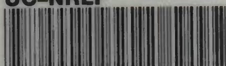
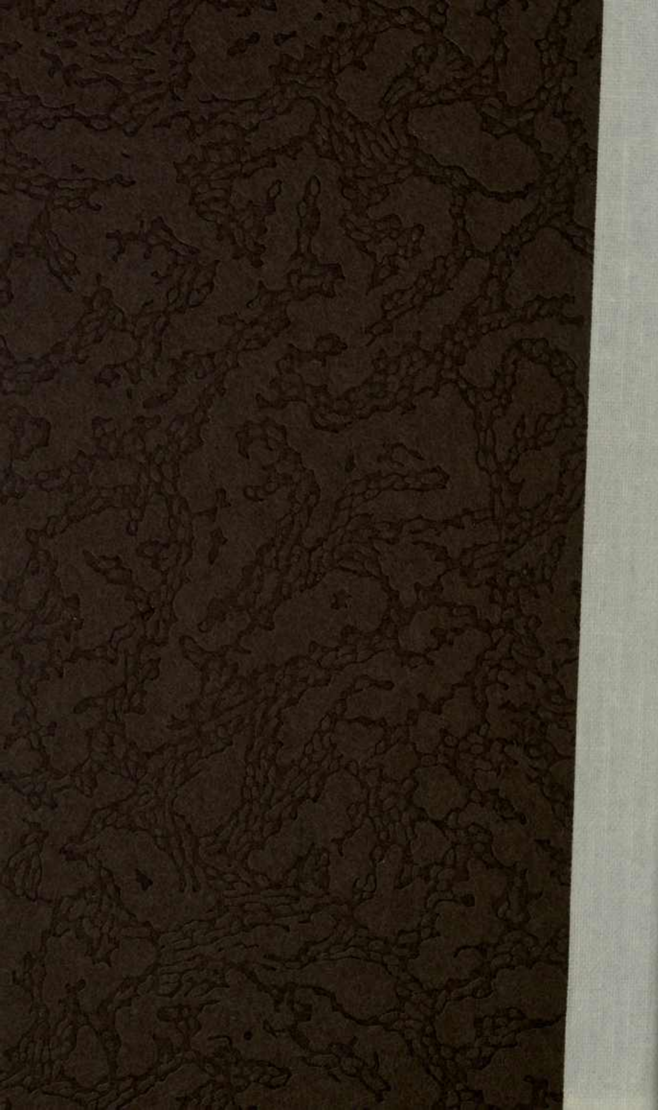
932 u
N97



$B 27 309

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®



Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Digitized for Microsoft Corporation
by the Internet Archive in 2007.
From University of California Libraries.
May be used for non-commercial, personal, research,
or educational purposes, or any fair use.
May not be indexed in a commercial service.

Popular Studies in Mythology Romance & Folklore

6d. each

No. 6 ❧ The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare. By Alfred Nutt, Author of "The Legend of the Holy Grail."

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Published by David Nutt, London
1900

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

The present study is a reprint, with slight additions, omissions, and modifications, of my 1897 Presidential Address to the Folklore Society, entitled "The Fairy Mythology of English Literature: its Origin and Nature." I have retained the address form. The thesis which I have essayed to demonstrate is based upon studies set forth at considerable length in Vol. II. of my work entitled "The Voyage of Bran." Discussing therein the Celtic doctrine of rebirth, I was compelled to form a theory of primitive conceptions of life and sacrifice, compelled also to determine the real nature of the fairies believed in to this day by the Irish peasantry, and of their ancestors in early Irish mythology, the Tuatha de Danann. In postulating an agricultural basis for the present belief, as well as for the ancient mythology, I found myself in accord with the chief recent students of myth and rite in this country and on the Continent. For a full exposition and discussion of the facts upon which I rely, as well as of the principles which have guided me, I must refer to "The Voyage of Bran."

The **Bibliographical Appendix** *is designed to aid the student who wishes to further work at the subject by himself.*

ALFRED NUTT.

Spring 1900.

A List of the Series will be found on the back of the Cover.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

932 u
N 97

THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE

FEW things are more marvellous in the marvellous English poetic literature of the last three centuries than the persistence of the fairy note throughout the whole of its evolution. As we pass on from Shakespeare and his immediate followers to Herrick and Milton, through the last ballad writers to Thomson and Gray, and then note in Percy and Chatterton the beginnings of the romantic revival which culminated in Keats and Coleridge, was continued by Tennyson, the Rossettis, and Mr. Swinburne, until in our own days it has received a fresh accession of life alike from Ireland and from Gaelic Scotland, we are never for long without hearing the horns of Elfland faintly winding, never for long are we denied access to

> "Charmed magic casements opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas in faery lands forlorn."

We could not blot out from English poetry its visions of the fairyland without a sense of

344528
Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

irreparable loss. No other literature save that of Greece alone can vie with ours in its pictures of the land of phantasy and glamour, or has brought back from that mysterious realm of unfading beauty treasures of more exquisite and enduring charm.

There is no phenomenon without a cause; but in the immense complexity of historical record it is not always easy to detect the true cause, and to trace its growth and working until the result delight us. Why does the fairy note ring so perfectly throughout that literature of modern England which has its roots in and which derives the best of its life's blood from the wonderful half-century: 1580–1630? Reasons, causes must exist, nor—let me here forestall a possible objection—do we wrong genius by seeking to discover them. Rather, I hope, may individual genius, however pre-eminent, acquire fresh claims to our love and gratitude when we note that it is no arbitrary and isolated phenomenon, but stands in necessary relation to the totality of causes and circumstances which have shaped the national character. And, should we find these causes and circumstances still potent for influence, may we not look forward with better confidence to the future of our poetic literature?

Early in the half-century of which I have just spoken, some time between 1590 and 1595, appeared

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the crown and glory of English delineation of the fairy world. Scarce any one of Shakespeare's plays has had a literary influence so immediate, so widespread, and so enduring. As pictured by Shakespeare, the fairy realm became, almost at once, a convention of literature in which numberless poets sought inspiration and material. I need only mention Drayton, Ben Jonson, Herrick, Randolph, and Milton himself. Apart from any question of its relation to popular belief, of any grounding in popular fancy, Shakespeare's vision stood by itself, and was accepted as the ideal presentment of fairydom which, for two centuries at least, has signified to the average Englishman of culture the world depicted in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. To this day, works are being produced deriving form and circumstance and inspiration (such as it is) wholly from Shakespeare.

Now if we compare these literary presentations of Faery, based upon Shakespeare, with living folklore, where the latter has retained the fairy belief with any distinctness, we find almost complete disagreement ; and if, here and there, a trait seems common, it is either of so general a character as to yield no assured warrant of kinship, or there is reason to suspect contamination of the popular form by the literary ideal derived from and built up out of Shakespeare.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Yet if we turn back to the originator of literary fairyland, to the poet of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, we can detect in *his* picture all the essentials of the fairy creed as it has appealed, and still appeals, to the faith and fancy of generations more countless than ever acknowledged the sway of any of the great world-religions, we can recover from it the elements of a conception of life and nature older than the most ancient recorded utterance of earth's most ancient races.

Whence, then, did Shakespeare draw his account of the fairy world? As modern commentators have pointed out, from at least two sources: the folk-belief of his day and the romance literature of the previous four centuries. This or that trait has been referred to one or the other source; the differences between these two have been dwelt upon, and there, as a rule, the discussion has been allowed to rest. What I shall essay to prove is that in reality sixteenth-century folk-belief and mediæval fairy romance have their ultimate origin in one and the same set of beliefs and rites; that the differences between them are due to historical and psychological causes, the working of which we can trace; that their reunion, after ages of separation, in the England of the late sixteenth century, is due to the continued working of those same causes; and that, as a result of this reunion, which took

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

place in England because in England alone it could take place, English poetry became free of Fairydom, and has thus been enabled to preserve for the modern world a source of joy and beauty which must otherwise have perished.

I observed just now that the modern literary presentation of Faery (which is almost wholly dependent upon Shakespeare) differed essentially from the popular one still living in various districts of Europe, nowhere, perhaps, more tenaciously than in some of the Celtic-speaking portions of these isles. I may here note, according to the latest, and in this respect the best, editor of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Mr. Chambers, what are the characteristics of the Shakespearian fairies. He ranges them as follows:—

(*a*) They form a community under a king and queen. (*b*) They are exceedingly small. (*c*) They move with extreme swiftness. (*d*) They are elemental *airy* spirits; their brawls incense the wind and moon, and cause tempests; they take a share in the life of nature; live on fruit; deck the cowslips with dewdrops; war with noxious insects and reptiles; overcast the sky with fog, &c. (*e*) They dance in orbs upon the green. (*f*) They sing hymns and carols to the moon. (*g*) They are invisible and ap-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

parently immortal. (*h*) They come forth mainly at night. (*i*) They fall in love with mortals. (*j*) They steal babies and leave changelings. (*k*) They come to bless the best bride-bed and make the increase thereof fortunate.

This order of characteristics is, I make little doubt, what would occur to most well-read Englishmen, and denotes what impressed the fancy of Shakespeare's contemporaries and of the after-world. The fairy community, with its quaintly fantastic parody of human circumstance; the minute size and extreme swiftness of the fairies, which insensibly assimilate them in our mind to the winged insect world—these traits would strike us at first blush, and these have been insisted upon and developed by the imitators of Shakespeare; only on second thoughts should we note their share in the life of nature, should we recall their sway over its benign and malign manifestations, and this side of fairy activity is wholly ignored by later fairy literature.

Yet a moment's reflection will convince us that the characteristics upon which Shakespeare seems to lay most stress, which have influenced later poets and story-tellers, and to which his latest editor assigns the first place, are only secondary, and can in no way explain either

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

how the fairy belief arose nor what was its real hold upon popular imagination. The peasant stooping over his spade, toilfully winning his bread from Mother Earth, was scarce so enamoured with the little he knew of kings and queens that he must feign the existence of an invisible realm; nor would the contrast, which touches alike our fantasy and our sense of the ludicrous, between minute size and superhuman power appeal to him. The peasant had far other cause to fear and reverence the fairy world. In his daily struggle with nature he could count upon fairy aid if he performed with due ceremony the ancient ritual handed down to him by his forefathers; but woe betide him if, through carelessness or sluttish neglect of these rites, he aroused fairy wrath—not help, but hindrance and punishment would be his lot. And if neglect was hateful to these mysterious powers of nature, still more so was prying interference—they work as they list, and when man essays to change and, in his own conceit, to better the old order, the fairy vanishes. All this the peasant knows; it is part of that antique religion of the soil which means so much more to him than our religions do to us, because upon it, as he conceives, depend his and his children's sustenance. But be he as attentive as he may to the rites by which the fairy world may be placated and with which it

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

must be worshipped, there come times and seasons of mysterious calamity, convulsions in the invisible world, and then—

> "The ox hath therefore stretch'd his yoke in vain,
> The ploughman lost his sweat, and the green corn
> Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard;
> The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
> And crows are fatted with the murrion flock.
> . . . . . .
> No night is now with hymn or carol blest;
> Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
> Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
> That rheumatic diseases do abound:
> And thorough this distemperature we see
> The seasons alter."

Such calamities are luckily rare, though, as the peasant full well knows, the powers he dreads and believes in can—

> ". . . . . . overcast the night,
> The starry welkin cover up anon
> With drooping fog as black as Acheron."

But as a rule, they are kindlier disposed; not alone do they war with blight, and fog, and flood, and all powers hostile to the growth of vegetation, but increase of flock and herd, of mankind also, seems good in their eyes—it may be because they know their tithes will be duly paid, and that their own interests are inextricably bound up with that of the mortals whom they aid and mock at, whom they counsel and reprove and befool.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Here let me note that not until the peasant belief has come into the hands of the cultured man do we find the conception of an essential incompatibility between the fairy and the human worlds—of the necessary disappearance of the one before the advance of the other. Chaucer, if I mistake not, first voiced this conception in English literature. In words to be quoted presently, he relegates the fairies to a far backward of time, and assigns their disappearance, satirically it is true, to the progress of Christianity. To the peasant, fairydom is part of the necessary machinery by which the scheme of things, as known to him, is ordered and governed; he may wish for less uncanny deities, but he could not conceive the world without them; their absence is no cause of rejoicing, rather of anxiety as due to his own neglect of the observances which they expect and which are the price of their favour.

I do not, of course, claim that the foregoing brief sketch of the psychological basis of the fairy creed, as exemplified in still living beliefs of the peasantry throughout Europe, represents the view of it taken by Shakespeare and his literary contemporaries, but yet it is based wholly upon evidence they furnish. And if we turn to the bald and scanty notes of English fairy mythology, to which we can with certainty assign a date earlier than the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, we

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

shall find what may be called the rustic element of the fairy creed insisted upon, proportionately, to a far greater extent than in Shakespeare. Reginald Scot and the few writers who allude to the subject at all, ignore entirely the delicate fantastic traits that characterise Shakespeare's elves; they are wanting precisely in what we, with an ideal derived from Shakespeare in our mind, should call the "fairylike" touch; they are rude and coarse and earthy. And, not implicitly, but explicitly, a conception of the true nature of these peasant deities found expression in Shakespeare's own days. At the very time the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was being composed or played, Nash wrote as follows: "The Robin-good-fellows, elfs, fairies, hobgoblins of our latter age, which idolatrous former days and the fantastical world of Greece ycleped Fauns, Satyrs, Dryads, Hamadryads, did most of their pranks in the night"—a passage in which the parallel suggested is far closer and weightier in import than its author imagined.

The popular element in Shakespeare's fairy mythology is, then, the same as that testified to by somewhat earlier writers, but touched with the finest spirit alike of grace and humour, and presented in a form exquisitely poetical. Naturally enough it is accidental and secondary characteristics of the fairy world which are empha-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

sised by the poet, who is solely concerned with what may heighten the beauty or enliven the humour of his picture. But with his unerring instinct for what is vital and permanent in that older world of legend and fancy, to which he so often turned for inspiration, he has yet retained enough to enable us to detect the essence of the fairy conception, in which we must needs recognise a series of peasant beliefs and rites of a singularly archaic character. If we further note that, so far as the outward guise and figure of his fairies is concerned, Shakespeare is borne out by a series of testimonies reaching back to the twelfth-century Gervase of Tilbury and Gerald the Welshman, who give us glimpses of a world of diminutive and tricky sprites—we need not dwell longer at present upon this aspect of Elfland, but can turn to the fay of romance.

It is evident that Shakespeare derived both the idea of a fairy realm reproducing the external aspect of a mediæval court, and also the name of his fairy king from mediæval romance, that is, from the Arthurian cycle, from those secondary works of the Charlemagne cycle, which, like Huon of Bordeaux, were modelled upon the Arthur romances, and from the still later purely literary imitations alike of the Arthur and the Charlemagne stories. But the Oberon of romance has been regarded as a being totally different in essence

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

and origin from the Robin Goodfellow, the Puck of peasant belief, and their bringing together in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* as an inspiration of individual genius. I hope to show that the two strands of fiction have a common source, and that their union, or rather reunion, is due to deeper causes than any manifestation, however potent, of genius.

What has hitherto been overlooked, or all too insufficiently noted, is the standing association of the fairy world of mediæval romantic literature with Arthur. Chaucer, in a passage to which I have already alluded, proclaims this unhesitatingly :—

> "In the olde daies of the King Arthoure,
> Of which that Bretons speken grete honoure,
> Al was this land fulfild of fayerye ;
> The elf-queen with hyr jolly companye
> Danced ful oft in many a greene mede."

We first meet the mediæval fairy in works of the Arthur cycle ; as ladies of the lake and fountain, as dwellers in the far-off island paradise of Avalon, as mistresses of or captives in mysterious castles, the enchantments of which may be raised by the dauntless knight whose guerdon is their love and never-ending bliss, these fantastic beings play a most important part in the world of dream and magic haze peopled by Arthur and

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

his knights and their lady-loves. If an instance be needed how vital is the connection between Arthur and Faery, it is furnished by the romance of Huon of Bordeaux. As far as place and circumstance and personages are concerned, this romance belongs wholly to the Charlemagne cycle; in it Oberon makes his first appearance as king of Faery, and it is his *rôle* to protect and sustain the hero, Huon, with the ceaseless indefatigable indulgence which the supernatural counsellor so often displays towards his mortal protégé alike in heroic legend and in popular tale. He finally leaves him his kingdom; but before Huon can enjoy it Oberon must make peace between him and Arthur. "Sir, you know well that your realme and dignity you gave me after your decease," says the British king. In spite of the Carolingian setting, Huon of Bordeaux is at heart an Arthurian hero; and the teller of his fortunes knew full well that Arthur was the claimant to the throne of Faery, the rightful heir to the lord of fantasy and glamour and illusion.

Dismissing for a while consideration of the Arthurian fay, we may ask what is the Arthurian romance, and whence comes it? For ample discussion of these points I must refer to Nos. 1 and 4 of these Studies. To put it briefly, the Arthurian romance is the Norman-French and Anglo-Nor-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

man re-telling of a mass of Celtic fairy tales, partly mythic, partly heroic in the shape under which they became known to the French-speaking world, tales which reached the latter alike from Brittany and from Wales in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of these fairy tales have come down to us in Welsh in a form entirely unaffected by French influence, others more or less affected, whilst some of the Welsh versions are simple translations from the French. The nearest analogues to these Welsh-Breton fairy tales, preserved to us partly in a Welsh, but mostly in a French dress, are to be found in Ireland. That country possesses a romantic literature which, so far as interest and antiquity of record are concerned, surpasses that of Wales, and which, in the majority of cases where comparison is possible, is obviously and undoubtedly more archaic in character. The relation between these two bodies of romantic fiction, Irish and Welsh, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. It seems most likely either that the Welsh tales represent the mythology and heroic legend of a Gaelic race akin to the Irish conquered by the Brythons (Welsh), but, as happens at times, passing their traditions on to their conquerors; or else that the Irish story-tellers, the dominant literary class in the Celtic world throughout the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

imposed their literature upon Wales. It is not necessary to discuss which of these two explanations has the most in its favour; in either case we must quit Britain and the woodland glades of Shakespeare's Arden and turn for a while to Ireland.

Examining the fairy belief of modern Ireland or of Gaelic Scotland, we detect at once a great similarity between it and English folklore, whether recoverable from living tradition or from the testimony of Shakespeare and other literature. Many stories and incidents are common to both, many traits and characteristics of the fairy folk are similar. This is especially the case if we rely upon Irish writers, like Crofton Croker, for instance, who were familiar with the English literary tradition, and may possibly have been influenced by it. But closer examination and reference to more genuinely popular sources reveal important differences. To cite one marked trait, the Irish fairies are by no means necessarily or universally regarded as minute in stature. Two thoroughly competent observers, one, Mr. Leland Duncan, working in North Ireland,[1] the other, Mr. Jeremiah Curtin, in South Ireland,[2] agree decisively as to this; fairy and mortal are

[1] *Folk-Lore*, June 1896.

[2] *Cf.* "Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World, collected from Oral Tradition in South-West Munster," London, 1895.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

not thought of as differing in size. But what chiefly impresses the student of Irish fairy tradition is the fact that the fairy folk are far more definitely associated with special districts and localities and tribes and families than is the case in England.

We can detect among them a social organisation in many respects akin to that of mankind ; we can draw up a map of fairy Ireland and say—Here rules this chieftain, there that chieftainess has sway—nay more, these potentates of the invisible realm are named ; we are informed as to their alliances and relationships ; we note that their territory and interests seem at times to tally with those of the great septs which represent the tribal organisation of ancient Ireland. O'Brien is not more definitely connected with Munster, O'Connor with Connaught, than is this or that fairy clan.

If we turn from tradition as still recoverable from the lips of the Irish-speaking population of to-day, and investigate the extremely rich store of romantic narratives which, preserved in Irish MSS. dating from 1100 A.D. to fifty years ago, represent an evolution of romance extending over fully 1000 years (for the oldest MSS. carry us back some 200 to 300 years from the date of their transcription), we meet the same supernatural personages as figure in contemporary

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

folklore, playing often the same part, endowed with traits and characteristics of a similar kind. Century by century we can trace them back, their attributes varying in detail, but the essence of their being persisting the same, until at last the very oldest texts present them under an aspect so obviously mythological that every unprejudiced and competent student of Irish tradition has recognised in them the dispossessed inmates of an Irish Pantheon. This mysterious race is known in Irish mythic literature as the Tuatha de Danann, the folk of the goddess Danu, and in some of the very oldest Irish tales, tales certainly 900, perhaps 1100 years old, they are designated by the same term applied to them by the Irish peasant of to-day, *aes sidhe*, the folk of the *sidhe* or fairy hillocks.

The tales in which this wizard race figures fall into two well-defined classes. By far the larger portion are heroic sagas, tales, that is, which describe and exalt the prowess, valour, and cunning of famous champions or chiefs. There are several well-defined cycles of heroic saga in Irish tradition, and their personages are assigned to periods centuries apart. Yet the Tuatha de Danann figure equally in the various cycles—chiefs and champions die and pass away, not they. Undying, unfading, masters and mistresses of inexhaustible delight, supreme in craft and counsel, they appear

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

again and again as opponents and protectors of mortal heroes, as wooers of mortal maidens, as lady-loves of valiant champions. The part they play in these sagas may be more or less prominent, but its character is always secondary; they exist in the story for the convenience of the mortal hero or heroine, to aid in the accomplishment of the humanly impossible, to act as a foil to mortal valour or beauty, to bestow upon mortal champions or princesses the boon of immortal love.

Such is, all too briefly sketched, the nature of this body of romantic fiction. Whoso is familiar with Arthurian romance detects at once an underlying similarity of conception, plot, and incident. In both, specially, does the woman of the immortal race stand before us in clearer outline and more vivid colouring than the man. Nor is the reason far to seek: the mortal hero is the centre of attraction; the love of the fairy maiden, who comes from her wonderland of eternal joys lured by his fame, is the most striking token and the highest guerdon of his prowess. To depict her in the most brilliant colours is the most effectual way to heighten his glory.

Both these bodies of romantic fiction, Irish and Arthurian, are in the main variations upon one set of themes—the love of immortal for mortal, the strife or friendly comradeship between hero and god or fairy.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

If now we turn back to the living folk-belief of the Irish peasant after our survey of the mediæval romantic literature, we are seemingly at fault. The fairies are the lineal descendants of the Tuatha de Danann; name and attributes and story can be traced, and yet the outcome is so different. The Irish peasant belief of to-day is agricultural in its scope and intent, as is the English—the Irish fairies are bestowers of increase in flock and herd, protectors and fosterers of vegetation, jealous guardians of ancient country rites. In spite of identity of name and attribute, can these beings be really the same as the courtly, amorous wizard-knights and princesses of the romances? The difference is as great as between the Oberon and Puck of Shakespeare. And yet, as we have seen, the historical connection is undeniable; in Ireland the unity of the fairy world has never been lost sight of, as it has in England.

Hitherto I have brought before you stories in which the Tuatha de Danann play a subordinate part because the mortal hero or heroine has to be glorified. But there exists also a group of stories in which these beings are the sole actors, which are wholly concerned with their fortunes. We are in a position to demonstrate that these stories belong to a very early stratum of Irish mythic literature. After the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, the tales told of the Tuatha de

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Danann, the old gods, seem to have considerably exercised the minds of the literary and priestly classes. They were too widely popular to be discarded—how then should they be dealt with? One way was to minimise the fantastic supernatural element and to present the residuum as the sober history of kings and heroes who had lived in the dim ages before Christ. This way was taken, and a large body of resulting literature has come down to us. But a certain number of fragmentary stories, and one long one, to which this minimising, rationalising process has been applied scarcely if at all, have also been preserved; and these must obviously be older than the rationalised versions. And as the latter can be traced back to the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, the former must belong to the earliest stages of Irish fiction.

Now if we examine these few remains of Irish mythology as contradistinguished from Irish heroic legend, we no longer find the Tuatha de Danann, as in the latter, figuring mainly as amorous wizards and love-lorn princesses whose chief occupation is to intrigue with or against some mortal hero or heroine—they come before us as the divine *dramatis personæ* of a series of myths the theme of which is largely the agricultural prosperity of Ireland; they are associated with the origin and regulation of agriculture, to them

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

are ascribed the institution of festivals and ceremonies which are certainly of an agricultural character. I cannot here give the evidence in any detail, but I may quote one or two instances. The mythology told of the struggles of the Tuatha de Danann against other clans of supernatural beings; in one of these struggles they overcome their adversaries and capture their king; about to be slain, he seeks to save his life; he offers that the kine of Ireland shall always be in milk, but this does not avail him; then that the men of Ireland should reap a harvest every quarter of the year, but his foes are inexorable; finally, he names the lucky days for ploughing and sowing and reaping, and for this he is spared. The mythology which relates the triumph of the Tuatha de Danann also chronicles their discomfiture at the hands of the sons of Mil; but even after these have established their sway over the whole of visible Ireland and driven the Tuatha de Danann into the shelter of the hollow hill, they still have to make terms with them. The chief of the Tuatha de Danann is the Dagda, and this is what an early story-teller says of him: "Great was the power of the Dagda over the sons of Mil, even after the conquest of Ireland; for his subjects destroyed their corn and milk, so that they must needs make a treaty of peace with the Dagda.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Not until then, and thanks to his goodwill, were they able to harvest corn and drink the milk of their cows."

There runs, moreover, throughout these stories a vein of rude and gross buffoonery which contrasts strongly with the character assigned to the Tuatha de Danann in the heroic sagas.

The true character of this mysterious race may now seem evident, and their substantial identity with the fairy of living peasant lore require no further demonstration. But I must quote one passage which shows that the ancient Irish not only possessed a mythology, but also an organised ritual, and that this ritual was of an agricultural sacrificial nature. A tradition, which is at least as old as the eighth century of our era, ascribes to Patrick the destruction of Cromm Cruaich and his twelve fellow-idols which stood on the plains of Mag Slecht. Here is what Irish mythic legend has to tell of the worship paid to the Cromm :—

> "He was their god.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> To him without glory
> They would kill their piteous wretched offspring,
> With much wailing and peril,
> To pour their blood around Cromm Cruaich.
> Milk and corn
> They would ask from him
> In return for one-third of their healthy issue."

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Such then are the Irish Tuatha de Danann, beings worshipped at the outset with bloody sacrifices in return for the increase of flock and herd and vegetable growth; associated in the oldest mythological tales with the origin and welfare of agriculture; figuring in the oldest heroic tales as lords of a wonderland of inexhaustible delights, unfading youth, and insatiable love; still the objects of peasant reverence and dread; called to this very day, as they were called centuries ago, and still retaining much of the hierarchical organisation and material equipment due to their incorporation in the higher imaginative literature of the race.

The chain of development which can be followed in Ireland can only be surmised in England; but the Irish analogy allows, I think, the conclusion that the fairy of English romance has the same origin as the Tuatha de Danann wizard hero or princess of Irish romance—in other words, the same ultimate origin as the elf or Puck of peasant belief. Oberon and Puck would thus be members of one clan of supernatural beings, and not arbitrarily associated by the genius of Shakespeare.

Here let me forestall a possible objection. Shakespeare's fairies are, it may be said, Teutonic, and only Celtic evidence has been adduced in favour of my thesis. I would answer that, so

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

far as the matter in hand is concerned, the antithesis of Celtic and Teutonic is an imaginary one. I use Celtic evidence because, owing to historical causes I shall touch upon presently, Celtic evidence alone is available. That evidence carries us back to a period long antedating the rise of Christianity; and at that period there was, I believe, substantial agreement between Teuton and Celt in their conception of the processes of nature and in the rites and practices by which the relations between man and nature were regulated. The fairy belief of the modern German peasant is closely akin to that of the modern Irish peasant, as indeed to that of the Slavonic or Southern peasant, not because one has borrowed from the other, but because all go back to a common creed expressing itself in similar ceremonies. The attempt to discriminate modern national characteristics in the older stratum of European folklore is not only idle but mischievous, because it is based upon the unscientific assumption that existing differences, which are the outcome of comparatively recent historical conditions, have always existed. I will only say that, possibly, the diminutive size of the fairy race belongs more especially to Teutonic tradition as developed within the last 2000 years, and that in so far the popular element in Shakespeare's fairy world may be Teutonic rather than Celtic.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

No, the fairy creed the characteristics of which I have essayed to indicate, and which I have brought into organic connection with the oldest remains of Celtic mythology, was, I hold, common to all the Aryan-speaking people of Europe, to the ancestors of Greek and Roman and Slav, as well as to the ancestors of Celt and Teuton. I leave aside the question of its origin: the Aryans may, as some hold, have taken over and developed the ruder faith of the soil-tilling races whom they subjugated and upon whom they imposed their speech. I content myself with noting that it was the common faith of Aryan-speaking Europeans, and further, that Greeks and Celts have preserved its earliest forms, and have embodied it most largely in the completed fabric of their mythology. Let us hark back to Nash's parallel of elves and Robin Goodfellows with the fauns and satyrs of the fantastical world of Greece. The parallel is a valid and illuminating one, for the fauns and satyrs are of the train of Dionysus, and Dionysus in his oldest aspect is a divinity of growth, vegetable and animal, worshipped, placated, and strengthened for his task, upon the due performance of which depends the material welfare of mankind, by ritual sacrifice.

Dionysus was thus at first a god of much the same nature, and standing on the same plane

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

of development, as, by assumption, the Irish Tuatha de Danann. But in his case the accounts are at once fairly early and extensive, in theirs late and scanty. I have quoted, for instance, almost the only direct piece of information we have concerning the ritual of the Irish gods; that of the Greek god, on the other hand, which survived, in a modified and attenuated form, far down into historic times, is known to us in detail. It undoubtedly consisted originally in an act of sacrifice, animal or human, shared in by all the members of a community, who likewise shared the flesh of the victim, which was applied to invigorate alike the indwelling spirit of vegetation and the participating worshippers, who thus entered into communion with their god. The circumstances of these sacrificial rites were originally of savage horror, and the participants were wrought up to a pitch of the wildest frenzy in which they passed beyond the ordinary limits of sense and effort.

Greek evidence not only allows us to reconstitute this ancient ritual, shared in at one time by all Aryan-speaking Europeans; it also enables us to establish a psychological basis upon which the complex and often apparently inconsistent beliefs connected with the fairy world can be reared and built into an orderly structure of thought and imagination. The object of the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

sacrifice is to reinforce the life alike of nature and of the worshipper; but this implies a conception, however crude, of unending and ever-changing vital essence persisting under the most diverse manifestations: hence the powers worshipped and appealed to, as they slowly crystallise into definite individualities, are necessarily immortal and as necessarily masters of all shapes —the fairy and his realm are unchanging and unfading, the fairy can assume all forms at will. Again, bestower of life and increase as he is, he must, by definition, be liberal and amorous—alike in romance and popular belief, the fairy clan is characterised by inexhaustible wealth and by an amiable readiness to woo and be wooed. The connection of the fairy world with the rites of rustic agriculture is so natural on this hypothesis as to need no further demonstration; but on any other hypothesis it is difficult if not impossible to explain.

I would only note that the practice of actual sacrifice has but recently become extinct, even if it be extinct; and where actually extinct it is represented by survivals, such as passing an animal through the smoke of the bonfire. I would also urge that the love of neatness and orderly method so characteristic of the fairy world is easily referable to a time when all the operations of rural life formed part of a definite religious ritual,

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

every jot and tittle of which must be carried out with minute precision. Similarly, the practice of carrying off human children has its roots in the conception of the fairy as the lord and giver of life. For, reasoned early man, life is not an inexhaustible product, the fairy must be fed as well as the mortal; hence the necessity for sacrifice, for renewing the stock of vitality which the fairy doled out to his devotee. But this source of supply might be insufficient, and the lords of life might, from the outset, be regarded as on the look-out for fresh supplies; or else, when the practice of sacrifice fell into disuse, the toll levied regularly in the old days upon human life might come to wear in the popular mind the aspect of raids upon human by an unhuman society.

Whilst many of the phenomena of fairydom thus find a reasonable—nay, inevitable—interpretation in the conceptions inherent to the cult, others are referable to the ritual in which it found expression. The participants in these rites met by night; by rapid motion prolonged to exhaustion, by the monotonous repetition of music maddening to the senses, by sudden change from the blackness of night to the fierce flare of torch and bonfire—in short, by all the accompaniments of the midnight worship which we know to have characterised the cult of Dionysus among the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

mountains of Thrace, and which we may surmise to have characterised similar cults elsewhere, they provoked the god-possessed ecstasy in which Mænad and Bassarid, with senses exacerbated to insensibility, rent asunder the living victim and devoured his quivering flesh. The devotees were straightway justified in their faith; for in this state of ecstasy they became one with the object of their worship; his powers and attributes were theirs for the time; they passed to and were free of his wonderland, full of every delight that could allure and gratify their senses.

Have we not in rites such as these the source of tales found everywhere in the peasant fairy lore of Europe and represented with special vividness in Celtic folklore? At night the belated wanderer sees the fairy host dancing their rounds on many a green mead; allured by the strange enchantment of the scene he draws near, he enters the round. If he ever reappears, months, years, or even centuries have passed, seeming but minutes to him, so keen and all-absorbing has been the joy of that fairy-dance. But oftener he never returns, and is known to be living on in Faery, in the land of undeath and unalloyed bliss.

Here, if I am right, living tradition has preserved the memory of a cult which the Greek of two thousand years back held to be of immemorial antiquity. Historical mythology and current

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

tradition confirm and interpret each other. Yet it would, I think, be an error to regard the persistence and wide spread of the story as due solely to the impression made upon the popular mind by the fierce and dark rites of which it is an echo. Rather has it survived because it sums up in one vivid symbol so many aspects of the fairy world. It not only kept alive a memory, it satisfied a psychological demand.

Indeed, when an incident has become an organic portion of a myth—and to do this it must fulfil logical and psychological requirements which are none the less real because they differ from those which civilised men would frame—the connection persists so long as the myth retains a spark of life. We saw that the deities which were gradually elaborated out of the primitive spirits of vegetation are essentially amorous and endowed with the power of transformation or reincarnation. A vivid form of expressing this idea is to represent the god amorous of a mortal maiden, and father by her of a semi-divine son whose nature partakes of his own, and who is at times a simple incarnation of himself. What further contributed to the vogue and persistence of this incident was that it lent itself admirably to the purposes of heroic legend; the eponymous founder, the hero *par excellence* of a race, could

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

always be connected in this way with the clan of the immortals. We meet the incident at all stages of development. At times, as in the case of Arthur, or of Cuchulinn, son of the Irish Apollo-Dionysus, Lug, it has become wholly heroicised, and the semi-divine child has to conform to the heroic standard; at other times, as in the case of Merlin, or of Mongan, son of the Irish sea-god, Manannan mac Lir, the wonder-child manifests his divine origin by craft and guile rather than by strength and valour; in especial, he possesses the art of shape-shifting, which early man seems to have regarded as the most valuable attribute of godhead. We should not at first blush associate merry Puck with these semi-divine heroes and wizards. Yet consider the tract entitled *Robin Goodfellow; His Mad Pranks and Merry Jests, &c.*, the only known edition of which bears the date 1628; it has been much debated if it was composed before or after the *Midsummer Night's Dream.* Mr. Chambers inclines to the latter opinion. In this tract, Robin Goodfellow is son of the fairy king by a maiden whom he came nightly to visit, "but early in the morning he would go his way, whither she knew not, he went so suddainly." Later, the son has a vision, in which he beholds the dances and hears the strains of fairyland, and when he awakes he

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

finds lying by his side a scroll, beginning with these words:

> "Robin, my only sonne and heire,"

in which the father promises, amongst other gifts:

> "Thou hast the power to change thy shape
> To horse, to hog, to dog, to ape;"

and assures him:

> "If thou observe my just command
> One day thou shalt see Fayry Land."

I believe that in this doggrel chapbook we have the worn-down form of the same incident found in the legends of Arthur and Merlin, of Cuchulinn and Mongan, told also in Greek mythology of no less a person than Dionysus, son of Zeus and Semele, the mischievous youth who, as we learn from the Homeric Hymn, amused himself in frightening Greek sailors by transformation tricks of much the same nature as those dear to Puck.

We may now revert to our starting-point, to the question why should the fairy world be specially prominent in English literature, a question which, if asked before, has doubtless been answered by unmeaning generalities about national temperament. But national temperament is the outcome of historic conditions and circumstances

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

which exist none the less though we cannot always trace them. In essaying an answer I will pick up the various dropped threads of the investigation and endeavour to weave them into one connected strand.

Mythology presupposes beliefs, and also rites in which those beliefs find practical expression. Rites comprise forms of words and symbolic acts. The form of words, the liturgic chant, may develop into a narrative, the symbolic act may require explanation and give rise to another narrative. As the intellectual and religious horizon of the worshipping race widens, these narratives are amplified, are differentiated, are enriched with new fancies and conceptions. In course of time the narratives crystallise around special divine beings; and as these latter develop and acquire fresh attributes, so their attendant narrative groups, their myths, may come to transcend the germ whence they have sprung, and to symbolise conceptions of such far wider scope as to obscure the connection between origin and completed growth. This happened in Greece with the Dionysus myths, but not until they had been noted at such a stage as to allow recognition of their true nature. Greek mythology in its later forms conquered Rome, entirely driving out the old Roman myths (many of which had probably progressed little beyond the agricultural stage),

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

although the religious conservatism of Rome maintained the rites themselves in an archaic form. Rome conquered Southern and much of Western Europe and imposed late Greek mythology in Latin dress upon these lands. But in Western Europe, Ireland wholly, and Britain partly, escaped Roman influence. Celtic mythology, starting from the same basis as Greek Dionysus mythology, was left at liberty to develop upon its own lines. The Greek Dionysiac myths, expanding with the marvellous expansion of the Hellenic genius, grew away from their primitive rustic basis, and connection was broken between the peasant creed and the highest imaginative literature. Celtic mythology developed likewise, but to an extent as far less as the Celt had lagged behind the Greek in the race of civilisation. The old Irish gods, themselves an outcome of the primitive agricultural creed, were worked into the heroic legends of the race, and suffered transformation into the wizard champions and enchantresses of the romances, but they never lost touch with their earliest forms; the link between the fairy of the peasant and the fairy of literature (for heroic saga *is* literature although traditional literature) was never wholly snapped; and when the time came for the highest imagination of mankind to turn to the old pre-Christian world for inspiration, in these islands alone was there a literary conven-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

tion which still led back to the wealth of incident and symbol preserved by the folk. In these islands alone, I say, and why? Because the Arthurian romance, that form of imaginative literature which revealed Celtic mythology to the world, although it entered English literature later than it did that of France or Germany, although France first gave it to all mankind, and Germany bestowed upon it its noblest mediæval form, yet was at home here, whilst on the Continent it was an alien. When the destined hour struck, and the slumbering princess of Faery should awake, it was the youngest quester who gave the releasing kiss and won her to be his bride; if we seek their offspring, we may find it in the English poetry of the last three centuries.

When the destined hour had struck! for the princess might not be roused from her slumber before the appointed time. We all know the sixteenth century as the age of Renaissance and Reformation. But what precisely is implied by these words? For over a thousand years the compromise come to between Christianity and the pre-Christian world had subsisted, subject, as are all things, to fluctuation and modification, but retaining substantially its outline and animating spirit. At last it yielded before the onslaught of two different forces—one, sympathetic knowledge of the pre-Christian classic world, resulting in the

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Renaissance, and the other, desire to revert to the earliest form of Christianity before the latter had effected its compromise with classic civilisation, resulting in the Reformation. The men who had passed through the impact of these forces upon their hearts and brains could no longer look upon the pre-Christian world, under whatever form it appeared to them, with the same eyes as the men of the Middle Ages. It stimulated their curiosity, it touched their imagination, it was fraught to them with problems and possibilities their predecessors never dreamt of. Throughout the literature of the sixteenth century we may note the same pre-occupation with romantic themes which are older than, and outside, Christianity. In Italy, as was but natural, the purely classic side of the revival predominated, and the romantic poems of Pulci, Berni, and Ariosto are only brilliant examples of conscious literary art; in France, peasant folklore and romance formed the groundwork of the great realistic burlesque in which the chief master of French prose satirised the society of his day and sketched the society of his dreams; in Germany, no supreme literary genius arose to voice the tendency of the age, but there was developed the last of the great impersonal legends of the world, the story of Faustus, ready to the hands of Germany's master-poet when he should come, and reminding us that wizard-

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

craft has the same ultimate origin as, and is but the unholy and malign side of, the fairy belief. In England, where Celtic mythology had lived on as the Arthurian romance, where the latter, although a late comer, was at home, where alone literature had not been wholly divorced from folk-belief, Shakespeare created his fairy world.

Since his days, fairydom has become, chiefly owing to the perfection of his embodiment, a mere literary convention, and has gradually lost life and savour. Instead of the simpering puppets —stock properties of a machine-made children's literature—to which the fairies have been degraded, I have endeavoured to show them as they really appeared to the men and women who believed in them,—beings of ancient and awful aspect, elemental powers, mighty, capricious, cruel, and benignant, as is Nature herself. I believe that the fairy creed, this ancient source of inspiration, of symbolic interpretation of man's relation to nature, is not yet dried up, and that English literature, with its mixed strain of Teutonic and Celtic blood, with its share in the mythologies of both these races, and in especial with its claim to the sole body of mythology and romance, the Celtic, which grew up wholly unaffected by classic culture, is destined to drink deeply of it in the future as in the past, and to find in it the material for new creations of undying beauty.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

There are only two good accounts of the fairy belief, studied as a whole and with a view to determining its origin, nature, and growth:—(1) The essay prefixed to *Irische Elfenmärchen*, a translation by the Brothers Grimm of Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, published at Berlin in 1826. Croker translated this essay into English and affixed it to the second edition of his *Legends* (1827–28), where it occupies pages 1–154 of vol. iii. (2) *Les Fées du Moyen Age, recherches sur leur origine, leur histoire et leurs attributs*, by Alfred Maury, Paris, 1843; reprinted, Paris, 1896, in the volume entitled *Croyances et Legendes du Moyen Age* (12 francs). The Grimms' essay is, like all their work, absolutely good as far as it goes, and only needs amplification in the light of the fuller knowledge derived from the researches of the last seventy-five years. Halliwell's *Illustrations of Shakespeare's Fairy Mythology* (London, 1845; reprinted with additions by Hazlitt, 1875) is a useful collection of materials. The best edition of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, as far as the objects of this study are concerned, is that by Mr. E. K. Chambers, 1897. An immense amount of out-of-the-way material is gathered together in *Shakespeare's Puck and his Folklore illustrated from the superstitions of all nations, but more especially from the earliest religion and rites of Northern Europe and the Wends*, 3 vols., 1852, by Mr. Bell; but the writer's perverse fantasticality and his utter lack of true critical spirit make his work dangerous for any but a trained scholar. Mr. Hartland's *The Science of Fairy Tales; an Inquiry into Fairy Mythology*, 1891 (3s. 6d.), is a most valuable study of several fundamental themes of fairy romance as exemplified in traditional literature. Dyer's *Folklore of Shakespeare*, 1884 (14s.), must also be mentioned, but cannot be recommended.

Reginald Scot's "Discovery of Witchcraft" (page 10),

originally published 1584, is accessible in Nicholson's reprint, 1886 (£2, 5s.).

The quotation from Nash is taken from Halliwell's *Illustrations.*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Shakespeare and Legend (page 11).

Shakespeare's three greatest tragedies—Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth—are all founded upon heroic-legendary themes, and in each case the vital element in the legend is disentangled and emphasised with unerring skill. Indeed, wherever he handles legendary romance, he obtains the maximum of artistic effect without, as the artist so frequently does, offering violence to the spirit of the legend.

Gervase of Tilbury and Gerald the Welshman (page 11).

Compare Mr. Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales* (ch. vi.), "Robberies from Fairyland." Gervase's *Otia Imperialia*, a mine of wealth to the student of mediæval folklore, is accessible in Liebrecht's admirable edition, 1856 (about 12s. 6d.).

Fairydom and the Arthurian Romance (page 12).

Compare Nos. 1 and 4 of the present series of *Popular Studies.*

Gaelic Fairy Lore (page 15).

No really good general survey of the subject exists, save the Grimms' essay already mentioned. This was substantially based upon the information brought together by Crofton Croker in the work quoted above; by Mrs. Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 vols., 1811; and by Sir Walter Scott in his *Demonology and Witchcraft*, 1831, and *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 4 vols., 1802–03. Since then, a considerable amount of Irish material has been brought together by Carleton (*Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, 1830–32), by Lady Wilde (*Ancient Legends, Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, 1887 (6s.)), by P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, 1866, reprinted 1891 (3s. 6d.), and *Fireside Stories of Ireland*, 1871, chiefly with a view to illustrating the tales and legends collected by them. Mr. Curtin's *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World*, 1893 (3s. 6d.), is more directly illustrative of the fairy belief as such, and is most valuable. Mr. Yeats' article

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

in the *Nineteenth Century* (Jan. 1898, *Prisoners of the Gods*) and the *Contemporary Review* (Sept. 1899, *Ireland Bewitched*) deserve the closest attention, though it may be thought that he sometimes reads into the information he has collected a poetic significance it does not really possess. Mr. Leland Duncan's article in *Folklore* (June 1896, *Fairy Beliefs from County Leitrim*) is of great value, and the *Transactions* generally of the Folklore Society are full of material.

In Scotland, Campbell of Islay's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols., 1860–62, reprinted 1893, are of course indispensable. Vols. i.–v. of *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition*, especially vols. i. and v., contain much fairy lore. The oldest and perhaps most valuable account of the Scotch Gaelic fairy world, the Rev. Robert Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies*, written in 1696, has been printed by Mr. Lang, with an admirable Introduction, 1893 (7s. 6d.). Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, written 1695, reprinted 1884, may likewise be consulted.

THE TUATHA DE DANANN (pages 16–73).

For a full development, with citation and discussion of authorities, of the argument set forth in these four pages, *cf.* my *Voyage of Bran* (ch. xvii.).

THE AGRICULTURAL BASE OF FAIRY LORE (pages 25–29).

These pages are practically a summary of Chaps. xvi.–xviii. of the *Voyage of Bran*, to which I refer for a full presentment of the theories here urged.

ROBIN GOODFELLOW, &c. (page 31).

Reprinted in Halliwell-Hazlitt's *Illustrations of Shakespeare's Fairy Mythology*.

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO.
Edinburgh & London

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Published by David Nutt

57–59 LONG ACRE

THE VOYAGE OF BRAN, SON OF FEBAL, TO THE LAND OF THE LIVING. An old Irish Saga. Now first Edited, with Translation, Notes, and Glossary, by KUNO MEYER. With Essays upon the Irish Vision of the Happy Otherworld, and the Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth, by ALFRED NUTT. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 1895–97. Printed at the Constable Press, on laid paper, in antique type, red and black title-page, bound in half buckram, uncut.

I. THE HAPPY OTHERWORLD. Pp. xvii.–331. 10s. 6d. net.

II. THE CELTIC DOCTRINE OF REBIRTH. Pp. xii.–352. 10s. 6d. net.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

"Œuvre d'une grande valeur scientifique et d'une lecture agréable."—Monsieur H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE in the *Revue Celtique.*

"Édition, tradition et commentaire philologique sont d'une critique irréprochable. . . . M. Nutt est bien informé: ses matériaux sont pris aux meilleures sources: son exposition est nette et précise; son livre est une œuvre d'histoire générale à la fois des croyances et des littératures."—Monsieur H. GAIDOZ in *Mélusine.*

"Très savante étude . . . qui sera lue avec grand profit par tous ceux qui s'occupent de littérature comparée ou d'histoire religieuse."—Monsieur GASTON PARIS in *Romania.*

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Pop[illegible] in [illegible]ogy Romance and Folklore

The following numbers have appeared or are in the press, April 1900:

No. 1

CELTIC AND MEDIÆVAL ROMANCE. By ALFRED NUTT.

No. 2

FOLKLORE: WHAT IS IT AND WHAT IS THE GOOD OF IT? By E. S. HARTLAND.

No. 3

OSSIAN AND THE OSSIANIC LITERATURE CONNECTED WITH HIS NAME. By ALFRED NUTT.

No. 4

KING ARTHUR AND HIS KNIGHTS. A SURVEY OF ARTHURIAN ROMANCE. By JESSIE L. WESTON.

No. 5

THE POPULAR POETRY OF THE FINNS. By CHARLES J. BILLSON, M.A.

No. 6

THE FAIRY MYTHOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE. By ALFRED NUTT.

Later numbers will be devoted to

CUCHULINN, THE IRISH ACHILLES. THE TROUBADOURS AND THEIR TIMES. THE LEGEND OF THE SWAN MAID. WAGNER AND NORTHERN MYTHOLOGY. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FAIRY TALES, ETC.

Each number, neatly printed in attractive cover, 6d. net.

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED

LOAN DEPT.

This book is due on the last date stamped below, or
on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

ICLF (N)

MAY 2 1968 -11 AM
APR 2 1968

AUG 22 2002

LOAN DEPT.

Due end of FALL Quarter
subject to recall after — DEC 1'70 1 4

REC'D LD NOV 18 70 -3 PM 4 2

DEC 04 2002

MAR 18 1972 7 0

REC'D LD MAR 12'72 -2 PM 4 6

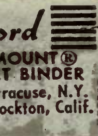
REC. CIR. JUL 10 '76

FEB 03 2002

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®

LD 21A-45m-9,'67
(H5067s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley



YC 14107

Univ Calif - Digitized by Microsoft ®