Hasting's Encyclopedia of Religion & Ethics

"Fairy"

were collected by Demetrius in his search for the wisdom current among the folk, whether in the form of proverbs, sayings of wise men, or fables. Fables are thus an interesting and early example of the transformation of oral into written literature.

Very few additions were made to the original stock of fables current in the classical world—in Latin by Phædrus and Avian, and in Greek by Babrius; the former being turned into poor Latin prose (*Romulus*), the latter into equally ineffective Greek prose (collected by Neveletus, 1617). But towards the end of the 12th cent. a couple of sets of new fables made their appearance. Marie de France translated from the Middle English a set of 103 fables, a third of which are unknown to classical antiquity. Many of these also occur in a set of 107 fables with the Talmudic title *Mishle Shu'alim* ('Fox Fables'), written by one Berachyah ha-Naqdan, who has been identified with an English Jew known in the contemporary records as Benedict le Puncteur, mentioned as living in Oxford in 1194. Both these collections contain Oriental elements found in Arabic literature, but their exact provenance has not yet been traced. Stainhowel inserted a dozen or so of them in the fifth section of his *Æsop*; other additions to the fable were made by La Fontaine, mainly from Oriental sources. These include the story of Perrette, who counted her chickens before they were hatched, which Benfey, and after him Max Müller, traced all the way from India to France. Gellert in Germany, Gay in England, and Kriloff in Russia have imitated the Æsopic fable, but their additions have not been accepted by the people, and the European *Æsop* to this day is practically identical with the collections of classical antiquity.

Fable with its explicit 'moral' is thus a highly differentiated form of the Beast-Tale, and it must not be considered remarkable that it occurs in full force only in one or two countries. Anecdotes and tales about beasts are found everywhere—in South Africa (Bleek) and among the American negroes ('Uncle Remus'). An attempt has been made by Sir Richard Burton to trace the fable, properly so called, to Africa, and to suggest that it recalls reminiscences by man of his animal ancestors. The sole basis of this bizarre theory, however, is an Egyptian paraphrase of the fable of 'The Mouse and the Lion,' found in a late demotic papyrus, which also contains Coptic versions of the 'Ritual of the Dead'; and it must, therefore, be summarily rejected. Wherever we find the fable with its distinctive moral, it can be traced either by derivation or imitation to Greece or India.

Yet the conceptions at the root of the fable are primitive enough; they contain almost the first moral abstractions, or at least personifications of the cruder virtues and vices; in them courage is personified by the lion, greed by the wolf, cunning by the fox, innocence by the lamb, etc. Early man may in this way have learnt his first lessons in moral abstraction; to him cunning was foxiness, magnanimity leoninity, cruelty wolfhood. Even to the present day we have no other way of referring to one of the ruling motives in a capitalistic society than by speaking of 'The Dog in the Manger.' Hence the appeal of fables to the primitive mind of children, which is the more direct owing to the absence of any reference in them to the sex-motive. The touch of fun, which forms an essential element of fables, is another attraction for childish minds; on the other hand, the morals they inculcate are not very lofty, since they are necessarily confined to animal qualities. The higher elements of culture—knowledge, love, beauty, consideration for others—are beyond their purview. But the appeal of a fable to the mind of the child remains to-day as strong as ever, and the Æsopic fable is probably, outside of the Bible, the only literature known to practically all Europeans.

Cf. also artt., FICTION, FOLKLORE and REYNARD THE FOX.

LITERATURE.—The above account summarizes a somewhat elaborate *History of the Æsopic Fable*, which forms the first volume of the edition of Caxton's *Æsop*, edited by Joseph Jacobs, London, 1889. This contains a full account of the previous literature and critical investigations by Crusius on Babrius, Hervieux on the Latin Fable, Benfey and others on Indian Fable, Mall on Marie de France, etc., together with connecting links suggested by the editor. His results have generally been accepted by scholars; see, for example, S. Arthur Strong, *Collected Essays*, London, 1912. A more popular account will be found in Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop*, London, 1894. The following works may also be consulted: J. A. MacCulloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905; W. W. Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, London, 1901; J. Jacobs, in *JE* i. 221 f., v. 324. Cf. the Bibliography in MacCulloch, *op. cit.*

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FA-HIAN.—The first Chinese traveller in India. As to his *Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, see YUAN CHWANG.

FAIRY.—Fairies or elves may be described at this stage as a non-human race, the belief in whom is mainly known as it exists among the Celts and Teutons. There is little difference in attributes, characteristics, and actions between Celtic fairies and Teutonic or Scandinavian elves, dwarfs, and trolls; and much the same cycle of stories and beliefs is common to both. But among other European folk, Slavic or Latin, there are similar stories told of fairy-like beings, while Arabs, Hindus, Chinese, and savages of all regions believe in more or less supernatural beings of whom many things are told which offer a curious parallel to the Celtic and Teutonic fairy superstition. Thus, though the popular idea of fairies is that of a supernatural race existing in the fancy of the folk of North and West Europe, a scientific explanation of the belief must take a wider sweep. And, while the popular idea mainly regards the fairies whose occupation it is to dance in the moonlight, our investigation must also include house fairies and fairies of wood, stream, or other parts of wild Nature.

From the abstract Lat. noun *fatum*, 'fate,' was derived a late Lat. or Italian personal noun *Fata*, equivalent to *Parca*. Ausonius uses the word in this sense, speaking of *tria Fata*; and Procopius (*de Bello Goth.* i. 25) makes τὰ τρία Φάτα the Roman equivalent of the Μοῖραι; hence in Romance languages the words for 'fairy,' Ital. *fata*, Span. *hada*, Provençal *fada*, Fr. *fée* (see, for connexion of *fées* and the Fates, § 4). From *fatum* came in med. Lat. *fatare*, 'to enchant,' which became in Fr. *faer*, with a p.p. *faé* (cf. the common phrase in romances, *les dames faés*, 'enchanted ladies'; and a 14th cent. passage, 'les fées ce estoient deables qui disoient que les gens estoient destinez et faés les uns à bien, les autres à mal'). The same sense is found in Scots 'fey.' From *faé* was formed a noun *faerie*, *féerie*, 'enchantment,' 'illusion,' which was adopted into English, but with different senses—(1) the region of the *fées*, (2) the people of fairyland, (3) an individual fairy, with pl. 'fairies.'

'Elf' comes from O.N. *álfr*, A.S. *ælf*; cf. M.H.G. *alp*, 'genius,' pl. *elben*. It is generally connected with Skr. *ṛbhu*, 'artisan, sprite.' The German word 'elf' was borrowed in the 18th cent. from the same English word.

1. **Varieties of fairies.**—In the Edda the *Liosálfar* ('light elves') dwell in Alfheim, and are divided from the *Döckálfar* ('dark elves') dwelling underground, who, again, are separated from the *Dvergar* ('dwarfs'), perhaps = the *Svartálfar*, who originated as maggots from Ymir's flesh, and now, in likeness of men, dwell in earth and stones. But the latter can hardly be distinguished from *Döckálfar*, and are sometimes identified with them, or in their proper names the word *álfar* occurs. In folk-belief the distinction between light and dark elves is not clear, and elves are both light and dark by turns, while the widest class is an earth- or under-earth-dwelling race, though there are elves of air or sky. Other kinds are associated with the house, with woods and fields, with waters, and with the mine (scarcely to be distinguished from

dwarfs). Such a division generally holds good for all Teutonic, Scandinavian, or Anglo-Saxon lands, and it corresponds, on the whole, to the Celtic groups of fairies, though the chief class of the latter in Ireland—the *Daoine sidhe*—are not always a small folk. The Celts have also their dwarf-like fairies, as well as house, water, and (to a less extent) woodland fairies. But these divisions hold good in folk-belief all over Europe, both in ancient and modern times. It should be noted also that the dwarfs strictly so called—*dvergar, zwerge, drows, bergmännlein, nains, cluricauns*—are metal-workers, but this is also true of elves in the Edda.

2. **Characteristics.**—Fairies are generally regarded as of a nature between spirits and men, or as spirit beings with the semblance of a body which, to quote Kirk (*Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies*, ed. Lang, 1893), is 'spungious, thin, and defecate.' In many aspects they are like mankind. They have their occupations, amusements, fightings. They marry and bear children. But they have powers beyond those of ordinary mortals, yet like those attributed to medicine-men, sorcerers, and witches. They are regarded as a separate race of superior beings, as many of their titles suggest—'fair or still folk,' 'people of peace,' etc.—while in the Edda the *álfar* are a distinct class of beings. They have a king or queen, usually the latter, and the names of some of these are known—Fionnbhar, Aine, Aoibhinn, Cliodna, Miala, Gwion, Huldra, Oberon (=Alberon). There are also single fairies—the Irish leprechaun, the Brownie, etc.—not living in communities. In their dwellings, as seen occasionally by mortals, there is great splendour and luxury. But often all this proves to be mere glamour when the mortal comes to himself (perhaps one source of the fairy glamour conception is to be found in the rude awakening to the grim realities of life after a happy dream experience).

Separate fairy bands are sometimes at enmity; this is already found in old Celtic tales of the *sid* folk (*RCel* xvi. [1895] 275). Frequently fairies are regarded as a diminutive folk, but there is much contradiction on this subject, and many fairies (the *fées* of S. Europe, the Slavic *vilas*, and the *sid* folk of Ireland) are hardly to be distinguished in size from mortals. In the same region some groups of fairies may be tall, others pygmies, but the varying size is sometimes due to their power of changing their form. Once fairies were regarded as small, their smallness would tend to be exaggerated. Usually great beauty is ascribed to female fairies, but certain groups of fairies—dwarfs, kobolds, etc.—are ugly and misshapen. Their clothing is often of a green or red colour, though the Teutonic dwarfs are dressed in grey (cf. the 'elfin gray' in *Tamlane*). They are all intensely fond of music, singing,[1] and dancing (as also are witches), as well as of feasting, and are often represented as spending the whole night in revelry, which has an inevitable attraction for mortals, who are lured into the dance to their own eventual discomfort or worse. No picture is more charming than that drawn by folk-belief of the nightly fairy revels on the greensward. The marks of these form the fairy-rings in which it is dangerous to tread or sleep, and which are also attributed to the witches' 'Sabbat.' This feature may connect fairies with actual rites of an orgiastic character among the folk, performed for purposes of agricultural magic, or with folk-festivals in which music and dancing figure. In part the Sabbat is also connected with these (see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 187, 470; Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 213; Delrio, *Disq. Mag.*, 1599-1600, p. 179). The fairies disappear from their revels at dawn, or their power ceases then—a trait shared by other supernatural beings and by witches (MacCulloch, *CF*, 1905, p. 195). They dislike being seen by mortals, and he who looks upon them or their doings is usually brought within their power. They punish with blindness those who possess or have gained the power of seeing them when they are invisible to others, and again their look is of itself sufficient to bewitch. It is also dangerous to enter their domain without due precautions (see § 11).

But it is in their magical powers that the special characteristics of fairies appear. They have the power of invisibility, *e.g.* by wearing a magic cloak or hat, or by means of some herb, *e.g.* fern-seed (see *1 Hen. IV.* Act ii. Sc. 1). This power they could also confer on mortals. Immortality is sometimes ascribed to them, especially in poetry (Ariosto, *Orlando Fur.* x. 47; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Faithful Shepherd*, Act i. Sc. 2), but more usually they are mortal, though gifted with longer life than man (Kirk, 15; Grimm, 458). They have the power of assuming different shapes, or of causing others to do so, or of giving an unreal and valuable appearance to objects of no value (fairy gold), or of putting a spell upon mortals which holds them bound for long periods of time. Their knowledge, especially of the hidden powers of Nature, is often more extensive than man's. The fairy glamour has already been referred to, and it corresponds with their power of making time appear long or short to those mortals who are lured into their company. They have also the power of seeing invisible or hidden things, or of divining where they are. Thus it is easy to see why powers of this kind (divination, second-sight) should be regarded sometimes as fairy gifts to mortals.

Yet, in spite of all their powers, fairies are curiously dependent on men. They seek to reinforce their own race by stealing human children; or they steal young women or women in child-bed, in order to unite with them or that they may nurse their children. In such cases the place of the stolen child or woman is often taken by a fairy (see CHANGELING). They compel women to come and assist at child-birth their females or those whom they have stolen. They fall in love with and marry mortals, or they steal men, usually by luring them into the fairy dance (cf. the luring of men into the Sabbat), or by taking them by fascination or force to fairyland (see an early instance in O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, ii. 204 ff.). The purpose of these kidnappings and unions is to improve the fairy race, to obtain human strength or beauty, or perhaps to share in the spiritual benefits of the religion from which fairies are supposed to be excluded (cf. de la Motte Fouqué's *Undine*, Eng. tr., 1875). On the other hand, men often steal fairy brides. Cattle are also stolen by fairies, an illusory appearance being sometimes left in their place.

There is no doubt that the idea of the fairy theft of mortals is connected with the more primitive and wide-spread idea of the anxiety of the dead to obtain the living by causing their death. In many fairy instances the theft is also connected with death or a death-like state (trance). Or the fairies steal the soul, which then sometimes returns to animate the body. The old belief that death is unreal and accidental survives here, and death and trance are both explained as fairy thefts of the real personality (the soul).

To the fairy midwife motive is attached the wide-spread idea of the fairy ointment with which the midwife has to anoint the child. Accidentally it touches her eye, and gives her the power of seeing invisible things. Ultimately she loses her sight, because she is able to see fairies when they wish to be invisible (see many instances in Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 59 ff.). This is also told of *dracs* and water fairies (Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, Paris, 1896, ii. 2 ff.; Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1901, i. 218 ff.).

Fairies are also tricky with men. They carry

[1] Some folk-songs and lullabies are said to have been learned from fairies (see, *e.g.* *Journ. of Folk-Song Soc.* iv. 3 [1911], 174, and *passim*)

them off by night and make them travel long distances, sometimes using them as steeds; the men when they awake in the morning are more or less conscious of this. The trick is also alleged sometimes as an explanation of 'falling sickness.' It is obviously connected with the phenomena of somnambulism and nightmare, though the belief itself might sometimes be exploited by unscrupulous mortals to explain any mysterious absence on their part.[1] In other ways they torment men (cf. the Poltergeist and the house-fairy when insulted). A favourite trick is to give men gold which turns into worthless articles (but worthless things offered as a reward for human services often turn to gold [Hartland, 48 f., 184; Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*[6], Bonn, 1887, p. 427]). They are easily irritated, capricious in their character, and given to resentment. More than this, they are dangerous and even cruel, especially when despised or ill-treated, causing injury, illness, madness, or death, usually by a 'fairy stroke' (§ 6). Hence the folk seek to placate them or to flatter them by euphemistic names—'good people,' 'guid neighbours,' 'gute Holden,' 'gentry,' etc. (see EUPHEMISM, § 2).

On the other hand, fairies often assist mortals, especially in return for some small service (articles borrowed, advice given, etc.), and are very generous. This is especially true of the house-fairy, who is sufficiently rewarded with a little milk or food. They give gifts of great value (cf. stories of magic swords, etc.). But these objects are often stolen by mortals from fairyland. Supernatural and magic powers are also given by them to mortals (cf. the gift of prophecy—'the tongue that could not lie'—to Thomas the Rymer; and see Scott, *Demonology*, 1898, Letter 5, *Minstrelsy*, p. 212). They also preside at birth, and confer talents on the child.

Thus the relation between men and fairies is a reciprocal one. Each seeks help from the other. Each harms the other. Men are now contemptuous, now afraid of fairies. Fairies are now friendly, now hostile to men. We may see here the survival of older religious ideas—of gods now kind, now evil, and of benefits rendered by them to men out of all proportion to the attention paid to them. This is an old aspect of sacrifice—*do ut des*.

Fairies in Christian lands are generally regarded as pagans. Sacred names, signs, and things keep them at a distance, and they fear sacred days (see an early instance in Adamnan, *Vita S. Columb.* cap. 9), while a demoniac character is attributed to them. A mass was celebrated in mediæval and later times in the church of Poissy to preserve the land from the anger of evil *fées*, and in the *procès* of Jeanne d'Arc the curé of Domremy is said to have sung the Gospel annually near the Tree of the Fées to drive them off. The fairies mourn over their lost supremacy, as the ancient Nature-spirits are held to have done after the coming of Christianity, while in many folk-traditions the earnest preaching of the gospel is said to have dispersed them. The Church was generally opposed to fairies, associating them with paganism, the devil, and witchcraft. Nevertheless, they have a desire to be saved, and many pathetic stories express this, or their anxiety with regard to their position at the Day of Judgment. In other cases they believe themselves Christians and hope for salvation.

The supernatural lapse of time in the fairy dance or in fairyland, while connected with the excitement and exaltation of the orgiastic dance, is perhaps based upon trance experiences, loss of memory, and the like, in which the person, when he comes to himself, takes up the thread of his life where it was left off, the intervening period being thus short to him. Exaggeration of such experiences—especially since in trance men's preconceived notions led them to believe they had been in fairyland, the other world, etc.—would result in the incident of the supernatural lapse of time[1] (see Hartland, 223 ff.). On the other hand, in many fairy stories the opposite experience is found—the consciousness of having spent a lifetime during a moment as a result of a fairy spell. This, combined with the fact of similar trance or dream experiences, points to these as its true source.

3. **The origin of fairies.**—The folk-explanations of the origin of fairies are various. Sometimes they are regarded as descendants of rebellious angels, cast out of heaven, and doomed to remain in sea, land, air, or underground; or they are supposed to have stopped on the way to hell and remained in these places.[2] This is a Celtic and Slavic belief (Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, p. 42; Sikes, *British Goblins*, 1880, p. 134; Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, 1872, p. 106), and it may be compared with the Arabic belief that the *jinn* are a pre-Adamite race who rebelled against God and were driven to the distant regions of earth (Lane, *Arab. Society*, 1883, p. 30). Other folk-beliefs regard fairies as souls, *e.g.* of Druids, of infants dying unbaptized, of pre-historic races, or of the dead generally (Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, 1900, pp. 298, 412; Wentz, *The Fairy Faith in Celtic Countries*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 147, 176). Or they are people who refused to accept Christianity and were cursed (Keightley, 432; Wentz, 169).

The learned have attempted many explanations. Maury (*Fées du moyen âge*) found the *fées* in old Celtic and Teutonic Nature-goddesses, *Matræ*, *Matronæ*, akin to the Fates, Junos, Nymphs, etc., and in a folk-memory of 'druidesses' with magic power, who had been their priestesses. To these the people then gave the names *fata*, *fées*, 'enchantresses,' etc.[3] There is no evidence that such 'druidesses' were priestesses of these goddesses (see MacCulloch, *Rel. of the Anc. Celts*, Edin., 1911, p. 316). Others have seen in them the ghosts of a small and swarthy pre-historic race transformed in popular fancy into an actual supernatural people dwelling underground (G. Allen, 'Who were the Fairies?' *Cornhill Magazine*, xliii. [1891] 338 ff.). Another theory is that which regards them as a folk-memory of a pre-historic small race, dwelling underground, with weapons of stone, and generally hostile to their Celtic conquerors.

This was already hinted at by J. Crirle, *Scottish Scenery*, 1803, by Sir W. Scott, following Dr. Leyden (see *Minstrelsy*, 189, *Demonology*, 102 f.), and by Grimm (p. 459), as a partial explanation of the fairy belief. Its main exponent in later times is D. MacRitchie, with his theory of an earlier pygmy race dwelling in what are now regarded as sepulchral mounds (see his *Testimony of Tradition*, 1890, *Fians, Fairies, and Picts*, 1893; cf. also A. S. Headlam, *NC*, Feb. 1908).

But no one cause can be alleged for the origin of the fairy superstition; and, taking into account the precisely similar characteristics ascribed also to spirits, ghosts, demons, witches, etc., in all parts of the world, we may trace it back to animistic beliefs modified and altered in different ways in different localities, but undoubtedly influenced also in various ways by traditions about older races, by beliefs in ghosts, and by the débris of older myths and religions. We may also regard dreams, trance experiences, and psychic phenomena as formative and moulding influences. W. Y. Evans Wentz has recently sought to prove that 'fairies

[1] The witches' aerial flight to the Sabbat and the aerial transportation of their victims resemble this, as does also the alleged flight of mediums (see MacCulloch, *CF*, 222).

[1] In Ireland a trance is recognized as the presence of the entranced person in fairyland.

[2] This resembles the myth in the Edda of elves of air, and of under-earth.

[3] Cf. also L. Shaw, *Province of Moray*, 1775, p. 287.

exist, because in all essentials they appear to be the same as the intelligent forces now recognized by psychical researchers' (*op. cit.* p. 490), whether these are phantasms of the dead or other orders of beings, acting on men, seen by them, or producing the alleged phenomena which the folk ascribe to fairies. But he attaches too much importance to the evidence of modern Celtic seers, and too little to the phenomena of hallucination. Similar evidence, if rashly accepted, would equally prove the existence of many other mythical beings. Fairies, wherever found, are mythical beings, creations of fancy utilizing existing beliefs, traditions, experiences, and customs. In the following sections the connexion of fairies with earlier divinities, ghosts, or actual races will be discussed.

4. **Fairies as earlier divinities.**—Fairies, as a race of supernatural beings, have many of the traits of earlier divinities; in some instances they may have been originally Nature-spirits or Nature-divinities. In Ireland this is especially true of the *Daoine sidhe*, still associated in popular belief with the Tuatha Dé Danann, the ancient gods of the Irish Celts. Dispossessed by the Milesians—in other words, defeated by the coming of Christianity to Ireland—they retired to the *sid*, or mounds. This is the constant tradition of Irish story, and one class of fairies in Ireland are tall, handsome beings, much more divine than any other class of fairy-folk (see CELTS, v. § 3). Specific earlier divinities—Fionnbhar, Aine, Cliodna, Aibell, etc.—are kings and queens of the fairy hosts of different regions. The pagan Celts or the pre-Celtic folk of Ireland may have believed in a race of *sid*-folk other than the Tuatha Dé Danann, with whom the latter were assimilated or became their kings and leaders (MacCulloch, *Rel. of Anc. Celts*, 65 f.). What is certain is that earlier gods, connected with agriculture and growth, have for centuries been regarded as fairies, while yet preserving some of their divine traits. Other Irish fairies are unconnected with the gods, and others again are lineal descendants of river-, well-, or tree-spirits (MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 43, 173). The Celts of Gaul worshipped *niskas* and *peisgi* (groups of water-divinities), some of whom have personal names, and these are the nixes and perhaps the piskies of later belief (*ib.* 185). Sirens, mermaids, and other fairy beings haunting the waters, the Welsh fairy-brides who emerge from lakes, often accompanied by a venerable old man, and to whom offerings are made—are all alike earlier divinities or spirits. Similarly, Brythonic divinities appear in later legend as fairy-like beings or fairy kings. So also in Italy, some of the older divinities are still remembered, and fairy-like characteristics are ascribed to them (Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, 1892, *passim*), while the domestic Roman gods resemble the Brownie, as already noted by Reginald Scot; the Romans had also their *minuti dei* (Plaut. *Cist.* ii. 1. 45) and their *dei campestri*.

Offerings of food or milk are made to Celtic fairies to appease them; when this has not been done, vengeance is said to have followed. As with sacrifices to gods, it is the invisible essence of the food which is supposed to be taken by them—the *toradh*—the outward appearance being left (Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 32).[1]

The northern *álfar* are coupled in the Edda with the Divine *aesir* (cf. the A.S. connexion of *és* and *ylfe*); the dark elves are allied with gods against their enemies, and work for them (Simrock, 424). They have also great magical powers. The general impression which one receives from the older sources is that of the divine character of the *álfar*. And, as Grimm (pp. 179 f., 187, 456) has shown, there was a connexion between the *álfar* and Donar or Thor, as well as with Holda; and he adds (p. 187): 'An intimate relation must subsist between the gods and the elves, though on the part of the latter a subordinate one.' This is also seen in the elf cult. Besides the homely offerings of later folk-custom, in older custom there was the *álfablót*—animal sacrifices to the elves—and in one instance in *Kormaks-saga* the elf-hill is to be reddened with the blood of a bull, and the flesh used as a feast for the elves (Grimm, 448, 1411; Simrock, 426; see also Meyer, *Germ. Myth.*, Berlin, 1891, § 175 ff.).

The activity of fairies and elves at certain seasons—May-day (Beltane) and November-eve (Samhain)—is significant. In the early history of Celts and Teutons these were times of great sacredness. They were festivals, in part orgiastic, and included ritual dances. In so far as fairies are connected with older gods (as in Ireland), it is natural that their power should be more in evidence at these times sacred to the older gods. But in any case, just as ghosts of the dead were active at Samhain, all beings of popular fancy were found to be attracted to these seasonal occasions. And, as dancing was a feature of these festivals, so the fairies are supposed to dance at them (cf. Maury, 39). The striking formula in many tales—that he who has been captured by the fairies through entering into their dances cannot be set free until a year after—points of itself to a recurring festival celebrated annually, the observance of which has been transferred in part to the fairies by the folk who still observed it as a survival.

The three fairies who attend at the birth of a child and foretell its future or give it gifts, and to whom many folk-traditions are attached, are well-known in popular tales from all parts of Europe. They are also the subject of many old tales, especially in the Romance languages, in which they are met by a wayfarer in the forest or coming out of a fountain, and offer him their love, or render assistance in various ways (see stories of them in T. Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*[2], 1861, p. 285 ff.). In Burchard of Worms' collection of decrees (11th cent.), women are said to have sacrificed to them, spreading a table with meat and drink (Grimm, 1746). In Brittany a table was spread for them at a birth, just as the Romans then placed a couch for Juno Lucina (Maury, 31). They are often called *fées* or *fata*, and are connected with the Parcæ, goddesses associated with birth. Or they are called *Bonnes Dames*, *Dames Blanches*, 'white women,' *Bé Find*, *Bonnes Pucelles*; cf. the names *Bonæ Parcæ* and *Puellæ*, given to the Fates and Nymphs. They are primarily, however, descendants of the Celtic and Teutonic *Matres* and *Matronæ*—goddesses generally represented as three in number, and associated with fertility, with springs and rivers, and also with child-bearing and love (MacCulloch, *op. cit.* 45 ff., 73), though they also continue the functions of the Scandinavian *Nornæ*, the Slavic *Vilas*, and the Roman *Parcæ* with regard to birth, and they are sometimes called goddesses (Grimm, 1400). In modern Greece the Fates play a similar part at the birth of children to that which they played in ancient times (Bent, *JAI* xv. [1886] 393), and in ancient Egypt their closest parallel is the seven Hathors, who presided at birth and played the part of fairy god-mothers (Wiedemann, *Rel. of anc. Egyptians*, 1897, p. 143; Maspero, *Contes pop. ég.*[3], Paris, 1905, p. 76 ff.).[1] All these goddesses and fairies as associated with birth are probably 'refractions of the human "spae-women" (in the Scots term) who attend at birth and derive omens of the child's future from various signs' (Lang, *EBr*[11] x. 134b, *s.v.* 'Fairy').

Individual fairies, like Abonde, Viviane, Morgen le Fée, Esterelle, Aril, etc.—so often mentioned in mediæval romances, and some of whom figure as fairy queens,—as well as the individual white women or *banshees* haunting hills, woods, or castles, are probably connected with the *Matres* or with individual Celtic or Teutonic or other

[1] This is also true of fairy thefts of cows or corn; the substance is taken and the empty semblance is left.

[1] For the Slavic fairy-like Fates, see *ERE* iv. 626.

goddesses, *e.g.* the Roman Nymphæ as worshipped in Gaul, just as in Romance tales and in popular Italian belief the Roman Orcus has become a wood-fairy or ogre (Grimm, 486; Leland, 75). All these were generally helpful, but occasionally hostile, to men. Generally, too, it may be said that the love of fairies for music and dancing connects them with divinities in whose cult these were common, while the fairy moonlight dance may be a reminiscence of the cult itself, like the witches' Sabbat in another direction. The powers of fairies—shape-shifting, invisibility, magic, etc. —also link them on to the world of the gods.

5. Fairies and the dead.—While the fairy belief cannot be derived merely from a belief in ghosts, since the two exist side by side, the latter forms one of the strands from which the former has been woven. It should also be observed how much is common to the two beliefs. Both fairies and ghosts can benefit or harm the living. Both steal children (see CHANGELING), while both fairy changelings and ancestral ghosts are always hungry. Both can cause death—usually by a 'stroke,' producing a pining sickness—or warn of sudden death. To see them often means death to the seer (see *ERE* iv. 739[b]). Both can be avoided or repulsed by the same means (broom and iron tabu, running water, etc.). Both are active on May-day and Hallowe'en, and both have offerings made to them. Both love the night for their revels (dancing on meadows, etc.; cf. Grimm, 830), but both must vanish at cockcrow (as must the witch and vampire [MacCulloch, *CF*, 195]). Both possess enchanted objects of which daring mortals try to rob them. Both dislike untidiness and uncleanness (cf. Curtin, 178). In fairyland and the world of the dead time passes like a dream (see Hartland, 167 f.), while the same tabu with regard to eating fairy food or the food of the dead —in both cases dangerous to mortals—exists (see *ERE* iii. 561 f., iv. 653, and add to reff. there Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, 1910, p. 194; Seligmann, *Melan. of Br. N. Guinea*, 1910, pp. 656 f., 734). The warning not to eat the food usually comes from a mortal imprisoned in fairyland or from the dead person whose rescue from Hades is sought. It may also be noted that in Brittany the whole superstition regarding the dead is exactly like that regarding fairies, both there and elsewhere.

In folk-belief and *Märchen*, fairies are associated with tumuli or burial-mounds. These are sometimes called 'Fairy-hills,' 'Elf-howes,' 'Alfenbergen,' etc.; but they are also believed to be haunted by the ghosts of those buried in them, or at least are associated with these.[1] In certain cases fairies have succeeded the ghostly tenants of the tumulus, forgotten by the folk—a natural result, since any mysterious structure tends to be associated with mysterious beings. In other cases they are merged with them, and it is hardly possible to discriminate rigidly between them, while both are regarded with awe. The Teutonic dwarfs are *unterirdische* (cf. cognate names in other Northern languages [Grimm, 454, 1415]), as are the dead, the ὑποχθόνιοι, οἱ κάτω ἐρχόμενοι or ἐναγισμοί of Greek belief (see EARTH, § 8). The Haugbuie, who haunted the tumuli and was feared by the Scandinavian howe-breakers, is at once a ghost and a goblin, like the similar tenant of Brynyr-Ellyllon, near Mold, the hill of the goblin or fairy (Windle, *Life in Early Britain*, 1897, p. 113; J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times*, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 278). Such a confusion is also found in Madagascar, where the graves of the *vazimba* (at once the aboriginal folk and a species of spirits) are regarded with awe (Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, 1838, i. 424).

In many cases fairies and ghosts are one and the same in popular belief. This is true of much of the fairy belief in Ireland (see Wentz, 40, 58, etc.). The Welsh *Ellyllon* are sometimes regarded as souls of the Druids (Keightley, 412); the Teutonic *dvergar* are closely associated with the *náir*, or ghosts, and the *álfar* are probably in part souls of the dead (Grimm, 445 f., 1415; Simrock, 425, 435 f.; Vigfusson-Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, i. 418; see *ERE* iv. 633; Wright, *Purgatory of S. Patrick*, 1844, p. 89). The Celtic 'fairy hosts,' *sluagh*, though regarded in the Hebrides in some cases as the dead (the 'Furious Host' of Teutonic belief [Grimm, 918 ff.]), are also a kind of fairies hurtling through the air, and resembling the fairy hunt or ride of other Celtic districts (Wentz, 56, 94, 104, 106, 108; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, ii. 330; Keightley, 355, 384, 401, 414, 520). In Brittany the fairy 'washer at the ford' (*kannerezed noz*) is now a *revenant*, and, like the Irish and Highland fairy washer (also occasionally a ghost), warns of approaching death (Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort*[2], Paris, 1902, i. p. xli). It is interesting to note that Kirk (p. 10 f.) associates the 'co-walker,' or double, seen by second-sighted persons, with the fairies, and equates it with a fairy.[1] The speech of fairies, like that of ghosts, civilized and savage, is said to be a kind of twittering (Kirk, 14; cf. Tylor, *PC* i. 457).

The dead are sometimes associated with fairies in fairyland, and are seen there by those who visit it, and are warned by them not to eat or drink. According to Scottish superstition in the 16th–17th cent., witches were in league not only with Satan but with the court and queen of fairyland, and they saw there many persons known to be dead (Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 207 ff., *Demonology*, 108, 124 f.; Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, p. 536 f.). The same idea is found in the Romance writers and in Chaucer, who make Hades into fairyland and change Pluto and Persephone into the king and queen of Faery. Fairyland is also in close association with the Christian Other-world in the ballad of Thomas the Rymer. So, already in early mediæval Welsh belief, Gwyn is king of Faery, and is associated with Annwfn (Elysium) in its later aspect as hell, and hunts the souls of the wicked (MacCulloch, *Rel.* 115). Similarly the water-fairy keeps souls of the drowned in his under water-world (Simrock, 448 f.; Grimm, 496).

The demoniac spirits, with uncertain temper, in whom the West Africans believe, and whom they localize in the air or in natural objects, are ghosts of the dead (Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, 1904, p. 58), and the Arabic *'afrit*, ([illegible] *jinn*) is a name applied also to ghosts (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 1846, ii. 41).

In *Märchen* of the 'Dead Wife' cycle, in which a dead mother is recovered from Hades, there is the same incident as in tales of women carried off to fairyland. In both the mother re-appears to suckle her child, and in both she is recovered by her husband, who avoids certain tabus. In the latter series the wife apparently dies, but the 'corpse' is an adult fairy changeling or an illusory appearance. Or, again, the changeling is in effect a double or 'co-walker' (Curtin, 158; see also CHANGELING, § 6; DESCENT TO HADES [Ethnic], § 3). In Ireland the idea is wide-spread that people who die young are taken by fairies; and there is also the belief that the soul is taken, leaving the body dead.

There is one species of fairy which is closely connected with, if not in all cases actually derived from, ancestral or other household spirits—the house-fairy or Brownie,[2] already mentioned as the *Portune* by Gervase of Tilbury in the 13th cent.,

[1] Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, 1880, p. 433; *FLJ* v. [1887] 333; Hartland, 231; Kirk, 23.

[1] For the similar Norwegian belief, see Craigie, *Blackwood's Magazine*, cxci. (1912) 304 ff.

[2] For the various names and characteristics of the house-fairy in Germany and Scandinavia, Britain, etc., see Grimm, 500 f.; Bérenger-Féraud, i. 33 ff.; Simrock, 450 ff.; Keightley, *passim*. He is the 'lubber fiend' of Milton.

who dwells in house or stable, and loves to do the work of either. He dislikes disorder or laziness; and, where either is shown or the usual offering is not made to him, he is disagreeable to the person responsible. Food and milk are laid out for him, and he usually receives an annual gift of a new hat or coat, though in some instances this causes him to leave the house. He is particularly associated with the hearth, and to some extent corresponds with the mediæval and later familiar spirit who worked for his master and advised him (Calmet, *Traité sur les apparitions*, Paris, 1751, i. 245 f., 260). His analogues are the Roman household *Lar* (see Plaut. *Aulularia*, prologue), whose worship culminated at the hearth; the Greek θεοὶ ἐφέστιοι; the Italian *lasio* and *attilio* (Leland, 80 ff., 141 f.); the Slavic *dedushka domovoj*, 'Grandfather of the house,' who haunts the stove; and the Teutonic and Celtic ancestral and household spirits. The close connexion of the ancestral spirit with the house is perhaps partly to be accounted for by the wide-spread practice of house-burial, found among many savage tribes, as well as among the ancient Semites (1 S 25[1], 1 K 2[34]; Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 599), among the early Mycenæan folk, and possibly among Greeks and Romans (Reinach, *L'Anthrop.* vii. 327; Plato, *Minos*, 315; Servius, on *Æn.* vi. 151), among the Celts, and possibly the Slavs (Ralston, 326), and among the Hindus (see DOOR). The practice may have arisen in the Stone Age, when men lived in rock-shelters and caves, and buried their dead there. In any case, the house-burial resulted in, and also guaranteed, the presence of the ancestral spirit in the dwelling. In Europe it is probably as the result of ecclesiastical influences that the house-spirit has taken a more or less demoniac form. In some cases the Brownie appears as a small animal, snake, etc.—a trait common to ancestral spirits elsewhere. The main ideas of the house-fairy superstition and of the household-ghost belief, whether savage or more civilized, are the same—the house-haunting, the offering of food, the assistance rendered to the inmates. The relation of house-spirit and house-fairy is well marked in the case of the Slavic *domovoj*, the shaggy, stove-haunting being, kindly when respected, dangerous when neglected. He is closely associated with the older ancestral cult, is honoured along with the ancestors, is called 'grandfather,' and is, when seen, believed to resemble the head of the house. In many of these respects he corresponds to the house-spirit of the northern Chuds and to the Lithuanian *kaŭkas*, domestic spirits about 1 foot high, haunting the hearth (cf. Lasicius, *de Diis Samagitarum*, Basel, 1615, pp. 42, 51, 55; and, for the *domovoj*, *ERE* iv. 626 f.). The Swedish *tomte* or *nissar*, regarded often as ghosts, who act and are treated exactly as the Brownie, may also be compared (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, 1852, ii. 93). Sometimes, in fact, the Brownie is regarded as the spirit of a former servant.[1]

The house-fairy becomes a malicious, noisy, tormenting sprite, when neglected or insulted, and is thus again connected with phenomena in which the link between ghost and fairy is seen—those of the Poltergeist, in which furniture, etc., is moved or thrown about, fire is raised, balls of fire float about, the touch of a tiny hand is felt, etc. Some of these are extreme forms of *telekinesis*—the movement of objects without apparent cause, in presence of a medium,—or of the noises, from rappings upwards, in connexion with coincidental phantasmal appearances. The Poltergeist phenomena were known in ancient as well as in mediæval and modern times, and they still occur among savages and civilized men.[2] The phenomena, as yet unexplained, rest on sufficient evidence in certain cases to establish their authenticity. But phenomena, similar in many of the details, are often attributed to fairies in Ireland, the Highlands, France (the *follets* already mentioned as stone-throwers by Gervase of Tilbury), etc. (see Clodd, *Tom Tit Tot*, 1898, p. 83; Lang, in Kirk, p. li; Curtin, 179; Wentz, 476), also in Germany (where the Poltergeist is half fairy or goblin, half ghost [Grimm, 505]), Russia (where the *domovoj* sometimes acts as a Poltergeist [Ralston, 132]), Greece (where the Nereids [= fairies] throw stones [J. G. Hahn, *Griech. und alban. Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864, nos. 79, 80]), and in Egypt (where the *jinn* [also = fairies] act as the Poltergeist [Lane, ii. 40]). Thus phenomena, whether caused by unseen agency or trickery, or the result of hallucination, are uniformly ascribed to ghosts or to fairies, these being in many respects one and the same.

That the phenomena ascribed to the house-fairy—doing house- or stable-work secretly—may be real in some cases, in the sense of being done by human beings for some private end or under the influence of somnambulism, need not be doubted (see Bérenger-Féraud, i. 114, 137; Lang, in Kirk, p. xxxviii, refers to the 'Brownie of Bodsbeck'). The unexplained work would then be ascribed to house-spirits, and the tradition would be handed down and augmented by every fresh occurrence.

The close connexion between fairies and ancestral spirits is obvious, and there is little doubt that the belief in the latter and the usages regarding them have done much to affect the fairy superstition. Nor is it impossible that the small size attributed to them in many regions may have been suggested by the common belief in the soul as a mannikin, not only among savages but in ancient Greece (on vases the soul issuing from the body as a pygmy), in Egypt (*ka* as a pygmy in bas-reliefs), and in India (*Mahābhārata*, III. ccxcvi. 17).[1] This is in accordance with the belief in the double or 'co-walker' or *ka*, a duplicate of the living person (though not always a pygmy) who at his death 'goes to his own herd,' according to Kirk (p. 10 f.).

6. Fairies as actual people.—The origin of the fairy superstition in the relationships between a small dispossessed race and a taller conquering race has its most convinced exponent in D. MacRitchie (cf. art. DWARFS AND PYGMIES), who connects fairies with Finns, with the Irish Feinn, and the Picts. But the Feinn (*q.v.*) were not dwarfs, nor are they traditionally regarded as fairies; it is doubtful whether Celts ever had relations with Finns, and the Picts may have been a Celtic group. No argument can be based upon the fact that underground dwellings, duns, circles, etc., are ascribed to fairies, for they are ascribed equally to giants, the devil, Picts, and Feinn, just as in Greece the ruins of Mycenæ were ascribed to the Cyclopes. Nor is there any evidence that tumuli were ever dwellings, though there may be a link of connexion between them and dwellings, if they are successors of dwellings, perhaps not unlike them, in which their owners were buried while the living continued to dwell there (§ 5). The existence of a pygmy race in Europe, other and smaller than the pre-Aryan, neolithic folk, is supported by Sergi (*Mediterranean Race*, 1901, p. 233 f.), Kollmann, Dawkins, etc., on evidence furnished by archæological discoveries. Pygmy races are now known to exist in many parts of the world, and they would give rise to a pygmy tradition, as found, *e.g.*, in classical writers and in the folklore of China, Japan, the Ainus, the Malagasy, New Britain, India, Paraguay, and even among the Eskimos, themselves a small people.[2]

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[1] Besides the house-haunting Brownie, fairies in general are often represented as doing household work for those whom they like.

[2] See Burton, *Anat. of Melancholy*[16], 1836, p. 124 f.; Calmet, i. 254; Girald. Camb. *Itin. Camb.* i. 12; Seligmann, 277; St. John, *Forests of Far East*, 1862, i. 91; H. J. Bell, *Obeah Witchcraft in the W. Indies*, 1889 [W. Indies]; *ERE* iii. 9[a] [Buriats]; Dennys, *Folk-Lore of China*, 1876, p. 86; also, for mysterious stone-throwing, Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 356 [Java]; Kingsley, *Trav. in W. Africa*, 1897, p. 517; Leslie, *Among Zulus*[2], Edinburgh, 1875, p. 120; and, for the Poltergeist generally, *Proc. Soc. for Psych. Res.* xii. 45, xxv; Myers, *Human Personality*, 1901, ii. 65, 71 ff., 461 ff.; Gurney, *Phantasms of the Living*, 1886, ii. 54, 129, 150, 636, and *passim*; Podmore, *Studies in Psych. Research*, 1897, p. 142 ff., *Modern Spiritualism*, 1902, i. 25 ff.; Lang, *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, 1894, *Making of Religion*, 1898, p. 352 ff.

[1] See Crawley, *Idea of Soul*, 1909, pp. 180, 200; Frazer, *GB*[2], i. 248 ff.; Wiedemann, *Ancient Eg. Doct. of Immort.*, 1895, p. 10 f.; Jahn, *Arch. Beitr.*, Berlin, 1847, p. 128 f.

[2] See Tyson, *A Philolog. Essay concerning the Pygmies*, 1699, ed. Windle, 1894, p. xv; *L'Anthrop.* xii. 371 f., xiv. 548; *Ko-ji-ki*, tr. Chamberlain, 1883, pp. 141, 207; Brown, 243;

Such a pygmy race in Europe might well be connected in tradition with fairies. But this is not to say that in all respects they gave rise to the fairy belief. Nevertheless, some characteristics are ascribed to pygmy races which resemble those ascribed to fairies.

Thus pygmies are often feared and propitiated, and they are supposed to have magical powers—a trait shared by all aboriginal peoples. They barter with the taller folk (cf. Grimm, 454, note), giving produce or animals for weapons, utensils, or cultivated food-stuffs (Ling Roth, *JAI* xxv. [1895-96] 266; *L'Anthrop.* iv. 86; Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, p. 516). They are shy of being seen, or of their dwellings being discovered or entered. Invisibility is ascribed to them—probably as a result of their quick powers of concealment (Johnston, 518; *L'Anthrop.* iv. 86; *18 RBEW* i. 480 f.). They dwell in caves or concealed structures, suggesting underground residence. The dwarf people believed in by the Ainus are said to have hidden under large burdocks—a habit recalling that of fairies hiding under mushrooms. Johnston says of the Congo dwarfs: 'Any one who has seen as much of the Central African Pygmies as I have, and has noted their merry, impish ways; . . . unseen, spiteful vengeance; quick gratitude; and prompt return for kindness, cannot but be struck by their singular resemblance in character to the elves and gnomes and sprites of our nursery stories' (p. 516 f.). At the same time he warns against reckless theorizing.

It cannot be denied that many stories about fairies suggest an actual people (cf., *e.g.*, the stories cited in Grimm, 451, 469). The frequent reference to fairies as earth- or mound-dwellers may be reminiscent of fact in some cases,[1] especially when it is found that the Bushmen (dwellers not only in the bush but in subterranean caves) are also called 'Earth-men' (*JRAS* xviii. pt. i.). In many stories, fairies resent mortals building over their subterranean dwellings or mounds—possibly a trait derived from actual experience of incomers being plagued by aborigines lurking in subterranean places over which they had built. On the other hand, it might be derived from fear of aboriginal ghosts haunting the mounds. In some cases, as in 'Childe Rowland,' the fairy-mound is surrounded by terraced circles—the markings of an earlier form of terrace agriculture still seen on hills (Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, 1898, pp. 117, 242; Gomme, *Village Community*, 1890, p. 75 ff.). In many tales it is obvious that fairies dislike the civilization of mortals, and flee from it (while themselves possessed of much secret lore), though they sometimes take advantage of it. These facts suggest the dislike of an aboriginal race to the ways of their conquerors, yet their occasional desire to benefit by them. Similarly the incident in many tales of fairies receiving articles left out for them, which they replace by gifts of their own, points to actual methods of barter. Their thefts of produce, animals, etc., and more particularly their kidnapping of women and children, reflect incidents in the contact of conquered and conquering races. The occasional cannibalism attributed to fairies is obviously derived from primitive custom, while their shyness, their retiring before the approach of mortals, easily suggesting invisibility, give the impression of a conquered race avoiding its conquerors. Finally, the dislike of fairies to metal, especially iron, by which they are kept off, or which they cannot pass, is significant, though this dislike is also shared by ghosts and other spirits, witches, *jinn*, etc. The dislike is primarily a human one; and, though the tabu concerns iron, it must first have concerned bronze.

The mystery with which the working of metal was surrounded, and the suspicion which attached to its first use, as well as the supposed result of ill-luck following upon its use, must all have contributed to the curious feeling with which it is regarded in folk-belief. Conservatism in religion prohibits its use in ritual; hence it easily came to be regarded as obnoxious to gods and to all supernatural beings. Thus, by a slight change of thought, it became effective against the inroads of the latter. Bronze was regarded as an apotropaic and a warder-off of pollutions, and this belief attached to it long after iron was introduced (Harrison, *Proleg. to Study of Gr. Rel.*[2], Cambridge, 1908, p. 591). Any race which did not use metal would also be easily scared by those who did (for an instance from New Guinea, see Hoernes, *Primitive Man*, London, n.d., p. 86). Hence stories in which fairies flee before the establishment of forges. Thus, those who now used metal came to see its power against both stone-using people and supernatural beings. These two, in course of time, would be inextricably mingled in popular thought; and thus the fairy or ghost iron-tabu doubtless contains some reminiscence of the human fear of metal. (See, on the whole subject, Goldziher, *ARW* x. [1907] 41 f., 'Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen'; Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 344 ff.; Hartland, 306; Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, Paris, 1891, pp. 226 f., 260 f., 313.)

In so far as the fairy tradition is connected with actual people, it probably goes back to the hostile relations which may have existed between Palæolithic and Neolithic folk, these forming the basis of traditions which may have been handed on to metal-using races (to whom the Neolithic folk were equally hostile) by the captives made by them, and then adopted by them with the necessary changes.[1]

Some support is given to the theory of fairies as an actual race by the fact that in Polynesia, where there is a belief in fairies, the traditions concerning them are probably connected with the relations existing between an aboriginal race driven to the mountains and forests and immigrant conquerors. They are fair-skinned, and have a different culture from the latter, are merry, and fond of dancing and singing, but are shy of being seen, and flee from the approach of daylight. Generally they are harmless, but not always so, *e.g.* they steal the women of the conquerors. Yet, many of the traits ascribed to them are non-human—their tiny size, their spirit nature, the glamour which hides their dwellings from mortals, the parallel alleged between them and ghosts. Other Polynesian fairies, connected with the gods or with the sky and the waters, have no human origin.[2] Thus the Polynesian fairy-belief is also composed of various strands. Similarly, the Arapaho belief in a demon mannikin who shoots invisible arrows which cause illness is possibly connected with traditions of an actual small aboriginal people, though here also an animistic groundwork is clear (Talbot, *My People of the Plains*, New York, 1906, p. 259). African dwarf races also do many such things as are ascribed to European fairies, but this again is probably a result of animistic notions, mingling with actual experience of their characteristics. Many of the traits of the Roman *Fauni* are perhaps due to traditions of an older race which came to be regarded as half-demoniac, half-human (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 1899, p. 261; Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 314 ff.).

Allowing for every possibility, an earlier small race does not account for the whole fairy tradition or for its origin. Similar beliefs are recorded elsewhere of other beings—in Japan, foxes; in Greece, nereids or vampires; or, generally, ghosts, spirits, witches, etc. Primitive animistic or even pre-animistic ideas are the true basis of the fairy belief, and have attached themselves indifferently now to groups of imaginary spirits, now to all kinds of supernatural beings, now to actual men. Yet traditions about an actual race may have given a certain definiteness to the fairy creed.

In Scotland the 'fairy-stroke,' which causes death or wasting sickness in men or cattle, is ascribed to 'elf-arrows,' 'elf-darts,' 'elf-bolts,' or 'elf-shot,' thrown by fairies or by mortals in their company compelled by them, or by witches. No wound is seen. This is also a Teutonic belief (cf. the A.S. *ylfagescot*, Germ. *albschosse*, and cognates), and it is found in Ireland.[3] This stroke often caused the real person to be carried off, when a semblance or changeling was left in his place (see CHANGELING). Popular belief has seen these elf-arrows in the flint arrow-heads or axes of pre-historic times, found by the folk; and this belief must have attached to them when their true use was forgotten. (It is also a wide-spread belief—ancient, modern, savage, and civilized—that stone axes are thunderbolts; see Cartailhac, *L'Age de pierre*, Paris, 1877, p. 70 ff.) These flint relics, when found, were worn as amulets, as a preservative against this or other evils. This superstition, which might be regarded as supporting the human origin of fairies, in reality does not do so. The belief that spirits or ghosts can harass

FL vi. [1895] 245; *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 289; Rink, *Tales and Trad. of the Eskimo*, 1875, pp. 403, 470; *18 RBEW* [1899], pt. i. p. 480.

[1] Earlier races may have had underground or semi-underground dwellings (like the winter houses of the Eskimos), of which sepulchral mounds may have been more durable copies.

[1] The opposition was not necessarily between Celtic and pre-Celtic folk, as Celts had also a Stone Age in Europe.

[2] See J. M. Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, 1907, pp. 30 ff., 235; Clarke, *Maori Tales and Legends*, 1896, pp. 20, 98, 112; Tregear, *JAI* xix. [1890] 120; Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, 1876, pp. 256 f., 265 f.; Dittmer, *Te Tohunga*, Hamburg, 1907, p. 74 f.; Grey, *Pol. Myth.*, ed. 1906, pp. 209, 212.

[3] For a similar Slavic belief regarding the *Vilas* (=fairies), see Grimm, 436.

the living, or enter them, causing sickness or death, is very wide-spread, and this action of theirs is often thought to be produced by invisible weapons (Dayaks [St. John, i. 179]; Andamans [*JAI* xii. (1882) 100]; Santa Cruz [O'Ferrall, *JAI* xxxiv. (1904) 220, 229]; Amer. Indian [*ERE* iii. 302]). Among the Malays the weapon is not invisible, but, as in the fairy belief, is an old stone relic (Skeat-Blagden, *Pagan Races of Malay Pen.*, 1906, i. 244), and this is also alleged of Japanese spirits (Cartailhac, 40). As man caused death by weapons, so must spirits; but, as they were generally invisible, so must their weapons be. For similar reasons, sorcerers could cause death by invisible bolts (Gulf tribes [Palmer, *JAI* xiii. (1884) 292]; Melanesia [Seligmann, 640]; Araucanians [*ERE* iii. 548b]; Napo Indians [Simson, *JAI* xii. 23]). But, when mysterious stone objects were found, it was easy to believe that they were the missiles of fairies, spirits, etc.

7. **Fairies as Nature-spirits.**—There is little doubt that, in some aspects, fairies are derived from older Nature-spirits, or from the animistic beliefs which led to the creation of the latter in popular fancy. Their close association with fields, woods, hills, streams, and the sea is suggestive of this, and is significant when taken in connexion with the Nature-worship of the Celts, Teutons, etc. The forbidden cults rendered at trees, wells, etc., became connected with fairy-beliefs as well as with sorcery. Hence it was in forests or at fountains that *fées* appeared (see also the evidence in the *procès* of Jeanne d'Arc). But a consideration of actual instances of Nature-spirit beliefs among savage or barbaric peoples is also suggestive, since such spirits, peopling every part of Nature, so much resemble fairies. The connexion is still more clearly seen when particular groups of fairies are considered—those of the woods or of the waters.[1]

The Teutonic wood-spirit, *Schrat*, always male, and the wood- or moss-folk or wood-wives whose life is wrapped up with that of a tree, and to whom offerings of food were made; the elves who change into trees (Keightley, 93; Grimm, 430 ff., 478 ff.; Simrock, 439 ff.; de la Saussaye, *Rel. of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, p. 322); the Celtic fairies haunting wood and forest, or dwelling in or on trees (Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904 ff., i. 262, 270); the Roumanian *mama padura*, or forest-mothers, haunting forest glades (Gerard, *Land beyond the Forest*, 1888, ii. 9); the various Slavic woodland beings (*Lješyj*, *Dziwozony*, *Vilas*, *Rusalkas*, etc. [*ERE* iv. 628 f.]); the mediæval *Dominæ*, *Puellæ*, and *Matronæ*, haunting forests, and to whom a cult was paid (Grimm, 286 f.)—all point to earlier tree-, wood-, or forest-spirits or -divinities. The latter are known to all religions and mythologies, savage or civilized. They are (as the Baganda believe) friendly to man if the tree is not interfered with (Roscoe, *Baganda*, 1911, p. 317)—a belief corresponding to that which holds that it is not safe to interfere with trees associated with fairies. A stage midway between the purely animistic and the fairy belief is seen in the W. Finn conception of the *Tapio*, a forest-divinity with a wife and many daughters (tree-spirits), who closely resemble the Teutonic wood-folk (Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, 1898, i. 285), or in the E. African sprites residing in trees, from which they descend to torment men (Baumann, *Usambara*, Berlin, 1891, p. 57); or in the *jinn* who, according to the Gallas, haunt sacred trees (Paulitschke, *Eth. Nordostafr.*, Berlin, 1896, p. 34 f.); or in the demons in human form who haunt trees in Central Celebes (Frazer, *GB*[2] i. 183); or in the Australian bush demons, or the Andamanese demons of the woods who do harm to wayfarers (Tylor, *PC*[3] ii. 222; Man, *JAI* xii. 159). But tree- or wood-spirits or -gods are often quite detached from these and made anthropomorphic. This was the case with gods like Pan and Silvanus, or the Panisci and the Fauni, or the Satyrs—the three last groups bearing a close resemblance to the woodland beings of the North, and being generally hostile or mischievous to men. To all woodland elves and fairies were ascribed most of the characteristics of fairies in general.

In Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavic lands, as well as in S. Europe, there is a great variety of water-beings of fairy nature—*Merimanni*, *Wassermann*, *Strömkarl*, *Nix* and *Nisse*, *Mümmelchen*, Celtic river- and lake-fairies, *Morgans*, *Rusalkas*, and the mermaids and mermen of all the European coasts. The males among them often appear singly; the females usually in company, youthful and beautiful. All are fond of music and dancing, and are often associated with a gorgeous world below the waters. Offerings are made to them, to render them propitious, or to procure their good offices. They are often regarded as dangerous to mortals. The drowned are their victims, or they clamour for such victims—a reminiscence of human sacrifice. They entice mortals to their watery element, and there destroy them. But a milder aspect is seen in cases where they fall in love with mortals and take or ravish them to their abodes, or, again, where they are thought to guard the souls of the drowned in their domain. In other cases they become wives of mortals on earth, who lose them by not observing a certain tabu. They often come ashore to market, or seek human wives or midwives or nurses, like the fairies of the land (see Simrock, 445 ff.; Grimm, 487 ff.; de la Saussaye, 323; Ralston, 139 f.; Abercromby, i. 157, 270, 309). The beautiful and attractive, as compared with the more fearsome, aspect of water-fairies is connected by Wundt (*Völkerpsychol.*, Leipzig, 1907, ii. 2, 279) with the various emotions set up by moving water. Many of the traits of water-fairies are already possessed by the Sirens, Naiads, and Nymphs (cf. the tale of Hylas), the Celtic *Peisgi*, *Niskas*, and other water-divinities; and in many cases the tales of the water-beings show their divine or semi-divine character. Such beings or water-monsters are universally believed to be hostile to those who trespass on their domain without an offering, or to seize all who fall into the water, or to steal people or lure them to their destruction, or to take those who look into the water, by means of their reflexion (=soul; cf. Narcissus; see *FLJ* v. 319 [Guiana]; Roscoe, 318 f.; Brown, 198; Macdonald, *JAI* xx. [1891] 124; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-lore*, 1882, p. 196). The belief in such beings also gave rise to a belief in a water-world—that of the Greek Nereus and the Nereids, of the Japanese king and queen of the sea (Griffis, *Jap. Fairy World*, 1887, p. 144; *Ko-ji-ki*, p. 120), of the Slavic water-king and his daughters (Ralston, 148). Many savages also believe in similar water-worlds tenanted by supernatural beings (Africa [MacCulloch, *CF*, 112, 256, 260, 267; Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1894, p. 70]; Andaman Islands [Man, *JAI* xii. 159]; Guiana [*FLJ* v. 319]). Such water-worlds resemble the land under waves, with fairy denizens, in Celtic folk-belief.

In both Teutonic and Celtic regions there are water-beings who appear as horses or cattle, or in more monstrous forms—the *kelpie*, *afanc*, *each uisge* ('water-horse'; cf. the Australian *Bunyip*, a monster said to have a house full of beautiful things below a pool). These may be regarded as demoniac forms of earlier water-divinities in animal form.[1]

8. **The fairy belief as a result of psychic experiences.**—Some recent writers attribute the belief in fairies, etc., as well as myths generally, to dream experiences, or to the dreamlike character of waking experiences, common to savages (and therefore to older races of men), in which conceptions not unlike those of dreams, and endowed, like them, with actual objectivity, are produced.[2] Records of actual dreams show appearances of small figures or of figures which change their size (Ellis, 270). This is also true of trance experiences; while in migraine and epileptic aura visions of small creatures are occasionally experienced, and the diminution of objects is a phenomenon of microptic vision. Hence L. Brunton saw here the origin of fairies. In waking hallucinatory experiences, swarms of phantasmal shapes, often dwarfish, have been seen by modern and ancient percipients.[3] Similar hallucinations have

[1] The old cult of Nature-spirits developed in another direction—that of the Cabalistic and Rosicrucian elementals.

[1] They are to be distinguished from the cattle possessed by water-fairies, which sometimes come on land.

[2] K. Abraham, *Traum und Mythus*, Vienna, 1909; Rank, *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, do. 1909; Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889; Ellis, *World of Dreams*, 1911; Wiedemann, *Rel. of Anc. Egyptians*, 179.

[3] Gurney, *Phantasms of the Living*, ii. 196; *Proc. Soc.*

been experienced in hypnotic states, or in drunkenness.[1] Here probably we have another of the roots of the fairy belief. On the other hand, all such states are fruitful of visions of beings already believed in by the percipient. Preconceived notions colour dreams, just as preconceived notions of hell or heaven have caused visions of these regions. Again, any belief in abnormal creatures which is strongly held is certain to produce mental images of them which are confused with reality.[2]

The changeling belief, as far as it concerns adults, may have been partly shaped by the phenomena of alternating personality. The person stolen by fairies is replaced by a fairy, who resembles, but acts differently from, that person. In one Irish instance, the father said of an afflicted daughter whom he believed to be a changeling that she had the 'tongue of an attorney,' the daughter herself being a 'quiet, honest girl' (Curtin, 157). Actual adult changeling stories often read like a transcript of this.

Those who can see fairyland impart the vision to one who is in contact with them (Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore*, *passim*), just as in Russian folk-tales a dead man will place a sod cut from the churchyard on the head of a living person, who then sees the under world (Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, 1873, p. 306). The same belief is found with regard to second-sight—physical contact with the percipient enables another to share the vision; this is also true of clairvoyance (Gurney, ii. 189). Modern experiments in telepathy show that contact increases the power of communication, and cases are on record where the percipient of a phantasm could cause another to see it by touching him (Parish, *Hallucinations*, 1897, p. 94). Thus, what is perhaps an actual psychic fact, experienced by the folk, has been applied to fairy, ghost, and other beliefs.

9. Fairy-like beings outside Europe.—That no single cause peculiar to European lands has operated in the formation of the belief in fairies may be seen from the fact that in every part of the world there are to be found beliefs in a variety of beings, all more or less like the fairies of Europe, with similar qualities, characteristics, and powers.

The Battaks of Sumatra believe in mountain-dwarfs hostile to encroaching mortals, who carry off men or women, or have amours with handsome mortals (*L'Anthrop.* iv. 85 f.). In Formosa, tales are told of a mysterious little people to be seen in the forests, with houses which change into boulders; as well as of goblins living in caves, and causing famine, sickness, and death (*FLJ* v. 143, 149). The Siamese *phi* are spirits dwelling in forests, etc., with many fairy traits (Hardouin, *Rev. trad. pop.* v. [1890] 257 ff.; for Annam, see *ERE* i. 538[a], 539[b]).

Turning to Africa, we find the Baganda believing in elves or sprites called *ngagwe*; and the W. African Bantu in *asiki* seen at night wearing a comb, which, if a mortal can snatch it, will bring him riches (Johnston, 677; Nassau, 299). Callaway compared the Zulu belief in ghosts (*amatongo*) with the Irish fairy creed. They call the living to join them or produce disease or pain in men. They live underground, where the living may visit them and see their dead friends, as the dead are seen among fairies. There is also a belief in a 'Little Chieftainess' with a troop of children, to see whom is fatal (*op. cit.* 226 f., 253). The Malagasy believe in dwarfs who come to houses to get milk, and who have a small voice like birds. Another dwarf, *Kotely*, resembles the Brownie. They also enter houses at night and cook rice; but it is dangerous to prevent their leaving before dawn (Ferrand, *Contes pop. malgaches*, Paris, 1893, p. 82 ff.).

Among American Indians, the belief in tiny sprites of rocks, streams, etc., resembling fairies, is wide-spread. They dance in moonlight; and, when seen, vanish at once. They assist or trouble men; *e.g.*, among the Shoshones they steal infants, leaving a changeling (*NR* iii. 157); among the Ojibwas they attack poultry and cattle, which die, or throw stones into the Indian dwellings; among the Algic tribes they cause sleep by striking men with their small clubs; among the Micmacs they tie people when asleep. Generally their form is that of tiny men. The Musquakie Indians believe in sprites produced by Meechee Manito-ah, who cause melancholy, quarrels, ill-health (Owen, *Folk-lore of Musq. Ind.*, 1902, p. 38 f.). On the Mosquito coast, gnomes are thought to carry off wanderers by night, and are mischievous in other ways. There is also a water-spirit which drowns bathers, and another which has the form of a horse.[1] The Eskimos believe in *ingnersiut*, an underground fairy-like folk (Rink, 460).

In Polynesia the 'Peerless Ones,' daughters of Miru, queen of Hades, come to the dances of mortals and leave at dawn. There are also fairies of sky and fountain, the latter sometimes mating with men. Other fairies, *ponatui*, dwell in the sea, appearing only by night, for the sun is fatal to them. Others carry off mortals, and are much dreaded (Gill, 265 f.; Clarke, 98, 112, 172; Tregear, *JAI* xix. 121). The Melanesian *vuis*, a race of spirits, have many fairy characteristics, and many of them are 'a lesser folk of dwarfs and trolls,' with magic powers, yet easily deceived. In some tales they assist mortals, like our fairies (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 152). In Torres Straits a mischievous female bogey called *Dorgai* seduces men, steals children, etc., but she can be outwitted and destroyed (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 323). The Fijians have a race of little gods of the sea, a timid race to whom a secret cult is paid, and who sometimes come ashore. They give immunity from wounds, and are fond of singing. Their songs, like those of some of our fairies, have been recorded (Williams, *Fiji*, 1858, i. 237, 240; Thomson, *Fijians*, 1908, p. 189). In New Britain an order of *tebaran* is called *ingal*, mischievous and annoying sprites. Others are friendly and live around men, or enter their bodies to teach them charms, dances, etc., by which they make a profit. There is also a belief in mermaids, and in their unions with mortals (Brown, 81, 200, 242). In New Guinea there is a belief in an underground folk, *not* the dead, who may unite with mortals, and from whom men steal valuable things; as well as in other beings in the forest or swamp, shy of being seen, and with other fairy habits (Seligmann, 386 f., 646 f.).

The Arunta believe in *iruntarinia*, spirits of the Alcheringa (*q.v.*) age, living in winter in underground caves where there is sunshine, and wandering on earth in summer. They have each a double, the *arumburinga*, which, when the spirit is reincarnated, follows it or dwells with the others. These are not visible to all. The *iruntarinia* are very real to the native, and are dreaded for their power of placing pointing sticks in his body. They are visible only to medicine-men and children born with eyes open, and are like men, but thin and shadowy. They steal from men, and carry off women and imprison them in caves, but to those who can communicate with them they impart sacred ceremonies (Spencer-Gillen[a], 515–521).

The beings which most resemble fairies, however, are the Arab *jinn* or *jān*. They live underground, but also haunt doorsteps and other places, and are usually invisible, though they also appear

Psych. Res. iii. 77; Wentz, 126, 133; Scott, *Demonology*, 24; *CQR* lxiv [1907] 124; cf. Callaway, *Rel. of Amazulu*, Natal, 1868, p. 246.

[1] Gurney, ii. 206; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, 1900, p. 102.

[2] See Gurney, i. 118; *County Folk-Lore, Suffolk*, 1892, p. 189; Scott, *Minst.* 210; Campbell, 80.

[1] See *19 RBEW* [1900], pt. i. 330 f., 475 f.; *NR* iii. 497; Dorman, *Origin of Prim. Super.*, Philad. 1881, p. 23 ff.; Boyle, *JAI* xxx. [1900] 265; Wentz, 47; *ERE* i. 806, iii. 362[a], 504[b]; Longfellow, *Hiawatha*, canto 18. Leland thought the Algonquin elves were borrowed from early Norse visitors.

in various [illegible]rms. They travel about in sand-storms. [illegible] *jinn* are arranged in clans, propagate their spe[illegible] are subject to laws like mortals. Many ar[illegible] [illegible]d cause sickness, madness, etc., act like [illegible]geist, c[illegible] [illegible] beautiful women for wives or [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] their females [illegible] men to remain [illegible]. Some are [illegible] to men [illegible] [illegible] them. [illegible], Divine names, etc., are all power[illegible] against [illegible]m; and, like the fairies, they are [illegible]homistically called *mubarakīn*, 'blessed ones.' [illegible] is scarcely an article of the fairy creed [illegible] not equally apply to them.[1]

Fairies and *fées* of all kinds[2]—Celtic and Teutonic, Slavic *vilas*, Greek nereids, Arabian *jinn* and *peris*, Hindu *apsarases*, and other supernatural females, like the *dorgai* of Torres Straits, or the *awiri* wife of W. Africa (MacCulloch, *CF*, 330), or the *omangs* of the Battaks (*L'Anthrop.* iv. 85), or the swan-maidens and mermaids of universal folk-belief—carry on amours with men, or marry and bear them children, either on earth or by luring them into their abodes, as the Queen of Faery lured True Thomas. Yet, on the other hand, one of the most characteristic traits of female fairies is their seductive power over men, and the fatal results which follow from amours with them—'the inconvenience of their succubi' (Kirk, 25). This, however, is a feature found even in the case of fairy wives, whether captured by men or not, when the mortal husband breaks a tabu, and was already noted by Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imper.* ch. 13; see MacCulloch, *CF*, ch. xii.).

But what is important as illustrating the likeness of various ethnic supernatural beings to our fairies is the fact that precisely similar dangers await him who sees and falls in love with the being who appears in seductive form. The Celtic or Teutonic fairy mistress is dangerous (cf. the Lorelei), but so also is the supernatural mistress of other lands. The unhappy mortal lover is killed, dies, goes mad, or takes to wandering listlessly (νυμφοληψία, 'Peri-stricken' [cf. Keightley, 21]). This was the case with him who had amours with the nymphs and sirens of ancient Greece, like the nereids in modern Greece (Bent, *Cyclades*, 1883, p. 13; Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 142), as it is the case with him who is lured by the Hindu *rākṣasī* or *churel* (Crooke, *PR*[2], 1896, i. 253, 269; *ERE* ii. 489ᵇ). So in Japan a youth is slain by the monster, who takes the form of a lovely girl (Joly, *Legend in Jap. Art*, 1908, p. 45). The Arabs have transformed the *ka* which haunts the pyramids into a beautiful nude woman, whose lovers become restless lunatics (Maspero, *Études de myth. et arch. ég.*, Paris, 1893, i. 79).

Similar beliefs are found in Melanesia regarding sea-snakes which take female form, or the *tavogivogi* which appears as youth or girl to entice mortals of the opposite sex. In either case death or madness is the result. Another species of sprites, called in New Britain *toltol*, inflict serious wounds on the sexual organs of their male or female lovers (Codrington, 172, 188 f.; Brown, 197; Lang, in Kirk, p. xxxi; cf. Williams, *Fiji*, 1870, i. 239).

The same ideas are found among the American Indians; *e.g.*, the Yuroks believe in a seductive being who lures men into the forest, changes to a panther, and kills them (*FLR* v. [1882] 99 f.); and the Mayas have stories of the *xtabai* and the *xhoh chaltun* of the forests, who turn into a thorn-bush when the pursuing mortal clasps them. He then speedily succumbs to fever and delirium (*FLJ* i. [1883] 255). For the Central American belief in the intercourse of women with *naguals*, see Brinton, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, xxxiii. [Phil. 1894] 29.

Risks were also run by women who had intercourse with Pilosi, Panisci, Satyrs, Fauns, Silvani—the *incubi* and *succubæ* of mediæval times, demons who had amours with women or men. [illegible]ey correspond to the Celtic *dusii*, shaggy demons [illegible] [illegible]ght the couches of women to gratify their desi[illegible], [illegible]rhaps caused madness (MacCulloch, *Rel.* [illegible] 355); the Hindu *bhūts*, who abduct [illegible] [illegible] demons who tire out women b[illegible] [illegible], so that they die of exhaustion [illegible] [illegible]nners, Oxford, 1897, ii. 389; Crooke, [illegible] [illegible] *jinn*, who beget children by women (C[illegible], *Pr*[illegible] [illegible]itic *Religion*, 1902, p. 115); the Maya [illegible] imaginary snake which sucks the breasts [illegible] mothers (*FLJ* i. 256); the Samoan *hotua poro*, which makes women pregnant and causes nightmare (Waitz, *Anthrop.*, Leipzig, 1860, vi. 315); the *kruijt*, a spirit who begets children by women; and the Dayak *buan*, ghosts who carry off women and beget monsters by them (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, 1896, i. 308; St. John, i. 174).[1] It should be added that ghosts of the dead can cause conception in women (Brittany [Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort*[2], ii. 146 and *passim*]; Syria [Curtiss, 115]; Borneo [Wood, *Nat. Hist. of Man*, 1870, v. 508 f.]; Egypt [*ERE* iv. 589ᵇ]; Ovaherero [*ib.* iv. 860ᵃ]; Uganda [Roscoe, 48]; cf. Post, *Ethnol. Jurisprud.*, Oldenburg, 1895, ii. 11, for the Amer. Indian and African belief in monstrous births as products of evil spirits). These beliefs were connected with the erotic hallucinations of hysteria (Ellis, *Psychol. of Sex*, London, 1897–1900, ii. 152 f.), and with erotic dreams in general in which women believed themselves abandoned to sexual embraces, or men thought they had amours with beautiful females. They are also connected with the phenomena of nightmare, as the name as well as its cognates in other languages—*incubus*, *succuba*, ἐφιάλτης, etc.—shows. These are nocturnal spirits which torment men in sleep, while the nightmare personified is in Teutonic belief sometimes the fairy bride or mother.[2] These beliefs are also connected with the idea that the gods could have amours with women.

Thus, when we find that in all parts of the world there exist beliefs either in fairy-like beings or in spirits who act like fairies, while the same precautions are taken against them, the same tabus hold regarding them, the relations between them and men are the same, and the same quasi-cult is rendered to them, we see that the European fairy belief is but a special aspect of a much more widely spread belief in supernatural beings, to whom very much the same characteristics are everywhere attributed, these being probably in no case the result of any one cause. At the same time we are led to discover the real origin of the fairy belief in man's myth-making fancy and his animistic beliefs, and in his applying the conditions of his own life to the creatures of his fancy. These fancies sometimes, however, cluster round the facts of life, actual races being sporadically envisaged as fairies.

10. Witch and fairy.—That no one source can be considered as the origin of the fairy belief is seen in the fact that the parallel between witch and fairy is a very close one. The fairy-revel and the Sabbat had much in common, and both owe

[1] See Westermarck, *JAI* xxix. [1899] 252 ff.; Lane, *Arab. Soc.* 29 ff.; Sykes, *FL* xii. [1901] 263; Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, 1907, p. 188 ff.; W. R. Smith[2], 119 ff.

[2] See Baring Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1888, 'Melusine,' p. 471 ff.

[1] Cf. the Jewish idea of the fall of the angels through their lust for mortal women.

[2] Simrock, 437; see Tylor, *PC*[3] ii. 189 f.; Bodin, *La Démonomanie des sorciers*, Paris, 1580, p. 109; Grimm, 464; Strahl, *Der Alp: sein Wesen und seine Heilung*, 1833; J. Franck, *Praxeos Medicæ Universæ Præcepta*, Leipzig, 1832, ch. i. 'de Incubo.'

something to reminiscences of earlier sex-festivals with music and dancing (see MacCulloch, *CF*, 223). The wayfarer is attracted into both, and often pays dear for it. He is forced to pipe or dance, and finds himself in the morning worn out, while all that so attracted him has vanished. Both revels and Sabbat must terminate before dawn or cock-crow (see Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, Paris, 1871, pp. 39, 43, 54, 56, and reff. there). Similarly the beliefs in bodily or spirit transportation through the air on the part of or by witches or fairies—the objective aspect of a trance or drugged condition (see MacCulloch, *CF*, 223; Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, ii. 8, 21; Nassau, 223 [W. Africa]; Seligmann, 401 [New Guinea])—in child-stealing (see CHANGELING), in cannibalism (*CF*, 223; Français, *L'Eglise et la sorcellerie*, Paris, 1910, pp. 68, 119, 145; Sébillot, i. 229; Wentz, 128), in gifts of money which turns to rubbish, in shape-shifting and invisibility, in taking the substance of milk, corn, or of an animal (cf. a similar belief in W. Africa [*JAI* xxix. 23], in E. Africa [Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 212]; and see Scott, *Demon.*, 82, 223), in the power of killing cattle by mysterious means, or horses by riding them furiously at night, in the force of similar tabus against both—all apply equally to fairies and witches. Both the mediæval Church and 17th cent. Presbyterians placed fairydom and witchcraft under the same ban; and, in their trials, witches were accused of appealing or repairing to fairies and their queen (Dalyell, 536 f.; Scott, *Demon.*, 129, 135, 266, *Minst.*, 207). Witches used for their nefarious deeds elf-arrows, which were manufactured by fairies and the devil, and supplied to them (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, Edinburgh, 1833, i. 191 ff.; Scott, *Demon.*, 135, 235). In popular Scots tradition the elf-queen and the mother-witch, or *Gyre Carline*, are identical. The three *Fées* who are present at births are sometimes three witches, and both groups are associated with the earlier 'wise woman.' Finally, fairies and witches were supposed to ride through the air headed by a Hecate called *Nic Neven* (Scott, *Demon.*, 111).[1]

Beliefs similar to those associated with fairies are also elsewhere connected with the dead (§ 5), or with other beings—in Japan, foxes; or, among savages, spirits of all kinds; in our own and other lands, the devil or demons, or vampires. But the best example is found in the belief in the 'fairy eddy'—a sudden puff of wind or whirl of dust, leaves, etc., in which fairies or witches are supposed to be (Rhys, ii. 500; Ralston, *Songs*, 382; Frazer, *GB*[3] i. 127). Among the Arabs the *jinn* (in India *shaiṭān*) cause, or travel in, such whirlwinds or sandstorms. In ancient Persia a demon caused the whirlwind (*Bundahiš*, xxviii. 24). In Brittany, the damned, who tried to carry off the wayfarer as fairies carried off men, were seen in such eddies (Le Braz[2], ii. 239); among the Ainus, whirlwinds are embodiments of evil spirits (*ERE* i. 244); among the Baganda, a dust eddy is believed to be caused by ghosts at play (Roscoe, 282); among the Yoruba, an eddy of wind is a manifestation of a forest-god (Ellis, 79); among the Kurnai, it is thought that Brewin travels in a whirlwind (Howitt, *JAI* xiii. 194); or, as in Fiji and among the Pawnees, the whirlwind is caused by ghosts (Frazer, *GB*[3] i. 128). With all these peoples much the same methods of avoiding the eddy or of overcoming the beings in it are found; while, comparing these customs with that of attacking a storm with weapons, we see that both eddy and storm were first personified and then believed to contain hostile beings.

Thus, considering the similarity of what is attributed equally to fairies, witches, ghosts, demons, and spirits of all kinds, it is obvious that certain primitive ideas easily attached themselves to all these indifferently, and that the origin of fairies must be sought in no one recent source, but ultimately in very ancient beliefs of man regarding the beings of his imagination. At the same time, we must not omit that which his poetic fancies have lent to the whole fairy belief, for to do so would be to omit what has always been a most vital element in all folk-lore.

The fairies who figure in the earlier romances and in the Renaissance and later poets are in part the creatures of folk-tradition, in part the creations of the poetic imagination, and concern us but little here.[1]

II. Situation of fairyland.—Fairyland as a separate region is variously situated. Most generally it is a subterranean region, sometimes directly below men's dwellings, or within hills and mountains; and to the latter corresponds the mediæval tradition regarding the court of Venus in the 'Venusberg,' of which there were several (Venus here = a fay; see Grimm, 935). We may compare also the Irish tradition regarding the Tuatha Dé Danann and the *síd*, or mounds. The entrance to fairyland was through a cavern (or fairyland was in a cavern), crevice, pit, or wells on tops of hills: the oldest recorded example of this is found in Gervase of Tilbury's story of the Welsh Elidurus, who was taken by two small men through a subterranean passage to fairyland (*Itin. Cambr.* i. 8). In this aspect fairyland corresponds to Hades, as well as to Hell or Purgatory, the entrance to which is also often through a cave or cleft. Both in Teutonic and in Celtic regions, fairies are also associated with tumuli, or with old raths or forts, which are often seen lit up at night (for an early instance, see William of Newburgh, *Historia*, Oxford, 1719, i. 28). Fairyland is also within the waters, and accessible through wells or by diving beneath river or lake or sea (in this corresponding to one aspect of the Celtic Elysium; see BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Celtic]). This dwelling is both that of water-fairies and of other water-beings (§ 7). It is also on islands in lake or sea, which sometimes are seen by the gifted seer (Wentz, 147; Davies, *Mythol. and Rites of Brit. Druids*, 1809, p. 155). Here, again, there is a close correspondence with the island Elysium of the Celts (see *ERE* art. cited). Fairyland may also be all around, a kind of fourth dimensional region interpenetrating ours;[2] or it may suddenly be entered in a mist; or, again, it may be in the air. These various conceptions are connected with the original character of fairies, whether as Nature-spirits or ghosts; and in some instances the abode of older gods has become fairyland.

It is usually dangerous to violate any sacred fairy spot—tree, dwelling, etc.—as it is dangerous to enter the charmed fairy circle, or to cross the night ride of fairies. These are tabus to which many parallels from lower and higher cultures, with respect to sacred places, abodes or haunts of spirits, gods, or ghosts, might be adduced (see Codrington, 177, 218 f.; Seligmann, 184; MacCulloch, *CF*, ch. xi.).

LITERATURE.—There is no work covering the whole ground of the fairy belief, but T. Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, new

[1] The mediæval writers against witchcraft condemned also fairies and all traffic with them, and the fairy-rings where their revels took place were assimilated to the blasted sward of the witches' Sabbat. This is seen in the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, in whose *procès* witches and fairies are mingled. In several French legends, fairies dance the Sabbat.

[1] See Nutt, *Fairy Myth. of Shakespeare*, 1900; Goyau, *La Vie et la mort des fées*, Paris, 1910; Delattre, *English Fairy Poetry*, Oxford, 1912.

[2] Cf. the New Britain saying regarding *matana nion*, the place of the dead: 'If our eyes were turned so that what is inside the head were now outside, we would see that *matana nion* was very near to us and not far away at a l (Brown, 192).