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Onomastic Magic in the Health, Sickness, and Death of Man

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The magical quality of names has long been recognized by scholars,[1] and folklorists in particular have studied names and naming from such diverse points of view as magic and taboo, witchcraft and ghostlore, folk medicine, love divination, and names which place the recipient under the patronage of the saints.[2] A whole separate field within folklore, or course, deals with the magical and symbolic use of names in the folk tale, of which "Rumpelstilzchen," "Tom Tit Tot," and "Titeliture" are the classic examples.[3] In this present paper I intend to focus on yet another aspect of the subject, namely, the magical elements of names and naming as they relate to health, disease, and death.

From earliest times and among the most primitive of peoples the name assigned to a newborn child is, in a real sense, a symbol of the child's very life. In the case of secret names assigned to the child, or to people of any age, the name may be a life token into which one may take refuge, not only from those evilly disposed, but the victim may seek haven from sickness, from the demons of disease, and escape from premature death itself.[4] This magical use of names, known among civilized as well as aboriginal peoples almost everywhere throughout the world, adds notably to man's vital interests and enlarges the field of options in all kinds of health care. In a classic statement of the magical principles involved, the great James George Frazer likens the magical connection of a man's name to his very life and personality much in the same manner that hair, nails, saliva, and the like, continue in magical association with the person, even though dissevered. Frazer writes:

> Unable to discriminate clearly between words and things, the savage commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two in such a way that magic may be wrought on a man just as easily through his name as through his hair, his nails, or any other material part of his person. In fact, primitive man regards his name as a vital portion of himself and takes care of it accordingly.[5]

In the scientific language of his day, now outmoded, Frazer was depicting mainly primitive peoples, with considerable discussion, also, of the ancient high cultures. Had he consulted the standard nineteenth-

century works of European folklore, as he frequently did, and especially had he looked at the growing body of folk medical writings in his own day, he could have shown reflexes, at least, of these primitive modes of thought in his native British Isles and in all of the countries of Europe. My own representations are based on these main European sources, as well as on a surprisingly rich body of American materials recovered in oral tradition during the present century.[6]

Our Anglo-Saxon forebears were aware of the vulnerability that would accrue from revealing one's name,[7] and the ancient English and Scottish ballad of "Earl Brand" tells of the death of the hero because his lover, acting against instructions, inadvertently called out his name at a critical moment.[8] In the realm of sickness and death, demons of disease are not so much involved as is the Angel of Death, especially in Jewish tradition, where the name of a child seriously ill is changed to confuse and ward off the evil spirits,[9] and even the devil himself.[10] In the same ethnic folklore of Cleveland, a young Hungarian cleaning woman only twenty years ago advised naming one's child after a prominent person to keep evil spirits away from the child.[11] Until our own day many mothers in the Pennsylvania German country withheld names of their newborn babies in the belief that they could not be bewitched unless their real names were known.[12] Reversals also occur, of course. Since knowing a demon's or a spirit's name is taboo, euphemisms and nicknames have been invented to refer to them.[13] Spirits of disease may even be called by animal names.[14] This tradition of secret naming also works the other way, for in the Pennsylvania-German tradition a demon of disease will vanish if you know its name,[15] just as the devil will come if you call him by name.[16] The prenatal period is critical for both mother and child, but especially for the unborn infant. In Kentucky as late as 1956 it was believed that if the pregnant woman spoke the name she intended to give the child, it would be born dead,[17] and among the Russian Jews of Cleveland about the same time it was considered bad luck to propose a name for a baby before its birth.[18] In some places naming a child was deferred until baptism.[19] In several parts of Germany, and in Bohemia and Switzerland, harm could come if the name of the child was revealed prematurely, and in Samland the secret was so closely guarded that only the father knew the name to be selected.[20] In many places in Germany it was deemed best not to give a child any name until baptism.[21] If, however, such a child fell ill, it was a practice in North Carolina,[22] in the Pennsylvania German country, Australia,[23] Honduras,[24] and perhaps elsewhere, to name the child so that it would get well.

In the naming of the new child thought was given to the name in

relationship to its future welfare, and particularly with regard for its health and life expectancy. To secure longevity it was a custom in many parts of the country to use such biblical names as Abraham, Rachel, Sarah, and the like.[25] Among people of Jewish extraction Yiddish names manifestly betokening long life, such as "Alter" and "Alte" were used,[26] but neither among these groups, nor elsewhere, was the obvious name of Methuselah often selected. In Jewish tradition, if two children have died, later ones might receive such special names as "Alter," 'aged,' "Zeda," 'grandfather' or "Chaim," 'long life.'[27] Elsewhere in the Russian Jewish traditions of Ohio a sick girl was renamed Ida, a name signifying 'life.'[28] In the Black Forest receiving the name of one's parents assures the child of a long life,[29] but in Austria and elsewhere, it is believed that firstborn children named for their parents do not live long.[30] In the German tradition of Ohio it is feared that children named after their parents will not enjoy a long life.[31]

The old adage *bonum nomen, bonum omen* represents onomantia in an appealing and constructive form,[32] and at once explains names venerating the saints and martyrs,[33] no less than assigning such Puritan and Quaker names as Prudence, Patience, Faith, and Hope, which by their connotation urge the bearers to lives of virtue.[34] With regard to the divination of health and long life, in parts of Europe candles were taken and named after patron saints. The one burning longest, the *Lebenslicht*, 'life light,' of course, was usually chosen.[35] In Holland children were named Quirinus to protect them from tetter or ringworm, in honor of Quirinus, or Quirina, the patron of these diseases.[36] Among Jews in Cleveland it was customary in the 1950's to change a sick child's middle name to that of a saint, so that it might recover.[37] In selecting the names of saints, parents were advised not to disadvantage their children by the act of *Zurücktaufen*. i.e., naming them for a saint whose feast day had already passed in the sacred calendar for the year. Children unfortunate enough to be thus named were believed to die prematurely.[38] Naming a child "Angel," or calling one by this name was avoided, because in many places this name became synonymous with a dead child.[39] In Ohio such a child was destined not to live long.[40] In related biblical and religious traditions, in Andalusia a child would not suffer from epilepsy if named after one of the three kings of the nativity, Gaspar (Caspar), Melchor (Melchior), or Balthasar.[41]

In Europe it is customary to name children after the dead, particularly dead relatives. Jewish people adhere to this practice rather strictly. The same custom holds for America, as representative traditions for Ohio and other states show.[42] The contrary view is that persons named after de-

ceased family members die early,[43] particularly children. This prospect is doubly assured if the deceased was a child or a young person.[44] The two most plausible reasons for this practice that I have heard are that when a child is named after a living relative, when the Angel of Death comes to seek the older person, he may mistakenly choose the younger person with the same name.[45] The second reason involves the theory of "limited good," enunciated by the noted Berkeley anthropologist George M. Foster. Applied here, the theory is that since there is one name only, it cannot be shared in the same family line. If both the young person and his namesake are both living, one of the two will surely die.[46] Among Lebanese in Youngstown, Ohio, it was considered bad for the father and son to have the same name, the reason not being stated, but another notion of "limited good" from New Mexico indicates that it is a great insult to the older person, as it might be a wish for the death of the senior person.[47] A striking verification of Frazer's notion of what amounts to the "contagion of names," is seen in an Ohio entry of the transmission of a disease solely through the name: "Do not name a child after a person who died of a disease, as the child might inherit the disease.[48] In many parts of Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, even where Jewish influence is strong, it was almost taboo early in this century to name a child after dead family members.[49]

In Bosnia a child is given two names, so that if he gets sick, he can take the second name.[50] Generally, however, when a person is not provided with such an alternative name, a change in names takes place. This was done, for instance, by German Jews in the eighteenth century, whereby the Rabbi, or some other pious man, assigned a new name.[51] This is also done in the United States in cases of serious illness,[52] with the more usual explanation that the change in name was made to fool the Angel of Death.[53]

In a paper on the calling and endowment of healers, given ten years ago, among the accidents of birth and station, I drew attention to people who become healers by virtue of marrying a spouse of the same name. The range of examples has notably widened since then. In this tradition, which appears to flourish largely in the Anglo-American continuum, and which applies mainly to the wife in the marriage, it is simply stated that such and such a woman can cure a specific disease. These diseases are often childhood ailments, where the nurturing instinct of the woman is a natural concern. Thrush, or thrash as it is often called in America, and also hives in rare cases, will be cured if such a healer blows down a child's throat.[54] By extension, this procedure applies also to a sore mouth in Iowa.[55] In other kinds of ailments bread and other commodities are either

offered by the healer, begged, or stolen from her. Sometimes the bread must be cut for the sufferer of whooping cough by the woman, as in Herefordshire.[56] More simple procedures are observed in Canada and the United States for the same malady, namely, simply receiving bread from the benefactress.[57] In three examples from North Carolina, the patient should not pay for the bread, but give a present in return,[58] or the baker should not give the bread directly, but through a third party,[59] In the third example, both secrecy and stealth were involved, since the baker was forbidden to see the patient, and was obliged to hide the bread so that the sufferer could steal it.[60] Variations on this basic precription from the British Isles, include bread and milk from Scotland,[61] and from Ireland a griddle cake freely given, and with a blessing, from the breakfast of a man and wife who had the same name before marriage.[62] A second item from Scotland involves simply something to eat fetched from such a couple, with a promised greater efficacy if the invalid had to travel through the woods to obtain the food.[63] In the United States baked goods and other commodities are reported largely from the Pennsylvania German country, and include apple butter bread,[64] cakes and cookies,[65] and butter and eggs.[66] Food, not specified as to which kind, must be obtained from these special healers in Ohio.[67] A magical cure for St. Vitus dance, in Maryland, involves a loaf of bread into which a drip of blood has been worked. Such a cure must not be paid for.[68] In the paper alluded to earlier, I advanced the notion of double potency – Smith marrying Smith – in such cures. This is a magical healing principle that has numerous other facets in folk medicine.[69] In ten year's time I have not seen other ideas put forward on the underlying principles of these cures at the hands of a wife whose name did not undergo change at marriage. That the underlying notions of continuation and consolidation run deep is seen in an Irish folk belief that rickets in children could be cured by a blacksmith of the same surname and Christian name for three generations. The ritual took on added unction and solemnity when the child was taken to the forge before dawn by a woman named Mary. Neither of the parents was allowed into the forge to see the smith apply a red-hot iron to the child's nail, after first putting his fasting spittle to the iron.[70]

People with favored names qualify as healers simply by virtue of their names, as I have shown elsewhere.[71] Of these names Mary is the most prominent, but there is never a suggestion that the name is associated with the Holy Mother of God, except that the belief and accompanying practices are found in the Latin countries where Catholicism is strong. In ritual cures for rickets in the Spanish province of Galicia, for example, two women named Mary pass the sufferer three times beneath the pipes of a

certain fountain, while reciting a charm;[72] and in the second cure, which is performed in front of a lighted oven, four women of this same name pass the child back and forth into each other's arms. A further part of the ritual, involving baked rolls of bread and a cup filled with pitch, reveals the cat or dog causing the disease.[73] Another passing through ritual, this one from Portugal, involves three women named Mary and three men named John pulling a child through a split sapling for the cure of hernia.[74] In Sicily the noted folk medical scholar, Giuseppi Pitrè reported in the 1890's an unusual cure for agalactia, a condition where the mother cannot produce enough milk for her child. A woman takes flour from three women, each named Mary, and, unbeknownst to the sufferer, feeds her noodles made from this flour.[75] In Galicia children slow in learning to talk were put to begging bread from seven women named Mary.[76] Among the Christian Tosks, according to Garnett, if two or more children have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, and a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passerby is asked to be godfather or godmother to it.[77] At play here, of course, is the principle of multiple involvement, for which folk medicine can show many different kinds of examples. In the midland counties of England a sufferer from whooping cough must go around until he finds a married couple, whose names are Joseph and Mary. He simply asks them what will cure whooping cough, and whatever they prescribe is thought to prove efficacious.[78] In the British Isles, too, there is a tradition of the healing virtue residing in a man named John, with a wife named Joan.[79] This is likely a British counterpart of Romance tradition of Jean and Jeanne in France and Juan and Juanita in Hispanic lands.[80] In Chile a growing boy named Juan, is selected to cut a person's hair on St. John's Day so that it will grow luxuriantly. The hair is buried under a *quilo* bush which grows very rapidly, and then the hair should be washed in the blessed water of this holy church day.[81] In Spain, the only person who can cure a magical disease known as the "evil shadow" is a relative of the sufferer by the name of Manuel.[82] Hereditary healing sometimes is found in families, and the power to cure pulmonary complaints is said in the British Isles to reside in families named Macdonald.[83] One final example of healing associated with names should claim our attention here from the fact that it is not the name of the healers that is important, but the names of prospective sufferers seeking immunity by virtue of special names. In Spain a child named Gaspar, Melchior, or Balthasar as we have seen, will escape the ordeal of epilepsy.[84] The invocation of the Three Highest

Names is a commonplace of folk medical rituals, and need not concern us further here. A Slovenian ritual cure for whooping cough in Cleveland, however, is worth noting: "For whooping cough, take a narrow white ribbon and while putting knots in it say, Jesus, Mary, and Joseph."[85]

Healing procedures involving onomastic magic range from very simple cures wherein only the name of the sufferer is given to the healer, either in person, by second parties, or over the telephone. Sometimes the sex of the patient and the birth date are needed. Involved most often is the stanching of blood,[86] the stopping of nosebleed,[87] the curing of thrash,[88] the assuaging of burns,[89] and the removal of warts.[90] Hiccoughs, often caused by stress and anxiety, can be cured simply by recalling certain things and associating the name of a person involved in these happenings. Typical are recalling the name of the person who sat beside you in church,[91] naming six bald-headed men,[92] or guessing the name of someone thinking about you or talking about you.[93] The pleasant association of hearing someone name a boy who loves you is sufficient to stop the hiccoughs.[94]

Riddance of sickness by onomastic magic occurs in much the same way as the divestment of disease in ordinary folk medical belief and practice. The only difference, of course, is the use of names in relieving sufferers of pain and curing whatever ails them. The diagnosis of disease does not figure importantly in folk medicine, except when it is suspected that the ailment is magically induced. Such is the case in a Croatian ritual in South Euclid, Ohio, used to ascertain the name of the person who had cast the evil eye on a child and given it a headache when a group of people admired the baby. Matches to the exact number of people attending the showing of the child were counted out. As the matches were struck and dropped into a glass of water they were named, one by one, for those attending. The burnt matchheads floating on the water represented people who had sincerely praised the child; those that sank to the bottom indicated the people whose praise had been insincere, and whose envy and spite caused the headache.[95]

Most divestment rituals involve the writing of names, either of the disease itself, or the names of creatures or objects to which the maladies are to be transmitted. The magical procedures are much the same as those outlined in my article on "The Magical Transference of Disease,"[96] except that the name written on a piece of paper, or assigned to a person, an animal, or an object, supplants the intermediate agent, or the *Zwischenträger*, as it is called. Names may be placed on ailing parts of the body, plugged into trees, transmitted to animals, swallowed, placed in the draught chamber of a fireplace for safekeeping, inclosed in an airtight receptacle, or taken where they will never be seen or found again. More

often than this, however, the paper or other writing material is disposed of in the more usual ways, namely, burial, burning, floating away in water, and the like.[97] Occasionally the name is delivered to a healer as something special for him or her to focus upon. In West Virginia, for example, the name and age of a boy suffering from warts were written on a slip of paper and given to the boy's grandmother, who charmed them off.[98] Another cure involving onomastic magic is seen in a medical procedure to prevent croup. The baby's full name was written on an egg, and the egg tied to the bedpost, in what appears to be some diversionary measure.[99] In Germany toothaches are dispatched by writing the first and last names of the sufferer on a piece of paper in three different positions and then nailing the paper under the door. Involved, perhaps, is the idea of people crossing the threshold and carrying off the toothache, or perhaps even acquiring it themselves.[100] A diversionary ritual to cause the disease of sickly children to pass into a scapegoat is the Croatian belief, preserved in Cleveland, of one's giving the child a Turkish name.[101]

In the simplest kinds of divestment involving names, they are simply written down, or occasionally recited only.[102] Warts are counted and named for some person, wart by wart,[103] or named for someone the sufferer never heard of.[104] Warts are also named for doctors or preachers, notched in a stick and partially buried.[105] In the classical kind of transference the malady takes hold of its new host, and continues its ravages.[106] Such is the case with warts which have been named for people, and manipulated in various ways.[107] Names are affixed to animals in one way or another, who either make off with the disease, or contract it themselves.[108]

In an unusual case of disposal by burial, blood is probed from the wart with which the patient writes his own name on a paper and buries it.[109] Floating away goes back to Anglo-Saxon times, and Grendon cites a cure of felons by making incisions in the growth with a hazel stick or spoon and throwing the blood into water with a toss between the thighs.[110] Unusual precautions that the *Zwischenträger* not be found involve a deposit where sun nor moon never shine,[111] placing the slip with a name on it in an air-tight can,[112] or hiding an egg upon which a name was inscribed to help the baby cut teeth – hiding this in a place where it will not be found.[113]

To remove or prevent disease, papers with the name of the disease or magic spells are written and worn around the neck.[114] In Canada and America, the writing of the person's name on his forehead was a common way of curing nosebleed.[115] An Irish cure for "wildfire" was to write the person's name around the inflamed areas.[116] Swallowing the slip on which the sufferer's name was written is a folk medical practice in

Germany not further explained.[117] Consigning epilepsy to the dead by means of slips containing the sufferer's name is known in Germany,[118] and accords with American practices of a similar kind, but involving intermediate agents of disposal rather than names themselves.[119]

Plugging, one of the more complicated divestment rituals, finds application in onomastic magic, where the names of the sick, written on slips, are plugged into trees of various kinds.[120] Nailing the disease into trees or into wooden structures is an alternative procedure.[121]

The most curious example of the magical power of names is the German ritual to recover a drowned body. Ordinarily, in America at least, a loaf of bread is placed in a stream and is said to float to a spot above the drowned body and hover over it. In the German practice the name of the person is written on the bread,[122] and thus provides a doubly sure identification – the person himself at the stream bottom – his name on the bread above the body.

To summarize this wide range of folk belief and ritual having to do with the crucial importance of names in a person's life cannot be done in a word. However, we have seen time and time again in the examples given that a person's name becomes an infallible life token. With the heightened sensibility and imagination of the true believer, in a very real sense the name enters into a mystic union with the person himself, and provides a whole secret code of help and protection to the bearer from birth to death. This efficacy extends, of course, to special matters of all kinds that pertain to sickness and health along life's way.

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Notes

[1]For a treatment of names and naming in various cultures, see the survey article in James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908–1926), IX, 130–177.

[2]See Aly's substantial entry in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*. 10 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927–1942), VI, 950–961, and collateral material, s.v., *namenlos, Namensänderung, Namensgeschenck, Namensorakel, Namenssage, Namenstag, Namenstausch* (col. 961–967). Hereinafter cited *HDA*.

[3]See Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale*, 2nd rev. ed., Folklore Fellows Communications, No. 184, Helsinki, 1961, Type 500. For further references to the power of names in folk tales, see Johannes Bolte und Georg Polìvka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*. 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1912–1932), I, 495–498; Byrd Howell Granger, "Naming: in Customs, Beliefs, and Folk Tales," *Western Folklore*, 20 (1961), 27–37, esp. p. 36.

[4]Onomastic magic figures in notions of the demons of disease, and where these creatures actually represent a disease, care should be taken not to mention the creature's name (*HDA*, VI, 956), or at least these selfsame spirits of disease must be referred to by flattering names (William George Black, *Folk-Medicine: A Chapter in the History of Culture*, Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, XII, London, 1883, p. 8). In the Pennsylvania German country, however, it is believed that the demon of disease will vanish if you call it by name. Edwin Miller Fogel, *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Americana Germanica, XVIII, Philadelphia, 1915, No. 1732. Cf. *HDA*, VI, 961.

[5]*The Golden Bough*. 3 ed., 12 vols. (London, 1911–1915), III (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* [1911]), 318. Further material on the naming of children among primitives is to be found in Heinrich Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*. 3 ed., 2 vols., ed. B. Renz (Leipzig, 1911–1912), I, 408–456.

[6]Among the basic works on American folk belief and custom cited here, is Newbell Niles Puckett's monumental collection from Ohio, listed under the title, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions: A Compendium of American Folklore from the Ohio Collection of Newbell Niles Puckett*. Ed. Wayland D. Hand, Anna Casetta, Sondra Thiederman. 3 vols. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Company, 1981). Because of its representative body of material, but especially because of its broad ethnic base, the publishers have featured a general title. The period under review is 1926–1966. Cited by number.

[7]Felix Grendon, "The Anglo-Saxon Charms," *Journal of American Folklore*, 22 (1909), 113.

[8]*The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Ed. Francis James Child. 5 vols. (Boston, 1882–1898; Dover rpt. ed., New York, 1965), I, 88–105.

[9]Puckett, No. 2101. To call a child "Angel" is dangerous, because it has come to mean the soul of a dead child (*HDA*, VI, 955).

[10]Puckett, No. 2101.

[11]*Ibid.*, No. 3320.

[12]Robert L. Byington, "Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Pennsylvania," *Keystone Folklore Quarterly*, 9 (1964), No. 2.

[13]*HDA*, VI, 956; Edmund Schneeweis, *Serbokroatische Volkskunde* (Berlin, 1961), I, 17.

[14]Schneeweis, I, 17. To prevent a child's death it is given a wolf's name (Puckett, No. 3786 [Slovenian]).

[15]Fogel, No. 1732.

[16]Puckett, No. 26094.

[17]Cratis D. Williams, "Lawrence County Superstitions: Pregnancy, Childbirth and Infancy," *Kentucky Folklore Record*, 2 (1956), 140, No. 14.

[18]Puckett, No 1213.

[19]*HDA*, VI, 955.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]*Ibid.* p. 954.

[22]*The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*. 7 vols. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1952–1964). Vols. VI–VII, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina*. Ed. Wayland D. Hand, 1961–1964, No. 160. Cited: Brown Coll.

[23]In Austria, among eighteenth-century Jews, when people were extremely sick, the Rabbi or some pious person would assign a new name to the sufferer. Ernst Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod: Beiträge zur vergleichenden Volkskunde* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1911), p. 107.

[24]Attestation of a German Honduran living in Ohio, whose name was changed from Oscar to George when he was very sick at the age of two.

[25]Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures*. Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, XLV (Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1935), p. 22.

[26]Leah Rachel Yoffie, "Popular Beliefs and Customs Among the Yiddish-Speaking Jews of St. Louis," *JAF*, 38 (1925), 390.

[27]Puckett, No. 2106; Brown Coll. No. 159: Adam, to live. In East Prussia the name "Adam" promises a long life (*HDA*, VI, 953–954).

[28]Puckett, No. 2104.

[29]*HDA*, VI, 953.

[30]Dr. O. v. Hovorka und Dr. A. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin: Eine Darstellung volksmedizinischer Sitten und Gebräuche, Anschauungen und Heilfaktoren des Aberglaubens und der Zaubermedizin*. 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1908–1909), II, 643.

[31]Puckett, No. 3780.

[32]Hastings, IX, 149.

[33]*Ibid.* p. 147; *HDA*, VI, 952.

[34]Byrd Howell Granger, *Western Folklore*, 20 (1961), 29. The English Puritan William Jenkyn in 1652 urged the selection of "such names as express our baptismal promise" (Hastings, IX, 147).

[35]*HDA*, VI, 952.

[36]C. Bakker, *Volksgeneeskunde in Waterland: Een Vergelijkende Studie met de Geneeskunde der Grieken en Romeinen* (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 131. Bakker mentions that in one family all of the children had the name of Quirinus or Quirina.

[37]Puckett, No. 2102.

[38]Hovorka and Kronfeld, II, 643.

[39]*HDA*, VI, 955.

[40]Puckett, No. 3837.

[41]Alejandro Guichot y Sierra, *Supersticiones de las tradiciones populares andaluzas. Biblioteca de las tradiciones populares*, Tomo I (Madrid, 1884), p. 287.

[42]*HDA*, VI, 953; Puckett, Nos. 1218–1232, 3781, *passim;* George D. Hendricks, *Roosters, Rhymes & Railroad Tracks: A Second Sampling of Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Texas* (Dallas, 1980), p. 31; Marjorie Kimmerle and Mark Gelber, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Colorado*. Library Deposit Copy. (Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado, 1976), No. 117 (Illinois).

[43]Hovorka and Kronfeld, II, 643; Puckett, No. 3781.

[44]Puckett, Nos. 1732, 3779, 3781, 3782. The last entry involves an unwanted child who has been named for a child who has just died.

[45]*Ibid.*, No. 3778. Here the name itself preempts logical associations.

[46]*HDA*, VI, 953. See my discussion of Foster's theories as applied to non-primitives: Puckett, I, xlviii–xlix.

[47]Ohio Collection (unpublished); Gelber, No. 109 (Las Vegas, New Mexico; possibly of Spanish or Mexican provenience).

[48]Puckett, No. 2035.

[49]*HDA*, VI, 953.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 965.

[51]Samter, p. 107.

[52]Puckett, Nos. 7156, 7159, *passim.*

[53]*Ibid.*, Nos. 7157–7158, 7160–7162.

[54]Brown Coll., No 417; Puckett, No. 2898; Joseph D. Clark, "North Carolina Popular Beliefs and Superstitions," *North Carolina Folklore,* 18 (1970), 8, No. 80.

[55]Earl J. Stout, *Folklore from Iowa*, Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, XXIX (New York, 1936), 188, No. 1000.

[56]Ella Mary Leather, *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (Hereford and London, 1912), p. 83.

[57]W. J. Wintemberg, "German-Canadian Folklore," *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society,* III (1901), 87; Ruth Ann Musick, ed. "Superstitions," *West Virginia Folklore*, 14 (1964), 50, No. 7; Brendle-Unger, p. 133; Puckett, No. 12707.

[58]Brown Coll., VI, 353, No. 2730; Clark, p. 34, No. 836.

[59]Brown Coll., VI, 353, No. 2729.

[60]Clark, *loc. cit.*

[61]David Rorie, "The Mining Folk of Fife," an Appendix to John Ewart Simpkins, *Examples of the Printed Folk-Lore Concerning Fife, With Some Notes on Clackmannan and Kinross-Shires.* County Folklore, VII. Publications of the Folk-Lore Society. LXXI (London, 1914), p. 409.

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