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Publisher: Routledge
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Folklore

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rfol20>

Book Reviews

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Published online: 06 Feb 2012.

To cite this article: Lewis R. Farnell , John H. Weeks , E. Sidney Hartland , F. C. Conybeare , W. J. Perry & Edward Westermarck (1913) Book Reviews, Folklore, 24:3, 386-408, DOI: [10.1080/0015587X.1913.9719580](https://doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.1913.9719580)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.1913.9719580>

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REVIEWS.

THE BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY AND THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.

By J. G. FRAZER. Vol. I. The Belief among the Aborigines of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea and Melanesia. (The Gifford Lectures, St. Andrews, 1911-2.) Macmillan & Co., 1913. 8vo, pp. xxi + 495. 10s. n.

ALL Dr. Frazer's works are a source both of pleasure and profit to the reader; the present work is pleasant even to the reviewer. Unfatigued by his great work on the history and theory of totemism, Dr. Frazer has embarked on a still greater task, the exposition of the beliefs and practices of the primitive and advanced races of the earth in regard to the dead. As a master in the method and art of collecting, selecting, and grouping the facts upon which the great world-inductions of anthropology might be based, he has no rivals; and he shows himself here, as he has in his former achievements, capable of carrying a project through which might appear to demand a syndicate of collaborateurs, and of conducting it single-handed better than any syndicate could. In this new field, which promises to yield an inestimable harvest to social anthropology, his *prima vindemiatio* is this first volume. It displays all the best qualities, both in respect of style and matter, that characterise his former works, together with a certain reserve and sobriety in theorising that is sometimes lacking in certain chapters of *The Golden Bough*. The first object of this new *magnum opus* is to present us with the facts, to fill a great gap in what we may call sociological history: and the first necessary step is the survey of the existing or the recently recorded primitive races of mankind. Dr. Frazer has here presented us with the

relevant phenomena of Australia, the Torres Straits Islands, New Guinea, and Melanesia, a wide region full of varied and typical forms of savage life. What, perhaps, at first sight impresses us most is the remarkable monotony of the subject-matter, due to the close similarity in belief and funeral rites prevalent among so many societies far removed from each other. This monotony, which will probably be felt all the more strongly when the other volumes have come to light, is relieved by Dr. Frazer's clear and pleasant style, with its occasional humour and archness, and in any case would not repel the scientific reader. For it is a fact of high value for the general anthropologist that certain phenomena such as death, excite the same or similar feelings in the greater part of mankind, and that similarity of feeling suggests identical rites and customs. Also this prevailing monotony adds interest to the occasional and not unimportant diversities, which attest free thought and possibilities of progress.

It is not the object of this notice to question or to criticise the value or the authenticity of the sources from which Dr. Frazer draws. He himself is sufficiently careful in this matter, and the width of his reading fills us with wonder. Yet the investigator of a special field generally finds something to correct in the work of his predecessor. And our author might have dealt differently with the Fijian *Kalou*, a term which he interprets as "god" (p. 440), if he had read Mr. Hocart's excellent article in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1912. But the question of *Quellen-Kritik* will be most urgent when he comes to deal with the ancient advanced societies of the Mediterranean area. Here an easy-going and uncritical acceptance of all ancient authorities would be fatal. And this hint may not be untimely, in view of Dr. Frazer's statement on p. 159, "Every year the Peloponnesian lads lashed themselves on the grave of Pelops at Olympia, till the blood ran down their backs as a libation in honour of the dead man"; a rite which he compares with funeral mutilation in Western Australia. The Australian record is true: the Greek is entirely bogus, being one of the latest and most ignorant of the generally admirable and ancient scholia on Pindar, the invention probably of a late Byzantine scholiast who could not understand the word αἱμακονρία, but remembered the

Lycurgeoan flogging of the boys at Sparta, and may have thought that the ancient Peloponnese was a political whole.

But the main object of the present notice is to estimate the value of the facts that Dr. Frazer has here set forth for general anthropology, and for the purposes of comparative religion. Much of his collection of data possesses undoubtedly a great intrinsic interest, whatever light it may throw on the development of some of the higher forms of faith and ritual. We are enabled to realise, for instance, how widespread is the fallacy that all sickness and death is an unnatural and abnormal event, due to the witchcraft of the enemy or the malevolence of the ghost. We may take such a belief as marking a line of cleavage between a civilised and an uncivilised people; yet it does not immediately vanish with the spread of civilisation; the Greek world had practically escaped from it by the dawn of the historical period, but the Babylonian remained susceptible to particular forms of the illusion. Its deadly social effects will be appreciated by Dr. Frazer's readers. According to the logic of the belief, every death, however timely and natural, involves the retributive murder of someone else; and the superstition is a force that tends to race-suicide. Fortunately some savage tribes show a progressive spirit even in such a hopeless situation as this: they find a way to avenge the vindictive ghost without kindling a tribal vendetta. Dr. Frazer's account on pp. 280-282 of the methods whereby the Kai tribe in German New Guinea combine murder with bogus-tricks to deceive the ghost is one of the most humorous passages in anthropological literature. He also discovers the same motive, the desire to deceive the ghost, in that interesting custom of arranging a sham fight, in which blood is sometimes shed, but not dangerously, between two parties of the same tribe or of adjacent tribes, on the occasion of the death of an important personage. He quotes three examples from Australia, German New Guinea, and Southern Melanesia. He probably has noted and will quote in another volume an example of the same rite among the Bangala people of the Upper Congo.¹ He suggests that this ritual, which is certainly not dramatic or commemorative of any story about the dead man, is a humane legal fiction, whereby the ghost is deluded into believing that his

¹ *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl. (1910), p. 378.

kinsfolk are avenging him very thoroughly, while they are merely amusing themselves with his supposed murderers. His suggestion of motive may be right in these cases; but it could not be naturally applied to two Hellenic parallels, of which he may be aware, though he has not mentioned them. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter the goddess promises in honour of her fosterling Demiphon, that "over him at fixed seasons as the years roll round the sons of the Eleusinians shall always join in battle and the fell war-shout."² I have pointed out what appears to be the only possible explanation of this mysterious blessing, that the Eleusinians are to institute a yearly ritual in honour of Demiphon, which is to include a sham-fight over his grave; and that another parallel is the Argive *λιθοβολία*, where the people joined in two parties and threw stones at each other in honour of the dead maidens Damia and Auxesia. Now Demiphon is no warlike figure of Epic Saga, but probably a peaceful vegetation-hero, and the mysterious maidens, Damia and Auxesia, are revealed by their names as vegetation-goddesses.³ It is against all the evidence to explain these two ceremonies as dictated by the desire to avenge the vindictive ghost; they belong rather to the sphere of vegetation-magic: blood shed over the grave of vegetation-heroes or heroines quickens their powers of fertility.⁴

The savage illusion about death, from which we ourselves have not yet wholly escaped, engenders the belief that mankind were originally not intended to die, but that their doom of mortality was due to some accident, some mistake, or some malevolent trick of an animal or a human being. In fact a few savage myths, among the many that Dr. Frazer quotes (pp. 58-86), resemble the Biblical story of Genesis still more closely, and attribute the misfortune to some human disobedience of a divine behest (p. 79, the Baganda of Central Africa), or to some sin of mankind (p. 70, the Arawaks of British Guiana), and in many of the aboriginal stories it is a woman who causes the trouble. The death-myth of the

² Hom. *H. Dem.*, 265-267.

³ Vide my *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii., pp. 93-94.

⁴ Another type of mimic contests at funerals has been explained as a dramatic presentation of the conflict between good and evil spirits. Vide J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion*, vol. iv., p. 481.

Cherokee Indians (p. 77) is interesting as showing the type to which the Hesiodic story of Pandora's box belongs. Only, it is well worth remarking that the Hesiodic version is different from these aboriginal stories that were floating round the world; Pandora's opened box let out a number of evils, but not death, which had always been in the world of men, even in Hesiod's sinless and happiest generation of the golden men, to whom death comes as a sleep. There is no recorded Greek myth that explains the origin of death or that reveals such an illusion in the mythopoeic mind of Hellas as that death was not part of the cosmic human plan but came in as an unintended accident. Greek folklore possessed, long before Euripides, a personal Thanatos, such a figure as plays a part in the stories of the Baganda, the Bantu tribe, and the Melanesians of Banks' Island; and it could imagine a clever man like Sisyphos bottling up Death for a few years, during which time nobody died; but it rose above the savage level in that it did not delude itself about the general lot of mortality.

Nearly all the myths reflect the pathetic feeling that death is an evil. Only one, in vogue among the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands, rises in this respect to a higher point of view, and reflects the idea expressed by our most modern science, that death is a social-economic advantage to our species (p. 83).

The greater number of the funeral ceremonies, which are generally quaint and elaborate and occasionally most repulsive, are attributed by Dr. Frazer to one ruling motive, the fear of the ghost. This is certainly a very widespread, perhaps the predominating, sentiment in the savage mind. But sometimes it seems quite inadequate to explain the ceremony which he supposes it to inspire; for instance, the strange custom of the women scourging the men at the funeral of the Fijian chief (p. 452). Also, the critical reader may feel that he attributes too much to it as the ruling motive, and too little to affection and real sorrow. The violent and morbid outbursts of lamentation accompanied with self-laceration need not be due to the hypocritical desire to persuade a formidable ghost that the relatives were really very sorry for him and loved him deeply in life, so that he may refrain from haunting them now: in view of the unstable emotional equilibrium of the savage, a simple feeling of sorrow may manifest itself in ritual

forms of violent exaggeration, just as in a weak person laughter tends to hysterics. That the fear of the dead, while being a coarser emotion, is also more primeval than the emotion of sorrow or affection in regard to them is not clearly proved by this treatise; and the not uncommon custom in savage communities of burying within or near the house of the living points to affection rather than fear; the various rites that appear to aim at effecting a communion with the dead are not normally explicable as prompted by fear (*e.g.* pp. 205, 315).

The sympathetic reader may also note at times a lacuna in Dr. Frazer's theoretic equipment, and may feel that the phenomena could be sometimes explained without the aid of any ghost-theory at all: for instance, the feeling of the impurity of death, the horror of bloodshed, which compel the relatives of the dead to be under a *tabu*, or the warriors returning from a victorious massacre to be purified, do not postulate the presence of the haunting ghost, but may arise from a preanimistic instinct of revulsion and may for long be sustained by it alone.

But from most points of view the exposition is broad-minded and well-balanced. Dr. Frazer emphasises eloquently the grim and devastating results of ghost-faith and ghost-ritual; but he is fully sensible of its social advantages as a bond of family union and the preservative of family morality (*e.g.* pp. 134, 175). Even savage eschatology, uncouth and barren of morality as it usually is, has occasionally a moral value; on one of the Banks' Islands we meet with an ethical theory of rewards and punishments after death higher than that of the Homeric Greek (p. 354). According to some of the Kai in German New Guinea the ghosts must be purified from stain before they enter the happy land; and we have here the germ of the Orphic-Christian concept of Purgatory.

The present volume already contributes much, either by way of positive or negative evidence, to certain current religious or anthropological controversies and problems. Dr. Frazer has collected sufficient evidence to show, (*a*), that the same people at the same period may practise such different modes of disposing of the dead as cremation and burial; therefore a certain ethnologic criterion much applied to the Mediterranean races loses its credit: (*b*), that the same people at the same period can hold entirely contradictory

ideas about the place and lot of the ghost, and that such self-contradiction is a mark of the primitive mind : therefore Rohde's view in his *Psyche* that Homer's picture of Hades and the fate of the ghost is irreconcilable with ghost-cult is untrue to human nature ; (c), that a powerful ghost of a once-living man may often incarnate itself in an animal and that this animal will be temporarily revered ; therefore theriolatry and theriomorphism is not a stage of religion that necessarily preceded anthropomorphism ; the god may have been a man first, a beast afterwards, and simultaneously man and beast. Finally, the theory of the origin of Tragedy from the mimetic representations at the funerals of great men can draw no single piece of valid evidence from Dr. Frazer's book. Our author has wisely kept in reserve his own larger inductions : but one can discern the theory in his mind that ghost-cult has generated much of the ritual and forms of higher religion. We must wait for his later volumes before we try to test this question.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

NOTES AND QUERIES ON ANTHROPOLOGY. Fourth Edition.
 Edited by B. FREIRE-MARRECO and J. L. MYRES. The
 Royal Anthropological Institute, 1912. Sm. 8vo, pp.
 xii + 288. 5s. net.

WHILE reading the above book my regret was great that I did not meet with it twenty years ago, when I first began to take notes on anthropology. It would have aided me considerably in any work I have done, and would undoubtedly have enhanced the value of that work by helping to a more scientific investigation of the subject. I cannot speak too highly of the suggestions it offers to the student for consideration, nor can I commend it too heartily to my colleagues in Africa, or to those who are living and working, in one capacity or another, among primitive peoples in any part of the world. It will suggest topics for study, will keep the enquirer on the right lines, and help the student to arrive at the heart of things.

When the list of experts who prepared *Notes and Queries* is read down, it may seem most presumptuous either to criticise the

queries, or to suggest any additions. Yet I would, with all diffidence, step in where others may fear to tread ; and my excuse for doing so is that, as I have read this book with its series of questions, I have imagined myself back in the wilds of Central Africa, with few books of reference and no means of ascertaining the meaning of some of the technicalities used, such as Keloids (called Peloids by others), etc. Most men of ordinary general knowledge know what anthropomorphic means, but the same cannot be said of phytomorphic and hylomorphic,—(Chambers' *Dictionary* gives neither),—and the men for whom I presume this book to have been prepared have had no special training in the nomenclature of anthropology, and are often cut off for years from a good reference library. A little etymology would have been helpful not only to the definition of the words, but also in fixing their meaning in the worker's memory.

I notice that the colour of the eye (or the iris), of the skin, etc. is to be noted, and in my experience scarcely two men will call an intermediate shade by the same name. I felt this difficulty some years ago, when collecting fish for the Natural History Museum. They asked me to describe the colours on the fish directly they were taken from the water. Now, although I am not colour-blind in the slightest degree, yet, not having served my time in a millinery establishment matching shades of colour, my vocabulary respecting colours was that of an ordinary man, and to what I called by one name an expert might have given a quite different name. I mentioned this difficulty,—a very real one,—and the authorities supplied me with a book of colours which was most helpful. I would, therefore, suggest that a page or two of the *Notes* should be devoted to examples of colours, with names or numbers to each, *i.e.* a page giving shades of colour for the iris, and another with the various tints of brown for the skin ; it would make for accuracy. The names and illustrations given in the book of patterns and designs of the principal geometrical motives, and of decorative art, are very useful, and will help the student to say accurately in a word or two what would otherwise demand a descriptive paragraph or a drawing. Something on the same lines for colours would standardise them, and we should all mean the same thing when we mentioned a shade of colour.

The section on measurements coming at the beginning of the book is likely to appal the new student desirous of taking up the study of anthropology, for, in the first place, he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred lack the proper instruments for taking accurate measurements, and there is no note stating where he can procure them, or their probable cost. And, again, the novice sees about him in one and the same tribe men of all sizes, every one of whom will yield different measurements, and he cannot see the use of such elaborate details, and will be inclined to scoff at the whole study as utter nonsense. Those who think that anthropometry is the keystone of anthropology may be unwilling to consign this section on measurements to the appendix as a subsidiary subject, but it might have served its purpose there much better than where it is. At present it is an unnecessary hill for the student to climb into the kingdom of anthropology.

I should also like to suggest that the following phrases in italics should be incorporated in future editions. On page 3, under "colour of the skin": "*Is the skin of those people who live on the hills of a lighter shade than those who live in swampy valleys?*" Out of some fifty boys that lived in our school at San Salvador I noticed that those who came from the valleys had darker skins than those who came from the hills. It would be interesting to know if this is generally the case. Under "customary postures" on page 13, it would be useful to note *the position of ordinary folk before chiefs and men of importance*. On the Lower Congo an ordinary person is expected to sit cross-legged, or on his haunches, before his chief, and to stretch out his legs before him is regarded as an insult worthy of severe punishment, either by beating, slavery, or death. On page 15, in the paragraph on "throwing, tossing, and shooting," it would be helpful to know not only the difference between spear-throwing and stone-throwing, but also *the method of holding the spear*. Most white men, before throwing a spear, hold it with the tips of their fingers, but Congo natives hold the haft of the spear across the palm of the hand. This gives more force to the throw, and greater accuracy of aim. Is this method general among primitive peoples?

Under "personal cleanliness," on page 17, I think an observation respecting *the nearness or remoteness of streams suitable for*

bathing should be made. I have noticed that those who live near streams bathe regularly ; but those living at a considerable distance from streams, who procure their supply of water from a spring issuing from the side of the high hill on which they live, very rarely take a bath, yet they belong to the same tribe as the others. There is no mention of the *pulling out of eyelashes* under the subject of personal appearance. It would be interesting to put on record *at what age is cicatrization begun?* (p. 25). In one tribe I noticed that the operation took place in very early infancy, during the first year ; and in another tribe not until the fifth or sixth year. In the former case the whole face was scarred, and in the latter only a line down the forehead.

Does each wife own a house for herself and children? (appropriation of houses, p. 34) ; *are any relishes or sauces prepared, such as white ant relish, white-bait sauce, and a relish of red peppers and peanuts ground together?* (condiments, p. 43) ; *what is the effect of native wine and beer as compared with that of alcoholic drinks imported from Europe?* *Is old wine put with the new to hasten fermentation?* (p. 46). These are a few other questions that might be worth a place among the many others in the book.

On p. 51 several kinds of nets are mentioned, but the *box net* is not among them. This is oblong, with sides, ends, and bottom, but no top or lid, and varying in size up to fifty by twenty feet. One end and two sides are fastened by stakes driven in a suitable place in the river, and the other end is dropped to the bottom. The fishermen make a wide detour, and, beating and kicking the water, they drive the fish before them into the net, and then the loose end is raised and fixed, thus enclosing the fish. The Libinza Lake people were the only folk I saw on the Upper Congo employing a net of this shape.

The question, "What are the favourite colours?" is asked under dyes on page 87 ; but before that is put there should come another question, viz., "What colours are procurable in the locality?" for I have seen more than once colours that appeared to be favourites pass into disuse on the introduction of a greater variety of colours from outside sources ; and I have seen the bright, gaudy colours of cheap trade cloth left untouched when more sober, and even sombre, colours were imported into the district.

There is one use for broken pottery not mentioned on p. 92, and that is eating it. The Boloki people preserved the broken pieces of their Libinza Lake pots for nibbling when they had a craving for eating clay. I would suggest under the heading of metal-working (p. 95), an enquiry as to *the position a smith holds in the community*; and *how do his neighbours regard the smithy, the anvil, and the fire*, etc.

To the question of "How many children had your father and mother?" (p. 120), there should be a note to warn the enquirer that primitive peoples are often averse to counting their children, lest the spirits should hear them and one or more of the children die; and for this reason absurd numbers are often given, not to mislead the friendly enquirer, but to deceive the evil spirits; and, again, certain cousins, nephews, nieces, etc., are frequently spoken of as children belonging to a person.

Upon the subject of "European Questions and Native Answers" (p. 111), I would like to sound a note of warning to the student entering on a fresh field of enquiry amongst a people whose language has not been reduced to writing, and that is to be sure that the native uses 'Yes' and 'No' in the same way as ourselves; e.g. ask a Lower Congo man the following question, *Ku-kwenda ko e?* (Will you not go?), and, if he is not going, he will answer *Elo* (Yes), where we should say 'No.' The European would understand by the answer that the native was going, but the native would have in his mind that the supposition of his not going was quite correct, and to that he answers 'Yes.' This view of negative questions causes many misunderstandings, and the only way to avoid them is by the employment of questions in the affirmative.

Having reduced to writing one African language, and helped to reduce another, I should not recommend the method suggested and illustrated on p. 196. Such a method would necessitate a great amount of unnecessary writing of slips, e.g. if there are, we will say, 2000 verbs in the language under consideration, the writing of a slip for every element underscored, as given in the illustration, would demand the writing of eight thousand slips, and the introduction of every new element would mean the writing of two thousand slips for each. I could give a Congo language

which has about twenty-five elements, or prefixes and suffixes, with which almost every verb combines, and to underscore and write a new slip for every element with every verb would entail a burden of work altogether unnecessary. It is better to take some examples of the prefixes and suffixes, find out the force of each, write each prefix and suffix on a separate slip with some illustrations of their uses, and write the root of the verb with its definition on a slip by itself, leaving room on the slip for any peculiar or idiomatic uses of the verb. With a very little practice it will be easy to separate the root from its accretions, and it will be necessary only to note any new roots on a single slip, and not all the elements with which it may combine. In this way, instead of using many thousands of slips, only 2025 will be necessary for the verbs. With the other remarks on learning a new language I agree, and think that they are most helpful. The learner must have a proper respect for the language he is studying, and must not think that, because the people are uncivilized, therefore they are talking a jargon like a lot of monkeys. A sincere respect for the language and the people who are using it will help him to burrow into its secrets; but a contemptuous attitude will result only in a very superficial skimming of the surface. In language work, as in other anthropological investigation, we need a kindly sympathy.

Missionaries possess unique opportunities for the furtherance of anthropological studies, and it is to be hoped that this book of *Notes and Queries* will be increasingly used by them, and that in the near future they will do for anthropology what they have already done for language. By knowing men's views of life and death, their conceptions of spirits and the spirit land, their view of "sin" in this life and of punishment in the spirit land to which they are hastening, a missionary can preach his doctrines more effectively, and for this reason, among many others, every missionary needs more than a mere superficial knowledge of his flock's customs, habits, and thoughts, and, until the *Handbook of Folklore* becomes accessible by a new edition, I know of no book better able to help him in systematic and scientific study than the one now under consideration.

JOHN H. WEEKS.

LE FOLK-LORE: LITTÉRATURE ORALE ET ETHNOGRAPHIE TRADITIONNELLE. Par PAUL SÉBILLOT. Paris: Octave Doin & Fils, 1913. Demy 8vo, pp. xxiv + 393. 5*f*.

THE indefatigable editor of the *Revue des Traditions Populaires* and author of *Le Folk-lore de France* has in this work produced a handbook and guide to the collector of folklore. His great experience in the collection of folklore in Upper Brittany and his wide anthropological learning render such a book specially authoritative. We open it with high expectations, nor are they disappointed. In an excellent introductory chapter he discusses the origin of the term Folklore, and defends its adoption, though a foreign word, as expressing more accurately than any other the extent and limitations of the subject. He divides its contents into two parts, which he calls respectively Oral Literature and Traditional Ethnography. Under the former head he ranks tales, ballads and songs, riddles, proverbs, and other sayings and formulae, infantine, social, magical, and so forth. The domain of Traditional Ethnography, on the other hand, is hard to trace with exactitude: its frontiers are so vague in the direction of ethnography properly so called and of anthropology other than physical. Any limitations, therefore, in these directions must be more or less arbitrary. In this country we have long since disregarded them. He enters a protest against the abuse of the term Folklore, a term of general import, by limiting it to folk-tales. English writers are, as he says, peculiarly guilty of this solecism. But it is not confined to them, as is proved by the examples he mentions of certain French authors. The chapter is concluded with some wise and useful observations on the collection and recording of folklore. Emphasis is laid on the necessity of alertness in collection and of meticulous accuracy in making the record, to the effacement, so far as possible, of the personal equation and the complete separation of commentary and interpretation from the report of the facts.

In the body of the work Oral Literature occupies much less space than Traditional Ethnography. This is not because the distinguished author undervalues Oral Literature, of which in his native Brittany he has been so ardent and successful a collector.

It is partly because the facts themselves lie in a smaller compass and are more readily seized, partly because he includes in Traditional Ethnography many things that we should classify as tales, and therefore Oral Literature. Of this kind are legends of creation, the origin of rivers, lakes, fountains, and other bodies of water, the heavenly bodies, plants and animals, and the cause of their several peculiarities. From legends such as these he proceeds to the relations of men with the various objects of the external world, and the superstitions which attach to them. The life of man is traced from or before birth to death, burial, the life after death, and the fear of the dead. M. Sébillot then proceeds to a section denominated Ethnographic Sociology, including the cultivation of the ground, hunting, fishing, commensal customs, building of dwellings and ships, industries, commercial relations, the administration of justice, gestures, war, ornaments and clothing, art in its various manifestations, and amusements, such as dramatic performances, dances, periodical and other celebrations, whether religious, magical, or purely recreational. It will thus be seen that a very wide area is covered. We miss, however, the subjects of social organization and of religion. Their want would perhaps be explicable if the work referred solely to European folklore. In fact it draws its illustrations from all quarters of the globe. Whether the omission be due to oversight or design, it is to be hoped that an early opportunity will be taken to repair it.

For in what he has included all M. Sébillot's great gifts of arrangement and exposition are displayed. He has known how to condense without allowing his account of the many branches of his subject to degenerate into a dry catalogue. He preserves the reader's interest, he directs the collector's attention, without committing himself to theories which new facts or the reexamination of old facts may bring to nought, and which in any event are better kept out of sight in a book intended as an introduction for the tyro and a guide to the collector. His references are carefully given ; and a good bibliography and index are appended.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

FESTE UND BRÄUCHE DES SCHWEIZERVOLKES. KLEINES HANDBUCH DES SCHWEIZERISCHEN VOLKSBRUCHS DER GEGENWART IN GEMEINFÄSSLICHER DARSTELLUNG. Von Prof. Dr. E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Zurich: Schulthess & Co., 1913. pp. xvi + 179.

PROFESSOR Hoffmann-Krayer has produced a very useful little handbook of Swiss folk-customs, to which the attention of the Folk-Lore Society, and especially of those members engaged in the work of revising Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, may well be directed. Though it is specially concerned with the present-day customs and those practised within living memory, earlier customs are not wholly left unmentioned. It is chiefly derived from the collections of the Swiss Folklore Society (the *Schweizerische Archiv für Volkskunde*, the *Schweizerische Volkskunde*, and the *Schweizerische Idiotikon*), in the pages of which further details are obtainable. Earlier publications on the subject are enumerated and discussed in the introduction, which is in effect an excellent summary guide to the literature.

The first chapter, dealing with the epochs of human life, is by Prof. Hoffmann-Krayer's pupil, Dr. Hanns Bächtold, who has had the advantage of consulting a large collection of material made (under the Professor's direction) by his fellow-students W. Mohr and Dr. P. Geiger, and moreover is preparing a work on the important subject of marriage customs. The remainder is by Professor Hoffmann-Krayer himself. It is in two chapters, dealing respectively with calendar customs and non-calendar customs, and affords numerous points of comparison with our own corresponding customs and superstitions.

The influence of Prof. Hoffmann-Krayer has resulted in much valuable work in Swiss folklore during the past few years; and the *Feste und Bräuche* will be found not the least interesting and important outcome of the enquiries he has been the means of setting on foot.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

THE MAN IN THE PANTHER'S SKIN. A Romantic Epic by SHOT'HA RUST'HAVELI. A close Rendering from the Georgian, attempted by MARJORY SCOTT WARDROP. (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S., vol. xxi.) The Royal Asiatic Society, 1912. 8vo, pp. xviii + 273. 10s.

THE literature of the Georgians differs from that of other oriental Christian peoples, for example, of the Armenians who were their nearest neighbours geographically and ecclesiastically, of the Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians, in this, that over and above their Church literature they have preserved from the Middle Ages a literature of epic and romance. No doubt the Armenians also at one time possessed such a literature, but we already at the very beginning of the thirteenth century read of the attempts made by Armenian doctors like Mekhitar Gosh to suppress it. These efforts were successful, and nothing of it remains, much to the regret of moderns, who would have preferred a few hundred pages of pagan Armenia to all the dreary monastic stuff which has been preserved.

The Man in the Panther's Skin is a romantic epic, written or redacted in the form in which we read it to-day, at least as early as the year 1200, so belonging exactly to the period when the Armenian doctors began to interest themselves in the destruction of their national sagas. It is of some length, and contains 1576 stanzas of four lines each. Here is a specimen of how such a stanza reads in the original language:

Mzé ushénod vér ikmnébis | rádgan shénkhar mési tsli
Gághanamtza más iákhle | mési étli árt'hu tsbíli
Múna gnákho mándve gsákho | gánminát'hlo gúli chrdíli
t'hu sitzótzhle mtsáre mkóna | sívdilimtza mkóndes tcbíli.

We are reminded of Burns' beautiful stanza:

Had we never loved so kindly,
Had we never loved so blindly,
Never met, or never parted,
We had ne'er been broken-hearted.

—which Duncan Forbes selected (in his Persian grammar of 1862) to illustrate the rhyme of old Persian poetry. It is nearly the

same metre as we meet with in the most ancient Armenian hymnody, for example in this stanza :

Khóstovánolq fouthatzárouq | Djánal áprel yáavourús mer
Zí aur áhel káy arádji | Áhel ádean yév hour ánsheadj,

which begins a hymn ascribed to the Patriarch John of Mandak, c. 480. It in turn both in rhythm and contents reminds us of the *Dies irae dies illa* of Latin Christianity.

The poem was translated by Miss Wardrop, who died at Bucharest in 1909. The reviewer has compared parts of her version with the original, and can testify to its accuracy and scholarship. There are not half a dozen people in Europe who could have accomplished such a work. Her brother, Mr. Oliver Wardrop of Balliol College, himself a well-known authority on all things Georgian, has seen it through the press. He observes in his preface that "when he wrote his poem, Rust'haveli had evidently no violent prejudice for one religion more than another, but was of a critical and eclectic turn of mind, and formed for himself a working philosophy of life, showing Persian and Arabian tendencies, but with so much of Christianity and Neo-Platonism as to bring it near to Occidental minds."

He also summarises the poet's outlook on life in the following (I omit the stanza references which he adds for each clause) :

"There is throughout the poem manifest joy in life and action : God createth not evil ; ill is fleeting ; since there is gladness in the world, why should any be sad ? It is after all a good world, fair to look upon despite its horrid deserts, a world to sing in either because one is happy or because one wishes to be so ; there are flowers to gaze on, good wine to drink, fair apparel and rich jewels to wear, beasts worth hunting, games worth playing, foes to be fought, and friends to be loved and helped. There are grievous troubles, but they are to be battled against ; it is a law with men that they should struggle and suffer ; for them is endeavour, and victory lies with God ; however black the outlook, there must be no shirking, for the one deed especially Satan's is suicide ; the game must be played to the end manfully, and God is generous, though the world be hard ; He will make all right in the end, and sorrow alone shows a man's mettle. The keynote is optimism

quand même. Life is a passing illusion, brief and untrustworthy, in itself nothing but a silly tale; we are gazers through a cloudy, distorting glass; our deeds are mere childish sports making for soul-fitness. The one way of escape from illusion is in the exercise of that essential part of ourselves which unites us with the choir of the heavenly hosts; love lifts us out of the mundane marsh; brother must act brotherly; we must loyally serve our chosen friends, those with whom we have formed a bond stronger than the ties of blood: for such we must die, if need be. The poem is a glorification of friendship, and the story is of the mutual aid of three starlike heroes wont to serve one another. . . . That women have their share in such friendship is shown by the fraternity between Asmat'h and Taniel, and it is a proof of the deep culture of the people that such bonds still exist; there is probably no country where men have so many pure ties with women, where they are bound by affection to so many with whom the idea of marriage is never permitted to present itself."

Rust'haveli's poem is unknown in Europe, yet, as Mr. Wardrop observes, "it has been in a unique manner the book of a nation for 700 years; down to our own days the young people learned it by heart; every woman was expected to know every word of it, and on her marriage to carry a copy of it to her new home." The one writer who was familiar with it, and closely imitated in parts its story and language, was the Italian, Ariosto, in his *Orlando Furioso*. Well may his patron, Cardinal Ippolito of Este, have asked him the question,—“Where did you find so many stories, Master Ludovico?” Ariosto must have gained access to it through one of the Vatican missionaries, who began to frequent Tiflis as early as the thirteenth century in the hope of persuading the Georgians to recognise the Pope of Rome.

But it is not known whence Rust'haveli derived his story, though the statement in stanza 16 that it was “a Persian tale, done into Georgian” indicates that it came from Persia. The poet continues thus: it “has hitherto been like a pearl of great price cast in play from hand to hand; now I have found it and mounted it in a setting of verse.” Such an avowal no more detracts from the poet's claim to originality than does the fact that Shakespeare took the stories of his plays from printed sources detract from his. In

Persian literature as we now have it, we find no trace of such a story, but there is much resemblance of Rust'haveli's imagery to that of Khakani, a Persian poet who died in Tabriz, close to Georgia, in 1186, and of Hafiz of Shiraz, who died in 1300.

To give the reader an idea of Rust'haveli's style, the first stanzas of the second canto,—a passage imitated by Ariosto,—are here transcribed :

"They saw a certain stranger knight ; he sat weeping on the bank of the stream, he held his black horses by the rein, he looked like a lion and a hero ; his bridle, armour and saddle were thickly bedight with pearls ; the rose (of his cheek) was frozen in tears that welled up from his woestricken heart.

"His form was clad in a long coat, over which was thrown a panther's skin ; his head, too, was covered with a cap of panther's skin ; in his hand was held a whip thicker than a man's arm. They looked and liked to look at that wondrous sight.

"A slave went forth to speak to the knight of the woestricken heart, who, weeping with downcast head, seems not a spectacle for jesting ; from a channel of jet (his eyelashes) rains a crystal shower. When (the slave) approached, he could by no means bring himself to speak a word (to Tariel).

"The slave was much perturbed ; he dared not address him ; a long time he gazed in wonder till his heart was strengthened ; then he said : "(The king) commands thee (to attend him)." He (the slave) came near, (and) greeted him gently ; he (Tariel) wept on and heard not, he knew not that the slave was there.

"He heard not a word of the slave, nor what he said ; he was wholly unconscious of the shouting of the soldiers, he was sobbing strongly, his heart burnt up with fires ; tears were mingled with blood, and flowed forth as from floodgates."

F. C. CONYBEARE.

ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGISCHE STUDIEN AN SUDSEEVÖLKERN AUF DEM
BISMARCK-ARCHIPEL UND DEN SALOMO-INSELN. Von Dr.
RICHARD THURNWALD. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für ange-
wandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung.
No. 6.) Mit 21 Tafeln. Leipzig : Johann Ambrosius Barth,
1913. 8vo, pp. iv + 163. 9 m.

THIS volume contains some of the psychological results of Dr. Thurnwald's expedition to Melanesia during the years 1906-9. It is divided into five parts. The first is concerned with the usual

psychological experiments on tractive force, colour distinction, attention, suggestion, counting, association, and so forth. The second part is concerned with art, and it forms the most important section of the work. The twenty-one plates of native drawings and photographs of native objects which form section five are discussed at length in this part. Part three is inconsiderable, and is concerned with language. The fourth part deals with the mental life of the natives, and it forms a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the subject.

A striking feature of the native mind is its inertia. For example, a tree-trunk lying across the road will not be removed, but a great *détour* will be made to avoid it (p. 100). Again, in conversation, a subject will be discussed for interminable periods, and a joke will be repeated times without number and without any decrease of zest (p. 116). Corresponding to this inertia is a capacity for performing for interminable periods such appallingly monotonous tasks as, for example, hewing a drum with a stone adze out of a log of hard wood (p. 101). Dr. Thurnwald also states that the native becomes quickly tired when engaged upon any task requiring a constant exercise of attention. This may, however, be due to the fact that the native quickly becomes bored when not interested. Once a native is really interested in the discussion of a subject, he will often tire out a white man.

Another important mental characteristic of the native is his "egocentricity," *i.e.* "the identification of one's personal existence with that of others." Dr. Thurnwald's native "butler," Ungi, one day appeared to be ill, and spent the whole day loafing around doing nothing. The Doctor was quite unable to find out what was the matter, except that he did not feel well, and so gave him some aloe pills, but without result. He then discovered that Ungi was not really ill at all, but that his wife was. Dr. Thurnwald calls this "physiological sympathy." "This incident points to a probable origin of the so-called 'couvade'" (p. 103).

The native opinion of white men is most interesting. White men are magicians. "In general these mighty magicians are very dangerous, unfriendly and cunning beings, who carry off men and take away land, who can kill with "thunder and lightning," and who often burn villages and make everyone do just what they

wish. However they possess many useful and agreeable things, but it is hard to obtain them, and if you take a little from their superfluity then they become nasty, for they are pedantic, petty and narrow. They have no social feeling like the village folk who are always ready to share their superfluity. . . . The European is immensely rich and his speech eternally dwells upon what he buys and sells" (pp. 120-1).

W. J. PERRY.

THE FAMILY AMONG THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES. A sociological study. By B. MALINOWSKI. (University of London : Monographs on Sociology, vol. 2). University of London Press, 1913. 8vo, pp. xv + 326. With a biblio. 6s. net.

THE aim of this book is, as its author puts it, "to give a correct description of the Australian individual family." The subject is certainly novel and refreshing. Who has ever before given much interest to the individual family among a group of savages whose claim to sociological distinction rests chiefly on the institution of group marriage attributed to them by the leading authorities on their anthropology? "In all theoretical passages of works devoted to the social organization of the Australian tribes," says Dr. Malinowski, "the individual family is passed over in absolute silence." And yet it not only exists but plays a foremost part in the social life of these tribes; it has a very firm basis in their customs and ideas, and "by no means bears the features of anything like recent innovation, or a subordinate form subservient to the idea of group marriage." Wives are obtained in various ways. There are certain normal, pacific methods of acquiring them, such as exchange of relatives, promise in infancy, and betrothal, and at the same time there are other more or less violent methods—elopement and capture; but the latter, and especially capture, seem to be rather the exception than the rule, and in order to lead to a union recognized as legal the act of violence must be followed by some kind of expiation. "The idea of legality may be safely applied to Australian marriage in all its forms. For in all there

was the necessity of a previous or subsequent sanction of society, and if this were absent society used actually to interfere with the union" (p. '66).

How, then, do these facts agree with the group-marriage theory? If group marriage meant nothing but sexual licence, there would be no disagreement between them; for, although the Australian husband had generally a definite sexual "over-right" over his wife which secured to him the privilege of disposing of her, or at least of exercising a certain control over her conduct in sexual matters, this "over-right" did not, as a rule, amount to an exclusive right. There were customs like wife-lending, exchange of wives, ceremonial defloration of girls by old men, the different forms of licence practised at large tribal gatherings, and especially the *Pirrauru* relationship found in several of the southern central tribes. But all this does not constitute group marriage, the complete content of which does not consist in sexual relations alone. Dr. Malinowski duly emphasizes the fact that marriage cannot be detached from family life: "it is defined in all its aspects by the problems of the economic unity of the family, of the bonds created by common life in one wurley, through the common rearing of, and affection towards, the offspring." In nearly all these respects even the *Pirrauru* relationship essentially differs from marriage, and cannot, therefore, seriously encroach upon the individual family. Nor can we regard this relationship as a survival of previous group marriage; in this point Dr. Malinowski is in complete agreement with Mr. N. W. Thomas, although it lies outside the scope of his inquiry to speculate upon the past history of marriage in Australia.

In an interesting chapter, where he often refers to Mr. G. C. Wheeler's scholarly book on *The Tribe and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, the author demonstrates how the individuality of the family unit shows itself in the aboriginal mode of living. A single family is normally in contact with a few other families only, sometimes roaming alone over its own area. But, even when there are several families living together, the camp rulers keep them apart from each other in nearly every function of daily life, and the children, who live in intimate contact with their parents in the same hut, must necessarily set them apart from all their other

relatives. There are very close personal and individual bonds of union between parents and children. The parental relation seems to be a *régime* of love, and not of coercion. The father's authority is exercised over his children merely during their early childhood, "*i.e.* during a period when there is, in a general way, very little room for the display of any serious authority," and comes to an end when the girl marries and the boy is initiated.

Dr. Malinowski's conclusions derive their great value from the extremely careful manner in which he deals with his evidence. This book is a critical study of documents which contain many inconsistent statements, inaccuracies, and hypothetical assumptions represented as actual facts. On controversial points he has skillfully tried to eliminate the contradictions by applying textual criticism to the statements, or by pointing out the possible source of error, or by showing that the contradictions must be set down to local differences between the tribes. He has carefully disintegrated all that is hypothetical in the statements from the observed facts themselves; and he has pointed out which facts are well established and which are more or less uncertain or contradictory. But, in the first place, he has taken care to give us an explicit survey of the evidence, and he has drawn his conclusions in such a manner that his reasons for drawing them are perfectly clear to the reader. From a methodological point of view, Dr. Malinowski's book is a model which ought to be imitated in all future inquiries of a similar kind. Another point of general importance is his long and penetrating discussion of kinship, occupying no less than sixty-five pages, which will be found instructive and stimulating even by those who cannot, in every detail, agree with his views.

My general opinion about Dr. Malinowski's book is that it is one of the best sociological monographs which I have ever read.

EDWARD WESTERMARCK.

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