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How Myths Die*

Claude Lévi-Strauss

I

WE SHALL be concerned here with the death of myths, not in time but in space. We know, of course, that myths undergo transformations—transformations from one variant to another of the same myth, from one myth to another, from one society to another for the same or for different myths, affecting sometimes the framework, sometimes the code, sometimes the message of the myth, but preserving always the existence of the myth as such. These transformations thus observe a kind of principle of conservation of mythic matter, by the terms of which from one myth another can always emerge.

However, it sometimes happens that in the course of this process the integrity of the original formula suffers. In such a case, the formula degenerates or progresses, as you will, below or beyond the point at which the distinctive features of the myth still remain recognizable, and at which the myth preserves what a musician might call its "lilt." What then becomes of the myth in the case of such transformations? This is the question which we propose to consider here by taking an example.

With their southern neighbors, the Sahaptin, the peoples of the Salishan linguistic family occupied in historical times a more or less continuous area stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and roughly comprising the basins of the Columbia River in the south and of the Fraser River in the north. In this vast territory have been gathered many variants of a mythical ensemble organized around the story of a poor, diseased, and despised old man usually called *Lynx*. By a trick he fecundates the daughter of the village chief.

* This essay is a translation of "Comment meurent les mythes," which appears in a Festschrift to Raymond Aron under the title *Science et Conscience de la Société*, 2 vols. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1971). Copyright © 1971 by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Republication strictly forbidden.

People wonder about her incomprehensible pregnancy, but in vain. A child is born who points out Lynx as his father; the outraged villagers abandon the couple without fire or food. Alone, or helped by his wife, Lynx regains his true identity, which is that of a handsome young man and a capable hunter. Thanks to him, the family lives in plenty while the villagers, who have gone away, are dying of hunger. At last they resign themselves to returning, and they ask pardon. Those who did not too eagerly maltreat and disfigure the hero receive forgiveness together with provisions.

In its essential outline this myth is extremely widespread, recurring as far away as in tropical America among the ancient Tupinamba on the eastern coast of Brazil, and also in Peru. The originality of the Salish lies in having developed it in two symmetrical forms: one in which the son of Lynx, seized by an owl and then rescued by his people, puts on the skin of a sanious old man which, when burned, will give birth to fog; the other in which a child, adventurous or ill-favored, according to the version, gains mastery over the wind, which at that time ravaged the earth, and then after capturing and disciplining it, exposes himself to dangers from which he escapes thanks to a character named Coyote. That this second form should have borrowed heavily from ancient French folklore, which was spread in the eighteenth century by the Canadian trappers, poses a problem which we have tried to solve elsewhere,[1] and which should not concern us here. To attest the symmetry of the two forms, it will be enough to draw attention to the fact that in the beliefs of the region which concerns us, and beyond it as far as the Eastern Pueblo, the lynx and the coyote constitute a pair of correlated and opposed terms, and that the same applies to fog and wind; for the two mythical series are connected respectively to the origin of fog and to the origin of wind; that is, of two kinds of atmospheric phenomena which are mutually exclusive. Moreover, the heroes of each series, Lynx's son or Coyote's protégé, are reproductions of characters (with whom they are sometimes even identical) who have names which are very alike (Tsaauz, Ntsaâz, Snánaz, according to dialect) and between which indigenous informers see a relation. Now even when the boy seized by an owl is not the son of Lynx, he still has a metaphorical affinity with him: both are masters of fog, and at different points in the story each conceals his identity beneath the sanious skin of an old man. But while *their* relation is one of *resemblance*, in the symmetrical series what prevails is a relation of *contiguity* between Coyote and the young hero

1 See our teaching report, *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 69e année, 1969-70.

who is master of the wind: their collaboration results from a simple encounter. Finally, the capture of the first hero by an owl is echoed in the name of the second hero, who is called in the Shuswap language *Snánaz,* which, according to informants, means precisely "owl."[2]

The two symmetrical series are found in their most clearly articulated form among the Thompson River Indians, who occupy a central position in the Salishan linguistic area. Among the Shuswap, their northern neighbors, who also speak a Salishan language, the ensemble has already lost its integrity. According to Teit, the main authority on these Indians, they often divide their version of the myth of Snánaz, master of the wind, into two separate stories. As for the symmetrical myth, about a peevish and unbearable little boy who is threatened and then taken away by the owl, it is weakened, and tends to be expressed in what may be called a minimal form: first quantitatively, in that the plot is reduced to the abduction of the hero, his subsequent liberation, and the transformation of the owl-man into an ordinary bird, herald of death (a role that used to be attributed to the owl by all the Salish of the interior, and by many other Indians); and then qualitatively, in so far as from being an ogre (for example, among the Kutenai, an isolated linguistic group bordering on the Salish to the east) the owl of the Shuswap myth is transformed into a wise and powerful magician, who, so far from enslaving him, imparts his knowledge to the young hero, even to the point of making him superior to himself.

Thus, in following the same myth from the south northwards, we notice first an attenuation which affects on the one hand the length and richness of the tale, and on the other the dramatic intensity of its motifs, as though the plot were at once subsiding and contracting.

II

The Shuswap, representing the northernmost of the Salish of the interior as much in language as in culture, still have a marked affinity with their southern neighbors. But if we pursue our inquiry beyond this point, we cross a double threshold. To the northwest, the Shuswap bordered on the Chilcotin, first representatives of the great Athapaskan linguistic family, which stretched continuously north and northwest as far as Eskimo territory. Culturally, the Chilcotin were at some distance

2 James Alexander Tait, "The Shuswap," Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, II, pt. 7, in *Memoirs* of the American Museum of Natural History, ed. Franz Boas, IV (n.d.; rpt. New York, 1909), 698-99, 702-07.

from the amorphous sociological model that typified the Salish of the interior, and were nearer to the neighboring indigenous cultures on the Pacific coast: for instance, those of the Kwakiutl, Bella Coola, Tsimshian, and so on, which were characterized, as we know, by a complex social organization with division into clans and phratries, by a class system which distinguished aristocrats, common people, and slaves, and which was based on birth, the rule of primogeniture, and wealth, and finally by a prodigious blooming of the graphic and plastic arts of which the great so-called totem poles with their rich carving and the ceremonial masks are well-known examples.

These linguistic and cultural peculiarities speak of a historical past distinguishing the Salish, who had apparently inhabited the same area for several millennia, from the Athapaskans, who would have come more recently. The threshold formed by the northern frontier of the Salish area must therefore have presented a serious obstacle to communication. We often find in cases of this sort that mythological systems, after passing through a phase of minimal expansion, recover their original fullness beyond the threshold. But the image is inverted, rather like a pencil of light rays passing through a pinpoint into a camera obscura, and being made to cross over by this obstacle—in such a way that the same image seen the right way up outside is reflected upside down in the camera obscura. The Chilcotin version of the myth of the boy seized by an owl conforms to this model: it restores a plot as rich and developed as that which can be found among the Salish groups to the south of the Shuswap. But significantly a number of essential propositions swing over, undergoing transformations at times to the point of a reversal of meaning.

How, then, do the Chilcotin tell the story? Owl, they say, on the pretext of offering food, attracted and seized a little boy who was crying. He brought him up, and the boy grew very rapidly. Owl decked him with a necklace of tooth shells (*dentalia*). His people went in search of the boy, and found him; but he was happy with Owl, and refused at first to go with them. In the end, he let himself be persuaded, and the little party escaped after the boy's father had set fire to Owl's hut. The bird-man pursued the fugitives, who lay in wait near a footbridge which he had to cross. Frightened by the pointed hands brandished by the hero, who had fitted his fingers with goat horns that made formidable claws, Owl fell in the water. He got out, and abandoned the chase. The hero was feted by the village; he appeared decorated from head to toe with the shells he had brought, and handed them around; it is since that time that the Indians have had ornaments of tooth shells (*dentalia*).

One day the hero's mother found that he was dirty, and told him to take a bath. He refused, but she forced him to; he plunged into the water and disappeared. The tearful mother set up house on the edge of the lake and would not go away. Winter came, and the village women came to the shore of the lake to make holes in the ice and draw out water. The hero, who was still alive in the depths of the water, amused himself by breaking their buckets. But two sisters captured him, using a richly decorated bucket as bait. Now the hero was so softened and enfeebled by his stay in the water that he could no longer walk. The sisters tried unsuccessfully to scrape off the slime with which he was covered as though with a second skin. They carried him to their hut where he warmed himself by the fire, and took care of him.

That winter was very hard; provisions became scarce, and the men were unable to obtain the wood necessary to make snowshoes and hunt. The hero, though still convalescent, dragged himself outside, gathered just enough wood for a pair of snowshoes, and asked a woman to take his find in, and to shake it around halfway down the ladder by which one entered the hut (which among these Indians was partly underground, the entrance being in the roof). When the woman shook the wood, snowshoes began to fall, until the hut was nearly full. Thus the hunters were able to go out. However, they found no game, and famine reigned.

So the hero asked the villagers for arrows, and in his turn went hunting. Secretly he took off and hid his skin of slime. Back in his original form, he killed a large number of caribou, which he distributed (now covered once more in slime) to those who had given him good arrows. But Raven, who had given him a soft arrow, received only a coyote, a miserable form of game. So he spied on the hero. Finding the skin of slime in the fork of a tree, he hid, and saw the hero returning young and handsome, and decorated with shells. So the hero was unmasked. He remained as he was, and married the two sisters who had cured him.[3]

To make clear all the transformations or inversions which occur in this Athapaskan reading of a myth which is more widespread among the Salish, it would no doubt be desirable to quote the other variants. This would take us too far afield, so we shall content ourselves with proceeding by allusions. Whereas generally the owl enters the hut to take away the child, in this case it attracts him outside. The Shuswap version, which we have summarized above, had already completed

3 Livingston Farrand, "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians," in *Memoirs*, ed. Boas, pt. 1, 36-37.

the transformation of the owl, a cannibal monster among the Kutenai, and elsewhere a fierce master, into a beneficent being. The Chilcotin tale carries on the transformation in the same direction, but inverts the function of the bird-man—a giver of spiritual gifts for the Shuswap. For he now becomes the keeper of material wealth (tooth shells) which the hero seizes before his escape. It is to this event that the myth attributes the origin of these precious jewels, giving them an exotic and supernatural character. The Chilcotin had good reasons for maintaining the mysterious status of these shells, which their neighbors, the Salish of the interior, being farther from the coast, could obtain only through them; moreover, their name for the Chilcotin was a word meaning "dentalia people." But the reality was quite different. The Chilcotin were alone in being able to make contact with the Bella Coola, by the passes which crossed the coastal mountain range, and which were in their territory. They bought the shells from these fishermen, and had a real monopoly of them with regard to the Salish of the plateau. Now these Salish, mainly the Thompson and the Coeur d'Alêne, employed a mythical series symmetrical to the one which we are in the process of discussing to explain how they lost the source of dentalia shells, which was formerly local: this makes their myth diametrically opposed to that in which the Chilcotin claim to explain how they acquired the exotic source of these ornaments.

Equally revealing in the Chilcotin myth is the episode in which the hero's mother wants to force him to bathe. If we survey all the variants of this episode along a southeast/northwest axis with the Coeur d'Alêne, the Thompson, and the Chilcotin in that order, we find in fact a triple transformation. In the Coeur d'Alêne version, the thirsty mother asks her son for water, which he refuses. In the Thompson version, the son is troubled by the heat, and takes a bath in spite of his mother's prohibition, which is the opposite of the Chilcotin episode. Thus the semantic function of water passes from drink to bath, that is, from containing the body to being contained in the body: for drinking water goes in the body as the body goes in bath water. At the same time, the negative son is inverted into a negative mother, who in her turn is inverted into a positive mother:

	Coeur d'Alêne	*Thompson*	*Chilcotin*
WATER:	contained	containing	containing
PROTAGONISTS:	son (—)	mother (—)	mother (+)

All the versions include the winter sequence, but while in those of the Salish of the interior the villagers lack firewood, here they begin by lacking water, which the hero prevents the women drawing out

when he amuses himself by breaking their buckets. Certainly, wood does play a role in the Chilcotin version, but as wood to be worked, and thus in opposition to the other possible function of wood, of feeding the hearth. This opposition is echoed, moreover, by the various ways in different cases in which the hero achieves the multiplication of a small quantity of wood: it is shaken around halfway down the ladder, or directly thrown down to the bottom from the top.

This last method, the only one retained in the Salishan versions, refers so much the more surely to the method used by the character called Lynx, discussed at the beginning of this article, to impregnate the chief's daughter (by spitting or urinating, from the top of the ladder, on the young girl sleeping at its foot), because, in certain of these versions, the boy captured by the owl is the son of Lynx, and because in the Chilcotin myth, where he is not, he nevertheless clothes himself in a skin of slime, wearing which makes him weak and ill, on the pattern of Lynx dressed in the sanious skin of an old man, and of Lynx's son, who is hardly freed from his captivity with the owl before he voluntarily adopts the same garb. It will be remembered that this skin, stolen from the hero and burned, gives birth to fog, in perfect symmetry with the slime which makes water opaque as fog does to air, and whose watery affinities take their place as a counterpart to the affinities between fog, smoke, and fire conceived in the Salishan myth.

Finally the relation of a mythical series in which the hero gains mastery over the wind, weakly attested among the Chilcotin, results from the appearance of the coyote in an inverted position in the other myth—as a miserable sort of game, the passive instrument of the hero's vengeance on the raven whose help was defective; while in the strong versions of the origin of mastery of the wind, we have seen the coyote actively helping the hero to escape a dangerous situation.

III

There seems to be nothing a priori to prevent the myth crossing other thresholds beyond the Chilcotin: the crossing would be marked by a contraction and attenuation of the plot, but beyond these thresholds we should recover once again the original image inverted in another way upon new axes. But it is also conceivable that in crossing successive thresholds the mythmaking impulse would be exhausted, and that the semantic field of transformations, easily exploited at first, would offer diminishing returns. The states of the system would

become less and less plausible as each new state is engendered by the last, and in the end would impose such distortions on the framework of the myth, and put its strength to such a severe test, that it would end by collapsing. In that case the myth would cease to exist as such, or in dying out it would give way to other myths, characteristic of other cultures or other regions; or again would maintain its existence by undergoing alterations affecting no longer the form alone, but the essence of the myth itself.

This is what we seem to find in the particular case before us. To the north of the Chilcotin, the Carrier Indians used to live. They were culturally very different, although they too belonged to the Athapaskan linguistic family. The Carrier Indians in fact owed their name to some distinctive customs: widows were under particularly severe constraints, including the obligation to carry around the bones of the dead husband all the time over a long period. Now, we find among the Carrier the germ of our mythological ensemble as it existed far to the south among the Sahaptin and the Salish, but in a form remarkably transformed. The Carrier tell the story of a poor orphan whose only clothing was a lynx fur. He happened to be taking a walk, when he surprised the chief's daughter naked. She did not see him, but recognized him later by the touch of the rough hands with which he had stroked her body; to escape dishonor, she married him. The chief accepted with good grace a son-in-law who was far from worthy of him; he gave him presents of clothes and finery which "washed" him of his poverty. It was well for the chief that he did this, for the young man turned out to be an outstanding hunter and a destroyer of the monsters which were harrassing the Indians. However, one day he faced a gigantic and murderous lynx, and met his death. His young wife could not be consoled, and killed herself upon her husband's body.[4]

When we compare this tale with the story of Lynx summarized at the outset according to Salishan and Sahaptin versions, various kinds of changes emerge. Some take the form of inversions: the hero is young instead of old; he surprises the chief's daughter outside the village and not inside or very near the hut. Secondly, throughout the story the Carrier version seems systematically to replace literal expressions by their metaphorical equivalents. We have clothing of lynx fur characterizing a hero elsewhere called Lynx; we have symbolic contact with the girl's body replacing actual fecundation; we have a no

4 Diamond Jenness, "Myths of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia," *Journal of American Folklore*, 47, Nos. 184-85, 114-21.

less symbolic assimilation of poverty (of which the hero is "washed" by the chief's presents) to the skin of slime in the Chilcotin version which the two sisters try in vain to wash off, and to the sanious skin of an old man in the Salishan versions, in which the hero, once rid of the skin, emerges decked with riches already in his possession. Finally, instead of a story inspired by some idea of distributive justice and culminating in the separation of the protagonists into two camps—the wicked, who are punished, and the good, who are pardoned—we have here a plot leading to a tragic and inevitable conclusion.

All these features show that in the Carrier version there is a decisive move from a formula hitherto mythical to one that is romantic, and in the very heart of which the original myth (which was—let us not forget—"the story of Lynx") appears as a metaphor for itself: the monstrous lynx which rises unaccountably at the end to bring punishment less upon a hero possessed of all the virtues than upon the tale itself for forgetting or failing to recognize its original nature, and for denying itself as myth.

IV

Let us now consider another threshold: that which separates the Athapaskans of the interior from the tribes of the Pacific coast. The special cultural and social features of these peoples have been briefly adumbrated on page 272 above, but we should add some linguistic peculiarities. The Tsimshian lived in the village of the Nass and Skeena rivers. Their language is isolated but may belong to the great Penutian family. They were divided into clans bearing animal patronyms. The Bear clan of the Niska subtribe had a legend to justify their exclusive right to wear a ceremonial headdress of carved and painted wood inlaid with haliotis shell and representing an owl's face surrounded by a frieze of anthropomorphic figurines with claws. A chief, it is said, had a young son who was crying all the time. His father threatened him with the owl. And indeed, the owl came, but it carried off the sister, not the unbearable little boy. In spite of all her cries from the top of the tree to which the owl carried her, no one was able to bring her down. In the end, she resigned herself to the situation, stopped crying, and married the owl. Soon she gave birth to a son. When he grew up, she asked her husband's permission to send him back to human society. The owl agreed, composed a song for the occasion, and carved a headdress in his own image. He led his wife and son to their village. After she had assured her mother that the

young man was indeed her grandson, she set off with her husband, leaving her son, who later bequeathed to the clan of which he was the issue the headdress carved by the owl, and the song which the owl had taught him: "O my brother! this white owl has given me this tree for my seat."

To simplify the discussion, we shall leave on one side one character, the sister. Her presence in the plot can in fact be explained by a transformation whose reason and origin should be found in the Salishan versions of the Fraser River, especially among the Stseelis (Chehalis), though here is not the place to examine this matter. Let us content ourselves with showing in which respect this Tsimshian reading is at a distance from those of the Chilcotin and of the Salish of the interior. While the Carrier make reference to these by a play of metaphors, it is clear that the Tsimshian tale shows only relations of contiguity. Above all, it does not appear as a myth, but as a legend relating events supposed to be historical and intended to fulfill a precise and limited purpose—that of giving a basis for certain clan privileges. Yet we are undeniably dealing with the same myth, for the carved headdress published by Boas[5] represents characters holding out hands with threatening claws towards the owl, whom they surround: a motif which is not explained in the Tsimshian legend in the form gathered by Boas, yet of which his informants were nevertheless aware, since they called these characters "claw-men," and which recurs in the Chilcotin myth which we have summarized (pp. 272-73).

From here we can go much further back: the claws made from goat horns thanks to which the Chilcotin hero routed the owl are transformations of the basket with awls set inside it in which the Shuswap and Kutenai owls place the hero after taking him away; these awls in their turn are transformations of the vermin, the owl's food, with which the basket is furnished in the more southerly Salishan versions, in which the abducting bird has the role of a loathsome master and not of an ogre (as in the Kutenai version) or of a shaman supervising initiatory tests (as in the Shuswap version). As we go back in this way, we find finally among the Sanpoil, who lived in the southeastern part of the Salish area (and thus on the side opposite to the Tsimshian), an

5 Franz Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians: based on personal observations and on notes made by Mr. George Hunt," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1895: Report of the U.S. National Museum* (Washington, D.C., 1897), pp. 324-25 and plate 1; see also Boas, "Fifth Report on the Indians of British Columbia," in *Report of the 65th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London, 1895), p. 572.

implicit reference once more to the central theme of their tale and of the ritual song going with it. The Sanpoil in fact called the fork of the central pole of the hut, which was used in dances in honor of guardian spirits, the "owl's perch."

Thus, while a myth of Salishan origin is transformed into a romantic story after first undergoing an inversion as a myth upon crossing the linguistic and cultural threshold separating the Salish from the Athapaskans, at another threshold it undergoes a different transformation, and we find ourselves in face of legendary tradition, a tradition that gives a basis for certain aspects of an ancestral system. In the one case the myth swings over to the side of romantic fiction, in the other to what claims to be history, though doubtless it is not.

We may finish this survey by turning east, and thus in the opposite geographical direction from the Tsimshian. This will allow us to plot a third kind of transformation, beyond the cultural and linguistic threshold separating the Athapaskans from the tribes of the great Algonkin linguistic family, which stretched as far as the Atlantic coast.

Its westernmost members were the Cree in the north, who bordered on the Athapaskans. Around 1880 the Cree of Lake Poule-d'eau told how there was once a village from which every night a child disappeared mysteriously. In another part of the village there lived a little boy who used to cry and weep all the time. One day his mother shook him roughly in her anger. The child slid from his skin "like a butterfly coming out of a chrysalis," and flew away in the form of a great white owl.

The woman watched for the return of her son and discovered that it was he who, changing by night into an owl, used to steal the other children in order to eat them, and would take on his human appearance with the day. She gathered the villagers and denounced this son, whom she had conceived by a white man. The little ogre was condemned to death, but he begged pardon from his fellow citizens, promising them great marvels in return for his life. In the end, they shut him up alive with provisions in a wooden chest raised up on stakes, and the whole population migrated.

When they came back three years later, they were astonished to see on the deserted site a great village of wooden houses lived in by white men whose language the Indians did not understand. It was a trading post, and the owl-boy lived there. He was recognized and questioned; and explained that this new population had sprung from the children whom he had seized and devoured. "But he, having become a great

white chief, gave the Cree arms, clothes and utensils. And since that time, the two peoples lived in very close harmony."[6]

It is a fact that the Cree, so called as an abbreviation for Kristineaux (from Kenistenoa, one of their own names for themselves), appear in the accounts of the Jesuits from 1640, and that they entered into friendly relations with the French and English at a very early stage. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, they were already acting as hunters and guides for the fur trade, and their subsequent history remained closely associated with that of the Hudson Bay Company, and the Northwest Fur Company. Their version of the myth of a child seized by an owl obviously results from a manipulation which put the myth in the service of that history which distinguished the Cree from their neighbors, who were more reserved in relation to the whites, or were even hostile.

But we note also that this is not the same kind of history as that to which the Tsimshian legend is related at the cost of a different manipulation of the myth. Not only because it is in the one case tribal history and in the other the history of a clan, but for deeper reasons. The Tsimshian were seeking to justify an order of things which they wanted to be immutable by a tradition whose origin they put back in the night of time. The Cree adapted the same myth to recent history. Conditions were changing, and among the possibilities which remained open to them, the Cree chose collaboration with the whites. Their adaptation of the myth was obviously intended to justify this process. History in the Tsimshian legend is a fictional exercise, since a human female never married an owl; but in the Cree myth we have a form of history concerned with real events, since the whites did take Indian women to wife; and indeed there must have been some first occasion when the Indians visited a trading post. At the time when the myth was collected, their friendly relations with the whites were for them still part of their experience of life.

Thus a myth which undergoes transformations as it passes from tribe to tribe becomes in the end attenuated, without, however, disappearing. There are still two ways open to it: romantic elaboration and redeployment for the purposes of historical legitimation. Such history in its turn may be of two kinds: retrospective—to base a traditional

6 Émile Fortuné Stanislas Joseph Petitot, *Traditions indennes du Canada nord-ouest* (Paris, 1886) [added title page: *Les Littératures populaires de toutes les nations*, vol. 23; to be distinguished from the work of the same title but having the subtitle: "textes originaux et traduction littérale" and published in the *Actes de la Société philologique*, vols. 16-17], pp. 462-65.

order on a distant past; or prospective—to treat this past as the beginning of a future that is in the process of taking shape.

In this example, then, we wish to stress an evident organic continuity between mythology, legendary tradition, and what must certainly be called politics. In so doing, we would pay tribute to a scholar and a philosopher (Raymond Aron) who has never been willing to treat history as a privileged area where man may be sure of being able to discover his true nature.

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Translator's note: Certain of what may appear to be anomalies of translation arise out of this, that tales summarized from sources in English have been rendered in the light of those sources, full references to which are given in the notes. Note also that *romanesque* (and *roman*, English "novel") have been (not very happily) rendered *romantic* (*romantic fiction, romantic story*)—F. C. T. Moore, University of Birmingham.