connected more or less remotely with religion; and it will be needless to pursue the subject into much detail here. But any treatment of the superstitious beliefs and practices under consideration, would be incomplete and misleading without some reference to it.

The worship of the linga is a favourite with Hindu women. The representation is sometimes carved and

[1] *Supra*, p. 46. [2] Lammert, 156.

painted red, at other times a mere rough upright stone. Such idols are to be seen everywhere in India; and their pious worshippers may often be observed decking them with flowers, red cloth or gilt paper, like the Madonna in Roman Catholic churches. Siva himself, the third in the modern Hindu Trimurti, is represented under this form; and under this form—softened down by Southey in his finest poem from the grotesque obscenity of the original story—he appeared when

> Brahma and Vishnu wild with rage contended,
> And Siva in his might their dread contention ended.

Many of the incidents of the cult of Siva and similar gods have been described from travellers' reports by Dulaure, to whose sixth chapter I refer the reader. A cannon, old and useless and neglected, belonging to the Dutch Government, lay in a field at Batavia, on the island of Java. It was taken by the native women for a linga. Dressed in their best, and adorned with flowers, they used to worship this piece of senseless iron, presented it with offerings of rice and fruits, miniature sunshades, and coppers, and completed the performance by sitting astride upon it as a certain method of winning children. At length an order arrived from the Government to remove it as lumber; and removed it was, to the great dismay of the priests, who had pocketed the coppers and had manufactured and sold the sunshades—probably also to the dismay of the ladies who depended upon its miraculous power—but at all events, it is satisfactory to know, without injuriously affecting the increase of the population.[1]

[1] *J. A. I.* vi. 359.

At Roman weddings one of the ceremonies was the culminating rite so dear to these Batavian women. The idol of Priapus or Tutunus, used on this and other occasions by women desirous of offspring was more or less in human form ; and there can be no question as to the object of the rite.[1] Among the gods to whom similar powers are ascribed in India, and with whose statues similar ceremonies are practised, is Hanumân. "In Bombay women sometimes go to his temple in the early morning, strip themselves naked and embrace the god."[2] Nor is it merely stones shaped by art that have been taken for this purpose. Rude stone monuments, monoliths natural or bearing traces of no more than the most rudimentary chippings by the hand of man, have by virtue of their form been regarded as phalli and subjected to contact by women who desire offspring. We are not informed whether this is the case with the Greased Stones of Madagascar, to which women seeking children certainly resort.[3] But among some of the Northern Maidu of California contact is practised by barren women with a certain rock which bears some resemblance to a woman with child. By touching it they are thought sure to conceive.[4]

[1] Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, vi. 9; Arnob. *Adv. Gen.* iv. 7; Tertul. *Ad Nat.* ii. 11; Ploss, *Weib*, i. 435, quoting Thomas Bartholinus.

[2] Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* i. 87 ; See also Dulaure, *loc. cit.* The rite in India when performed by brides involves a sacrifice of virginity.

[3] Mondain, 12, 44 (*cf.* the Male Stones mentioned p. 13, the cult of which has perhaps, though not very probably, been abandoned). Arab women in the land of Moab made resort to a rock called 'Umm Gederah, to rub themselves against it and to sleep in its shadow, in order to procure children (Jaussen, 303).

[4] Dixon, *Bull. Am. Mus. N. H.* xvii. 230. *Cf.* the stone on

In various parts of France contact is practised both with statues and with unshapen stones. A few cases may be mentioned out of a large number. I have already referred to the rites of Saint Guerlichon.[1] Formerly in a chapel near Pleubian, on the day of the annual celebration commonly called in Brittany the Pardon, a worm-eaten figure of Saint Nicholas hung at the end of a cord from a beam. The peasant women in turn used to take up their skirts and rub their bare abdomens against the fertilising fetish.[2] In the Pyrenees near Bourg d'Oueil is a rough stone figure of a man about five feet high on which barren women rub themselves, embracing and kissing it.[3] At Brignolles in Provence is a sacred well on the northern wall of which is a stele with a coarsely carven figure of a man, now half-effaced by time and wear. This figure is known by the name of Saint Sumian; and a small circular cup-marking two centimetres in diameter near the appropriate position is called the saint's navel. Sterile women who desire children and young people who want to be married embrace the saint's navel, and thereby attain their wishes.[4] In order to become mothers women ceremonially go three times round a pillar in the chapel of Orcival in Puy de Dôme and then rub themselves against it.[5] At the Cathedral of Mende is the clapper of a bell 2.30 metres in height and 1.10 in circumference. It was formerly

which if a Hupa woman sits she will be cured of barrenness (Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, 280). Here nothing is said of the shape of the stone.

[1] *Supra*, p. 63.

[2] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv. 169.

[3] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 444; Cuzacq, 111.

[4] Bérenger-Féraud, *Superst.* i. 413.

[5] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv. 158.

in the big bell. When the Protestant chief Mathieu de Merle seized the town in 1580 it is said he melted the bell to cast cannon, but the clapper could not be melted, and it was set up near the left door of the cathedral. Down to the present day women desiring children come and rub their abdomens against it praying to the Virgin the while.[1] In the early years of the last century sterile women used to go to the abbey of Brantôme in Périgord, or to the chapel of Saint Robert or to that of Saint Leonard near the village of Jouvens and there attend mass. After the ceremony they went and worked the bolt of the door to and fro, until their husbands came and led them home by the hand with the customary formality.[2] Elsewhere there is not even a pretence of human workmanship on the object of the cult. At the entrance of the valley of Aspe (Hautes Pyrenées) there is a natural rock of conical form on which barren women rub their abdomens.[3] This is but one of several examples of the use of rocks and stones in the Pyrenees; and there are as many in Brittany, besides others in various parts of France.

It may be thought that the rites at these places are purely magical. There is however a considerable body of evidence showing that the rocks and stones in question are regarded with religious veneration. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church up to the Revolution at least countenanced the sacred character of many of the menhirs and dolmens by solemn processions and the performance of religious rites.

[1] van Gennep, *ap.* Dulaure, 326 note.
[2] Sébillot, *op. cit.* 139; *Rev. Trad. Pop.* xii. 665.
[3] Cuzacq, 112.

Singing and dancing are, or have within quite recent times been, periodically performed and prayers offered by the peasants around both prehistoric stone monuments and natural rocks. These facts are only explicable on the supposition that they were the object of a very ancient cult, too deeply rooted in the popular affections to be wholly supplanted by the Church. Newly wedded pairs went afoot to the menhir of Plouarzel, the largest in the department, which has on two opposite sides a round knob about a metre's height above the ground. Partly undressed, the woman on one side and the man on the other rubbed their abdomens against the knob. By this the husband hoped to get sons rather than daughters, and the wife not merely to get fecundity but the whip-hand of her husband. Near Rennes the newly married go, the first Sunday of Lent, to jump on a stone called the Bride-stone (*Pierre des Épousées*), singing the while a special song. In Eure-et-Loire young women desiring children rubbed their abdomens against a rough place on the Pierre de Chantecoq. Less than thirty years ago a menhir not far from Carnac was the scene of a ceremony performed by married pairs who after a union of several years were still without children. While their relatives kept watch at a distance lest they should be disturbed by intruders they stripped and the wife ran round the stone, striving to escape her husband's pursuit, but ending of course by letting him catch her.[1] Young couples who desire children go on pilgrimage to Sainte Baume in Provence. On entering the adjacent forest

[1] Sébillot, *Amer. Anthrop.* N.S. iv. 83; *Id. F. L. France*, iv. 56, 61; Bérenger-Féraud, *Traditions*, 200.

husband and wife, mentally praying to Saint Magdalen, embrace the first big oak-tree they find. It is said there is only one tree in the forest capable of receiving their prayers efficaciously: hence if their desires are not granted it is easy to explain why—they have mistaken the tree. At Poligny in the Jura there is a standing stone significantly said to be the petrified form of a giant who attempted to ravish a girl. Young women go and embrace it in order to obtain children.[1] These are a few only of many examples of the superstition recorded in France. If we might add to them the cases in which girls perform similar rites to obtain husbands (as to which we may suspect the original object of the rite to have been the same) the list might be greatly lengthened. Often both reasons are alleged for the practice, married women following it for the one and unmarried women for the other.[2] A striking analogy to the rite at Sainte Baume is performed by the Maori women of the Tuho tribe. Certain trees are associated in the popular mind with the navel-strings of mythical ancestors. The power of making women fruitful is ascribed to them and until lately the navel-strings of all newborn children were hung on their branches. Barren women embrace them and according to whether they clasp them from the east or the west side they conceive boys or girls.[3]

A variant ceremony of sliding down the stone

[1] Bérenger-Féraud, *Superst.* ii. 182, 190.

[2] See Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv., the chapters entitled *Cultes et Observances Mégalithiques* and *Les Églises*. It should be added that similar rites are performed for the cure of various diseases.

[3] W. Foy, *Arch. Religionsw.* x. 557, citing an article by W. H. Goldie, on Maori Medical Lore in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, 1904, 95.

obviously depends on the position of the stone and its angle of inclination. At Bauduen, near Draguignan, on the day of the feast of the patron saint, girls who want to marry, or women who desire children, go and slide in a sitting posture down a rock, situated behind the church, and one part of which forms an inclined plane. The surface of the rock has been polished by this exercise. A similar practice obtains near the village of Saint Ours, in the Basses Alpes, on the corresponding day. The stone there is called the Millstone.[1] In the neighbourhood of Collobrières, also in Provence, an ancient chestnut-tree stands on the side of the road called the Lovers' Walk. Just below one of the principal branches, which has been broken off, two round excrescences give it a phallic appearance. Girls who desire husbands and young married women who want children go and slide at certain times down certain of the roots which rise above the soil.[2]

It will be remembered that women who wanted to drink of Saint Maughold's well in the Isle of Man were required to sit in the saint's chair. Beneath a chair in Finchale priory church in the county of Durham "is shown a seat said to have the virtue of removing sterility and procuring issue for any woman who, having performed certain ceremonies, sat down therein and devoutly wished for a child." The seat, which is of stone, appears much worn. At Jarrow church brides on the completion of the marriage service seat themselves

[1] Bérenger-Féraud, *Superst.* ii. 342; *Amer. Anthrop.* iv. N.S. 79.

[2] Bérenger-Féraud, *Ibid.* 177. For further illustrations of these and other even more suggestive practices in France, the reader is referred to the works already cited, and to *Rev. Trad. Pop.* xii. 665; xiii. 267; Sébillot, *F. L. France*, i. 334 *sqq.*; iii. 425: *Id. Trad. et Sup.* i. 48 *sqq.*

in Bede's chair, still preserved in the church.[1] Near Verdun in Luxemburg Saint Lucia's armchair is to be seen in the living rock. There also childless women sit and pray, afterwards awaiting with confidence the fulfilment of their petitions. At Athens there is a rock near the Callirrhoe whereon women who wish to be made fruitful rub themselves, calling on the Moirai to be gracious to them. And Bernhardt Schmidt writing on the subject recalls that not far from that very spot the heavenly Aphrodite was honoured in ancient times as the Eldest of the Fates.[2] At the foot of another hill is a seat cut in the rock on the banks of a stream. There the Athenian women were wont to sit and let themselves slip on the back into the brook, calling on Apollo for an easy delivery. The stone is black and polished with the constant repetition of these invocations; for still on a clear moonlight night young women steal silently to the spot to indulge in the same exercise, though we may presume their invocations are nominally addressed to some other divinity.[3]

At Tunis the Marabout of Sidi Fathallah is the scene of similar or even more complex performances. For it is necessary for a woman who desires children to slide no fewer than twenty-five times down a stone five or six metres long which is held to be the saint's grave, namely, five times on her face, five times on her back,

[1] *Denham Tracts*, i. 109, 110. *Cf.* the chair of Saint Fiacre and the stone of Saint Nicholas mentioned by M. Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv. 159.

[2] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 436.

[3] Bérenger-Féraud, *Trad.* 201, quoting Yéménier in the *Revue du Lyonnais*, 1842. Some of the exercises at stones and other sacred objects in France are said to have for object an easy delivery. The connection between this and the prayer for children is too obvious to be insisted on. As to the rites practised on the island of Cyprus, see Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (London, 1896), 179.

five times on each side and five times head foremost. To ensure success, it seems, that a barren woman must repeat her devotions in this way from time to time for two years: only in the third will her wish be gratified. Kabyle women frequent many mosques to be delivered from sterility, particularly the tomb of another saint, Sidi Abi Thaleb. There they flourish the saint's stick vigorously in all directions in a hole contrived in the centre of the mosque.[1] These two are of course by no means the only Moslem saints famous for the gift of fecundity. In Egypt the soul of the holy man Sheikh Haridy has passed into a serpent that is to be seen in the little mosque of the mountain called after his name. Under that form he shows himself to his worshippers and allows them to touch him for the cure of their ailments. Among the powers with which he is still thought to be endowed is that of conferring fertility on women.[2] I have already mentioned the hot springs frequented by women in Palestine for this purpose. It may be added that some of these springs are believed to owe their virtue not to the jinn but to a dead saint. When the hot air steams up over the bodies of childless women they really believe they are visited and impregnated by the saint himself.[3]

A curious rite used until the Reformation to be performed at the shrine of Saint Edmund at Bury St. Edmund's. A white bull was kept in the fields of the

[1] Bérenger-Féraud, *Supersl.* ii. 198.

[2] E. Amélineau, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* li. 341.

[3] Curtiss, 116. One example only is here mentioned—the spring of Abu Rabah at the Baths of Solomon. The shrines of St. George all over the country enjoy the same reputation among Moslems as well as Christians. *Cf.* Jaussen, 360.

manor of Habyrdon, and never yoked to the plough nor baited at the stake. When a married woman wished for offspring he was "led in procession through the principal streets of the town to the principal gate of the monastery, attended by all the monks singing, and a shouting crowd; the woman walking by him and stroking his milk-white sides and pendant dewlaps. The bull being then dismissed, the woman entered the church and paid her vows at the altar of Saint Edmund, kissing the stone and entreating with tears the blessing of a child." The rite is obviously one of that large class taken over by the Church from local paganism, often as in this instance for very material reasons. The bull was kept and provided for the purpose under covenants with the monastery by the tenant of the manor. More than one of the leases were extant in the seventeenth century. One of them, perhaps the last that was granted, is dated in 1533. They contemplate a *mulier generosa* as the most likely suppliant. Few others could afford such a ceremony as is described above, or "make the oblations of the said white bull."[1] Contact here takes place both with the sacred stone and the sacred animal. In the preceding pages we have found animal substances eaten for the purpose of obtaining offspring; we have found amulets made of animal substances and ritual contact with portions of sacred animals employed for the same intent. An ancient Aryan marriage custom still practised by the Hindus is to make the bride sit down on a bull's hide. This is also found among the Esthonians and the

[1] *County F. L. Suffolk*, 124; *Gent. Mag. Lib.* Topography, xi. 208, both quoting *Corolla Varia*, by the Rev. W. Hawkins (1634), and leases by the monastery of the manor referred to.

Russians.[1] It is probably traceable to the same reason. The probability is favoured by the substitution in Nurmekond (Esthonia) of a man's coat, which having been worn by a man would, on the principles of reasoning in the lower culture, have absorbed his qualities and thus be eminently calculated to promote the bride's fertility. The Roman bride was made to sit on a sheepskin. These customs strengthen the presumption already mentioned that the ægis taken at Athens to the bride's house was brought into contact with her.

I referred just now to the Pierre des Épousées near Rennes. The bridal custom of jumping on or over a stone has been so fully examined by Mr. William Crooke,[2] that it need not be further discussed here. In a note to his paper he alludes to the story of Arianrod the daughter of Don in the *Mabinogion*.[3] In that story the maiden was made to step over a magical wand, with the result that two boys were born. The wand possessed fertilising power, though the incident seems to be regarded as a test of chastity Whether or no the story-teller misunderstood it is not clear; but a similar power is found ascribed in somewhat more than a jocular fashion to a broomstick in some parts of England. Mr. Addy, speaking apparently of Yorkshire and the adjacent country, says "If a girl strides over a besom-handle, she will be mother before she is a wife. If an unmarried woman has a child people say 'She's jumped o'er t'besom,

[1] Schroeder, 89. In a Finnish story bride and bridegroom placed on a whale's hide (Castrén, *Vorles.* 323).

[2] *F. L.* xiii. 226.

[3] *Y Llyvyr Coch*, 68; *Mabinogion*, 421; Nutt's Ed 66

or 'She jumped o'er t'besom before she went to t'church.' Mothers used to be particularly anxious that their daughters should not stride over a broom, and mischievous boys have been known to leave brooms on doorsteps and such-like places, so that girls might accidentally stride over them." He adds that at Sheffield a woman of loose habits is called a besom.[1] The broomstick is an obvious symbol, such as would exactly fit the purposes of mimetic magic. A Manchu bride on reaching the bridegroom's house is required to step over a miniature saddle and frequently also an apple, placed on the threshold. Stepping over the former is said to be a sign that she will never marry a second husband, for the Manchus have a saying, "Just as a good horse will not carry two saddles, a chaste maiden will not marry two husbands."[2] But though that may be the meaning now assigned to the custom, it is too artificial to be primitive. Moreover, comparison of other customs shows that it cannot have been the original intention, and the addition of the apple makes this clear.

In Westward parish, Cumberland, it used to be the custom on the day after a christening for the new mother to entertain her married friends of her own sex. When the husbands came to fetch their wives home, a milk- or other pail was placed on the door-sill, and over it each wife had to jump. From the manner in which they severally passed the obstacle their own condition was divined, for it was considered that a pregnant woman would stumble or put her foot in the pail.[3] Here as elsewhere, we may suspect at an

[1] Addy, 102. [2] *F. L.* i. 487, 491.
[3] *N. and Q.* 5th ser. vi 24.

earlier stage the rite was held to cause what it is taken at last only to discover: another example of magic dwindling into divination. Mr. Crooke also refers to the Ahîr legend of Lorik, localised in the Mirzapur District, and related in his *Folklore of Northern India*. In that legend, the hero tests his still maiden-wife's chastity by stretching a loin-cloth across the entrance to his camp. Other women stepped over it, but her delicacy was so excessive that she refused—to her husband's satisfaction.[1] We have already learned something of the virtue of loin-cloths in putting an end to barrenness.

To recur for a moment to the ceremonies at sacred stones: on the islands of Ambon and Uliase, in the East Indies, barren women often place offerings on the sacred stone of the commune and afterwards, for they are supposed to be Christians, go to the church to pray.[2] There is a miraculous stone on the sacred hill of Nikko in Japan at which women who want to become mothers throw stones, sure of having their ambition gratified if they succeed in striking it. A traveller recording the custom says maliciously they seem very clever at the game. In the Uyeno Park at Tokio is a seated statue of Buddha. Whoso succeeds in flinging a stone upon the sacred knees attains the same result. At Whitchurch, near Cardiff, in the eighteenth century, a woman animated by the wish for children would go on Easter Monday to the parish churchyard, armed with two dozen tennis-balls, half of them covered with white leather and the other half with black, and would throw them over the church. As they fell on the other side the villagers—no doubt

[1] Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* ii. 161. [2] Riedel, 75.

children—would struggle for them. The operation was to be repeated every year until the woman's wish was accomplished.[1] This might perhaps depend on the children's success in picking up the balls, which in passing over the church would have probably acquired magical power. Closely allied with this are some forms of divination and rites to assure marriage. In France young girls, to learn whether they will be married during the year, throw a sou through the doorway of a little chapel at Echemiré dedicated to the Virgin. If the coin rest on the altar the girl who has thrown it obtains a favourable omen; if it fall back she will have to wait as many years as there are paving-stones between the piece of money and the altar. Similar divination is practised at the chapel of Saint Goustan at Croisic by throwing a pin through the hole in a window-shutter. At Jodoigne a very old statue now in a chapel was formerly in a niche fastened on an ancient tree. About five metres from the ground the principal branches of this tree formed another niche into which girls tried to toss stones. If the stone remained in the niche the thrower's hopes were gratified; but if it fell back she would have to wait awhile for a lover.[2] At the top of Mount Rustup in Russian Armenia is the tomb of a holy hermit visited by numerous pilgrims every year on the eighth of July. The women seek fecundity at the spring which rises near the tomb. One of the stones of the mausoleum is pierced with a number of cup-markings in which the youths and maidens play at a game of divination with small stones. If a stone thrown by any one

[1] *Mél.* vi. 154, 258, quoting *Byegones*.
[2] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv. 139.

remains in the cup, it prognosticates marriage in the course of the year.[1] All these, it may be suspected, were first of all fertilising rites.

Among the votive offerings in Roman Catholic Churches on the continent of Europe, the waxen baby is a constant spectacle. In the Tirol there are miraculous images beside which little waxen figures in the shape of toads are hung. These figures are called *Muettern*. It is believed that every woman has inside her a creature in this form—a belief due to symptoms of hysteria common among women. Many a mother has gone to sleep with her mouth open and the *muetter* has crept out and gone to bathe in the nearest water. If she does not close her mouth, the *muetter* by-and-by gets back safely, and the woman, previously sick, is restored to health. But if she close her mouth, she dies. Unfruitful women offer these waxen figures to images of the Madonna, or of the Pietà.[2] On the Gold Coast, Bassamese women who are possessed by a demon of barrenness meet at the fetish hut and deposit consecrated vases and figures of clay representing mothers nursing, while they present to the fetish offerings of tobacco and handkerchiefs. The demons are frightened away by the noise of fire-arms, drums, and the blowing of horns. The officiating chief makes an offering of gold-dust, and then spirts a mouthful of rum over the belly of every woman who desires issue. An improvised

[1] *L'Anthrop.* viii. 482.

[2] Zingerle, *Sitten*, 26. Ploss (*Weib*, i. 444) reproduces a photograph of one of these votive figures bought by the author in a wax-chandler's shop at Salzburg as recently as 1890. Another form of the *muetter* is that of a ball stuck with spikes, of which an account is given by Dr. Wilhelm Hein, *Zeits. des Vereins*, x. 420.

banquet brings the solemnity to a close.[1] Votive figures of the kind mentioned, as well as the ruder offerings of pins, rags and stones found over the greater part of the world, are not merely intended to keep the divinity in mind of the suppliant and of her desire. They also act (as I have argued elsewhere) in the capacity of conductor between the divinity and the suppliant, so that the influence of the immediate presence of the former, surrounding and enfolding the votive figure or other offering, surrounds and enfolds likewise the person represented or on whose behalf the offering is dedicated. Moreover the figures may also officiate as symbolic dedications of mother or child to the supernatural being whose aid is invoked.

Nor is the deposit of a votive offering indispensable. Religious faith often imputes to its object the power to work the miracle desired, if only that power be sufficiently excited by the votary's prayers or promises. The dedication of oneself, or as in the case of Hannah the vow to dedicate the child, achieves the result. Stories of this kind are too familiar to need mention; and doubtless the belief still exists in Europe and other civilised lands. On the Slave Coast of Guinea an Otchi Negress will devote herself in the same way to a fetish (that is, to a particular god in the pantheon) conditionally on its giving her children. If a child be born, it is a fetish-child and is considered to belong to the fetish, just as Samuel belonged to Yahve, or as in many of the tales the child is given by an ogre upon the stipulation that it shall belong to him and be fetched away, either when he pleases or at a fixed

[1] Featherman, *Nigritians*, 139, quoting Hecquard.

period.[1] In this case there does not seem to be a deposit of any votive figure. Further, when recourse is had to a sorcerer instead of a divinity such deposit is indeed inappropriate. On the Equatorial Nile Ledju, the hereditary Chief Rainmaker of the Bari tribe, includes in his professional duties that of "inducing women to bring forth large families." His manner of procedure is original. He has an iron rod about three feet long and about an inch in diameter, armed at either end with a hollow iron bulb enclosing bits of stone. When the husband brings a would-be mother to him the sorcerer grasps the instrument in the centre with the right hand and shakes it over and around her, at the same time muttering an incantation. It is possible that this is an exorcism. The offerings are of course of that substantial character which the sorcerer's rank and reputation demand.[2]

A very common magical process takes the form of simulating the result intended. As applied to the purpose of procuring children religious worship is often combined with the magical proceeding. When a woman on the Babar islands in the Malay Archipelago desires a child a man who has many children is first called in to pray to Upulero. To that end her husband collects fifty or sixty old and young kalapa-fruits, while she prepares a doll about twenty inches long of red cotton. On the appointed day the man goes to the wife's hut, puts the husband and wife

[1] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 439.

[2] *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 21. The Lillooet Indians of British Columbia have shamans who can make barren women bear children or make women have male or female children as they may desire. But what the process is we are not informed (Teit, *Jesup Exped.* ii. 287). The pretension is, it need hardly be said, very widespread.

to sit together, and sets before them a platter containing sirih-pinang and a young kalapa-fruit. The woman holds the doll in her hands as if she were suckling it. The kalapa-fruit is opened, and both husband and wife are sprinkled with the juice. The assistant then takes a fowl, holds its feet against the woman's head and prays, apparently in her name: "O Upulero! make use of this fowl, let fall a man, let him descend, I pray thee, I implore thee, let fall a man, let him descend into my hands and on my lap." He asks the woman: "Is the child come?" She answers: "Yes, it is already sucking." Then he touches the husband's head with the fowl's feet and mutters certain formulæ. Thereupon the fowl is put to death by a blow against the posts of the hut, opened, and the veins about the heart are examined for the purpose of augury. Whatever augury may be drawn from them, the fowl is laid on the platter with the sirih-pinang and put on the domestic altar. The news is spread in the village that the woman is pregnant, and every one comes to wish her joy and receives in return one of the dried kalapa-fruits. The husband borrows a cradle, in which the doll is placed, and for seven days it is treated as a new-born child.[1] Here in addition to the prayer and sacrifice, which might be found anywhere, the Babar islander pretends that the prayer has been granted, and acts accordingly. It might be a question whether some of the methods

[1] Riedel, 353. Note that the man who performs the rite is already rich in children, and therefore in that very quality which is sought. This must be a powerful magical influence tending to the success of the rite. Since the above was written an account has been published of a similar ceremony in Ceylon (W. L. Hildburgh, *J. A. I.* xxxviii. 184).

of procuring children recounted in the foregoing pages had not sprung from the elementary therapeutics of the lower culture, and were not intended to act mechanically or as a drug upon the body of wife or husband, so as to remove a physical incapacity or ailment which prevented the bearing or begetting of children. Simulation does not admit of any such explanation: it is simply magic. Although therefore it is not one of the causes prominent in the stories of supernatural birth it deserves notice as strengthening the general argument that conception in early stages of culture is held to be procured by other than natural means.

A frequent form of simulation for the purpose of obtaining children is found in the custom of putting a boy to sit on the bride's lap at a wedding. The ceremony was usual among the ancient Aryans and is prescribed in the *Âpastamba*.[1] It is still followed in the east of Europe and elsewhere.[2] In Sweden on the night preceding her nuptials the bride should have a boy-baby to sleep with her, in which case her first-born will be a son.[3] Among the Hindus of the Panjab at the first menstruation of a woman after the marriage has been consummated, she is shut up in a dark room under a strict taboo. She must not use milk, oil or meat. On a day chosen as auspicious by a Brahman, and while she is still impure, all her female relatives assemble and wash her head with *gondhana*. Then after she has bathed five cakes of flour, walnuts and pomegranates are put in her lap with a pretty child, that she too may bear a child. Looking into its face

[1] Winternitz, 23, 75; Schroeder, 123.
[2] Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.* 357. [3] Lloyd, 85.

she gives it money and cakes, and then the family priest makes her worship Ganpatî. The women spend the night in singing; and the priest receives a fee in money as well as the things offered to the goddess.[1] At Salem in Massachusetts it is said that if a baby, the first time it is taken visiting, be laid on a married couple's bed there will be a baby for that couple.[2] In England to rock an empty cradle is to rock a new baby into it; and the superstition has been carried by settlers to New England, where people say: "Rock a cradle empty, Babies will be plenty."[3]

Barren women very generally among the Negroes and Bantu carry dolls which they treat as children. Thus, an Agni or Gau-ne of the Ivory Coast will carry a wooden doll on her back as she would carry a real babe.[4] A woman of the Wapogoro makes a doll out of a calabash with a bunch of short strings at its upper end fastened to a dried wild-banana core; and the more tenderly she cuddles and caresses the doll the sooner she will have a child.[5] Dolls carried and hugged by Kaffir women in South Africa are to be seen in many museums: they are not to be mistaken for idols. The museum of the London Missionary Society used to possess a Bechuana doll used for this purpose. It consisted "of a long calabash like a

[1] H. A. Rose. *J. A. I.* xxxv. 271. A similar ceremony is practised by brides in South Roumania (*Globus*, xciv. 318).

[2] Bergen, *Curr. Superst.* 25.

[3] *Ibid.* 24, 25. In some parts of England it is said to be unlucky to rock an empty cradle (Addy, 98). This perhaps refers to the converse superstition current in New York that to rock a cradle when the baby is not in it will kill the baby (Bergen, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Binger, ii. 230; Delafosse, *L'Anthrop.* iv. 444.

[5] Dr. H. Fabry, *Globus*, xci. 219.

bottle, wound round with strings of beads."[1] The Museum at Bloemfontein contains a doll of a most elaborate character, made of seeds and beads, and stated to be carried by a childless woman in some tribe unspecified in the Transvaal. The Museum at Pretoria contains wooden figures said to be used by barren Magwamba women, who nurse and play with them as a means of obtaining children.[2] Among the sacred legends of the Batutsi of Ruanda is one which appears to ascribe this practice to the direct institution of the "Creator." In the early days mankind dwelt in the sky with him. There was a married woman who was sterile. So she went with a gift of honey pombe milk butter and skins into the "Creator's" presence and prayed him for a child. On condition of secrecy he granted her prayer. Taking some clay he moistened it with his saliva, kneaded and fashioned it into a small human figure. Giving it to the woman he directed her to place it in a jar and to fill the jar during nine months night and morning with milk; when its limbs were developed she might take it out, and it would be her child. She followed the directions implicitly until she heard it crying within the jar, when she took it out and presented it to her husband as her newborn child. The application to the "Creator" was repeated until she had in this way two sons and a daughter. Her sister also was barren and determined to extort the secret from her. Over some pombe she

[1] *J. A. I.* xvi. 179; Tylor, *E. Hist.* 109.

[2] These dolls are in human form elaborately carved. One represents a full-grown man wearing the chaplet only accorded to warriors and distinguished men after attaining a ripe age. Mr. Gottschling, missionary to the Bavenda, who visited the museum with me, suggested that their real use was in the puberty ceremonies.

unfortunately succeeded only too well. The enraged "Creator" cast the three children down to the earth, where they became the progenitors of the Batutsi.[1]

At Butha-Buthe in the north of Basutoland there is a piece of swampy ground called the Khapong, which we are told is regarded as "sacred to the spirit of maternity." A woman who has no children makes a wooden or clay doll, straps it on her back and bears it about like a living child for six months, after which it is laid in the Khapong as an offering to the spirit, together with bangles, beads or even money. If no child be born the woman has not yet found favour with the spirit; so she removes the doll from the Khapong and straps it on her back again, until the spirit is satisfied and the child is born. The lady to whose report we owe the mention of this practice knew of one woman who carried the doll for five years before her wish was granted.[2] Casalis, writing about fifty years ago, speaks of these dolls as rude effigies of clay, and says that "the name of some tutelary deity" (apparently some deceased ancestor) is given to them. The women "entreat the divinity to whom they have consecrated them, to give them the power of conception. They may often be seen all out of breath running from one village to another, to have dances performed in honour of their patron."[3] Here also simulation is

[1] Fath. Loupias, *Anthropos*, iii. 2.

[2] Martin, *Basutoland*, 18, 93. Some further inquiries should be made about this "spirit of maternity": the Basuto are ancestor-worshippers. Compare, however, the Zulu belief (doubtless common to other tribes) that mankind came out of a bed of reeds (Callaway, *Rel. Syst. passim*).

[3] Casalis, 265 (Eng. Ed. 251). A figure of the doll is given. These dolls are worn from the time the bride-price is settled until pregnancy (Endemann, *Zeits. f. Ethnol.* vi. 39).

combined with worship. Another account describes the doll as made either with a gourd or with clay and adorned with beads. A name is given to it, and it is carried and cared for as if it were a real child. Barren women perform a ceremony in connection with it, lasting two or three days. First a band of women go to a neighbouring village to steal a *lesokwana*, or wooden spatula with which the Basuto women stir their porridge. When this is accomplished they return garlanded with green herbs, singing and invoking Ntidi, the famous cripple mentioned on an earlier page, to succour the barren women. The latter are then scarified and scarred behind the shoulders, as in a Zulu tale the pigeons scarified the heroine on the loins to render her pregnant.[1] Native beer is prepared to be ready against the appointed day. When the day arrives all the women of the village go to the mountain; and when Ntidi was living the barren women bore him on their backs and were assisted from time to time by their companions. They enter a cave, where they remain all night singing the same song as after stealing the *lesokwana*, but they remain without food until the men find them. The next morning the men set out in search of them. Sometimes they do not find them that day; search is then renewed on a second. When the women are found, they are brought back crowned with herbs as when they went to steal the *lesokwana*; but they refuse to enter the village until they are conciliated with the present of an ox. The young girls, who alone have remained at home, then bring them food. The husbands of the barren women kill cattle in their honour and a grand feast is held. The

[1] Callaway, *Tales*, 67

barren women are smeared with red ochre antimony and white clay; and they wear the apron of women who have just given birth. They are presented to the assembly with their doll-babes. Men and women all sing and weep together, in a song lamenting the misfortune of those who have no children. During Ntidi's life he was passed from one to another of the women. Perched on their shoulders he too sang a song of lamentation. When the singing is ended the two fore-quarters of each of the animals slain is taken to the home of the maternal uncle of the woman for whom it was killed, as a formal announcement to him of what has taken place. The "mother" sleeps with the doll as if it were a real child; and she ceases not to carry it about until her real child is born. The latter then receives the name given to the doll, if of the same sex as the doll is supposed to be; otherwise another name is chosen. Since Ntidi's death a young unmarried man is chosen to accompany the women on their excursion to the mountain. Although, however, he supplies to some extent the place of Ntidi he does not ride on their shoulders as the cripple did. The cult of Ntidi is said to be disappearing: the medicine-men now cure sterility by their "medicines."[1]

A similar fusion of magic and religion has been found among the Huichol of Mexico. A woman desirous of children deposits in a cave near Santa Catarina sacred to a female divinity "a doll made of cotton-cloth, representing the baby wanted. After

[1] E. Jacottet, *Bull. Soc. Neuchat.* ix. 137. As to Ntidi, see *supra*, p. 88 He seems to have died in a great famine consequent upon an invasion by Fingoes in the year 1821. As to the doll, see also *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 366.

awhile she goes back to the cave, puts the doll under her girdle, and shortly afterwards is supposed to be pregnant."[1] About Behring Strait a barren Eskimo woman consults a shaman who makes or gets the husband to make a small doll, over which he performs certain secret rites, and the woman is directed to sleep with it under her pillow.[2] On the other side of the strait Chukchi girls play with dolls. Some of these dolls are charms to procure fertility for their owners. They "pass from mother to daughter, and are kept carefully patched and mended so as to last for an indefinite time. The bride brings this doll to her new house and keeps it in her bag. In due time she gives it to her oldest daughter to play with and to keep. When other daughters are born a little stuffing is taken out of the hereditary doll and put into a new one, which is then supposed to possess all the qualities of the first doll. Dolls of this kind are usually shaped like new-born babies. Incantations are recited over them by each generation, so that their force is supposed to increase continually."[3] In Japan when a marriage is unfruitful a ceremony called *kasedori* is performed. The old women of the neighbourhood come to the house on the festival of Sahe no Kami, the phallic god, which is held on the first full moon of the year, and there go through the form of delivering the wife of a child. The infant is represented by a doll.[4] A Chinese woman goes further: she adopts a little girl to produce conception—a practice for which an

[1] Lumholtz, *Mem. Am. Mus. N. H.* Anthrop. ii. 52.

[2] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xviii. 435. There is said to be a similar practice in New Caledonia (Saintyves, *Les Vierges Mères*, 61).

[3] Bogoras, *Jesup Exped.* vii. 367.

[4] Aston, *Shinto*, 331.

elaborate reason is assigned. In the invisible world, it is said, every woman is represented by a tree which bears as many flowers as she is fated to bear children. If the tree bear no flowers she will be naturally sterile; and then just as a fruit-tree is grafted with the shoot of another tree to make it bring forth fruit, so by adopting a child the childless woman hopes to produce on her tree in the spiritland the germination of flowers, and thus to become herself fruitful.[1] Among the Thai of Tonkin it is customary when a man has no children to adopt a son from another family, though no father can be found to part with a son save in the direst misery. A child thus adopted is regarded as a bringer of luck; and he is believed often as among the Chinese to procure fertility for his adoptive mother.[2]

Fertilisation may also take place by the eye, as in some of the stories. Dulaure cites a certain Saint Arnaud whose phallic statue, more decent than those of some other saints, was clothed with an apron. Only in favour of sterile women who came to pray for offspring was the apron lifted; and the sight disclosed was enough, with faith, to work miracles.[3] The belief in the Evil Eye has not wholly disappeared in this country. The power of causing conception by a fixed gaze or glare of the eyes seems to be credited to foreigners. At least one instance of this kind has been

[1] Doolittle, i. 113. The practices discussed above raise the suspicion that our own children's dolls may have originated in the same kind of magic. Another European practice appears referable to it. In the Prättigau valley of Eastern Switzerland at the time of vintage women make little dolls of rags and stealthily seek to attach them to one another's clothing (Hoffmann-Krayer, *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, xi. Basel, 1907, 268).

[2] Antoine Bourlet, *Anthropos*, ii. 364, 365.

[3] Dulaure, 210.

related in recent years by a woman, who believed her sister to have been thus acted on. When the gaze "has caused the girl to feel helpless and motionless, the man sends his hot breath over her face, and if she possesses no power of resistance the harm is done." The man in the case referred to was a foreigner, "an Italian, or something like that," very dark, with black eyes and hair. The victim was said to have seen him only on that one occasion; and the story was told as a warning against letting girls, especially fair girls, have any acquaintance with foreigners.[1]

Reviewing the rites and beliefs here brought together, it will be seen that no mention has been made, as in some of the tales, of the power of the wind as the source of fecundity in women, or of the sense of smell or hearing as the channel of that fecundity. It was, however, held in classic times that partridges were impregnated in some such way; for Pliny tells us that if the female only stood opposite to the male, and the wind blew from him towards her, or if he simply flew over her head, or very often if she merely heard his voice, it would be enough.[2] The belief was equally common, and not merely used for a poetical ornament by Vergil, but repeated without question as a literal fact by men of lofty intellect and wide attainments like Pliny and Augustine, that mares were, in Lusitania, as the former asserts, or in Cappadocia, according to the latter, fertilised by wind.[3] Mohammedan tradition

[1] *F. L.* ix. 83.

[2] Pliny, x. 51. He is only echoing Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* v. 4. Athenæus (*Deipnos.* ix. 42) improves upon the statement by saying that sight of the cock is enough. It appears that in France the belief lasted into the sixteenth century (Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 169).

[3] Pliny, viii. 67; Aug. *Civ. Dei.* xxi. 5.

spoke of a preadamite race consisting entirely of women who conceived (daughters only) by the wind, and as I have already said of an Isle of Women thus peopled.[1] If the inhabitants of the district of Lampong, in the island of Sumatra, be not maligned, they at the beginning of the present century believed all the population on the neighbouring island of Engano to be females who were impregnated in the same manner.[2] The Arunta of Central Australia still hold that a storm from the west sometimes brings evil *ratapa*, or child-germs, that seek to enter women. As the storm approaches, the women with a loud cry hasten to huddle themselves up in the shelter of their rudimentary huts; for if they become thus impregnated twins will be the result, and they will die shortly after delivery. The first-born twin is the evil *ratapa*. This belief is adduced to justify the murder of twins.[3]

The ancient nations of the Mediterranean basin, accomplished as they were in the arts of life, had imbibed very little of the true scientific spirit that searches out the facts of nature, whether in immediate relation to themselves or not. They were (individual exceptions apart) content to accept a wonder upon authority without inquiring into the evidence, the antecedent improbability awakening hardly more doubts in their minds than in those of savages or mediæval monks. The statements just cited of the sexual intercourse of partridges and the fertilisation of Lusitanian mares are of a piece with other beliefs which they took no pains to verify. They would not

[1] *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, 17, 71.
[2] Marsden, 297. Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii. 340, cites other cases.
[3] Strehlow, 14.

have questioned the tale repeated in the previous chapter of the impregnation of a fish by the mouth, for they held that that was the normal method among fishes.[1] Moreover, Ælian reports Egyptian gossip as declaring that the ibis effected coition and laid its eggs by the same channel; nor on this particular statement has the rhetorician any qualms, though he boggles at the exaggerations of the embalmers concerning the enormous length of the sacred bird's intestines.[2] The lizard or crocodile which appears upon Minerva's breast on certain gems is said to be explained by the belief that this animal, like the Virgin Mary in the hymn already cited, conceived by the ear, though unlike her it brought forth by the mouth.[3] Pliny indeed ventured to question the existence of the phœnix; but it seems to have been commonly accepted that the female vulture had no intercourse with the male—a belief to which Origen appeals in the support of the doctrine of the Virgin Birth of Jesus Christ.[4]

Such credulity still lingers among semi-civilised peoples, as well as among the uneducated classes of Europe. The Annamites declare that the rabbit breeds by the mouth.[5] In Cambodia it is said that peacocks do not couple like other birds: when they erect their tails they drop the semen on the ground, and the peahens are fecundated by picking it up.[6] I have found a similar belief among the peasantry of Gloucestershire, where I am writing. It is known in Anglesey, and is probably general throughout the

[1] Herod. ii. 93; Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* ix. 63.
[2] Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 29.
[3] King, *Gnostics*, 107.
[4] Origen, *Contra Cels.* i. 37.
[5] *Rev. Trad. Pop.* xii. 419.
[6] Aymonier, *Excursions*, xvi. 150.

country. In Yorkshire and Norfolk the same thing is said of turkeys; and it is reported from somewhere in Siberia of the capercailzie.[1] No doubt it is a widespread belief, founded upon a superficial observation of some of the habits of different species of animals.

As I have already pointed out, it cannot be asserted that in every instance of the practices collected in the present chapter pregnancy is believed to be caused, as in the tales, by the means prescribed apart from sexual intercourse. It is obvious however that even where we cannot make this assertion the practices are intended to have some effect. They must have originated at an early stage of culture when no clear notion of cause and effect was possible, and when the distinction between natural and supernatural was hardly drawn. At that stage man attributed to every object in his environment, whether human or non-human, a mystic potentiality, an atmosphere, which was greater or less not always according to the actual qualities of the object but according to his ignorance of it and his hopes his fears his fancies concerning it. Hence his relations with many of the non-human objects and probably in some degree with all or nearly all of them would be best described as religious or magical: they would depend upon the performance of ceremonies and the observance of ritual prohibitions and regulations. We must not wonder therefore if we find ascribed to many objects thaumaturgic powers and qualities we now know to be impossible, and if to obtain the benefit of those qualities and powers rites and observances meaningless to us are deemed necessary. Among the

[1] *F. L.* viii. 375; ix. 82.

purposes for which these objects would be employed that of acting on the human organism would often hold a prominent place. Until magic and religion are differentiated from medicine the rites and observances connected with their employment are vague and indeterminate in their aspect, and the exact operation of the objects employed is not even questioned. We need not here discuss the relation between magic and religion: it is at all events beyond doubt that they have been intimately connected from the earliest times. A very superficial examination of the history of medicine suffices to show how tardy was the process of its differentiation from both. To refer here only to magic, medical treatises right down to the close of the Middle Ages teem with prescriptions not merely valueless in themselves for therapeutic action, but obviously of magical origin. Nor are such prescriptions by any means absent from medical treatises composed long since the Revival of Learning; while the repertory of the peasant-doctor abounds with them even yet. Many of the practices recorded in the foregoing pages belong to this class, and we must not be surprised if they wear more or less of a medicinal aspect. They must not however, be considered alone. Their medicinal aspect is delusive. Their true connections are with a much larger number of practices directed to the same end and bearing no therapeutic interpretation. They must be correlated with these, and not with these only but with the stories of supernatural birth in which the same or analogous means are employed for the same purpose and are spoken of as the direct cause of birth independent of the union of the sexes. Nor is this all. These practices and stories must also be compared

with puberty and marriage rites having fecundation for their object, avowed or inferential, with the prohibitions at puberty and on other occasions for the purpose of avoiding irregular fecundation, and lastly with the positive beliefs current among various peoples as to the fecundation of certain of the lower animals and even of women by other than the natural means.[1] All are of the same origin: stories practices and beliefs are all inexplicably interwoven into one pattern. From their consideration we are justified in concluding that it was a widespread belief in early times that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by sexual intercourse.

Such a conclusion would be startling if the belief we suppose had arisen in the midst of a civilised society. It originated in an intellectual atmosphere very different from that of modern civilisation. But the difference of the intellectual atmosphere is not alone sufficient to account for it: a difference of social environment is also required. The general result of anthropological evidence is to lead to the conviction that mankind has evolved from a state socially as well as mentally more backward than that of the lowest savages now extant. To form an opinion on the social conditions in which the belief in conception, and consequently birth, by other than the natural cause originated, it is necessary to undertake an inquiry into certain social regulations and practices in the lower culture.

[1] Of all these we have given examples. The argument would have been strengthened if space had permitted a consideration of agricultural rites. Fields and fruit-trees are often treated in a manner analogous to the treatment of barren women. The treatment of many of the lower animals by similar methods has been noticed incidentally.

But as a preliminary to this inquiry we must complete our study of the stories, beliefs and practices in reference to birth by an examination of those in which birth is represented as a return of creatures, human or non-human, who have previously lived and died.

CHAPTER III

TRANSFORMATION AND METEMPSYCHOSIS

Birth is often a new manifestation of a previously existing personage. Ballads and stories in which the dead manifest themselves as trees. Corresponding beliefs and practices. Transformation after death into brute-form. The converse. Transformation of brutes and vegetables into human beings by birth. Buddhist doctrine of Transmigration. Celtic doctrine. New birth of human beings. Belief in multiple souls. Rites to ascertain which of the ancestors has returned. Naming a child after a deceased member of the family. Rites to secure a transfer of life. Australian beliefs in re-birth. Warehouse of children. Relation between Transformation and Transmigration.

THE hero of many tales of Supernatural Birth is not a new personage; he is simply a new manifestation. He had previously existed in other shapes, and by undergoing birth (preceded sometimes, but not always, by death) he was entering on a new career, he was ascending a new stage of being. In the Egyptian tale the persea-trees are expressly identified with the murdered Bata; and when they are cut down a splinter flies into the heroine's mouth rendering her pregnant—of Bata once more. Yehl, the Thlinkit hero, repeatedly became the son of ladies who were beguiled into swallowing a pebble, a blade of grass or even a drop of water, which was no other than the demi-god

in disguise. What is expressly asserted in stories like these may be inferred from others. In the most widely diffused modern type of *märchen* belonging to the cycle of Perseus, a fish being caught directs that its flesh shall be given to the fisherman's wife, while the bones and the scales and other offal are to be given to the mare and the bitch or otherwise disposed of. The woman becomes pregnant of the flesh, the mare and bitch of the bones scales, and so forth. We can only interpret the careful directions given by the fish as to how it was to be cooked and eaten and how its remains were to be disposed of, the exact correspondence of the twins or triplets who are born of the woman and their horses dogs and other property with these directions when they are duly followed, and the mystic connection between the offspring, as evidence that they are a new birth of the fish. Nor are these inferences to be confined to the stories. The belief in birth as a new manifestation of a previously existent personage appears from the practices, detailed in the last chapter, in which portions of corpses are utilised to promote conception. The subject is so important not merely in the general study of savage ideas, but in relation to the belief that conception is due to other than the natural cause that it is necessary to discuss it further.

In so doing I do not propose to consider *märchen*. Interesting as these are we must for reasons of space pass them by. The reader will doubtless be willing to assume their existence and wide diffusion. I shall confine myself as far as possible to evidence of belief, using even sagas as sparingly as possible.

But we must begin with sagas and ballads. A

favourite theme in Western folksong is that of the lovers brought, like Tristram and Isolte, to a tragic end, from whose graves two trees grow and intertwine their branches as if they were joined in a lasting embrace. In this country the incident is perhaps most frequently associated with the name of the ballad of *Fair Margaret and Sweet William;* but it is also found in several others.[1] There is hardly a country on the continent of Europe in which it does not occur. It has even been recorded among the traditions of the Schluh in the south of Morocco; the Kurds and Afghans repeat it; and it is familiar as far away as China. It is obvious that the trees are merely the lovers transformed. A Lesbian ballad says in so many words that the bride poisoned by her mother-in-law became a lemon-tree and her bridegroom who died for love a cypress, and that every Easter, every Sunday and feast-day the two lovers embraced. Another also expressly identifies a reed growing from the bridegroom's grave and a cypress growing from the bride's with the unhappy lovers themselves. They wished to embrace while living; they do so now that they are dead.[2]

Moreover the kind of tree thus growing from a grave is often held to be an index of the character of the deceased. Indeed among the Kirghiz every one on whose grave a tree grows spontaneously is deemed a saint.[3] In Iceland the mountain-ash is regarded as sacred. A story localised in two places is told of a

[1] Child, *Ballads*, i. 96, and under the headings of the various ballads there mentioned.

[2] Georgeakis et Pineau, 208, 220.

[3] Featherman, *Tur.* 269.

tenderly attached brother and sister accused of incest and in spite of their denials condemned to capital punishment and executed. Before death they earnestly with tears prayed, beseeching the almighty and all-knowing God to make their innocence manifest and desiring their friends and kindred to procure them to be buried in the same grave. They were buried one on either side of the church; and a mountain-ash grew out of each of their graves, meeting above the roof of the church and uniting their branches so closely that they could hardly be separated. This was regarded as a sign of their innocence and their desire to rest together in the same grave.[1] Among the peasantry of the Riviera thorns or nettles growing on the grave are a sign of the damnation of the dead; if other plants grow he is happy; if a mixture he is in purgatory.[2] Similar superstitions and stories illustrative of them are found throughout Europe. In the game of "Old Roger is dead," a favourite among children in England, we probably have a last echo of them. The story chanted in the game runs substantially as follows:

> Old Roger is dead and lies in his grave;
> There grew a fine apple-tree over his head;
> The apples are ripe and ready to drop;
> There came an old woman apicking them up;
> Old Roger jumped up and he gave her a knock;
> He made the old woman go hippity-hop.

Some of the versions speak of the tree as being planted; and Mrs. Gomme in commenting on the game aptly refers to Aubrey's *Remaines of Gentilisme*,

[1] V. *Am Urquell*, 120.
[2] J. B. Andrews, *Rev. Trad. Pop.* ix. 117.

where the old antiquary reports concerning the parish of Ockley, in Surrey, a custom of planting roses at the grave of a deceased lover, adding as a conclusion of his own "they planted a tree or a flower on the grave of their friend, and they thought the soul of the party deceased went into the tree or plant."[1] Aubrey's conclusion is doubtless correct, if not for his own time, for one not many generations off; but it presents a development of the original conception, his friend Mrs. Smyth's "notion of men being metamorphosed into trees and flowers," which he damns as "ingeniose," being much nearer the truth than he seems to imagine.

In India the legend of Krishna relates that his wife Rukminî died in his absence. Her body was burnt and the ashes buried in a new earthenware jar according to the prescribed ritual. When Krishna returned and was shown the burial-place a tulsi-plant had grown upon it. This plant was Rukminî in a new form; and hence the tulsi is regarded as sacred.[2] In the Molucca Islands there is a tree which bears during the night from sunset to sunrise a rapid succession of fragrant white flowers. To account for this phenomenon the inhabitants of Ternate have a tradition that there was once a beautiful woman who was beloved by the Sun, and who, being deserted by her fickle lover, slew herself. Her body was, in accordance with the custom of the country, burnt; and from her ashes arose the tree, called by the early Portuguese

[1] Mrs. Gomme, ii. 16; Aubrey, *Remaines*, 155. According to the Book of Ballymote an apple-tree grew up through the grave of Aillem, daughter of Lughaid, King of Leinster, who died of shame on being ravished away by Cremh (*Silva Gad.* ii. 531).

[2] *Anthropos*, ii. 276.

voyagers the Tree of Sorrow.[1] East and west, literally "from China to Peru" as well as in the Pacific islands, a similar origin has been attributed to a large number of trees, particularly to those like the cocoa-tree, the areca-palm, and the coca-tree, which are useful to mankind. In Borneo Sir Hugh Low was once walking in the jungle with a Land Dyak from a neighbouring village when a large snake crossed their path. The Dyak drew his parang and raised his arm to strike, but suddenly stopped. Sir Hugh asked him the reason, and he said that the bamboo-bush opposite to which they were standing had been a man and one of his relations who, dying about ten years previously, had appeared in a dream to his widow and informed her that he had become that bamboo-tree, and the ground about it and everything on it were sacred on that account. He went on to say that in spite of that warning a man had once had the hardihood to cut a branch from the tree, in consequence of which he soon after died—a punishment for his sacrilegious act. A small bamboo altar was erected before the bush, and Sir Hugh Low noted that upon it were the remnants of offerings presented, though not recently, to the spirit of the tree.[2]

The belief that a tree growing on a grave is thus a transformation of the dead man within has led to the planting of trees for the purpose of providing a new body for the deceased. Aubrey in a passage already quoted referred to the planting of roses in England.

[1] *Rev. Trad. Pop.* ix. 75, quoting Argensola, *Histoire de la Conquête des Isles Moluques* (Amsterdam, 1706). A Creole story from Louisiana attributes a similar origin to the ash-tree; hence its name (Alcée Fortier, *Journ. Am. F. L.* xix. 126).

[2] Roth, *Sarawak*, i. 265, quoting Low.

A Chinese anecdote gives expression in very pointed form to the belief which prompts the practice. "On Mount Poh-mang there is the grave of the chaste woman Li. Her husband having departed this life she buried him and planted a couple of cypresses in front of the tomb. After a while a cow bit off five inches from the top of the left tree; and when the woman was informed of this she exclaimed: 'The left one [*i.e.*, that on the principal side] is my husband,' and she ran to the grave. Wailing so bitterly that it was painful to behold, she caressed the cypress, and ere the night was gone it had grown up again as high as the tree on the right hand side. After her death she was buried in the same grave." In another story two chestnut-trees planted on the grave of husband and wife intertwine their branches, "a proof in the eyes of the people that the souls of husband and wife . . . had assimilated themselves each with one of those trees."[1] In Fiji, if a family lose three young children successively a banana is planted on the tomb of the last buried.[2] The missionary who reports this custom suggests that the banana is a sacrifice to the ancestral manes who came to eat the children. It is more likely to be attributable to the belief we are discussing. On the island of Ceram the wives of the deceased plant a tree (usually the *Pavetta Indica*) on the grave, probably for the same reason.[3] Among the Gallas of Abyssinia aloe is planted upon the grave; and if it grow it is taken as a sign that the dead man is happy.[4] A German practice is

[1] De Groot, *op. cit.* ii. 469, 467. [2] *Anthropos*, ii. 74.
[3] Bastian, *Indonesien*, i. 149.
[4] Krapf, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika* (Stuttgart, 1858), i. 102.

manifestly a relic of a belief similar to that recorded in the foregoing tales and superstitions. If a farmer have several times a foal or calf die, he buries one of them in the garden, planting a young willow in its mouth. When the tree grows up it is never polled or lopped, but is allowed to grow its own way, and is believed to guard the farm from future casualties of the same kind.[1] The meaning of this practice can hardly be better illustrated than by a Kaffir custom. Among some tribes of Kaffirs when twins are born they are examined, and the one appearing the more delicate is suffocated by placing a clod of earth in its mouth. When dead it is buried near the doorway of the hut, and a dwarf aloe is planted over the grave. "The aloe is regarded in some way as the living representative of the dead infant; its spirit or shade is supposed to be in it, or to be hovering about it. When it is planted its spines are carefully cut away, that the survivor may play about it and drag himself up by it and make himself

[1] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1811. The following are perhaps traceable to the same idea; but they are too doubtful to record in the text: "In Derbyshire, when cattle, such as horses and cows, die, it is usual to bury them under fruit-bearing trees in the orchard" (Addy, 132). In the sixteenth century it was believed in France that a dead dog or other carrion buried at the foot of a tree which had lost its vigour would restore it; and the same property is attributed to a dead cat (Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iii. 377). A Sicilian *märchen* speaks with a less uncertain voice. The hero having won the king's daughter by the performance of a ploughing task with the help of a magical ox, the ox is killed by his own directions for the marriage-feast, and its bones are buried in the newly prepared land, except one leg which is put under the pillows of the bridal bed. The bride dreams of fruit, awakes and plucks it. The field where the bones are buried is found full of all sorts of fruit-trees, laden with fruit (Pitrè, *Bibl.* iv. 243). Here the fruit is clearly the magical ox in a new manifestation.

strong, as he would have done with his fellow-twin had he been permitted to live." [1]

Concerning the belief of the Dieri tribe of South Australia we are told: "There are places covered by trees which are held very sacred, the larger ones being supposed to be the remains of their fathers metamorphosed. The natives never hew them, and should the settlers require to cut them down, they earnestly protest against it, asserting they would have no luck and themselves might be punished for not protecting their ancestors." [2] Further to the north in Central Australia it is a common belief that where their mythical ancestors "went into the ground" a stone or a tree arose to mark the spot. "In the Arunta tribe every individual has his or her Nanja tree or rock at the spot where the old ancestor left his spirit-part when he went down into the ground. . . . This rock or tree and its immediate surroundings are sacred, and no plant or animal found there may be killed or eaten by the individual who is thus associated with the spot. In all essential features, but with variation in details, the same idea is found in the beliefs of the Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes." [3] Such a tree or rock is beyond all doubt a transformation of the totem-ancestor. The sagas identify it over and over again; and the only dispute among modern observers who record the facts is whether the tree, the rock, the churinga, or whatever the object may be, is a transformation of the totem-ancestor himself or merely of his "spirit-part." [4]

[1] Callaway, *Journ. Anthr. Soc.* iv. cxxxviii.

[2] Gason, *The Dieyerie Tribe*, quoted Brough Smyth, i. 426 note.

[3] S. and G. *North. Tribes*, 448.

[4] Strehlow, i. Preface, and *passim*; *Globus*, xci. 288. *See post*, p. 241 note.

The distinction for our present purpose is not vital. The Warramunga have a tradition of a man named Murtu-Murtu, or Bullroarer, who lived in mythical times and was torn to pieces by two wild dogs. These had been excited by the continual noise he made, like that of a bullroarer. They threw the pieces of his flesh about in all directions. As these pieces flew through the air they made the sound of the bullroarer, and trees called *nananthá* sprang up where they fell on the earth. Out of such trees the natives now make their bullroarers. The dogs ran about biting the trees, in the hope that they would thus be able to kill the spirit of the man which had gone into them.[1] The trees were thus a transformation of the unfortunate Murtu-murtu. Dowed and Abmádam, the forefather and foremother of the Larrakia tribe near Port Darwin, when they died turned into trees, which a few years ago were said to be still in existence and much reverenced.[2]

The Wanyamwezi of East Africa "declare that their patriarchal ancestor became after death the first tree and afforded shade to his children and descendants."[3] The Bushmen say that "girls who have been taken away by the water [that is, drowned] become like a beautiful water-flower which will not allow itself to be plucked and disappears when approached. Such flowers," we are wisely told, "must be let alone."[4] The

[1] S. and G. *North. Tribes*, 434.

[2] Curr, i. 253; *J. A. I.* xxiv. 191.

[3] Burton, *Lake Regions*, ii. 4. Burton goes on to say that "according to the Arabs the people still perform pilgrimage to a holy tree, and believe that the penalty of sacrilege in cutting off a twig would be visited by sudden and mysterious death." But it does not appear that this is the tree in question.

[4] Lloyd, *Rep.* 25.

Maidu inhabiting the foot-hills of the Sierra Nevada in California hold that "bad people" are changed into rocks and bushes.[1] A similar belief is obvious in the Bavarian saga concerning three women who led an abandoned life in a castle in the forest near Nüremberg, to which they enticed strangers and then plundered and put them to death. Their dwelling was eventually struck by lightning; they perished with it; but their souls entered three great trees. If one of the trees be cut down the soul passes over into another. After the bell for evening prayer has sounded a passer-by may hear from the tree-tops in the gloom soft voices calling him, or a mischievous titter; and he will think he catches sight of a beckoning form not obscurely between the branches.[2]

As in the case of trees so also plants of smaller growth have been referred to transformations of sacred or mysterious personages. The various American legends of the origin of maize are too well known to need repetition. The Brazilian legend of the manioc is similar. It was a maiden born to a chief's daughter who had never known man. She grew to maturity in a year, died without any disease and was buried in her mother's house. The grave was watered every day according to the ancient custom of the tribe, and in due course a plant grew up from it, flourished and bore fruit. It is called manioc, Mani's house or transformation.[3] The calabash-tree and the tobacco-plant

[1] R. Dixon, *Bull. Am. Mus. N. H.* xvii. 261.

[2] Mannhardt, *BK.* 41, citing Panzer. Frazer, *G. B.* i. 178, cites other cases of souls passing into trees which it is unnecessary to reproduce here.

[3] Granada, 216, citing Magalhães. See also Dorman, 293, citing m th's *Brasil;* von den Steinen, 369; *Journ. Am. F. L.* xx. 147.

are the subject of a similar legend among the Aztecs or Pipiles of Central America.[1] A scene portrayed on the walls of a chamber in the great temple of Isis at Philæ represents the dead body of Osiris with stalks of corn springing from it while a priest waters the stalks from a pitcher in his hand. This representation suggests that the sacred legend of Osiris was much to the same effect. It was probably only one of several such myths, for a manuscript in the Louvre refers to the cedar as sprung from him; his soul is elsewhere represented as inhabiting the tamarisk; he is spoken of as "the solitary one in the acacia"; on the monuments he sometimes appears as a mummy covered with a tree or with plants, and trees are represented as growing from his grave.[2]

In classical legends we meet everywhere cases of transformation, either before or after death, of men and women into trees or plants or into some of the lower animals. Indeed, Ovid's poetical compendium of mythical history derives its name and substance from the number and variety of these cases. One of the most famous is that of Attis, whose worship, together with that of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, was introduced from Phrygia to Rome in the year B.C. 204. We have already seen that the god's birth was caused by pomegranate-fruit which his mother laid in her bosom. He died, according to one account, by the attack of a boar; according to another, by loss of blood from self-mutilation in an access of frenzy. In

[1] C. V. Hartman, *Journ. Am. F. L.* xx. 144.

[2] Frazer, *Adonis*. 323, 342, citing and discussing several authorities. The adventures of Osiris as Bata have already been referred to, *supra*, p. 14.

either case he was believed to have been changed after death into a pine-tree.[1] Dr. Frazer has marshalled a number of arguments whence it is probable that Attis was originally a tree-spirit. Perhaps we may go one step further back and suggest that the worship was at first that of a sacred tree, and that the connection of this tree with a human being or an anthropomorphic divinity was a subsequent development.[2] Be that as it may, the legend as we have it, the worship as it is recorded for us, implied a belief in metamorphosis as a possible and actual occurrence consequent upon death. This belief must have descended to classic times from savagery.

Already we have seen that the belief in metamorphosis of this kind arises in savagery. Like many another belief equally baseless it survives under religious associations into higher stages of culture. Of the belief and its survival I proceed to give a few more illustrations, selected from an endless number found all over the world. Nor shall I distinguish between metamorphosis and metempsychosis. Before this branch of the inquiry is closed I shall consider the relation between such cases; in the meantime we may treat them as equivalent.

The pious Æneas, beholding the gorgeous snake that crept from his father's tomb and tasted his offering, was at a loss whether to recognise in the creature the genius of the place or an attendant on his

[1] Frazer, *Adonis*, 163 *sqq.*; the authorities are there collected and discussed.

[2] So the sacred trees of many countries are believed to be dwelt in by spirits, sometimes non-human, sometimes human. Annamite sacred trees include examples of both (*Anthropos*, ii. 959). They were probably sacred before they were thus haunted.

father in the other world.[1] The Zulu, not less pious, has no doubts. A chief after death turns into an *imamba* (a poisonous snake), a woman or an ordinary man turns into a thin brown whip-snake called *umhlwazi*, a very old woman into a *mabibini*, or little black snake. Such snakes are treated with respect when they visit the kraal. They are praised and offerings are made to them.[2] Other forms may also be assumed. That of dead queens is the tree-iguana; some men become wasps.[3] All the Bantu peoples indeed believe that the dead may become animals of various kinds, from elephants lions and hippopotami downwards; but the snake is the form most commonly ascribed to them.[4] Whether the animal, whatever it may be, reincorporates the soul of the deceased or is on the other hand a new manifestation of the body, the soul undergoing meanwhile a distinct and separate destiny, does not appear without doubt. The reincorporation of the soul is affirmed so circumstantially and by so many authors who have had opportunities of ascertaining the belief of the peoples of which they speak, that it is impossible to reject their testimony. Yet we have some evidence equally positive, that the animal manifestation is neither to be confounded with the soul nor is a reincorporation of it. Thus a recent writer says: "Both the Angoni and the Achewa believe in reincar-

[1] Vergil, *Æn.* v. 84. In Greece the Hero was frequently honoured under the form of a snake: Harrison, 325.

[2] *S. A. F. L. Journ.* ii. 101; Callaway, *Rel. Syst.* 140, 196, 199.

[3] Leslie, 213; Callaway, *op. cit.* 200.

[4] Thomas, *Eleven Years*, 280; *J. A. I.* xxi. 377; xxxvi. 50, 281, 291; Miss Werner, 64, 85; H. Trilles, *Bull. Soc. Neuchat. Géog.* xvi. 64; and many other authorities, some of which are enumerated by Dr. Frazer, *Adonis*, 73.

nation, some saying they turn into the object from which they derive their name, as their fathers and relations have before them; others, again, into some other animal not their totem-animal. . . . This idea of reincarnation does not appear consistent with the well-known fact that all these tribes are *manes*-worshippers; and neither is it, if one associates the idea of transformation of the body with that of transmigration of the soul. The soul, *mzimu*, does not enter into the animal; and the animal which is looked upon as the reincarnation of the dead relation does not have any human attribute whatever, and does not concern the native in any way. He does not propitiate it or appeal to it at any time, as he does to the *mzimu* or spirit which comes back to live in the hut in which it had its abode when alive; only he will not willingly eat it or destroy it."[1] So we are told concerning the rites on the death of a king of the Bahima, a Bantu people though by no means of pure blood, that the body is taken to Ensanzi the burial-place of the kings, where it lies in state until it swells and bursts. Ensanzi is a forest inhabited by sacred lions "said to be possessed by the spirits of former kings of Ankole." "In the forest is a temple; and attached to it are a number of priests whose duties are to feed and care for the lions, and to hold communications with the former kings when necessary." While the body is lying in state the priest "has to find a young cub to present to the people, because the swelling and collapse of the corpse represent pregnancy and the birth of the lion-king. Directly the collapse takes place a lion-cub is produced and the priest

[1] Raffray, 178, 198.

announces that the king has brought forth a lion. He presents the cub to the people and proceeds to feed it with milk. For some days the people remain until the cub has gained strength and begins to eat meat. All the interest and anxiety now centre in the cub; the corpse receives an ordinary burial and is forgotten; the king lives in the cub. When the cub grows up it is released and allowed to wander in the forest with the other lions. It is thus by no means fully tame; still it is less fierce than the ordinary wild lions, and it is accustomed to seek its food in a certain place from the hands of the priests." In a similar way the corpse of a queen gives birth to a leopard in another belt of the same forest, and those of dead princes and princesses to snakes.[1] Whether these proceedings can be properly described as transmigration of the souls of the deceased seems more than doubtful. In any case the animal is a new manifestation of the departed.

As the tale of *The Two Brothers* has prepared us to believe, the Egyptians held that the dead "were able," in Dr. Budge's words, "at will to assume the form of any animal or bird or plant or living thing which they pleased; and one of the greatest delights to which a man looked forward was the possession of that power."[2] The *Book of the Dead* provides the deceased with a number of formulæ necessary to enable him to effect such transformation, or even to assume any form he chose. The belief seems, in fact, universal in Africa. The Masai, a Hamitic people with Bantu admixture, do not as a rule bury

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, *J. A. I.* xxxvii. 101.
[2] Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 230.

their dead. The common people are left to be eaten by hyenas and, it is believed, there is an end of them. But medicine-men, chiefs and persons of wealth are buried, and their souls become snakes which haunt their children's kraals and are regarded as sacred.[1] On the Slave Coast the Yoruba think the souls of the dead are sometimes born again in animals, most commonly the hyena or the solitary yellow monkey called *oloyo*, or (though more rarely) in plants.[2] The Brames of Senegal believe that the soul of the dead passes into the body of an animal not used for food. At the funeral the body is exposed to fire until the epidermis is easily rubbed off. This is done to facilitate passage into the body of the animal chosen by the deceased.[3] Among the Ewhe the *ñoli*, or indwelling spirit of a man, often enters the body of one of the lower animals, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, to mankind. In the neighbourhood of Whydah the friendly *ñoli* frequently takes up its abode in the body of an iguana, "whence these reptiles are allowed to run about the house, and are regarded almost as tutelary deities, the death of one being considered a calamity."[4] Similar beliefs are reported from the Gold Coast and the Niger.[5] The Banyang in Northern

[1] Hollis, 304, 307; Merker, 192, 202. According to the latter the clan of the El Kiboron bury all their married men and believe that their bones change into snakes. See also Johnston, *Uganda*, ii. 832.

[2] Ellis, *Yoruba*, 133, 134. Compare the Djagga belief that their ancestors inhabit the bodies of colobus monkeys (*J. A. I.* xxi. 377).

[3] Leprince, *L'Anthrop.* xvi. 61, 62. [4] Ellis, *Ewe*, 164.

[5] C. H. Harper, *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 184, 186. Here it seems that the form of the sacred (totem) animal is or was usually believed to be taken. J. Parkinson, *Ibid.* 314, 319; Leonard, 142, 185, 188, 217.

Cameroon do not kill certain birds, believing that they are dead persons.[1] In Madagascar we are told the same of the Sakalava and the Betsileo. A Betsileo noble becomes a crocodile; the souls of common people lodge in certain eels named *lona*.[2] Some unspecified tribes hold the kingfisher and the death's head sphinx to be men who have changed into these forms after death. A great number of Malagasy are said to take these creatures for ancestors, and to hold them in consequent respect.[3]

The Ansairee, or Nasaree, of Tarsus in Asia Minor, though outwardly conforming to Islam, practise a religion combining many heterogeneous elements. They call their supreme god Ali. The Kalazians, one of their sects, are moon-worshippers, that is to say, they believe that Ali dwells in the moon, which is consequently the object of numerous rites. A few years ago the chief of this sect was Sheikh Hassan, one of the richest men at Tarsus. They believe that at his death he will become a star. Other men less holy or fortunate will go through various transformations. With this people, says Mr. Theodore Bent, "metempsychosis partakes strongly of the ridiculous: bad men put on 'low envelopes,' or *kamees*, in the next world; Mussulmans become jackals, and Jewish Rabbis apes; a man may be punished by becoming a woman, but a good woman may be rewarded in the next life by becoming a man."[4]

In the East Indies when a woman dies in child-

[1] Hutter, 297.
[2] van Gennep, *Tabou*, 271, 283, 291, 322, 323.
[3] Ferrand, *Contes Pop. Malg.* 139, translating Dahle.
[4] *B. A. Rep.* (1890), 544.

birth on the islands of Ambon and Uliase thorns or pins are stuck between the joints of the fingers and toes, in the knees shoulders and elbows, eggs of hens or ducks are laid under the chin and the armpits, and a portion of her hair is brought outwards and nailed fast between the coffin and its lid. The object of this is to prevent her from getting out of the coffin and flying away in the form of a bird. Even if she should succeed in this, it is believed she could not forsake the eggs. Were these precautions not taken she would be able to plague men and pregnant women. On the Tanembar or Timorlao Islands the *matmate* or ancestral spirits are worshipped. They take the form of various animals—opossums birds hogs turtles dugongs snakes crocodiles and sharks. In the Babar Archipelago small offerings are thrown to a snake seen lurking about a house, because it is believed that a woman who has died in childbirth has made use of it as a means to enter the village.[1] In certain districts of the south-east of Borneo a Dyak who dies by accident, as by drowning, is not buried, but carried into the forest and simply laid down there. It is believed that his soul enters a tree a fish or some other brute. Accordingly certain kinds of fish are not eaten, and certain kinds of wood are not used, because they willingly harbour souls. On the other hand, the soul of a man over whom all proper funeral rites have been performed enters the Town of Souls. But it cannot abide there for ever. After a life seven times as long as on the earth it dies and returns to this world, where it enters a mushroom a fruit or a leaf, in the hope that it

[1] Riedel, 81, 281, 338. Similar beliefs in other East Indian islands, Kruyt, 181, 187, &c.

may be eaten by a human being or one of the lower animals. In such case the deceased is born again in the next offspring of the living creature which has eaten it; if such creature be one of the lower animals the soul still has a chance of being born again as a human being, provided the animal be eaten by a man or woman. But if the animal the fruit, or whatever it may be, be not thus eaten the soul comes to an end.[1] The Dyaks, as is well known, are addicted to the observation of omens from birds. "They suppose that these birds are their ancestors who have been transmigrated in order to watch over the welfare of their tribe, and who are still interested in everything connected with it. None but the brave are thus distinguished. Every household has certain birds which it follows and other birds which are of ill omen, that is, which warn of approaching danger. Once, it is said, when an unusually brave man was fighting, the enemy cut off his *chawat* (loin-cloth) behind; he died and became a bird without a tail."[2] "The Malanaus believe that after a long life in the next world they again die, but afterwards live as worms or caterpillars in the forest."[3] Among the Kayans "when the soul separates from the body, it may take the form of an animal or a bird, and as an instance of this belief,

[1] F. Grabowsky, *Int. Arch.* ii. 181, 187; Kruyt, 383. See further as to the belief of the peoples of Java, Sumatra and neighbouring islands, Kruyt, 271, 335, 348, 375, 418, 419; as to the specific belief of the Karo-bataks of Sumatra and the Madurese of Java in reincarnation as human beings, *Ibid.* 8, 11.

[2] Ling Roth, *Sarawak*, i. 224, quoting Rev. W. Crosland. These Dyaks seem to be Land Dyaks. From another source we learn that the omen-birds are directly addressed as ancestors and prayed to avert rain, darkness, storms, swords and other dangers (*Ibid.* 226, quoting Rev. W. Chalmers).

[3] De Crespigny, *J. A. I.* v. 35.

should a deer be seen feeding near a man's grave his relatives would probably conclude that his soul had taken the form of a deer, and the whole family would abstain from eating venison for fear of annoying the deceased."[1]

The Bahau of Central Borneo ascribe not merely to human beings but to all things living and not-living the possession of a soul called *bruwa*. This soul at death escapes in the shape of a fish a bird or a snake, and makes its way to Apu Kĕsió, the land of the dead. But human beings, their domestic animals and some others have a second soul called *ton luwa*, which only forsakes the corpse after death, and remains at the grave until it becomes an evil spirit. The *ton luwa* however, may appear in the form of a goat or a grey monkey, and stories are told showing that it is able to sojourn in such animals; wherefore the Bahau are loth to eat them.[2] The inhabitants of Nias believe that the soul divides into two or three parts according as the deceased was rich or poor. One part, after the performance of all the funeral rites, goes to the village of souls, where it passes through many successive lives. Often it takes brute form. Thus men who have been murdered become grasshoppers, those who die without male issue become night-flying moths, old men assume the form of big hogs, and children become earthworms. Another part, called the *ehéha*, or hereditary soul, must be received in a purse if there be no direct heir; otherwise the soul of the dying man must receive it in his mouth from the mouth of the

[1] Hose, *J. A. I.* xxiii. 165.

[2] *Arch. Religionsw.* ix. 263, summarising Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo.*

latter in order to be recognised as heir. When this is done, however, a small part of the soul still remains and lingers about the body, transformed into a small four-footed animal. For this animal formal search is made, and when found it is safely conveyed into a statuette representing the deceased.[1]

In the Malay Peninsula the Eastern Semang believe that the soul of a *b'lian* (priest chief and magician) enters after death into the body of some wild animal, such as an elephant tiger or rhinoceros. In this embodiment it remains until the beast dies, when it is admitted into the Upper Heaven, that of Fruits. The Besisi of Selangor hold that the souls of their chiefs find a resting-place in the bodies of tigers deer pigs and crocodiles. The Benua of Johor suppose the soul of a magician to enter into a tiger. The Jakun tell a story of a king whose soul migrated into a white cock. The Jakun of Sungei Ujong relate that a king having died and been buried, when the mourners visited the tomb seven days later they were astonished to find no trace of the deceased save his clothing and his shroud ; but a *siamang* (a species of ape) was swinging from branch to branch of the great tree that overshadowed the grave. Their efforts to drive away the animal failed, and they concluded it could be nothing else than the deceased king: an opinion confirmed by a subsequent prodigy. For when wounded once by the dart from a blowpipe the siamang transformed himself for a moment into a tiger striking such terror into his assailant that the latter

[1] Modigliani, 292, 277, 290, 293, 479. Is it too much to say that the Greek custom whereby the nearest relative received the dying breath in a kiss probably originated in a similar intention?

expired not long afterwards. The white siamang is also one of the forms taken by the soul of a deceased chieftain among the Sakai. Other Jakun hold that phosphorescent jelly-fishes in the sea are wandering souls of men awaiting the impending birth of a child in order to try and enter its body. Moreover among the Eastern Semang not merely human beings have souls but also the lower animals. Fish-souls come from grasses, bird-souls from fruits which are eaten by the mother-bird. Each kind of animal has its corresponding soul-plant. The tigress-milk-fungus contains the soul of an unborn tiger-cub; the tiger eats the fungus and thus the soul is conveyed. Souls of beasts noxious to men are conveyed by poisonous, and those of harmless beasts by non-poisonous fungi. Phosphorescent fungi convey souls of night-beasts. In a Mantra saga the hero having died and been buried reappears as a skink, or grass-lizard. The hero's brother throws his jungle-knife at it and cuts off its tail, whereupon the dead man comes to life again, leaves his grave and returns to his own house.[1] Pakhangba, the ancestor of one of the clans of Meitheis of the state of Manipur, still sometimes appears to men, but always, like a Zulu, in the form of a snake.[2]

Among the traditions preserved in the *Nihongi* or Chronicles of Japan is one concerning the prince Yamato-dake, of whom it is said that when he died and was buried, taking the shape of a white bird he came forth from the *misasagi* or tumulus and flew

[1] Skeat and Blagden, ii. 194, 221, 223, 227, 305, 351 note, 365, 290, 190, 23, 216, 336.

[2] Hodson, 100.

towards the land of Yamato. The coffin was opened, and nothing but empty clothing was found remaining within. Messengers were sent to follow the bird, which rested in two places, where tumuli were subsequently erected in memory of the event, and it then soared aloft to heaven.[1] Another tradition preserved in the same work relates to a noble named Tamichi, who being sent to quell a rebellion was worsted by the rebels and slain. He was buried, but the rebels afterwards dug up his tomb, whereupon "a great serpent started up with glaring eyes and came out of the tomb." It bit the rebels who had violated the tomb so that nearly all of them died. "Therefore the men of that time said: 'Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?'"[2]

The Gilyaks of the island of Sakhalin hold that a man has two souls, the one diffused throughout his entire body, the other small like an egg which during life goes forth in dreams but after death becomes the double of the deceased. For awhile it inhabits his favourite dog, which is tied to his former sleeping-place and treated with the best of food. After some months the dog is sold, for the double is believed to have quitted it on his journey to the other world. In the other world the soul lives much as here, save that conditions are altered so that the rich become poor and the poor rich.

[1] Aston, *Nihongi*, i. 210. It is interesting to note that although this account gives the occurrence beyond doubt as a bodily change, his son (who became Emperor) is represented under a later date in the annals as saying of his father: "*His divine spirit* became changed into a white bird and ascended to Heaven." *Ibid.* 217. But see Mr. Aston's observations, quoted *infra*, p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.* 296.

But it does not remain there for ever. Again it dies and enters a third world, and so on three times more, until it diminishes in size and is changed into ever smaller beings, into a bird, a midge, and finally dust. Sometimes, however, it is born again into our world and undergoes an endless series of transformations. This is the lot especially of women.[1] In a Chukchi tale the black bear is a wife who was forsaken by her husband for another woman. "The mountain sheep is also a woman forsaken by her husband. She threw herself from a steep rock and was dashed against the stones, thus becoming a sheep. Her braided hair was turned into horns."[2]

In China the belief that the dead change into animals, though never taken up seriously into Chinese philosophy, is current. Dr. De Groot has collected a number of stories expressive of this belief, in which we find men changing into asses cows birds of various kinds fish and even insects. Often only the soul is spoken of as manifested in such a shape. But other stories appear to present the bodies as undergoing metamorphosis. Thus a writer in the third century A.D. lays it down that persons who are drowned in the sea change into *wei*, probably a kind of sturgeon: a superstition current no doubt in his day and in that changeless country still entertained.[3] Similarly "it is generally believed by Hindus that a person who dies from snake-bite is born a snake in the next life." An Indian gentleman relates that after an uncle of his

[1] Sternberg, *Arch. Religionsw.* viii. 470.

[2] Bogoras, *Jesup Exped.* vii. 329.

[3] De Groot, iv. 157, 207, 208, 225, 227, 230, 231, 234, 238, 245.

own had died in this way he was constantly worried by the old ladies of the harem, whenever they saw a snake in the house, to take measures to free the deceased from his life as a snake. So he consulted an expert, and the following rules were prescribed: He was directed to have a snake with five hoods made of silver gold wood or clay, to represent Vásuki Nága the lord of snakes. He was to fast, and on the Nágpanchmi, or feast of the dragon, in the month of Bhadon he was before eating to worship this image with an offering of milk flowers oleander lotus-flowers sandal-wood-powder and sweetmeats. Then he was to feed a Brahman with *jaur*, or rice boiled with milk and sugar, ghi and a laddu sweetmeat. Then making a libation of washed rice and white sandal-wood-powder in honour of the image, he was to pray the lord of snakes to free that member of his family who had been born in the race of snakes, owing to his death from the bite of one of them. "This remedy," he goes on to say, "in the opinion of my mother has proved effectual; and now whenever she sees a snake and I ask her if it is my uncle who still appears in that shape she says: 'No; this is not your uncle. It is a messenger from Shesha Nága who is prowling about to discover what the world is doing and to kill some evil-doer.'"[1] The Majhwârs, an aboriginal tribe of South Mirzapur, "believe that the souls of departed ancestors are embodied in certain animals." If after a death a calf be dropped and it refuse to drink milk, the Ojhá, or exorcisor, is called in. He very often declares: "Your father has been reborn in this calf." Such a calf is therefore taken great care of

[1] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* iv. 130 (par. 295).

and not worked in the plough.[1] The Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills hold that for the spirits of the suicide and the murderer there is no hope. They are condemned to wander up and down in the nether world without rest. Other spirits, however, after awhile are born again. Those who have done good are born in a better position than before. Those who have misused their opportunities or abused their position in former days will be born again in a lower grade. This process of reincarnation may be repeated again and again until the good man reaches the highest position, and the wicked man ceases to be born of a woman and joins the ranks of the inferior animals.[2] So in a much higher grade of civilisation the *Laws of Manu* declare that for disloyalty to her husband a wife is censured in this world, and after death she is born again from the womb of a jackal and is tormented by diseases, the punishment of her sin.[3]

An old Dutch traveller tells us that the Cinghalese are persuaded that the souls of men pass into domestic buffaloes, rather than into other animals. Accordingly they will not kill these creatures lest they kill or injure their relations or friends.[4] The Chingpaw of Upper Burmah hold that the souls of such as have behaved well on earth live in the air or are born again as chieftains; the wicked on the other hand turn into lower animals and insects.[5] The natives of Ugi in the Solomon Islands believe that the souls of the dead

[1] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* i. 129 (par. 817); Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, iii. 434. The Patâris referred to in these authorities are a branch of the Majhwârs now occupying the status of their family priests.

[2] Bradley-Birt, 309.

[3] *Sacred Books*, xxv. 197, 332.

[4] Schouten, ii. 24.

[5] Dr. Wehrli, *Int. Arch.* xvi. Suppl. 52.

pass into fireflies.[1] On Ulawa, another of the same group of islands, "a man of much influence not long ago forbade the eating of the banana after his death, saying that the banana would represent him, that he would be in the banana." This is stated to be the origin of a taboo recently laid on bananas. "The practice at Ulawa is illustrated by what is common at Saa, in Malanta. A man before his death will say that after he dies he will be a shark. When he is dead the people will look out for the appearance of some remarkable shark" and identify it with the deceased. Certain food, cocoa-nuts for example, will be reserved to feed it.[2] A story of the islanders of Mabuiag in Torres Straits presents a metamorphosis comparable to some of Ovid's. Certain men being clubbed to death were transformed into flying foxes (that is, fruit-eating bats) and flew away. They were however afterwards retransformed by being caught and their heads bitten off, as in European nursery tales the transformed hero is frequently delivered from his enchantment by having his head cut off.[3] In the Murray Islands "the ghost of one about to die or of a recently deceased person usually appeared to the living in the form of some animal. A kingfisher may appear for any one, but there are certain animals that appear at the death of members of particular groups of individuals, the idea evidently being that the ghost of a

[1] Guppy, 54.

[2] Codrington, *J. A. I.* xviii. 310. In the Karesau Islands off the coast of Dutch New Guinea a dying man not long ago said he would come back as a star with a bird of paradise on his head. The fulfilment of the promise was apparently a comet (W. Schmidt, *Anthropos.* ii. 1051 note).

[3] Haddon *Torres Str. Exped.* v. 90.

person takes the form of the animal to which it is akin and in that guise appears to the survivors. Usually it is the eponymous animal of a group with an animal name that appears on the death of a male member. Women are represented by flying animals, bats and birds, but no relation was indicated between groups of women and particular birds."[1] In Raiatea, one of the Society Islands, the destiny of the soul was determined by various circumstances. The souls of shipwrecked persons enter trepang-fish. Those who fall in battle take the shape of sea-birds and frighten the living by their nightly cries.[2] On the continent of Australia some of the blackfellows of the Namoi and Barwon rivers in New South Wales "say that human beings on dying pass into the form of the *turuwun*, a little bird with a very cheerful note."[3] Among the Kurnai "the birds *bullawang*, *yecring* and *djeetgun* are said to be three of the *leen muk-kurnai* (real Kurnai ancestors)."[4] The Euahlayi hold that the spirits of dead women return in the form of the little honey-eater bird which they call *durrooee*.[5] The spirit of Eerin, a man who was a very light sleeper, is in the little grey owl. The bird is called Eerin too, and by its cries it ever warns its old tribe at night of any danger threatening them.[6] The Narrinyeri suppose nearly all animals to have been originally men who performed great prodigies and at last transformed themselves;

[1] Haddon, *Tylor Essays*, 178.

[2] *Arch. Religionsw.* x. 534, citing Huguenin, *Bull. Soc. Neuchat. Géog.* xv.

[3] Ridley, *J. A. I.* ii. 269.

[4] Howitt, *J. A. I.* xiv. 304 note. As to the Muk-Kurnai, see Howitt, 487.

Mrs. Parker, 85.

[6] Mrs. Parker, *Tales*, ii. 98.

and they tell the same story of many large stones and some stars.[1]

The Moquis of North America "are firm believers in metempsychosis, and say when they die they will dissolve into their original forms and become bears deer, &c., again."[2] "Sorcerers will occasionally leave their graves in the form of bull snakes. Bull snakes are often seen coming out of certain graves still wound in the yucca-leaves with which a corpse was tied up when laid away. If such a bull snake in which a sorcerer is supposed to have entered happens to be killed the soul of the sorcerer living in it is set free and then goes to the Skeleton House," that is to say, the abode of the dead.[3] In California the Tachi Yokuts believe that the dead dwell on an island in a river. The island is joined to the mainland by "a rising and falling bridge," over which it it necessary to pass. In doing so the dead are liable to be frightened by a large bird; then they fall off the bridge and are changed into fish. Every two days the island becomes full. Then the chief of the dead gathers the people and tells them to bathe. In the course of bathing the bird frightens them, and some turn to fish, others to ducks, only a few coming out of the water again in their proper shape. In this way room is made when the island is too full.[4] Among the Gallinomero bad men were thought to return in the shape of coyotes, just as the Buddhist

[1] Taplin, *Narrinyeri*, 45, 46, 43.

[2] McLennan, *Studies*, ii. 357, quoting Schoolcraft. The belief seems here as in several other of the cases cited to be connected with totemism, but the question cannot be discussed now.

[3] Voth, *Field Columb. Mus. Pub.* Anthrop. viii. 109 (*cf.* 114).

[4] A. L. Kroeber, *Univ. Cal. Pub.* Amer. Arch. iv. 217, 218.

population at Ladak hold that a malicious person is reincarnated as a marmot.[1] Among the Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands some souls are sent back to earth to be born again in human form, others enter the bodies of animals and fish. "Sometimes the soul enters the body of a fin-back whale, and consequently fin-back whales are much honoured and at the same time feared. On no account could an Indian a few years ago be persuaded to shoot one."[2] An old Jesuit Father reports of the Hurons on information from one of their chief men that many believe we have two souls, both divisible and material and yet both rational; one leaves the body at death, but remains in the cemetery until the Feast of the Dead, after which it is either changed into a turtle-dove, or according to the more general belief it goes immediately to the village of souls. The other soul remains with the corpse, never quitting it unless to be born again.[3] The medicine-men and women of the Sioux, it was believed, might be changed after death into wild beasts.[4] "In two of the buffalo gentes of the Omaha there is a belief that the spirits of deceased members of those gentes return to the buffaloes."[5] The Southern Cheyenne hold the opossum to be a dead man.[6]

In South America the Abipones were reported by Dobrizhoffer as calling little ducks, which flew about

[1] Powers, 182; Knight, 109. The Caribs are stated to hold a similar doctrine; but see the question discussed, Müller, *Am. Urrel.* 207 *sqq.*

[2] *J. A. I.* xxi. 20.

[3] *Jesuit Rel.* x. (1636), 286.

[4] Bourke, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* ix. 479, quoting Schultze in *Smiths. Rep.* (1867).

[5] J. O. Dorsey, *Ibid.* xi. 542.

[6] H. L. Scott, *Amer. Anthr.* N.S. ix. 560.

in flocks at night uttering a mournful hiss, the shades of the dead.[1] The Isanna think that the souls of the brave enter beautiful birds and enjoy good fruits, but cowards become reptiles.[2] The common fate of a Bororó of Central Brazil, whether man or woman, is to become after death a red bird called *arara*. The red araras are Bororó; indeed the Bororó go further and say: "We are araras." Consequently they never eat araras; they only kill wild ones to obtain their feathers for personal ornament. They never kill the tame ones which they keep for the same purpose; but on the other hand when a tame bird dies they mourn for it. The dead of other peoples are believed to become other birds. The *baris*, or medicine-men, however change after their death into such animals as are reckoned the best game—certain kinds of large fish capivaras tapirs and caymans. When one of these is caught it has to be subjected to a process which is called by Dr. von den Steinen consecration (*einsegnung*), but which from his description is rather a desacralisation or driving-out of the bari-soul.[3]

Even from Europe, civilised and Christian as we are pleased to think it, the belief in transformation has by no means yet disappeared. Both in England and in Ireland butterflies or moths are looked upon as souls of deceased persons.[4] In Cornwall, King Arthur was up to the latter years of the eighteenth century, if not later, thought to be still living in the form of a raven or a chough. In Nidderdale the country people say that nightjars embody the souls of

[1] Dobrizhoffer, ii. 270.
[2] *Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 127.
[3] von den Steinen, 511, 492.
[4] *Choice Notes, Folklore*, 61; *N. and Q.* 5th ser. vii. 284.

unbaptized infants.[1] On certain parts of the east coast of England many of the old fishermen believe that they turn into gulls when they die. Writing on the subject a few years since Mr. P. H. Emerson remarks: "It was with great difficulty I first found out that this strange belief in a post-mortem transformation existed at all, but once having learned it, I found to my astonishment that the belief was common, but was spoken of with much reserve." Children, it seems become kittiwakes, but women "don't come back no more, they have seen trouble enough."[2] A story is told at Bradwell, in the Peak of Derbyshire, concerning a child who had been murdered and whose ghost could not be appeased. Recourse was had to a wise man. He pronounced the words: "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, why troublest thou me?" and turned the ghost into a fish, which thenceforth haunted Lumley Pool and terrified people who came to draw water from the wells there on Christmas Day.[3] In Poland about Dobromil it was believed that every member of the Herburt family changed after death into an eagle. In a Polish manuscript of the year 1526 it is stated that the first-born daughters of the mighty house of Pilecki, if they die unmarried, change into doves, or, if married, into nocturnal birds, and that to every member of their family they announce

[1] Swainson, 98, citing Macquoid, *About Yorkshire*. Numerous cases are on record in which on the occasion of a death a mysterious bird appears, flutters about and flies away, or disappears. The most commonly cited example is that of the Oxenham family recorded by Howell (see *Gent. Mag. Lib.* Pop. Sup. 212). These are perhaps traceable to the same belief.

[2] *F. L.* xiv. 64, quoting *English Idyls*, by P. H. Emerson (2nd ed. 1889).

[3] Addy, *Househ. Tales*, 60.

his death by a bite.[1] In Burgundy the Baroness de Montfort wanders for her cruelties under the form of a she-wolf that nobody can kill.[2] These are a few specimens of a considerable body of European folklore representing the dead under animal form.

But if human beings can be changed by means of death and a fresh birth into brute and vegetable form, brutes and vegetables may equally be changed by the same process into human beings. As I have already pointed out at the commencement of this chapter a large cycle of *märchen* displays this power. In the light of the transmutations we have now passed in review it is abundantly clear that the fisherman's sons their horses dogs life-tokens and so forth are nothing more or less than the ancestor-fish in new moulds. Probably at one time this was explicitly stated in the tale. A Pawnee saga states that before the heroine's birth her father had killed a bear, and the bear's spirit had entered the child: this accounted for her mysterious ways.[3] A story from the island of Saibai in Torres Straits reports that the hero got inside a certain small shell called *ui* found in mangrove swamps. It was gathered and swallowed by a woman, from whom the hero was quickly born again in consequence.[4] Not very long ago an Efik and his wife were charged at Duke Town on the Calabar River with murdering their child. It appeared that the child was sickly from birth. Their story was that he crawled about long after he ought to have been able to

[1] Woycicki, 7 note.

[2] Sébillot, *F. L. France*, iv. 209. Other cases noted by the same author, *Paganisme*, 196.

[3] Dorsey, *Pawnee Myth.* i. 346 (Story No. 91).

[4] Haddon, v. *Rep. Torres Str. Exped.* 32.

walk and when his parents were lying down to sleep he used to lick them like a snake. So they consulted a witch-doctor, who told them that the child was in reality a water-serpent, and advised them to take him to the waterside and put him into the water when he would resume his natural shape. They determined to do so, and when they took him to the water there in their presence the boy changed himself into a serpent and rolled into the river.[1] Major Leonard who relates the incident argues, and doubtless with justice, for the entire good faith of the defendants, on the ground that the child was a boy and therefore of value to the family both on its human and spiritual sides, and that the explanation of his inability to walk and his habits given by the local diviner was in harmony with all the convictions and traditions of his parents, and contributed materially to their delusions. Parallel beliefs are found in British Columbia. The Kwakiutl and other peoples hold that twins were salmon before their birth and have the power to become salmon again;[2] and the Lillooet say that twins are grisly bears in human form, and that when a twin dies his soul goes back to the grisly bears and becomes one of them.[3]

In previous chapters we have examined tales in which men and women deceased have reappeared as human babes without undergoing any intermediate change into lower forms; and we have others yet to examine. What is expressly affirmed where pregnancy is caused by tasting the ashes of a corpse, what is implicit in the disgusting superstitions that lead women to swallow portions of dead human bodies or to bathe

[1] Leonard, 194. [2] Boas, *Ind. Sag.* 209, 219, 174.
[3] Teit, *Jesup Exped.* ii. 263.

in human blood, must also be understood in the parallel cases where fishes and fruit are eaten and result in the production of children. Here then we have the real meaning of many of the tales and superstitions we have been considering. At their root lies the belief in Transformation. Flowers fruit and other vegetables eggs fishes spiders worms and even stones are all capable of becoming human beings. They only await absorption in the shape of food or in some other appropriate manner into the body of a woman to enable the metamorphosis to be accomplished. It would be going too far to attribute this meaning to every story of supernatural birth and to all the practices detailed in the last chapter. Where drugs and other compounds are used, where water or a sunbeam is the fructifying power, credit for the birth is given to a vague divine or magical virtue. It matters little, however, whether such a belief was or was not primary. Enough evidence remains that the belief in Transformation was equally original. It is intimately bound up with the savage theory of the universe. In that theory no strict line of cleavage runs across Nature. All things may change their shape, some at will (for they are all endowed with personality and will), others on the fulfilment of certain conditions, whereof death as applying to all animal and vegetable life is perhaps the most usual. Our farther illustrations of the doctrine of Transformation are intended to emphasise the widespread distribution in the lower culture of the belief that dead men and women may reappear in human form and live a new human life. The dead are not lost: they have only departed for awhile, to come back by means of birth

or in some other way to human society. In *The Golden Bough* Dr. Frazer has admirably expounded certain aspects of this belief. These I shall for the most part avoid, desiring to concentrate attention upon the general belief rather than upon particular applications of it. And if to some extent I travel over the ground occupied a generation since by Professor Tylor in the second volume of his great work on *Primitive Culture*, it will be to explore certain territory beyond, into which his argument did not require him to penetrate.

Buddhism as popularly understood in the East is founded on the doctrine of Transmigration. Not that this was the teaching of the great Sakyamuni, but the common people of India, the tribes of Tibet and the practical Chinese, it is safe to say, never assimilated the subtle doctrines of Karma and the Skandhas. It is indeed more than doubtful whether these philosophical speculations have penetrated the intellects of even the greatest doctors of the Northern Church. The current belief is that at death the soul transmigrates and is born again in some other body. Whether that body will be desirable or not depends on the actions in the present life. At death a man's good and bad actions are weighed against each other. If the good preponderate he rises in the scale of being, if the bad he sinks. An adaptation of this doctrine is exemplified in the successive incarnations that provide a perpetual succession of Grand Lamas at Lhasa and of skooshoks for minor monasteries. In these cases the soul is believed always to flit into some unknown infant who is about to be born. While as to the Southern Church we are not dependent for our

assumption upon the folklore and the general culture of the Cingalese and the peoples of Further India. In the Játakas, or parables attributed to Gautama, we have irrefragable witness of the teaching current from an early period of Buddhist history. They are apologues, most of them probably of much older date, which have acquired sacredness by being fitted to alleged events in the ministry of the Buddha. The master is represented as taking occasion from some remark made by his disciples upon a passing occurrence to declare that in a former birth the same things had happened to them; and in proof of his assertion he tells the tale. The following may stand for a typical conclusion or application. It is that of the cruel crane outwitted by the crab: "When the Teacher had finished this discourse showing that 'Not now only, O mendicants, has this man been outwitted by the country robe-maker, long ago he was outwitted in the same way,' he established the connection and summed up the Játaka by saying, 'At that time he [the crane] was the Jetavana robe-maker, the crab was the country robe-maker, but the Genius of the Tree was I myself.'"[1] To the personages of the tale is thus ascribed complete identity with the Buddha and his contemporaries. Transmigration, in short, as conceived in popular Buddhism, was no product of the subtleties of Hindu metaphysics. It was no refined philosophical doctrine. It is undiscoverable in the *Rig-Veda*, the earliest sacred book of the Sanskrit-speaking settlers in the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Its ethical value even, if we may judge from the Játakas, was of the

[1] *Játaka*, i. 95 (No. 38); Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 315.

smallest. Such as it was, Transmigration was a direct evolution of the more savage belief in Transformation, as we have seen that belief exemplified in the present chapter.

Far in the west the Celts are reported to have held the dogma of Transmigration of Souls. This report, coming to us from writers imbued with Greco-Roman philosophy, who interpreted according to the wont of classical antiquity the religions of barbarous races in the terms of their own, has been understood to imply an elaborate philosophical system such as those of Pythagoras and Buddha. Indeed more than one of the writers in question expressly identifies the teaching of the Druids about the soul with that of Pythagoras. That the Celts had imbibed Buddhist theories we cannot suppose. The doctrines of the Samian philosopher may have penetrated into Gaul by commercial routes or by contact with Greek colonies. But no classical author ventures to ascribe such an origin to the Druidic teaching. On the contrary, it is derived by Cæsar from Britain, where it was furthest removed from foreign influences. Our direct information concerning Druidism supplied from classical sources is of the most meagre and fragmentary description. Supplemented by modern archæological investigation of prehistoric burial mounds, it leads to the conclusion that the religion of the ancient Britons and Gauls was of the same general character as other barbarous cults. The belief in Transmigration was held concurrently with the belief in another world, a world of the dead where debts incurred in this world were paid and where those who sacrificed themselves on the funeral piles of their relatives lived with them just as they had

lived with them in this world. The arms and the wealth which were buried or burned with the deceased chieftain, the slaves and retainers who were offered at his obsequies constituted his splendour and contributed to his power in the next world. Arising thus from the common ground of savagery, no more inconsistency would have been perceived in these two beliefs than the Zulu perceives who holds that his deceased father lives underground in a village, like that which he inhabited in his lifetime, wealthy in cattle and wives, yet that he may be the snake that lurks about the kraal or comes to visit his descendants in their huts. Neither Celtic mythology nor Celtic folklore, as reported by mediæval and modern writers, warrants us in supposing that metempsychosis in any philosophical sense was part of the ancient Celtic creed.[1]

Before turning to rites and superstitious beliefs, we may notice the legend of Oankoitupeh, son of the Red Cloud, the hero of the North American Maidu. A maiden sees a beautiful red cloud and hears sweet music. The next day while picking grass-seed pinole she finds an arrow trimmed with yellow-hammer feathers; and suddenly a man is standing beside her, who is none other than the red cloud she had seen the day before. The resplendent stranger declares his love, and the maiden replies: "If you love me, take

[1] I have no space to discuss the question at length. The literary evidence as to the Celtic belief in the life after death has been examined in recent years by several writers, most fully and conclusively by Mr. Alfred Nutt in *The Voyage of Bran* (2 vols. London, 1895–7). The archæological evidence is scattered through the transactions of numerous learned societies in the United Kingdom and France.

and eat this basket of grass-seed pinole." He touches the basket and its contents vanish. Thereupon the girl swoons. When she returns to consciousness, behold! she has already given birth to a son. The Red Cloud tells her: "You love me now; that is my boy, but he is not of this world. . . . He shall be greater than all men; he shall have power over all, and not fear any that live. Therefore shall his name be Oan-koi-tu-peh (the Invincible). Whenever you see him, think of me. This boy has no life apart from me; he is myself."[1] Compare with this the statement concerning Cuchulainn, one of the mythological heroes of Ireland, and himself a new birth of the god Lug. The great epic cycles took final shape after the wars with the Danes in the eleventh century. A manuscript of that period relates that the men of Ulster took counsel about Cuchulainn, because they were troubled and afraid he would perish early, "so for that reason they wished to give him a wife that he might leave an heir, for they knew that his re-birth would be of himself."[2]

These passages, though related of more than common men, point to a belief shared by the ancient Irish with the Maidu of California that the son is in some sense identical with his father—a new birth, a new manifestation of the same person. This curious belief, implicit throughout the laws and philosophy of the Indian Aryans, finds categorical expression in the great Brahman compilation known as the *Laws of*

[1] Powers, *Tribes of California*, *Contrib. N. Amer. Ethn.* iii. 299. The Haida tell of a mythological hero whom they identify with the moon, that he married a woman "from whom he was presently reborn in the form of a woman" (Swanton, *Jesup Exped.* v. 204).

[2] Kuno Meyer, *The Wooing of Emer*, *Arch. Rev.* i. 70.

Manu. There we are told: "The husband, after conception by his wife, becomes an embryo and is born again of her."[1] Corresponding with this declaration the ritual prescribes, among other ceremonies when a boy is born, that the husband should address the babe thus: "From limb by limb thou art produced; and of the heart thou art born. Thou art indeed the self (*atman*) called son; so live a hundred autumns." In the same words he addresses the boy every time he himself returns from a journey, embracing his head and kissing him thrice.[2]

There is reason to think that this doctrine was held by the ancient Egyptians, as applicable at all events to the gods, and if to gods then probably in earlier times to human beings. Each temple was dedicated to a single god, but he usually had companion deities who formed with him a cycle. This cycle was in most cases composed of father mother and son. "The son was the counterpart of the father, and destined to replace him when he should grow old and die, according to that law of nature to which even the gods were subject. Thus the son became the father, and the Egyptian texts could speak of the gods as

[1] *Sacred Books*, xxv. 329; *cf.* 352. *Cf.* also *Sacred Books*, xii. 334; passages from the *Aitareya Brāhmana* cited by von Negelein, *Arch. Religionsw.* vi. 320; and the remarks by Mr. Justice Markby in reference to modern Hindu lawyers, quoted Hearne, 165 note.

[2] *Grihya-Sûtra* of Hiranyakesin, *Sacred Books*, xxx. 211; *G.-S.* of Asvalâyana, *Ibid.* xxix. 183. To this theory may perhaps be traced the idea that a first-born son is peculiarly dangerous to his father's life. A tradition concerning the rajahs of Bashahr in the Panjáb relates that for sixty-one generations each rajah had only one son, "and it used to be the custom for the boy to be sent away to a village and not be seen by his father until his hair was cut for the first time," which was done with solemn rites in his sixth year (Rose, *Census of Ind.* 1901, xvii. 141).

eternal; for so soon as the elder god vanished he would be succeeded by a divine personality precisely similar. In this sense also the god was self-begotten, being father to the son who was as himself; and he was 'the husband of his mother,' in that after the death of his father he had entered upon all rights as regards the goddess of the triad, and was in his turn by her the father of the new divine son who should one day replace him."[1] An illustration of this belief is found in the *Book of the Dead*, where allusion is made to a period "when Horus came to light in his own children."[2] In south-eastern Australia, among the Kulin tribe the line of descent runs through males. So far have the natives got on the road from mother-right (in which descent is traced exclusively through females) that they regard the woman as little more than the nurse of the child. Mr. Howitt even records the exclamation of an old man to his son, with whom he was vexed: "Listen to me! I am here, and there you stand with my body."[3] It would hardly be fair

[1] Wiedemann, 103.

[2] *Book of the Dead*, *c.* 112, translated by Le Page Renouf, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xvii. 8.

[3] Howitt, 255; *J. A. I.* xiv. 145. Among the Dieri a man speaking calls his son or his brother's son *Athamurani*, a word interpreted by Mr. Howitt as meaning a revival of myself (*Ato*, I, *mura*, new). Here it is to be observed that the Dieri still trace descent through the mother only, and the interpretation is merely a philological conjecture which wants confirmation (Curr, i. 124 note). Coming nearer home it would seem that the ancient Scandinavians held the opinion that the son was in some sense a reincarnation of the soul of the father. They appear to have thought that a man possessed more than one soul. A family soul (*ættarfylgja*) is spoken of in opposition to the individual soul (*manusfylgja*). It is the *ættarfylgja* which passes from a man to be reincarnated in his son. Strictly speaking, we are told, it is not an undivided collective

to build upon a solitary phrase of a single man the affirmation that the Kulin tribe had reached the creed implied in the Hindu ceremony; but, as we shall see hereafter, some at any rate of the Australian peoples were familiar with the theory that children were new manifestations of the dead.

Traces of the notion that a child is neither more nor less than the reappearance of an ancestor are found almost all over the world. It seems to be a general opinion among the Negroes of the western coast of Africa that the ghostly self of a dead man enters the body of a new-born babe belonging to the same family. In Guinea, as well as among the Wanika, a Bantu tribe of the eastern side of the continent, the resemblance, physical or mental, borne by a child to its father is attributed to this cause. The Yorubas inquire of their family god which of the deceased ancestors has returned, in order to name the child accordingly; and they greet its birth with the words "Thou art come!" as if addressing some one who has returned.[1] Some hold that the soul of a dead person comes back in the next-born child; while others think it necessary to ascertain by divination who it is. Miss Kingsley has given an amusing account of the divination, which

soul common to the members of a single family; it is rather a "support" for the patronymic which is transmitted from father to son (*Rev. Hist. Rel.* xlix. 374, citing and reviewing Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, translated by Vos). Compare a speculation by Mr. A. B. Cook, as to the reincarnation of the *manes* of the old Italian clans (*F. L.* xvi. 293).

[1] Tylor, *Prim. Cul.* ii. 4, citing several authorities; Ploss, *Kind*, i. 259, citing Bastian. Ellis (*Yoruba*, 128) says the inquiry is made of a priest of Ifa, the god of divination. See also Dennett, *Black Man's Mind*, 268, quoting *Yoruba Heathenism*, by Bishop James Johnson.

resembles that used to identify the new Dalai Lama and consists in placing before the child various articles belonging to deceased members of the family who are still absent, in order to see which of them he will appear to claim.[1] In the French Soudan the Mossi and Gourounsi are convinced that the souls of the dead go to certain villages—actual earthly villages—where they seem to live in the same condition as before death. After awhile they become *Kinkirse* (pl. of *Kinkiriga*, an indefinable being, material, somewhat evil-disposed and of variable power) and inhabit the bush that surrounds the villages, hiding in the thickets. Such thickets are therefore respected, from fear that their suppression would entail sterility on the part of the women. For these *Kinkirse* are potential human beings. When a birth takes place it is one of them that returns to life; and the newborn child is always considered a *Kinkiriga*.[2] The Malinkes say that when a married man dies, if any of his wives be pregnant the soul of the deceased husband passes into the child in the womb and remains there until a name has been given to the child. The name given is always that of the deceased husband. If the child prove to be a daughter the feminine form of the name is taken.[3] On the Gold Coast parents who have lost several children sometimes cast into the bush the body of the infant who last died. They believe the next-born to be the same child returned; and if it have any congenital deformity or defect, that is attributed

[1] Winwoode Reade, 539; Kingsley, *Trav.* 493; *W. A. Studies*, 145. Another form of divination is mentioned as used by the Bulloms and Timmanees, Winterbottom, i. 227.

[2] E. Ruelle, *L'Anthrop.* xv. 687.

[3] Father Brun, *Anthropos.* ii. 727.

to injuries received from wild beasts or other evil influences in the jungle.[1] Among the Ewhe of Togoland, if a newborn child show a likeness to any of his dead brethren or relations, he is named Dogba or Degboe, meaning "the returner."[2] Among some of the Ewhe it is sufficient for a priest to certify which of the deceased members of the family has returned.[3] The opinion that a subsequently born child was a previously deceased child who had returned was current among the people of Old Calabar;[4] and the Ibani, when a first-born son dies and a second is afterwards born, call him Di-ibo, or born again.[5] Nor is the belief, with which we are now concerned confined to the Negroes proper. It is found among the Bantu of West Africa, though some of the latter appear to hold the possibility of re-birth either into the family of the deceased "or into any other family, or even into a beast."[6]

Among many of the Negroes and Bantu of West Africa, however, a human soul is believed to be not a unity but composite. The Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast and the Ewhe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast draw a distinction between the ghostly self that continues a man's existence after death in the spirit-world, and his *kra* or *ñoli*, which is capable of being born again in a new human body. In the

[1] Burton, *Wanderings*, ii. 174. *Cf.* a Winnebago tale, *Journ. Am. F. L.* ix. 52.

[2] *Globus*, lxxix. 350; *Arch. Religionsw.* viii. 110.

[3] *Zeits. f. Ethnol.* xxxviii. 42.

[4] Burton, *Wit and Wisd.* 376.

[5] Leonard, 549. As to the general belief in Southern Nigeria that a deceased person is born again into the same family, see *Ibid.* 141, 150, 207.

[6] Featherman, *Nigritians*, 447; Nassau, 237.

eastern Ewhe districts and in Dahome the soul is indeed, by either an inconsistency or a subtlety, believed to remain in the land of the dead and to animate some new child of the family at one and the same time; but it never animates an embryo in a strange family.[1] This is attributed by Sir A. B. Ellis to contact with the Yoruba who do not hold the doctrine of the multiple soul. Among them, "as the births at least equal in number the deaths, and the process of being re-born is supposed to have gone on 'from the beginning,' logically there ought to be few, if any, departed souls in Deadland; but the natives do not critically examine such questions as this, and they imagine Deadland to be thickly populated, and at the same time every newborn child, or almost every one, to be a re-born ghost."[2] But other tribes hold that a human being possesses as many as four souls. These are differently enumerated by different authorities, possibly speaking of different peoples, but perhaps trying to interpret the vagueness and reconcile the inconsistencies natural to men in the lower culture who have not thought out the perplexing problems of psychology awakened by their experiences and their

[1] Ellis, *Tshi*, 149; *Ewe*, 114; Burton, *Gelele*, ii. 158; *Wanderings*, ii. 173; Seidel, *Globus*, lxxii. 21; Westermann, *Arch. Religionsw.* viii. 110.

[2] Ellis, *Ewe*, *l.c.*; *Yoruba*, 129. The Bahuana, a Bantu tribe on one of the tributaries of the Congo, speak of a soul called *bun* and a double called *doshi*. The former (which is only possessed by adults), if the deceased had been properly provided with fetishes, enters the body of some large animal, such as an elephant hippopotamus buffalo or leopard, and an animal so possessed is recognised by its ferocity. The *doshi* remains to visit its friends, haunt its enemies and to persecute its relatives if the body have not received a proper funeral (Torday and Joyce, *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 290).

slowly advancing civilisation.[1] We need not discuss the question at length, for it is clear that among these souls there is one which is destined to reincorporation in some member of the family. It is called by the Tshi *kra*, and by the Ewhe during lifetime *luwho* and while awaiting reincorporation *ñoli*. It has been compared to the guardian spirit familiar to ecclesiastical speculation in Europe; and in some aspects it resembles it, being treated with reverence and often even with a kind of worship.[2]

This division of the soul into various entities has been held by numerous and very widely sundered peoples. We have already seen reason to believe that the ancient Egyptians were not strangers to the belief in Transformation by death. Their official doctrine, however, taught that man was a compound being, consisting of the body (*kha*), the double (*ka*), the name (*ren*), the heart (*ab*), the soul (*ba*), the self (*sâhû*), the shadow (*khaib*), the Shining One (*khû*), the power (*sekhem*), the Osiris, and other parts. Of these the *ka* the *sâhû* and the Osiris are practically indistinguishable; and we are told that "it would seem that in these cases we have to do with the different conceptions of an immortal soul which had arisen in separate places and prehistoric times, and were ultimately combined into one doctrine, the Egyptians not daring to set any aside for fear it should prove to be the true one."[3] None of these was immaterial; and which of them it was that reappeared in human or brute form we need not now decide.

[1] Kingsley, *W. A. Studies*, 200; Nassau, 53, 64.
[2] Ellis, *Ewe*, 102; *Tshi*, 149; Nassau, 55.
[3] Wiedemann, 234 *sqq*.

It would draw us too far away from our present subject to consider the speculations of mankind on the multiplicity of the human soul. Suffice it to say that such speculations have been recorded of nations in almost every part of the globe. They may be traced with probability to the conflict of opinion inevitably arising when men who have fled from their dead friends, or comfortably deposited them in substantial graves with all precautions against their return, continue to be haunted by them in dreams or in the phenomena of "possession," or trace their lineaments in the corporeal form and mental characteristics of their descendants. The earliest efforts to solve the riddle of another life were necessarily crude materialistic and limited by the experiences of this life. As those experiences gradually widened and higher planes of civilisation were painfully won, fresh aspects of the problem presented themselves, different solutions of the riddle were reached. When these came into contact more or less conscious attempts to synthesise them would be made. The fresh contradictions that resulted, as soon as they emerged into consciousness (often a very long process), had to be reconciled as best they could. One of these appears to be preserved in the Egyptian doctrine, as indicated by Professor Wiedemann in the sentence just quoted. The West African Negroes and other peoples in a lower stage of culture than that of the Egyptian official classes, travelling in a similar direction to find the key to the puzzle, have arrived at a similar but far less complex scheme. Indeed in Egypt itself there seems to have lain beneath the official doctrine a more primitive folk-belief differing as much from that

recorded in the monuments as the folk-belief of modern Europe differs from the creed of Christian theologians concerning the soul. The current Egyptian belief, if correctly reported by Herodotus, was in his time that at death of the body "the soul enters into another creature which chances then to be coming to the birth, and when it has gone the round of all the creatures of land and sea and of the air, it enters again into a human body as it comes to the birth, and that it makes this round in a period of three thousand years."[1] This belief excited the historian's scorn. It is very different from the official Osirian doctrine, and has evidently been elaborated from that exhibited in the story of the Two Brothers. We have already seen that a belief equally wide of the official doctrine certainly existed with regard to the gods, according to which they were born, like Lug, of themselves. It is safe to think that what was predicated of the gods, was in earlier ages by all classes, and probably by the backward classes down to the very end of Egyptian paganism, held concerning human beings, though it may have been held concurrently with other solutions of the problem.

We may therefore proceed with our investigation of the belief in the reappearance of a deceased ancestor in the person of a child without concerning ourselves with the subtle divisions of the soul, which we have previously met and shall again meet with in the course of the inquiry. Turning next to the aboriginal tribes of India, we find among the Khonds of Orissa the same belief. Anthropologists have often quoted Macpherson's description of the divination for determining

[1] Herod, ii. 123. I quote Macaulay's translation.

a child's name. The priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain a deceased ancestor. From the movements of the seed in the fluid and from observ ations made on the infant's person, he pronounces which of the progenitors has reappeared in it; and the babe is usually named accordingly. Khond psychology endows every one with four souls. Out of such a company there is no difficulty in arranging that one of them shall be attached to some tribe and perpetually born again into it. This in fact is what is believed to happen.[1] The Kols, a Dravidian people found in considerable numbers along the Vindhya Kaimûr plateau, also practise this divination; and the child is generally named after some deceased ancestor, who has thus returned from the region of the dead.[2]

Among the Korwa, a Dravidian tribe inhabiting the part of Mirzapur south of the river Son and along the frontier of Sarguja, "the child is named by the father or grandfather, and is generally called after some deceased ancestor, who is understood from a dream to be re-born in the baby."[3] The Bhuiyárs say that the dead man's soul is first judged by Paramesar. If he be pronounced good, he is born again as a boy or girl in the same family. Similar beliefs are held by the Kharwárs and Pankas.[4] The Patáris hold that the

[1] Macpherson, *Memorials*, 72, 92, 134.

[2] Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, iii. 308; Hahn, *Kolsmission*, 72, 105. According to Dalton the Kols of Bengal perform a similar ceremony without the same belief (Dalton, 295). But the belief as the origin of the ceremony must be inferred. See below (p. 207) as to the Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush.

[3] Crooke, *op. cit.* 330.

[4] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* i. 70 (par. 482).

souls of the departed are embodied in certain animals. If after a death a calf is born and refuses to drink milk, it is often declared to represent the spirit of the deceased. In the same way, when a baby refuses to suck a ceremony is performed. "The mother sits down and the father names each of his departed ancestors — father mother grandfather, and so on. At whichever name the baby takes the breast, that ancestor is supposed to have been re-born in the family, and the child is henceforth treated with special care. The Ghasiyas similarly believe that deceased ancestors are from time to time re-born in the family."[1] Among the Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush "the instant an infant is born it is given to the mother to suckle, while an old woman runs rapidly over the names of the baby's ancestors or ancestresses, as the case may be, and stops the instant the infant begins to feed. The name on the reciter's lips when that event occurs becomes the name by which the child will thenceforth be known during its life." The analogy of other cases leads to the conclusion that here too the ancestor must be thought to be born again. Sir George Robertson who reports the custom indeed adds that as a consequence, it not unfrequently happens that "several members of a family are compelled to bear the same name," and are "distinguished from one another in conversation by the prefix senior or junior, as the case may be."[2] This of course may happen also among peoples who, we are definitely informed, practise similar divination in order to ascertain what ancestor has returned. How their philosophy settles the question of identity when such duplication occurs we

[1] *N. Ind. N. and Q.* 129 (par. 817). [2] Robertson, *Kafirs*, 596.

are not told. By the same belief Mr. Crooke explains one of the marriage rites of the Deshashth Brahmans of Dharwâr. "Among them," he says, "the couple first walk thrice round the sacred fire. A stone called the *Âshmâ*, or spirit stone, that which is used at the funeral rites of the tribe, and into which . . . the spirit of the dead man is supposed to enter, is kept near the fire, and at each circuit, as the bride followed by the bridegroom approaches this stone, she stands on it till the priest finishes reciting a hymn. Here it seems clear that the idea underlying the rite is that the spirit of one of the tribal or family ancestors occupying the stone becomes reincarnated in her, and so she becomes 'a joyful mother of children.' For it must be remembered that according to Indian popular belief all conception is . . . the result of a process of this kind, one of the ancestors becoming reborn in each successive generation." [1]

In the foregoing examples it appears that any ancestor may return. It will be remembered that the *Laws of Manu* specifically taught that the husband was born again of his wife. Mr. Rose points out that as a consequence of this the father was supposed to die and in certain sections of the Khatris of the Panjáb (for instance, the Kochhar) his funeral rites are actually performed in the fifth month of the mother's pregnancy. He adds: "Probably herein lies an explanation of the *dev-káj*, or divine nuptials, a ceremony which consists in the formal remarriage of the parents after the birth of their first son. The wife leaves her husband's house, and goes not to her parents' house but to the house of a relative, whence

[1] *F. L.* xiii. 236.

she is brought back as a bride. This custom prevails among the Khanna, Kapur, Malhotra, Kakar and Chopra, the highest sections of the Khatris. These ideas are an almost logical outcome of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and it as inevitably results that if the first-born be a girl, she is peculiarly ill-omened, so that among the Khatris of Multan she used to be put to death."[1]

I cited some pages back a custom of the Gold Coast, from which it appears that children dying young are apt to return to their parents in the next pregnancy. The phenomenon appears also in India. In Bengal, if "a woman give birth to several stillborn children in succession, the popular belief is that the same child reappears on each occasion. So, to frustrate the designs of the evil spirit that has taken possession of the child, the nose or a portion of the ear is cut off and the body is cast on a dunghill."[2] In the Panjáb, Hindu women who lose a female child during infancy, or while it still sucks milk, take it into the jungle and put it in a sitting position under a tree. Sugar is put into its mouth and a corded roll of cotton between its fingers. Then the mother says in Panjábi:

> Eat the sugar; spin the cotton;
> Don't come back, but send a brother.

If on the following day it be found that the dogs or

[1] *Census of India*, 1901, xvii. 215. So the Bakaïrí of Brazil are said to call a child, whether boy or girl, "little father," as though a new birth of the father; and among the Tupí the father after the birth of each new son took a new name. The Bakaïrí reckon kinship through the mother; but there are indications of transition to reckoning through the father (von den Steinen, 337).

[2] Crooke, *F. L. N. Ind.* ii. 67.

jackals have dragged the body towards the mother's house, she considers it a bad omen, saying: "Ah! she is coming back—that means another girl." But if it be dragged away from the home, she is glad, saying: "The brother will come."[1] Among the Andaman Islanders every child conceived has had a prior existence; and "if a woman who has lost a baby be about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the fœtus in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child again. Should the infant at birth prove to be of the same sex as the one who had died, the identity would be considered sufficiently established."[2]

The belief with which we are now concerned is common in China, and stories are found in the literature of that country, of children who have remembered and related incidents of their previous life; and on inquiry made the truth of their statements is said to have been proved. "A dissolute son squandering the possessions of his family and disgracing it by a licentious and criminal life is often taken for a man who, being wronged by the father or by some ancestor, had himself re-born as that son, thus to have his cruel vengeance. Conversely, an excellent child, which is the glory of its family, generally passes for a reincarnation of some grateful spirit." A tale is told of a father who, while engaged in drowning a second unwelcome little daughter, heard a voice from the water-tub exclaim: "This is the second time you drown me; but now it is my turn to destroy both you and your sons." In a

[1] Mrs. Steel, *Panjab N. and Q.* i. 51.

[2] Sir R. C. Temple, *Census of Ind.* 1901, iii. 63; E. H. Man, *J. A. I.* xii. 155.

short time he died from anguish, and within a month his two sons were killed by a catastrophe.[1]

The Chinese often think that a child who falls ill and dies is a hateful demon which has come to torment the mother. Precautions must therefore be taken against its return. For fear it may be re-born of her she sometimes blackens the face of the dying or just dead child, that it may not be able to find its way back. Or a hand or merely a finger is cut off, apparently in the belief that should it succeed in being re-born, it would be recognised.[2] The Ainu say that people are sometimes re-born into this world. Women "should therefore carefully examine a baby's ears as soon as it is born, to see whether they have been bored. If they have, it is a certain sign that a departed ancestor has come back, and if this be the case, he has returned for some very good reason." It would seem that he has some message from the other world.[3] Among the Chukchi the new-born child is believed to be some ancestor come back to earth. Its name is found by divining with an object such as a divining-stone, or some part of the mother's or child's dress such as a boot or cap, held suspended by the mother while she pronounces in turn the names of all deceased relatives and says after each one: "This has come." When the suspended object begins to swing the name is selected. The idea of the return of the dead is so strong in the Chukchi mind that half of the proper names have relation to it. Children are called by such

[1] De Groot, iv. 143, 452, 459.

[2] Miss Mary Lattimore, of Soochow, in *Records of Women's Conference on the Home Life of Chinese Women*, Shanghai, 1900, 9.

[3] Batchelor, *Ainu F. L.* 237.

names as Returned, The-former-one-rising, Rising-on-the-field, and so forth.[1] The Koryak hold that the souls of the dead go to the house of The-One-on-High. He hangs them up there on posts and beams. When the time comes for a soul to be born once more he sends it for that purpose to a relative of the deceased. As soon as the child is born the father divines what relative has returned, using a divining-stone much in the way it is used by the Chukchi. Sometimes the divination is by means of the child himself. The names of dead relatives are enumerated. When the child cries the name is not the right one; when he stops crying or begins to smile his identity is ascertained. As soon as the name is given the father carries the child out to his people and says: "A relative has come." Mr. Jochelson relates that during his stay in the village of Kamenskoye a child was named after its mother's father. The husband lifted his child and said to the mother: "Here, thy father has come."[2] In Assam the Mikirs give to children born after the death of relatives the names of the deceased and say that the dead have come back; "but they believe that the spirit is with Jòm [the Lord of Spirits, in the abode of the dead] all the same." The solution of this apparent contradiction seems to be that the dead go for awhile to "Jòm Recho's city," but that they return to be born again; and this goes on indefinitely.[3]

In New Zealand the priest, after certain ceremonies, first recited to the child the following stave:

[1] Bogoras, *Jesup Exped.* vii. 512; *Am. Anthr.* N. S. iv. 635.
[2] Jochelson, *Jesup Exped.* vi. 26, 100; *cf.* 203, 237, 274.
[3] Stack, 29.

Wait till I pronounce your name.
What is your name?
Listen to your name,
This is your name—

Then followed strings of ancestral names, until the babe sneezed. The name being uttered at the moment of the sneeze was the one chosen.[1] We are not expressly told that the object of this rite was to identify the child with one of his forefathers; but it can hardly be doubted. It was difficult, if, indeed, we may not use a stronger expression, to distinguish between ancestors and gods among the Maori. The worship of the kindred inhabitants of Samoa was, there can be little doubt, of a similar character. During the mother's labour, first the household god of the father's family and then that of the mother's family was invoked. The god being invoked at the instant of birth was looked upon as the child's special *aitu* (Maori, *atua*) or god; and its incarnation was "duly acknowledged throughout the future life of the child." During infancy the child was called and actually named "*merda* of Tongo," or "of Satiā," or whatever other divinity it might be, though later in life a special name was given. "Occasionally a chief bore the name of one of the gods superior."[2] In the island of Aurora, New Hebrides, where the people are Melanesians, women often speak of a child as the *nunu*, or echo, of some dead person. Dr. Codrington says: "It is not a notion of metempsychosis, as if the soul of the dead person returned in the new-born child; but it is thought that there is so close a connection that the infant takes the place of the deceased."[3]

[1] Taylor, 184.

[2] Turner, *Samoa*, 17, 78, 81.

[3] *J. A. I.* xviii. 311.

We may set this explanation beside the statement quoted by Dr. Tylor from Charlevoix that "some North-American Indians were observed to set the child in place of the last owner of its name, so that a man would treat as his grandfather a child who might have been his grandson."[1] It may also be compared with the belief of the Eskimo. Dr. Tylor cites from Crantz the assertion that a helpless widow would seek to persuade some father that the soul of a dead child of his had passed into a living child of hers, or *vice versâ*, thus gaining to herself a new relative and protector. Dr. Rink on the other hand considers that the deceased person whose name a child bore was only looked upon as a kind of guardian spirit. His statement, however, that the child when grown up was bound to brave the influences that caused his namesake's death—for instance, if the namesake had perished at sea, his successor had all the greater inducement to become a skilful kayaker—points to more than this; while numerous stories in Rink's collection indicate nothing less than identity; nay, one of them at least definitely asserts it.[2] Like Crantz,

[1] Tylor, *Prim. Cul.* ii. 4.

[2] Tylor, *Prim. Cul.* ii. 3; Crantz, i. 200 (*cf.* 161); Rink, 44, 54, 64, 434, 450. Compare the belief of the Baganda. Speaking of the custom of naming a child Mr. Roscoe says: "With royalty the name of the great-grandfather is given to the eldest son; peasants do not follow this custom, but take the name of some renowned relative. The spirit of the deceased relative enters the child and assists him through life" (*J. A. I.* xxxii. 32). Among the Awemba the diviner after consulting the lots gives a new-born child "the name of some dead chief, declaring that the spirit will look after his namesake" (J. H. W. Sheane, *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 155). Comparison of such cases as these enables us to surmise the stages through which the belief in the identity of the child with the deceased has decayed. Compare the Roman Catholic custom cited in a note, *infrà*, p. 223.

Dr. Rink writes of the Eskimo of Greenland. The stories of those of Baffin Land witness to the same belief. "There is one tradition in which it is told how the soul of a woman passed through the bodies of a great many animals, until finally it was born again as an infant." Dr. Boas, however, who records this and other tales, states that the Eskimo in question believe that a man has two souls, of which at death one goes to "one of the lands of the souls;" the other stays with the body, and when a child is named after the deceased enters its body and remains there about four months. "It is said that the soul enters the body because it is in want of a drink." This seems inconsistent with what follows: "It is believed that its presence strengthens the child's soul, which is very light, and apt to escape from the body. After leaving the body of the infant, the soul of the departed stays near by, that it may re-enter the infant in case of need."[1]

The practice of naming a child after a deceased person obtains also among the Eskimo of Bering Strait; but here it appears in a connection entirely different. "The first child born in a village after a person dies is given the dead one's name, and must represent that person in subsequent festivals which are given in his honour. This is the case if a child is born in the village between the time of the death and the next festival to the dead. If there be no child born, then one of the persons who helped [to] prepare the grave-box for the deceased is given his name and abandons his own for the purpose. When the festival

[1] *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xv. 132, 130. As to the Eskimo of Davis Strait, see Boas, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* vi. 612. The practice of naming seems the same, but no reason is assigned.

to the dead is given in which the relatives of the dead person wish to make offerings to the shade, the latter is invited to attend by means of songs of invitation and by putting up sticks with the totem-marks of the deceased upon them." The shade is supposed to obey the summons. In company with other shades in the fire-pit under the floor of the *kashim*, or assembly-house, "it receives the offerings of food water and clothing that are cast on the floor. Then is rendered the song that announces the presence of the namesake, at which the shade enters the form of that person. The feast-giver then removes the new suit of clothing he wears for the purpose and places it upon the namesake, and in doing this the shade becomes newly clothed; the food-offerings given to the namesake during this festival are in the same way believed to be really given to the dead. When this ceremony is finished the shade is dismissed back to the land of the dead."[1]

A comparison of these customs and beliefs suggests that the interpretation reported to us from Greenland and Baffin's Bay, and the rites observed by the Eskimo of Bering Strait are alike of more recent origin than the practice of naming children after the dead which is common to all Eskimo. The Eskimo of Bering Strait are in direct contact with the Athapascans and other

[1] Nelson, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xviii. 289, 424. For further details see *Ibid.* 364, 365, 371, 377. So far is the identification of the living representative with the deceased carried that during the Doll Festival "the namesakes of men dead are paired with namesakes of their deceased wives without regard to age, and during this period the men or the boys bring their temporary partners firewood, and the latter prepare food for them, thus symbolising the former union of the dead" (*Ibid.* 379). This is surely much more than symbolism.

American Indian peoples. Their culture in various ways shows traces of this contact. It is possible (but this is no more than a conjecture) that among them the representation of the dead at the festival by a living person is derived from analogous customs of some of their neighbours. Such customs are at all events practised by many of the North American tribes. That the union of the deceased with his representative is permanent is clear. The name is retained until old age, when it is sometimes changed in the hope of obtaining an extension of life. In such a case the new name is not that of another person, but one usually indicative of some personal peculiarity; and after the change is made it is considered improper to mention the former name.[1] The object is of course to conceal the identity and so escape the fate allotted to the bearer of the old name. On the other hand, belief in a merely temporary occupation of an infant by the spirit of the dead is probably due to a developing psychology. In an earlier stage it would seem that the deceased was reincarnate in the child, and not simply a kind of guardian spirit. To this the traditional tales and the obligation in Greenland to submit to the same dangers which had caused the death of the previous owner of the name indubitably witness. The probability is confirmed by what is related of the Eskimo of Angmagsalik on the eastern coast of Greenland. They say that man consists of three parts, the body, the soul and the name (*atekata*). The last enters the child when after its birth a sort of baptism is performed by rubbing water on its mouth and naming the name of the dead after whom the

[1] Nelson, *op. cit.* 289.

child is to be called. When a man dies the *atekata* remains with the body in the water or (where it is buried) in the earth until a child is named after him. It goes then into the child and there continues its existence.[1] Moreover, of the Eskimo on the west coast of Hudson's Bay, Captain Comer reports that the souls of the dead, if they so choose, may return and be born again. He adduces two recent cases where this was believed to have occurred. "An old man who died in 1896 said at his death that he would be born again by a certain woman. Soon after this the woman gave birth to a girl, who it was believed," in spite be it observed of the difference of sex, "to be the old man returned. Another man who died in 1885 said that he would be born again as a child of his own daughter. The latter had one son; and soon another son was born, who was looked upon as the dead one returned."[2]

Whatever may be the fact as regards the Melanesians and the Eskimo it is certain that in North America the new birth of the dead was widely believed in. Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia this opinion is now said to be confined to the cases of children dying in infancy. If such a child be succeeded by another of the same sex they say it is the same child come back again. "They do not believe that the soul of an elderly person can be re-born, nor that the soul of a male infant can be born again in a female infant, nor that the soul can return in an infant having a different mother." Formerly, we are told however, "this belief was more general than it is

[1] von Andrian, *Wortaber.* 20, citing Holm, *Ethnologisk Skizze.*

[2] *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xv. 146.

now."[1] And still "there seems to be a vague belief with some that adults, if they so desire, may also be re-born on earth; but this seldom happens."[2] Among the Haida "belief in reincarnation was so general that a large proportion of the children were named in accordance with this idea. When the shaman announced what ancestor was reincarnated that ancestor's name was of course given to the child. A man was always re-born into his own clan and generally into his own family." According to one opinion a man might return in this way four times from the Land of Souls. Ultimately he became a blue fly; what happened after that does not appear.[3] Among the Thlinkit, if a pregnant woman dreamed of a dead man it was said that the ghost had taken up its abode in her body; and if a newborn child had the least resemblance to a deceased relative, the latter was believed to have returned and the child was called by his name.[4]

On this side of the Rocky Mountains the Hareskins, a branch of the Dene or Athapascan stock, roam over

[1] Teit, *Mem. Am. Mus. N. H.* Anthrop. i. 359. The last statement is not unambiguous. I understand it to mean that the belief was formerly more general *in its terms*. It is likely that the cases mentioned would survive in the tribal opinion as cases of re-birth when others had been given up.

[2] *Id. Jesup Exped.* ii. 287, 277.

[3] Swanton, *Jesup Exped.* v. 117, 35. A story of a man who remembered his sojourn among the dead and his new birth, *Ibid.* 36. Rev. C. Harrison (*J. A. I.* xxi. 20) gives a similar account of Haida belief, but unquestionably coloured in some of its details by Christian ideas.

[4] Featherman, *Aoneo-Mar.* 392; Bancroft, iii. 517. See a saga of a man who remembered his experiences, *Brit. Ass. Rep.* (1889), 844; *cf. Id.* (1888), 241. Similar beliefs and stories of other British Columbian tribes, *Id.* (1890), 580, 611, 614; Boas, *Ind. Sag.* 322.

the steppes and stunted forests of the great North-West. Of them it is told that sometimes men die to be re-born almost immediately without going to the land of the dead. When these souls have chosen a woman for their mother they go to her and are reincarnated in her womb. Such migrations are recognised by several signs, as when the child is born with two teeth in the upper and two in the lower jaw, or when it is born immediately after a death, or when it remembers what it has been during its previous life, or when it resembles trait for trait a person defunct.[1] The Tacullies, or Carriers, also an Athapascan tribe, assist the soul's decision as to the child in which it will become reincarnate. They inquire of the dead if they will return to life or not. The shaman inspects the naked breast of the corpse, and if satisfied on the point he blows the soul into the air, that it may seek a new body, or puts his hands on one of the mourners, thereby conveying the spirit into him, to be embodied in his next offspring. The relation thus favoured, we are told, added the name of the deceased to his own.[2]

Like the Thompson Indians, the Iroquois held that it was chiefly the souls of children to which the privilege of a new birth was granted.[3] Huron philosophy posited the existence of two souls in a

[1] Petitot, *Traditions*, 275. The author gives one other sign which I do not understand: "Lorsqu'elles [*sc.* the women] cessent d'avoir leurs règles au temps prescrit par la nature dans notre pays.'

[2] Bancroft, iii. 517. Tylor (*op. cit.* 3), citing Waitz, states that it was the child who bore not only the name but the rank of the deceased. I have preferred to cite Bancroft both because the statement is second-hand instead of third-hand (I have no access to the original), and because it tells somewhat less strongly in favour of the argument. See also Boyle, *Archæological Report*, Ontario (1898), 142.

[3] Featherman, *op. cit.* 31.

man. One was changed at death into a turtle-dove or went to the village of souls. The other remained attached to the body, never to leave it "unless some one gave birth to it again." The striking resemblance which some persons bear to others who are dead was adduced to the Jesuit father who records this belief, in proof of its truth. The Hurons called the bones of the dead *Atisken*, or the souls. Babes who died under one or two months of age were not placed, like older persons, in sepulchres of bark raised on stakes, but buried in the road, in order that they might enter secretly into the wombs of passing women and be born again. The Jesuit father quaintly adds: "I doubt that the good Nicodemus would have found much difficulty here, although he only objected concerning old men *Quomodo potest homo nasci cum sit senex?*"[1] I shall have to recur to this practice. The Dakota held that a man had four souls. Some Sioux however speak of a fifth "which enters the body of some animal or child after death;" and they "go so far as to aver that they have distinct recollections of a former state of existence and of the passage into this." But it does not appear that the belief is general.[2] It is said that the medicine-men and women of the Sioux might "be transformed after death into wild beasts," but that the Dakota believed that their medicine-men and women ran their career four times in human shape and then were annihilated.[3] Some Siouan medicine-men

[1] *Relations des Jésuites*, x. (1636), 286, 272; *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* v. 114, 111.

[2] Dorsey, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 484.

[3] Bourke, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* ix. 470, quoting Schultze, *Fetichism* (New York, 1888). Some of them begin life as winged seeds, and after preparation and instruction by the divinities go forth and

however "profess to tell of what occurred to them in bodies previously inhabited for at least six generations back."[1] Twins are a mystery to the Teton, who believe that they are of superhuman origin and must come from Twin-land. They may die; but they are sure to be born again into separate families, and will then be able to recognise one another though others are unable to do so. Medicine-men often found their claims to supernatural power on having had a previous existence as twins.[2] A tale belonging to the cycle of Orpheus and Eurydice told by a member of the Teuktcän-si tribe in California relates that the bereaved husband when in the other world saw a long line of little babies moving silently back across the bridge that spanned the furious river between the living and the dead. "They were coming here to our women."[3] In Peru, if we may trust Garcilaso dela Vega, the Cavinna, one of the tribes to the south of Cuzco subdued by the Inca Manco Capac, claimed to be descended from parents who came out of a certain lake, and believed that the souls of those who died entered the lake and thence returned again to animate other bodies.[4]

The custom of calling a child by the name of one of its forefathers or other previously deceased relations is so common that it is useless to adduce instances, unless there be some concomitant like that of divination or a dream for connecting it with the belief

selecting their mothers are born into human society (*Ibid.* 494, quoting Pond in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*).

[1] Dorsey, *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 493.

[2] Dorsey, *op. cit.* 482, quoting MS. by Dr. J. M. Woodburn in possession of the Bur. Ethn.

[3] *Journ. Am. F. L.* xv. 105.

[4] Garcilaso, Bk. i. c. xx; Markham's trsln., i. 80.

in re-birth. It may notwithstanding be observed that it is a common belief in the lower culture that a name is an essential part of its owner. It is much more than a mere label: it is looked upon as having a real objective existence. The knowledge of the name gives power over the person or thing designated. This is the origin of innumerable magical practices. It accounts for the reluctance of savages to tell their names, for their propensity to adopt by-names by which they may usually be called without disclosing their true and proper names, and for the very general taboo of the names of the dead. Although therefore we are unable to discover any existing belief in the re-birth of an ancestor in many cases where the practice exists of giving an ancestral name to a child, still that belief may have been in earlier times at the root of the custom. Such a belief is quite likely to have faded with the advancing dawn of civilisation into the belief attributed to some of the Eskimo that the deceased whose name is thus appropriated becomes *ipso facto* a kind of guardian spirit to its new bearer, or into the analogous reason adduced by the Bontoc Igorot of northern Luzon for their invariable practice of giving a child the name of some dead ancestor. They allege that by so doing they will secure for the child the protection of the *anito*, or *manes*, of the ancestor in question. "If the child does not prosper or has accidents or ill health, the parents will seek a more careful or more benevolent proctector in the *anito* of some other ancestor;" and the child is thereafter known by the name of the latter.[1]

[1] Jenks, 62. Compare the belief in Belgium, and probably other Roman Catholic countries, that to give a child the name of a saint

A different reason however for a change of name in such a case is given by the Lapps. It was believed that when a woman was near child-bed, one of the ancestors appeared in a dream to her and instructed her what name was to be given to her child; and ordinarily the ancestor in question was the one who was about to be born again in the person of the child. Failing any such intimation the name was ascertained by divination. But if the babe sickened or cried after baptism, it was deemed that the ancestor had not been rightly identified. As it was necessary to discover him in order to give his name to the child, resort was had to a fresh baptism to correct the effects of the previous one.[1] In Norway, if a pregnant woman dream of one who is dead, the child must be named after him. If the dream be of a man, and a girl be born, the man's name must be feminised, and *vice versâ*. If she dream of more than one person, the names of all must be given.[2] This perhaps resulted from the uncertainty as to which of the dead who appeared was to be identified with the coming stranger. The same practice of giving a new-born babe the name of a deceased person is to be traced back in the old Icelandic sagas, where a dying person often appeals to

is to "place him under the invocation" of that saint. The name of Ghislain preserves the child from convulsions, that of Hubert from hydrophobia and from toothache, and so forth (*Bull. F. L.* ii. 150). Compare also the African customs cited above, p. 214, note.

[1] Rhys, *Celtic F. L.* 658, where he has tracked to its source in an old Scandinavian writer, whom he quotes, Prof. Tylor's authority for the statement given by him (*op. cit.* 4) from Klemm's *Culturgeschichte*. He adds from another Scandinavian writer of the eighteenth century the reason for change of name.

[2] Liebrecht, 311. Compare the Irish legend of the birth of Cuchulainn, D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Ep. Celt.* 37; *Rev. Celt.* ix. 12.

another to name a future child after him, because he expected advantage from it.[1] It is no far-fetched inference to suppose that he thereby expected to secure a new birth. In the Romagna it is usual to give the names of grandfathers uncles and other relatives to children, but not the names of relatives who are living, lest their death be accelerated—a vague reminiscence probably of the real reason.[2] In the Valdelsa the name by constant custom is that of the last person in the family who has died.[3] If a child die among the christianised Indians of Sonora, Mexico, the next that is born takes the name of the departed.[4] The reverse is the case in the province of Posen (Polish Prussia) and in the north of England, where a subsequent child must not be named after one that is

[1] *Zeits. des Vereins*, v. 99. Maurer cites on the authority of Vigfusson a curious tale of an Icelandic peasant who lived at the end of the sixteenth century, and to whose wife when pregnant the Devil himself appeared and desired that his name should be given to the child about to be born When the parents however came to the baptism the priest refused to baptize the boy by the name of Satan, and called him Natan. He grew up a clever man and a renowned physician, but was guilty of all sorts of crimes and ultimately came to a violent end (Maurer, 193).

[2] Placucci, 78, 23. The reason, however, may be derived from the belief that to bestow the name is to bestow a part of the life and personality of the original owner of the name, who would thus lose it. Even if this be so, the bestowal of the name of one who is dead would be in some sense at any rate to revive him. How far the present belief in Italy definitely regards a baby as a dead relative returned is doubtful (see Pigorini-Beri, 283, Leland, *Etr. Rom. Rem.* 200); though witches are thought to be born again (Leland. *op. cit.* 199). The opposite result to that expected in the Romagna is looked for at Chemnitz when the first children take their parents' names. In such a case the children die before the parents (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1778).

[3] *Archivio*, xv. 50.

[4] *Amer. Anthrop*, N. S. vi. 79 note.

dead, lest it also die.[1] The Andamanese, who as we have seen definitely believe in re-birth, name "a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one."[2] In certain districts of Papua children are often named after living relatives who indeed sometimes offer their names; but frequently a child is named after some one who is dead and whose soul, as the expression runs, it is desired to retain.[3] It is significant too, as Kohler has pointed out, that among the Marshall Islanders, a blood feud arising from a death is more easily settled after the birth of a new child in the injured family. In such a case the slayer takes advantage of the fact to pray for reconciliation in the name of the new-born infant.[4]

Sometimes special measures are taken to secure the return of children dying young. Such is the Huron custom already mentioned of burying children in the road where they would enter the wombs of passing women and be born again. The Musquakie bury children in the path to the river, in order that the mother as she passes to and fro may absorb the soul of her little one and have it born again of her body; whereas old people are buried at a distance on the hill-tops.[5] A practice followed in many parts of the world

[1] *Zeits. f. Volksk.* iii. 233; Addy, 94; *Denham Tracts*, ii. 49. This looks like complete identification, unless it be attributable to some evil influence in the name itself. But of course the real origin of the superstition is now forgotten.

[2] *Census of Ind.* (1901), iii. 63.

[3] *Zeits. Vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 359, quoting Vetter.

[4] *Ibid.* 447, quoting Jung.

[5] Owen, *F. L. Musq.* 86, 22. In the Delta of the Niger a similar practice prevails, but the reason given is different. It is "that mothers, either on the way to or from the spring, may keep

is that of burying a dead child within or immediately outside the hut where it died. It can hardly be doubted that the object here is the same. This is the usage of the Fans in West Africa.[1] The Kavirondo of British East Africa bury the child near the door of its mother's hut.[2] The Jaiswárás of the Panjâb bury under the threshold all children who die within fifteen days after birth. The reason assigned is that "in constantly stepping over [the grave] the parents would run no risk of losing any subsequent children."[3] This, however, is probably not the original reason. So about Sirhali in the Panjâb the custom prevailed of burying the female children, when killed, under the door. The belief was that by this means subsequent children (sons it was hoped) would be born in their place: that is to say, the children buried would be born again of the more desired sex. Mr. Rose suggests with probability that the general Hindu practice of burying instead of burning the bodies of young children is explained in a similar manner.[4] In Java a child who has died before receiving a name is buried without ceremony behind or near the house. Among the Karo-bataks a premature birth or a child under four days old is buried under the house.[5] The Andamanese, whose belief and practice of naming have already been referred to, bury babies under the floor of their parents'

in touch with the departed spirit; and women who were especially attached to these infants during their life will frequently go and keep up an imaginary conversation with them for quite a long time" (Leonard, 191). But is this the real, or the original reason? They believe in reincarnation (See *ante*, p. 201 note).

[1] Roche, 91. [2] Johnston, *Uganda*, ii. 749.

[3] *Panjab N. and Q.* i. 123 (par. 925).

[4] *Census of India*, 1901, xvii. 214. [5] Kruyt, 72, 242.

hut.[1] In Russia the peasants bury a still-born child under the floor.[2] The Chinese of the province of Kan-su cut it in pieces and bury it, in the belief that a boy will be born in a month afterwards.[3] The Southern Slavs in burying a babe lift the little coffin thrice out of the grave and lay it down again. The cover of the coffin is never fastened at the head and feet of the corpse, because it is believed that if it were the mother would never bear again, or if she did the next birth would be very difficult.[4] This alternative is probably late ; and both the former alternative and the ceremony of lifting the coffin thrice from the grave point to a belief in the child's return. The ancient Italians like the peoples of India forbore to burn the dead bodies of young children. They were buried under the eaves of the house.[5] Recent excavations in Palestine have discovered beneath the floors of temples numerous remains of newborn children buried in large jars. Dr. Frazer has probably with justice interpreted these not as the remains of sacrifice, but as deposits in the precincts of a god regarded as above all the source of fertility, laid there "in the hope that quickened by divine power they might enter again into the mother's womb and again be born into the world."[6] Among the northern Maidu of California a stillborn child must not be buried face downwards, else the mother will

[1] *Census of India*, 1901, iii. 65. [2] Ralston, *Songs*, 136.

[3] *Anthropos*, iii. 764.

[4] Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch*, 545.

[5] Pliny, vii. 15. See also Dieterich's observations, *Mutter Erde*, 21.

[6] Frazer, *Adonis*, 82. A similar custom to that under discussion probably accounts for the absence of children's remains in prehistoric burial-places that has puzzled the veteran antiquary Canon Greenwell (*Archæologia*, lx. 306).

ever afterwards be barren.[1] In the legend of the manioc already cited the maiden from whose grave the manioc sprouted was buried in her parents' house. In a variant it is the maiden's infant child who is thus buried; and we are told that he was thus buried according to ancient custom.[2]

Among the rites for obtaining children referred to in the last chapter were attempts by women in India and elsewhere to possess themselves of the life of a little infant, or of an executed criminal or other corpse, in the hope that the life thus obtained would be born again of them.[3] The subject was postponed for fuller discussion in connection with the subject of Transformation. Directing our attention first to the practice at Bombay of cutting off the end of a fruitful woman's robe, it might be thought that the object was merely to share, by a well-known magical process illustrated in practices elsewhere, in the fertility of the woman who owned the robe. That this is not so is shown by the requirement that in Guzerat the woman whose skirt is detached must be one pregnant for the first time, and the belief that she will thus be caused a miscarriage, while the woman who takes the skirt will bear a child.[4] Similarly

[1] Dixon, *Bull. Am. Mus. N. H.* xvii. 230.

[2] Carl Teschauer, *Anthropos.* i. 742. Many peoples bury adults in their huts. The hut is then usually abandoned, but by no means always: among tribes in various parts of the world it continues to be occupied. The question whether in such cases the burial has any relation to the belief in a fresh birth of the deceased requires examination for which I have had no opportunity. But even if the burial have no relation to the belief in question a considerable volume of evidence remains, of which examples are given above, that children are buried under or in close proximity to the parental hut for the purpose of being born again.

[3] *Suprà*, pp. 69, 71, 75–77.

[4] Dayá, 90.

we are told that among the Mohammedans in Oudh if a barren woman on a Sunday or a Tuesday tear off and swallow a piece of the wrapper of a fruitful woman it will cause her to conceive, but the other woman "considers the act as an ill omen" for herself.[1] In Guzerat it is clear that the intention is to transfer the child from one womb to the other; and although the practice in Oudh is described more vaguely we must interpret it to the same effect. This view is strengthened by the belief that when a child's shirt was steeped in water and the water drunk by a barren woman the child would die and be born again from the woman who had drunk the water, and by the general requirement in India that when, as often happens, a child is put to death for the purpose of securing offspring to a barren woman, that child must be a boy. "In the reported cases," says Mr. Rose, "there is only one in which the victim was a girl, and in that the parties concerned were Mohammedan fakirs.[2] The child's vitality is usually tested by torture previously to the final blow. Branding with hot metal is the favourite process; and having regard to the attitude taken by English magistrates to this ritual murder, the secret branding of a child unable to speak, and therefore to betray the torturer, is often held to satisfy the necessities of the case without murder.[3]

1 *N. Ind. N. and Q.* iii. 215 (par. 467); iv. 161 (par. 373).

2 *Census of Ind.* (1901), xvii. 214.

3 *N. Ind. N. and Q.* i. 148 (par. 911); Dayá, 90. I think the interpretation I have given of the torture is correct, though both that and the requirement of a bronze knife for actual despatch mentioned by Mr. Rose may point to confusion with the idea of a sacrifice. In any case, one kind of ritual murder, probably of late development, is the offering of human sacrifices to the gods for offspring. Professor Westermarck has collected a number of instances from various parts of the world which raise the suspicion

Murder, or a ritual survival of murder, is however by no means always necessary to obtain the child. We have found advantage taken of the death of one of special powers, as a saint, or of otherwise unexhausted powers, as an unmarried man or an executed criminal, to endeavour to secure a transfer to a barren woman of the departed life that she may reproduce it in a child. With these practices we must connect the stories attributing pregnancy to the absorption of a portion of a dead man's body, all of which point to a belief in the possibility of fertilisation by such means without sexual intercourse. Often in the stories the identity of the child with the deceased is expressly affirmed. The customs we have just been studying are in complete concord with this affirmation. It may be further suggested that here we have one at least of the causes which have concurred to produce so widely extended a custom as that which I have studied elsewhere of eating the corpses of the kin.[1] When we are told, for instance, of the Botocudos of South America that mothers ate their dead children as a mark of affec-

(though he does not express it) that the sacrificed life was expected to pass into the barren woman and be re-born. In the story he cites of King Somaka from the *Mahábhárata*, when the king's only son was sacrificed, we are expressly told that the king's one hundred wives all smelt the smell of the burnt offering and became pregnant of sons, the eldest of whom was the sacrificed son born again of his former mother (Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i. 457 *sqq.*).

The Paraiyans, or Pariahs, of Madras bury children in the ordinary burial-ground, unless the child be a first-born and a boy. It is then buried by the house or even within the house. The reason alleged is "that the corpse may not be carried off by a witch or sorcerer, as the body of a first-born child is supposed to possess special virtues" (*Madras Govt. Mus. Bull.* v. 82). There can be little doubt as to the real meaning of this.

[1] *Leg. Pers.* ii. 278, *sqq.*

tion,[1] we cannot help thinking of the common practice of burying children in their mother's hut, and of the analogous measures of the Hurons and Musquakie to obtain a return of the departed infant; and we ask whether the affection entertained by the Botocudo mother did not centre in the hope that by eating the body of the child she would get it back again in a new birth.

The North American tribes, less oppressed by external nature, had reached a higher plane of culture than the Botocudos. Long before the seventeenth century, when their doings are first recorded, the Hurons had abandoned such crude means of recovering their children, if they had ever made use of them. They and the other Indians of the plains and the Atlantic shores had arrived at a conception of personality based upon a subtler identity. It was this identity which they strove to retain in ways exemplified above, not only by Huron and Musquakie practices but also by those of the Tacullies. Their view of life was thus much nearer to metempsychosis, though metamorphosis was not wholly outgrown: it had still its place in their philosophy. We have observed the same phenomenon in the Old World; it has been frequently illustrated in the preceding pages. The Danâkil on the southern shore of the lower end of the Red Sea hold in spite of Islam that the souls, especially of their sorcerers and priests, seek new bodies, and that those who are most active in assistance during the last few days or hours of a dying sorcerer receive his powerful spirit in their first male offspring. Accordingly there is a busy coming and going

[1] Featherman, *Chiapo-Mar.* 355.

around the bed of a sorcerer sick unto death, people incessantly offering gifts and endeavouring to make themselves useful.[1] In the same spirit one of the prescriptions of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers directs a woman who has miscarried to go to the barrow of a deceased man and step thrice over it with certain words conjuring the effects of the miscarriage.[2] The Gipsy women in Hungary however require a material vehicle for the transfer of the life they seek, when at waxing moon they eat grass from the grave of a pregnant woman.[3] So among the Southern Slavs the woman goes to a pregnant woman's grave, calls upon her by name, bites some of the grass off the grave, calls upon her again, conjuring her to give her her child, and then taking some earth from the grave

[1] Paulitschke, ii. 28. In a later passage merely the gift of sooth-saying is spoken of as thus obtained for the first-born among the children of these busy-bodies (*Ibid.* 61); but the passage cited above expressly connects the practice with the belief in *Seelenwanderung*, and speaks of receiving the sorcerer's *mächtigen Geist*. It is not clear whether the people referred to are men. If so, there has probably been a transfer of function from women similar to that in the case of *märchen* influenced by Islam, where the magical fruit is sometimes eaten by the husband and not by the wife (*Leg. Perseus*, i. 79). The Mohammedanism of these tribes is, however, somewhat superficial.

Many of the Nilotic tribes bury the dead outside the door of the hut in which they had lived. The Soudanese soldiers employed in Uganda have been required to abandon this practice in favour of burial in a cemetery. They have "more or less accepted the order," save in the case of children, "who are often buried just outside the hut of their parents; and whenever Soudanese lines have been moved from one place to another" a number of these little graves has generally been discovered (Major Meldon, *Journ. Afr. Soc.* vii. 127).

[2] *Sax. Leechd.* iii. 66.

[3] Ploss, *Weib.* i. 439, citing von Wlislocki.

binds it in her girdle.[1] These practices require no comment.

There remains the Australian evidence, which is important, because the aboriginal population of that continent is on the lowest stage of culture now extant, and it has been until the early part of the last century wholly cut off, as far as we know, from intercourse with other peoples. Prior to recent investigations it was known that the Australian natives believed in a posthumous existence in flesh and blood. Members of various tribes had repeatedly recognised white men as departed relations and acquaintances who had found their way back. This is the "Jump up Whitefellow" belief which has been so often discussed since the time when the experiences of William Buckley were made public. He was a convict who escaped from the penal settlement at Port Phillip Bay in the year 1803, and was found by some of the Wudthaurung tribe carrying a piece of a broken spear. The fragment in question had been placed on the grave of one Murrangurk according to tribal custom by his kindred; and by this means Buckley was identified with the deceased. He lived with the natives for more than thirty years and married a native wife.[2] Since his time other white men have been similarly identified by natives in various parts of Australia as old friends and former members of their tribes; and the belief has been reported from the most widely sundered localities.

It is indeed by no means confined to Australia. It "may be traced northward," as Prof. Tylor says, "by the Torres Islands to New Caledonia, where the natives thought the white men to be spirits of the

[1] Krauss, *Volksgl.* 136. [2] Dawson, 110; Howitt, 442

dead, who bring sickness, and assigned this reason for wishing to kill white men." The Bari of the White Nile thought the first white people they saw were departed spirits thus come back; and the same theory is entertained both by Negroes and Bantu along the coast of West Africa. In 1861 a missionary was recognised by a native of Corisco Island in the Gulf of Guinea as his brother, who had died at such a time and had gone to White Man's Land. A chief on the island of Fernando Po who died in 1898 announced that he would reappear in the person of a ship-captain. A short time after his death a European geologist went to study the rocks of the valley where the chief had dwelt, and was taken for an embodiment of the deceased coming to look once more upon his lands.[1] Among the Bavili of French Congo it is apparently held that the dead man does not necessarily return white. Mr. Dennett relates the case of a woman whom he knew, who had died and was buried. "When she rose from the dead she found herself a slave and married to a white man in Boma. She lived with him until he went to Europe, when he freed her." After various adventures she succeeded in getting

[1] Tylor, *op. cit.* 5; Howitt, *l.c.*; *J. A. I.* xvi. 342; Mathews, *Ethnol. Notes*, 147; *Journ. Am. F. L.* ix. 200; Curr, i. 339; Nassau, 57; Mgr. Armengo Coll, *Anthropos*, ii. 390. In one Australian case the natives of the Brisbane district, in spite of his denials, recognised in a runaway convict named Baker a deceased member of the tribe, and, we are told, "allotted to him as his own property the portion of land that had belonged to" the deceased (Lang, *Queensland*, 336). As the natives have strictly speaking no property in land, this can mean no more than that they assigned him exclusive hunting rights. But even so it is convincing proof of the strength of their belief. See as to the belief in North Queensland, Roth, *Bull.* v. ss. 63, 64.

back to her native town. "Her parents were rejoiced to see her again; but they will not believe that she is a human being and continue to treat her as the departed spirit (*chimbindi*) of their daughter."[1] The Andamanese recognise all natives of India and the Far East as *chauga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.[2] The belief thus widely diffused does not involve new birth. But although the persons returned are recognised by bodily features and peculiarities, even by scars received in their previous existence, it does involve Transformation after death, or Transmigration into a new body, since the original body has been under the eyes of the relatives not merely buried (in which event resurrection may have taken place) but frequently burnt or dismembered according to custom.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and since important discoveries have however been made, especially of the ceremonies and beliefs of the natives inhabiting the central, northern and north-eastern districts of the Australian continent. Chief among those to whom we are indebted for accessions to our knowledge so great as almost to revolutionise our view of the aboriginal culture, are Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. F. J. Gillen, who have published the results of their joint inquiries in two elaborate volumes. The information thus obtained, so far as it relates to the subject under immediate consideration here, is to the following effect. The central tribes are all divided, like those in other parts of the continent, into totem-clans. Every tribe is also divided into two exogamous intermarrying classes;

[1] Dennett, *F. L. Fjort*, 11. [2] *Ind. Census*, 1901, iii. 63.

and these again are subdivided so as further to regulate sexual relations. But the birth of a child is not ascribed to sexual intercourse. That intercourse at most plays an accessory part. The child may come without it. Intercourse "merely as it were prepares the mother for the reception and birth also of an already-formed spirit child who inhabits one of the local totem centres."[1] On this point the explorers' evidence is emphatic and was confirmed by further inquiries made on their third journey. The Urabunna, the most southerly of the central Tribes, reckon descent in the female line only. Far in the past each of the totem-clans originated from a comparatively small number of individuals, who were half-human and half-animal or half-plant, after which the clan is named. They were possessed of more than human powers, and they deposited in the ground at certain spots where they performed sacred ceremonies a number of spirit-individuals, some of whom became men and women and formed the first series of totem-groups or clans. Since that time these spirit-individuals have been continually undergoing reincarnation. When one incarnation dies his spirit returns to the spot where the original deposit was made, and there awaits reincarnation. He chooses, subject to certain conditions with which we need not concern ourselves, the woman whom he will enter.[2]

[1] S. and G. *Cent. Tribes*, 265. It may be noted, in confirmation of the statement that these tribes do not ascribe the birth of a child to sexual intercourse, that among several of them at any rate (and, it may be suspected, now or at one time among all) the mother uses a different word from that employed by her husband to indicate the relationship of a son or daughter to the speaker (S. and G. *Cent. Tribes*, 76 *sqq.*, *North. Tribes*, 78 *sqq.*).

[2] S. and G. *North. Tribes*, 145, *sqq.*

Going northward, the next tribe met with is that of the Arunta. According to them the origin of the various totem-groups was somewhat similar. Their totemic ancestors were formed by two individuals called *Ungambikula* out of incomplete transformations of animals and plants, which they shaped into human beings. These newly formed men and women wandered in bands across the country, carrying objects called *Churinga* (a kind of bullroarer, usually of stone elaborately marked), every one of which was associated with the spirit-part of an individual. Sometimes each ancestor carried more than one of these *churinga*. At the various places where these ancestors ultimately "went into the ground," they left behind the *churinga* they were carrying. The period when these things happened is called the *Alcheringa*, a term not very happily rendered by "Dream-time," seeing that the Arunta believe the events to have actually occurred in an indefinite but far past period. "There are thus at the present day, dotted about all over the Arunta country, a very large number of places associated with these Alcheringa spirits, one group of whom will be Kangaroo, another Emu, another Hakea plant, and so on. When a woman conceives, it simply means that one of these spirits has gone inside her and, knowing where she first became aware that she was pregnant, the child when born is regarded as the reincarnation of one of the spirit-ancestors associated with that spot, and therefore it belongs to that totemic group." Thus every individual Arunta is a reincarnation of a mythical ancestor.[1]

Further still to the north the Warramunga hold all

[1] S. and G. *op. cit.* 150.

the members of a totemic group to be reincarnations of a number of spirits, the emanations from the body of a single ancestor half-human, half-beast or plant. This belief, which is similar to that of the Urabunna, though not held by the Arunta, is found among the more northerly tribes, with one exception, right through to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The exception is that of the Gnanji, a wild and somewhat isolated people. For them this doctrine of reincarnation (in other respects identical) is limited by the denial of a spirit-part to women. "They were quite definite," we are told, "on this point. There are large numbers of spirit female-children, but they never undergo reincarnation."[1] Whence come the baby-girls we are not informed. The Warramunga and Urabunna on the other hand, believe that the sexes alternate with each successive incarnation.[2]

In the territory of all these tribes, therefore, there are certain spots where disembodied spirits were originally deposited, and where they congregate during the intervals of incarnation, ready to pounce on any suitable woman who may come near. Among the Arunta these spirits are associated with *churinga*, which they leave behind when they enter the womb. Search is made for the *churinga*; by it the spirit thus reincarnated is identified, and the child is named accordingly. The totem of the child is thus not reckoned by natural descent. The totems have become localised, and the totemic group to which the child belongs is determined by the place at which the mother first becomes aware of her condition, and by the *churinga* found there. In some of the more

[1] S. and G. *op. cit.* 161, 170. [2] *Ibid.* 358 note, 530.

northern tribes however the totems descend strictly in the paternal line, and it is believed that a spirit seeking reincarnation will in general refuse to enter a woman other than the wife of a man of the proper totem.[1] It is possible by magic to cause a spirit to enter into a woman. About fifteen miles from Alice Springs in the territory of the Arunta there is a rounded stone projecting about three feet above the ground. It is called *Erathipa*, meaning *child*. On one side of it is "a round hole through which the spirit-children are supposed to be on the look-out for women who may chance to pass near, and it is firmly believed that visiting the stone will result in conception. . . . Not only may the women become pregnant by visiting the stone, but it is believed that by performing a very simple ceremony a malicious man may cause women even children who are at a distance to become so. . . . Or again, if a man and his wife both wish for a child, the man ties his hair girdle round the stone, rubs it and mutters: 'The woman my wife you (think) not good, look.'" Similar stones exist at other places.[2] Although an ancestor is thus reincarnated the natives have no hesitation about putting an inconvenient child to death as soon as it is born. "They believe that the spirit-part of the child goes back at once to the particular spot from whence it came, and can be born again at some subsequent time, even of the same woman."[3]

[1] S. and G. *op. cit.* 169, 175, 176, 273; *Cent. Tribes*, 124, 132, 138, 300.

[2] S. and G. *Cent. Tribes*, 336; *North. Tribes*, 271, 331, 450.

[3] S. and G. *Cent. Tribes*, 51. As to the Kaitish and Unmatjera, see S. and G. *North. Tribes*, 506. As to the theory of multiple souls

The question presents itself whether the belief in reincarnation is found among other Australian tribes. The answer must be that it is found, but our knowledge of the tribes is too limited to enable us to say definitely that all of them have held it. Only among a few of the tribes have systematic and prolonged investigations taken place by persons whose attention has been directed to the point, and by them only within recent years; and the information we have is in all cases imperfect. In the west of Victoria the tribes from Avoca River to the boundary of South Australia and from the Murray River to the Main

held by these tribes and the Arunta, see *Cent. Tribes*, 513; *North. Tribes*, 450.

It is right to say that a somewhat different account from that outlined above of the philosophy of all these tribes is given by Mr. Strehlow, a German missionary who has lived for some years among the Arunta. He seems to have had his attention first called to the matter by inquiries addressed to him in consequence of the works just cited. He therefore prosecuted researches among the Arunta and Loritja, and has recently published the results through the Municipal Museum of Frankfort on the Main. Space does not allow me to examine these results at length. To some extent they confirm the statements of Spencer and Gillen. The sexual relations of men and women have nothing to do with birth. In some cases birth may be the voluntary reincarnation of a primeval ancestor. It is more usually the incarnation of a child-germ emanating from one of such primeval ancestors and not previously born (Strehlow, i. 15; ii. 51 *sqq.*). Reincarnation is a common feature of the belief of peoples in the lower culture, and is as we shall see widely held in Australia. Moreover the account given by Spencer and Gillen has been confirmed by independent inquiry among the Arunta and neighbouring tribes (Mathews, *Proc. R. Soc. N. S. Wales*, xl. 107, *sqq.*; xli. 147). Accordingly on the whole there seems little doubt that it may be safely trusted. Mr. Strehlow's report, however, agrees in some particulars with the beliefs of other tribes (*infra* p. 242); and it may very likely represent the opinions of a section of the Arunta and Loritja.

Range are reported to believe that every totem-clan has its own spirit-land called *mi-yur*, home or final resting-place, to which the souls of members of the clan go after death. There they congregate; and thence from time to time they emerge, and are born again in human shape. The tribes inhabiting the country from Beaufort towards Hexham and Wickliffe have only one spirit-land for all their clans. It is an island a short distance off the coast called by the natives Dhinmār, but known on the map as Lady Julia Percy Island. Thither every disembodied spirit makes its way, and there it remains until reincarnated.[1] The report I cite gives no further details as to the method of reincarnation; but presumably the spirits are born again into their own respective tribes and clans. In South Australia the tribe (now extinct) about Adelaide held that the spirits of the dead went to Pindi, the western land. At some period they returned from Pindi to be re-born, and in the interval took up their abode in trees.[2] The Nimbaldi tribe, about Mount Freeling, believe in "a spirit called Muree, which may be either a male or a female," and which meets a woman and throws a small waddy called *weetchu* under her thumb-nail or great toe-nail, and so enters her body. In due time she then gives birth to a child.[3] The Euahlayi, whose country is the border between New South Wales and Queensland, hold that babies and children who die young without passing through

[1] Mathews, *Ethnol. Notes*, 91, 95.

[2] N. W. Thomas, *Man* (1904), 99 (par. 68), citing *Tasmanian Journ.* i. 64.

[3] Mathews, *op. cit.* 148, citing Taplin, *F. L. &c. of S. Austr. Abor.* (Adelaide, 1879), 88. Compare the Arunta belief according to Strehlow, ii. 53.

the puberty rites are born again, either of their own mother or, if they prefer, of another woman. In the former case the child is called *millanboo* (the same again). A reason sometimes given for the marriage which often takes place of young men to old women is "that these young men were on earth before and loved these same women but died before their initiation, so could not marry until now in their reincarnation." Other babies seemed to be manufactured *ad hoc*. The process will be considered hereafter.[1] On the other side of the continent, near York in Western Australia, there is a stone inhabited by the spirits of children; and if a woman go "near that stone she will get one of these children. Sometimes they enter her through her mouth, sometimes through other parts of her body, but," says the lady who reports this, "so far as I have investigated [the natives] did not believe that procreation had anything to do with conception."[2] This belief seems similar to that of the Arunta.

It thus appears that in Australia there is a widespread belief in the reincarnation of the dead. We had already learnt that the belief in transformation, both into animal and vegetable forms, was found there. Beyond this however the Australian natives have developed the doctrine of the soul, or double, which after release by death may enter again into a woman and take flesh as a new child. And the testimony is express that sexual intercourse is not, at least among some tribes, held necessary for conception, but that it

[1] Mrs. Parker, 50, 56, 73, 89. As to the theory of multiple spirits see 35, 27, 29.

[2] Mrs. Bates, in a letter to Mr. Andrew Lang, quoted by him in *Man* (1906), 180 (par. 112).

is caused by the mere will of such a soul to return to human society. Even where, as among the tribes of North Queensland, we have no evidence of the belief in reincarnation of ancestors, sexual intercourse is excluded as a necessary condition of birth. These facts, occurring as they do among a race in a stage of culture lower than any other now upon the surface of the globe, materially assist the conclusion that pregnancy was widely held in early times to be caused by other than what we regard as the natural means.

The notion of a factory or warehouse of children whence they are sent forth to find mothers is shared by some of the Australian tribes with peoples in other continents. The Hidatsa of North America have a cavern near Knife River called Makadistati, the house of infants. It was supposed to extend far into the earth, but the entrance was only a span wide. "It was resorted to by the childless husband or the barren wife. There are those among them who imagine that in some way or other their children come from the Makadistati; and marks of contusion on an infant, arising from tight swaddling or other causes, are gravely attributed to kicks received from his former comrades when he was ejected from his subterranean home." Another account which appears to refer to the same place only mentions squaws as resorting to it and receiving from it "prolific virtue."[1] Precisely parallel to this cavern is a hill on the Daly River in the Northern Territory of Australia. It is called by the natives Alalk-yinga, the place of children. They believe that the children hereafter to be born are kept shut up there under the care of one old man

[1] *Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 516.

whose duty it is to prevent them from escaping and to supply them with water. The latter he does by means of an underground communication with the river, about a mile away. "When a child is to be born this old man sees to the business."[1]

The question where this baby-factory was was solved by the ancient Mexicans in favour of the kingdom of the dead. Accordingly an epithet for that realm was *tlacapillachiualoya*, the place where the children of men are produced, or engendered.[2] The same solution has been reached by the Santals of the Rajmahal Hills, in India. Every Santal who bears the *sika*, or tribal mark, on his left forearm, after death enters the kingdom of the gods, and is employed by them "in grinding the bones of past generations with a pestle made of the wood of the castor-oil-tree in order to provide the gods with a good supply of material to produce the children yet unborn." This is the continual occupation to which a Santal looks forward in the next life, interrupted only by a periodical festival similar to those he loved on earth, or by a momentary

[1] Mathews, *Proc. R. Soc. N.S.W.* xl. 113; *Ethnol. Notes*, 148, citing *Trans. R. Soc. S. Austr.* xvii. 262.

[2] Preuss, *Arch. Religionsw.* vii. 234. Compare a tradition by which the origin of the present race of mankind was attributed to a bone of a previous race, fetched from Hell and sprinkled with the blood of sixteen hundred supernatural heroes. A boy and then a girl are thus formed from it; and they become the ancestors of all nations (Southey, *Commonpl. Bk.* iv. 142, quoting some authority not indicated). The Maidu of California in a cosmogonic legend speak of an Earthmaker who forms figures in shape like men, but barely as big as a tiny seed. These he plants by pairs in the earth at different places to grow into men and women. At the appointed time they come forth; the earlier races are all killed or transformed, and are supplanted by the pairs who have risen from the earth and their children (Dixon, *Journ. Am. F. L.* xvi. 33).

pause to prepare his tobacco-quid, or if a woman who has borne children to give suck to the child at her breast.[1] Similar material is believed by the peoples of Togoland in West Africa to be required for the production of new human beings. The underjaws of slaughtered enemies are consequently in Kunya brought by the Guan and dedicated to the fetish Kombi, an undergod of the great goddess Sia, by whom they are applied to this purpose.[2]

I hope that I have now made it plain that stories of metamorphosis, such as those we have found in the examination of the theme of Supernatural Birth, are founded upon the serious belief that at death men are not annihilated, but pass into fresh forms, sometimes appearing as plants and trees, sometimes as animals of the lower creation, and sometimes as men and women born again into their own kindred or among strangers. This is a creed held so widely that—though subject perhaps to varying stress according to the degree and direction of the evolving civilisation—it may yet be regarded as practically universal.

The relation between Transformation and Transmigration calls for some remark. In the examples I have set before the reader I have treated them as for our purpose equivalent. In many cases it is probable that our evidence is inaccurate, and that what the observer set down as metempsychosis really presented itself under a simpler conception to the people of whom he is speaking. Personality as conceived by savage thought is not bound to one definite, individual, relatively invariable form. The form may change, yet the personality remain. Tales soberly credited in all

[1] Bradley-Birt, 285. [2] *Globus*, lxxxix. 12.

but the highest culture are full of shape-shifting. It would be as vain to attempt to persuade a peasant in remote parts of our own country that some poor old woman was not a witch capable of turning herself upon occasion into a hare, and in fact known to do so, as to persuade a Wiradjuri in New South Wales that a *bugin*, or medicine-man, was not able to turn himself at will into an animal, or even the stump of a tree or other inanimate object.

If such a change may take place in a living person still more freely may it take place by means of death. It is quite clear that in many of the instances mentioned in the foregoing pages the change is regarded as a direct bodily change and not a reincarnation of the soul; and these might be paralleled without any difficulty from all parts of the world. Let it suffice to refer to the Welsh tale of Math ab Mathonwy. In that tale we are told of a hero named Llew Llawgyffes who could not be slain except when dressing after a bath. The bath must be arranged by the side of a river; it must be well roofed over; a buck must be brought and put beside the caldron; then if the hero put one foot on the edge of the caldron and the other on the buck's back, in that attitude whoever struck him would cause his death. His treacherous wife Blodeuwedd concerts measures with her paramour Gronw Pebyr and succeeds in fulfilling the conditions. Gronw flung a poisoned dart and struck him on the side, so that the head of the dart remained in the wound. Llew Llawgyffes flew up in the form of an eagle and disappeared. He was afterwards traced by Gwydion, son of Don, and found in a miserable condition with his flesh putrefying from the wound. By means of incantations Gwydion got

possession of the bird and with the help of his magic wand restored him to his proper shape. Blodeuwedd was turned into an owl; "and for this reason is the owl hateful unto all birds. And even now the owl is called Blodeuwedd."[1] Sir John Rhys commenting on this and other Celtic stories draws attention to the fact that "none of these stories of shape-shifting and of being born again make any allusion to a soul." It is evident that the eagle in whose form Llew Llawgyffes flew away cannot be regarded as his soul. The decayed state of its body, the festering of the wound and the retransformation into a man are conclusive on this point. Yet the fatal wounding of the hero was foretold as his death and is treated in the story as his death. The story reaches us in a late form and only in a single manuscript of the fourteenth century. But its form is probably not later than the eleventh century; its substance is much earlier. It has undergone, as Sir John Rhys has unanswerably shown, in the process of transmission some misunderstanding as to the metamorphoses, which appears to have resulted in tampering with the original plot. But the aim of that tampering was to obscure the fact of Llew's death, not to blink his transformation.

Mr. Aston observes on the stories given above from the *Nihongi:* "The modern name for ghost testifies to the prevalence of this conception [that of bodily metamorphosis at death] in Japan. It is *bake-mono*, or 'transformation,' and is applied to foxes which change into human form as well as to the ghosts of the dead and to hobgoblins of uncertain origin. . . .

[1] *Llyvyr Coch*, 75; *Mabinogion*, 427; Nutt's ed. 74; Rhys, *Celtic F. L.* 609.

There are no proper ghosts in the *Kojiki* or *Nihongi*, although the writers of these works were fond of recording strange and miraculous occurrences. The metamorphosed appearances mentioned in them are never phantoms with a resemblance to the human form, and possess no spiritual qualities. Even now the *bake-mono*, though differing little from our ghost, is quite distinct from the human *mitama* or *tamashii* (soul)."[1] We may remind ourselves that a similar distinction is drawn by the Angoni and the Achewa in Central Africa between the animal or plant regarded as the reincorporation of a dead man and the *mzimu*, or spirit. With the former the surviving relatives do not concern themselves, except that they will not destroy or eat it; the latter is the object of a cult.[2]

In cases like these there is no second birth: the metamorphosis is direct. Nor is the evidence less cogent where the deceased is born again. When Bata in bull-form was slain two drops of his blood fell upon the door-posts and forthwith grew up into trees. When the trees were cut down a splinter entered the king's mistress' mouth and rendered her pregnant—of Bata once more. When an Ainu mother looks to see whether her baby's ears are already pierced there is no question of a soul taking flesh in a new body: it is a new birth of the old body of an ancestor. It is true that the Mongolian tale of Shêduir Van speaks of his soul as entering the empress' womb. Shêduir Van was a Khotogait prince executed for conspiracy against the Emperor of China. After his death the empress gave birth to a child; and the wise men declared that

[1] Aston, *Shinto*, 49. See *suprà*, p. 178.
[2] *Suprà*, p. 169.

the soul of Shêduir Van had, as he had foretold, entered her womb. How was the babe identified as the beheaded prince? By the cicatrice on its neck; thus showing, in spite of Buddhist contamination, that the idea underlying the incident is that of a new birth of the old body.[1] The far-spread story of the lovers, from whose grave two trees grew up and united their branches, is a story of Transformation and not of Metempsychosis. If I am right in the conclusion I have drawn that the stories of fish fruit worms stones and other objects entering the bodies of women as food or otherwise and rendering them pregnant present those various objects not merely as vehicles of fertilisation but as becoming human beings by the process of pregnancy and birth, then here we have once more examples of metamorphosis.

The truth is that the foundation of savage philosophy lies far down below Animism. The lines we draw between the lower animals and the vegetable and mineral kingdoms on the one hand and human beings on the other hand are not drawn in the lower culture. Man, interpreting all objects in the terms of his own consciousness, first endowed them with personality, but a personality such as I have described, vague and imperfectly crystallised, sufficiently fluid to run first in one mould and then in another, and even to divide into parts, without loss of identity. As experience gradually widened, the conception of personality became modified to bring it into harmony with observed phenomena. In the evolution which resulted dreams and trances played a prominent part. The doctrine of a soul or double, an inner, a separable and

[1] Gardner, *F. L. Journ.* iv. 30.

a more elusive self, emerged and like the prior conception of personality was applied not alone to human beings but also to the lower animals trees rocks and indeed to all external objects. But it must not be supposed that the soul was conceived as immaterial. Long ages elapsed before civilised thinkers arrived at this ; and the difficulties of such a concept are so great that even the highest religions, though paying lip-service to it, fall back in their rites their legends their promises and their threats on grosser and more material implications. The distinction between spirit and matter is unknown in the lower culture. The African, whether Negro or Bantu, as Miss Kingsley says, "does not believe in anything being soulless ; he regards even matter itself as a low form of soul, because not lively ;"[1] in his mind, that is to say, the confusion is complete. The same confusion appears in the ideas of peoples the most widely sundered in space and civilisation. To the savage as to our own forefathers and to the *folk* of all civilised countries still the idea of an incorporeal soul wanting every attribute of physical existence, such as a more refined philosophy demands, is incomprehensible. A man may not be able to see the soul, he may not be able to handle it, when it is united with the body that normally possesses it. But this kernel, this inner self of friend or foe, comes to him in dreams ; he beholds it in the snake or the toad the insect or the dove that haunts the tomb of one who was dear to him, or in the rose-bush or the lily growing upon the grave ; or he fetches it back in the shape of a white stone to his child who has sickened from its absence and is like to die. Finally,

[1] Kingsley, *Studies*, 199.

it is this that entering the body of a woman may of its own potentiality cause pregnancy, so that the babe she brings forth will be no other than the new manifestation of a pre-existing person. Thus though conceived as material its materiality is thin and subtle : it may animate any form and yet remain essentially the same. Its identity becomes the real identity of the man, pervading his entire being and transmissible from form to form. The idea of soul in this more evolved philosophy has in fact appropriated most of the attributes of the older and ruder idea of personality without entirely superseding it. Hence the distinction between Transformation and Transmigration is frequently so faint and indefinable. Transmigration is a natural development of Transformation, imperceptible because gradual, and dependent for its complete disclosure upon the degree of development of the doctrine of the soul.

CHAPTER IV

MOTHERRIGHT

Ignorance in the lower culture on the physiology of birth. Such ignorance was once greater and more widespread than now. For many ages the social organisation of mankind would not have necessitated the concentration of thought on the problem of paternity. Descent was and by many peoples still is reckoned exclusively through the mother. The social organisation implied by motherright. Kinship is founded on a community of blood actual or imputed. The Blood-Covenant. The father not recognised in motherright as belonging to the kin. His alien position and its consequences. The Nâyars. Combat between father and son. The Blood-feud. Children the property of the kin. The *potestas* in motherright. Evolution of the family. The mutual rights and duties of the children and their mother's brother. Father a wholly subordinate person. The origin of motherright not to be found in uncertainty of paternity. Paternity in patrilineal societies.

It has been shown in previous chapters that:

1. Stories of birth from other than what we now know as the only natural cause are told and believed all over the world.
2. The means to which in these stories birth is attributed are or have been actually adopted for the production of children.
3. It is also widely believed that birth is merely a new manifestation of a previously existing creature, either human or one of the lower animals

or even vegetables; and conversely that a human being may after death take form by birth as one of the lower animals, or may grow up as a plant or tree.

4. The birth of a previously existing creature may result from the action of that creature, without procreation by masculine aid.

Put in another way these beliefs may be summed up by saying that in the contemplation of peoples in the lower culture birth is a phenomenon independent of the union of the sexes. By this it is not meant that at the present time everywhere among such peoples physiological knowledge is still in so backward a condition that the co-operation of the sexes is regarded as a matter of indifference in the production of children. That would be to contradict the facts. Today the vast majority of savage and barbarous nations are aware that sexual union is ordinarily a condition precedent to birth. Even among such peoples, however, exceptions are admitted without difficulty; and there are peoples like certain Australian tribes who do not yet understand it. Their state of ignorance was probably once the state of other races and indeed of all humanity. The history of mankind so far as we can trace it, whether in written records or by the less direct but not less certain methods of scientific investigation, exhibits the slow and gradual encroachments of knowledge on the confines of almost boundless ignorance. That such ignorance should once have touched the hidden springs of life itself is no more incredible than that it should have extended to the cause of death. There are plenty of races who even yet attribute a death by

anything else than violence to the machinations of an evil-disposed person or spirit, no matter how old or enfeebled by privation or hardship the deceased may have been. Nor do they omit anything which may render their ignorance on this point unambiguous; they proceed to discover and punish the sorcerer; they expel the malicious spirit; they appease the enraged or arbitrary divinity.

Death has a character mysterious and awful, of which no familiarity has been able to divest it, and which not even the latest researches of physiologists have been able to dispel. Ignorance of the real cause of birth, it might be thought, on the other hand would not long survive the habitual commerce of men and women and the continual reproduction of the species. It would not, in our stage of civilisation and with our social regulations. But the theory of the evolution of civilisation postulates the evolution of man, mentally and morally as well as physically. At the moment when the anthropoid became entitled to be properly denominated man his intellectual capacity was not that of a Shakspeare a Newton a Darwin, or even of an average Englishman of the twentieth century. He was only endowed with potentialities which, after an unknown series of generations and thanks to what we in our nescience variously dub a fortunate combination of circumstances or an over-ruling Providence, issued in that supreme result. The savage who has not been thus favoured is still by comparison undeveloped. His intellectual faculties are chiefly employed in winning material subsistence, in gratifying his passions, in fighting with his fellow-man and with the wild beasts, often in maintaining a doubtful conflict

against inclement skies unfruitful earth or tempestuous seas. Many of them, therefore, are dormant, like a bud before it has unfolded. His attention, not habitually directed to the problems of the universe, is easily tired. His knowledge is severely limited; his range of ideas is small. Credulous as a child, he is put off from the solution of a merely speculative question by a tale that chimes with his previous ideas, though it may transcend his actual experience. Hence many a deduction, many an induction, to us plain and obvious has been retarded, or never reached at all: he is still a savage.

During many ages the social organisation of mankind would not have necessitated the concentration of thought on the problem of paternity. Descent is still reckoned exclusively through the mother by a number of savage and barbarous peoples. This mode of reckoning descent is called by a useful term of German origin—Motherright. It would be impossible to undertake an exhaustive enumeration of the peoples among which motherright prevails. The civilised nations of Europe and European origin reckon descent and consequently kinship through both parents. A few others, chiefly more civilised nations like the Chinese and the Arabs, agree with them. Apart from these it may be roughly said that motherright is found in every quarter of the globe. Not that every people is in the stage of motherright: on the contrary many reckon through the father. But even where the latter is the case vestiges of the former are commonly to be traced. And the result of anthropological investigations during the past half-century has been to show that motherright everywhere pre-

ceded fatherright and the reckoning of descent in the modern civilised fashion through both parents.

This past universality of motherright points to a very early origin. It must have taken its rise in a condition of society ruder than any of which we have cognisance. Let us consider what social organisation it implies. Kinship is a sociological term. It is not synonymous with blood-relationship: it does not express a physiological fact. Many savage peoples are organised in totemic clans, each clan bearing usually the name of an animal or plant often supposed to be akin to the human members of the clan. Every member of the clan recognises every other member as of the kin. Inasmuch as these clans extend frequently through whole tribes and even to distant parts of a vast continent like North America or Australia, it is practically impossible that the members can be in a physiological sense blood-relations. Notwithstanding this, every member of the totem-clan, wherever he may be found, is entitled to all the privileges and subject to all the disabilities incident to his status. He is entitled to protection at the hands of his fellow-clansmen. He is liable to be called on to take part in the blood-feud of the clan, and to suffer by an act of vengeance for a wrong committed by some other member of the clan. Foremost among his disabilities is the prohibition to marry or have sexual relations with any woman within the kin. Consequently his children must all be children of women belonging to a different kin from his own.

Though kinship, however, is not equivalent to blood-relationship in our sense of the term, it is founded on the idea of common blood which all within the kin

possess and to which all outside the kin are strangers. A feeling of solidarity runs through the entire kin, so that it may be said without hyperbole that the kin is regarded as one entire life, one body, whereof each unit is more than metaphorically a member, a limb. The same blood runs through them all, and "the blood is the life." Literally they may not all be descended from a common ancestry. Descent is the normal, the typical, cause of kinship and a common blood. It is the legal presupposition: by birth a child enters a kin for good and ill. But kinship may also be acquired; and when once it is acquired by a stranger he ranks thenceforth for all purposes as one descended from the common ancestor. To acquire kinship a ceremony must be undergone: the blood of the candidate for admission into the kin must be mingled with that of the kin. This ceremony, no less than the words made use of in various languages to describe the members of the kin and their common bond, renders it clear that the bond is the bond of blood.

The mingling of blood—the Blood-covenant as it is called—is a simple though repulsive rite. It is sufficient that an incision be made in the neophyte's arm and the flowing blood sucked from it by one of the clansmen, upon whom the operation is repeated in turn by the neophyte. Originally, perhaps, all the clansmen assembled as witnesses if not as actual participants of the rite; and even yet participation by more than one representative is frequently required. The exact form is not always the same. Sometimes the blood is dropped into a cup and diluted with some other drink. Sometimes food eaten together is impregnated with the blood. Sometimes a species of inoculation is practised

or it is enough to rub the bleeding wounds together, so that the blood of both parties is mixed and smeared upon them both. Among certain tribes of Borneo the drops are allowed to fall upon a leaf, which is then made up into a cigar with tobacco and lighted and smoked alternately by both parties.[1] But whatever may be the exact form adopted, the essence of the rite is the same, and its range is extraordinarily wide. It is mentioned by classical writers as practised by the Arabs the Scythians the Lydians and Iberians of Asia Minor and apparently the Medes. Many passages of the Bible, many of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, are inexplicable apart from it. Ancient Arab historians are full of allusions to it. Odin and Loki entered into the bond, which means that it was customary among the Norsemen—as we know in fact from other sources. It is recorded by Giraldus of the Irish of his day; and it still lingered as lately as two hundred years ago among the western islanders of Scotland. It is related of the Huns or Magyars and of the mediæval Roumanians. Joinville ascribes it to one of the tribes of the Caucasus; and the Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, who travelled in Ukrainia in the twelfth century, found it there. In modern times every African traveller mentions it; many of them have had to undergo the ceremony. In the neighbouring island of Madagascar it is well known. All over the Eastern Archipelago, in the Malay peninsula, among the Karens, the Siamese, the Dards on the northern border of our Indian empire and many of the aboriginal tribes of Bengal and Central India the wild tribes of China, the Syrians of Lebanon and

[1] Roth, *Sarawak*, ii. 206.

the Bedouins, and among various autochthónous peoples of North and South America, the rite is or has been within recent times in use.[1] Nor has it ceased to be practised in Europe by the Gipsies and the Southern Slavs. In the French department of Aube, when a child bleeds he puts a little of his blood on the face or hands of one of his playfellows and says to him: "Thou shalt be my cousin." In like manner in New England, when a school-girl not many years since pricked her finger so that the blood came, one of her companions would say: "Oh! let me suck the blood; then we shall be friends." Something more than vestiges of the rite remain among the Italians of the Abruzzi. And the band of the Mala Vita, a society for criminal purposes in Southern Italy only broken up a few years ago, was a brotherhood formed by the blood-covenant. Indeed many secret societies both civilised and uncivilised have adopted an initiation-rite of which the blood-covenant forms part, either actually or by symbol representing an act once literally performed.

That the blood-covenant, whereby blood-brotherhood is assumed, is not a primeval rite is obvious from its artificial character. At the same time its barbarism and the wide area over which it is spread point with certainty to its early evolution, and the fact that it is in unison with conceptions essentially and universally human. It has its basis in ideas which must have been pre-existent. Even among races like the Polynesians, and the Turanian inhabitants of

[1] So far as I am aware it is expressly recorded only of the Seminoles in North America (Featherman, *Aoneo-Mar.* 172), a tribe in Yucatan and a tribe in Brazil (Trumbull, 54, 55, citing authorities); but practices in other tribes point to the underlying idea.

Northern Europe and Asia, where the rite itself may not be recorded, there are unmistakable traces of the influence of those ideas. On the other hand where, as among some of the peoples included above, it has ceased to be used for the purpose of admission to a clan, the rite or some transparent modification of it, has continued in use for the reconciliation of ancient foes or the solemnisation of a specially binding league.[1]

In a society organised by the bond of blood, and where descent is reckoned through females only, the father is not recognised as belonging to the kin of the children. Among matrilineal peoples exogamy, or marriage outside the kin, is usually if not always compulsory. So far is this carried that the artificial tie of the blood-covenant is a barrier to marriage. When Cúchulainn in the Irish saga of *The Wooing of Emer* wounded his love, Dervorgil, in the form of a sea-bird with a stone from his sling, he became her blood-brother by sucking from the wound the stone with a clot of blood round it. "I cannot wed thee now," he said, "for I have drunk thy blood. But I will give thee to my companion here, Lugaid of the Red Stripes." And so it was done.[2] This tale beyond doubt reflects the custom among the ancient Irish. The islanders of Wetar in the East Indies, to select only one other example, represent even an earlier

[1] There is one doubtful account of its use among the descendants of Genghis Khan for this purpose (see the passage quoted and commented on by M. René Basset, *Rev. Trad. Pop.* x. 176). As to the subject generally, see Robertson Smith (*Kinship;* and *Rel. Sem.*); Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant* (London, 1887); Strack, *Das Blut* (München, 1900).

[2] Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga*, 82.

stage in the development of the custom. They live in hamlets the inhabitants of which are usually related to one another, and often at odds with the inhabitants of adjacent hamlets. But sometimes these quarrels are made up and a blood-covenant is entered into, after which no intermarriage can take place.[1]

The alien position of the father with regard to his children, and consequently the small account taken of him, has never been more vividly illustrated than by Miss Kingsley. She relates that on landing in French Congo she went to comply with the tiresome administrative regulations by reporting herself and obtaining a permit to reside in the colony. While she was waiting in the office of the *Directeur del' Administration* a black man was shown in. "He is clad in a blue serge coat, from underneath which float over a pair of blue canvas trousers the tails of a flannel shirt, and on his feet are a pair of ammunition boots that fairly hobble him. His name, the interpreter says, is Joseph. 'Who is your father?' says the official. Clerk interprets into trade English. 'Fader?' says Joseph. 'Yes, fader,' says the interpreter. 'My fader?' says Joseph. 'Yes,' says the interpreter; 'who's your fader?' 'Who my fader?' says Joseph. 'Take him away and let him think about it,' says the officer with a sad sardonic smile. Joseph is alarmed and volunteers name of mother; this is no good; this sort of information any fool can give; Government is collecting information of a more recondite and interesting character. Joseph is removed by Senegal soldiers, boots and all."[2] Nobody on the west coast of Africa reckons descent through his father. Whether he knows

[1] Riedel, 446. [2] Kingsley, *Trav.* 109.

who is his father or not is very often of no consequence to his social or legal position. The native law of the Bavili (and the same is true of other tribes) draws no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. "Birth," we are told by a keen observer who has lived for many years in intimate converse with the natives, "sanctifies the child;"[1] birth alone gives him status as a member of his mother's family. The French cast-iron regulations, made for a different race and a different latitude, puzzled and confounded poor Joseph by the unexpected and absurd questions they required to be put to him. Miss Kingsley sarcastically observes: "As he's going to Boma, in the Congo Free State, it can only be for ethnological purposes that the French Government are taking this trouble to get up his genealogy." Joseph does not understand the French government any more than the French government understands him; and he has never traced his genealogy along those lines before.

Joseph was a member of a Bantu tribe; but the case is the same among the Negroes. The Fanti of the Gold Coast may be taken as typical. Among them, while an intensity of affection, accounted for partly by the fact that the mothers have the exclusive care of the children, is felt for the mother, "the father is hardly known or [is] disregarded," notwithstanding he may be a wealthy and powerful man and the legal husband of the mother.[2] In North America Charlevoix says that among the Algonkin nations the children belonged to and only recognised their mother. The father was always a stranger, "so nevertheless that if he is not regarded as father he is always

[1] Dennett, *Journ. Afr. Soc.* i. 265. [2] *J. A. I.* xxvi. 145.

respected as the master of the cabin."[1] In Europe among the Transylvanian Gipsies "a man enters the clan of his wife, but does not really belong to it until she has borne a child. He never during his life shows the slightest concern for the welfare of his children, and the mother has to bear the whole burden of their maintenance. Even if the father is living, the son often never knows him, nor even has seen him."[2] Among the Orang Mamaq of Sumatra the members of a *suku*, or clan, live together, and the feeling of kinship is very strong. As marriage within the clan is forbidden, husband and wife rarely dwell under one roof; when they do, it is because the husband goes to the wife's home. But he does not become a member of the family, which consists merely of the mother and her children. The latter belong solely to their mother's clan; the father has no rights over them; and there is no kinship between him and them. In consequence of the spread of foreign influences the true family has begun to develop in a section of these people inhabiting the district of Tiga Loeroeng. The husband and wife usually live together, but the home is with the wife's clan. Though the husband is considered a member of the family he exercises little power over the children. They belong to their mother's *suku*, and the *potestas*, as usual in such cases, is in the hands of her eldest brother.[3]

A corollary of the principle that the father is not akin to his children is that children of the same father by different mothers are not reckoned as brothers and

[1] Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 424.

[2] Potter, 116, citing von Wlislocki, *Vom wandernde Zigeunervolke.*

[3] *Bijdragen*, xxxix. 43, 44.

sisters.' This is the rule of the Papuan tribe settled about Mowat on the Daudai coast of British New Guinea,[1] and indeed wherever motherright is pure and uncomplicated by rules which prescribe or presume the marriage of two or more sisters respectively to two or more brothers. Such children may accordingly intermarry. This permission however sometimes tends to be restricted, as among the Bayaka, of whom we are told that "marriage between children of the same mother is prohibited; between children of the same father it occurs, but is considered unseemly."[2] On the other hand it sometimes persists for a time, even a considerable time, among patrilineal peoples. By the laws of Athens children of the same father, but apparently not of the same mother, were allowed to intermarry.[3] The same rule prevailed in Japan.[4] According to Hebrew legend Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's father, but not of his mother. And when Amnon, King David's son, sought to ravish his half-sister Tamar, in the course of her protest and struggles she said: "Now therefore I pray thee, speak unto the king; for he will not withhold me from thee."[5] That is: while she resented the indignity

[1] Haddon, *J. A. I.* xix. 467. The Yorubas of the Slave Coast of West Africa now reckon descent through the father. They perhaps owe the change to intercourse with the Mohammedan tribes of the interior. Be this as it may, so strong even yet is the influence of uterine kinship that children of the same father by different mothers are by many natives hardly considered true blood-relations (Ellis, *Yoruba*, 176).

[2] *J. A. I.* xxxvi. 45.

[3] Maclennan, *Studies*, i. 223, quoting the *Leges Atticæ*.

[4] *Rev. Hist. Rel.* l. 328 note; Aston, *Shinto*, 249. Traces are also found among the Slavs (Kovalevsky, 13).

[5] *Gen.* xx. 12; 2 *Sam.* xiii. 13.

offered by her brother out of mere passing lust, marriage with him would have been legitimate and honourable. It is not necessary to contend that these stories are narratives of literal fact. There is no trustworthy evidence that they are. At the same time they are of high antiquity, and must have originated in a social condition where the incidents were not so far removed from daily life as to be incredible or even surprising. In that social condition kinship must have been counted only through the mother, or matrilineal having passed into patrilineal descent certain vestigial customs must have remained over from the prior stage. The incidents cited are therefore justly regarded as among the witnesses preserved to us that before the dawn of history the ancient Hebrews had traversed the stage of mother-right.

Among the inhabitants of Southern India the Nambútiri Brahmans are the aristocracy. They are a sacerdotal and landowning caste. Next to them in rank are the Nâyars whose organisation and customs have often been the subject of discussion by anthropologists. They seem to have been in former times the military caste of the western coast. They present a typical case of motherright, but one that has been emphasised and preserved for the advantage of the Nambútiri Brahmans, since their virtual subjugation by that intrusive caste. The Nambútiris are of Aryan origin. Like all other Indian Aryans they are patrilineal. In order to maintain their supremacy, the Brahmans everywhere follow a custom known as *hypergamy*, by which a man may marry or have sexual relations with a woman of lower rank, but no man of

lower rank may marry into a caste above his own. Among the Nambútiris a further rule obtains by which the eldest son alone enters into lawful wedlock. He, indeed, may have as many as four wives; but his brothers are in general prohibited from marriage, or at all events their marriages are extremely rare. But this is not to say that younger sons are condemned to a life of celibacy. Their needs are supplied by the Nâyars. Before a Nâyar maiden attains puberty she is required to be married by the rite of tying the *tâli*, a small golden ornament worn on the neck, and the ordinary badge of marriage among the Dravidian peoples of Southern India. It is not quite clear whether this ceremony confers the rights of a husband on the *manaválan*, or bridegroom. Whether it does so or not, on the fourth day he is required to divorce her by cutting in two the cloth which she wears. The ceremonies having all been performed in the house where she and her family reside, the *manaválan* departs and has no more to do with her. The next business is to get her a real husband. It is arranged by the *káranavan*, or head of the family, with the head of the bridegroom's family. No religious formality is required, as with the previous rite. All that is necessary is the consent of the bride and bridegroom and of their respective families. In South Malabar husband and wife do not even live together. The wife continues to reside with her own family, and the husband visits her there. In North Malabar a special ceremony is performed, after which the bridegroom is allowed to take the bride to live at his house; but (and this is important) in case of his death she must leave the house and return to her own home at once,

before his body is carried out. She has neither part nor lot in the funeral ceremonies, nor in any property of her husband. Both in North and South Malabar either party may terminate the union and contract a new one at pleasure. It is matter of dispute whether a woman may have more than one husband (and consequently whether a husband may have more than one wife) at the same time. The older accounts affirmed it. Nowadays it is fiercely denied, though there is distinct evidence of it at a recent date in Travancore. The probability is that this was the custom, but that it is dying out under modern influences.[1] "In consequence of this strange manner of propagating the species," we are told, "no Nair knows his father, and every man looks upon his sister's children as his heirs. He indeed looks upon them with the same fondness that fathers in other parts of the world have for their own children; and he would be considered an unnatural monster were he to show such signs of grief at the death of a child, which, from long cohabitation and love with its mother, he might suppose to be his own, as he did at the death of a child of his sister. A man's mother manages his family; and after her death his eldest sister assumes the direction. Brothers almost always live under the same roof; but if one of the family separates from the rest he is always accompanied by his favourite sister. . . . A man's movable property after his death is divided among the sons and daughters of all his sisters. His landed estate is managed by the eldest

[1] *Madras Govt. Mus. Bull.* iii. 33, 34, 228 *sqq.*; *Ind. Census*, 1901 (Cochin), xx. 152, 160; (Travancore), xxvi. 327 *sqq.*; *J. A .I.* xii. 288 *sqq.*; Thurston, 115 *sqq.*

male of the family; but each individual has a right to a share of the income."[1]

Now the way in which the Nâyars supply the sexual needs of the Nambútiris is by providing them with consorts who, not being married by Brahman rites, are not regarded as legitimate wives by the Nambútiris, though the union is quite regular by Nâyar custom. The Brahman rule of hypergamy is entirely in harmony with this, for a Brahman may have sexual relations with a woman of any caste. Among many Nâyar families the women mate with none but Nambútiris, and all Nâyar women must mate either with Nambútiris or with Nâyars. The children of such unions, whether with Nambútiris or with Nâyars, reckon as Nâyars, and belong to the mother's family and clan. A Nambútiri father cannot therefore touch his own children by his Nâyar consort without pollution, which requires ceremonial bathing to remove.[2] Similar marriage customs are followed by other castes in the south of India.[3]

The fact that the children do not belong to the father's kin leads in extreme cases to father and son's being found in arms against one another. The population of the Mortlock Islands is divided into stocks or kins. Each kin inhabits a separate district and forms a little state. As the children belong to the mother's stock each of these districts comprises the group of persons exclusively tracing descent from the same maternal ancestor. It also comprises as residents

[1] Buchanan, *Journey*, ii. 412. *Cf. Madras Govt. Mus. Bull.* iii. 45; *Ind. Cens.* 1901, xx. 154 *sqq.*

[2] *Madras Govt. Mus. Bull.* iii. 67, 225.

[3] In addition to the authorities cited in previous notes, see Mateer, 172, 82, 87, 103.

more or less permanent the husbands of women of the stock; for the rule of exogamy prevails, and the men who are thus married to women of another stock are required to take up their abode with them and cultivate their land. Beside this, however, they do not cease to possess their own land at their own home, the produce of which for the most part they bring to their wives' families. Only elder men and chiefs are allowed to bring their wives and children to live with them; but such wives and children do not cease to belong to their own home and stock; the children as they grow up very often visit it; the sons cultivate property there which belongs to them; and their allegiance is due to it. The writer to whom we are indebted for the information states generally of the Caroline Islands (but apparently his statement is to be understood more definitely of the social arrangements of the Mortlock Islanders) that "the children are real children only to the mother; to the father on the other hand they are strangers not belonging to his kin. In case of war between two kins father and son take opposite sides as enemies."[1] The population of Malekula, one of the islands of the New Hebrides, appears to be similarly organised. Though members of more stocks than one may live mingled in the same village, the villages to which they properly belong are well known, for "in speaking of the men of a village natives never forget to tell you the villages to which the different individuals belong." Descent is reckoned through the mother; in war the children take the side of her kin, "even although they

[1] Wilken, *Verwantschap*, 756, citing an article by Kubary in the *Mitt. der geog. Gesellschaft in Hamburg.*

may live in another village."[1] Among the Papuas about Blanche Bay a man's sons follow their maternal uncle, and oppose their father and his kindred in battle.[2]

Many cases of personal combat between father and son have been collected by Mr. Potter in his book on *Sohrab and Rustem* from literature and popular tradition in various parts of the world, especially from the older civilised countries of Europe and Southern Asia. The learned author traces them with great probability to the customs involved in the reckoning of matrilineal descent. In most cases, it is true, the antagonists engage one another in ignorance of their relationship. This is natural, since the tales have usually received the form in which they are now told among peoples no longer in the stage of motherright. To such peoples a combat between father and son would seem unnatural, and must be explained away. An archaic custom, to be considered more fully hereafter, by which women received transitory lovers, has favoured the prevalent type of explanation. Many of the examples of combat brought forward in Mr. Potter's work, exhibit the combatants as champions on opposite sides in a war between two peoples, and may be referred to customs of the kind just illustrated. There are, however, a certain number defiant of such a classification. Among them is a legend of the Ingush of the Caucasus, not mentioned by Mr. Potter. It relates that a certain Chopa consorted in the forest with a supernatural lady, who bore him two daughters. To put his courage to proof on one occasion she left

[1] *Rep. Australian Ass.* iv. 698, 706.
[2] *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 352, quoting Hahl.

him alone in the forest, warning him that at midnight he would see the Forest-man, another supernatural being who haunted its gloomy depths. Accordingly at midnight he met the monster, and at once fired on him, wounding him fatally. The dying monster revealed himself as the brother of the lady with whom Chopa dwelt. She herself afterwards cast it in his teeth that he had murdered her brother. But she did not refuse to continue cohabitation on that account, and a son was born as the result. Fearful that he might avenge his uncle's death, Chopa, as his son grew up, ceased to resort to the forest. His forecast was justified; for one day he met his son; a struggle ensued; and the son left his father, not indeed slain, but wounded and robbed, by way of vengeance for his uncle's death.[1]

This is no mere story of a battle between contending peoples; it is an example of a much more poignant character. We may disregard the supernatural elements of the tale as not for our present purpose relevant. The tribes of the Caucasus have now long since passed from motherright, but there linger among them more than one relic of the former social condition. The blood-feud is an institution not peculiar to tribes reckoning descent through females; and it is still in force. By virtue of its requirements every member of a kin, one of whom had suffered at the hands of a member of another kin, was bound to avenge the wrong upon the latter kin. Such is the solidarity between members of a kin that vengeance might be taken upon any member of the offending kin, though he might be personally quite innocent. In the

[1] Darinsky, *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 192, citing Achrijeff.

growth of civilisation vengeance has gradually come to be concentrated upon the offender only. Under motherright relatives through the mother were alone liable to the duty of vengeance; and where the father or a member of his kin was guilty, he would not be spared in pursuit of the end in view. It may be confidently said that a few generations ago an Ingush would not have scrupled—indeed, would have regarded it as his duty—to avenge his kin even upon his own father, just as Chopa's son does, if not in a more extreme fashion.

The subject of the blood-feud is so important in this connection that it is worth while following it further. In so doing we will confine ourselves to some of those cases in which our reports bring out the position of the husband and father in strong contrast to his wife and her kin, including his children. Starting then from the Caucasus, among the Chechen (a tribe related to the Ingush) the murderer of a son, although he might be subjected to no blood-feud or ransom, was compelled formally to make his peace with the relations of the victim's mother; and in fact it sometimes happened that the other sons (where there were any) avenged their brother's death on their own father. Among the Kumiks if one murdered his brother by a different mother a blood-feud arose between him and the surviving brothers born of the mother of the murdered man. Blood-feud cannot arise between members of the same kin; hence if a brother by the same mother were murdered there would of course be none. In southern Daghestan the murderer of a wife was required to pay her kinsmen ransom; and if she left sons by him they shared

in the sum paid.[1] If a Chevsur husband murder his wife, he is required to pay blood-money to her brother.[2] In our own island among the ancient Welsh, the law declared that when a man was murdered compensation for the personal injury or indignity to him (called *saraad*) was due as well as the *galanas* or blood-money, compensation for his value as a member of the stock. Of the *saraad* or compensation for the personal affront the wife was entitled to a share. In the *galanas* or compensation to the stock she had no interest: it was divided among his relatives. In the same way if a wife were slain her husband obtained a share of the *saraad*, but to the *galanas* he had no claim. And inasmuch as the liability to pay was commensurate with the right to receive *galanas* neither husband nor wife was liable for homicide by the other.[3]

Turning to the African continent we shall find the same rule in even a more startling form, for mother-right is still in full force over a large part of its area, and where that stage has been passed much more than traces linger. The Beni Amer on the shores of the Red Sea and in the Barka valley have accepted Islam, and with it of course a very different method of social organisation from that of motherright, but not without concessions to the older family ties. Thus when a woman is murdered, the duty of revenge falls not on her husband but on her blood-relations.[4] Further to the south, the Kunáma have not yet wholly surrendered to the Mohammedan propaganda, and

[1] Darinsky, *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 196, 197.

[2] Kovalevsky, *L'Anthropologie*, iv. 273.

[3] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, 109, 110, 112, 113, 199, 226, 253, 342, 364, 398, 554, 555. All the Welsh codes were practically the same in this respect.

[4] Munzinger, 321.

even among converts the acceptance of the new faith is superficial. A Kunáma husband never avenges his wife's death unless the murder be committed in his presence. That duty falls in the first place on her children, failing them on her brothers by the same mother or on her sister's son. Conversely, neither a man's father nor his children are responsible for him, but his brothers by the same mother or his sister's son; and they pay or receive as the case may be the price of blood. The father who kills or sells his own child is brought to account by the child's uncle on the mother's side.[1]

On the other side of the continent in Gaboon and in Ashanti we are told that when a woman gets into a "palaver," or lawsuit, her own family and not her husband becomes involved.[2] In German South-west Africa the old matrilineal organisation of the Herero in *oma-anda* (pl. of *eanda*), or clans, is in process of supersession by a corresponding patrilineal organisation in *otuzo* (pl. of *oruzo*), which has taken over most of the characteristic rights and duties of the *oma-anda*. The blood-feud, however, remains in the *eanda*, and has not yet passed to the *oruzo*. Consequently if a father neglect a child so that it dies—nay, apparently if his wife or child die without any fault on his part—he is compelled to pay compensation to his wife's kin.[3] Further north, among the Mundombe the husband on his wife's death, whatever may be the cause of death, pays a blood-fine to her relatives. Among the

[1] Munzinger, 488, 490, 499, 503.

[2] Bowdich, 437, 260.

[3] Dannert, 10; Kohler, *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 307, quoting authorities.

Ganguellas when a woman dies in childbed, her husband pays not only the expense of burial but also compensation to her kin; if he fail in doing so, he becomes their slave.[1] The Wazaramo of the Lake Region also have a custom that the parents of a woman who dies in childbed demand a certain sum from "the man that killed their daughter."[2] The Baganda attribute death in childbed to adultery. In such a case the woman's relatives fine the husband, because they say they did not marry her to two men, and he has allowed her adultery by negligence. The fine is two women, or two cows two goats two hoes and two bark-cloths.[3] The Bambala, inhabiting the Congo State between the rivers Inzia and Kwilu, require a husband "to abstain from his wife for about a year after child-birth, during which time the child is suckled; nor may he resume intercourse without his father-in-law's permission, which is granted on payment of *Kutusa Mwana*, a present of two goats. It is believed that an infraction of this rule would prove fatal to the woman, and in the event of her death soon after child-birth the husband is accused of being the cause and heavily fined, or more often compelled to submit to the poison ordeal."[4] The permission of the father-in-law is an indication of the decay of strict matrilineal organisation. Among the Basanga on the south-west of Lake Moeru children other than those of slaves belong entirely to the mother and her kin. Consequently, if a child were "lost or devoured by wild

[1] Kohler, *loc. cit.* citing Serpa Pinto.
[2] Burton, *Lake Regions*, i. 115.
[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, *J. A. I.* xxxii. 39.
[4] Torday and Joyce, *J. A. I.* xxxv. 410.

animals, the father would have to pay its value to his wife's relations."[1]

The child is regarded by many of the African peoples as so entirely the property of the kin that he is liable to be given in pledge for their debts. Among the Bavili "the mother alone has the right to pawn her child; but she must first consult the father, so that he may have the chance of giving her goods to save the pledging. The father cannot pledge his child. The brother can pawn the sister, or the uncle his niece, the mother being dead. But the father being alive the uncle must first go to him to give him the chance of helping him out of his difficulty by means of a loan of goods. . . . A person is never free from being pawned in this way." The father, however, always has the right to ransom the child.[2] This is doubtless one stage on the way to fatherright. On the Ivory Coast the Alladians take account only of the maternal descent. As among the Bavili, there is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. The whole organisation is based on uterine parentage. "The father's authority scarcely exists, and from the civil point of view he is not the parent of his children." Children cannot be sold, but they may be pledged for the debts of their *etiocos* or kindred. The father cannot pledge them: he is not one of the kin. But the maternal uncle may do so, without any limit of age; though if he seek to pledge a married niece he must first give her husband the opportunity of making the necessary loan. The father cannot be made responsible for his children's debts; the mother is

[1] Arnot, *Garenganze*, 242.

[2] Dennett, *Journ. Afr. Soc.* i. 266.

responsible, and may even be taken in pledge for them. But she cannot pledge them for her debts without the authority of her brother, or other the eldest *etioco*.[1] Among the Gã of the Gold Coast the uncles or aunts, especially if older than the mother, can take the children away, make use of them, pledge or give them in marriage at their pleasure.[2]

On the other side of the Indian Ocean and on many of the Pacific islands the alien character of husband and father is as strongly marked as in any African tribe. On Yaluit, one of the Marshall Islands, there is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. On Nauru, another of the same group, although fatherright has begun to develop and has succeeded in excluding illegitimate children from their mother's inheritance, motherright is still so strong that when a man is slain his children are excluded from the weregeld, which falls to his brothers and sisters.[3] In the Talauer Islands of the East Indies in case of the wife's adultery compensation is made on the part of the guilty man to her parents. Among the aboriginal tribes of Manipur "on the death of a wife her father demands *munda* (literally *bone-money*) from the husband, or if he be dead the late husband's nearest relative. On the death of a child *munda* is also demanded by the wife's father."[4] In the case of two of these tribes, the Kukis and the Kabui Nagas, the sum payable on a wife's death is the same as that

[1] *Journ. Afr. Soc.* i. 411; Clozel and Villamur, 399. The Brignans are a stage nearer to full fatherright. The maternal uncle's right among them does not arise until the father's death (*Ibid.* 461).

[2] *Globus*, xciv. 137.

[3] Kohler, *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 423, 422, citing authorities.

[4] *J. A. I.* xvi. 138, 355.

originally paid for her as bride at the time of marriage.[1] On the Tami Islands when a child dies the father makes presents to the mother's kin. He calls it "buying the child"; but obviously, as Dr. Kohler remarks, the father is held responsible for the death, and redeems his liability with a gift.[2] The Maori father is in a much worse plight, for though descent is reckoned in the paternal line fatherright is hardly yet followed out to its logical consequences. When a child dies or even meets with an accident unattended with fatal results the mother's relatives headed by her brother turn out in force against the father. He must defend himself until he is wounded. Blood once drawn the combat ceases; but the attacking party plunders his house and appropriates everything on which hands can be laid, finally sitting down to a feast provided by the bereaved father.[3] The entire clan in fact is held to have been injured because one of its members (as under uterine descent the child would be) has suffered, and his father (who does not belong to the clan) is held responsible and makes in this way compensation.

[1] *J. A. I.* xxxi. 305. If the parents be dead, the husband has to pay their heirs.

[2] *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 351. A similar custom in Fiji, *Anthropos*, i. 93.

[3] *Old New Zealand*, 110; Wilken, *Verwants.* 757, citing Bastian. So Mr. Shortland relates that "on a certain occasion when the wife of a young chief had been guilty of infidelity, her father uncles and other relations to the number of nearly one hundred made a descent on the village of her husband and father-in-law, and remained there three days feasting on their pigs, which they caught and killed without opposition." The reason they gave for acting in this manner was that the wife had been tempted to commit the fault in order to avenge herself for her husband's neglect (Shortland, 235). The blame of her misconduct was thus laid to his charge and reparation exacted by her insulted relatives.

An illustration still more abhorrent to our feelings of the alien character of the father is given by Mr. J. C. Callbreath as occurring within his own experience among the Tahl-tan of British Columbia. "Kinship," he says, "so far as marriage or inheritance of property goes, is with the mother exclusively; and the father is not considered a relative by blood. At his death his children inherit none of his property, which all goes to the relatives on his mother's side. Even though a man's father or his children may be starving, they would get none of his property at his death. I have known an instance where a rich Indian would not go out, or even contribute to send others out, to search for his aged and blind father who was lost and starving in the mountains. Not counting his father as a relative, he said: 'Let his people go and search for him.' Yet this man was an over-average good Indian."[1] The Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands are divided into two strictly exogamic clans, the Raven and the Eagle. Marriage within the clan was viewed "almost as incest is by us. On the other hand, the members of the opposite clan were frequently considered downright enemies. Even husbands and wives did not hesitate to betray each other to death in the interests of their own families. At times it almost appears as if each marriage were an alliance between opposite tribes; a man begetting offspring rather for his wife than for himself, and being inclined to see his real descendants rather in his sister's children than in his own. They it was who succeeded to his position and carried down his family line."[2]

[1] Quoted by Dr. Dawson, *Ann. Rep. Geolog. Survey Canada*, 1887, p. 7 of offprint.

[2] Swanton, *Jesup Exped.* v. 62.

Enough has now been said to exhibit the alien position occupied among matrilineal peoples by the father in regard to his children. Other aspects of the social organisation will come under discussion hereafter. Meanwhile, it remains to complete the picture by showing how the duties of head of the family are fulfilled, and in whom the authority—or, according to the technical term, the *potestas*—is vested. We have seen that among many of the African peoples the mother's brother has greater rights over a child than the father, and that the duty of blood-revenge falls to him, even against the father. Wherever progress has been made in the organisation of the family, and motherright is still the basis of organisation, as over perhaps the greater part of the African continent, the supreme power is vested in the mother's brother or maternal uncle. In Loango the uncle is addressed as *Tate* (father). He exercises paternal authority over his nephew, whom he can even sell. The father has no power; and if the husband and wife separate the children follow the mother as belonging to her brother. They inherit from their mother; the father's property on the other hand goes at his death to his brother (by the same mother) or to his sister's sons.[1]

The customs of the peoples of the Lower Congo are the same. Around the missionary settlement of Wathen a woman is married by means of a bride-price, the bulk of which is paid to her mother's family, though the father receives a portion. But the wife is not bought as a slave is bought. The husband acquires merely the right to her companionship, and

[1] Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, i. 166.

in case of her death to another wife in her place. He has no control over his children by her. They belong to their mother's family; and as they grow up they go to live with their uncles.[1] Among the Igalwas the father's authority over his children is very slight. "The really responsible male relative," says Miss Kingsley, "is the mother's eldest brother. From him must leave to marry be obtained for either girl or boy; to him and the mother must the present be taken which is exacted on the marriage of a girl; and should the mother die, on him and not on the father, lies the responsibility of rearing the children; they go to his house, and he treats and regards them as nearer and dearer to himself than his own children, and at his death, after his own brothers by the same mother, they become his heirs."[2] Two kinds of marriage are known among the Bambala. The first is child-marriage. "A little boy of his own free will may declare that a certain little girl is his wife; by this simple act he acquires a prescriptive right to her. He visits his future parents-in-law and takes them insignificant presents. When he is of mature age he gives a larger present, of the value of about 2000 *djimbu* (a small shell of the species *Olivella Nana*), and then he is allowed to cohabit with her. Their children belong to the eldest maternal uncle. This form of marriage is attended by no special ceremony. If the girl, when of age, is unwilling, he cannot coerce her; but if she marries another man, the latter must make him a present of several thousand *djimbu*." The other form of marriage is contracted between adults. The man pays a bride-price from 10,000 to 15,000

[1] Bentley, ii. 333. [2] Kingsley, *Trav.* 224.

djimbu to the father or maternal uncle of the bride. In this case the children belong to the father; but "parents have little authority over their children, who leave them at a very early age." "A man's property is inherited by the eldest son of his eldest sister, or in default by his eldest brother." The mother's brother is the guardian of his sister's children. Here, as we have already seen reason to think, fatherright is beginning to make inroads on the original organisation. This is confirmed by the further statement that "kinship is reckoned very far on the female side," but "in the male line not beyond the uncle and grandfather,"[1] indicating that some kinship is now reckoned on the paternal side. The Bayaka, neighbours of the Bambala, and like them a Bantu people, dwell in small villages, often consisting of not more than two or three huts, presided over by a chief. "Each married woman has a separate hut where she lives with her children, and the husband moves from one to the other; unmarried men live together, several in a hut." "A child belongs to the village of his maternal uncle." The inhabitants of a village regard themselves as akin. It is added that "relationship on the female side is considered closer than that on the male side."[2] Among the Bangala of the Cassange Valley the chieftainship is elective. This is not unusual where female kinship prevails, for primogeniture has not yet developed, and among a band of equal brothers he who has proved himself the most capable is often preferred. Our information as to the Bangala is very defective. We are told: "The chief is chosen from three families in rotation.

[1] *J. A. I.* xxxv. 410, 411. [2] *Ibid.* xxxvi. 43, 45.

A chief's brother inherits in preference to his son. The sons of a sister belong to her brother; and he often sells his nephews to pay his debts."[1] It may be said generally that motherright prevails throughout Angola. "The closest relation is that of mother and child, the next that of nephew or niece and uncle or aunt. The uncle owns his nephews and nieces; he can sell them, and they are his heirs, not only in private property, but also in the chiefship, if he be a chief."[2] The father has, among the Kimbunda, no power over his children, even when they are young. Only his children by slaves are considered his property and can inherit from him.[3]

To avoid further repetition we may leave the foregoing to stand as examples of the organisation of the western Bantu. They exhibit the mother's brother or maternal uncle as the head of the family with almost absolute power over his sister's children, in which the authority of the father is however beginning to make breaches. Among the Negroes I have already referred to the Alladians. It may be added that the eldest of the *etiocos*, whether man or woman, is the head of the family. Although during the father's lifetime the children reside with their mother in his house, on his death the sons go to live with their mother's brother, unless he consent to her retaining them while very young; the daughters remain with her, but under their uncle's tutelage. Polygamy prevails, but the children of the same father by different mothers scarcely consider that there is any tie between them. Marriages are arranged by the *etiocos* in council; and

[1] Livingstone, *Miss. Trav.* 434. [2] Chatelain, 8.
[3] Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 23, citing Magyar.

apparently unless the bride be a mere child the bride-price is paid to them.[1] The Ewhe-speaking peoples also trace kinship through females, except the upper classes of Dahomey, among which male kinship is the rule. "The eldest brother is the head of the family, and his heir the brother next in age to himself; if he has no brother his heir is the eldest son of his eldest sister . . . Members of a family have a right to be fed and clothed by the family head; and the latter has in his turn a right to pawn and in some cases to sell them. The family collectively is responsible for all crimes and injuries to person or property committed by any one of its members, and each member is assessable for a share of the compensation to be paid. On the other hand, each member of the family receives a share of the compensation paid to it for any crime or injury committed against the person or property of any of its members. Compensation is always demanded from the family instead of from the individual wrong-doer, and is paid to the family instead of to the individual wronged."[2]

Among the Ewhe of Anglo in Upper Guinea the maternal uncle has more authority over his sister's sons than their father. Since they succeed to him at his death he requires from them labour and support in his lifetime. The nephew accompanies his uncle on trading journeys, carrying provisions cowries and merchandise. Under his uncle's tuition he thus gradually learns to trade, besides other useful work such as weaving and so forth. By-and-by he begins to trade

[1] Clozel, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397. As to the Yoruba and the Egbas, see Ellis, *Yoruba*, 176; *Journ. Afr. Soc.* i. 88.

[2] Ellis, *Ewe*, 207, 208, 209.

on behalf of his father or uncle, accounts to him for the proceeds and receives a share of the profit. And at length his father and uncle together negotiate a bride for him. The mother has naturally the charge and teaching of her daughter; but the father is consulted as to her marriage and cheerfully takes his share of the brandy and other gifts furnished by the bridegroom.[1] The Fanti Customary Laws have been expounded by Mr. Sarbah, a native barrister, in an elaborate treatise which throws much light on the present condition of the Fanti family. Without discussing details, many of which are foreign to our present purpose, it may be stated generally that the Fanti are matrilineal. The head of the family is usually (but not always) the eldest male member in the line of descent. He has control over all the members; he is their natural guardian; he alone can sue or be sued, as the representative of the family, respecting claims on the family possessions. Within his compound the head of a family reigns supreme not only over his younger brothers and sisters and the children of the latter but also over his own wives and children. But he cannot pawn his child without the concurrence of the mother's relations; and children who have left his compound to reside with their maternal uncle are no longer under his power: they are wholly subject to their uncle.[2] The Negro has carried these customs in even a more archaic form to South America. The Bush Negro husband in Surinam does not live with his wife and often has wives in several different places. The maternal uncle supplies his place in the family.[3]

[1] *Zeits. f. Ethnol.* xxxviii. 43. [2] Sarbah, 31, 39, 50, 86, 5, 9.
[3] Potter, 115, citing *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xi. 420.

Among the peoples of the Eastern side of the African continent the Kunáma of northern Abyssinia are as we have seen not yet wholly emancipated from the stage of motherright. The father has a right to his son's earnings until the son marries. But his power extends no further: a child's life and liberty belong to the maternal uncle. In case of death the inheritance goes first to the uterine brother, then to the sister's sons by seniority, failing them to the sisters. The Barea and Baze, who are still without doubt matrilineal hold the relationship between a man and his sister's children to be very close, but they entirely disregard that between father and son. It is the more remarkable that they agree in this since the sexual morality of these two tribes is very different. Among the latter the matrimonial tie is very slight, and adultery is not resented; while among the former the reverse is the case, and adultery is very rare. Both prefer as children daughters to sons; a woman returns to her mother's house for her first delivery; her son often receives her brother's or father's name; her brother can sell her child, but her husband cannot.[1] Among the Bogos when a youth comes of age he presents himself before daybreak at the house of his mother's brother, who comes forth, ceremonially shaves his head, gives him his blessing and a gift of a lance and a young cow.[2] There could hardly be a plainer recognition of the uncle's position as head of the family. In defiance of

[1] Munzinger, 477, 490, 527, 528. See however the Table of Kinship, p. 448, which seems to relate only to the Kunama.

[2] Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 16, citing Munzinger. Compare Kilhwch's application to his cousin King Arthur to cut his hair and grant him a boon (*Y Llyvyr Coch*, 102; Nutt's *Mabinogion*, 103).

Moslem law, to which the Suahili of the east coast have nominally submitted, Suahili children are the property not of the parents but of the mother's brother who can sell any or all of his nephews or nieces. Popular opinion, indeed, compels him to do so, if it be necessary.[1] Their neighbours, the still heathen Wanyika who occupy the hinterland of Mombasa, follow the same rule. "Children become the property of their mother, or rather of her brother to be disposed of as he pleases: the only one who has no voice in the matter is the putative father."[2]

We have already seen that the Nâyars of Southern India are in the stage of motherright. In theory the ancestral property is indivisible, belonging to the entire family, and no one can acquire individual property, except movables and jewels obtained by gift or otherwise. Division however under modern influences is coming more and more into practice. "The family property is enjoyed by all in common as a kind of commonwealth or civil family, administered by a *káranavan*, or head of the family—either the maternal uncle or the eldest brother. The common property is vested in him as executive officer or trustee, but without power to make arbitrary alienation. He is authorised to alienate it only to meet necessities, in order to save the property from greater loss, or for some similar purpose." It is the *káranavan* who arranges his sister's matrimonial affairs, and subject perhaps to her consent changes her "husband" from time to time. It has been mentioned that the wife has no part in the funeral rites of her husband. The duty of performing funeral rites is always among the

[1] Burton, *Zanzibar*, i. 437. [2] *Id.* ii. 88.

propertied castes of India as elsewhere connected with the right to succession. "A man's sister's son, and a woman's own son, as their respective nearest blood-relatives, perform (if their age permits) the funeral rites on their decease, and observe mourning remaining one year without shaving or cutting the hair."[1] It is accordingly on them that the movables of the deceased devolve. The Malays of the Padang Highlands of Sumatra have institutions bearing many points of similarity. On marriage neither husband nor wife changes abode. The husband merely visits the wife, and the fact of his conjugal relation to her is disclosed only in the form and intimacy of his visits. As in the case of the kindred Orang Mamaq, the husband has no rights over his children, who belong wholly to the wife's *suku*, or clan; her eldest brother is the head of the family and exercises the rights and duties of a father to her children.[2] The husband of a Papuan woman about Blanche Bay has a right to his wife's labour, and wields certain authority over her. But the power over life and limb is vested in her uncle or her brother. It is even her brother, not her husband, who punishes with death her adultery. He makes good to the husband the price he has paid for her and takes his part against the adulterer. She does not wholly leave her family on marriage; it is to them she looks for nursing in case of sickness. The husband has no rights over any property she may leave. If she die childless it returns to her family; if there be children, both they and her property go to the owner of the *potestas*, that is to say, her uncle or

[1] *J. A. I.* xii. 292.

[2] Wilken, *Verwantschap*, 678; *Bijdragen*, xxxix. 43.

brother. Her ordinary oath is by her brother; her husband's is by his brother-in-law. Her sons as we have seen take their uncle's side in war against their own father and his relations. Though the father often names his children the right to do so is also exercised by the maternal uncle. On the Tami Islands the masculine relatives of a woman dispose of her in marriage; but the decisive word belongs to her brothers. They are called the owners of her children, who though they may reside in their father's village are only regarded as strangers there. In their uncle's village they have rights of inheritance and there alone can they attain the highest positions. Both about Blanche Bay and on the Tami Islands the dignity of chief is inherited by the nephew from his mother's brother.[1]

In Melanesia kindred is reckoned through the mother. On the Gazelle Peninsula of New Pomerania the mother's brother is the head of the family. The father cannot decide anything about his children. He rules his mother and sisters; but he has the disposal of his wife only when he has paid the bride-price. Even then she can leave him for the most trifling cause and seek refuge and protection among her own kin. Thus wife and children do not really belong to the husband and father, but to the mother's maternal uncle or brother. Neither the wife nor the children belong to the husband's clan, nor do they inherit from him. At death the property of husband or wife goes to the relatives of

[1] *Zeits. vergl. Rechtsw.* xiv. 348, 349, 344, 352, 351, 353. Similar customs seem to obtain among the Wedau and Wamira of Bartle Bay; but our information is not nearly so definite (*Colonial Reports*, No. 168, *Brit. New Guinea*, 1896, 40).

the deceased; the male children of a woman succeed to her brother.[1] On the island of Efate in the New Hebrides a kindred or family reckoning descent from the same mother in the female line is called *nakainanga*. It has no chief, but the older male members exercise "a kind of parental authority over it." "All the members of a *nakainanga* in a particular place were to a large extent responsible for the conduct of any one member; for instance, they had to pay a fine incurred by him, if he could not pay it himself." Hence it was the duty of a man to instruct his sister's son, not his own son, because he was not of the same *nakainanga* and the father would not be responsible for him. The chief of a village has a right to appoint his successor. He appoints not his own son, "but in preference to all others his sister's son, who by the law of the *nakainanga* is considered nearer and dearer to him than his own son, and to be his proper heir."[2] The claims of a nephew upon his uncle have been carried to extraordinary lengths in some of the Melanesian islands, as in Fiji, where a maternal uncle can hardly deny his nephew anything he chooses to demand. Everywhere the relation of uncle and nephew is more intimate than that of father and son. Speaking generally a man's property at death descends to his sister's children, usually rather to the male children. There is now a tendency, however, to substitute inheritance from the father.[3] In the western islands of Torres Straits motherright has given way to fatherright probably within the last

[1] Father Josef Meier, *Anthropos*, ii. 380.
[2] Rev. D. Macdonald, in *Rep. Austr. Ass.* iv. 722, 723.
[3] Codrington, 34, 59, *sqq.*; McLennan, *Studies*, ii. 222, *sqq.*

hundred years. The relation of maternal uncle and nephew still brings with it similar rights and authority to those in Fiji, or even in some respects greater. The relation is called *wadwam* and is reciprocal, no distinction in privileges being drawn between uncle and nephew. The *wadwam* was not merely entitled to take anything belonging to the man to whom he stood in this relation; he might stop a fight in which his *wadwam* was concerned. The *mowai* or guardians of a boy during the initiation ceremonies were his *wadwam*. "It seemed quite clear," says Dr. Rivers, "that the chief *mowai* was the eldest brother of the mother and the second *mowai* was the next in order of seniority either in the family of the mother or in the clan." On the island of Muralug, though under the present patrilineal system the bride's father must give consent to her marriage and receives the bride-price, it is her brother who arranges what presents are to be made in return and other details. The bridegroom must supply a bride in exchange; failing a sister it is the duty of the *wadwam* to give his daughter. Moreover in paying the bride-price the bridegroom's *wadwam* made the actual presentation on both Muralug and Mabuiag. These customs point to the mother's brother as wielding the authority in the former matrilineal stage.[1] The interference of the bride's brother in the arrangements for marriage may perhaps be ascribed to his interest in getting a bride in return.

Among many of the tribes we have mentioned a true family life has hardly yet arisen. It may be said to be in course of formation; the consciousness

[1] Rivers, *Torres Str. Rep.* v. 145, 147, 231.

of kinship exists, but it has not yet become fully organised as we understand it. Relationships are still described by terms which include many others than those we recognise by the names we are obliged to employ as equivalents. Thus the term used by the western islanders of Torres Straits for brother, *tukoiab*, is not only the reciprocal term used by brothers for one another and by sisters for one another; it is also used "for all men of the same generation on the father's side, corresponding to first second and third cousins, etc., through the male side, for all men of the same generation in the mother's clan, for all men of the same generation in the father's mother's clan, for the sons of a brother and sister, for the sons of two sisters."[1] The term *wadwam* had a corresponding extension. It must not be supposed that the consciousness of kinship has not outrun these terms. Men are aware that those whom we should describe as their "own brothers" are nearer to them than those whom we call their third cousins. And doubtless the rights and duties belonging to a *tukoiab* or a *wadwam* are emphasised in the case of these nearer kin. Still the others are by no means excluded from such rights and duties; they may claim the former and be called on to perform the latter. Neither the language nor the law has yet succeeded in defining degrees of relationship more closely. We are accordingly warranted in believing that both language and law represent a stage in the evolution of society when the consciousness of the kinship was vaguer than it has since become.

It is always necessary to bear in mind the differences

[1] Rivers, *Torres Str. Rep.* v. 130.

in value between our terms for degrees of kinship and those of peoples in savagery and barbarism—differences not only of extension but often of exclusion. They are of importance in considering the evolution of kinship. For our present point, however, they are not material: the headship of the kin is vested in some male member whose claims are founded on seniority, on election, or on special qualifications such as wisdom or renown in war. As the family begins to develop within the wider circle of the kin and relationships become more defined, there emerges a head of each inner group owing his position to the same causes and qualifications. The nomenclature of his relations to the female members, whether brother uncle or son, gradually approximates to our conception of those terms, though not precisely coinciding with them until a high degree of civilisation is reached.

Bearing in mind these differences we turn to Australia where the aboriginal population is in a lower degree of savagery than any other race whose institutions have been investigated. The family has hardly begun to be distinguishable from the kin in general. The authority of the father, even among those tribes which have advanced to paternal descent, is non-existent after the early years of childhood. When a boy has attained puberty and passed through the rites which make him an adult member of the clan or the tribe he is as a rule subject only to the authority of the elders in whom the government of the tribe is vested. With a girl the case is somewhat different: She is always *in manu*. Practically, however, the power exercised over her before marriage seems to be limited to the right of

betrothal: after marriage the husband keeps her in subjection. Apart from the father however there is little concentration of authority. Such as there is tends to the hands of those members of the kin who have a direct interest in its exercise. They are as a rule the brothers of the girl or of her mother, who would be entitled on her marriage to obtain a bride in exchange. Among the Dieri the right of betrothal is exercised by the mother with the concurrence of her brothers. Betrothal often takes place in earliest infancy. When the bridegroom is also an infant it is entered into on his behalf by his mother; but in any case of difficulty it would seem that her brothers are called in.[1] Among the Tatathi and Keramin on the Murray River "girls are very frequently promised when children, and when marriageable are taken to the future husband's camp by the mother or mother's brother."[2] "In the Wollaroi it is the mother who promises her daughter to some man of her selection, but to this rule there is the exception that brothers also exchanged their sisters without the direct interventions of their mothers. . . In cases of elopement with the wife of another man it was the Wollaroi practice for the abductor to stand out before a number of the woman's kindred, who were armed with spears, he having merely a spear for his protection to turn them aside."[3] Here we are reminded of the duty of the woman's brothers among the Papuans of Blanche Bay to avenge her adultery; for the word *kindred* probably means her brothers. The reason for the interference of the brothers is given by Mr. Howitt in his account of the customs of the Wakelbura tribe

[1] Howitt, 177, 167. [2] *Id.* 195. [3] *Id.* 217.

(now extinct). The Wakelbura mother exercised the right of betrothal as soon as her daughter was born. If the child on growing up consented to the match or had been compelled to it, and afterwards eloped with another man, her brothers "might almost kill her, because they would thereby lose the woman by whose exchange they would obtain a wife for one of them."[1] In none of these cases had the father anything to do with the matter. The growing *patria potestas*, however, has made itself felt among many of the matrilineal tribes; though in most of them the consent of the kindred is required.[2]

Among the Haida the growth of *patria potestas* has been hindered by the custom, similar to that among the peoples of the Lower Congo, by which the children settle and build houses in the town of their mother's brothers, whose successors in the family organisation they are. The term *dágalañ*, which we translate *brothers*, as used by a woman, was applied to all men of her clan in her own generation. Each of the two clans into which the tribe was divided was subdivided into families. "The fundamental unit of Haida society was the family, and the family chief was the highest functionary. Generally the family chief was also town chief, . . . but the large places were usually inhabited by several families. In this case the town-chief stood first socially among the family chiefs." War might be declared by the chief of any family,

[1] Howitt, 222. In the Mukjarawaint tribe the paternal grandparents had a voice in the disposal of their grand-daughter. But there no doubt the paternal grandfather was the uncle, own or tribal, of the mother, and consequently one of the elder men of the grand-daughter's kin (*Id.* 243).

[2] *Id.* 210, 216, 227, 243, 251, 260.

and that "without reference to any council; but it is quite certain that he must have obtained the acquiescence of his house-chiefs if he intended the whole family to participate. In fact, the stories speak of meetings *en masse* to 'talk over' important questions. For each household into which a family was subdivided was a family in miniature, over which the house-chief's power was almost absolute. Once having obtained his position, he was only limited by the other chiefs and the barriers raised by custom. He could call his nephews together to make war on his own account. . . . Success in amassing property generally governed the selection of a new chief of the town the family or the house. It might be the brother, own nephew, or a more distant relation, of the predecessor. Two are known to have succeeded to one position. The election seems to have been a foregone conclusion; but in so far as any choice was exercised, it appears to have rested in the case of a family or town-chief with the house-chiefs, while the sentiment of a household probably had weight in deciding between claimants to a doubtful position in a single house. Only the town-chief's own family had anything directly to say about his election. A chief's household was made up of those of his own immediate family who had no places for themselves, his nephews his retainers or servants, and the slaves. A man's sisters' sons were his right-hand men. They, or at least one of them, came to live with him when quite young, were trained by him, and spoke or acted for him in all social matters. The one who it was expected would succeed him was often his son-in-law as well."[1]

[1] Swanton, *Jesup Exped.* v. 66, 63, 68, 69.

A large number of the aboriginal peoples on the mainland of North America reckoned descent in the female line. Conspicuous among them were the Iroquois. The Iroquoian *gens* or kin was ruled by chiefs of two grades distinguished by Morgan as sachem and common chiefs. The sachem was the official head of the *gens* and was hereditary. The actual occupant of the office was elected by the adult members of the *gens*, male and female, "an own brother or the son of an own sister being most likely to be preferred." In the same way, when a man died, though all his clansmen seem to have had a legal right to share his effects, in practice those effects were appropriated by his nearest relations within the *gens*; that is to say, his own brothers and sisters and maternal uncles divided them. A woman's property was taken by her children and sisters, to the exclusion of her brothers.[1] These rules point to the fact that the family was in course of evolution within the *gens*. If so, an authority was probably developing within that family distinct from the general authority of the sachem, though doubtless subordinate to it. A report made by an official for Indian affairs and including two of the Iroquoian tribes with tribes belonging to the Hurons and Algonkins states that in marriages the brothers and uncles of the woman on the maternal side are consulted as to the proposed match, "and sometimes the father; but this is only a compliment, as his approbation or opposition is of no avail."[2] Another account, however, attributes the arrangement of the marriage to the mother.[3] Morgan

[1] Morgan, *Anc. Soc.* 64, 71, 76. [2] McLennan, *Studies*, ii. 339.
[3] Kohler, 60, citing Morgan, *League*, 321. Morgan says that

illustrates the position of the maternal uncle among other tribes from usages of the time at which his inquiries were made. "Amongst the Choctas," he says, "if a boy is to be placed at school his uncle, instead of his father, takes him to the mission and makes the arrangement. An uncle among the Winnebagoes may require services of a nephew, or administer correction, which his own father would neither ask nor attempt. In like manner with the Iowas and Otoes an uncle may appropriate to his own use his nephew's horse or his gun or other personal property without being questioned, which his father would have no recognised right to do. But over his nieces this same authority is more significant, from his participation in their marriage contracts, which in many Indian nations are founded upon a consideration in the nature of presents."[1]

The foregoing will suffice to identify the persons in whom the *potestas* is vested where mother-right is supreme. In the first instance it vests in the elders of the kin at large. As the consciousness of kin becomes gradually more vivid and defined the elders of the inchoate family absorb the headship of their more immediate kin and administer its concerns. Gradually the headship becomes concentrated in the hands of one man, often chosen by the family from among a small number specially qualified by age experience wisdom or courage, or designated by propinquity of blood to the predecessor in office The way is thus

the Iroquois recognised "no right in the father to the custody of his children's persons or to their nurture" (McLennan, *Studies*, i. 271, quoting *League*, 327).

[1] Morgan, *Syst. Consang.* 158.

prepared for the transition from motherright to fatherright. Meanwhile, when the family under motherright emerges the power is found to be wielded not by the husband but by the wife's brothers, or her maternal uncles, a circle constantly narrowing until the definition of these terms approximates to our own, one of whom takes ultimately the lead and appropriates the greater part or sometimes the whole of the *potestas*. Nor does the transition to the reckoning of descent through the father entirely and at once divest him of it. Enough survives in his hands to form very material evidence of the more archaic social organisation which preceded the establishment of fatherright.

Such being the social organisation of motherright, it is obvious that the father is a wholly subordinate personage, whose identity is of comparatively small importance. A juridical system, it has grown out of the consciousness of kin. The origin of the consciousness of kin it is not my purpose here to investigate. However originated, it was confined to kinship through one parent only: the other parent was disregarded. The assertion has often been made that the reason for reckoning kinship exclusively through the mother is that paternity is uncertain. There is undeniably a distinction between maternity and paternity in this respect. As it has been cynically put, maternity is a question of fact, paternity a question of opinion. This, for example, is the cause assigned by the old Dutch writer Schouten for the rules of inheritance among the Nâyars;[1] and since his day it has been assigned for similar rules of many other peoples.

Uncertainty of fatherhood would be a good reason

[1] Schouten, 458, 459.

for reckoning kinship only through females, and for the disinheritance of a man's children in favour of his sister's children, if only tribes whose conjugal relations were as loose as those of the Nâyars reckoned kinship in this way. Motherright, however, is the rule of numerous peoples where there is no reasonable doubt of the paternity: Among the coastal tribes of western Africa from the equator to the Congo the husband buys his wives; they are taken into his dwelling and belong to him. The laws against adultery are very severe. The punishment is death, and it is sometimes carried out, though now generally commuted for a fine. Severe as the law is, it is increased in severity by the exceedingly wide definition of the offence. It is "often only a matter of laying your hand, even in self-defence from a virago, on a woman, or brushing against her in the path."[1] In Mayumbe, so jealously are the married women guarded that the husband may even put them to death if any other man so much as touch them unknowingly.[2] Yet, as we have seen, motherright is the law; and at the father's death the children obtain nothing of his property, save what he may have previously made over to them. The Ondonga of German South-west Africa also reckon descent through the mother only, and children inherit nothing from the father. On marriage the husband establishes a werft of his own and takes his wife to live there. Polygyny is practised wherever a man has the means to do so, but on the woman's part strict fidelity is required. Contrary to the customs of many savage and barbarous natives, the woman married for the first time is expected to be a

[1] Kingsley, *Trav.* 497.
[2] Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, i. 168.

virgin.[1] Among the Ondonga therefore in ordinary cases there can be little doubt on the subject of paternity.

On the other side of the continent the Wayao and Mang'anja of the Shire Highlands trace descent through the mother. Like other Bantu nations they practise polygyny whenever circumstances permit. But the husband requires strict fidelity on the part of his wife. Adultery is looked upon as a very serious crime; and where the man is not speared or shot, he is made to pay damages, or is sold into slavery. The wife, says Miss Werner, speaking in general terms but with special reference to these tribes, "is frequently let off with a warning the first time, but for a second offence either killed or divorced and sent back to her relatives, who in such a case must return whatever present was made at the marriage. Sometimes she drinks *mwavi* [*i.e.*, submits to the ordeal of poison], and is of course accounted guilty if she dies."[2] We have already noted the rarity of adultery among the Barea of northern Abyssinia. How easily broken is the conjugal tie on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Pomerania we also know. Yet while it lasts the husband watches over his wife with jealousy. He has all the more need since there is, owing to the prevailing polygamy, a dearth of unmarried women. Men who cannot afford to buy a wife seek other men's wives. They lay constant snares for them, make use of philtres and every sort of enticement. The husband therefore if he wish to preserve his wife's fidelity follows her about and takes every means to

[1] Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhält.* 328, 335, 330, 332.
[2] Werner, 265.

protect her chastity. In case of adultery the punishment is severe; both parties were before the German occupation put to death without more ado. Countless wars have been occasioned by adultery.[1]

Allowance must of course be made for the persistence of a juridical system after the reason for it has passed away. If we found motherright wherever there was uncertainty of paternity we might perhaps be right in assuming that when we found it where there was none, it was merely a survival from a stage in which morality was laxer. This, however, is by no means the case. The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush practise the strictest fatherright but that Káfir would be of a highly sporting disposition who ventured to stake much on the authenticity of any child of whom he was legally the father. Sir George Robertson says: "Young women are very immoral, not because their natural disposition is either better or worse than that of women of other tribes and races, but because public opinion is all in favour of what may be called 'gallantry.' When a woman is discovered in an intrigue a great outcry is made, and the neighbours rush to the scene with much laughter. A goat is sent for on the spot for a peace-making feast between the gallant and the husband. Of course the neighbours also partake of the feast; the husband and wife both look very happy, and so does every one else except the lover, who has to pay for the goat, and who knows that he or his family must also pay the full penalty, sooner or later." The customary penalty is six cows. "There are several households in Kámdesh whose sole property in cows consists of the

[1] Father Josef Meier, *Anthropos*, ii. 380.

number thus paid." "Divorce is easy," he goes on subsequently to say. "A man sells his wife or sends her away. . . . If a woman behaves very badly, and her husband, although he dislikes her, cannot dispose of her, he may send her back to her parents. I remember an instance of this kind. The woman was the prettiest I ever saw in Káfiristán, and would have been considered a beauty anywhere; but she was so bad and troublesome that no one would take her. She was sent back to her father's house. If any one were found intriguing with her he would have to pay the usual fine to the husband. If a girl were born to her, the woman would keep her; if a son, the husband would claim him."[1]

In many countries indeed where fatherright is well settled as the juridical system husbands are far from squeamish over what we should call their wives' virtue, or over their children's paternity. As the general subject of marital complacency will be more fully treated in a subsequent chapter we will confine our attention here to a few examples having regard more particularly to the relation between the woman's husband and the children she bears. I pass over the *jus primæ noctis*, of which examples are to be found in Indian custom.[2] Subject to any uncertainty arising from this cause, the husband might perhaps be able to count upon begetting his wife's children. As a matter of fact he is often quite careless on the subject. The Bâwariyas, a hunting and criminal tribe in the

[1] Robertson, *Káfirs*, 533, 536.

[2] The last case I have met with is that of Zikrís, an heretical Mohammedan sect in Baluchistan, among whom the Mulla exercises the right. His touch is supposed to sanctify and cleanse the bride (*Ind. Cens.* 1901, v. 45).

United Provinces (formerly the North-west Province), have a low standard of sexual morality. In the Muzaffarnagar district it is extremely rare for a woman to live with her husband. "Almost invariably she lives with another man; but whoever he may be the official husband is responsible for the children."[1] Among the Sumuwárs, a cultivating tribe of Nepal, in most cases girls are married after they are grown up to men of their own choice; and sexual intercourse before marriage is tacitly recognised on the understanding that in the event of pregnancy the girl will be married without delay. Divorce is permitted on the ground of adultery or misconduct on the part of the wife; and divorced women may marry again in the same manner as widows, that is to say, by simple cohabitation without any ceremony at all. Their children by the second husband are deemed legitimate. In case of divorce the first husband usually keeps his own children; "but if the divorced wife is allowed to take them with her, as sometimes happens, they are treated as the children of her second husband."[2] Among the Reddies of Tinnevelly in Southern India a young woman of sixteen or twenty years of age is frequently married to a boy of five or six years or even younger. She, however, lives with some other man, a relative on the maternal side, perhaps an uncle or cousin, but not with one of her father's relatives. Occasionally it may be the boy-husband's nominal father with whom she cohabits. Any children

[1] V. A. Smith, *N. Ind N. and Q.* i. 51 (par. 387). Mr. Vincent Smith describes the Bâwariyas as not a tribe but "a specially organised predatory caste." The description in the text is Mr. Crooke's (*Tribes and Castes*, i. 228).

[2] Risley, ii. 282.

so begotten are affiliated on the boy-husband. When he grows up his wife is old and probably past child-bearing. He therefore in his turn cohabits with some other boy's wife in a similar manner and procreates children for him.[1] Among the Malaiâlis of the Salem district "the sons when mere children are married to mature females, and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function, thus assuring for himself and his son a descendant to take them out of Put. When the putative father comes of age and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married he performs for them the same office which his father did for him. Thus not only is the religious idea involved in the words Putra and Kumâran (both meaning son) carried out, but also the premature strain on the generative faculties which this tradition entails is avoided." The word *putra* means one who saves from Put, a hell into which those who have not produced a son fall. The custom described is in fact widespread in the south of India, and as we shall see hereafter is by no means confined to that country.[2]

More than this, libertinage is practised under the sanction of religion to procure fecundity in women. We need not insist on mythological stories of barren women who have been embraced by gods and thereby obtained issue, nor on the imitation in modern times of these ancient tales by devotees who passing the

[1] Shortt, *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* N. S. vii. 194, 264 note. It is not clear that this is a case of polyandry, which it is understood the Reddies repudiate. Rather it would seem that the nominal husband and father never cohabits with his "wife" at all.

[2] Thurston, 49 *sqq.*, 108; *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* N. S. vii. 264; *Ind. Cens.* 1901, xv. 141, 181.

night at such temples as that of Tirupati in the Carnatic believe that they receive the embraces of Vishnu.[1] There are other temples where barren women hope to achieve their hearts' desire for children by granting their favours at a yearly festival in the month of January to a fixed number of mortal men in pursuance of a vow previously made.[2] A Thotigar in fulfilment of certain vows will place his wife during the festival of Soobramaniya in a solitary hut on the roadside and watching for travellers will beg the first person he meets to go in and have intercourse with her. This is repeated until the number of strangers has been procured, though it necessitate bringing her again and again to the place.[3]

A story from the *Jātaka* relates to one of the higher castes. The righteous king Okkāka, who ruled in the city of Kusâvati, had sixteen thousand wives; but his chief wife Sīlavatī had neither son nor daughter. As he had no son to perpetuate his race his subjects assembled at the door of his palace and began to complain, in fear lest a stranger should seize the kingdom and destroy it. The king opened his window and parleyed with them. They advised him: "First of all send out into the streets for a whole week a band of dancing women of low degree—giving the act a religious sanction—and if one of them shall give birth to a son, well and good. Otherwise send out a company of fairly good standing, and finally a band of the highest rank. Surely among so many one woman will be found of sufficient merit to bear a son." These women must have been in some way attached to

[1] Dubois 601. [2] *Ibid.* 603.
[3] *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* N. S. vii. 264.

his court or members of his harem, though it is not explicitly so stated. However, compliance with the advice was not followed by conception on the part of any of them. The king was in despair, and when the men of the city renewed their reproaches he asked them again what he was to do. "Sire," they answered "these women must be immoral and void of merit. They have not sufficient merit to conceive a son. But because they do not conceive you are not to relax your efforts. The queen-consort, Sīlavatī, is a virtuous woman. Send her out into the streets. A son will be born to her." The tale avers that "the king readily assented, and proclaimed by beat of drum that on the seventh day from that time the people were to assemble and the king would expose Sīlavatī—giving the act a religious character. And on the seventh day he had the queen magnificently arrayed and carried down from the palace and exposed in the streets." But Sakka came from heaven to the rescue disguised as a brahman and with merely a touch of his thumb rendered her pregnant of the Bodhisatta.[1]

If we turn from Buddhist tales to the sacred law of the Hindus we find an unmistakable emphasis laid on the necessity for children, and above all for a male child. A son is an absolute necessity to carry on the ancestral rites. "He only," says the great law-book of Manu, "is a perfect man who consists [of three persons united], his wife, himself, and his offspring." "Immediately on the birth of his first-born a man is [called] the father of a son and is freed from the debt to the manes; that [son], therefore, is worthy to receive the whole estate. That son alone on whom

[1] *Jātaka*, v. 141 (Story No. 531).

he throws his debt and through whom he obtains immortality, is begotten for [the fulfilment of] the law."[1] A son being so important, where a man failed to beget a son on his wife various devices were resorted to in order to supply his place. A daughter might be appointed to bear a son who would fulfil the rites. Or a son of another member of the same caste might be given with certain rites by his parents and adopted by the sonless man. A son so adopted would cease to have any claim on his own father and family and would be deemed instead to be the son of him to whom he had been transferred, would perform his funeral rites and take his estate.[2] But there was still another course which, repugnant though it may be to our moral code, was at least fraught with more regard for the purity of the race than that suggested by the men of Kusâvati to their king. After expounding the duty of a husband to guard his wife and to keep her pure, because "offspring, [the due performance of] religious rites, faithful service, highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself depend on one's wife alone," and proclaiming that "she who, controlling her thoughts speech and acts, violates not her duty towards her lord, dwells with him [after death] in heaven, and in this world is called by the virtuous a faithful [wife]," Bhrigu is represented as plunging into a grave discussion whether the male issue of a woman belongs to her lord or to the begetter. "Those who, having no property in a field, but possessing seed-corn, sow it in another's soil, do indeed not receive the grain of the crop which may spring

[1] *Sacred Books*, xxv. 335, 346. *Cf.* xiv. 271.
[2] *Id.* xxv. 353, 355, 361

up. If [one man's] bull were to beget a hundred calves on another man's cows, they would belong to the owner of the cows. . . . Thus," he decides, "men who have no marital property in women, but sow their seed in the soil of others, benefit the owner of the woman, but the giver of the seed reaps no advantage." This is preliminary to a declaration of the law applicable to women "in times of misfortune," that is to say when there is no male offspring. In spite of the taboo which hedges alike the wife of an elder brother and the wife of a younger brother, the breach of which would make both guilty parties outcasts, "on failure of issue [by her husband] a woman who has been authorised, may obtain [in the] proper [manner prescribed], the desired offspring by [cohabitation with] a brother-in-law or [with some other] *sapinda*" [of the husband]. She may, it seems, be authorised for this purpose by her husband or after his death by his relatives; but when once the object is accomplished cohabitation must cease. However, if the son born be not fit to offer the Srâddhas, a second may be begotten. A son so begotten would be deemed the son of the husband, whether such husband was in fact living or dead at the time of his procreation.[1]

This was the law throughout Vedic times. There is reason to think indeed that as formulated by Manu it limited the pre-existing custom. A *sapinda* is a kinsman within six degrees, that is to say, a descendant of the same great-grandfather. But it is noteworthy in all the early examples of the Niyoga, as the custom of authorisation by the husband was called,

[1] *Sacred Books*, xxv. 327–338; *cf.* ii. 267, 302, 303.

that a stranger was the person appointed as the agent to beget a child.[1] Moreover the ceremonies which hedged round the accomplishment of the agent's duties, whether appointed by the relatives after the husband's death, or as it seems by the husband in his lifetime, display an anxiety to reduce the act itself to a minimum. And later law-books disclose an effort to get rid of it altogether.[2] But as the law stands in Manu, not merely sons begotten by an appointed *sapinda* on a wife or widow are recognised as the husband's sons. The illegitimate son of an unmarried girl who afterwards marries, a son born of a bride already pregnant at the time of her marriage, and even a son born of a wife's adultery are also all deemed to be the husband's sons.[3] In fact, as a recent commentator on the Hindu law says, it is a law "in which twelve sorts of sons are recognised, the majority of whom have no blood-relationship to their own [nominal] father."[4] The Chinese also esteem it so important to have children that it is looked upon as somewhat of an infamy to be destitute of them. There are husbands, at least in the province of Fo-Kien and doubtless elsewhere, who for this purpose force their wives to entertain other men and invite or even pay some friend to have intercourse with them. The girls who are not already delivered over to their intended father-in-law's custody at an early age are very dissolute. A law-suit arising out of a claim by a family that a girl on marriage is not found a virgin is no uncommon event; but money is always deemed a sufficient com-

[1] Mayne, 84. See also McLennan, *Pat. Theory*, 269.
[2] *Sac. Bks.* ii. 130. [3] *Ibid.* xxv. 362, 363.
[4] Mayne, 73; *cf.* 81. See also Jolly, 71.

pensation to enable the bridegroom to accept his bride as if nothing had happened.[1] So among the Hill tribes of Northern Aracan sexual intercourse before marriage is unrestricted, "and it is considered rather a good thing," we are told, "to marry a girl in the family-way, even though by another man."[2]

In the same way in ancient Arabia when a husband paid a bride-price all the children borne by his wife were his, and were reckoned to his kin. This, says Professor Robertson Smith, "is the fundamental doctrine of Mohammedan law: the son is reckoned to the bed on which he is born. But in old Arab law this doctrine is developed with a logical thoroughness at which our views of property stand aghast." And he shows by an examination of cases that "when a man desired a goodly seed he might call upon his wife to cohabit with another man till she became pregnant by him," and in such a case the child would be the husband's; that the child of a woman already pregnant by another man at her marriage would belong to the husband; that when a mother married again after divorce or the death of her previous husband if she were allowed to take her children with her they might become incorporated in her new husband's stock; that the husband might lead his wife to a guest, or on going a journey might get a friend to supply his place in his absence, or might enter into a partnership of conjugal rights with another man in return for service; yet in all these cases he would be reckoned the father of her

[1] Father Jaime Masip, *Anthropos*, ii. 716.
[2] *J. A. I.* ii. 239.

children.[1] It is true that at the period referred to (at and before the time of Mohammed) the social organisation was undergoing a revolution: the present system had not yet completely taken the place of motherright. But some of these practices continued into quite modern times, and some, like the hospitality-rite of leading a wife to a guest, are well-known practices among many patrilineal peoples. It is even asserted to have been the custom in the Netherlands in comparatively modern times.[2]

Pursuing our inquiries on the continent of Africa we find numerous examples of the indifference of the husband to the actual paternity of the children who are reckoned to him. Only a few can be mentioned here. Among the Dinkas of Bahr-el-Ghazal when a man dies his wives become the wives of his sons, except of course their respective mothers. If a son have children by a wife so inherited they are looked upon as brothers and not as sons: that is, they are reckoned to his father. So, if a *beng* (sheikh, or head of a village) be "too old to be sexually efficient, he nevertheless continues to take wives, but these cohabit with his sons. Children so begotten are regarded as the children of the sheikh and as the brothers of their actual fathers." Adultery indeed is punished with the death of the male offender,[3] if caught in the act; but the definition of adultery is limited as among many other peoples to sexual relations without the husband's consent. Among the Dinkas in general marriage is concluded by the payment of a bride-price.

[1] Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, 107, *sqq*.
[2] Ploss, *Weib*, i. 300.
[3] Capt. S. L. Cummins, *J. A. I.* xxxiv. 151.

The dissolution of a marriage may be effected by the repayment of all the cattle given for the bride-price and all their young. On such repayment the marriage is "broken" and the woman returns to her father. When she marries again all the children of her former husband, except such as may have been left with him by arrangement when the marriage was "broken," are regarded as the children of the second husband. If within two years of a marriage the wife fail to give birth to a child her husband may sue for return of the cattle on the ground that she is unable to conceive. But before doing so he "must have had recourse to the tribal custom of permitting one of his male relations to cohabit with" her, in order to support the allegation of barrenness: that his other wives may have borne is no proof in his favour. It is the duty of a widow to raise up children to her husband by cohabiting with her dead husband's brother or some other of his near relations. Any children born in consequence, or from any other connection, are considered those of the deceased, irrespective of the time that may have elapsed since his death. Even when a man dies childless, leaving only a widow who is past the age of child-bearing, or leaving an only daughter, no sons and no widows capable of bearing, an heir must still be provided. The duty of providing the heir lies upon the widow or daughter as the case may be; and in default of male relations she holds the property in trust for the future heir. Any children the daughter may have will be reckoned to her husband, not to her father; and adoption seems to be unknown. The difficulty therefore looks insoluble; and to us the strangest of all the Dinka customs is that by which

the widow or daughter left in this embarrassing position fulfils her duty. She "marries" in the name of the deceased a girl whom she selects and whose bride-price she pays out of his herds. It is then incumbent on her to arrange for a man to cohabit with the bride in order to produce children. A widow whose husband has left no male relations arranges for one of her own to act as husband; in default of male relations of her own she may appoint any man she pleases. The children resulting from the connection are in name and rights of inheritance those of the deceased, the natural father having no claim on them whatsoever.[1]

This is carrying the custom of raising up seed to the deceased, with which we are familiar in the laws of the Hebrews and the Hindus, further than in any other case with which I am acquainted. In a more restricted form it is common to many of the African tribes. Among the Wadjagga when a man dies without children or unmarried his father if living takes a wife in his name, and any children she bears will count as the sons of the deceased, their actual father being regarded as their grandfather.[2] Macheng, a chief of the Bamangwato, was the legal son and successor of Khari. He was not born until some years after Khari's death. Khari had had other sons, but not by the woman whom he had appointed head-wife. Having paid her price in cattle she and her offspring were to be reckoned to him, although the children were not born for a dozen years after his death. Macheng was her son. He had to make good his claim against the powerful chief Sekhome, who

[1] MS. Collection of Dinka Laws by Capt. Hugh D. E. O'Sullivan

[2] Gutmann, *Globus*, xcii. 3.

was an elder and undoubted son of Khari, but by another wife. "It is not etiquette," says the mssionary who witnessed and who best tells the tale of the contest, "ever to refer to the man who thus raises up seed to another, in connection with such children. They are not his children. They are the children of him who is dead. . . . Even the most ardent friends of Sekhome admit that according to their customs Macheng is the rightful chief."[1] And it was not merely his personal character or the fortunate concatenation of events, but quite as much the legal strength of his title, that gave him ultimate victory over Sekhome. The same custom is reported of the Bahurutsi and of the Bavenda.[2]

Among the Baroswi of Mashonaland there is a recognised practice for an old man with young wives to allow a younger man to raise up children for him.[3] Among the Bavenda a man will sometimes give one of his wives to a friend; but any child she may have by that friend belongs to the former husband.[4] A Mosuto chief inherits his father's wives "as well as his other possessions. These wives, as a rule, each chief distributes amongst his councillors and favourites; but their children are always called his, thus giving him a considerable source of wealth, as the sons work for him and the daughters bring him large dowries of cattle. Fidelity either from the husband or wife is a virtue rarely to be found amongst the heathen; but its absence creates no trouble as long as it is not

[1] Mackenzie, *Ten Years*, 364.
[2] Stow, *Races*, 525.
[3] *Journ. Afr. Soc.* iv. 315.
[4] Rev. E. Gottschling, *J. A. I.* xxxv. 373.

discovered."[1] This remark by a lady who has resided for some years in Basutoland is probably to be understood, so far as regards the wife, by assuming a general knowledge on the part of the husband of his wife's habits, at which he winks unless open scandal result. Mr. Mabille, an official and the son of a missionary, tells us that "adultery is general: every man has his mistress and every woman her lover."[2] The lady just quoted adds: "In cases where a chief wishes to retain the services of a man, he will bestow one of his wives upon him for the length of time his services are required; but any children born of this marriage belong to the chief."[3] It is hardly exact to speak of such a connection or of similar relations previously mentioned in the present paragraph, whether among the Bavenda or the Basuto, as a marriage, because in none of the cases would a bride-price have been paid. The wife temporarily bestowed upon a follower is in law the chief's wife still; and for this reason it is that the children she may bear will belong to him.[4] What really happens is that the chief lends a wife to a follower, usually a headman, in order to "raise children to the kraal."[5] Nor are we surprised to find that among the Basuto, as among other peoples whom we shall consider hereafter, it is a hospitable duty on the part of a chief when visited by another chief to offer him one of his women during his stay.[6] Of the coast-tribes parallel customs are recorded. If the pregnancy be the

[1] Martin, 87.
[2] *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 365.
[3] Martin, *loc. cit.*
[4] K. Endemann, *Zeits. f. Ethn.* vi. 40.
[5] Hewat, 108.
[6] *Zeits. f. Ethn.* vi. 33.

result of adultery the child will belong to the husband.[1] As an old writer says, "he is so far from revenging his wife's infidelity upon her that he prefers to accept the bastard child as his own." This however does not prevent his bringing her partner in the offence before the chief for punishment; and he receives one half of the fine inflicted, which consists of cattle.[2] Similar customs may be said to be general among such of the Bantu tribes as are patrilineal. Among the Nilotic tribes the rule of the Kavirondo is that any children of a woman at the time of her marriage, whether they be legitimate or not, become her husband's by virtue of marriage.[3]

Turning now to the true Negroes we find in Buna on the Ivory Coast a social condition in which father-right is predominant, but has not yet succeeded in stamping out all vestiges of the more archaic stage. The family is strongly organised, its head being the eldest male, who is absolute master. All the children born during a marriage are the husband's property, even those who are the fruit of adultery. In case of divorce where the wife is known to be pregnant the child subsequently born belongs to the husband; if, however, her pregnancy be not then known she retains the child.[4] In Seguela parentage runs in the paternal line by preference, and the family is similarly organised. Every child born during the marriage belongs to the husband. In case of lengthened absence of the husband the wife is authorised to live in concubinage

[1] Kidd, 229, 231, 357; Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 472; *Cape Rep. Native Laws*, Evidence, 136.
[2] Alberti, 141.
[3] G. A. S. Northcote, *J. A. I.* xxxvii. 62.
[4] Clozel, 308–312.

with another man, preferably a member of the family. At his return the husband takes her back, together with any children born during his absence.[1] The Krumen of Sassandra reckon descent on both sides; but we are told that the female side is of little importance. The descendants of a common ancestor in the male line dwell together in the same village and form a clan. Since polygamy is here as elsewhere among the Negroes practically unlimited, infidelity to one wife leads to no more serious consequence than little tiffs. Adultery by the wife herself is hardly graver, the French official report tells us; and everything is comfortably arranged, if she only share with her husband the presents she has received from her lover. Some husbands, indeed, especially old chiefs who are inclined to violence, revenge themselves; but it is rare to find a really jealous husband. Sometimes, but very seldom, the husband demands a divorce when the wife is thoroughly abandoned. Conformably with these easy-going morals the law declares no distinction between legitimate illegitimate and adulterine children. *Is pater quem nuptiæ demonstrant* admits of no exception. The husband is considered the father, even though he has been absent for ten years, of any children his wife may have borne in the meantime.[2] The Krumen of Cavally reckon descent only on the male side. There is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. The children are the wealth of the family and they are always welcome, even when the husband knows he is not the real father. They belong to him in all cases. He may however inflict

[1] Clozel, 330, 331. Women may inherit in certain cases (*Id.* 335).

[2] *Id.* 495, 497, 498.

corporal punishment on his adulterous wife, or even send her back to her family and obtain repayment of the bride-price. He may also institute a palaver against the adulterer for damages, which may be settled if he so please by an exchange of wives. The *patria potestas* vests in the eldest male of the highest generation living, and devolves with the property on his next brother at his death. When there are no brothers the eldest son inherits.[1] In the foregoing cases the marriage rites are of the most restricted character. On the other hand, among the Andoni of Southern Nigeria (if I am right in thinking them patrilineal) an elaborate ceremony is performed. Two stout sticks of a certain wood called *odiri*, about four feet long, are supplied by the Juju priests from the sacred grove. They are sharpened at the end and first laid on the ground in a corner of the bridegroom's house by the priests. The bride and bridegroom are then made to place their feet on them. The priest kills a goat and sprinkles its blood on their feet and on the sticks. The stakes are then driven by their sharpened ends into the ground in the corner of the house, and there they remain until they fall to pieces. From that moment the wife and all the children she may bear, by whomsoever begotten, are the husband's property. The marriage is indissoluble. Even if she leave her husband and have children by chiefs or kings they must be delivered up to him on his demand. When she dies she cannot be buried save by him; any other person undertaking this important function would incur heavy punishment; before the days of British rule it was death.[2]

[1] Clozel, 507, 511, 512, 515.

[2] *Journ. Afr. Soc.* iv. 414; Leonard, 414.

Islam is not necessarily a religion of high civilisation. It has made extensive conquests in Africa by reason of its power of adaptation to lower stages of culture. By Mohammedan law kinship is reckoned through both lines; but such preponderant importance is attached to the paternal side that semi-civilised African populations professing Islam may for our purpose be regarded as patrilineal. Just as among patrilineal peoples where fatherright is carried out to its logical term, great importance is attributed to the purity of Mohammedan women. On the other hand the law, by the aid of the physiological ignorance of the early doctors who framed it, stretches beyond all probability the presumption of legitimacy in its doctrine of the possibility of very lengthened gestations. A famous Maghribin saint named Sîdî Nâïl left his home and went on pilgrimage to Mecca where he abode for two years and a half. At length he returned to find that his wife Cheliha had only a short time before given birth to a son. Even the credulity of the faithful, supported by the law, has had the greatest difficulty in digesting the legitimacy of this child. Yet the saint himself seems to have accepted him, and his sonship has been duly attested by heaven; for it is especially among his descendants that the gift of miracles possessed by Sîdî Nâïl has been perpetuated.[1] In the same way the Bayázi, an heretical sect of which the bulk of the Arab population of Zanzibar consists, allow legitimacy to children born within two years after the husband's death. The Shafei, another sect, extend the period to four years.[2] Mohammedan law, exaggerated by these heretical sects, seems indeed

[1] *Rev. Hist. Rel.* xli. 315. [2] Burton, *Zanzibar*, i. 403.

a device for gathering into the husband's kin all the children of his wives to whom any semblance of a claim can be made. Among the Galla of north-eastern Africa, who are Moslem, the illegitimate children of a woman married by the solemn rite of the *rakkó* are legally descendants of the husband.[1]

Customs similar to those prescribed in the ancient Indian law-books have even been in use in Europe. A Spartan law attributed to Lycurgus required an old man who had a young wife to introduce to her a young man whose bodily and mental qualities he approved, that he might beget children on her.[2] The primary object indeed of this law and of others fathered on the same law-giver was said to be what is called in modern scientific jargon Eugenics. However that may have been as regards the form in which they are reported to us, there can be little doubt that they are formulations of pre-existing custom which enabled the continuance of the husband's family by another man. At all events at Athens a law ascribed to Solon was in force which provided that if the next-of-kin who had in accordance with law successfully claimed an heiress for himself were impotent, his place should be supplied by some of his relatives (*cum mariti adgnatis concubito*). This as McLennan points out is identical with the law of Manu cited above. In both cases the object was to

Paulitschke, ii. 142. As to the *rakkó* see *Ibid.* 47. I am not aware whether the Boni, a subject people among the Galla and Somali, are Mohammedans, or whether they are, as has been suggested, of Galla origin. "There is no divorce among these people, all the children of one woman, by whatever father, are the property of the woman's original husband, if alive; if dead, of her brother" (Capt. Salkeld, *Man* (1905), 169 (par. 94).

[2] Xenophon, *Rep. Laced.* i. 9; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*.

provide heirs; and the children took the estate as soon as they were able to perform the duties to their legal ancestors.[1] The old peasant custumals of Germany, especially of Westphalia, lay it down that an impotent husband shall perform the ceremony of taking his wife on his back over nine fences and then calling a neighbour to act as his substitute. If he cannot find one who is able and willing, he is to adorn her with new clothes, hang a purse at her side with money to spend and send her to a *kermess*, in the hope of finding some one there to help her.[2] Grimm, commenting on these curious prescriptions, admits that there is no historical record of any such actual transaction, but observes that they are plainly and seriously prescribed and that their memory lingers in tradition, instancing an old poem on Saint Elizabeth. He suggests that in the custumals all the details are not mentioned, that probably the rite was only performed where serious detriment would result from the want of an heir, and that the husband's choice of a substitute was not unlimited. In any case he holds the custom to be very archaic, though in the records it appears adapted to the circumstances of mediæval peasant-proprietors.

The foregoing examples are all chosen from peoples among whom fatherright is the rule, or who deduce kinship through both parents with preference for the father, as in the highest civilisations. Where these customs are in vogue the husband cannot be sure of the paternity of the children born of his wife. On the

[1] Plutarch, *Solon;* McLennan, *Studies*, i. 223; Seebohm, *Greek Tribal Soc.* 23.

[2] Grimm, *Rechtsalt.* 443. The details of the ceremony vary in different places.

contrary he is often sure that the children belonging to him, reckoned of his kin and inheriting his property, are not in fact heirs of his body. They may even be born long after his death as the result of intercourse between his wives and other men. The list might be indefinitely lengthened if the customs of peoples among whom fatherright though predominant is imperfectly developed were considered. Thus in Madagascar motherright has left much more than traces. The hindrances on marriage of relatives are greater on the mother's side than on the father's. Children of two sisters by the same mother cannot intermarry, nor can their descendants. On the other hand children and grandchildren of a brother and sister by the same mother may intermarry on the performance of a slight ceremony prescribed to remove the disqualification of consanguinity. The royal family and nobles trace their lineage, contrary to the general practice, through the mother and not through the father. Yet so great a calamity is it counted that a man should die without posterity that if an elder brother die childless his next brother must take the widow and raise up seed to the deceased.[1] This involves sexual relations only after the husband's death between the widow and his brother. But the Malagasy customs are further-reaching still; for all the children of a married woman belong to her husband, whoever may beget them. Divorce is a frequent occurrence and for trivial causes. When it takes place, not only are the children previously born retained by the husband, but any whom the wife may afterwards bear to another man belong to the husband

[1] Ellis, i. 164; Sibree, 246.

who has divorced her. And he hastens to secure them by taking a present to each one as it is born ; a ceremony which appears to constitute a formal claim to them. In the ceremony of divorce the husband's final word to his wife is an injunction to remember that though she is now at liberty to marry any one else, all her future children will belong to him, the husband divorcing her.[1]

Motherright then is found not merely where paternity is uncertain, but also where it is practically certain. Fatherright on the other hand is found not merely where paternity is certain, but also where it is uncertain and even where the legal father is known not to have begotten the children. Nay, the institutions of fatherright often require provision for, and very generally permit, the procreation by other men of children for the nominal father. It follows therefore that the uncertainty of paternity cannot be historically the reason for the reckoning of descent exclusively through the mother. Some other reason must be discovered.

[1] Verbal information to me by Rev. T. Rowlands, L.M.S., Missionary to the Betsileo. The information does not agree with that in Ellis, *Hist. Mad.* i. 173. Possibly the latter refers to (or includes) children of tender age who are necessarily left with their mother for the time.

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