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EDITED BY

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, C.I.E.,

LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN STAFF CORPS.

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,
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ON SOME NEW DATES OF THE VIKRAMA ERA FROM THE PALM-LEAF MSS. IN DR. P. PETERSON'S FIFTH REPORT.

BY DR. ROBERT SCHEAM, VIENNA.

To the kindness of Prof. Bühler I owe the following twenty-nine dates, extracted by him from Dr. Peterson's Fifth Report. All these dates are coupled with the week-days, so that their calculation is easy and in most cases permits us to decide if the date is current or expired, and if the reckoning is umānta or pūrṇimānta. In arranging the dates I follow the arrangement adopted by Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Vikrama Era, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX. p. 20 ff., which is as follows:

I. — Regular Dates:

(A) Dates in bright fortnights:

1. Dates from Kṛṣṇa to Phāguna:
   (a) Dates in current years.
   (b) Dates in expired years.

2. Dates from Chaithra to Āśvina:
   (a) Dates in northern current years.
   (b) Dates in northern expired or southern current years.
   (c) Dates in southern expired years.

(B) Dates in dark fortnights:

1. Dates from Kṛṣṇa to Phāguna:
   (a) Dates in current years:
      (a) Pūrṇimānta dates.
      (b) Amānta dates.
   (b) Dates in expired years:
      (a) Pūrṇimānta dates.
      (b) Amānta dates.
   (c) Dates either pūrṇimānta current or amānta expired.

2. Dates from Chaithra to Āśvina:
   (a) Dates in northern current years:
      (a) Pūrṇimānta dates.
      (b) Amānta dates.
   (b) Dates in northern expired or southern current years:
      (a) Pūrṇimānta dates.
      (b) Amānta dates.
II. — Irregular Dates.

I have calculated the dates by the tables in Mr. Sowell's and Dikshit's Indian Calendar, and checked the calculation by Prof. Jacobi's Tables in Vol. I. Part VIII. of the Epigraphia Indica, and I give here the results of this calculation in the same manner as that adopted by Prof. Kielhorn in the above cited paper, calculating all European equivalents, and distinguishing those which satisfy the requirements of the Indian dates by printing them in antique type.

(A) Dates in bright fortnights.

(1) Dates Kārttika to Phālgunā.

(a) Dates in current years.

1. V. 1317 (page 23, No. 8). — Sāṅvat 1317 varshe, māha (māgha) sudī 4 aññiyadine.

V. 1317 current: Sunday, 18th January, A. D. 1260; the 4th tithi of the bright half ended at 8 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.

V. 1317 expired: Thursday, 6th January, A. D. 1261.

2. V. 1398 (page 135, No. 85). — Sāṅvat 1398 varshe, paśuṣa sudī 7 some.

V. 1398 current: Tuesday, 26th December, A. D. 1340; the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 5 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Monday, 25th December, A. D. 1340, were coupled with the running tithi.

V. 1398 expired: Saturday, 15th December, A. D. 1341.

(b) Dates in expired years.


V. 1296 current: Monday, 14th February, A. D. 1239.

V. 1296 expired: Friday, 3rd February, A. D. 1240; the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.


V. 1343 current: Tuesday, 2nd October, A. D. 1285.

V. 1343 expired: Sunday, 20th October, A. D. 1286; the 2nd tithi of the bright half, ended 23 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise. It ought to have been an expunged tithi as the first tithi of the bright half ended the same day at 1 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

5. V. 1344 (page 110, No. 67). — Sāṅvat 1344 varshe, maṅgaś sudī 2 , rasau.

V. 1344 current: Tuesday, 19th November, A. D. 1286.

V. 1344 expired: Sunday, 9th November, A. D. 1287; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 1 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise.

6. V. 1394 (page 125, No. 75). — Sāṅvat 1394 varshe, kārtika sudī pratipadāyām śukre.

V. 1394 current: Tuesday, 6th October, A. D. 1336.

V. 1394 expired: Saturday, 25th October, A. D. 1337, the first tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Friday, 24th October, A. D. 1337, were coupled with the running tithi.
(2) Dates from Chaithra to Áśvina.

(a) Dates in northern current years.

None.

(b) Dates in northern expired or southern current years.

7. V. 1231 (page 1, No. 1). — Saṁvat 1231 varsha bhādrapada śūdi 12 ravaṇu.
Northern V. 1231 current: Wednesday, 22nd August, A. D. 1173.
Northern V. 1231 expired: Sunday, 11th August 1174; the 12th tithi of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1231 expired: Saturday, 30th August, A. D. 1175.

8. V. 1293 (page 69, No. 46). — Saṁvat 1293 varsha, bhādravā śūdi 10 budhe.
Northern V. 1293 current: Saturday, 25th August, A. D. 1235.
Northern V. 1293 expired: Wednesday, 18th August, A. D. 1236; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1293 expired: Tuesday, 1st September, A. D. 1237.

Northern V. 1320 current: Monday, 24th April, A. D. 1262.
Northern V. 1320 expired: Friday, 13th April, A. D. 1263; the 4th tithi of the bright half ended 12 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Thursday, 13th April A. D. 1263, were coupled with the running tithi.

Southern V. 1320 expired: Wednesday, 2nd April, A. D. 1264.

10. V. 1343 (page 24, No. 9). — Saṁvat 1343, vaisākha śūdi 6 so° (some?)
Northern V. 1343 current: Thursday, 12th April, A. D. 1285.
Northern V. 1343 expired: Monday, 1st April, A. D. 1286; the 6th tithi of the bright half ended 23 h. 41 m. after mean sunrise.

Southern V. 1343 expired: Sunday, 20th April, A. D. 1287.

Northern V. 1392 current: Saturday, 4th June, A. D. 1334.
Northern V. 1392 expired: Friday, 23rd June, A. D. 1335; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 4 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Thursday, 22nd June, A. D. 1335, were coupled with the running tithi.

Southern V. 1392 expired: Tuesday, 11th June, A. D. 1336.

(c) Dates in southern expired years.

Northern V. 1154 current: Thursday, 27th March, A. D. 1096.
Northern V. 1154 expired: Wednesday, 15th April, A. D. 1097.
Southern V. 1154 expired: Monday, 5th April, A. D. 1098; the first tithi of the bright half ended 10 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Sunday, 4th April, A. D. 1098, were coupled with the running tithi.

Northern V. 1271 current: Tuesday, 30th April, A. D. 1213.
Northern V. 1271 expired: Sunday, 26th April, A. D. 1214.
Southern V. 1271 expired: Friday, 10th April, A. D. 1215; the 9th tithi of the bright half ended 0 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Thursday, 9th April, A. D. 1215, were coupled with the running tithi.
14. V. 1300 (page 67, No. 44). — Saṁvat 1300 varsha jyeṣṭha śudi 7 varaṇu.

Northern V. 1300 current: Thursday, 8th May, A. D. 1242.
Northern V. 1300 expired: Wednesday, 27th May, A. D. 1243.
Southern V. 1300 expired: Sunday, 15th May, A. D. 1244; the 7th tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 32 m. after mean sunrise.

15. V. 1332 (page 104, No. 60). — Vikramaṁ Kṝṇaṁ varsha nayaniṁgni guṇendu jyeṣṭha śvetadviśāyāṁ hastāve.


Southern V. 1332 expired: Sunday, 24th May, A. D. 1276; the 10th tithi of the bright half ended 11 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. The moon was in Nakṣatram Hastā till 4 h. after mean sunrise.

16. V. 1334 (page 96, No. 57). — Saṁvat 1334 varsha bhadrava śudi 1 ṣavaṇu.

Northern V. 1334 current: Wednesday, 12th August, A. D. 1276.
Northern V. 1334 expired: Sunday, 1st August, A. D. 1277.
Southern V. 1334 expired: Saturday, 20th August, A. D. 1278; the 1st tithi of the bright half ended 20 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

17. V. 1336 (page 53, No. 32). — Saṁvat 1336 varsha jyeṣṭha śudi 5 ṣavaṇu.

Northern V. 1336 current: Saturday, 28th May, A. D. 1278.
Northern V. 1336 expired: Wednesday, 17th May, A. D. 1279.
Southern V. 1336 expired: Sunday, 5th May, A. D. 1280; the 5th tithi of the bright half ended 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.


Northern V. 1334 current: Wednesday, 2nd July 1226.
Northern V. 1334 expired: Tuesday, 21st July, A. D. 1227.
Southern V. 1334 expired: Saturday, 9th July, A. D. 1328; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 19 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise.

19. V. 1390 (page 135, No. 84) — Samvat 1390 varsha chaītra śudi 2 somes.

Northern V. 1390 current: Friday, 13th March, A. D. 1332.
Northern V. 1390 expired: Thursday, 1st April, A. D. 1333.
Southern V. 1390 expired: Tuesday, 22nd March, A. D. 1334; the 2nd tithi of the bright half ended 3 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Monday, 21st March, A. D. 1334, were coupled with the running tithi.

(B) Dates in dark fortnights.

(I) Dates from Kārttiκa to Phālguna.

(a) Dates in current years.

None.

(b) Dates in expired years.

(a) Parnīmāṇa dates.

None.
(3) **Amānta dates.**

20. V. 1284 (page 122, No. 78). — Sāṅvat 1284 varsha pālguna vadi 7 some.

V. 1284 current —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 10th February, A. D. 1227.
amānta: Thursday, 11th March, A. D. 1227.

V. 1284 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 30th January, A. D. 1228.
amānta: Tuesday, 29th February, A. D. 1228; the 7th tithi of the dark half ended 6 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Monday, 28th February, A. D. 1228, were coupled with the running tithi.

21. V. 1289 (page 81, No. 51). — Sāṅvat 1289 varsha māgha vadi 6 bhaumē (sic.)

V. 1289 current —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 15th January, A. D. 1232;
amānta: Friday, 16th February, A. D. 1232.

V. 1289 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 3rd January, A. D. 1233.
amānta: Wednesday, 2nd February, A. D. 1233; the 6th tithi of the dark half ended 2 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Tuesday, 1st February, A. D. 1233, were coupled with the running tithi.

(c) Dates either pūrṇimānta current or amānta expired.

22. V. 1297 (page 136, No. 86). — Sāṅvat 1297 varsha kārtika vadi 11 rauṣu.

V. 1297 current —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 25th September, A. D. 1239; the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 2 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta: Monday, 24th October, A. D. 1239.

V. 1297 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 13th October, A. D. 1240.
amānta: Sunday, 11th November, A. D. 1240; the 11th tithi of the dark half ended 14 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise.

(3) Dates from Chaitra to Āsvina.

(a) Dates in northern current years.

None.

(b) Dates in northern expired or southern current years.

(e) Pūrṇimānta dates.

None.

(3) **Amānta dates.**


Northern V. 1288 current —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 12th June, A. D. 1230.
amānta: Thursday, 11th July, A. D. 1230.

Northern V. 1288 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 2nd June, A. D. 1231.
amānta: Tuesday, 1st July, A. D. 1231; the 15th tithi of the dark half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.
Southern V. 1288 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 20th June, A. D. 1232.
amānta: Monday, 19th July, A. D. 1232.

(c) Dates in southern expired years.

(c) Pūrṇimānta dates.


Northern V. 1181 current —

pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 25th April, A. D. 1123.
amānta: Friday, 25th May, A. D. 1123.

Northern V. 1181 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 13th May, A. D. 1124.
amānta: Thursday, 12th June, A. D. 1124.

Southern V. expired —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 3rd May, A. D. 1125; the 13th tithi of the dark half ended 4 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise. The date would agree if Saturday, 2nd May, A. D. 1125, were coupled with the running tithi.
amānta: Monday, 1st June, A. D. 1125.


Northern V. 1331 current —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 18th May, A. D. 1273.
amānta: Friday, 16th June, A. D. 1273.

Northern V. 1331 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Monday, 7th May, A. D. 1274.
amānta: Wednesday, 6th June, A. D. 1274.

Southern V. 1331 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Saturday, 27th April, A. D. 1275; the 15th tithi of the dark half ended 9 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise and in this year jyeshta is intercalated.
amānta: Sunday, 26th May, A. D. 1275.

(d) Dates either amānta in northern current or pūrṇimānta in southern expired years.


Northern V. 1425 current —

pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 15th August, A. D. 1367.
amānta: Tuesday, 14th September, A. D. 1367; the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 1 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

Northern V. 1425 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Thursday, 3rd August, A. D. 1366.
amānta: Sunday, 2nd September, A. D. 1366.

Southern V. 1425 expired —

pūrṇimānta: Tuesday, 24th July, A. D. 1369; the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise.
amānta: Wednesday, 22nd August, A. D. 1369.

(e) Dates either amānta in northern current or pūrṇimānta in northern expired years.

None.
(f) Dates either pūrṇimānta in northern current or amānta in southern expired years.
   None.

(g) Dates either pūrṇimānta in northern current or amānta in northern expired years.

27. V. 1273 (page 96, No. 59). Sāṅvat 1273, śrāvaṇa vadi 8 maṇa.
   Northern V. 1273 current—
   pūrṇimānta: Sunday, 21st June, A. D. 1215; the 8th tithi of the dark half ended
   6 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise.
   amānta: Monday, 20th July, A. D. 1215.

   Northern V. 1273 expired —
   pūrṇimānta: Friday, 8th July, A. D. 1216.
   amānta: Sunday, 7th August, A. D. 1216; the 8th tithi of the dark half ended
   13 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.

   Southern V. 1273 current —
   pūrṇimānta: Wednesday, 28th June A. D. 1217.
   amānta: Thursday, 27th July, A. D. 1217.

II. — Irregular Dates.

23. V. 1454 (page 71, No. 45). — Sāṅvat 1454 varsaśa Māgha śudi 13 some
   V. 1454 current: Friday, 12th January, A. D. 1397.
   V. 1454 expired: Wednesday, 30th January, A. D. 1398

   V. 1455 expired: Monday, 20th January, A. D. 1399; the 13th tithi of the bright
   half ended 15 h. 18 m. after mean sunrise. So this date works out correctly only
   when calculating for the next following year.

29. V. 1515 (page 129, No. 73). — Sāṅvat 1515 varṣeša āśo māse śuṣṭiapakṣe pāñchamī
   gurān.
   Northern V. 1515 current: Saturday, 24th September, A. D. 1457.
   Northern V. 1515 expired: Wednesday, 13th September, A. D. 1458.
   Southern V. 1515 expired: Tuesday, 2nd October, A. D. 1459.
   Northern V. 1514 current: Sunday, 5th September, A. D. 1456.
   Southern V. 1516 expired: Saturday, 20th September, A. D. 1460.
   So the date works out in no case; there must be some fault in it.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 257.)

Ribbons. — The guardian power of the dancing half-alive ribbon, perhaps, reaches
back to the early magic days when the bird and beast scarcer was a spirit-scarcer. In
Egypt, ribbons were fastened to weapons and round the capitals of house pillars.44 The diadem
of the Persian monarch was a flowing ribbon.45 The Romans tied coloured ribbons or threads to
infants to keep off the Evil Eye.46 The Greeks bound a ribbon to the stern pole of their ships.47

46 Persians’ Satires, Vol. II. p. 31.
47 Potter’s Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 237.
When Pausanias (A.D. 170) went to consult the oracle of Trophonius, he had to put on a linen habit set off with ribbons.\(^{26}\) In the temple at Delphi was a navel-shaped white stone with a ribbon hanging from it.\(^{27}\) Ribbons were frequently laid in Greek tombs.\(^{28}\) Greek funeral urns were, and Italian funeral urns are, covered with ribbons.\(^{1}\) The wand or \textit{thyros} of Dionysos was often adorned with ribbons or bandeaux.\(^{2}\) In a Roman seat of Bacchus in the Louvre the sprays of ornaments end in ribbon bows.\(^{3}\) The Jewish sect of Essenes had the candidate’s white robe fringed with blue ribbons as an emblem of holiness.\(^{4}\) Phylacteries, or guards, were ribbons with Bible texts worn by Jews on the brow to scare evil spirits. They continued to be used in Europe till they were denounced by the early Christian Church.\(^{5}\) The nun at dedication wore a veil and a fillet or ribbon (\textit{vitta}).\(^{6}\)

Wedding guests at Lorraine wear a cross of blue and scarlet ribbons at their button-holes or in their caps.\(^{7}\) For several days after her wedding the Russian bride wears a white muslin dress with pink ribbons.\(^{8}\) In Bohemia, ribbons are fastened to the Midsummer Pole.\(^{9}\) No Romanian decked with red ribbons can suffer from the Evil Eye.\(^{10}\) In Tunis, during a recent (1863) outbreak of cholera, the people pinned ribbons to their clothes to keep off the epidemic.\(^{11}\) Mexican women wear a gold rosary round the neck from which hang gold coins and ribbons.\(^{12}\) The key with which the door of the bull-fight is opened before a Mexican bull-fight has a great knot of ribbons.\(^{13}\) Dupples, that is, Jamaica negro shadows, will throttle any puppy that has not a red ribbon collar.\(^{14}\) In the island of Tonga at the new year feast the yams are decked with ribbons.\(^{15}\) Moslems in Tibet deck the sacrificial sheep with ribbons and flowers.\(^{16}\) According to Ovid (A.D. 30), sacred trees were adorned with crowns and ribbons.\(^{17}\) The Ilkhan of Persia (1302) took shelter in a tree. He afterwards visited the tree with his nobles and wives. They fastened ribbons to the tree and danced round it. So Changez Khan’s grand uncle Kutlak Khan (C. A. D. 1150) alighted before a tree and made a vow if he won he would come back and bind ribbons round it. He won and danced round the tree.\(^{18}\) In Italy, the palm and olive branches that are laid on the altar on Palm Sunday are decked with ribbons.\(^{19}\) In Russia, a girl ties a ribbon round a birch tree and it lets her pass.\(^{20}\) Ribbons are fastened to Abyssinian guitars and to Savoy and Scottish bagpipes.

Christmas wassail bowls in Scotland and in England used to be garnished with ribbons.\(^{21}\) On the brinks of many wells in Dumfries and Galloway ribbons and other little articles of female finery have been seen by people yet living fastened so as to wave over the spring. These were offerings for the recovery of sick children.\(^{22}\) Compare the nook in the Scottish maiden’s hair, the ribbon in the wedding favour, the ribbon round the wedding cake, the bows of ribbon tied to the mane and tail of the horse for sale, the spear pennon, the ship’s pennant, and the ribbon of the Order. At funerals black and white ribbons used to be worn in England.\(^{23}\) Lord Burleigh, Treasurer of England (A.D. 1570), wore a blue ribbon next his garter studded with snail shells to keep off gout.\(^{24}\) In Northampton, a dead married woman’s head was bound with a black ribbon and a maiden’s head with a white ribbon.\(^{25}\) In Clee in Lancashire (1829), a band of

\(^{28}\) Brown’s \textit{Great Dionysian Myth.}, Vol. II. p. 91.  
\(^{29}\) Mackay’s \textit{Premonstracy}, p. 22.  
\(^{30}\) Smith’s \textit{Christian Antiquities}, p. 122.  
\(^{31}\) Mrs. Romilly’s \textit{Rites and Customs of the Greek-Russian Church}, p. 214.  
\(^{33}\) Nature and Customs, Fifth Series, Vol. XIII. p. 43.  
\(^{34}\) Harper’s \textit{New Monthly Magazine}, February, 1865, p. 874.  
\(^{35}\) Brocklehurst’s \textit{Mexico Today}, p. 295.  
\(^{36}\) The \textit{Golden Bough}, Vol. II. pp. 373, 386.  
\(^{38}\) The \textit{Times of India}, 4th April 1868.  
\(^{40}\) Allan Cunningham’s \textit{Songs of Scotland}, 1823.  
\(^{41}\) Browne, Vol. I. p. 287.  
\(^{44}\) MS. Note, Feb. 2nd, 1855.  
\(^{45}\) Henderson’s \textit{Folk-Lore}, p. 4.  
\(^{46}\) Folk-Lore Records, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 320.  
\(^{47}\) Elworthy’s \textit{The Evil Eye}, p. 59.  
\(^{48}\) Elworthy’s \textit{The Evil Eye}, p. 59.  
\(^{49}\) Howorth’s \textit{Changhi Khan}, p. 155.  
\(^{50}\) Howorth’s \textit{Changhi Khan}, p. 155.  
\(^{51}\) Howorth’s \textit{Changhi Khan}, p. 155.  
\(^{52}\) Henderson’s \textit{Folk-Lore}, p. 58.
children accompanied a maiden’s funeral dressed in white-paper gloves, and with long white-paper ribbons. According to Irving, ribbons formed part of the old-fashioned funeral garland:

“A garland shall be framed by art and nature’s skill
Of sundry coloured flowers in token of good-will,
And sundry coloured ribbons on it I will bestow,
But chiefly black and yellow with her to grave shall go.”

In Yorkshire (1793), the bride and bridegroom were covered with ribbons of any colour but green. Ribbons are tied to the cart with the bride’s luggage in Sunderland. In Yorkshire, a wedding should be wound up by a race for a ribbon. The winner gets a kiss and the rest a drink. In the sixteenth century the English May Poles were decked with ribbons. In seventeenth-century England, ribbons or filletings were worn by women both at weddings and at churchings. So Herrick, on Julia’s churching—

“Put on thy holy filletings and so
To the temple with the sober go.”

And when the bride is brought into her husband’s house—

“You that be of nearest kin,
Now on the threshold force her in,
But to avert the worst let her
Her fillets first knit to the posts.”

On Shrove Tuesday (A.D. 1640) the boy whose cock won in the cock-fight went in triumph through the streets decked with ribbons, the others following with drum and fiddle. The Morris Dancers in Dean Forest (1822) had their bodices and hats covered with ribbons of all colours. Among the farmers of Herefordshire (1819) the winner of a law suit attends church with ribbons in his cap. In Rutland (1872), an unmarried girl can be cured of bleeding at the nose by wearing a red ribbon round her neck.

Salt. — Salt as the origin of wholesomeness, the scarer of corruption, the keeper of freshness, the giver of appetite, the saver from sickness, is, in early stages of belief, one of the most widely worshipped of guardians. In later stages salt maintains its worshipfulness as a type of life and of wit and as the fiend-feared emblem of immortality.

In Gujarát, the luckiest of all purchases on the Kártik (November) new year’s day is salt. A gift of salt to Bhañmans lightens to the giver the pains of death. Salt is used in all spirit-searing rites, and on the dark 14th of Aśó (October) high-caste Hindu women spill little piles of salt and husked rice at cross-roads. Among Gujarát Hindus the Evil Eye is removed by waving a pinch of salt and mustard seed round the child’s head and throwing it into the fire. The Prophet Muhammad said, “Blessed is the dinner cloth on which is salt.” The Gujarát Musalmán follows this rule, and during Ramazán, or at feasts, spills salt on his dinner cloth. In the North-West Provinces, to the west of the Jamná, when the cotton begins to burst, women go into the fields, sprinkle salt as a lustration, and pray for plenty. In Káthiavár, a frequent application of salt-earth and aphanit leaves is believed to cure a contraction of the joints. Gujarát Kumbis wave a copper-pot with salt over the bridegroom’s head.

and the higher class Hindus in Gujarát, on New Year's Day, in front of all houses, pile three or four heaps of salt. Poor people carry off the salt and next day bring it for sale, crying aloud sal-ros, i.e., "real jam," or all savour. The householders buy it as lucky.44 In the Konkan, till a child is six months old, salt and water are every evening waved round its face that it may not suffer from the Evil Eye.45 Salt is the first thing served at a Hindu caste feast.46 At a joyful feast among the Dháravā Mādha Brāhmans salt is served first; at a funeral feast salt is not served at all.47 In the worship of the Sapta Rishis, or Seven Sages, salt is not used, lest it should scare them.48 Among the Roman Catholics of Kānara salt is put in the mouth of the child at baptism, probably to scare the devil.49 Among the Kānara Musalmāns no salt is given to a newly delivered woman.50 In the marriage ceremony of the Poona Vaiṣāli, a plantain leaf is laid for the bride to sit on, and on the leaf salt is spread.51 In the Dekhan, when a Gōsāvi is initiated, sugar and salt are put in his mouth, sugar to sweeten it, and salt that he may prove true to his faith. When a Dekhan Chitpāvan goes through the all-atonement, or prāgashchita, he eats nothing during the day, or, if he must eat for his health, he at least takes no salt, as salt is specially forbidden.52 Nagar Lāngiyā, Dhāngars, Baruds and other classes bury large quantities of salt with the dead.53 Among Arabs on the seventh day after a birth, when the child is carried through the ākārim, a woman sprinkles salt and fennel seed on the floor, saying, "May foul salt be in the eye of the enier." The sprinkling of salt guards the mother and child from the Evil Eye.54 The Ahumadnagar Mādhava drew the bottom of the grave with salt, and again strew salt on the top of a robe drawn over the body. The Vaishnavas of Bengal put salt in the grave and in the mouth, nostrils, ears, eyes, and other openings of the dead.55 In Southern India, the body of a Vaishnava Svāmī is stuffed with salt and powdered mustard. Other ascetics are buried in a pit full of salt.56 At a Beni-Isrā'îl feast, before the guests begin to eat, the minister dips bread in salt, and it is handed round to all.57

Among the ancient Egyptians an ointment of palm-wine, salt, and incense cured spirit-possession.58 Among the ancient Persians the flesh of the victim was sprinkled with salt.59 The ancient Jews set a high value on salt. They called salt the seal of the covenant and offered it with all meat offerings.60 The Jewish prophet Elisha healed and sweetened the waters of Jericho by casting in salt.61 Salt and sulphur were put on the wedding crown worn by the Jewish husband.62 Jews who lived at the sea-side, every day, before matins, washed their hand in the salt water.63 The Jews mixed salt with their holy ointment and rubbed with salt their new-born babes.

That Greek wit was known as Attic Salt shows how highly the classic Greek valued the virtues of salt. The first thing a Greek presented to a stranger was salt. They rationalised that as in salt water and earthy particles unite, so friendship should be a constant union; or as salt keeps away corruption, so friendship should always be fresh. An earlier belief remains in the Greek divine or holy salt from whose shrine, the family salt-cellar, a guardian influence spread forth. The salt from the family salt-cellar, which was the bond of union among the people of the house, formed, when partaken by the stranger, a bond of union, or sacrament, between the stranger and his hosts; similarly, by setting salt on the tables the guardian spirit

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44 Information from Mr. Batrān.  
45 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.  
46 Information from Mr. Tirmalirī.  
49 Lane's Armenian Society, p. 188.  
52 Ecelitus, ii. 11; Numbers, xviii. 19.  
53 Barnage's Jews, p. 472.  
54 Information from Mr. R. P. Joshi.  
55 Information from Mr. Tirmalirī.  
62 II. Kings, ii. 19.  
of the house passed into the stranger. In a more formal way families and states were joined by a covenant of hospitality. So, like the salt, the tokens held by the covenying parties were sandela or symbols in which a common guardian influence dwelt. In proof of this, on the dye, of which each party to an union of hospitality kept half, was graven the image of Jupiter hospitator. "I bring with me," says Plautus, "the god of hospitality and the tessera."64 It is this belief in the sacrament of salt that makes the Hindoos and the Indian Muslims agree in holding falseness to salt the basest of crimes. The Greek feeling of the divinity of salt continued after the Greeks became Christian. As the classic Greek poured ground cakes of salt and barley on the altar, so the Christian Greek put salt into the sacramental bread. Salt, they said, is life; saltless sacrifice is dead.65 In the Dionysiac Mysteries a lump of salt signified generation.66 Salt was sacred among the Romans, and was habitually compared to vit and liveliness.67 The family salt-cellar or salina was an heirloom, and was always set on the table as a symbol of the family guardians.68 The Romans mixed salt and water to make holy water.69 They thought that salt caused cheerfulness and cured disease.70 Among the Romans a salted cake was broken over the victim's head.71 That salt is as a soul keeping the body wholesome is oddly illustrated by Cicero's saying, the pig has life anima only instead of salt to keep him from rotting.72 So Herrick (1640):

"The body's salt the soul is, which, when gone,
The flesh soon sucks in putrefaction."73

In the early Christian Western Church any one allowed to be a catechumen or hearer received the gift of salt. This was called Sacramentum Catechumenorum.74 After baptism salt was given and after confession penitents received salt with milk and honey.75 In Constantinople every house was sprinkled with sea-water.76 Elsewhere the houses of the sick were cleansed with holy water.77 At the dedication of a church, salt, ashes, and water were sprinkled on the corners of the altar.78 Though the Christian organisers admitted that salt was a guardian home, they held that, like water, oil, and other natural shrines, salt was apt to become fiend-tenanted instead of guardian-tenanted, and before use had to be exercised.79 Both Greeks and Romans placed holy salt-water at the entrance of their temples.80 For ceremonial cleansing the Greeks preferred sea-water.81 "All human ills," says Euripides, "are cleansed by the sea, whose holy water, according to Wordsworth, performs his priest-like task of purgation round earth's human shores." Modern Jews throw salt on the fire to drive away evil spirits.82 In North Central Africa, near lake Chad, Denham tells how a Muslim woman burnt salt, praying that neither the devil nor his imps might frighten the traveller.83 In Upper Egypt, when a caravan is about to start, the Abinde women come out carrying earthen vessels filled with burning coals. They set the vessels before the several loads and throw salt over the coals. As the bluish flame rises, they exclaim: "May you be blessed in going and in coming." By this the devil and every evil fiend is put to flight.84

Salt-water is a familiar medicine in Chinese cattle-diseases.85 In Japan, during the purifying ceremonies of the early Shinto religion, the ground is strewn with salt,86 and salt is

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63 Brown's Great Dionysiac Myth, Vol. II. p. 36.
68 Smith's Christian Antiquities, p. 518.
71 Middleton's Conformity of Paganism and Popery, p. 138.
73 Denham and Clapperton's Africa, Vol. II. p. 133.
75 Chambers' Book of Days, p. 446.
76 Burkhardt's Nubia, p. 169.
77 Reed's Japan, Vol. I. p. 61.
sprinkled on the threshold at a Japa funeral. Salt is highly valued in West Africa. In passing a spirit haunt in Lake Tanganyika in Africa, boatmen throw salt over their heads and into the water. In North-West Africa, when an offender’s head is cut off, the soldiers, whose duty it is to fix the head on a tower, get a Jew to salt the head before it is set up. At a marriage at Bomon, in North Africa, warm salt-water is sprinkled round the house to prevent any evil spirit approaching. If an evil spirit get near the marriage couple, the man will become impotent or the woman barren. In some Mexican ceremonies the faces of the human victims were sprinkled with salt.

The modern Greeks venerate salt. Athenian maidens on the eve of the new moon offer on the bank of the Ilissus a plate with honey, salt, and a cake. In A.D. 1100 Abbot Richatmas wrote: "If the devil takes away my appetite I taste a little salt and my appetite returns. If I lose it again, I take more salt and am again hungry." In Sicily, when an ass, a mule, or a horse is to enter a new stable, salt is sprinkled on its back that the fairies may not lame it. German shepherds, who were sorcerers, were accused of baptizing their sheep with salt. When (1878) a German prince came back to Bucharest, the Mayor presented him with the customary bread and salt. So in Russia strangers are offered bread and salt as a compliment. In France, before a wedding, salt was put in the pockets and a coin in the shoe. A Servian (1876), suffering from serious lung disease, is laid, face down, on the ground, while the wise-woman scatters salt on him and walks round him mumbling. In Germany, in a house where one lies dead, three heaps of salt are made. In Germany, unbaptised infants have salt placed beside them for safety. The emigrants from Salzburg dipped a wetted finger in salt and swore. In his picture of the Last Supper, Michael Angelo makes Judas upset the salt dish, so that it spills towards him, which, according to Burton, is a bad omen.

If salt is spilt, a little should be dropped over the left shoulder to keep off the spirits. At a Roman Catholic baptism salt is blessed by nine crossings, and a little is put in the child’s mouth as the salt of wisdom. After consecration, that is, when the sign of the cross is made over it, salt becomes a sacrament able to drive away the enemy.

In Ireland, if any one enters on a new office, women in the streets and girls from the windows shower on him wheat and salt. In A.D. 1700 no Isle of Man fisherman would sail without salt in his pocket. Tweed fishermen salt their nets and throw salt in the sea to blind fairies. In Holland, to upset a salt-cellar is to capsize a boat. Scotch fairies eat no salt. The ghost-haunted sailor was freed from the phantom by a draught of salt and water. In Scotland (1629), large quantities of salt used to be put with an animal in a grave to drive away the cattle plague. So also in Scotland, Ireland, and England, a plate of salt used to be laid on the corpse’s breast to keep off evil spirits. In North England and in Spain, it is unlucky to give salt out of a

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house. In Scotland, oaths were taken on bread and salt, and salt was put into milk as a guard against the Evil Eye. In England (1590), consecrated salt saved men from witches. In North England, split salt brings ill-luck, unless part of it is dropped over the left shoulder. If the milk is bewitched, in Lancashire they put into it a hot iron, in Northumberland a crooked coin, and in Cleveland a pinch of salt. In the north of England, there is a saying: "Help me to salt; help me to sorrow." In the Isle of Man, people always carry salt in their pockets. Eton scholars, every third year, used to go to the salt hill and distribute salt; while priests used to sell consecrated salt for healing. An Irishman recovered his wife from a rout of fairies by throwing over her, as she passed, salt, hen's blood, and all-flower water.

The use of salt to keep evil from an unbaptised child was common in Middle-Age Europe. In Scotland, the infant unbaptised daughter of the king dies and is laid, swathed in linen, in a golden casket with much salt and a lighted lamp because she had never been in God's House. In Scotland, the new-born babe is bathed in or rubbed with salt and water and made to taste it three times. The mother's breast is also washed with salt-water before the child begins to suck. When a babe is brought to a house for the first time the head of the house must put sugar and salt into its mouth and wish it well. In Argyleshire, in Scotland, when a child was taken to be baptised, before leaving the house salt was carried round it against the sun. In the Christian rite of baptism salt is put into the child's mouth that he may spit out the evil one, Jesu nee malum. In Lincoln (1833), a newly-christened child brought into a neighbour's house was presented with eggs and salt. In Scotland, if a child has a blink of the evil eye, a sixpence is borrowed, a good fire kept burning in the grate, the door locked, silence kept, and the child laid in front of the fire. A spoon is filled with water and the borrowed sixpence is piled with salt, and both sixpence and salt are split into the water. The child's feet, hands, and brow are rubbed with the salt-water and the rest is thrown into the fire with the words, "Guid preserve from all scath." A dish full of salt was the first article of the bride's which was carried into her new house. In entering the house some of the salt was scattered on the floor. In Lincoln (1833), salt was a pledge of welcome. It was given to a guest as soon as he entered the host's house. In 1597, James Stuart, and in 1603 James Reid, cured a woman by making her drink south-running water and by casting salt and wheat about her bed. In 1607 Barrie Paterson cured a sick man by making him always wear nine grains of wheat, nine grains of salt, and nine twigs of rowan. In 1609 a Scottish midwife eased a woman's pains in child-birth by laying an open knife and sprinkling salt under the bed. About 1600 a cattle plague was stayed by burying in a pit a live ox and a live cat with much salt. In 1863 salt and wheat were bound in a cloth to a cow's horn to keep off disease, and in another case (1849) to help her milk. In Yorkshire (1846), salt and an old sickle were put under a cow's stall to cure disease. In North England (1825), when a cow is calving salt is strewn along her back to keep the witch from hurting her. Salt is dropped into the first milk drawn from a lately calved cow. And in Lincoln (1839), when

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13 Henderson's Folk-Lore, p. 217.
17 Notes and Queries, Vol. VI. p. 10.
18 Black's Folk-Medicine, p. 199; Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 50.
19 Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 33.
20 Elsworthy's The Evil Eye, p. 492.
22 Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 37.
23 Gentleman's Magazine Library, p. 118.
creams are put in the churn salt is dropped into the fire to overcome witchcraft. In St. Kilda when cattle are moved they are purified with salt-water and fire. In Suffolk (1869), to bury a handful of salt (probably after waving it round the patient) cured ague. As the salt dissolved the ague left.

(To be continued.)

THE ANDAMAN FIRE-LEGEND.

BY M. V. POETMAN.

A.

One of the eldest of the Andamanese Legends is that regarding the first introduction of fire to the people after a great cataclysm had occurred, during which much of their territory was submerged and all their fires were extinguished. It appears also to be the best known, and the Andamanese are more generally agreed upon the statements in it than in any of their other legends, each elder of the same tribe giving the same version of the story.

The legend in each of the five languages of the South Andaman group of tribes runs translated freely, as follows:

TRANSLATIONS.

I. Akabéada.

God was sleeping at Tāul-l’óko-ti. Lūratūt came, stealing fire. The fire burnt God. God woke up. God seized the fire; he took the fire and burnt Lūratūt with it. Then Lūratūt took (the fire); he burnt Tärchēker in Wēta-Eni village, (where there), the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tóms-lā.

II. Akarbdā.

Dim-Dāra, a very long time ago, at Kēri-l’ōng-tāwa, was bringing fire from God’s platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bōlub, and Tārkār, and Bīlichā ū fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rōkwa-l’ār-tāna village and made fires there.

III. Pōchikwār.

God was sleeping in Tāul-l’ōko-ti. Lūratūt went to bring fire. Lūratūt caught hold of the fire; then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Lūratūt with the fire. Then again he hit Tärchā with the fire. Cháltēr caught hold of it. He gave it to the Ancestors at Wāsāt-Eni. Then the Ancestors made fire.

IV. Aūkājáwōl.

Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kūro-tōn-mīka, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lōch, who then made fires at Karū-tāvēk-Eni.

V. Kol.

God was sleeping at Tāul-l’ōko-ti. Lūratūt took away fire to Ōko-Eni. Kālōtē went to Min-tōng-tē (taking fire with him from Ōko-Eni). At Min-tōng-tē the fire went out. Kālōtē broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there), became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The Ancestors thus got fire in Min-tōng-tāuk village.

39 Gentleman’s Magazine Library, “Manners and Customs,” p. 33.
40 Comming’s Hebrides, p. 366.
41 Gentleman’s Magazine Library, “Popular Superstitions,” p. 129.
As it will be a matter of importance to students to know precisely upon what texts the above translations are based, I add them here with interlinear translations, and I also append certain notes necessary for the elucidation of the texts.

TEXTS.

I. Akabéada.

Tāal - l'óko - tīma - len Pūluga - lā mānī - kā. Lūratūt - lā chápa (The name of a place) in God was sleeping. (a certain bird) fire

tāp - nga ōmō - rè. Chápa - lā Pūluga - lā pēgā - kā. Pūluga - lā bōi - kā,
stealing came. Fire God was burning. God woke up,
Pūluga - lā chápa ēni - kā, Ā ik chápa - lik Lūratūt
God fire seized, He taking fire by (the bird)
l'ōt - pēgari - rè. Jek Lūratūt - lā ēni - kā, Ā f. Tārēchēker burnt. At once (the bird) took, He Kingfisher
Pēt - pēgari - rè Wōta - ēmi börājī - len, Chaōga - tābanga óko - dāl - rè
burnt. a village in, the Ancestors lit fires,

Tōmo - lōlā. The Tomo - la.

II. Akarbālo.

Dim - Dūna - lē rīta Kēri - l'ōng - tānuwer - té Pūluga l'ī (Name of a man) a very long time ago (name of a place) by God His
tōiso choapā l'ēmo - kāte, 'ōng fk 'skat - pāura pēgārū - t fā - rè,
platform fire was bringing. He taking all men burnt did.
Bēlah, kā Tārēkān, kā Bilichān, 'ōngōt óto - jūrūgā - t fā (Name of a fish) and (name of a fish) and (Flying-fish) they
in the sea went.
'ōngōt āt - yākāt mō - nga. 'ōngōt oāro - tičal - ēna - tī Rēkwa - l'ār - tōnagā
They fish becoming. They carrying taking (name of a place)
bōrāj - ā óko - dāl - nga l'ī - rè. village in fire did.

III. Pūchikwūr.

Tāal - l'ōko - tim - an Bilik l'ōng - pāt - yē. Lūratūt l'ōng āt āb - lēchi - nga (Name of a place) in God was sleeping. (A bird) he fire was bringing
l'ōng - kōnyi - ye. Bilik l'ōng āt li - ye. 'ōng ē Lūratūt l'ōte - tōi - chu - nga. woke up. God he fire seized. He then (a bird) hit with fire.
Then again he then (a man, or fish) hit with fire. Kingfisher caught hold.
'ōng Lāo - chām - len dā - nga Wātita - ēmi - en. Ota Lāo - chām He Ancestors to gave (name of a place) in. Then Ancestors
n'ōng - ō - kādak - nga. they made fire.
IV. Æükäujwöi.

Kuro - t'ón - mikk - a Món Mirit - lá, Bilik - láakán - éma - t, pékar - át - lá
(The name of a place) in Mr. Pigeon, God slept, wood fire with
top - chike. Át láchłe Léch - lin á kótak á áñko - kóddak - chine
stole. Fire the late (name) to he then he made fire
át - lá Kárát - tátak - émi - in.
fire with (name of a place) at.

V. Kol.

Taul - lóko - tím - en Bilik - lá pát - ke. Lúratot - lá Óko - émi - t át
(Name of a place) in God was sleeping. (a bird) (a place) in fire
took away. (A man) by went. (Name of a place) to,
(Name of a place) by went out. (A man) charred wood broke up.
kírim - káddak - an. Ná n'ótam - tępúr - in. Át - ke n'óte - tępúr - in,
made fire. They became alive. Fire by they became alive
(a place) village in. Ancestors they made fire.

C.

NOTES.

General.

In relating any occurrence to others, as distinct from conversation with them, the
Andamanese generally speak in short, detached sentences, and a considerable pause must be
imagined between each of the sentences in the legends.

The "platform" mentioned in the legends is a small erection built by the Andamanese at
the sides of their huts, on which meat, etc., is placed; fire is put underneath it.

The likeness of the story in nearly all respects to the Prometheus Legend will strike
the reader at a glance.

The Ækabéda Legend.

With regard to Lúratot and Tácheker, birds may be meant, or men bearing the names of
birds, for the Andamanese believe that, after the cataclysm, when fresh fire had to be brought
from somewhere, many of the Andamanese, who were of course really drowned, had been
changed into birds and fishes,

Chäõga-tábanga means "the Andamanese who lived in former ages," i.e., "the
Ancestors," and when an Andamanese is asked why he follows a certain custom, or how
that custom originated, he would answer "Because the Chäõga-tábanga used to do it," or,
"Because the Chäõga-tábanga ordered it so."

Tómo-lóla means "The sors of Témó-lá," who was the chief of all the Andamanese at
the time of the cataclysm. Observe how this word is in apposition to Chäõga-tábanga, a very
common Andamanese form of speech.

The Ækarbále Legend.

With the exception of Bólub, none of the names mentioned are now used as names for
men, though Bólub, Tárkáù, and Bilcháù, are names for fish, the Andamanese having an
extensive vocabulary of fish names. Kérí-tông-tâuwer, and Rókwa-tár-tônga are com-
 pound place names.
The Púchikwár Legend.

The name of the place in which God was sleeping is here the same as that given in the Akabédia version of the Legend: the same bird, (or man), Ldratō, is also mentioned as the fire-stealer.

The Aūkāūjúwśi Legend.

The two names of the places change in this Legend, but the formation of these compound words remain the same, for example:

A

In Akabédia.

Tǎūl — — — — — l’óko — — — — — — tíma.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix corner.

Meaning: The village at the corner among the ‘Tǎūl’ trees. (“A village” is always understood in these names.) The word is the same in the Púchikwár and Kol languages.

In Akarbélè.

Kéri — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — tǔswer.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix. sand.

Meaning: “The village on the sand, among the ‘Kéri’ trees.”

In Aūkāūjúwśi.

Kóro — — — — — — — — t’ón — — — — — — — — mika.

A certain tree. conjunctional infix. very big.

Meaning: “The village among the big ‘Kóro’ trees.”


Meaning: “The village from which the different tribes dispersed,” (like a flock of birds rising up), “after the cataclysm.”

C

In Akarbélè.

Rókwa — — — — — — — l’á — — — — — — — — — — — tůnga.

A stone. conjunctional infix. a row.

Meaning: “The village by the row of stones.”

In Aūkāūjúwśi.

Karátt — — — — — — — tátak — — — — — — — — Ëmi.

A certain creeper. conjunctional infix. bed (or, hut).

Meaning: “The hut among the ‘Karátt’ creepers.”

In this Legend the Fire-thief is a Pigeon, and the construction of the first sentence differs from the direct speech in the other Legends. The first phrase states where Mr. Pigeon was; in apposition to this is an entirely unconnected phrase stating that “God was sleeping”; the third phrase tells us what Mr. Pigeon did.
The Kol Legend.

The Kol, Pechikwar, and Akabeda tribes have very much the same versions of the Legend, giving the same names to the places and actors. The Akarba and Akakijewo differ, having places in their own countries where the fire is said to have been first kindled, and not recognising Wota-Emi as the original home of the present race, as the others do.

Kallolhat derives his name from a tree with black wood, such as the Diospyros nigricans, ebony, etc.

Min — tong — tá — kéte, or Min — tong — táuk.
A tree leaf bone. A tree leaf bone.

Meaning: "The village of the 'Min' trees, which have big midribs to their leaves."

In N'diam we get a pronominal prefix in the plural, referring to "human beings." The whole phrase is strongly emphasised by these Pronouns, with the intention of showing that, after the cataclysm, almost all the people were dead and there was no fire. When fire had been obtained, either the dead people were resuscitated, or fresh people were created, or what is probably really meant, life went on again as usual and the country was re-peopled in the ordinary way.

Jangil is here used for 'Ancestors.' I found that this word was used by the very ancient Akabeda for the name of the hostile Inland tribe in the South Andman, who are now known as Jarawas, and who belong to the Ongi Group of Tribes.

It is possible that the Akabeda may have regarded the tribe as resembling their ancestors in their customs, and it is the only inkling we get that the people of the South Andaman Group of Tribes recognise that the members of the other groups are sprung from the same stock as themselves, though they admit that all Andamanese are one race, and differ from other races. When they first saw African Negroes and Somalis they called them Jarawas thus admitting them to the same race as themselves, but considering them to be strangers and hostile.

I have always doubted whether Jarawa is a real Andamanese word, and believe it to be an Andamanese corruption of the Urdu word Jhárá, meaning "Forestiers," and adapted by the Aidamanese from the convicts since 1858.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.L.S.

No. 43. — The Subhadar of the Cot.

In the town of Tanjore there lived a clever Brahman, named Kesava Bhat. His means and attainments were very humble. He was a priest, and earned on an average a couple of fanaams1 every day by his profession. Half of this income, i.e., one fanaam, he spent for his household expenses, and with the other fanaam he held every night Council on a Cot in the back premises of a big mansion in Tanjore, between the first and tenth ghatikás.

The expression "Council on a Cot" requires some explanation: and in order to give this it is necessary to give a brief description of the mansion in the back premises of which Kesava Bhat held his council. In the West High Street of Tanjore there was a millionaire called Navakoçi Narayana Setti. His mansion was seven stories high, and extended for a mile from west to east. The back premises were in the East High Street, and were almost unnoticed at night. To these Kesava Bhat resorted every night at the second ghatiká

1 About two pence.
He had taken into his service four artisans — a carpenter, a cobbler, an oil-vendor, and a turban-tier. He paid each of these a quarter of a jansin every night for their services, which were as follows: — the carpenter would bring a small cot, for Kēśava Bhat to sit upon, the oilman would light two torches and supply them with oil sufficient to burn till the tenth ghaṭikā of the night. Kēśava Bhat would take his seat on the cot between the second and the third ghaṭikās of the night with torches burning on either side of him. The cobbler would then approach and cover his feet with a pair of newly-made costly Brāhmaṇi shoes. The turban-tier would bring a costly turban, and tie it on the Bhat’s head. Besides these four, Kēśava Bhat had engaged four peons, on the promise of the high salary of 10 pouns each per month, to attend upon him every night between the second and tenth ghaṭikās. Now the Bhat called himself the Subhādar of the Cot, and instructed his servants to say so to any person who might question them as to who the person holding the council was.

He held his council with his eight servants — four peons and four artisans — till the tenth ghaṭikā of the night. Soon as the lād (gong) announced the tenth ghaṭikā, the turban-tier would take away the turban from the head of the Bhat, the cobbler would take back the shoes from off the Subhādar’s feet, the oilman would put out the lights, and the carpenter would carry away the cot. Kēśava would then stand up in the clothes in which he approached the mansion at the second ghaṭikā of the night, would dismiss his other servants — the four peons, — ordering them to wait again in readiness at the proper time next night, and would return home.

Neither the millionaire nor any one of his servants noticed what was going on, and no one was able to detect the poor priest Kēśava Bhat in his transformed state of the Subhādar of the Cot, with a costly turban on his head, newly-made Brāhmaṇi shoes on his feet, sitting in council in the palatial quarters of a millionaire. So our hero secured the title of the Subhādar of the Cot, and the townsmen began to recognize him as such only during the night, and thus passed away one month.

Poor Kēśava paid every night for his temporary seat, turban, shoes, and light, but his difficulty was to find forty pouns at the end of the month to pay his most obedient, willing and faithful peons; for, in fact, they had behaved as such, and had the greatest regard for their kind and liberal master. The unadvised Kēśava Bhat, however, told them on the last night of the first month that they would get their pay the next night. But as he was himself living from hand to mouth, and had wasted the one jansin that he could have saved every day on his Subhādar, he knew of no way to get out of his mess. He returned home, and instead of disappointing his trusty peons he resolved to commit suicide and thus end his miseries.

With his mind thus made up, and without telling his wife what he intended to do, he went all alone to the garden of his house in the dead of night and tying a strong rope to the loftiest branch of a tree was on the point of attaching the other end of it to his neck to suspend himself, when a voice was heard checking him from his rash act.

"Desist from your mad resolution. Dig at the root of this tree. You will find seven pots of gold, each containing a lakh of pouns."

"Who can have uttered these consoling words. It must be the great Paramēśvara. I shall dig, and if I do not find the pots, there is time enough to execute my resolution."

Thus argued the Subhādar of the Cot and came down from the tree, and he dug as he had been told, and to his great astonishment he found the pots very near the surface. He took them in, and secured them at once, without informing even his wife of the vast amount of treasure he had obtained.

\* Poun is a small gold coin.
On the first night of the second month, Kaśīva Bhāṭ paid his peons not only ten pous each as their salary, but made them presents of five pous each, and addressed two of them as follows:

“My faithful servants: you know well how liberally I pay you for the short service that I take from you. The more faithful you are to me the greater will be your reward. I am going soon to entrust to you an important task. You must deliver some treasure to Indumukhi—

the favourite concubine of the emperor of Vijayanagar. I shall bring it to-morrow. You must take it and deliver it to her, stating that it is a present from the Subhādār of the Cot, for one day’s expenses. You must be ready to start to-morrow with the consignment. Engage seven carts to carry the treasure, and be ready here to-morrow night. You can go home now at once.”

Thus two of the four peons were sent away a little early that night. And at the usual time the cow oil broke up, and our Subhādār returned home. He reserved a hundred pous from each of the seven pots, and packed the remainder in seven cases, locked and sealed them well, and wrote the following letter that very night:

"The Subhādār of the Cot to Indumukhi—
greetings. We have heard of your unparalleled beauty and the high favours lavished upon you by the emperor of Vijayanagar. We can, of course, bear no comparison with the emperor; but, as becoming our own humble position and as ardent admirers of your world-famed beauty, we send you as a present, for one day’s expenses of your ladyship, a small contribution, which we hope you will accept. Signed this day the 30th day of the month of Vaiśākha of the year Mammatha, in our mansion the Dhamvīlāsa. — Kaṭṭil Subhādār."

The letter too was put in a cover and sealed. The next night, the two peons, with money for expenses on the way, started with the treasure and the letter, and reached Vijayanagar after journeying for a month. The contribution for one day’s expenses was safely delivered. Indumukhi read the flattering note, counted the treasure, and was dumb with astonishment. Who could be the person who has remitted such an enormous quantity of wealth for her expenses for one day? What must be his own worth? These thoughts passed and repassed her mind, and she was not able to get any clear information from the peons that had accompanied the treasure. But she set down the Subhādār of the Cot to be the richest man in the world, and resolved to send him, as a token of her appreciation of his gift, some present in return. She went into her treasury, and after a careful search found a costly throne set with diamonds and other precious gems. She thought that this would be a proper seat for the Subhādār of the Cot. So she brought it out, carefully packed it, wrote a letter thanking the Subhādār, and intimated to him that she was to be considered henceforth as one of his humble maid-servants, and that she also in her own humble way was sending him a return present. She rewarded the peons that came from the Subhādār amply, as befitting their position as servants of the Subhādār, and entrusted the throne and the letter to them.

The joy of the peons knew no bounds. In one trip they had almost made their fortune. It is only such high persons that they should serve, thought they. In their eagerness to reach home and thank their master, they performed the return journey in twenty days, and safely delivered the present of Indumukhi and her note to the Subhādār of the Cot.

He was delighted at the receipt of his own gift by the most beautiful of womenkind and of her return present. But what could he, an humble Brāhmaṇ priest, do with a costly throne? His fertile imagination soon suggested a way of disposing of the gift. He had heard of an yet more famous beauty called Nūr Jahlīn, who was the chief of the concubines of the emperor of Delhi. He resolved to send the throne presented by Indumukhi as a gift to the famous concubine of the Delhi emperor. He repacked the precious throne, wrote a letter similar to the one that he had written nearly two months previously to Indumukhi, and sent all the four peons to Delhi with the packet and the note.

* Kaṭṭil Subhādār — The Subhādār of the Cot; kaṭṭil meaning cot.

* [Is it possible that the fame of Nūr Jahlīn has thus descended to the peasantry of Madras! — En.]
In the course of three months the capital of India was reached, and the note and the present duly delivered. Nürzana was astonished to receive such a costly throne, which even the emperor of the whole of India had never owned, as "a small gift" from the Subhāḍār of the Cot. She had a strong desire to visit so rich a man in person before making up her mind to return amply and suitably the honour done to her.

So she thanked for the occasion the Subhāḍār of the Cot, and wrote in return that her mind would never rest at ease till she had paid her humble respects in person to him, which she would be able to do in the course of a year or two. She rewarded the four peons, and sent them away with the note. They had now nothing to take care of on the way except the note and the presents they themselves had received, which no doubt were very large. They returned as quickly as possible and delivered the note. Of course, our hero was extremely pleased, and was, to a certain extent, easy in his mind, for as he had had no return presents from Nürzana, he need be at no pains to devise means for their disposal. But there was still something to vex him. Nürzana had promised to visit him in the course of a year or two! What should he do? But why trouble oneself for an affair which was to happen after a year or two, or which, perhaps, might never happen? So the Subhāḍār forgot the anxieties of the future, and went on holding his council. Thus for a year almost this business went on. The pomp and sudden wealth of the four peons became a subject of talk everywhere. The Subhāḍār of the Cot and his council in the mansion of Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa Seṭṭi attained the greatest publicity. The millionaire heard of its existence, and on a certain night he visited his lack premises and discovered the sham council. He became highly enraged, and ordered his servants to seize the Subhāḍār. At the appearance of these men, the faithful servants of the Subhāḍār fled for their lives; he became a prisoner of the millionaire.

Alone with the Subhāḍār, the millionaire enquired into the cause of his impertinence, and the Subhāḍār explained to him that he had had a fancy to do as he had done, and had been successful for almost a year. He was careful not to mention a word about his notes, presents, etc., to Indumukhl and Nürzana.

Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa Seṭṭi pitied the poor Brāhmaṇa, and as he had committed no offence of any kind, laughed at his thirst for so empty a title as Subhāḍār of the Cot, and as a punishment for his pride engaged him as his head cook!

Poor Kēśava Bhat! Whither had his Subhāḍār gone? What had become of his faithful servants? Why did not the great Paramesvara aid him now? The solution to these questions was not at all difficult. His star had been in the ascendant and so he had enjoyed all those privileges. But now his karma (fate) had made him head cook of the millionaire’s house. From the very next day he rose early in the morning, bathed, performed his ablutions, attended to the kitchen arrangements of Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa Seṭṭi’s house, had his food first, according to the prevailing custom as he was a Brāhmaṇa, and then went home to return to resume his evening duties in the kitchen. He was naturally a clever person, and so soon accured influence with the millionaire and his establishment. His faithful peons, though they were not able to assist him on the night on which he had been taken prisoner by the millionaire, soon discovered him, and remembering that they owed their own fortunes to their service once under him, soon joined him. And our hero, too, though now reduced, soon found his way to employ them in the establishment of Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa Seṭṭi.

Thus a month passed, and by this time our hero became all in all to his master. His proficiency as a cook was of the best, and he was not wanting in other respects. The advice that he now and then gave when his master consulted him in any important matter was of the best kind. He was clever, obedient, willing and an honest servant, and the millionaire was pleased with him in every way.

Navakōṭi Nārāyaṇa had no children. To the attainment of this object, he was preparing for a pilgrimage to Banāras: advised to do so by our hero. He started soon with an
establishment befitting his position as a millionaire. After a month's journey, and after visiting several sacred shrines on the way and bathing in all the sacred rivers he had to cross, the millionaire and his party reached the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. The great city of Vijayanagar was not to be missed on the way. Navakoti Nārāyaṇa sojourned in it and wished to pass a few days there. One evening, while driving about the streets of the town, he saw a very fine mansion and an incarnation of beauty, as it were, slowly moving on the topmost story of it. Whose mansion was it, and who was the beauty that he saw? These were easily answered. It was the palatial residence of Indumukhi, and the object that met his eyes was none other than that famous lady herself. To some extent he was consoled to hear that she was after all only a concubine and not a lady of family. It cannot be denied that he was smitten by her charms, and lusted for her company. It was not after all difficult, as she was only a courtesan; but how to meet her? She was so jealously guarded that any attempt to send a note to her would be only falling into the hands of death. So, Navakoti returned home thinking that he must pine hopelessly, never attaining the object of his desire. Alas! the wickedness of rich men! How vile they are sometimes! Blinded by wealth and considering nothing unattainable if they can pay in money for it, they are led away into the worst of sins and into the vilest of ideas! Navakoti thought that he would be quite willing to sacrifice his nine crores of wealth, if he had in return the company of Indumukhi for one moment at least. No doubt it was the confidence of the possession of such wealth that made him think so. But how to secure that happiness? Whom to consult, and how to act? The millionaire was perfectly at sea as to these points, and was worrying himself. "And where care lodges sleep will never lie." Thus passed two or three days. He had not consulted his cook, for the matter was rather a very delicate one, and the cook had never been resort to by his master on any previous occasions on such subjects. But the whilom Subhudar of the Cot, with his natural shrewdness, perceived the change, and questioned his master about the cause of it. After a good deal of hesitation Navakoti told him all about it, and said that if he only assisted him towards the attainment of his object, he would give him his whole wealth, receiving back only so much as was necessary for his maintenance every month.

"Do you stick to your words?" asked the cook.

"Undoubtedly," answered the millionaire.

"Then, I shall not be unkind. It is enough if you give me one-half of your wealth and restore me to my Subhudar in your back premises. I shall at a moment's notice make Indumukhi wait at your doors."

Navakoti was not at all able to believe him. He thought it was all a joke. But the cook at once told him to give him all his dress and ornaments, and directed him to retire like a common servant to one of the chambers adjoining the bedroom. Kesava Bhatta, at once robed himself as Navakoti Nārāyaṇa with all the costly clothes and jewels, and summoned the four peons who had served him when he was the Subhudar of the Cot. He robed them also in costly attire, and stationed them near his cot. The two he had sent during his Subhudar to Vijayanagar he called close to him. He gave them a letter to take to Indumukhi. Navakoti Nārāyaṇa, who, as a common servant, was in the next room, was watching all his acts, and did not understand the proceedings. But blinded by love he put up with his position as a servant in his own house. In a minute the lady Indumukhi herself appeared and stood before the cook, who, of course, never directed his eyes to her, but seemed to regard her as a mere worm.

"My lord, I learnt from your note that you are a sojourner in this city; having once amply tasted of your lordship's liberality, I have now come to wait upon your lordship's orders," said she, and stood with the humility of a slave before the monarch of an Eastern court.
Navakoti could not believe his eyes and ears: but before he could think, the following words fell upon his ears:—"If you are true to your salt, I order you to retire at once to the adjacent room and give your company to our servant waiting for you there, as a token of your fidelity to us. Of course, you must have already concluded that we are much above your humble company."

The sentence was not yet finished before Indamukhi retired like a slave obeying commands to the room pointed out, and Navakoti Narayastra in the amazement that seized him did not even perceive her approach. The night soon passed away, and the day dawned. Before the servants could know anything of the previous night's affairs, Kesava Bhat was in the kitchen, and Navakoti Narayastra in her own place in his temporary residence. It is not necessary to state here that Indamukhi, too, was safely back in her own mansion.

Who was now the millionaire? The Subhadar of the Cot! But of his grace he allowed freely, out of respect for the millionaire, half of his property to him. In a few days the pilgrimage was resumed. Banaras was reached. To the credit of our hero he requested the millionaire not to consider that there was any change in the positions of the master and servant till they returned to Tanjore. So Kesava Bhat was all the while still only master of Navakoti Narayastra Sethi's kitchen. After staying for a month in the city of Banaras, the party commenced the return journey. Ever since that wonderful night at Vijaynagar, when a word of command from the Brahman to Indamukhi was enough to make her run like a slave to the closet of Navakoti Narayastra, the millionaire had the greatest respect towards him. He considered him to be a naturally great person. On several occasions he asked our hero as to the cause of his powers, but with no success. The more he thought of that night the more he admired Kesava Bhat. That a woman of the position of Indamukhi should have obeyed at one word his head cook never ceased to astonish him. What was after all his own wealth? He had only been able through his cook to secure the services of the woman. He never felt the loss of half of his property, for he had no children to whom to leave any property.

So, soon after reaching Tanjore, Navakoti Narayastra Sethi with pleasure parted with half of his property to our hero. The big mansion of the millionaire was also divided into two, and the eastern half, in front of which the Brahman had once held his council on the cot, came to his share. There was none to question his right now to hold his councils in his own house! Kesava Bhat, too, changed his humble manners, and became in every sense the Subhadar of the Cot, and regularly held his councils, with only this difference, that he no more paid quarter to them for his temporary seat, shoes, etc., but had these as his own. He was now a rich millionaire himself, with his title of the Subhadar of the Cot firmly established. Thus passed a few months.

One day, while sitting in front of his house, Kastil Subhadar saw a person approaching him most hambly, and lay down a letter. He opened and read it. It was a letter from Narsana, and to his utter bewilderment she had written to say that she would be in Tanjore on the morning of the third day afterwards to pay her respects in person to the great Subhadar of the Cot. It was happy news, that a lady of the position of Narsana should travel all along the way from Delhi to Tanjore reflected great credit on the name of the Subhadar. He was not now a mere empty man with an empty title. He was a millionaire, and had a house and establishment requisite to do honour to the grand visitor. But Kesava Bhat had concluded that she had such an idea of his wealth and power that she had taken him to be equal, if not superior, to the emperor in riches, whereas he was after all only an ordinary millionaire. So imagining that he would not be able to do her proper respect, and trying, if possible, to drive her away without seeing him, he devised various plans within himself. In the end he found that they would be of no avail. The best solution out of any difficulty was suicide, and agreeably to his nature he went to his favourite tree. The ever-merciful god again appeared in the form of a voice in space and demanded an explanation for his bold resolve.
"I want to send Nūrzana away without her approaching Tanjore," was the explanation.

"Have you any scheme for doing so?" asked the voice out of space.

"Yes," replied our hero undoubtedly, "but I cannot execute it unless I have divine assistance."

"What is the sort of assistance that you want?" demanded the great god.

"I want the assistance of Rambhā, Urvaśī, Tilottamā, and other divine nymphs for a couple of ghaṭikās on the morning of the day after to-morrow. They must be collecting cow-dung on the skirts of the Trichinopoly road. Nūrzana will be approaching Tanjore early that morning. She will observe them and question them as to who they are. The nymphs must state that they are the sweepers of the house of the Subhādār of the Cot. This is all that I want. After a stay of a couple of ghaṭikās in this world the nymphs can return to heaven," said our hero.

"Agreed," said the great god, and the voice died away, and the Subhādār, too, extremely delighted that everything was working well, returned to his palatial residence and spent a happy night.

The appointed day came on. Early in the morning, even half a ghaṭikā before the rising of the lord of the day, one hundred nymphs of the divine world were seen on the skirts of the Trichinopoly road, near the town of Tanjore, collecting cow-dung in baskets made of gold. The retinue of Nūrzana was marching first, and after them came the palaquin bearing Nūrzana. Every one in the company was struck at the unparalleled beauty of the maidens, and there was a dead stop in the march. The palaquin also stopped. Nūrzana lowered the shutters, and wanted to know the cause of the sudden halt. Before asking any one about it, she herself saw about fifty beauties gathering cow-dung in golden baskets.

"Am I moving in fairy land?" thought she. To ascertain the truth she beckoned to one of them. At once several came running up. Nūrzana asked them who they were.

"Your supreme ladyship! We are the sweepers of the house of the Subhādār of the Cot, and we collect cow-dung, as is our custom, to smear our lord's house with in the morning," replied they, and even without waiting for any answer, they went about their duty. Nūrzana was in utter confusion from top to toe.

She first of all ordered her men not to advance one more step from that spot without orders. She gazed upon the beauties, who were only after all the sweepers of the house of the Subhādār. They appeared more like so many streaks of lightning than human shapes.

Said Nūrzana to herself: — "If, after all, the sweepers of the house of the Subhādār of the Cot appear to be as fair as the divine nymphs themselves, what must be the beauty of the ladies of the palace of the Subhādār?" "Turn the palaquin towards Trichinopoly," ordered she, and retreated at once.

The object of our hero was accomplished. There was no more trouble for him. He lived in happiness for a long time with his well-earned reputation and wealth acquired from Navakōti Nāriyaṇa.

MISCELLANEA.

BUDDHIST MUDRAS.1

The mudrās, or symbolic positions of the hands, are not peculiar to Buddhists. The Hindus recognise a large number and a paper, with illustrations, explanatory of the meanings of these would be interesting. In 1879 when I wrote the Appendix on the Baudha Mythology of Nepal added to Notes on the Rock-Temples of Ajanta, I called the attention of the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji to the subject; but he had not taken much note of the matter, and could only name the better known

1 Ante, Vol. XXV. p. 145.
murāra of the chief Buddhas. In Waddell's Lamanism, pp. 136 and 137, is a list of nine of them. The best known are:

1. The Bhāmisparā (bhāmisparśu) or Dharmaparā murāra — the 'earth-pointing' or 'witness' attitude of Śākyamuni Buddha and Aksobhya — Waddell's No. 1.

2. The Dharmachakra murāra or 'teaching' attitude of Vairochana Buddha — Waddell's No. 4. (Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II p. 167.)

3. The Abhaya murāra or of 'blessing' — the left hand open in the lap, the right is raised in front of the chest with the fingers turned outwards and the palm facing forwards, as in Amoghāsiddha. Oldfield (Sketches from Nipal, Vol. II p. 169) calls this the "Awhā murāra" — Waddell's No. 7.

4. The Jñāna murāra, or Padmāsana murāra, the posture of mental contemplation, as in that of Amitābha Buddha. Waddell calls this Samādhi — No. 2.

5. The Vara, Vara or Vāraka murāra, the right hand hanging down over the knee, the palm of the hand turned outwards, symbolizing charity. — Phyag-gyas-kyis, "the right hand of charity." It is the murāra of Ratnasambhava — Waddell's No. 5.

6. The Lalita murāra, of enchanting or bewitching, — perhaps what Waddell calls 'the pointing finger', — No. 9.

7. The Turka murāra, the right hand raised to the chest and slightly contracted (my Notes, ut. sup. p. 101, and fig. 10) is perhaps the same as Waddell's 'preaching' pose — No. 8.

8. The Sarva murāra, of refuge or protection (Jasche's Thib. Dict. p. 26, s. v. shyab); — Waddell's No. 6.

9. The Uttara-bodhi murāra (Cf. Jasche, p. 374, s. v. byan-chad) or pose of 'highest perfection,' ascribed to Vairochana Buddha, — and is apt to be confounded with the Dharma-chakra murāra.

10. The attitude Rangy-myin-gar-thal-mo-bhyarba — uniting the palms of the hands on one's heart, is the following: — the two hands uplifted, a finger of the right hand touching one or two fingers of the left hand, like a man accustomed to use his fingers to explain his meaning. This attitude typifies 'the unity of wisdom with matter,' in Tibetan Thaba-sches or Thabs-dan-sches-rab, or the assuming of the material forms by the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for the purpose of spreading the right understanding among animated beings. — Schlagantwein's Buddhism in Tibet, pp. 208, 245.

In the palaces of Hoffman's Nippon Buddha Pantheon will also be found some information that may be useful.

J. Burgess.

Edinburgh, Nov. 24th, 1895.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLK-LORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIYAH PANTULU.

I.

In the country of Kandahar, a certain king, Mahāvira by name, at a great expense, caused a tank to be dug, two palm-trees deep and a yojana wide, and constructed a bank around it. But all the water in it dried up, notwithstanding a heavy rainfall. The king, seeing that no water remained in the tank he had constructed, at so great an expense, was sitting on the bank with a grievous heart, when one Brunda Muni passed that way. The king immediately rose, went and prostrated himself before the sage, seated him, and began to converse with him; when the sage, looking at the sorrowful countenance of the king, asked him the reason for it. To which the king replied: —

"Sir, I had this tank dug at an enormous expense, but not a drop of water remains in it, and this is why I am feeling grieved."

The sage replied: — "Why weep for this? If you mix boiled rice with the blood of a courageous and liberal king, or with the blood from the throat of a revered yāgi endowed with all virtues and qualities, and offer it to Durgha, whose temple is very near the tank, I dare to say that the water will never dry, and that the tank will be as full as the ocean."

The king heard these words and thought of the difficulty of getting a king answering the description. Then he thought that the sage himself answered the purpose excellently well, being endowed with all the necessary qualities. So he drew his sword, cut the sage's throat, mingled his blood with boiled rice and made the necessary offering to Durgha. From that day forwards, the rain stopped in the tank and it was full to the brim.

Those, therefore, that tender advice to kings must do so in season, for otherwise they will assuredly come to grief.

1 [This name in folk-tales, I think, represents always some part of Bējputṭāh. — En.]
II.

While King Nandana was wielding away over Malabar, a wrestler approached him and said that he had toiled hard and learnt the art of fencing and other similar arts, could fight with wild animals, and could even walk with a huge mountain on his head. But he had found no one, except the king, who could give him the wages due to his prowess. He had come therefore to the king's presence to represent his grievances and earn a proper livelihood. The king heard him and thought that such a warrior would be serviceable to him, and engaged his services at a hundred pagodas a month.

There was a huge mountain near the city infested with wild beasts which were causing great havoc among the people. The king therefore sent for the wrestler and said:—"You declared, you know, that you could carry a mountain on your shoulders. A mountain there is in the neighbourhood, which is the cause of much suffering to the people. Take it away to a distant spot and return hither."

The wrestler assented to the proposal, and on the next day at dawn, the king took him with his ministers, priest, and a retinue of soldiers to the vicinity of the mountain. The wrestler girded up his waistband, tied his turban and stood ready. The king saw him and asked him why he hesitated, and called upon him to take the mountain on his head and go.

The wrestler replied:—"Sir, I humbly gave you to understand that I could carry the mountain on my head, but I did not say that I could lift it up. Kindly command your soldiers therefore to bear the mountain up and keep it on my head, and I will then carry it to whatever place you may command me."

III.

In the village of Pennagatai, on the road from Conjeevaram to Wadiwaksh, there lived an old woman who had a chafing dish and a cock. Day after day at early morn, when the first streaks of light were visible, the cook would crow. All the villagers would then rise, procure fire at her house and go their ways. This state of affairs had run on for a long time, till the old dame took into her head that the day dawned because her cock crowed. She observed that all the villagers cooked and ate after getting fire from her house, and she wanted to see how the day would dawn if she quitte the village, and how the villagers would manage to eat. So she went, unknown to anybody in the village, to a wood afar off with her cock and her chafing dish and sat down there. The next morrow, all the villagers arose, came as usual to the old woman's house, but not finding her there, thought she must have gone somewhere on some errand, fetched fire from some other quarter and performed each his respective duty. In the mean time the old woman fasted in the wood until dusk, when a villager passed by to some other place on a particular errand. She called to him and said:—"I was not in the village this morning, has it dawned there? Have the people procured fire? Have they all eaten?"

He laughed and said:—"Do you think that the whole world depends entirely on your cock and your dish? Why do you sit fasting here? Get up and go home."

She heard him and was abashed, and throwing off the foolish vanity which had made her think that all the world existed through her, she lived happily. 

IV.

In a certain village there lived a merchant who had a deaf friend. The latter, learning that the former was ill, went to enquire after him, and while going along the road, determined to hold the following conversation with his sick friend: "After the usual greeting, I will first ask, 'Well, Sir, how do you feel yourself to-day?' He will reply, 'Better,' and I shall rejoin, 'very good.' I will then make enquiries about his diet, and he will reply 'rice without salt,' and I shall rejoin, 'May it do you much service.' I shall then put the question, 'pray, who is your doctor?' He will, of course, tell me that such and such a person is his doctor, and I may safely add, 'may God assist him in the fulfilment of his work.'"

At length, having come to a resolve, he reached the house, and after the usual greetings, seated himself near the patient and said:—"My friend, how are you?"

To which the patient replied:—"I am very much troubled with a virulent attack of fever."

The deaf man, not understanding what he said, thought that he was answering according to the plan he had settled beforehand, and responded:—"Very good. I hope God will keep you so!"

The patient, who was already peevish with the disease, was made more so by this speech of his deaf companion. The latter next asked what his diet was, and was told that it was the dust of the earth!
"May it do you much good," said he; "and pray, my good friend, which doctor attends you?"

"The sick merchant, boiling with wrath, cried:—
"Doctor! Death himself."

"Very well, may God speed his medicines!" said the deaf companion, and returned home.

V.

Sultan Mahmod 1 used to wage war on foreign countries and to oppress his people at home. His whole dominions lay consequently desolate. Upon this his minister thought that it was imperative to contrive some stratagem by which the king would turn out a good ruler. Accordingly, whenever he spoke to the king he used to relate how he had once been a pupil of a certain Anmadyusin and had learnt the language of birds.

One day, as the king and the minister were returning from the hunt, two owls were sitting screaming upon a tree by the road-side. The king, hearing the noises, called upon his minister to tell him what the birds were conversing upon. The premier listened for a short time, as though he really understood the conversation, and then told the king that they were not words fit for him to hear. The king, however, insisted upon hearing the words.

The vizier, therefore, represented the conversation to be as follows: — "One of the owls has a son and another a daughter, and the two parent birds are negotiating a marriage between their children. The former parent said to the latter: — 'Then, you will give your daughter to my son, but will you give him fifty ruined villages?' To which the latter parent replied: — 'While our Sultan Mahmod by the grace of the Almighty rules so happily, can there be a dearth of ruined villages? You only asked me for a paltry fifty, I will give you five hundred.'"

When the Sultan heard this, he was very much grieved at heart. So he at once ordered the rebuilding of all the ruined villages in the realm, and made his subjects happy and prosperous.

VI.

In the Dandaka forest was a lion which was in the habit of attacking and consuming all the beasts thereof. To rid themselves from the constant fear in which they were kept by his approach, all the other animals proposed to supply the lion with an animal a day if it would not attack them any longer. This promise was agreed to, and kept up for some time. Sometimes after, it fell to the lot of a fox to be sent to the lion, who, by no means relishing the idea of being devoured, walked slowly along, thinking all the while of some plan by which to put an end to the lion and save his own life. The lion, not finding the animal at the proper moment, was very much enraged, and insisted upon an explanation of the delay. The fox rejoined: — "Sir, another fox was sent under my charge by all the animals of the forest as an offering for you, but on the road I met another lion, who took away your meal, and told me to tell you of it."

The lion ordered the fox to take him instantly to the place of his enemy. The cunning fox took the lion to the side of a well, and, saying that the other lion was in it, begged the lion to take him in his arms that he might also have a peep into the well. When the lion saw the reflection of himself in the waters with the fox in his arms, he instantly came to the conclusion that he was looking on his enemy; and having let the fox drop, made a furious leap into the well and immediately perished.

VII.

There was a harlot in the city of Kalyanapura, who was in the habit of fleecing a hundred pagodas from whomsoever might appear to her in her dreams. It came to pass that on a certain night a Brahman appeared to her in a dream. She described him to her servants, and told them to fetch him and extort the money from him. They seized the Brahman as he was going along the road, and told him of the affair, and demanded the money. The Brahman was very much troubled, and pleaded poverty, but they would not let him go under any circumstances. He accordingly represented his grievances to the king who sent for the woman and demanded an explanation of her procedure.

She replied that she demanded the money as the Brahman appeared to her in her dream. The king said that he would pay her the amount if she should wait a little. He accordingly caused a post to be fixed in the street and the sun tied to the hem of a garment and suspended from the top of the pole. He then placed a mirror underneath, and sent for the woman, and told her what he had done and called upon her to put her hand into the mirror and receive the money. She informed him of the impossibility of taking the money by putting her hand into the mirror, and notable doings of the Tughlaks of whom Sultan Mahmod Tughlak was the last (1394-1413 A.D.). — Ed.

1 There have been so many Mahommed Shias in the Dakhan that it is difficult to say which of them is meant in this story. The probability is it refers to the very
requested the king to order somebody to climb up
the post and bring the money down. But the
king replied:—"As the Brâhmin appeared to you
only in a dream, you may take the money that
appears in a mirror; I cannot order anybody to
hand you over the bundle."

On hearing this, the harlot felt quite abashed,
ben down her head and went away. It is there-
fore necessary that those who settle disputes
should be conversant with tricks.

VIII.

There was a weaver in the Karnâtak, Haim-
antaka by name, who wore both coarse cloth
and fine linen. But as his profits in the calling
were very meagre, he was not able to keep life
and soul together. Adjacent to his abode was
another of the same profession, Dhimanta, who
lived happily on the large income he derived by
weaving coarse rough fabric. Once upon a time
Haimantaka approached his wife and represented
his grievances to her, told her how, despite his
intelligence in his art, he was not able to eke
out a livelihood, and how much better placed his
brother-weaver was, though weaving only a
coarse stuff.

"My talents are unknown to any one in the
place," said he, and determined to quit his home
for another place with the object of amassing as
much wealth as possible.

His wife rejoined:—"Of what avail is your
going to a distant quarter? You will get only
as much as it has fallen to your lot to earn."

Despite her remonstrances, he quit his abode,
went and settled for a time in a far-off country,
woe such cloths as were in consonance with
the requirements of the place, made consid-
erable money by the transaction, and wedded
his way home. On the way he stayed at an inn, and
accrued his treasure in a corner went to rest for
the night. While he was enjoying 'the honey-
heavy dew' of slumber, thieves rushed into the
inn and purloined every item of property, so that
when he rose up the next morning he found to
his utter disappointment and distress that he
had nothing left. He thus learned, very dearly
indeed, the truth of his wife's statements, from
the school of experience. Andfeeling very des-
pondent, lived upon such small gains as he could
make at home. The moral of this is: unlucky
anywhere, unlucky everywhere!

IX.

The King of Kalinga had a washerman who used
to wash his clothes exceedingly well and bring
and give them to him daily. One day, the king
was exceedingly pleased with the scrupulously
clean manner in which the clothes were brought to him
and promised the washerman to grant any one
prayer he might make. The washerman looked at
the king and said that he was most anxious to be-
come the king's minister, and requested the king
to bestow the post on him. The king did so,
dispensing with the services of his old minister, who
had served him for a very long time.

It came to pass that, not long afterwards,
a certain other king having heard of the weak-
ness of the washerman-minister, raised a huge
army and gave battle. His master having heard
of what had come to pass, called upon the new
minister to muster his forces, to which he replied
that as he had already made the necessary prepa-
rationst, there was no cause to fear the enemy.
The king fully believed in this statement, but
was sorely disappointed, for not long afterwards
the city was bombarded by the hostile armies.
The king sent at once to the minister, told him
of what had happened, and enjoined of him as to
the arrangements he had made.

The minister responded:—"There is nothing
to fear in what has come to pass. But I find
that the task of ruling a kingdom is a big affair,
and while I was thinking of how best to rid
ourselves of this difficulty, the enemy chanced to
enter and blockade the city. Let them, there-
fore, undergo the perils of governing the king-
dom. As for me, I used to wash the clothes of
about a hundred families in this city, but since
my elevation to the ministership I have had to
give up my calling. I will now, therefore, resume
it, and give you one-half the work and reserve
the other half for myself; the calling being no
trouble to me. On these considerations I have
made no preparations for war."

The king was very much grieved when he heard
this, but thought the result to be the natural
punishment of linking himself to a fool.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

KAVIRAJ, AS A MUSALMAN TITLE.

There are two or three Musalman life-convicts
at Port Blair, bailing from Bengal, who bear the
designation of Kaviraj, and who appear to have
been petty druggists and quacks previous to
their conviction. This is a clear instance of the
preservation by the descendants of converts to
Islam of their old Hindu family designation.

R. C. TEMPLE.
THREE DATES OF THE HARSHA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

A.—An inscription of [Harsha]-Saumvat 184, from the Panjab.

SOME five years ago Dr. Fleet sent me an impression, which he had received in 1887 from the late Prof. J. Darnesteter, of an inscription which is somewhere in the Panjab. This inscription contains four lines of well-preserved writing which covers a space of about 11' by 6' high. The average size of the letters is between 14' and 15'. The characters are closely related to those of the Sūrālā alphabet, as is shown by the forms of the letters t, dh, s, a, the medial ḷ, and the superscript ḹ; but for n the peculiar form of that letter is used which we have, e.g., in the Khābā or Khānapāna (in Bhāratpur) fragmentary pillar inscription of the Śrāvaṇa family (ante, Vol. X. p. 34, Plate), and in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of the Mahārāja Vinayakapalā of [Harsha]-Saumvat 188 (e.g. in the word ṣānundya, l. 16, ibid. Vol. XV. p. 141, Plate). They include numeral figures for 1, 4, and 8, in line 1, and for 1 and 5, in line 2. Of these, the figure for 4 is the numerical symbol, resembling the akeṭha ṣaṭa, which we find (employed like an ordinary numeral figure) e.g. in line 30 of the Chamba plate of Sōnavarmanadēva and Šravāna (ibid. Vol. XVII. p. 13); and the figures for 1, 5, and 8, are almost identical with the figures for the same numerals in the Bakhshali manuscript (e.g. ibid. p. 47, Plate 1, lines 8 and 9). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit; and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, it may be noted that ṣ is doubled before ṛ in the word Vigraha, in line 3.

After the words dhā sausādi ṣaṭa ṣaṭa, the inscription has the date saumvat 184 Śravāna-vati 15 atra pūṇa, 1 in the year 184, on the 15th viṣṭi of the dark half of Śravāna, on this day. 1 This date does not admit of verification, but there can be no doubt that it must be referred to the Harsha era, and that, therefore, it approximately falls in A. D. 789-90, a time which well accords with the palæography of the inscription. As regards the wording of the date, attention may be drawn to the employment, instead of the ordinary vati, of the term vati, with which we may compare its counterpart vātī, for ṣaṭa, in the dates of the Delhi Śivālik Pillar inscriptions of Vlshaladeva (ibid. Vol. XIX. p. 213). In editing those inscriptions, I have stated that ṣaṭi and vati are commonly used in Kāshmīr, and that, therefore, it is not at all strange that we should find instances of the usage of both also in the northern parts of India proper. After the date, the inscription apparently refers itself to the reign of a certain Vigraha, and it then records the foundation of a well or tank by Dhūna, the son of Agdhūna. It ends with the word likhitāni, but the name of the writer is either broken away or was not accessible in the original, when the impression was taken.

Text. 4

1 Ṣaṭaṭa ṣaṭa ṣaṭa 184
2 Śravāna-vati 15 atra ṛṭu
3 nē māhu-sṛi-Vigraha-rā[ṣṭi]ya "ghōraśi-
4 va-putra-Dhūnaḥ dhēna vāpi pratiṣṭhitā[ṛ]m[ṛ]Likhī[ṛ]jaṁ
data

1 The sign same is used (in '847'), like an ordinary numeral figure, in line 30 of the Kōla inscription of the Āditya Dēradatta (ante, Vol. XIV. p. 45); and similar numeral figures for 4 we have in the Bakhshali MS.
2 The same figure for 1 is also used in the Chamba plate of Sōnavarmanadēva and Śravāna.
3 The figure for 4 in the plate differs very considerably from the figure given, ante, Vol. XVII. p. 36.
4 From Prof. J. Darnesteter's impression.
5 The word dhūna is both times denoted by a symbol.
6 Read sausādi.
7 I am doubtful about the akeṭha in brackets: the original, possibly, may have ṣaṭ and ṣaṭ.
8 Originally pratiṣṭhitā was engraved, pratiṣṭhitā is used for pratiṣṭhitā (in the sense of etatā).
9 The name of the writer is not given in the impression.
B.—Khajurāhō image inscription of [Harṣha-]Saṅvat 218.

In Archæol. Surv. of India, Vol. X., Plate ix. 1, Sir A. Cunningham has published a photoincograph of an inscription which is on the pedestal of a statue of the monkey-god Hanumāt at Khajurāhō, in the Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand; and ibid. p. 21, he has given his transcript of the text of it, in which the date which the inscription contains is given as ‘sainavatē 140 Maṛgha- Abdullah’ 3. My account of this short inscription is based on Sir A. Cunningham’s own rubbings, which some years ago were handed over to me by Dr. Fleet.

The inscription contains three lines of well-preserved writing which covers a space of 1’ 11” broad by 5” high. The size of the letters is between 1” and 1½”. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, and would, in the absence of any date, undoubtedly be assigned to about the 9th century A. D. In the word Ḥariś at the end of line 3, and probably also in dūmajjama in line 2, they include a form of the final ṁ, consisting of a half-form of ṁ with the sign of vīrūma below it. And they also contain numerical symbols for 200, 10, and 8, in the date in line 2, which I read sainavatē 200 10 8 Maṛgha- Abdullah 10. The symbols which are employed in this date are fairly accurately represented in Sir A. Cunningham’s photoincograph. The symbol for 200 is like the ṛekāra ṛād, except that the left top stroke of the letter ṛ is drawn out into a hook which is turned towards the left. Undoubtedly, the symbol for 100, known to the writer, was essentially like the symbol for 100 which we have e. g. in line 1 of the Mathurā image inscription of the [Gupta] year 135 (Gupta Insr. Plate xxxix, A), and the symbol for 200, used by him, is developed out of the symbol for 200 in line 2 of the Mathurā image inscription of the [Gupta] year 230 (ibid. Plate xii, D). The symbol for 10, which resembles the ṛekāra ṛī, is like the symbol for the same number in line 14 of the Dīghā-Dubái plate of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapalī (ante, Vol. XV. p. 118, Plate), with this difference only that a small circle is attached to the top of the symbol on the right side. And the third symbol is a more developed form of the symbol for 8 in line 1 of the Bijayahāgal pillar inscription of Vaiṣṇavaradana of the [Vikrama] year 428 (Gupta Insr. Plate xxxvi, C), and is essentially like the later sign which looks like the ṛekāra ṛād. The word sainavatē (for sainavatērā) of the date we also have, only spell sainavatērō, in the date of [Harṣa-]Saṅvat 138 of the Bengal As. Soc.’s plate of the Mahārāja Viṇāyakapalī (ante, Vol. XV. p. 141, l. 17), while the date of [Harṣa-]Saṅvat 156 of the Dīgha-Dubái plate of the Mahārāja Mahēndrapalī, instead of it, has sainavatērō (ibid. p. 113, l. 14). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, writing by an uncultivated person.

The inscription divides itself into two parts; the first, proper right half of the three lines (marked A in the text) is in prose; the second, proper left half (marked B in the text) is a verse in the Annshtuṁbha metre. The part A, in line 1, records [that the statue under which the inscription is engraved is the work or gift] of Gōlā, the son of Sāhīla (or Sāhila, as the word is spelt in B); in line 2 it has the date, given above; and in line 3 it adds that Gōlā, i.e., Gōlā, bows down to the holy Hanumāt. And B repeats, in verse, that Gōlāka, the son of Sāhīla, piously made (or gave) the [statue of] Hanumāt, the son of the Wind.

The only thing of interest in the inscription is the date, partly because this date also, in my opinion, must be referred to the Harṣa era, and partly because, if my views regarding the era which is employed here be accepted, this for the present is the latest certain date from an inscription in India proper, in which numerical symbols are made use of. Concerning the first point, I need only state that for Harṣa-Saṅvat 218 the date would correspond to

10 See also ibid. p. 20: ‘The date is in the beginning of the second line, which I read as “Saṅvatēr ṛūṭaḥ hundreds nine (and) forty,” the figures being those of the old notation with the 9 placed immediately on the right of the symbol for hundreds.’

11 A similar (not quite the same) form of final ṁ is used in the Kōṭā inscription of the Saṅvatē Dēvadatta, ante, Vol. XIV. p. 43.

12 Compare also the symbol for 100, in the symbol for 400, Gupta Insr., Plate xxxvi, C, line 1.
Three Dates of the Harsha Era.

Friday, the 15th January A.D. 824, which is just about the time to which the inscription would be assigned on palaeographical grounds, and that we know of no other era of which the year 218 would fall in the 9th century A.D. And as regards the second point, the latest Indian date with numerical symbols, from an inscription dated according to one of the well-known eras, hitherto was that of the Bengal Az. Soc.'s plate of Vinayakapalasa of [Harsha-] Sainvat 188 = A. D. 793-94. It is a curious, but rather significant fact, that that date of Vinayakapalasa's plate is the only other known date which, like the date of the present inscription, contains the word samvatii.

Text.

A.—1 Öür [i8] Göllii7 Sahilā-pū(ṇ)ḷitra-sa
2 Saṁvatara10 300.10.9 Māgha-sudi13 10 [[i]]
3 Srl-Hanumantī Gollāṅkā ṁ prajamati [i8]

B.—1 Sahilāśya26 sutāḥ śrīvāmśa-śrīvāmśa34 =Pūa-
2 van-ātmaja [m] i2 [a] karōd-chharmam-ā-
3 lōkyan Gollāṅkō31 prākṛitaḥ Harim [i8]

C.—Pañjāur inscription of [Harsha-] Sainvat 563.

In Archaeol. Surv. of India, Vol. XIV., Plate xxii, 3, Sir A. Cunningham has published a photozincograph of an inscription in four lines, which he discovered at Pañjāur (Panjor, Pañchapatra), an old town about 70 miles north of Thanedar, and 80 miles north by east of Pahora Pehora),24 in the Pañjāb; and ibid. p. 72 he has given, without any comment, a transcript of the text, in which the date of the inscription is read as 'saṁvat 56... Jēth Śudā 9 śrī Śukrā.' Although I possess an excellent impression of this inscription, kindly given to me by Dr. Ferozji, I am not prepared, owing to the confused state of the second and third lines, to publish the full text, which, indeed, with the exception of the date, does not seem to me to be of any importance. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, greatly influenced by the Prākrit of the writer. The characters look like a mixture of the ordinary Nāgari and the Sāradā characters; they in some respects resemble those of the Cambi plate of Śālavarmadēva and Āśatadēva, and still

13 TheJumna 10th tithi of the bright half of the same month Māgha of the [Harsha] year 153 of the date of the Dīghā-Duballī plate of Mahendrapāla, which admits of verification, corresponds to the 29th January A.D. 761.

14 The only later date, hitherto published, of an inscription in which the Harsha era is employed, is that of the Pehora (Pehora) inscription of the reign of Bhajadēva of Kausū, of the year 218 (given in words and numeral figures): Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 156. I take this opportunity of stating that the Prākṛti-chaturved, which is mentioned in the Pehera inscription (see ibid. p. 155, note 25), is the 14th tithi of the dark half of the month Chaitra (or vṛṣīmatsya Vaiśākha), and that it is so called because something in the Ganges near Siva on a Tuesday during this tithi is believed to remove trouble from Pīśīkha.

15 In Nepāl we have an inscription of [Gupta]-Sainvati 535 = A. D. 835-35, in the date of which numerical symbols are used (ante, Vol. IX. p. 168, Plate), and even one of the Nasair year 539 = A. D. 1138-39 (Prof. Bellamy's Journey, p. 51, Plate).

16 From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings.

17 This is used in the sense of the Genitive case; judging from the list of names, given in Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 171, the proper form to employ would have been sūkīkaśya.

18 Read āsāstetvān, and see my introductory remarks.

19 The rubbings have clearly śūdī, not sūdī, which is the reading of the photozincograph.

20 Metre: Śīlka (Amuelsbub).

21 The writer apparently meant to say śrīvāmāñā Hanumantī.

22 The photozincograph, instead of m and the sign of punctuation, has here an akṣara which looks somewhat like śī and was so read by Sir A. Cunningham; but I have no doubt that the sign in the rubbings is a final form of m, followed by the sign of punctuation.

23 If the following prākṛitās, which is quite clear in the rubbings, is correct, Gollāṅkā must be altered to Īśūlāḥ; but I do not understand the exact meaning of the word prākṛitās, nor do I see how the words prākṛitaṃ Harim are to be construed with what precedes.

24 See Archaeol. Surv. of India, Vol. XIV. Plate i.
more those of the Chambā plate of Bhātavarmadēva.26 Owing to the nature of these character it would be somewhat difficult to assign the inscription on palaeographical grounds to any particular century; it is sufficient to say that it cannot well be earlier than the 11th, nor later than the 14th century A. D.

In line 1, after the words śūn svasti [śūn] it, the inscription contains a date which I read—

Śaṅkavat26 563 Jātha-kudī 9 vāra Śakrab.27

Three of the four numeral figures of this date are not drawn very accurately in Sir A. Cunningham’s photozincograph. In the original, the figure for 5 is like the figure for 5, e. g., in line 33 of the Harsha inscription of Vigrahāra (Ep. Ind. Vol II. p. 124, Plate); the figure for 6 is a more ornamental form of the figure for 6, used in the Bakhshālī manuscript (e. g., in lines 25 and 26 of Plate ii., ante, Vol. XVII. p. 276); and the figure for 9 resembles the figure for 9 in the Sīyādā inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. I. p. 175 ff.) The figure of the unit of the number of the years (which is fairly well drawn in the photozincograph) may be compared with some of the figure-numerals for 3 in the table of Prof. Bendall’s Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts28; there is just a possibility that it might be interpreted as 2, but I believe that it is really 3. Put into proper Sanskrit, the date would be—

Śaṅkavat 563 Jyaiśtha-kudī 9 Sukra-vārī, i. e., Friday, the 9th of the bright half of Jyaiśtha of the year 563.'

Considering the locality where the inscription is, and the fact that on palaeographical grounds it has to be assigned to some time between the 11th and 14th centuries A. D., I feel sure that the era to which the date must be referred here also is the Harsha era. The only other date with details for verification, which may be confidently referred to this era, is the date of the Dīghā-Dubaulī plate of the Mahārāja Mahādrāpaḷa,29 the 10th of the bright half of Māgha of the year 155, which has been shown to correspond to the 26th January A. D. 761. Now, judging from that date, and assuming the years of the Harsha era to have been Chaitṛādi years, our date of the month of Jyaiśtha of the year 563 would be expected to fall in A. D. 1168, in Kaliyugā-Saṅkavat 4269 expired. And for that year the date really does work out faultlessly. For in Kaliyugā-Saṅkavat 4269 expired the 9th of the bright half of Jyaiśtha corresponded to Friday, the 17th May A. D. 1168,31 when the 9th tīkhi of the bright half ended 10 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.

That we should have so late a date of the Harsha era, I consider no more strange than the occurrence of dates of the 10th century of the Gupta-Valabhi era; and I expect that more such dates will be discovered, when the country about Thaneswar and Pañjaur is carefully searched for inscriptions.

26 See ante, Vol. XVII. pp. 7 and 10.
26 It may be stated that the dental sibilant is denoted here by the sign which in the Śrāndā alphabet denotes the palatal sibilant, and etc. etc.
27 This may have been altered in the original to vārī Sukra. In a date of Śaka-Saṅkavat 654 from Java we have śūndā instead of śūn svasti; see ante, Vol. XXIII. p. 115, No. 1.
28 The figure for 9 resembles even more closely the figure for 9, used in the Cambridge MS. Add. 1693, which was written in A. D. 1166; see Prof. Bendall’s Catalogue, Table of figure-numerals.
29 See especially the figure for 3 of the MS. Add. 1648, written in A. D. 1216.
31 As there may be some slight doubt as to whether the year of the date is 565 or 562—it must be either one or the other—I would add, judging from the date of the month Māgha of the year 155, the above Friday, the 17th May A. D. 1168, would be the proper equivalent of Jyaiśtha-kudī 9 of the year 562 also, if the year commenced with the month Kārttiκa, or in fact with any of the months from Ashālīga to Māgha.
SPECIMENS OF MODERN BRAHMANICAL LEGENDS.

BY G. K. BETHAM.

No. II. — The Vanavasi-Madhavya.

Part I.

A SALUTATION to the great Gaṇapatī!

The Rishis asked: — 'O reverend all-knowing and most wise Sūta, where is the auspicious place which was formerly called by you Vanavāsi? Be pleased to tell us in detail how it was built, and how it became holy.'

The holy Sūta replied: — 'O Rishis who desire to know, listen to this holy story, which is the remover of sin and cause of astonishment to all hearers. After the destruction of the (former) world, the great Brahmā, Lord of the Worlds, created many worlds, male and female rivers, causing delight to the people there, and he also created seven cities and seven villages (suburbs?). O great Rishis! listen to their holy names: namely, Vanavāsi, Kusā, Lankā, Kāśmīra, Kandīdpura, Jāhāri, and Mandāri. These are the names of the villages. Vanavāsi was called Kaumudi in the Kṛita-Yuga; in the Trāta-Yuga it was called Bainavāri; it will be called Jayanti in the Dvāpara-Yuga; and it will be called Vanavāsi in the Kali-Yuga. The person who bathes in the Varāda at Vanavāsi will get the same benefit as if he bathed in the Ganges for sixty thousand years. The great rivers are the removers of sin. People who have cursed their passions always go and bathe in the Varāda in the month of Kṛttika, and then return to their own places: therefore it is the holiest river. O great sages, listen to the rules for bathing in that river: — a Bāhman, having got up from his bed during the fourth part of the night, should, being attentive, contemplate the feet of Siva in his mind, and he should wash his teeth, and in this way he should become stainless. Longing for (the state of blessedness) and wearing his cloth, he should afterwards enter the waters of the Varāda according to rules, and first pray thus to the river to remove his sins: — 'O goddess Varāda, remover of sins! Thou that risest in the Sahyādri mountains and goest as high as Śri-Saṅga, I bathe in thy waters to-day! O Varāda, chief of the goddesses, partaker of the power of Gaurī, remover of sins, accept my offerings and become the means of my happiness.' After having given offerings to the river Varāda, he should perform his ablutions, and pleasing the gods and the sages, wearing clean clothes, should become holy. Finishing his daily ceremonies, he should worship the god Madhūkāsa; and all sins committed in former lives, by one act will be thus remitted. There is no doubt that he becomes sinless and gets the same benefit as if he had bathed in the Ganges. The worship of Madhūkāsa is the remover of great poverty, the bestower of great wealth, and the remover of great sin; the Varāda resembles the Ganges, and the god Madhūkāsa resembles the god Viṣṇu. Vanavāsi resembles Kasi and is the giver of supreme bliss.

Now I will relate the history of this place. O great sages, listen to this. Verily in former times there lived a Bāhman, called Mārtanda, who resided in a foreign country. He knew the Veda and Vedic philosophy, and was always devoted to his daily (ceremonial) duties: hospitable, a fire-worshipper, and always charitable to every one. His wife Chandika hated him; crooked-minded, harsh, cruel and disobedient to her husband's commands. Her husband

1 The Brahma-pratā, the Indus (Sindhu), and the Šoḍha are all of the masculine gender.
2 The capital of Vindhya or the modern Bārā.
3 Probably Jējāra: the sacred shrine of Kṛṣṇā Rāma, near Poona.
4 Perhaps Mahaṇḍā.
5 Lit., so the villages are called.
6 I.e., belonging to or consecrated to Binda or Siva.
7 This conversation is supposed to take place in the Trāta-Yuga.
8 I.e., the Namadda and others.
9 Or being beyond the reach of passion.
10 I.e., meditate upon.
11 Ayāna = a Brāhman that maintains a perpetual fire.
being cognisant of this, abandoned her and married another woman according to law. After a while she died and went to hell, where she remained till the end of the Kalpa. She afterwards passed through various existences and eventually became a goblin, and in terrifying form wandered about in the uninhabited forests of the Sahyadri mountains for many years in great distress and without food.

Once upon a time a holy Brâhman, by name Virêsha, a religious man and one of the leaders of the followers of Sîra, who was wandering on the face of the earth, intending to make pilgrimages to all holy places, came to the Varadā, and after bathing in that holy stream and worshipping Madhukēvâra he (Virêsha) was returning to his home holding bīleu leaves in his hand. Seeing the holy Brâhman passing through the Sahyadri forest the goblin, hungry and thirsty, came to devour him. On seeing her, he, being distressed and frightened, ran away fast, but she followed him quickly and seized him violently. In his extremity the Brâhman threw the bīleu leaves upon her, and at the mere touch of them she left him and went far from him. She fell at his feet crying: — 'Save me! save me!' Seeing her, the wondering Brâhman asked her what was the matter. That worshipper of Sîra, whose heart was full of fear, said to her, who was unfit to be seen and of terrible voice and horrible shape: — Virêsha said: — 'O most cruel, terrible and fearsome goblin, tell me who you are and why you have such an ugly shape.'

Hearing the voice of Virêsha and remembering her former sins the goblin replied: — 'Previous to this, I was the wife of a Brâhman in my fifteenth birth. O Brâhman, my husband’s name was Mārtanâja and my name was Châpi∥ika. Sometimes I used to wish evil to my husband and did not act according to his wishes: weeping and casting myself down on the ground I daily cursed my husband, and I used to weep when ever I approached him. I subdued people by various philtres and charms; and I was addicted to adultery and also to improper conduct. I stole money belonging to my husband and gave it to other people. I used to eat before my husband ate and I ate from the cooking utensils: my husband used to eat after me and I used to stand before him in dirty garments. I used to sit on the broom, on the mortar and on the threshold. I used to look at my husband severely and speak to him harshly. I was addicted to drinking and used to talk to Śâtras. If any beautiful person came within my view I subdued him forcibly with charms and philtres and sported with him to my heart’s content.

'Once upon a time, when under the influence of liquor, I burned down my husband’s house, and my husband knowing me to be of such bad habits abandoned me. He married another woman according to the law, and after a while I died and went to Śyāma∥a[?]'. Yâma on seeing me despised me deeply, and saying 'O servants, throw her down, beat her and bind her,' he of the terrible shape plunged me into torment. He made me live in hell up to the of the Kalpa and caused me great distress. After that he caused me to enter the wombs of the lowest kinds of animals. I will tell you of those lives, and when I think of them I tremble: — in the fourteenth life I was a tigress; in the thirteenth birth I was a lioness; in the twelfth life I was a (female) alligator; in the eleventh life I was a mongoose; in the tenth life I was a lizard; in the ninth life I was a python; in the eighth life I was a vile bitch; O Brâhman, in the seventh life I was a sow; in the sixth life I was a hen; in the fifth I was a serpent; in the fourth I was a porcupine; and in the third I was a crow: in the second birth I was a Mâhâr born blind and affected by leprosy, and the cavities of my nose and ears were full of ulcers and worms: my relations and even my parents deserted me — unhappy, writhing, weeping, distressed with hunger and thirst and full of sores. A certain Brâhman saw me in this condition, burnt by the sun, naked and unable to walk. Uttering the words 'Sîva!'
Siva! he went away, and I, distressed in various ways, died on the spot. I then entered into the womb of a goblin, and there also I was in great distress. I had a large and protruding belly, a large mouth and nose, hollow eyes, tawny hair, my hands and feet were like tali (palm-leaves), my neck was thin enough to pass through the eye of a needle, and my voice was as terrible as the clouds at the end of the Kalpa. And now my shadow always looks like the sky, water seems like stone, trees look like brambles, and what I eat appears like poison: distressed in this way, I have passed five hundred years. But having fortunately seen you I consider myself blessed. I once heard the name of Siva when I was in the form of a Mahar, and owing to the greatness of that merit I have met you to-day. O great sir, relieve me! The good are full of compassion.

So greatly lamenting she fell prostrate at his feet. The humbled woman, remembering her trials, wept sore and the great sage saw her rolling, much distressed, on the ground. His heart melted with compassion for her, and in order to remove her sorrow he said:—

'O goblin daughter, get up and take courage: I will relieve you to-day; be quiet, be quiet.' So saying, he went away from her and made a cavity of his hands:—'O goblin, hollow-eyed, fearful and of trembling body, hear me! The Varadā is the holy river for men. She is in the city of Vanavāsi. She actually bestows beatitude; the mere beholding of Madhukēśvara secures happiness. What reason can there be for anxiety for men after death, when there is so great store of happiness there?' So saying, he took her with him and went back to the Varadā. Seating her on the bank of the river he bathed himself, and then plunged her body in the sacred stream, saying: 'May Madhukēśvara save (you)!' At the mere touch of the holy water she lost her goblin shape and he adorned her body with the cast-off flowers of Madhukēśvara. Immediately the followers (attendants) of Siva, brightening all the eight directions (of the heavens), came quickly to them with the vinaṇḍa. They placed the lovely woman, wearing beautiful garments and smeared with sandal-wood powder, in the vinaṇḍa, which grants all desires. Then the good woman, adorned with all kinds of ornaments and accompanied by the Brahman, felt much satisfied in her heart, and after walking round the Brahman and worshipping Madhukēśvara, she, shining with her own lustre, got into the vinaṇḍa, and while all the people and the people of Vanavāsi were looking, she was borne swiftly to the paradise of Kailasa.

Vanavāsi is the place to live in, Madhukēśvara is the object to be seen, the Varadā is the river to bathe in for all people searching for religious and other happiness. Therefore Madhukēśvara should always be chosen as the object of worship. That merit which is obtained by charity, that benefit which is gained (by bathing) in holy waters, that happiness which is to be found in all other sacred places is to be gained by worshipping Madhukēśvara. O good people, a certain hunter named Hūṇḍa coming (to Vanavāsi) with the intention of stealing, saw the worship of Madhukēśvara, and went to Kailasa."

Part II.

A salutation to the great teacher Dattātreyā!

The Rishis said:—"O great sage, whose sin has been put away by saluting the feet of Siva, thou who knowest, by the favour of thy teacher, both the past and the future, we pray thee to tell us in detail the holy story of Madhukēśvara. Who was the hunter named Hūṇḍa, and where did he come to steal? When did he come to Madhukēśvara-protected Vanavāsi? When did he see the worship of Siva, and how did he attain to final happiness? Thinking over all this, please tell us in detail."
Sūta replied:—"O assembly of Rāhis, who are desirous of hearing, listen to my story, by the mere hearing of which your devotion to Siva will be increased. O Brāhmans, formerly in the Trīṭā-Yuga, in the time of the great sage Maṇa, there lived a certain hunter named Huṇḍa, the leader of the tribe of Pulindas. He was cruel, a slayer of animals and fond of hunting: he was very expert in the use of the bow, and he was very brave. He had four brothers, who were like him and were always murderers. The wicked Pulinda lying in wait used to kill travellers; the evil-hearted man was always anxious to take away the wealth of others. Doing this and being eager to amass great wealth he meditated where to build a fort that his enemies could not enter.

While he was debating with himself in this way, his beloved wife Pulikālī, the daughter of Bahunḍa, a cruel woman, thought: 'Now I will ruin my father's enemy.' So thinking she came gently to her husband, and Pulikālī spoke thus:—'There is no doubt that all your followers are against you, therefore you should always act circumspectly. The fortress belonging to my father is in a hut on a mountain. There is no doubt that it belongs to us by inheritance. There is much water on the hill which cannot be found by strangers, and there are many lions, tigers, bears, etc., there, and in the hill there is also great treasure which has been amassed by my ancestors. A king named Malla, residing in the city of Bainadvī, knowing that my parents had grown old, came there with a large army. Besieging the hill-fortress he killed my parents; and taking all the wealth and turning out our followers and relations, the brave king, Malla, took possession of the fortress. I, who had been turned out and gone to another country, came to you. Up to this time I have never told this to you. 'I shall do something when opportunity offers'—thinking thus, O husband, I did not tell you this before. He now resides in Bainadvī, having his heart and mind attached to it. He has a few warriors, but they are not very brave. You are wise and powerful, and your brothers are powerful also. You have many mountaineers, i.e., Ándhras, Kirtātas, Kunas, Pulindas, Pulásikas, Kaśas, Kañsas, Abhirās; all these are always attached to you. O my beloved, I should like to start this very day.'

Hearing this speech of Pulikālī, the chief of the Pulinda tribe praised his wife for her foresight, and said to the leader of his men:—'O Kumbhānda, by my order call all the dwellers in the forest quickly, with their weapons: call all the hunters of my caste, the Pulindas, the Birakas, all the Prahnikas; and all our other friends. This day I intend to scale the best of the hill fortresses.'

Hearing him say this, Kumbhānda, according to the orders given him by Huṇḍa, sent messengers to the various hill forts and forests to summon all the leaders of the hunters residing there. On receiving the summons all the hunting tribes set out, keeping one man behind for the protection of their respective homes. Some mounted on horses, some on elephants, some on donkeys, some on jackals, some on lions, some on tigers, some on bears, some on porcupines, carrying bows, painted bows, clubs, javelins, spears, maces, slings, and swords in their hands: all the tribes living in the forests of Maṇḍa, Muna, Bhata, Bherinda, etc., (came). Seeing them come, Huṇḍa harangued them as follows:—'All the warriors have become proud and puffed up because they are living with Malla. They killed my wife's parents, captured the fort and drove all my relations away to foreign countries. This day, accompanied by you,
I will besiege the fort, and having killed all the defenders I will afterwards destroy her principal enemies.\footnote{I. e., uttered the words ‘Sādhu, sādhu’: the challenge of wrestlers to each other, the sound produced by the beating of the hand on the arm and thigh.}

Hearing Hurda’s speech, all the leaders of the mountaineers accepted it and cheered.\footnote{Musical instruments, not now in use.} He then set out, followed by them, for the hill on which the fort was situated. At the time of his departure all kind of music were played, many large drums, cymbals, bells, kettle-drums, side-drums, tambourines, madhas,\footnote{The modern serdapa, tabar.} mandalas,\footnote{Various sorts of drums.} majhālas\footnote{The people of the Tulū country or Tulū-speaking people.} and golden horns. Being excited by the music they went with him, cheering and shouting. From the different kinds of cheering and shouting, it would seem as if the god of death had come accompanied by thunder-clouds, and the Taulavas\footnote{That is, made him master of the hill.} wondered what it was. Thus making an uproar, they terrifiedly ascended the hill, going from one forest to another; and clambering over large rocks, they at length came in view of the fortress, situated on the top of the hill: the stones of which are always wet with the spray of waterfalls, having the soothing sound of bamboo blown by strong breezes, and beautified by numerous date palms, kēvals\footnote{The great-flowered jessamine (Jasminum grandiflorum).} trees and palmynas and fan palms. The hill, having betel-nut trees on it, looked lofty and shapely as the betel-nut tree, and was fragrant with the sap of the large sandalwood trees broken by the elephants (in their passage).

On seeing the fortress they (the assailants) cheered. The soldiers of Malla, residing in the fort, heard them shouting, and viewing them from the interior of the fortress, they jeered at them: — ‘these soldiers are weak, our (leader’s) parents, being unsuspecting and old, acted foolishly, but we are strong.’ Thus thinking, they carried Hurda and placed him on the top of the hill.\footnote{Jasminum arboreascens: a small tree bearing large white flowers.} They all came, by his orders, went back to their respective homes, as they came. When they were all gone, the hunter made himself happy with his wife, and during the night he used to descend from the hill and plunder the market-towns, returning to the hill with his booty. O Brāhmaś, after a time, he thought (much) that he would revenge himself by murdering Malla on a certain night. Then the wicked man got ready to go with his brothers and his followers, disguised as pilgrims, on one śravātri. They set out with some pilgrims in the pretence of going to the yādra of Madhukēśvara at Bairavī. On the way they all sang (hymns), muttered prayers and meditated, being devoted to the feet of Siva. Having bathed in the river Varadā, and having applied holy ashes to their foreheads, they, wearing rosaries and carrying things necessary for worship, stood near Siva. Then Hurda, pretending to be a pilgrim, stood with the other pilgrims in the māndapa of Siva. Malla then came there with his wife and sons and daughters, and the people of the place, and performed a great worship with auspicious bīravas\footnote{The coral tree (Erythrina fulgens) \footnote{I. e., Malla.} A favourite form of worship.} leaves and ḍrīkās\footnote{A great-flowered jessamine (Jasminum grandiflorum).} flowers, mālattis\footnote{Equisetum corymbosum.} flowers, kēvals\footnote{The people of the Tulū country or Tulū-speaking people.} flowers, and ḍrīkas\footnote{That is, made him master of the hill.} flowers; also with coloured rice, various kinds of dainties, coconuts, pomegranates, plantains, jackfruit, mangoes, grapes, dates, etc. Intending to please Madhukēśvara with his great devotion, he offered these sacrifices to Sambhu with great respect and effusiveness. At the end of the worship the great king\footnote{Aegle marmelos.} served the god with a dance. All the people who had come there, besmeared with holy ashes and decorated with holy rosaries, performed worship in many ways. Some recited Pārṇās, some said prayers some chanted Vēdas, some told religious stories, some read from the Sāstras so as to please Siva, some uttered holy spells and some muttered prayers, and some devotees of Siva danced, throwing up their garments.\footnote{A favourite form of worship.} In that great festival some dancing-girls danced, and various
kinds of musical instruments were played, and many devotional songs were sung. Having finished the great worship in the presence of the god, he offered oblations, together with the other principal people and citizens who were present. He offered the oblation in the name of Siva and also in the name of the protector, and he kept awake till the auspicious time.\textsuperscript{45} He worshipped the pair (husband and wife), and gave various charitable gifts.

Hunḍa meanwhile was watching his opportunity during the great ceremony. Keeping himself awake, he was thinking within himself: 'When shall I kill Malla? When he is asleep? When shall I break into the treasury of the god? When shall I burn the houses? When shall I utterly destroy all the citizens?' Thus thinking he could not sleep that night, owing to excitement.

The followers of Malla, taking him for a thief, beat him, and, noticing his movements, told the king about them. The king kept silence at the time, and completed the worship of Īśvara. He ate his meal the next day and satisfied all the Brāhmaṇas greatly. Then calling together all his tributaries and ministers, he made up his mind to kill the cruel Hunḍa and the Pulindas and to take possession of the hill. He therefore assembled many brave warriors skilled in war, and they, being led by many kings, pursued after Hunḍa, and in their pursuit they made a great noise in the forest on that hill.

Hunḍa, seeing that they were come to kill him, ran away, and they pursued him in thousands. Intending to go to his own fortress, he came to the bottom of the hill, where the soldiers of Malla wounded him with their arrows; whereupon, he, being confused, began to run about hither and thither (aimlessly), and they, coming near him, seized him and killed him on the spot. All the kings, after killing his followers and his brothers, went back to their respective homes, and then the country became tranquil. Then the followers of Yama came with their nooses and rods, and bound and beat Hunḍa, and took him to the abode of Yama.

On the way\textsuperscript{46} the followers of Siva, seated on the desire-gratifying vimūna, going quickly, met the followers of Yama and beat them angrily, and, stopping and releasing Hunḍa from the nooses, they caused him to sit in the vimūna. The servants of Yama, panting and standing at some distance, spoke thus: — 'Oh you devotees of the Lord Siva, who are acting properly; we salute you! This hunter is an evil-doer and a slayer of animals, he is not fit to be seen by the god (Siva): therefore leave him and go. He need not to perform the holy worship of Siva on Monday; he never performed the observance of Sivarātri; he did not worship Siva on Ashtami, or on Chaturdashi, or on any holy day. Therefore, leave him and go. He did not go (on pilgrimage) to any place of Saṅkara; he did not bathe in any Tirthas; he never consered himself to the religious observances of Siva. Therefore leave him and go. Doubtless we need tell you nothing more.'

The followers of Saṅkara, on hearing the words of the followers of Yama, replied thus: — O followers of Yama, what you say is just. Now listen: we give you a concise\textsuperscript{47} reply to your many words. Sivarātri is the special day for all who worship Siva. O ye followers of Yama, it is indeed an inestimable benefit to any one if he goes to Siva's (holy) place (on that day). This Pulinda, a righteous person and a leader of the worshippers of Siva, went to the holy river Varadā, and, keeping vigil near Madhukāvāra, witnessed the great worship. Even the great serpent (Mahaśeṣa) cannot count all his merits. Therefore this person deserves to be near the feet of Siva. O followers of Yama, cease your murmuring. Saṅkara always resides in these holy places, Vāraṇasi, Kailasa, Mandara, on the top of the Sahāyāṇī, Gīkara and Madhukāra, Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiyās, Śūdras, and even persons born in the lowest caste,\textsuperscript{48} such as Antyajas,\textsuperscript{49} Chaṇḍālas,\textsuperscript{50} Pulikasas, if they bathe specially in the Varadā on Sivarātri, and see

\textsuperscript{45} I. e., till day-break.
\textsuperscript{46} Āhāra yugasthānāt.
\textsuperscript{47} Lit., in the middle of the way.
\textsuperscript{48} Lit., in the right way.
\textsuperscript{49} Or Varaṇāśī.
\textsuperscript{50} Lit., born of the lowest warks.
\textsuperscript{51} Out-castes of mixed parentage, Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra.
THE VILLAGES IN THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA GRANTS FROM TORKHEDE AND BARODA.

BY GEORGE BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In the Torkhede grant of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda, published by Dr. Fleet in the Epigraphia India, Vol. III, p. 53 ff., the local chief-tain Buddhavaraō grants the village of Gōvāṭṭāna, belonging to the estate of twelve villages, called Sihaṛakkhī, to the community of the Chaturvedins of Badarasiddhi. Dr. Fleet has already stated that Sihaṛakkhī must be the modern Serkhi, mentioned in the Postal Directory of Bombay, and must lie close to Baroda. The identification is phonetically unobjectionable and certainly correct. For the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Gujarāt, No. 29, shows Serkhi north-west of Baroda, on the river Meni, a tributary of the Mahi, in N. Lat. 22° 20', and E. Long. 73° 8'. A little further north lies the small hamlet of Kōtna, which may be identified with Gōvāṭṭāna, or rather its equivalent Gōvāṭṭānaka. Gōvāṭṭānaka would regularly become Gōtūād in Gujarātī. But the hardening of the medial consonants, which is not rare in Pali and in later Prakrit dialects, occurs also in the vernaculars. Badarasiddhi, where the donces resided, is the modern Bōrsad in the Kaira Collectorate. The fact that bādara becomes in Prakrit bora is well known, and is particularly mentioned by Hemachandra in his Prakrit Grammar, I. 170. The vernacular equivalent is bārā. The second part of the compound siddhi must in Gujarātī become siddha, as short final vowels are invariably dropped, as in nāt for ūnāti and numerous other words. The form of the name, Bōrsidh, which thus results, is, I believe, still occasionally used and found also in the name of the Brahman of the town, who are called both Bōrsidhāś (Sheëring’s Indian Castes, II. p. 261) and Bōrsadā. The more common form Bōrsad is the result of the tendency of the Gujaratīs to substitute a for i — whereby they convert, as the proverbial saying is, even Siva into a corpse, Savar, — and to drop the aspiration of aspirated consonants. I may add that Bōrsad is not very distant from Serkhi-Sihaṛakkhī.

A Brahman of the Bōrsad-Badarasiddhi community is also the donee in the Baroda grant of the Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja II., published by Dr. Hultsch, ante, Vol. XIV., p. 196 ff. The name of the town is spelt in this case Vadarasiddhi, because the grant does not use the letter ṛ, but invariably expresses it by ṛ. The majority of the other geographical names in the grant aretraceable on the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Gujarāt, No. 8, in the Daskroi Taluk of the Ahmadābād Collectorate. But it is necessary to correct the reading in l. 31 (p. 209), where Dr. Hultsch doubtfully reads ṛigrāmāraṇa[ṣṭa]śālavallināmi. The bracketed letter is really a badly formed ṛ, as may be seen from a comparison of the ṛ in ucandavrīkṣa (l. 34) and uḍḍhēṭa (l. 45). The name of the village is, therefore, in reality Āśīlāvallī.

With this correction we obtain the following data from the grant, which may be at once confronted with those on the map mentioned:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village granted:</th>
<th>Pushtēvillī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the District:</td>
<td>Kāshahraṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant.</td>
<td>Kāsandra²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map.</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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² Drvjas (śr., twice-born, Brāhmans).

¹ In N. Lat. 22° 54 and E. Long. 73° 32.
AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE FIRST BURMESE WAR.

PREFACE BY R. C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

Some few years ago I purchased a copy of Wilson's Documents of the Burmese War, 1827, in a binding by Hering, unfortunately much injured, which had belonged, by the bookplate in it, to C. Hopkinson, C.B., the fact of the Companionship of the Bath being inferred from the device of the Order depending from the coat-of-arms.

At page 216 there is a MS. footnote of interest in the present connection. It is attached to Document No. 172 (B), which is an extract from the Government Gazette of the 13th April, 1826. This document commences quaintly,—"We have been favoured with the following Journal of the Proceedings of the Deputation to the Court of Ava"—and then proceeds to publish a diary of the deputation. It appears that on the way up the Irrawaddy, on the 28th February, 1826, the deputation met Mr. Price, the Missionary, and, after dinner, "there was a good deal of desultory conversation kept up amongst us. Just before the meeting broke up, he (Mr. Price) acquainted us that he had an interview with the King and Queen the day before in the morning; that great alarm prevailed on account of our deputation; that the Queen fell into hysterics, and that the King, on seeing him, had called out, 'Oh Price, save me': that this was caused by a false idea of the object of the deputation, it being said that the chief of our flying artillery was coming up, that we were spying out the road, and that, under the guise of a present to the King, one of the articles we were bringing was a musket so contrived as to explode without gunpowder." Now the footnote above-mentioned is that attached to this last remarkable statement, and it runs thus: — "This was a very beautiful, well-made, and most powerful steel cross-bow, with silk strings which I had got made just before leaving London, in the beginning of the year 1824, by Jackson, in Wigmore Street, and which Sir Archibald Campbell requested me to let him have to form one of the presents to be sent to the Burmese king. I did so, together with a handsome new silver watch I had just received from Madras for my own use. — C. Hopkinson."
At the end of the book are bound into it a number of blank leaves, on part of which only, as if the writer had intended to include a great deal more than he accomplished, is the document to which these remarks are a preface. It is unsigned, but is written in the same clear handwriting as the note first quoted, and is, therefore, presumably, by the same writer.

The document is commenced merely with "See Appendix, page xxix." and by a reference to that page will be found the official (Government Gazette, May 22nd, 1826) version of the private narrative which the MS. gives of the first attempt to cross the mountains between Prome and Arracan.

At p. 214, in a distribution statement of the British force in Ava (Government Gazette, 6th April, 1826), it is stated that "the Detachment en route to Arracan consists of the 18th Native Infantry, with Lieutenant Trant and Bissett, of the Quarter-Master-General's Department."

I have two copies of a remarkable book, — Two Years in Ava, from May 1824 to May 1826, "by an officer on the staff of the Quarter-Master-General's Department"; John Murray, 1827 — on the front inside cover of one of which is noted, apparently by some one making a catalogue, "[Trant, Capt. J. A.]." That Capt. Trant was beyond doubt the author of this anonymous — and, to my mind, most intelligent of all the individual books on the War — may be taken for granted from a footnote in Lawrie's Pegu, 1854, to p. 287: — "Trant's Two Years in Ava, Ch. X." Now, from p. 416 of that book, which commences a third account of this same expedition, we learn in a footnote that "the contents of this Chapter [XVII.], with but few exceptions, were published by order of Government in the Calcutta Government Gazette for May or June, 1826."

It would thus appear that Capt. Trant was the author of both the printed accounts of the journey from Prome into Arracan; but who the author was of the narrative now published I cannot say, for he could not have been 'C. Hopkinson' himself, as he was too senior an officer to be with the party.

From his copy of Wilson's Documents, we learn who 'C. Hopkinson' was. Thus, at p. 87, where an account is given of the attack on Meldon [Malôn] on 20th January, 1825, we find: — "The efforts of all concerned in the attack were of the most meritorious description, but to none was the success due in a greater degree than to the Artillery and Rocket Corps under Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson and Lieutenant Blake." This notice also accounts for a MS. marginal correction in Col. Hopkinson's handwriting on the same page to a statement in the text: — "Colonel Sale was wounded whilst in his boat." On this Col. Hopkinson remarks, "just as he got ashore."

At p. 194 ff. is given Sir Archibald Campbell's despatch on this action, which contains, and no doubt gave rise to, the mistake as to how Col. Sale was wounded. In this despatch, Sir Archibald recommends Col. Hopkinson to the Governor-General's notice. And, again, at p. 210 ff. is published the Governor-General's Orders after the war, in which "Brigadier and Lieut.-Colonel Hopkinson" is twice mentioned with distinction.

With these remarks I now print the MS. in full. It can be compared, as above said, by students with Trant's two published accounts, which are not at all inaccessible.

Document.

Narrative of an Expedition by a Detachment of the 18th Regiment of the Madras Native Infantry commanded by Major David Ross, and accompanied by Lieutenant Trant of His

1 In a curious collection of old-world chromo-lithographs and plates entitled, 'To the Honorable the Court of Directors of the East India Company these eighteen views taken at and near Rangoon are respectfully dedicated, by permission, by their Grateful, Obedient, Humble Servant Joseph Moore, Lieut. of His Majesty's 98th Regiment,' and published by both Kingsbury and Clay in 1835, in Plate 12 is shown a rocket, rather out of drawing. The Plate is entitled 'Rangoon, the position of part of the Army previous to attacking the stockades on the 8th of July, 1824.' This collection of Plates is worth examining, if only to grasp the difference in methods and implements of warfare between the First and Third Burmese Wars, a period of about 60 years only.
Majesty’s Service, and Lieutenant Bissett of the East India Company’s Service, both belonging to the Quarter-Master-General’s Department, as Surveyors to ascertain the practicability of moving a body of Troops through the Arracan Mountains from Prame to Arracan. The Corps had with it a party of 50 Native Madras Pioneers with two Officers.

The party commenced its march by crossing the River Irawaddy at Pekang Yeh, where it was about 1,600 yards broad; on the 13th March 1826, a short time after the treaty of peace was signed with the Burmese at Yandaboo, from whence it moved to Pekang Yeh in eight pleasant marches, and, on its arrival, encamped close to the River for the facility of embarking, while the Officers occupied the Kyong, which is one of the finest buildings I ever saw, but at present gave us a most melancholy picture of the miseries of war. The richly gilt, embossed and inlaid with coloured glass boxes lay broken and scattered about, as did the books, many of them on religious subjects being in the golden Pali type, thus wantonly destroyed by the followers of our Army. On our approach to Pegam Mhew, the Burmese Chief, who had been sent with as for the purpose of procuring us supplies and assistance, and safe conduct through the hitherto unexplored country by any European, arrived from the opposite shore at 11-0 o’clock, bringing in his company twelve canoes, and the crossing of the River immediately commenced, so that before dark 200 men, with a proportion of baggage, was got over. The elephants, 36 in number, were sent higher up the River, and were crossed over to an island in it, from whence they easily swam the rest of the way over. The next day, the 14th March, was employed in transporting over the remainder of the detachment with the Commissariat, which was effected with the trifling loss of three ponies and five or six bullocks. The breadth of the River at this season was about 1,200 yards, and from the point of embarkation to where we landed, 1,600 yards, with a very strong current. About 11 o’clock next day, 15th, Lieutenant Bissett, of the Survey Department, and myself started with the Commissariat for Sembaya Gung; the Regiment moved in the evening. After proceeding a short distance along the banks of the River, leaving a small fishing village on our left, we struck inland to the village of Kutcheh. The whole of this part of the country is overflowed during the rainy season, and a rich deposit remains on the water subsiding; indeed, the whole soil appears alluvial, and the country, everywhere that we have seen, is extremely fertile, and in the neighbourhood of the village rice was cultivated by irrigation, the water raised, as in India, by the Piccotah, or Yetum.

The village of Sembaya Gung must, from its present appearance, have been very extensive, but it is entirely destroyed, having been burnt by the Burmese when their Army retreated to Cholain Men, when the British Troops carried Maloon, to prevent the inhabitants remaining and giving any assistance in the way of supplies. We took up ground for the encampment of our little party to the southward of the village on the banks of the Cholain River, on arriving at which place we were told that the loads had been plundered from four bullocks, and that this part of the country was noted for its number of thieves; one man was seized, but, no offence being proved against him, he was released.

On the 16th we marched at daybreak, and arrived at the Cholain River about 8 o’clock; the road was extremely good, and evidently very great pains had been taken to make it so, being bordered on each side by a parapet wall of brick, seemingly intended to protect it from the overflowing of the neighbouring paddy grounds which were abundantly watered from the Cholain River. The whole of this part of the country had an appearance of richness and comfort producing the most pleasing effect, and was particularly striking to our party, so long accustomed to have seen little else than abandoned villages and deserted uncultivated fields.

After breakfast I went with Lieutenant Bissett to take a survey of the Fort of Cholain Men, which is a place of great antiquity, being one of the oldest brick forts in the country. It is very insignificant as to strength, but its position is extremely well chosen; three sides of it are completely surrounded with water, and the road to the south, also easily laid under water
also. Formerly the fort was entirely of brick, but there is now little of it remaining, except at the north-east side, but there is one bastion entire, but apparently of a later construction; the sections between the remaining portions of brick-work are stockaded. The circumference of the fort we found about 2,634 yards. The houses both inside the fort and outside had been destroyed as at Sembaya Geung, and for the same reason.

Chlain Men, during the late war, furnished 10,000 fighting men for the Burmese Army, the half of which only proceeded down the country towards Rangoon, and few of those who went had yet returned. It had been intended to have sent one wing of the Regiment, according to the instructions furnished us, by the way of Talack, but we had reason to believe that the road was quite impassable for beasts of burden, and that there was no water, so this intention was obliged to be given up.

On the 17th March we commenced our move at daybreak; the road led through extensive paddy grounds, but which at this season are dry. The high road strikes off to the right at the Pagoda Seeing-noon, and ran in a southerly direction, but is not frequented at this season of the year from the want of water. At this point our march lay in an easterly direction to the village of Pounglahary, which is situated at the foot of a small range of hills covered with jungle, and on the back of a very extensive Jheel, which is formed from the overflow of the great River Irawaddy. On this water there were numerous flocks of water-fowl of all descriptions, so little accustomed to be annoyed or disturbed as to allow us to pass within a few yards of them, and afforded abundant game to those of our party fond of shooting. A large jackal was seen here by Capt. Smith, which proves Major Symes to be wrong in the assertion that there are no such animals in Ava. We encamped on the banks of the Jheel, about a mile from the village, and beyond it. It seemed to be numerously inhabited, the people coming in great numbers to see the "Colars Strangers." From a small hill near the village we had a fine view of the plain beneath, extending to the banks of the Irawaddy, which appeared to be about four miles distant.

Marched, as usual, on the morning of the 18th. The first part of the road winding along the borders of the Jheel, which we then crossed for about a furlong, — to have gone round would have been about a mile — at about a mile from the Jheel we ascended a small Ghant to the Pagoda of Minahutwah, and thence to the village of Kwasoo, which is a considerable place, and in it there are boilers for saltpetre which is produced in the neighbourhood. From Kwasoo to Koonzomy or Coonzomy is a distance of about three miles. Koonzomy is situated on the banks of the Mow River, which river is navigable for small boats. This place is the southern boundary of the Chelain District, which for richness and size is the finest in the Burmese Empire, and is said to contain 200,000 inhabitants. A little above Koonzomy we crossed the Mow River, and passed through the village of Kungulrah, which has a large gill Pagoda and several good Kyungs. Four miles from this place is the village Lehdine, at which we encamped; it gives its name to the District. The road for about two miles before we arrived at Lehdine ran between two Jheels of a large size, which served to irrigate a vast extent of paddy-ground.

This was a very long march, and the detachment did not reach its ground until very late. I was this day with the rear Guard, and did not reach my ground until one o'clock. We got some very fine toddy, which we found most refreshing, and abundance of fine fish. This district is said to contain 24 villages and 10,000 inhabitants, and is generally fertile.

We started next morning at daybreak, as usual; the road led through an extremely well-cultivated country, interspersed with several groves of Palmyra-trees, from which are extracted large quantities of toddy. This morning we had a specimen of the summary justice of the Burmese. The old Chief, who accompanied us, was displeased with some of the villagers: he jumped off his horse, and, seizing a stick, the thickness of his wrist, made some of his attendants hold the culprit's head to the ground. He began beating him with all his strength, taking a spring into the air at every stroke; we with some difficulty persuaded him, after a time, to desist.
We this day passed through several villages, all well inhabited, men, women, and children flocking to look at us; they were all very respectful, and did not appear in any way alarmed; many of them, from their mode of making salaam, had evidently met with Europeans before. To prove the entire ignorance we were in as to the nature of the country, it was always understood that the Upper Provinces depended on the vicinity of Rangoon and Bassein for their supply of grain, and that our having the possession of these places would cut off the supplies from the interior, when, in fact, the reverse is the case, as we could now plainly see, for almost the whole country we had passed from the banks of the Irrawaddy was far better cultivated than any we had seen elsewhere. We this day passed by the village of Sheeegoon, which is inhabited by Shans, a very warlike race; they are something similar to the Burmese in appearance, but with features rather more prominent, and they wear loose trousers instead of the silk or cotton louver worn by the Burmese. We this day encamped at the village of Kevensah, situated on the banks of the Mine River. The country about is low and jungly. This is the southern boundary of the Leb dine District.

In the evening we had a fine view of the mountains, and in the morning (20th March) we moved at daybreak, and, after twice crossing the Mine River, arrived at the foot of the first range of hills, and were now on the eve of deciding the so-much-questioned point of "whether there was a practicable road or not from Ava, through, or over, the Mountains to Arracan" — a fact which, could it have been ascertained two years before, would have saved the Government vast trouble and great expense, by being the means of terminating a most harassing warfare in about half the time it had taken. There was an evident ascent during the whole of this day's march, but nothing but what the cattle could easily surmount; after once more crossing the Mine River, we encamped in the vicinity of the famous Kyoung and Pagoda of Chatvah. The scenery at this place was really magnificent, the Pagoda and Kyoung standing on the summit of an almost perpendicular hill, the Kyoung being gilt from top to bottom. To the southward and westward was a range of hills, and in the valley beneath, in which we were encamped, the Mine River was flowing over its stoney bed clear as crystal, winding its course within a few paces of our tents. The Pagoda of Shoe Chatvah is considered of great sanctity, and resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of the Kingdom. At the Pagoda is shown a mark, an indentation on a stone, said to have been impressed by the foot of Gaudma, and which is held in great veneration. This footprint is enclosed in a small gilt Kion, surrounded by a quadrangular railings; into its precincts admittance can only be obtained by money, exacted by a person appointed by the Government, which demand seemed to be proportioned to the rank of the visitor, the lowest demand seemed not to be less than about the value of 20 Rupees. The poorer classes, from whom payment was not enforced, paid their devotions outside the enclosure.

In descending the hill on our return, one of the party had the curiosity to count the number of steps, which were found to be 970, the whole way covered by a beautiful carved canopy, supported on pillars of carved teakwood.

On moving next morning we followed the course of the river, which wound through the hills for about 4 miles. We then ascended a small range, at the foot of which was an extensive plain covered with the most luxuriant pastureage, and cultivated land, watered from the river Mine. After passing two small villages called Servah and Cheetalanga, we arrived at the large stockaded village of Massah Min, the chief place in the District, and to which it gives its name, and in which are seven villages computed to hold 10,000 inhabitants; its quota of fighting men called for during the last war was 300, none of whom were down the country, but were employed as a Garrison in its stockade, and for the defence of the hills in its neighbourhood—the personal appearance of the inhabitants of this part of the country, not only from a more pleasing cast of features, but with their dress, being nearer than any we had met with before. The stockade did not appear to be of any great strength, and was falling to decay, but surrounded by a thick abititis [sic].
From this place the road led through a small range of hills covered by thick jungle, until we arrived at the small Kyoung village of Doh, and here the country for a short distance was more open. We encamped on the bank of a Nullah which emptied itself in the Mine River, and which we had during this last march crossed and re-crossed nine times. Having had few opportunities of observing the Kyangs until now, we strolled in the evening through the village which was surrounded by a strong palisading as a protection from wild beasts, as well as to confine their cattle during the night. The Kyangs are quite a distinct race of people, inhabiting only the hills; they appear to acknowledge the Burmese supremacy, but governed immediately by a Chief of their own race, and, contrary to mountaineers in general, they are not of a warlike character; none were employed by the Burmese during the war. They appear to have but little idea of religion, beyond the Sun and Moon as affording them light, and their cattle, wine, and poultry as affording them subsistence. The women, on arriving at the age of 40, have their faces tattooed, which gives them a hideous appearance, not improved by their dress, which is composed of black cotton; that of the men in general, white. They are employed chiefly in fishing the mountain streams. The fish, when caught, is laid upon a frame of bamboo, having fires underneath, and thus completely dried, and then become an article of traffic in the valleys, and are exchanged for rice, cloth, &c., &c.

At the usual hour we commenced our march this morning, and almost immediately entered a narrow valley with extremely steep hills on each side, covered with thick jungle, which at this time was dry and withered, from the turning of the long waste grass, a thing that often occurs; and when it does, it, of course, destroys all vegetation for a time, within its course. The Mine River flows through this valley, and we this day crossed and re-crossed it 31 times. At one part of the road the ascent was so steep as to oblige us to dismount from our ponies, and it was the cause of much detention to our baggage. We stopped this day at a confined spot in the valley hardly large enough to give us space to pitch our Sepoys’ tents; we, however, contrived to crowd together.

Knowing that we had to ascend the great range to-day, we moved off at an earlier hour than usual, which was the cause of some unpleasantness from the darkness, especially as the road was broken and rocky, and interspersed with water-courses of some feet deep; at the distance of little more than 4 miles from whence we started, we arrived at the foot of the great range of mountains, and here took our leave of the Mine River after tracing its course, a distance of about 30 miles. We then began to ascend the mountains in earnest, and on foot; to ride was out of the question.

Our horses were led up, ourselves and followers scrambling after in the best way we could, stopping occasionally to rest and to allow the elephants and other cattle to come up. When about a mile up, we stopped to breakfast under the shade of some large trees, procuring water by descending about 200 yards on the north side, where a fine spring rises in a ravine, surrounded by large trees and bushes of . . . . From this place for the distance of about a mile the road was very abrupt, and at one point of its defence was placed a stockade, the position well chosen—the advance to it from the western side being along the top of a narrow ridge from 12 to 15 feet broad and a distance of 5 furlongs, and the whole length of the ridge, with the exception of a narrow footpath, defended by a strong abatis. The road continued very abrupt, and great pains appeared to have been taken with it, but much injured by the torrents of water that must at times rush along it. The soil appeared of a gravelly nature, mixed with sandstone. Three miles farther on, and we arrived at the summit of the Arracan Mountains on the great range of Pokoung Romah Toang, which is now the boundary of our Eastern Empire. The mountain we had just ascended is the highest of the range, and is called Marang-Mateng-toung; the whole of this range, as far as we could see, was covered with a thick

² This and a second like hiatus seem to show that the writer was copying some MS. which he could not always read.
forest of lofty trees, among which we observed the walnut flourishing most luxuriantly, the fruit of which, though not yet ripe, was of a very large size. At a mile further we halted at a stockaded position called Nuddy Gise, which commands the whole of the road, and which, if occupied by even a small body of resolute men, would be a serious obstacle to overcome. Our party here were much distressed from a want of water, none being to be got except at the distance of 600 yards and down an almost perpendicular descent; our elephants and cattle were consequently obliged to go without, although every exertion was made to procure it for them; of course, both men and animals were excessively fatigued by the march; the rear guard did not come up until near two o'clock in the morning, leaving on the road three elephants and many bullocks. One elephant, as if he was perfectly aware of the difficulty, refused to attempt the ascent, even at the commencement. None of these animals could be recovered, although every pains was taken. The distance we ascended in this day's march was six miles, two furlongs.

We could not move this morning until 10 o'clock, but at this hour we set off. Our road was down a most precipitous descent for 6 furlongs, when we came to a small spring of water which flowed in a valley on the right of the road, and here we stopped to allow our cattle to drink; we then descended again a distance of another 6 furlongs, and so very steep was the road that some of the cattle that fell, unable to recover themselves, came rolling over the others and causing great confusion and distress; even the elephants kept their feet with great difficulty. We here found a small weak stockade, intended apparently as an advanced post to the one on the hill. The road from hence wound round the side of a conical hill, with a steep precipice on our right. The whole of these hills were covered with a superior species of bamboo, growing up very straight to an immense height. An accident happened here which might have been attended with serious consequences. Lt. Vivian was leading his pony over a fallen tree, which the animal sprang over, and alighted on some ground which gave way with him, and, being unable to recover himself, rolled over the edge of the precipice and bounded over and over to the distance of 100 yards, when, to the great astonishment of every one looking on, the animal regained its feet apparently uninjured and began eating the surrounding leaves. Pioneers and ropes were obliged to be sent down to drag him up, and on his resurrection even his saddle was found to be uninjured. The nature of the ground during this march was much the same, being generally on a ridge on the side of a hill running around it. We had, at different times, a sight of the stockade we left in the morning, now towering above our heads and seemingly mingled with the clouds. At dusk we encamped at the fall of a ridge at a place called Waddeh. A short way down the southern side of the ridge was a spring of water, and the access to it not difficult — a most important relief to our poor cattle. On this day's march the baggage arrived between 9 and 10 o'clock P.M. The ascents, after leaving this place were numerous, but the road generally good through a very fine bamboo jungle in which are numerous herds of wild elephants, the tracts [sic] of which could be seen in every direction. There was little variation in this day's march, the road lay over the ridges and peaks of land until within two miles of Surwaywh, when it began to descend gradually, and we shortly found ourselves to our great delight, on the banks of the river Deng [sic]. Here we got plenty of fine fodder for our cattle and good encamping ground for ourselves. We had been led to suppose that from hence to Deng would be but a short march, and that the road was good, but we found, on crossing the river, and ascending the opposite hills, that it was with the greatest difficulty we could keep on our feet, the ground being so remarkably slippery, and as we were marching before daylight, darkness added not a little to our embarrassment. Shortly, however, after the day broke, the road became better, running through a thick jungle. We crossed over eight mountain torrents, all of which had bridges composed of strong wood and well formed, but decay had commenced, and they would have been unfit for our troops to have passed over, which was unlucky, as it gave our Pioneers much trouble to cut and form roads, which they were obliged to do up the steep banks. We again crossed the Aeng River, leaving the hills entirely to our right. The road now ran through a flat country covered with jungle. After
crossing the Kaping Nullah, and once more re-crossing the Aeng River, we arrived at the long-
looked-for village of Aing. Here we found a small detachment of the 68th Bengal Native
Infantry. The headman of the village, with several of his people, came out to meet us, and
afforded us every assistance in housing the men.

We had thus successfully accomplished in twelve days a march through a range of
mountains heretofore entirely unknown to Europeans, and the existence of any road through
which, by which a body of troops could move, was not believed. This point is now decided,
and in any future war with the Burmese this knowledge may be of great importance, leading
as the route does into the very heart of the Burmese Empire. It appears that this road was
commenced about the year 1816 by order of the present King's father, who employed 500 men
for the purpose, giving them at the rate of about seven Rupees a month. The responsibility
and superintendence of the work fell on the Chiefs through whose districts it passed. In 1817
they had nearly gained the summit, when 200 more men were added to the working party, and
the work was in consequence completed in 1818.

We here enquired what means had been used to transport the famous colossal statue of
Gaulma, taken by the Burmese from the Aranaknese across the hills, and were told that forty
years ago orders had arrived for it being sent to Ava by Ingy Kaddoo, for which purpose the
head was taken off, and the body divided above the navel. Three rafts were then constructed,
on which these different parts were floated down the Sunderbunds to Chandwio; thence it was
transported in the same way to Tonglo Kowang, at the foot of the hills, where it remained until
a road was formed to Padova Mew just below Premo. When the road was made, the three
parts were placed on sledges and dragged by manual labour over the mountains to the banks of the
Irawaddy.

The only inhabitants we found at Aeng were Huegoys, the Burmese having long since deserted
to aver the desired retaliation they were likely to meet with from this race of people for the
numerous cruelties they had practised on them during the . . . . and sway of the
Burmese. Aeng is situated in a small plain, surrounded by a thick jungle. In the front runs
the Aeng River, and on each side of the village is a small river, or rather large nullahs. From
this place there is no road down the country, the communication with the lower provinces
being entirely by water through the Sunderbunds.

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Continued from Vol. XXV., p. 312.)

Mr. MANNER'S VARIANTS.

No. 2. — THE ORIGIN OF THE BHUTA PANJURLI.39

When the God Nārayana was in Vaikuntha and when the thirty and three kharōs of gods
who are the offspring of Āditi, and Kāavya and other ascetics, Narada and other Rishis,
Vidyadhara and other Bhuta tribes, and Urvasi and other celestial women were serving at the
feet of the god, one day Brahmā came to pay a visit to the god Nārāyana. At that time the
gate was kept by two watchmen named Jaya and Vijaya. Brahmā asked them thus —
"O Jaya and Vijaya, I wish to go in. Will the god be at leisure now?"

They answered: — "O Brahmā, at this time there are many persons inside, but you will
surely get an opportunity to go in."

* Two versions of this important Bhuta legend have already been given. This is the complete version and
contains many remarkable passages. — R. C. T.
So saying, they let him in. Thereupon he went in and saw the god and thus exclaimed:—

"Victory, victory, unto thee, O thou that fillest the fourteen worlds, thou omnipotent, eternally holy and eternally pure, thou spotless one and good and self-dependent, thou form of transcendent brightness, thou form of immutatable size."

While Brahmá was thus praising him, the god addressed him and said:—"O Brahmá, art thou happy in the exercise of thy authority? Is the whole of the creation in all the worlds progressing?"

To this Brahmá answered and said:—"O god, why dost thou test me thus? Dost thou not know how the worlds are going on? Art thou not he that dost all these things? Why dost thou speak thus, complimenting me? Am I not thy Narayana's servant? Why dost thou make much of thy servant? I am equal to the dust of thy feet. Thou oughtest not to speak so highly of me."

To this Narayana answered and said:—"It is true that you are my servant; but throughout the world if one respects others he will be respected by others; but if one does not respect others, others will not respect him. He should not show him any disrespect. I will tell you something more: hear me. The people of the world commit sin and then blame me. They do not see their own sins, but blame me in vain. When they fall into distress, then only they remember me. But when they are in prosperity they forget me. What shall I do with such men? They commit sin only; they do not do any good deeds. They revile one another. They despise others, saying this man is so and so. Brothers born under the same roof, and of the same parents, quarrel and fight with one another, and fall upon forts and castles, and possess them and enjoy them. They do not support the mother that bore them, but hearken unto their wives, and forsake their fathers and mothers and brothers and hate them. Besides this, they make distinctions and say, that man is of that caste, this man is of this caste; he is of a low caste, I am of a high caste. I must not touch him: it is a great sin for me to touch him. Besides this, they steal one another's property, and covet one another's wives, and envy and hate one another, and kill one another by poison. All such heinous sins they commit. And yet I have not commanded them to do such things. I have not commanded them to observe caste distinctions. I have commanded them not to lie, not to covet another's wife, not to rob another's property, and not to envy others. I have commanded them according to the Shástras which I have made. I have given them commandments according to the word. To me caste is nothing. Wherever righteousness, faith, truth, peace and a quiet mind are found, there I hold communion. Those who do not act according to my statutes and commands have been condemned by me to receive Yama's punishment in hell. Besides this, there are those who make distinctions at feasts. Such also will have to endure the punishment of hell. Now I am very glad that you have come to me. What is the business for which you have come here? Tell me your purpose in coming to me."

When he said this, Brahmá answered and said:—"O Lord, I am always anxious to see thee. But there is no means of doing it. I have no time, owing to pressure of work. Thou knowest it."

To this, the god replied:—"O Brahmá, sit awhile here; now Iswara will come. You can see him also and then go. See the wonderful things that take place here."

To this Brahmá said:—"I do not understand what the cause of this is. Thou must tell me."

To this the god said:—"See! what is to take place must not be told beforehand; whether it is known or not, it must not be told. Remember this advice."

While they were thus speaking, Iswara and Parvati were sitting on a throne in Kailášan, and sixty and four thousand of male demons were dancing joyfully and praising Iswara. They were leaping and shouting, running and biting at each other, and snapping and tearing.
and spitting at each other, and swallowing and sucking at each other, and bawling. In this manner they came before Īśvara, and prostrated themselves before his foot, and begged him to give them his orders. Īśvara commanded them, saying: — "All of you must now come with me to Vaikuṇtha. The god Nārāyaṇa is there. He is the Lord of all. Let us pay him a visit, and return."

At this, the great demons came out very joyfully and descended from Kailāsa. Īśvara and Pārvatī, sitting on a bull dancing like a black-bee, with trumpets and pipes and drums playing, came down from Kailāsa to Vaikuṇtha. At that time the door-keeper Jaya spoke to Vijaya thus: — "O Vijaya, tell me, who is this coming with so much grandeur?"

He said: — "This is Īśvara coming to pay a visit to the god. What a multitude of demons is with him! What is this? Where were all these demons? Where will they get space to sit or move?"

While they were yet speaking, the demons came before and Īśvara came behind them. When they approached the gate, Jaya and Vijaya quickly got up and stood before the gate with clasped hands, saying: — "Be gracious unto us poor gate-keepers; we are always keeping the gate."

So saying and praising him, they kept their post as before. In this manner, Īśvara entered in and began to praise Nārāyaṇa, and Brahmā also praised Nārāyaṇa. After both of them had finished praising him, Nārāyaṇa asked Īśvara: — "O Īśvara, are you dwelling in Kailāsa as in former times, or are you worse off than formerly?"

Īśvara answered: — "By thy grace I have been happy till now."

In this manner, while Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Īśvara were speaking for a long time, the god Nārāyaṇa perspired. Then he scratched his arm-pit. Then some of his perspiration dropped down upon the earth, and out of that perspiration a great boar was born. He came upon every one and drove every one before him. At this, the followers of Īśvara and the gods were astonished exceedingly, and asked the god Nārāyaṇa: — "What is this? Whence is this boar? Where has he been so long? What is the cause of this? Please tell us."

When all the gods asked this of the god Nārāyaṇa, he said unto them: — "O ye gods, hearken. In the world wickedness is increased among men, and they commit great sins. Therefore I have created a boar by my perspiration, and, giving a name to it, I have sent it to give trouble to the sinners, in order to humble them and make them wise."

Then the boar came sighting, grunting and rearing, and striking the earth with its tusks, and digging up the earth with both its fore legs as well as hind legs, and digging a pit and falling and leaping came to the god; and stood before, him trembling in anger, and trembled more and more. Then the god Nārāyaṇa said to Brahmā and Īśvara: — "Behold, the boar is dumb and cannot speak. Therefore it has now come to me that I may give it speech, and is trembling in anger. But now I will take away its form of a boar and give it in a minute before your very eyes the form of a great Bhūta, which is the form of a great man."

So saying, he took hold of the tusks of the boar and lifted it up and threw it away. At once the form of the boar was changed into the form of a man as tall as a cocoanut-tree. Seeing this being, all the gods were very much astonished, and said: — "O Lord, thou art the creator of the men of the fourteen worlds and of all the eighty-four lakhs of species of animals. Through it is not at all difficult to create this Bhūta. We know that thou art a great magician. Thou art very glorious."

While the gods were thus praising him, the man in the form of a Bhūta leapt and came to the god and began to tremble. And yet he could not open his mouth without the permission of the god; and because he could not open his mouth he felt great distress. Then the god, knowing this, said to him: — "Speak now and beg of me whatever is in your mind, be no more in distress."
Then the Bhūta fell prostrate before the god and wept, shedding tears. Then the god said: — “Why do you weep? Tell me whatever you desire. I will give it to you. I will satisfy your longings; do not weep, rise up.”

In this manner, after the god had given him a promise and encouragement, the Bhūta arose and cried aloud, and said to the god: — “O Lord, I am thirsty, I cannot endure this thirst; my throat is dried up without any moisture on account of my thirst. Show me a way to quench my thirst. If I am to live I must first quench my thirst.”

When he begged of the god in this way, the god said to him: — “I know you are very thirsty; now, there is a large tank here called Deva-pushkarāṇi. Go and drink the water of that tank and quench your thirst. Then the Bhūta went to the tank and stood upon the brink of it, and bowing his head drank the water very eagerly, and being filled and joyful, he returned to the god and said: — “O Lord, according to thy command, I went to the tank and drank as much water as I wanted. Now my throat is quenched, and I beg of you to give me some food. Thou hast created me in the form of a Bhūta. Thou only art my stay henceforth. Therefore, please show me a way to obtain food.”

At this, the god said to him: — “Behold, I have created you by the sweat of my arm-pit. Now if I do not support my son, it will be a great shame to me; therefore, I will shew you a great way; do not be anxious. Now, therefore, go down to the world. There are many sinners there. They have infants and cattle, and children and calves, and cows and she-buffaloes and he-buffaloes, and young heifers and young bulls, and many other animals. If you go and enter into the cowpens belonging to the sinners and attack the animals, they will come and see. I have, therefore, created and sent fifteen hundred kinds of diseases before you. I send you as a promoter of the diseases, and also, that you may get food, I have kept there wise men and charmers and fortune-tellers, who can distinguish the diseases from the doings of the Bhūtas. Now if you go to the world and give trouble in the houses of the sinners, they will consult the fortune-tellers and come to know that the trouble was caused by you, and then they will put their trust in you and do just as you tell them. And they will believe in you gladly out of fear, lest you should give them more trouble if they do not believe in you. Then you can take whatever sacrifices you like; have no fear as to that. You can take sheep, fowls, and such sacrifices of flesh; besides this, you can take tender coconuts and ripe cocanuts, baked rice and beaten rice, jaggery and sugar-cane, and cakes of various kinds, and torches and signet; all such sacrifices you may take. Do so and give trouble to the sinners of the world and fill your stomach and be happy.”

So saying, the god gave him a blessing and said: — “Behold, go you before, and I will send behind you many Bhūtas into world. Go you before and receive the sacrifices.”

When he said this the Bhūta asked: — “O Lord, if I go into the world and possess a man and make him to tremble; then, if they ask me who I am, what shall I say? What is my name? You must give me a name.”

Then the god said: — “Behold, your name is Pañjuri Bhūta. I give this name to you. Establish this your name in the world, and receive sacrifices and homage and be happy.”

So saying, he sent him away. Then the Pañjurī searched for a way to come down to the world from Vaikuṇṭha. He saw many ways, but he took the way that led him to the district of Yelenāṇḍu on the Ghāṣṭra. So he descended to the valley of Yelenāṇḍu, and wandering for seven days and seven nights he came to Subramanyā and made obeisance to the gunga and prostrated before the god Subramana and said: — “O Lord Subramanyā, I have come near thy feet; be thou also kind and gracious unto me wherever I go and help me and prosper me.”

When he was thus praying, the sound of a bell was heard from within the gunga. Then the Pañjurī said to himself: — “Now, this is miraculous doing of this god. It is a very auspicious sign.”
Thinking thus, he started from the place, and while coming with his face to the west he saw in a forest at Mardal a budu which appeared to him beautiful; and he thought:—“Now in this place I must obtain a feast; here I must proclaim my name. I must find out some means for it.”

Thus meditating, he wandered about in the day-time in the forest about the budu in the form of a wind. At that time the cowherd boys came there, driving the cattle of that budu to the grassy plot for grazing. Then the Patijiru in the form of a wind wandered about in that place, and, seeing the fat cows and he-buffaloes and she-buffaloes and their young ones, was very glad; and said to himself:—“What shall I do now? However, let the sun set. After sunset I will enter the budu and try to obtain a feast for myself.”

Meditating in this manner, he wandered about in the forest till sunset, and afterwards entered into the cow-pen, and after the cowherd boys had collected all the cattle into the cow-pen. In the meantime the night came on, and it was time for the master of the house to take his meal. Then all the servants of the house, the bondmen, and those who had undertaken work on contract and day-labourers and rice-men and rice-water-men, all these came to take their meals. Then the bondmen went to the cow-pen to give fodder to the cattle, and gave rice-water to the buffaloes and oxen, and, after they had drunk, then put the watering trough upside down, and then put straw and green grass before them, and making everything comfortable for the cattle went their way. In the meantime, the mistress of the house, having served food to her husband, called the bondmen:—“O bondmen, bring your vessels and take your food.”

Then they called their wives from their huts, and told them to bring the vessels. Then they took their children on their hips and the vessels on their heads, and each came to the budu and called the mistress of the house:—“O mistress, mistress, please bring me the rice; I have brought the vessel. I have no one in my hut. I have kept paddy on the fire to be boiled, and there is nobody to look after the fire.”

At this the mistress quickly brought the rice and gave it to the bondwomen. She also brought a big spoon of coconut-shell and put out four spoonsful of rice and four spoonsful of congee for each and sent away the bond-women to their huts. And after all had eaten and finished, all lay down to sleep. After one Jama of night was over, the racing-buffaloes in the cow-pen began to cough. The master of the house, who was lying on the swinging-cot, heard it. Then he called his wife, and awoke her, and said:—“Do you hear, the he-buffaloes in the cow-pen are coughing; be quick and light a lamp.”

At this, his wife quickly got up and lighted a lamp and brought it to her husband. Then he quickly took the hand-lamp and went to the cow-pen, and there he saw two of the racing buffaloes lying prostrate on the floor. As soon as he saw it, his spirit left him, and suddenly falling on the floor he became insensible. In the meantime his nephews came to him, and applying water to his eyes and chest brought him to consciousness, and raised him up; and afterwards they tried to raise up the buffaloes. When they raised the buffaloes, they saw that they had no strength in their legs to stand. They also saw that they had not eaten a single straw out of the food that was before them.

Then they said:—“Alas! what is this! The buffaloes were quite well yesterday; what has become of them today?”

When the uncle said thus to the nephew, he said:—“There must be some reason for this; if these buffaloes should survive till the morning, we can do something, we can prepare some medicine and try to save them.”

When they said this the buffaloes began to gasp. Then the master became afraid; but what could he do? They all kept awake till the morning as if they had put rice in their mouths. After it was morning the buffaloes became worse and worse. Then they said:—“We must call our neighbours and ask them what it is; it could not have taken place of itself.”
So saying, they called in the neighbours. The neighbours came and saw the buffaloes, and said to the master of the budu:—“This looks as if it were the trouble of some Bhūta; the buffaloes are vomiting white foam. If you go to some fortune-teller and ask him and do as he bides you, it will be all right; but you will have to spend about ten pagodas.”

So saying, they departed. Then the master turned his face to the east and said:—“O Lord God, I will do just as told by the fortune-teller. I will not fail.”

So saying, he removed the husks of two coconuts, leaving a tuft at the top, and taking these coconuts with him went straight to the house of the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa. At that time he was worshipping the god. He went to his house and sat on the verandah. Then the Brāhmaṇḍa went to the well to bring water. Then the master of the budu said to her:—“O Brāhmaṇḍa, is your master at home?”

She replied:—“Yes.”

Then he took courage and said:—“O madam, let the Bhaṭṭa come out for a little while; I want to consult him. It is getting late for me; let him do me this favour. It will be a great merit for him.”

Then the Brāhmaṇḍa quickly went in and told her husband:—“Behold, you are requested to go out for a little while. The master of the budu is calling you; be quick, some fortune-telling is to be done; please go out quickly.”

When she said this, he made haste and went out. Then he, who was sitting on the verandah, stood up and, joining his hands, said:—“Sir, Sir.”

Then the Bhaṭṭa said:—“Come, come, what business has brought you here? You come very rarely.”

Then the master of the budu said:—“O Bhaṭṭa, in my budu, my racing-buffaloes are ailing. They are at the point of death. Whatever I do is of no avail. They never had such sickness before. Please, therefore, discover the cause and use some means to stop the disease. You only can do it; there is no other way.”

So saying, he stood clasping his hands. Then the Brāhmaṇḍa said to him:—“Well, I will do so and tell you what I come to know.”

So saying, he went in and brought a bag of kauris to the verandah, and, keeping a low stool before him, he placed on the stool a number of kauris for each of the twelve signs of the zodiac, commencing from Mēṣa, and said:—“O Lord God, shew to me everything just as it is; the man is poor.”

Thus prayed the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa, and then said to the man:—“Now, place your present before these signs of the zodiac.”

At this he untied the knot in his cloth and took half-a-rupee and placed it altogether with the two tufted coconuts before the signs of the zodiac, and, clasping his hands devoutly, said:—“O Lord God.”

The fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa saw the present which he had placed, and made his calculations and came to know that there was great distress in his house. Then he told the man:—“You see, there is great distress in your house. But because the present which you have placed has come forth at the sign of Mēṣa, I can say it is a Bhūta with a hog’s face. Yet he seems to have come recently. Before this he was not in your house. Now he asks sacrifice from you. And not only a sacrifice, but he asks to have a stāna built for him, and sacrifices offered. And further he says that he will not leave you without your building a stāna for him. Such is the ease.”

At this the master of the budu again asked:—“O Bhaṭṭa, I will cause a stāna to be built for the Bhūta, and I will believe in him, but the he-buffaloes must get well this minute. Then I will do just as you tell me. What do you think? Tell me, do you think the buffaloes will get well this minute, if I believe?”
At this the fortune-telling Bhatṣa again took the kauris, and prayed thus:—"O Lord God show us a sign of good fortune if the buffaloes are to get well."

So praying, he took the kauris and put them down, and on calculation a good fortune was shown. Then the fortune-telling Bhatṣa took the kauris and told the man:—"You see, you are a fortunate man. It is very well; such a fortune has not come to any one; it is very auspicious. Behold, when you go home, you will see the buffaloes up and eating grass. They will get well."

At this the man took courage and again asked him:—"O Bhatṣa, you have just now ordered me to build the sthāna; I do not know in what month I should begin it. You must inform me about that."

To this, the Bhatṣa said:—"You see, I cannot tell you. Paṇjuri Bhatṣa is not a small Bhatṣa; he is very great and powerful. You must do one thing: you must get Paṇjuri to possess a man in your house. Then you must invite your neighbours and relatives and friends and invite some great persons also, and get the Bhatṣa to come upon a man, and then begin to build the sthāna on the day mentioned by the Bhatṣa. I would have told you, but I cannot tell about this Paṇjuri. He is a Bhatṣa that would not hesitate to murder a man for the sake of a coconut. I cannot even talk of him."

Then the Ballāl of the budu said:—"O Bhatṣa, what you have said is very wise, I am very glad of it. I will get everything done according to your words. You must tell me an auspicious day for inviting the Bhatṣa."

At this the Bhatṣa, consulting his almanac, said:—"You can invite the Bhatṣa on Friday, the 27th of this month."

At this the Ballāl said:—"You must be pleased to come to my house on that day."

To this the Bhatṣa said:—"You see, it is as if I had come. Because I have much trouble at home, I cannot come. If I am not at home for a single moment the children quarrel and make a great row. Therefore, I cannot come. What am I to come for? Tell me, why am I needed? Who will do you any harm if I am not present? Do just as the Bhatṣa orders you."

At this, he said:—"Whatever you may say, you must come. Without you I will do nothing."

At that time his nephew, Isara Ballāl, came to see his uncle. He said to himself:—"My uncle has gone a long while ago; what is he doing at the fortune-telling Bhatṣa's house? I will go and see."

His uncle said to him:—"How are the buffaloes? They are well; is it not so?"

To this the nephew answered:—"Yes, they are well: however, for this once they have survived. They have got up of themselves, and now they are eating some grass. Therefore, now there is no more need of any medicine or anything else."

At this the uncle said to the nephew:—"Nephew, keep quiet. If I had not come to the fortune-teller and had not consulted him, by this time they would have died. What do you know? As I made haste and struck the iron while it was hot, it became effective."

While thus speaking, the sun reached the meridian. At that time a man came to call the fortune-teller to perform worship at the temple. Then he said to them:—"You see, I am now going to the temple. Go you also."

Then both the uncle and the nephew said:—"Sir, now give us leave to go. On the day when I invite the Bhatṣa I will send for you; you must come to my house accompanying him."

So saying, they went to the budu. As soon as they reached home they went to the cow-pen, and when they saw the racing-buffaloes eating grass eagerly, they were very glad.

(To be continued.)
FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 6. — The Charitable Maid-servant. ¹

Once upon a time, in a certain country, there lived a king, who was notorious for his stinginess. Being no friend even to almsgiving in the abstract, he went so far as to tell his wife to see that not a single ear of corn went beyond the threshold; much less was she ever to give a handful of rice, wheat, or any of the pulses to the poorest human being out of the granary. The king was as niggardly in his own household as he was uncharitable to others; and the daily rations for himself and his wife were a sæc of wheat flour. This the queen, following the instructions of her lord, used to give, after carefully weighing it, to a maid-servant to make cakes with; and the cakes were weighed after they had been baked, so that it might be known for certain that no flour, not even a grain, had been pilfered.

Now the maid, who used to cook the meals for the king and queen, was of a charitable disposition by nature; so, notwithstanding the weighment of the flour in the first instance, and then of the cakes when baked, she used to pilfer one-eighth sæc of the flour, putting in its place an exactly similar amount of fine firewood ashes. With what she pilfered she used to make a cake, baking it along with the others, and passing it through a drain to a needy beggar, who was the recipient of her charity in this manner for a number of years.

Now, a foreign potentate, who had had an eye on the possessions of the king for several years, appeared with great suddenness one day before the gates of the royal castle, and began operations for taking it. His forces were so superior that the castle seemed to be lost, when there arose before the king’s vision, standing upright, an innumerable number of chapatis (cakes), close to one another, which shielded the king, and prevented his small force from being overwhelmed by the enemy. Thus was the kingdom saved, which, had it not been for the protection of his small army in this miraculous manner, would have been lost to the king. The vision of the protecting cakes remained in the king’s mind for many a day; so, one day, he sent for his queen and asked her what the vision meant. She could not explain the matter; so the king turned to the maid-servant who cooked meals for him, and enquired of her. Before explaining anything, she asked for the liberty of speech, and when this was granted, the maid, preparing herself for either good or evil, made a clean breast of the whole affair — how she used to pilfer the wheat flour, prepare a cake of it, and pass it through a drain to a beggar.

It was “those cakes,” the agitated damsel added, “that saved you, O king, from the invaders; for the charity, though I was the humble instrument of it, was solely and wholly yours, and you have reaped the benefit, not only for yourself, but even more for our sake — for servants, subjects, and all.”

Pleased with the sagacity of the maid-servant, as also with her eloquent address, he made her his queen, making the former queen change places with her. The king did thus for the reason that she should have exercised her faculty of understanding and discriminated between right and wrong, though he had, in an evil hour, laid upon her the injunction not to be charitable.

It need not be said that the king was ever afterwards charitable. Nay, his name became proverbial, and his newly-made queen found wider scope in her new affluent position as queen for the exercise of her favourite virtue.

¹ Narrated by the writer’s wife, the late M. Hfrâ Bâl.
² This is a strictly Oriental notion.
SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By C. K. Subramiah Pantulu.

(Continued from p. 23.)

X.

At Madura lived a Brahman who had two sons. After hoarding up immense riches, he at last died. The two sons collected the money together, and effected a division of it equally. Each put his share into a sealed bag, entrusted it to an old woman, saying that they were going to a far-off country on a pilgrimage, and told her to return the amount safely on their return when they would both come and ask for it. This was agreed to.

After traversing a short distance, the younger brother devised means to dupe the elder. He rose one night at midnight, went back to their starting point unknown to his brother, visited the old woman, and told her that while they were both wandering alone, a tiger had put an end to the elder brother, and that that was why he was obliged to return alone, and requested her to return the money entrusted to her by both the brothers. The old woman was a little staggered, but considering that he was not likely to cheat his brother entrusted the whole sum to him. He took it and quietly went away to a far off place.

Then the elder brother, not finding the younger one, returned overwhelmed with sorrow to his own abode, went to the old woman, and said that he did not know what had become of his brother. He therefore called upon her to return the whole of the sum entrusted to her. The old woman told him what had happened a few days before; how his younger brother misrepresented the state of affairs, and had walked away with the whole amount.

On hearing this, he began to dispute with the old woman, and brought her before a court of justice. The magistrate heard both the plaintiff and the defendant in the suit in full, saw how the old woman had been duped, called the man and decided as follows:—"The money was entrusted to the woman on the understanding that it should be returned when both of you came back and demanded it. It is not fair therefore to ask her to pay back the amount when you come and ask for it singly. If you are in need of money, therefore, fetch out your brother."

The man was unable to answer this argument and went his own way.

XI.

At Avanti lived two merchants, Durbuddhi and Subuddhi by name. These two men went to a foreign country, amased much wealth there, and returned, and buried unknown to anybody the whole of their riches under a huge tamarind tree very near the town, and went to their respective houses.

Not long after, Durbuddhi went clandestinely to the spot, purloined the whole treasure and carried it away to his house. A few days after the incident, both of them conjoinedly went to the tree and found to their sad disappointment that the treasure was gone. Upon this Durbuddhi accused the other of having secreted the treasure, dragged him before a court of justice, and carried a complaint against him, saying that Subuddhi alone had carried off, unknown to him, the treasure which they jointly buried under the tree, and requested that justice be done in the case.

The judge looked at him, and called upon him to prove the truth of his accusation against Subuddhi. Durbuddhi said that he would prove it by the tree itself under which the treasure was buried. The judge replied that he would investigate the affair the next day.

Meanwhile, Durbuddhi took his father along with him, placed him in the hollow of the tree, and instructed him to answer favourably (to himself) the judge's queries on the morrow. The next day, the judge, according to promise, came with his attendants near the tree and asked who had taken away the money. To the intense astonishment of the bystanders (the man inside) the tree accused Subuddhi of having secreted the money. But the judge was not a man to give in so easily. After a little reflection he caused some straw to be brought, stuffed the hollow with it, and set fire to it. The man inside was suffocated and fell out of the tree dead. The judge, perceiving the deceit that Durbuddhi had played, came to the conclusion that it was he who had walked away with the money. He caused therefore all the money to be brought and given over to Subuddhi.

Durbuddhi having paid very dearly for the deceit he had played—in the loss of his riches and his father to boot—went home with a very sad heart.

XII.

At Visagapatam lived two friends, one of whom used to perform with care the morning aubations at dawn, and proceeding to the temple, remained there for a long time circumambulating
the deity. The other was a frequenter of brothels, and passed his time in frivolous conversation with prostitutes. The former, though a frequenter of the temple, always had his heart with his friend who led so evil a life, and was overwhelmed with grief that he did not follow in his friend's footsteps. The latter was, however, ashamed of his depraved character, and was extremely sorry that he did not follow the virtuous ways of his friend.

This went on for a time, and then they both breathed their last. But the former went to Hell, and the latter to Heaven. The sage Nārada, seeing the fate of these two, approached the Almighty and said:—"O God! Hell has fallen to the lot of the man who spent his days in your temple, while you have given Heaven and final beatitude to the fellow who never for a moment thought of you, and delighted always in the conversation of women of ill-fame. If you, who are all-powerful, perpetrate such barefaced injustice, who in the world will adore you?"

The Almighty smiled on hearing these words and said that he gave the latter man redemption, for, though a frequenter of houses of ill-fame, he centred his mind on the deity; while the other who frequented the temple diverted his attention to other matters and totally forgot the deity. Hell therefore had become his lot. Thus we see that upon the purity of the mind depends the good or evil state we attain after death.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE DONKEY-RIDE PUNISHMENT.

In the Delhi district the celebrated and ancient punishment of sending a man with blackened face and necklace of old shoes round his neck and seated on a donkey facing the tail, round the village as a punishment for lewdness, has dwindled into merely putting him on a donkey and riding him round the village. This punishment was recently inflicted on one Bhūk, a Mādūrī, for suspected intimacy with a potter's wife (kamārañī). It would be interesting to ascertain in what forms this old custom still survives up and down the country under British rule. —P. N. and Q. 1883.

BOOK NOTICES.


This little work aims at describing in a small compass the leading characteristics of Hindu music, in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned. The Introduction, in English, shows considerable research, and the author has evidently studied to advantage all that has been advanced by modern writers on the subject. No attempt is made to vie with Captain Day's elaborate work The Music and Musicians of Southern India, but a valuable addition to the scanty literature of a little-known subject has been produced, which should be in the hands of all interested in this branch of Oriental research. The author's remarks on the fact that a knowledge of the physiology of the human body was essential for the true understanding of Hindu music may be compared with the statements in Merseus, for long the standard work on European musical theory; and his notes on the Śruti and their ascetic divisions are important. We have also an explanation of the Rāgas and Rāgini, which may be likened to the Modes in the Music of the Greeks.

The gap between Hindu Music and the music of modern European nations is so great, as to lead those who are only superficially acquainted with the subject to suppose that there can be no connection between them, but such is not the case. Modern European music is the growth of a few centuries, and may be said to owe its existence to the invention of the Organ, the use of which necessitated the employment of a system of Harmony; and at the time of the formation of the Roman Empire, Hindu Music, as performed on such an instrument as the vina, would have taken a high place. The Highland Bagpipes still remain as a modern proof of this. The author indeed shows that, by the use of the Ansa Swara, of Tone, as the fundamental note in Hindu Music, Hindu musical art is considerably in advance of Greek Music, and more nearly approaches to our modern theory.

Mr. C. Tirumalayya Naidu could not do better in the interests of science than supplement his present work by an accurately scored record of the Rāgas and Rāgini, and by an account of the intervals used in the methods of tuning the instruments about which he writes.

The Ujyayanti Press deserve great credit for the manner in which this little work has been placed before the public.
PUTTING aside two or three events which the Greeks have recorded, the dated history of India begins with the inscriptions, and the oldest of these inscriptions, the celebrated edicts of King Piyadasi Aśoka (in the middle of the third century before our era), are, at the same time, the first Buddhist documents of indisputable authenticity which we possess. It is very probable that, among the materials incorporated in the Tripitaka, there is an element which goes farther back than this, for it is certain that the Buddhism, which we see in the inscriptions to be in a manner elevated into the position of the state religion of the most powerful empire of India, had a literature even then. But several reasons justify us in doubting whether it was in possession of a canon so early as that. In any case, there is not a single fragment of the canon in its present form, either in Pāli or Saṅskṛī, which we can affirm with any degree of confidence to belong to so remote an age. Further, every discovery which adds a fragment to his precious series is a kind of event, and happily recent years have enriched us with several. The English translation of M. Senart's brilliant labours on these inscriptions was not yet completed. Professor Bühler was in the middle of the painstaking revision which he was devoting to them, partly with the help of better copies, when new versions of the edicts were found near the Afghan frontier. Then came the fuller versions of the edicts of Sañkarā and Kūnpātth, found by Mr. Rice in Mysore. The monuments have suffered a great deal, and the first facsimiles were very imperfect, at least M. Senart was unable to make out a coherent text. At the same time he brought out well the importance of the discovery of inscriptions by the great northern king so far to the south, so far from the coast, far within the central plain in countries which have sometimes been represented as hardly out of a state of barbarism seven or eight centuries later. Professor Bühler has contributed his share of elucidations of these inscriptions, and has promised others. Meanwhile he has called attention to the hitherto unnoticed fact that the signature of the writer of these inscriptions is in the southern variety of the

82 The word pañcakadvatīkās, found in the inscriptions at Bharhut and Sāñchē, which Prof. Bühler and Dr. Hultzsch agree in translating by "knowers of the Five Nikāyas" (in any case the compound would be hardly regular), would cause us to admit a codification for an epoch which is not, perhaps, much later than that of Aśoka. But to assume from this phrase the existence of the Five Nikāyas of the Pāli Canon is rash. This division, like many others, is unknown in the sacred literature of the north.
83 The Inscriptions of Piyadasi in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX. (1889), Vol. X. (1881), Vol. XVII. (1888), and Vol. XXI. (1892); this last series has additions in which the author expresses himself more exactly on several of the results of his previous work.
84 Beiträge zur Begründung der Aśokas-Inschriften in the Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. XXXVII. (1884), Vol. XXXVIII. (1885), Vol. XXXIX. (1886), Vol. XL. (1887) p. 1, Vol. XL. (1887) p. 144, Vol. XLV. (1892) p. 144 (the edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIX. (1890) p. 121 (the pillar edicts); Vol. XX. (1891) p. 281 (the cave inscriptions of Barabar and Nagarjun). Professor Bühler calls attention to the fact that some of these caves were designed for the use of Bhikṣunis and Jain ascetics, and that we must be careful not to assign a Buddhist origin to all these excavations indiscriminately; Epigraphia Indiae, Vol. II. (1889) p. 245, the pillar edicts.
85 In the preceding Bulletin (Vol. XIX. p. 267) I reported on the interpretations given of them by M. Senart and Prof. Bühler; by the latter we have further, Die Monastren der Pala-Nickāyins in the Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. XI. (1890) p. 273, and Vol. XII. (1890) p. 702.
87 As by the late Dr. Burnell, Rev. Thomas Foulkes (The Dekhan in the Time of Gautama Buddha, Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI. (1887) p. 49) had attempted to prove the contrary; but all the evidence collected by him does not outweigh the simple fact of the presence of these three inscriptions in Mysore.
alphabets named after Aśoka. Many points in these texts are still obscure; and conspicuously the principal difficulty which those of Sahasrāmā and Kṛupāth still present has been found more complicated than simplified. Better copies are necessary before greater success can be obtained. Professor Bühler has pointed out a new variety of the southern alphabet on an unedited monument from the valley of the Kṛishṇa, and he has recovered a variant of the Kasiambhi edict of Aśoka among General Cunningham’s facsimiles of the Sānchi inscriptions. His latest communication on this subject, made after examining the better copies sent by Prof. Führer, shows that the surname of the king devadāāripati, restored on Cunningham’s facsimile, is not found on the original. The connection which has been pointed out and the place of origin of the fragment are quite consistent, and it seems likely that, even before this epoch, a Buddhistic sanctuary existed in these parts. Last of all, a short time ago, Dr. Burgess announced the discovery, in the Terai of Népāl, of a new column covered with Aśoka inscriptions, and exhibiting two hitherto unknown, besides the seven, edicts commonly found on such monuments.

More or less closely connected with these first inscriptions are others in a character either identical or very slightly modified, whose date must for the time remain undetermined within a century or more, according as we assume this southern alphabet, or alphabet of the Śāhī or pillars to have changed more or less rapidly and specially more or less uniformly and more or less definitely. Of this class must be mentioned in the first place, because of the amount of information which they give us to primitive Buddhism, the curt but varied inscriptions of the stūpa of Bharhut (or Bharant, according to Mr. Fitch) of which we owe a new and carefully revised edition to Dr. Hultzsch, and the analogous inscriptions of the stūpas of Sānchi which had been published by General Cunningham, and of which Prof. Bühler has undertaken a critical and much more complete edition, after the excavations made by Dr. Führer and with the help of new facsimiles furnished by that explorer. In place of the 241 numbers contained in the Bhāsā Topos of Cunningham, the collection placed at the disposal of Prof. Bühler contains nearly 500, of which 456 are legible. The commentary on what he has published is such as we might expect from Prof. Bühler and abounds in interesting remarks. Among other details he draws attention to the great number of religious men and women, that is persons who can have had no private property, whose names are inscribed on these monuments as donors, and he explains this fact (which is observable elsewhere) by supposing that their gifts were the result of begging. This is, of course, very possible, but the texts do not say this, and the conjecture is perhaps also possible that side by side with rule of poverty there were then relaxations. Strictly speaking, the communities, as well as their members, were debarred from possessing property, and yet everything indicates that from a very early time they were wealthy. Besides the ancient inscriptions, which are by far the most numerous, there are found at Sānchi inscriptions of a modern date. We have seen above that Prof. Bühler has tried to prove the existence in these parts of Buddhist worship before the age of Aśoka. This worship kept its ground long, and, even in the tenth or eleventh century of our era, statues were there erected to Buddha. There is similarly at Sāri Mahāt, the ancient Sāravati, one of the cradles of Buddhism and Jainism, a long Buddhist inscription of the 18th century discovered by

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31 Bharhat Inscrifstions (Ind. Ant. Vol. XXI. (1892) p. 235). These inscriptions, published besides by General Cunningham in his large monograph on the monument (1879) had been already revised in part by Prof. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. Vol. X. and XI, 1881 and 1882, and Dr. Hultzsch had given an excellent edition of the whole collection in the Zeitsh. f. d. Mergen, Grünlich, Vol. XI. (1896). The new edition contains a list, with a reference to the collection of Prof. Führer, of all the Jñātan mentioned expressly or merely represented on the monument; the number of those thus identified is twenty-four.
Dr. Führer, among remains of various dates. So at Buddha-Gayā, the sanctuary of the tree of wisdom, where the Master attained the perfection of a Buddha, and whose long continued history has lately been recounted by the veteran of Indian archaeology, in a magnificent volume. Here again the inscriptions date from the earliest times down to the twelfth century. The long series of excavations executed under his direction have enabled General Cunningham to determine the successive additions which made the actual building, and to reconstrue the plan and chief arrangement of the original sanctuary. In agreement with tradition, he attributes this sanctuary to Asoka, and this conclusion is not impugned by epigraphy; for, though the name of the king has not been met with, the characters of the inscriptions, those at least of oldest date, are the same as those of his edicts. At the extreme north-west of the Pañjab and of India, where the alphabet called northern, Bactro-Pāli, Indo-Bactrian, or as Prof. Bühler prefers to call it, the Kharoshthi, prevails, we are face to face with a similar problem. There also we have on a series of monuments, a form of writing, which beginning with Asoka, remained with hardly any change for several centuries. A considerable number of these inscriptions is dated; but, in certain cases, when we have not to do with the epoch established by Kanishka, which scholars are almost all agreed in fixing at A. D. 71, there is anything but agreement as to the era or eras to which these dates refer. In a carefully

Archeological Survey of India, New Series, Vol. I. The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur; with notes on Zafargarh, Sahel Mahat and other places in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, by A. Führer, with Drawings and Architectural Descriptions by Ed. W. Smith. Edited by Jas. Burgess, Calcutta (and London), 1892. On the other hand, one result of the researches of Dr. Führer is that the identification of Bhula Tel with the lost Kapilavatudha, the place of Buddha’s birth, which was proposed by Mr. G. Russell, is entirely imaginary. In the following volume of the Archeological Survey of India (The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, described and arranged, Allahabad (and London), 1891, Dr. Führer has condensed an enormous mass of information on the archaeology of that district, which he is exploring with such intelligence and zeal. On Sahel Mahat, the ancient Śrāvasti, see further the essay of Mr. W. Hoey, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXI, Part I, extra number, 1892. In the preceding Bulletin (t. XIX, p. 267) I have mentioned the discovery of Mr. Cockburn, near the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, of the caves where, in the time of Hiouen-Thang, the shade of Buddha appeared. Mr. Cockburn also recovered there an ancient inscription and took an imperfect copy of it, of which Prof. Hoernle (Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal, 1887, p. 163) was not able to make much. This inscription, as well as another in the interior of the cave, has since been published by Prof. Führer in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II. (1893) p. 240. It is indeed very old, of the first or second century before our era, but possibly Jaina. In the seventh century the cave had been taken possession of again by Buddhists; at the present time, the nearest inhabitants are Jaines.

Mahabodhi, or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi-Tree at Buddha-Gaya, London, 1892. I regret to have to record the death of General Cunningham on the 29th November 1893. What a wonderful scientific career came to an end in the death of this bold and tireless worker in his eighty-fourth year, and with his pen still in his hand? His first essay bears the date of 1834, when he was the companion and fellow-worker of James Prinsep, and only the other day the Transactions of the Oriental Congress held in London, and the Numismatic Chronicle (Part III. 1890) brought us his last labours on the coins of the Indo-Scythic Kings.

These excavations have unfortunately ended in restorations for which General Cunningham is not answerable and which are too like an act of vandalism. The temple, which for centuries has become Hindu, has been made brand new by means of countless square yards of stone facing and has been claimed again for the community of Buddhists in all quarters of the globe by agitators in Calcutta and Madras.


Lastly I shall mention the very careful translation of the voyages of Fa-Hien by Prof. James Legge, though it has appeared some time ago; A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A. D. 399-411) in search of the Buddhist Books of Discourses. Translated and annotated with a Chinese Recension of the Chinese Text. Oxford, 1888.
written essay, M. Senart has tried to let some light into this darkness. Founding on a recently published inscription, which he was the first to decipher correctly, and bringing it into connection with several other monuments of the same class, he gave it as his opinion that the dates of these texts have reference to an era the beginning of which would fall between 90 and 80 B. C., and the establishment of which must be attributed to those Parthian dynasties, which come between the Greek kings and the great Indo-Scythian empire, and which held sway in the basin of the Indus at the commencement of the Christian era. These results, especially if we take into account the cautious reserves with which the author has taken pains to guard them, ought always to be taken into serious consideration, although it is certain, after the publication of the new facsimile by Mr. Smith, that the date of the inscription of Hashtangar contains signs for hundreds, and that the most likely reading is 284 and not 84. Along with the era proposed by M. Senart, this would bring us, in fact, to about 200 A. D. and, though it is hard to see how this local Parthian era should, in this region, have survived not only these Arsacid dynasties, but even the establishment of the era of Kanishka; it is still more difficult to reckon here according to that latter era, and, with Mr. Smith, bring down this inscription and the alphabet in which it is written as low as 282 A. D. As, on the other hand, we cannot think of the era of the western Arsacides, an era which the Parthian dynasties themselves such as Gondophares, did not employ for their inscriptions, the hypothesis of M. Senart remains the most probable, unless we will fall back on the era of the Seleucids, or content ourselves with a simple confession of ignorance. In any case, to judge by the facsimile, this date of 200 A. D. is not contradicted by the scene depicted on the pedestal. Its pilasters with their broken Corinthian capitals, its foreign garments, its heads with nothing Indian about them but the mode of dressing the hair, its prettiness, which is slightly vulgar and quite secular though the subject is a religious act, very likely an offering to Buddha: all we can say of this sculpture is, that it is derived from western workmanship, and is connected with some period of Greco-Roman art.

(To be continued.)

THE DEVIL WORSHIP OF THE TULUVAS.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE A. C. BURNELL.

(Concluded from page 53.)

When they came out of the cow-pen, the Ballâl's wife asked her husband:—"What, my dear, are you not hungry to-day? The rice and curry have been prepared for a long time, All is now become quite cold. What are you doing? Come and dine, and then go about."

Then he frowned and rebuked her in anger, saying:—"Here, what did you say? You are waiting because you have finished your cooking? Have you to go anywhere? Have you any business? You see, if the buffaloes in the cow-pen are well, all will be well with us. If they are alive, we have food. What do you know? After the buffaloes got ill, I felt neither hunger nor thirst. All that flew away."

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2 This inscription, cut on the base of a statue of Buddha and coming from Hashtangar, in the north of Peshwar, had been published, with a not very good facsimile, the only one which M. Senart had at his disposal, by Mr. V. A. Smith, in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII. (1889) p. 257. A better and more complete reproduction, giving also the bas-relief of which the inscription forms a part (the statue which was erected on this base has not been recovered) has been supplied by the same scholar (Journ. of the As. Soc. of Beng. Vol. LIXII. (1893) p. 144.
4 Professor Bühhler and Mr. Smith both give their voice for 274; but I cannot see any real difference between the signs representing ten.
Then the nephew said:—“Anna, Anna, I am very hungry; now let us go.”

At this both went to the verandah of the house, and there they saw rice served in plates (of brass) and milk in bowls (of brass) and everything ready. They took water in a pot and washed their hands and faces and sat down to take their meals; and took rice a second time. And having eaten and being filled, they got up and went to the raised platform on the verandah. Then the Ballaj called his wife, and told her to bring the bag of betel-leaves; and when she had brought it, he opened it and ate betel-leaves and betel-nut, and reclining on a pillar spat continually. While doing so, he called his nephew and said:—“Behold, you will know after I am dead; because when you came to the house of the fortune-telling Bhaga, did you ask me—‘Anna, did you consult the fortune? What became manifest?’ Or some such thing? Do you think any disease is cured of itself? You are a wise fellow. If any one has such nephews, his rice will give place to conjee; there is no doubt of it.”

To this the nephew said:—“You see, Anna, I would have asked; but on account of hunger I had become nearly insensible, as if saffron powder had been put into my eyes. Even my tongue clave to my palate. Therefore, I did not ask. Now I ask you, tell me: what became manifest in the fortune?”

To this the uncle said:—“You see, you Uspaana, as you ought to be called. You are only a boiled-rice man. What shall I tell you?” So saying he rebuked him.

At this the nephew said:—“Do not be angry with me. It is true I am an ignorant man, a boiled-rice man, because I do not know how to live without eating.”

To this the uncle said:—“Enough, enough; do not speak much.”

So saying he still continued:—“You see, a new Bhuta called Pañjarli has come to this village. It had not come to any place before this; it has first come to our house and shown its power and influence. It is now ascertained by fortune-telling process to be a very powerful Bhuta; and the fortune-telling Bhaga told me to believe in him. Then I told him that I was willing to believe in him; and asked him how I should do it. Then he told me to cause a stāna to be built and to keep a cot in it and offer sacrifices to the Bhuta, and thus believe in him. ‘If you believe in him thus,’ said he, ‘your buffaloes will get well this instant, and begin to eat grass.’ Accordingly, I agreed to what he said and returned. Therefore, I must begin the work of building the stāna next Friday. I must call the carpenters and then begin the work. I cannot do all this work without fifteen pagodas. I am, therefore, anxious, not knowing what to do. What do you know of my anxiety?”

So saying he called his sister and said:—“Ask, the produce of our fields in this year is not enough for four months. If the conjee vessels of the bondmen are not filled to the brim their constenenesses fall. If three chief of the Government money remains unpaid the collector will not leave us. In this year’s rainy season we shall not get conjee water to drink. You see your son has no sense. How will he live? How will he conduct the affairs of this budu? I cannot understand it.”

At this she said:—“You see, brother, do not tell him anything. Let his life be in him, and let him only live before our eyes; it is enough. Do not you tell him anything. Do as I say; hear me.”

At this he left off speaking and went to his work. Then the nephew calling his mother said to her:—“Mother, there are many lamps of cowdung on the grassy plot where the cattle are grazing. I will go and fetch them. When my uncle comes home, if he sees me sitting idle he will abuse me very much. I will do as much as I can.”

So saying he took a cowdung basket and a cowdung ladle and went to the grassy plot and filled the basket with the cowdung lamps, and taking it upon his head came home. As he was

1 I. e., a boiled-rice man, that is, one who is good for nothing but eating.
coming he met his uncle. Then the uncle thought within himself:—"The lad is not idle; he does as much as he can. In this manner, day by day, he will get wiser and wiser; what my sister said is true. Henceforth I must not say any thing to him."

Moreover he thought:—"I must look for a site for a stana. I do not know where it should be built. Therefore, I must call a magician and shew him the place."

Thinking thus, he quickly took his meal and went to the magician's house. When he went there, he saw the magician sitting in his house and talking cheerfully with his relatives who had come to him. Then the Ballal said to him:—"O magician, I come to you on account of some business."

Then the magician, seeing the Ballal, showed him respect and gave him a mat and a low stool and water in a pot and milk in a bowl, and said:—"Drink, sir," and also placed before him betel-leaves and betel-nut in a brass plate; and after finishing their talk, and after the Ballal had told him everything, the magician accompanied the Ballal to the budu. After reaching the budu, he ordered a good dinner for him, as if it were the dinner for a feast. So he and the Ballal, having finished dinner, ate the betel-leaves, and then got up and walked round the whole house; and yet they did not find a good site for the stana. Then they went further and looked for a site; there they found a large milk-banyan tree. When they found it, they thought it to be a very suitable site for a stana.

Then the magician said to the Ballal:—"O Ballal, you cannot find such a fine site if you go in search for it in a thousand districts. Such a banyan tree ought to be in a place where a stana is to be built; without it you ought not to build a stana. In this place everything is convenient; therefore, you must build here."

At this the Ballal said:—"It is not enough if you say you must build here. You must tell me how much space is needed, and bringing the measuring line and rod, you must measure the ground just now."

So saying he brought the line and the rod and all the measuring instruments, and having measured the required space drove stakes into the ground, and making everything ready returned home. The next day, being Friday, when the sun arose and came above the horizon to about a man's height, carpenters came to the Ballal with their axes, ready to fell trees, and stood before him with clasped hands. Then the Ballal said to them, "O carpenters, are you come? Sit down in the verandah; I will come shortly."

So saying he ordered a big pot to be filled with water, and taking the water and four sers of jaggery and four sugar-canes and twenty tender coconuts with him, the Ballal called the carpenters to him, and went with them to the forest; and seeing good trees asked the carpenters and got them felled at their suggestion. After the trees were felled, the Ballal and the carpenters being exposed to the hot sun became thirsty, and felt as if saffron powder had been put into their eyes, and began to breathe hard. Then the Ballal, giving to each carpenter one tender coconut and one pot of water and a quarter ser of jaggery, drank as much as he liked, and said to them:—"O you carpenters, what is this? Our mother's milk which we had sucked while young, even that is burnt up; is it not so? By one day's work only you are quite exhausted. We have yet to fell down many trees. How will you fell them? I am anxious about it. What is this? It seems as if you had never before felled trees. I am very much astonished at this. Now you must cut off all the branches of the trees which you have felled, and then you must strip the bark of the trees, and make them four-sided to be ready for sawing. The sun is going to set soon. Therefore, make haste and strip the bark soon. To-morrow the sawyers will come. When they come we must make everything ready for them. We must make four posts to stand, and tie cross-pieces on them on which the trees must be laid to be ready for sawing."
Then the carpenters stripped the bark, and made everything nice. In the meantime the sun set and it became dark. Then all of them went out of the forest and took their way home. After they reached the bâtsa the Ballâl gave to the carpenters their bâtsa, which consisted of rice, coconuts, salt, tamarind, chillies, curry-stuff, and onions, and everything else they needed, and ordered them to come earlier on the next day, and sent them away. And then he entered his house and bathed with warm water; took his meals and went to bed. So it was morning, and the carpenters came. Then the Ballâl went to the forest with the carpenters and searched for trees, but they did not find any straight suitable trees. Then the carpenters said:—“Sir, you see this is only the edge of the forest. There will not be many trees here. Because this place is near to all the people, they cut down the trees from this place. Therefore, we cannot find good trees here. Let us go more to the eastward, there we shall find whatever tree we desire.”

To this the Ballâl said:—“Yes, yes, let us do so.”

So saying they went farther and searched for trees; there they found a tree which was very tall and of great girth. Its circumference was so great that four persons were required to embrace it. Its height was about thirty yards. When the carpenters saw such a big tree, they were frightened and said:—“O Ballâl, we have not seen such a tree anywhere; we have built mithas and big houses and also temples and shrines. We have cut down very big trees for such purposes. But we have never seen such a big tree anywhere up to this time. When we look at it our heads become dizzy. You must ask a word from some one before felling this tree. This tree ought not to be felled before asking some one.”

At this the Ballâl was astonished, and he thought of it, and said:—“O carpenters, just now you boasted of your cleverness and said that you had built mithas and temples and houses, and various other buildings. Now you say that this tree is a very big one, and make a great fuss about felling this tree. What is this? People will laugh if they hear that you, sons of carpenters, are afraid of felling down trees. Fell this tree at once. I will take the consequences. Be not afraid, but mind your work.”

When the Ballâl had said thus, one of the carpenters threw away his axe and began to tremble. At this, the other carpenters were frightened and astonished, and went farther and farther from him, and said:—“What is this? He is trembling, and his looks frighten us.”

At this the Ballâl approached him, and as his name was Karaga, he called him thrice:—

“O Karaga-achari, O Karaga-achari!”

To this he did not make any response. When he was quiet and made no response the carpenters became more frightened than before, and said:—“Sir, do not call him now, he is not conscious. Some Bhûta has possessed him. There seems to be some miracle about this tree. Now, see, it will speak through this possessed man.”

After this the Bhûta, which had possessed the carpenter, manifested his power and broke a stick and struck his breast and his belly and sides, and biting his lips and teeth uttered such a loud cry as if to make the earth open itself. At this the Ballâl and the carpenters were exceedingly frightened and were almost petrified. Then they said:—“This must be some great Bhûta. He has much power, and yet he does not open his mouth. Is he a dumb Bhûta or what? If he had opened his mouth and told us his purpose, we could have done something.”

So saying he asked the man possessed with the devil:—“You must tell me who you are. If you are a demon of truth, if you are a demon of sixteen commands, you must tell us truly who you are. Without doing so, if you strike yourself in this manner, who suffers the pain? What is the net of it? Tell us soon. Why do you give so much trouble to the man whom you have possessed? If you bruise his body and his hands in this manner, how can he live by labour? You ought not to do so. Tell us soon who you are.”
When urgently asked thus, the Bhāta said:—"O Ballā, you came with carpenters and intended to cut down this tree which is my habitation. Is it not so? It is well! It is commanded that my friend the Panjuri Bhāta is to go to every town. I know it. And yet, what your bādu is to you, this tree is to me. Therefore, you must not cut down this tree. You will get another tree elsewhere. If you go a little to the north you will find in a valley a group of blackwood trees; and in the midst of it you will find a kīrītum tree. You will get enough of timber to build a sāna out of that tree. Did you not wish to know my name? My name is Kallurti. When the god was born I was born at his right hand. I am not of today or yesterday. It is a long while since I have possessed this man. Now, therefore, I will go into my abode. You have also much business. On account of my coming it has stopped. Now I will leave this man. It will be well if you give me something to drink. Then I should be very much pleased with you."

At this the Ballā made a hole in a tender cocanut which he had kept for himself, and giving it to the man possessed said:—"Now, O Kallurti, take this in my name gladly."

Then the man possessed by the Kallurti took it from him and drank it at a single draught, and suddenly fell down on the ground and became senseless. After about one ghātīye2 he became conscious and asked:—"Sir, what is this? You are standing. Why are you not falling the tree, but standing idle?"

Then the carpenters who were with him said to him:—"What did you do? Tell us what took place here up to this time."

Then he said:—"I do not know anything; I only felt as if my head had been turned, I did not know where I was. Therefore, I feel as if I had lost my senses. I feel pain in my whole body. I feel quite tired. I feel as if I have been beaten with the fists. I have also pain in the back. I do not know what took place."

Then all the carpenters, who were with him, told him:—"Behold, Kallurti who is residing in this tree came upon you; and Kallurti told us not to fell this tree as he was residing in it. So saying Kallurti left you. You know nothing, is it not so?"

At this he said:—"Then this is a great wonder; I do not know anything; what is the cause of my feeling this pain in my body? And yet, never mind: now what shall we do? What work shall we do?"

When he asked this question, the Ballā said:—"O you carpenters, why do you idle away your time? Now I will have to pay your hire without your doing any work."

At this they were afraid and made haste, and went with him to the north and found the tree in the valley and felled it, and stripped its bark and branches and made it four-sided, and returned home.

In the night, after the meal was over, at the time of going to bed, the Ballā's wife came near his bed and said:—"Behold, by going daily to the forest to fell trees, you have been much burnt by the sun and much reduced. If this continue it will be hard for you. If any one else go instead of you, it would be a good thing. If you are alone, see, this will be your state. How many days more will this work of felling trees last? For how many days will you have to go to the forest? When I see your body, my life runs away. How will you get well henceforth?"

When she said thus, her husband said:—"Now, in four days more, the work of felling trees will be over. Then we will cause them to be brought to our house. Then the work will be near the house. If we make the carpenters work near our house it is enough. There will be very little work, and it will be easy for me."

1 Valicca laccafera.
2 I. e., about twenty-four minutes.
So saying, he, moreover, continued:—“Now go you in, the night is far spent; go to sleep. You must get up early and boil the paddy; go.”

So saying, he sent her in, and lay down near the entrance. So it was morning. On that day again he went with the carpenters to the forest and felled trees and returned. And in the same way they felled as many trees as they wanted. One day he went to Polippu and called all the fishermen, and said to one of them:—“How many males are in your house?”

He answered:—“Sir, we are four in our house.”

Then he called another, and said:—“O you fisherman, how many males are in your house?”

He answered:—“Sir, we are two.”

In this manner the Ballāl called a man from each house, and ordered all of them, and said:—“O you fishermen, hear each one of you: trees have been felled in the forests for the purpose of building a stāsa for the Ballāl’s buḍu. All these trees should be brought to the buḍu; because the day is fixed for building the stāsa and for raising the upper story, therefore the work is stopped. Therefore, to-morrow, all of you must come together; one or two hundred of you must join together and bring the trees to my house. The man who does not come will be fined. And if he does not pay the fine, I will see that nobody gives him chnaama or fire.”

When he had thus frightened them, all of them said:—“Sir, do we tell lies to our lord? We walk as it is agreeable to the god and this earth. We are not such rascals. Had we been such, how should we have survived? We who have to go on the sea and catch fish and bring them and sell them, going from house to house; in this way we have to live, we who are such will never tell you lies. If we do not go out and bring all your trees to-morrow morning, you may drive us out of this town.”

Having said this, they obtained permission to depart and went their way. The next day the headman of the fishermen called all the fishermen, and went with them to the forest, and tied ropes to the trees, and, dragging them and carrying them on the shoulders, brought them to the Ballāl’s buḍu.

Then the Ballāl, seeing the fishermen, said to them:—“O you fishermen, when you go home tell me and go; do not go without telling me.”

At this they said:—“When we are going we will tell you.”

So saying they went their way. The trees were such that those who saw them said:—“Whence are these trees! Such trees are not found by any one.”

Afterwards the sawyers were called and the work was given to them on contract. And they were told to do the work quickly and finish it in fifteen days. So they came on the fixed day and said to the Ballāl:—“O Ballāl, we have not spoiled any bit of your timber, but we have done our work so that there is no crookedness nor flaw in it. Now call some one of your men and measure everything and calculate the money that is due to us, and settle our accounts. Give us what is due to us.”

When they said this the Ballāl brought the measuring rod and measured all the planks, and cast up accounts, and counted the money and gave them their due. He also gave them presents and sent them away. Afterwards he called the carpenters and made them prepare posts and the struts of the posts and their pedestals and the joists and the wooden cornices and the wall-plates and the beams and the ridge-pole and the rafters and the ceiling planks. After he got all these things prepared he got the wall-plates fixed into the forked-pieces lengthways, and then got the joists and the cornice fitted into the square, and also got the planks joined; and afterwards he got the scantling raised and got the earth-work and plastering work all
done within. After these things were done, he got a cot prepared for Pañjuri Li Bhūta, and got a wooden railing on three sides of it and got it painted. Then he sent iron to the blacksmith's workshop and got a trident prepared with a chain and small jingling bells attached to the three points of it, and also got a sword and goylets and steel and bangles and shield and chain with tiger's nails in it and all other necessary ornaments prepared. After all these things were prepared the Ballå\[ went to the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa's house. When he went he found the Bhaṭṭa sitting in the verandah and telling fortunes. Then the Ballå\[ seeing the Bhaṭṭa clasped his hands and saluted him. Then the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa said:—"Let some one spread a mat for the Ballå\[ that he may sit."

Then some one who was near brought a mat and spread it there. The Ballå\[ sat upon it. After some time, when the fortune-telling business was over, the Bhaṭṭa asked the Ballå\[:—"On what business did you come here, O Ballå\[? You come very rarely here. It is a long time since I saw you last."

At this the Ballå\[ said:—"O Bhaṭṭa, I came to visit you; according to your fortune-telling on that day my eing-bufaloes survived. If not, they would have certainly died. Now I have got a āśāṇa built; and a cot and other ornaments for Pañjuri Li Bhūta are all ready. Now you must find out the auspicious day, and tell me on what day we should establish Pañjuri Bhūta, and dedicate the āśāṇa to him. For this purpose I am come to you."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well, yes, I will think of it and tell you the auspicious day."

So saying, with the help of the kāṭus and his allmanick he found an auspicious day and said:—"O Ballå\[, there is not any auspicious day in this month. But there is one in the next month. The Friday, the 11th of the next month, is the day on which you can dedicate the āśāṇa to the Bhaṭṭa. That day is very auspicious. Therefore be prepared to do this on that very day." So said the fortune-telling Bhaṭṭa. At this the Ballå\[ said:—"Sir, you must come and establish the Pañjuri Bhūta. There is no one so able as yourself; therefore it must be done by yourself. And I do not know what things are necessary for the sacrifices on that day. You must tell them also to me plainly."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"You say that I must come, but I have much business; what shall I do?"

To this the Ballå\[ said:—"No, that won't do; you must come yourself."

When he urged in this manner the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well, I will come; what can I do when you are so urgent? I cannot deny you. Therefore I will come. And I will tell you what things are necessary on that day. Twelve sīra of rice and twelve bundles of betel-leaves, forty-eight betel-nuts, twelve bunches of the flowers of the Areca-nut tree, forty-eight kinds of parasitic plants, a bundle of firewood of the jack-tree, ninety-six tender coconut, ninety-six ripe coconuts, forty-eight grains of rice and forty-eight sīra of baked rice, forty-eight sīra of beaten rice, ninety-six sīra of jaggery, twelve dried coconuts, one hundred plaintain-leaves, one hundred ripe plantains, twelve sīra of ghi, forty-eight sīra of oil, and three sīra of butter: you must procure all these and then find out a good man to represent the Bhūta. Let all these things be procured, and on that day send for me early in the morning; and I will come to you. And what else can I do?"

At this the Ballå\[ said:—"So then I will send a man to fetch you; you must come with him. And I do not know anything. Please do what I ask that people may say that everything was well done, and that I did it. Whatever I have to spend on that account, let it be spent; I do not care."

Saying this, with clasped hands, he said moreover:—"Now I am going, please give me leave to go."

At this the Bhaṭṭa said:—"Well then, go. You have much business; you have to do everything single-handed."
So saying he sent him away. He came to his *buda,* took his midday meal, and, sitting in the verandah, called his sister, saying:—"Akka, where are you? What are you doing? Come here for a moment. I have something to say to you."

At this she came and said:—"What is the matter? What can be your business with me? My place is a corner in the kitchen; of what use am I, an old woman?"

At this the brother said:—"Akka, are you not to me like a mother? I think that my mother is not dead. You are my mother. Now, I went to the fortune-telling Bhatta's house, and asked of him the day when the *stana* is to be dedicated to the Bhuta."

At this she asked:—"Brother, when is that day? And how many days hence?"

He replied:—"It will not be in this month; it will be the eleventh day of the next month. The Bhatta said that it is a very auspicious day; I must send for him on that day. I have done so much work. To-morrow get paddy boiled and two *auras* of rice prepared. To-morrow I will go and bring all the things required for the purpose."

Early in the morning he got up and went to the garden of the Kambis, and, going from house to house, he got from them, plantain-leaves, and bunches of plantains, and the tender rinds of the plantain-trees, and grey and red and white pumpkins, and vegetables of various kinds, and caused them to be carried by servants and sent to his house. And then went to his garden and called the pujari and told him:—"O Pujari, go and get a hundred ripe coconut nuts from the coconut trees."

Days went on, and the day to dedicate the *stana* came near. On that day he got up early and went in search of a man to represent the Bhuta. He was not in the house: he asked the inmates of the house where he was gone. Then they replied that on the previous day he had gone to his neighbour's to represent the Bhuta on account of a *tambila* which took place there; and that he had not returned, but would soon return. So saying they requested him to wait for him for some time. As they were yet speaking he came to his house. Then the Ballal seeing him said:—"O devil-dancer, to-day in our *buda* a *stana* is to be dedicated to a new Bhuta Pañjurl. I have asked for the auspicious day, and to-day is the day. Therefore you must come to represent the Bhuta and dance. You must come in the evening and be ready. All our neighbours will come at that time. You must come soon. Otherwise there will be delay on your account. Take care; you must come. Now, I am going."

So saying he came to his *buda* and quickly took his meal, and went to the fortune-telling Bhatta's house; and, sitting in the verandah, called:—"O Bhatta, O Bhatta, what are you doing? Please come out. I have come on business."

When he thus called him he came out and saw the Ballal sitting in the verandah. Seeing him, he said:—"O! are you come?"

So saying he gave him a mat and a low stool and water to drink and jaggery to eat, and said:—"Drink water, and eat jaggery."

So saying he shewed him respect, and then sat down. Then the Ballal said:—"O Bhatta, it is very late now; I have come to call you. Is this not the day you mentioned to dedicate the *stana* ? I have come to call you for that purpose. I came myself lest you should be unwilling to come if I sent a man. Now make haste; it is getting late. Get ready soon; let us go."

To this the Bhatta consented and made haste, and taking an almanack accompanied the Ballal. So they came to the *buda.* And the Ballal took the fortune-teller to the place where the new *stana* had been built, and shewed him everything, and asked:—"Is this beautiful?"

To this he replied:—"O Ballal, there is nothing equal to your fortune. You are a very good man. To the good all things become good. Now, then, let us make everything ready. The sun is beginning to set."
So saying he got the stāna cleansed. And the Bhaṭṭa lit a fire for a sacrifice with fire-wood from the jack-tree; and gave oblations to the Bhūta of ghū, and gave sacrifices according to a certain number. As the sacrifices were over, the sun set; then the devil-dancer also came. Then the Bhaṭṭa sitting before the fire took tender cocaanuts and ripe cocaanuts, and beaten rice and baked rice, and honey, and ghū, and batter, and curds, and milk, and prepared paśchadārīta; and then the Bhaṭṭa took the sandal-stone and rubbed sandal-wood upon it and prepared sandal. Then the Bhaṭṭa called the Ballāj and told him:—“Now, take the devil-dancer yourself to the tank, and let him bathe there and come.”

So saying he sent them; and before they returned he made everything ready in the stāna. And then they came and entered the stāna and came and stood before the sacrificial fire. Then the Bhaṭṭa said:—“Now, be not dilatory. Give the devil-dancer the flowers of the areca-nut tree and some grains of rice; and let him stand in front of us. Give him the sword and the bell.”

Having done so, all of them prayed:—“O lord, if you are Paṇḍuril Bhūta of a truth, let it become known to us in this way.”

So saying all of them at once threw rice upon the devil-dancer. Then the music was played. Suddenly the devil-dancer began to tremble and cried out with a loud voice and ran round the stāna, and ran to the tank and bathed again, and came back and took the sword, and began to pierce his belly with it. Then the Baragas, who had come together in the stāna, took away the sword from the hands of the devil-dancer, and prayed thus:—“O lord Paṇḍuril, if you are of truth, now you must open your mouth and speak to us. We have taken much pains to believe in you. Now you must be pleased with us and take the sacrifices which we offer, and order us and save us.”

At this Paṇḍuril said thus:—“O Ballāj, I came down from the sky, yet I had no ladder to do it. Do you hear me? I am he that came down without a ladder. Great magicians tried for seven days and seven nights to catch me; and yet they could not catch me; but I am come here. Now I must go about to the great towns and see renowned places and seek for a habitation. I am come to help the men of this world. Take courage. Do not be afraid. I am very much pleased with the sacrifices which you have offered. And yet you must henceforth give me two lamūlas every year. If you fail in this, I will give you trouble. Then you must not complain of me. Now I am very glad that I have first drunk milk in your house. In future I will help you, so that no sickness or disease attack your children or your cattle. Now bring me food; the devil-dancer is getting very tired. I must leave him. I have recently come here; I must not give much trouble. Bring me all sorts of cakes and puddings and milk, and I will take my food.”

At this the Ballāj said:—“O Baragas, Paṇḍuril has spoken well. He is a demon of truth. Bring him the food that he has asked. Let him take it.”

All the Baragas, hearing these words, brought food to Paṇḍuril Bhūta. Paṇḍuril, when he was about to take the food, asked the Ballāj:—“O Ballāj, shall I take food?”

To this the Ballāj answered:—“Yes, you may take. All is yours. It is also yours to save us all.”

After the Ballāj had said thus, he took the food, and said:—“O Ballāj, how is the triśula which you have got prepared for me? I wish to see it; bring it here before me.”

Then they brought the triśula to Paṇḍuril Bhūta, and gave it to him. Then Paṇḍuril took the triśula in one of his fingers, and said:—“All of you see this; now, though this triśula is so big, it is big only to you, but it is not so to me. To me this is as a straw. It is not big in my eyes. What you have got prepared for me is very beautiful. And now I must see all the other ornaments which you have prepared for me.”
At this, they brought the mask which they had prepared for Pañjurī, and gave it to him. He saw the mask and was quite delighted with it, and, putting it on his face, trembled and cried out in a loud voice, and said:—"You see, this mask which you have prepared for me is very beautiful!"

And again he said:—"Now bring the goglets."

And so the goglets were brought. In this manner they did everything; and the Dhūta enjoyed the feast, and having finished the dedication, the assembly dispersed.

SPECIMENS OF MODERN BRAHMANICAL LEGENDS.

BY G. K. BETHAM.

No. II. — The Vanavāsi-Māhātmya.

Part III.

A SALUTATION TO THE GREAT GAṆAPATI!

The Rishis said:—"O great Sūtra, all-knowing and remover of all doubts, how was it that Madhukūśa set his affections on the kūtaıkī flower? We have heard that in ancient days it came under the curse of Siva, and was kept far distant (from him) on account of treachery: now king Malla, in order to please Siva, worshipped him on the night of Sivarātrī with the auspicious kūtaıkī flowers. O Muni, you are the only one who can explain to us why king Malla, — he who understood Siva — acted in this way; explaining all this, relate it to us to our satisfaction."

Skanda said — on being asked in this way by the Rishis, who were discussing (the matter): Sūtra, causing them to listen, told them this ancient story: —

"O assembly of Rishis, the holy stories of Sambhu contain the essence. The more people hear of the playful sport of Sambhu, the more they wish to hear it. In ancient times in the Kāla, in his form of Raja, he created many people (subjects), he created the universe and many supports for it. By Siva's orders Vishnu became the protector. He (Vishnu) passed through many incarnations and killed many demons, and he protected many good people (śuddhas), who lived honourably.

Once upon a time Brahmā and Vishnu, being allured by the illusions of Siva, became egotistical and proud — 'I am Brahmā! I am the creator of the worlds. There is no one to equal me. I created many worlds and (also) many men in them. I created Audigarhas, many Apsaras, Vidyādharas, large serpents, Kinnaras, the assembly of the gods and many wonderful enjoyments in the heavens. I created the Prajāpatis, namely, Marichi and others, Svayambhu and Manu, and I created people in four ways to live in four states (or castes). (I created) the Vedas with their six parts.' (I created) the years, seasons, months, the two..."
And I created four castes to act according to their allotted parts, and 
the three Gupsas and many truths. Who beside me is able to create 
all these things so wonderfully?''

Vishnu, being haughty and also feeling boastful, spoke angrily and with trembling lips to Brahma thus: — 'O foolish Brahma, puffed up with vain arrogance. Fools in their 
old age always become forgetful. People unable to do any work, hump-backed people and 
proud people speak of their own deeds and jeer at others. It is the custom of aged 
people to exaggerate and to claim to have done work which has really been done by others. 
You are sprang from my body; you are foolish in your vain arrogance. I am the creator of all 
worlds, and you, being my son, are my dependent. You merely create worlds through my 
power, and according to my behests. Otherwise how would the variations in creation occur? 
I only am the supporter of all the worlds, and there is none beside me. I am the only creator 
and the only protector. There is no doubt that all the worlds would be destroyed without 
me. I have gone through incarnations and slain invincible enemies. Who else besides me 
would be able (to do all this)?'

On hearing Vishnu speak thus, Dharti became very angry, and he struck Krsna on the 
cheek. Vishnu, being struck, burned with the fire of anger. Hari, then, on his part, beat 
him (Brahma) with his four hands. Being beaten severely, Vidhi fainted for a moment. 
Getting up he knocked Vishnu down with his hands. In the act of falling Vishnu caught 
him by his feet and threw him away. Vidhi having fainted fell down into the city of 
Varna. Vishnu followed, and seizing Vidhi again, he beat him with his hands, and Vidhi 
getting up beat Vishnu. O Brahma, then the brave Brahma and Vishnu, being skilled in 
war, fought with each other (in many ways), viz., striking with their fists, pulling each other's 
hair, pushing with their shoulders and kicking and striking with feet and hands. Having 
fought in this manner, they both then got their weapons; (Brahma) his bow, and Vishnu his 
bow, and let fly showers of arrows. They let loose charmed arrows and to protect themselves 
from the arrows, Brahma used his Brahmastra, and Vishnu his Vishnavistra. Thus getting 
very fierce and angry, they fought with each other, and the gods were afraid of being burned 
by the fire arising from the clashing of the weapons. They (therefore) all went to Kailasa to 
inform Siva of what was going on.

They all ascended the mountain, and reached the vicinity of Siva. They saw the Lord of 
the World, Merudastan Anamaya, and saluting him told him what Vishnu and Brahma were 
doing. The merciful one merely signed to them with his eye-brows to go away, and (then, 
in order) to humiliate their pride, he appeared before them in Kashi on the great Sivaratri 
(night). The great and lofty, the good Sahasiva appeared between them in great splendour in 
the form of the Ugra. They were both astonished at seeing him, and both made salutation 
(obeisance) to him.

Saunaka spoke to them seriously, as if to censure (punish) them: — 'O Brahma! O Vishnu! 
What is the meaning of this unmanners way of conduct of you both?'

Hearing the words of the Master, their bodies began to tremble, and they both, with 
folded hands, respectively told what events had happened. Siva, knowing that they had
become proud, spoke kindly to them as follows:—'He who finds out (discovers) the bottom and top of this great liṅga is the only creator of the world; otherwise he is foolish.'

On hearing these words, they both made oaths. Brahmā, wishful of seeing the top of it (the liṅga), assumed the form of a swan. Viṣṇu in the form of a bear went to the deep bottom (of the liṅga). Hari, after wandering for many years without seeing the bottom, went back to the presence of Śiva. O Brahmān, Brahmā with tired wings and mortified in his mind, unable to reach the top, flew many yojanas without seeing the top of the liṅga, and he became very sorrowful. In this case Vidhi saw the flower of the kētaki falling from the top of the liṅga. Seeing them he questioned:—'O kētaki flower, whence have you come?' The kētaki replied:—'I come from the top of the liṅga. I have passed many yugas (ages) in coming, and my body is fatigued, Now I am going to Śiva.'

On hearing this speech of the kētaki (flower), Brahmā, being very much fatigued, said:—'You say that we have, both of us, come from the top of the liṅga'; whereon the kētaki (flower) said:—'Very well' (so be it); and then they went together into the presence of Śiva.

Śiva (Sanabhu) asked them both if they had come after having seen (the top and the bottom of the liṅga). Viṣṇu replied:—'O god, the bottom was not seen by me.' Vidhi said falsely that the top had been seen by him. On hearing this, Śaṅkara became angry, and asked the kētaki (flower) about it. The kētaki replied:—'O Lord, we have both come together from the top (of the liṅga): Vidhi's statement is not false.' On hearing this speech of the kētaki, the Lord cursed them both. 'O Brahmā, in consequence of this falsehood that you have uttered you shall not deserve worship on the surface of the earth. O Vidhi, from this day forth be always senseless. O kētaki, on account of your falsehood, I curse you also; you shall not be worshipped again on my head.' Sanabhu, having cursed them both in this way, spoke kindly to Viṣṇu:—'O Hari, of true speech, deserve worship always among men; these mortals who worship you will be held to have pleased (or satisfied) me also.' So saying, Sanabhu-Sanātana disappeared into the liṅga. From that day forward he (Śiva) became famous in Kāśi under the name of Viśvēśa (Master of the World).

Then the kētaki spoke to Vidhi in abundant (uncontrollable) sorrow:—'O Brahmā, in consequence of your words (advice) I have come under (incurred) this terrible curse. I cannot endure being for a single day without the lotus-like feet of Śiva.' On hearing this manner of speech, Brahmā said to the kētaki:—'Go to the great city of Vanavāśi which soon yields all desires, and perform austerities with great devotion in the vicinity of Madhukāśvara. The curse uttered by Śiva can be removed by him only and not by others.' Acting on Vidhi's advice the kētaki, having curbed its passions, devoutly performed austerities for a long time in Vanavāśi, contemplating (meditating upon) Śiva. (At length) Sanabhu appeared in the liṅga, wishful of conferring a boon upon the kētaki, who on seeing the god appearing addressed him thus:—'O Hari! O Sanabhu! O Mahādeva! O merciful one! O thou that art full of love to thy devotees! I told a lie through ignorance and by the advice of Vidhi. O eternal Śiva! Store of mercy! Forgive me! Forgive me! Have compassion! I cannot remain (be at rest) without getting (being) near, or at, your lotus-like feet.' Thus speaking, the kētaki fell prostrate on the ground many times. Prabhu (the Lord), listening to the kētaki, himself conferred a boon upon it. Bhagavān (Śiva) said as follows:—'By my word (or word) you become undeserving (unworthy of honour) on any day but the holy Śivacātri.' So saying he then disappeared into the liṅga called Madhuka. From that day it (the kētaki flower) became the favourite (of sacred) Śiva on that night. It was for this reason that king Malāsa offered kētaki flowers with devotion to the eternal Madhukāśvara. Those who especially worship the god Śiva on the night of Sivarātri with kētaki flowers get near the feet of Śiva.

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64 Lit., full of care.
65 Lit., of dull intellect.
66 Lit., in the world.
67 Lit., desire worship.
68 The eternal one.
69 Lit., words.
70 Lit., obtain Śiva’s favour.
All hail to the great Gāṇḍa!

"Tell us the glorious story of Śiva. How did the great Śiva himself, Sambhu, Paramēśvara, obtain the awe-inspiring name of Madhukēśvara? Pray, kindly tell this to us who are listening."

Sūta said:—"Listen to this story, O Rāhiś, which was formerly told by Skanda to Sanatkumāra. Rāhiś in Kailāsa, in the house of Saṅkara. The lord of the ascetics asked Skanda concerning this story. I tell you the story which was related by Sarajnanman. In the olden days in the Jāhala Kalpa, a great Asura, called Sūda, son of Kishmāksha, when his father was killed by the great Bhairava, fled through fear, bent upon saving his (own) life. The Dānavas remained (concealed) in a cave in the Saṁyādrīs for a long time. Vidyumnāla, thinking him to be a powerful man, gave him his daughter in marriage. After his marriage that powerful man increased in power on the top of the Saṁyādrī mountains. Vidyumnāla summoned all those (demons) who had escaped being slain by Bhairava, and who having fled in different directions, had gone to reside in the recesses of Pātāla: also those who lived in forests, in caves and on mountains. All the Dāityas and the Dānavas came at the call of Vidyumnāla. They, having come near Sūda, beheld the chief of the Dāityas, and thinking that the powerful Sūda would protect them from the wrath of the gods, the warriors, having cheered loudly, became the followers of Sūda. That army, resembling an ocean (in point of size), became obedient to the orders of Sūda. Once upon a time Usana came to see the powerful Sūda. Sūda being informed (of his arrival) by Vidyumnāla, got up quickly; and, going near and saluting him, he worshipped him with arghya and in other ways. Bhārgava, full of delight, accepted the seat offered him by Sūda, and having seated Sūda, the leader of the Dāityas, near him, Bhārgava caressed him and lifted up his face with his hand and spoke to him kindly.

Sukra said:—'O child, are you in good health? Are all your followers happy? The whole of the kingdom belonging to your father is forcibly taken by the gods.'

On hearing the words of Kavi, Sūda with his hands folded said:—O Guru! owing to the influence of your favour I am happy in every way. From the day of my father's death (in battle) I took up my abode in the forest. Now, O Guru, show kindness to me so that I may regain my kingdom.' So saying, he wept aloud and fell down on his face at his feet. He lifted Sūda with his hands and seated him on a good seat, and, soothing him, said to Sūda, who was then full of grief:—Build a fort in the Saṁyādrīs, and, being accompanied by your Dāityas and Dānavas, make your residence there. I will come to you afterwards.'

So saying and having pleased him, Sukra went away. Sūda then, with the aid of the Dāityas and Dānavas, and, being assisted by Vidyumnāla, went to the place he was told (to go to) by Sukra, and built a fortress. The king of the Dāityas built a city in his own name.
The city, being built by Suda, got the name of Sunda. Residing in the beautiful and great city, in which there were people of various kinds, the Daitya chief took the whole country into his own possession. After a time his Guru also came to the city named Sunda. Suda, on beholding the arrival of his Guru, became full of delight, and worshipping him as he deserved, he, with his hands folded, spoke to Kavi:

Suda said:—"O Guru, through your kindness the earth with its oceans has been obtained by me. This city also is a good one, and is the residence of the army of the Daityas. Now please advise me how to obtain (the sovereignty of) heaven."

Hearing these words of Suda, and considering (them in his mind), Kavi spoke:—"O chief of the Daityas, hear my speech. The gods are very powerful. They possess all sorts of weapons. They are brave and cannot be conquered by Daityas and Dānavas. O child, I will make a plan for you to get a son. Let your wife eat a ball filled with the spells of generation. Thereby she will become pregnant and give birth to a son. Svarga will be conquered by him, beside him no one is able."

So saying Sukra gave a ball consecrated by mantras to her. She with delight and devotion took the ball and ate it. Sukra then returned to his own place, and some time afterwards she gave birth to twins. As soon as these powerful ones were born they terrified the world with their noise. The whole earth trembled, the tops of the hills fell down, and the whole assembly of gods were troubled in their hearts and minds. He (the father) was delighted on seeing the two infants possessing such terrible forms. Suda, with his heart full of delight, assigned names (to them). This one is to be called Madhu, the other Kaijabha. Seeing the two infants he nourished them with delight, and they—growing day by day—became very cruel and powerful. Once Kari came, lifted the two boys, who had fallen at his feet, placed them on his lap and told them their old history.

"O boys, listen to my counsel. The Lord Siva is Master of the whole world. At no time should treachery against Siva be even thought of in the mind. Your hearts should always be attached to Siva. They should always be bent upon meditating upon Siva and upon worshipping Siva. You should with diligence erect a liṅga. If you follow my advice of to-day you will become powerful."

So saying Sukra went away. They both of them on an auspicious day erected two liṅgas on the banks of the Varadā in Vanavāsī, and there performed worship with great delight and pomp. When some time had passed in this way, the two powerful ones, Madhu and Kaijabha, determined to attempt the conquest of Svarga with the assistance of the Daityas and Dānavas. O Munis, they, with many brave men, carrying many kinds of weapons, blocked the door of the heavenly city. They broke down the large panels; they cut down the Kalpa trees; they killed a multitude of gods (many gods), and they went to the banks of the Mandikī in order to bathe and wash the blood off their polluted bodies. Then the assembly of the gods consulted many times with Indra, and coming to the conclusion that they were invincible, cruel, powerful and evil-hearted, they—in company with Indra—left Svarga and ran away and came to a cave called Mairavi. Some remained there; others ran still further, being frightened. O Brāhmaṇa, on seeing the multitude of gods ran away thus,
they both22 usurped the sovereignty of heaven, and then they again returned to earth and took up their residence in Vanavāśi. There they established the Saivas and contemned Vishnu. Vishnu was deserving of worship as decreed by Paramesha: but they,23 wishing to dishonour Vishnu,20 ordered the chief Daityas to kill those persons who worshipped Vishnu. Siva, hearing all this through Nārada, namely, that the gods had been expelled and many Brahmans killed, spoke to Vishu:—O Vishnu, being furnished (strengthened) with my power, kill these powerful ones, Madhu and Kaitabha, and send them speedily to Kailāsa. In the time of the great21 flood they will be born again through the holes of your ears.22 At that time also kill them without any hesitation. At the time of Svārāchisha they will be born through your belly and will want to kill Svārāchisha; then also kill them. Having killed them thrice in this way bring them to me. I will make them my followers,23 because they are devoted to me.'

Saṅkara, having given these orders to Vishnu, himself24 gave the impression of wisdom25 to Brahmā, Viṛāsa26 and others in Kailāsa. Vishnu being reinforced by the power of Siva went to the surface of the earth and killing those two wicked persons, skilled in the arts of war, Madhu and Kaitabha, Hari sent them to reside in the garden outside Kailāsa. On seeing these two wonderful liṅgas situated on the banks of the Varadā, Vishnu, with the gods and the Rishi resident in the Sahyādris, approached and worshipped Sambhu, the chief of the gods, who was accompanied by the sons27 of Anahā.28 A shower from the gods fell on the head of that (sic) beautiful liṅga. The gods then saluted it respectfully29 and cried:—'Victory! Victory! The Munis prostrated themselves in devotion and uttered these two words. The principal Gauḍaśas sang and the assembly of Apasas danced. All the Vidyādharas rejoiced with devotion. While this great rejoicing was going on, Sadasiva appeared from the middle of the liṅga in great splendour, brightening all the ten directions, mounted on the back of a bull and accompanied by Parvatī. Addressing the gods, who had placed Vishnu in the front, Saṅkara thus spoke:—'All of you should hear me in the liṅga called Madhukēśvara. O gods, I shall always remain (here). You also remain here. This (place) Vanavāśi is holy, and the Varadā is the remover of the (a) multitude of sins; bathing here and worshipping me you become blessed.' So saying, he disappeared into the liṅga called Madhukēśvara, and all the gods and the Rishi (also) took up their abode there. O Brahmāna, the story of Madhukēśvara is (has been) told to you. Having heard that holy story, the fisherman also obtained happiness (salvation).'

Part V.

A salutation to mother Rāgukā30

The Rishi said:—"O illustrious Sūta, you are always asked (for information). Your speech contains the essence (of knowledge), and is inspired by Vyāsa Muni. O Brahmāna, how and when did the chief of the fishermen hear this story, to what place did he belong, and by whom was it told him, and what was his behaviour?"

Sūta (said):—"This ancient story of Siva, pleasing to the heavens, was told in the olden times to Saṅkunītha by Skanda. Once upon a time, in the month of Vaiśākha, the Bhūrīs,31 at the source of the Varadā, bathing in that sacred stream in the morning, uttered the 'Gāyatrī.'32"
People of many countries came there eagerly (for the purpose of bathing), and bathed there in the holy month of Mâchâ with the Brâhmanas at the time of sunrise. When they saw the hermitage of Bharadvâja frequented by the great Rishis, they remained there, being eager to hear stories from him. O Brâhmana, that great Munâi, Bharadvâja, when he saw them approach, used to tell them stories. He used to bathe daily in the morning, and, wearing the holy ashes and the rosary, he was devoted to the worship of Siva, and always meditated upon Siva, and he used to tell them stories. Bharadvâja, the store of mercy, daily recited stories full of many incidents and information to those who resided on the banks of the Varadâ. At that time there was a certain fisherman, Durdâma by name, who used to throw his hook into the midst of the waters of the Varadâ, and catching them (i.e., fish) he used to put them into his gulisâ. Once he too heard the holy story of Kaiâtabhîsvara, and three days passed in this manner, and by hearing it he was freed from sin (rendered sinless). On the fourth day he discontinued his occupation of always killing (murdering), and remembering over and over again his own sins, his whole body shook with fear. Beholding the assembly of Brâhmanas, and standing at some distance, he cried aloud: "I am a very sinful fisherman and am always merciless. Save me, who am of evil habits, and who has neglected all religion." So saying, he fell prostrate on the ground and again and again, then he threw his hook far away and folded his hands. The hearts of the people were filled with wonder at hearing this great fisherman talk in this way, and they remained silent. Then Bharadvâja spoke: "O fisherman, come here! Be courageous and be not distressed. Kaiâtabhâ is here, and the merciful Mâdhukâsvara is here also, and, Varadâ, who bestows supreme happiness by merely bathing in her, is here likewise. She is always a great remedy and giver of medicine to those who are bitten by the world in the form of serpents. O fisherman, why are you distressed? Be calm, be calm. The body (mind?) of people is in their hands, the river is in the hands of nobody. The month of Vaisâkha has also come. Then what is the reason for distress? There is no month equal to Vaisâkha; there is no city like Vañâsî, there is no liâga like the liâga of Mâdhukâsvara in the three worlds. I speak truth. I speak what is good. I speak what is right, again and again. Bathing in the Varadâ in Vaisâkha gives the easy way (of salvation). A mortal by merely bathing in the Varadâ obtains that reward which is to be obtained by performing all the sacrifices and giving all the (large) alms. He there undoubtedly obtains salvation in three months. This best (holiest) city of Vañavâsî is the immediate accomplisher, Mâdhukâsvara is the bestower, the Varadâ gives salvation. Therefore the hermitages of many great Rishis are situated on its banks. There are (also) different kinds of Tirtha, all of them removing all sin. O fisherman, come here and sit beside me. Undoubtedly, I will save you to-day. O Kiśâla, relate your history and cease from your grief and despair.

Hearing the great Rishi Bharadvâja speak thus, the fisherman approached him with his hands folded. Durdâma said: "O great Brâhman, O (thou who art) great, merciful and compassionate to the afflicted, listen to my history. It will really give pain to all. On hearing your story I remembered my former life. The god Yama, terrible to the sinful, punished me in Satyamuni. When I think of it now, O Bhagavân, it breaks my heart. I am unable to speak of it. O merciful one, save me! save me!"

So saying, he fell down on the ground like a tree that has been felled. The fisherman, being much distressed, and with his hands and feet writhing, fainted. Bharadvâja
seeing him rolling senseless on the earth restored him by uttering prayers to Siva. He touched his limbs compassionately, and he immediately got up, and the fisherman having gained courage told his story:—'O Viprêndra, listen to my story. I will relate it to you. In my former birth I was the son of a Brâhma of noble descent. I was a sinful villain. My companions, too, were very wicked. In conjunction with them I used to take away calves, and, unseen by others, I, very cruel and with the aid of those powerful ones, used to throw them into deep wells and kill them. I used to set nets and killed many birds by throwing stones at them and beating them with sticks. I used to take young birds from their nests, and tying their feet very tightly, I caused them to dance for many days, and then I killed them. I, by means of many contrivances, killed crows, herons, sparrows, owls, hawks, ravens, cuckoos, pigeons (doves), partridges, francolins, babblers, snake-eaters, and many cranes, fishes, frogs, snakes and water-snakes, and worms, mice, alligators, châtakas, dogs, foxes, monkeys, buffaloes and cows. What else is there to tell? In a very little while I killed a multitude of animals. My father, seeing me growing thus wicked, placed me in the hands of a master to learn. There also I influenced all the boys in an evil manner, and led them into bad courses. The master (guru), knowing this, punished me. So one night, taking advantage of an opportunity, I killed him also with stones.

Once, on a night in the month of Kârttika, I went, O Brâhma, accompanied by thieves, to Kâshâbësvara, intending to steal. It being a dark night, I could not find the road, try as I would. So, going near a certain house, I took by stealth a lamp of great brilliancy which was standing on a pillar, and went to Siva's temple. Taking the lamp in my hand, I, after some trouble, broke open the door and went near the linga. I placed the lamp in front of Siva, and I took the golden ornaments. When I was going away the watchmen saw me. They bound me and beat me severely, and took me to the king, who ordered me to be hanged on the gallows. O Brâhma, I died there, after suffering much pain. Then the followers of Yama came, bound me and beat me severely. Those servants of the god of death placed (joined) my life in a body (so that I could) suffer torments. They put a terrible and red-hot iron chain through my nostrils, and then they took me along a horrible (fear-inspiring) road. On the way they reared at me, contemned me, and beat me. I was then weeping, I was very hungry, and my throat, lips and palate were parched. I was like a corpse, I had no clothes on, and I remembered (with remorse) the sins that I had committed. At some places there was mud, at some places there was fire, at some places there was hot (boiling) mud, at some places there was hot sand, at some places there were very pointed (sharp) stones, at some places falling from mountains (precipices), at some places climbing steep mountains, at some places numbers of thorny trees (bushes), at some places a heap of pointed (sharp) stones, at some places entering into (going through) fire, at some places climbing a precipice, at some places falling from that (precipice), at some places dense darkness, at some places on the way breaking (or tearing) open veins, at some places tearing off my skin. They put hot stones on my head, in my hands, and on my shoulders, then beating me severely they took me at great speed (like the wind). At some places snakes, at some places tigers, at some places swarms of hornets (or bees), at some places vastra-kîtâs, at some places multitudes of crows. At some places being bitten by leeches, at some places being bitten by lions, at some places dogs bit me severely. Along such a very (most) difficult road the powerful Kârñâra led me. Thus I, lamenting, sore-distressed, and full of remorse for my former deeds, arrived at length at Hell. Yama, too, was of a terrible appearance, and looked like a burning fire. He, mounted on a buffalo, judged the despised (rejected)
and the poor. He has horrible tusks in his mouth, and he is always frowning. In his hands he holds his rod and his noose. His voice is as deep as that of the clouds. He causes the very sinful ones who have been cast into hell to be brought before him. The followers of Yama delivered me over to him. Yama, in great anger, looked upon me with a severe eye, and he frightened me very much, so much so that I fainted. His obedient servants of terrible and awe-inspiring form (shape) beat me with the nooses and rods (that they carried) in their hands. Nārada then came there accidentally (by chance), desiring to see Yama, O Brähmans, owing to the greatness of my merit (fortune?) and to the favour of Kaitabhadāra. Yama grew mild, got up and approached him. He offered an oblation to him and worshipped him. The Muni, after being worshipped by him, placed him on his seat. Yama, standing near him, spoke with hands folded:—"O great Muni, welcome to you! My family have become pure. O great Muni, I am greatly blessed by your mere coming. O Lord (supreme or best) of the Yogis, command me what I should do for you."

Nārada, hearing Yama speak thus, answered:—"I have come from Kailāsa to-day, and one thing was heard by me there, namely, that Yama punishes (is punishing) Durśaya,62 who is a devotee of Siva. O Virūpakṣa,63 go you now, and binding Yama together with his followers, bring him who is treacherous to Siva, and who is punishing my devotee. On hearing Siva speak thus, I, O Yama, hastened to your presence to inform you."

On hearing these words from Nārada, Yama trembled with great fear, he summoned me quickly, and released me from the bonds with which I was tied; and then in the presence of Nārada he gave this (following) order:—"O Durśaya, listen to me. You will now go to the surface of the earth and you will become, by my order, the son of a fisherman on the auspicious banks of (the) Varada, and you will stay near the hermitage of Bharadvāja. One morning in the month of Mādhava that great Bharadvāja Muni will cause the Brähmans that have bathed to listen to a Purāṇa. You will hear the most holy story of Kaitabhadāra. By my order, by the favour of Bharadvāja, and in the presence of Kaitabhadāra, you will remember what happened in your former life. Then, after bathing in the Varada and witnessing the worship of Mahēśa, you will go to Kailāsa."

So saying he sent me away speedily. O great Muni Bharadvāja, all this I have got to-day.64 O great Yōgin, save me!" So saying he saluted him.

The merciful Muni, hearing the fisherman speak in this manner, said:—"O fisherman, bathe in the river Varada, and being determined in your mind approach Kaitabhadāra, and seeing the great worship (or ceremony) make pradakṣiṇa65 and namaskāra. There is no doubt that you will be taken to Kailāsa in a yāna."

The fisherman, being thus advised by the kind Muni, bathed in the Varada, and having smeared his body with the holy ashes, he, approaching Kaitabhadāra, saw the great ceremony. He himself went round the liṅga and made many salutations (namaskāra). He made his residence there, and did this every day. At length, being attacked by fever, he died on the banks of the Varada, and, O wise men, he went to Kailāsa.

There is another river called Kumudvā.66 It is like the best river.67 It (she) rises in the Sahyādri and is frequented by gods, Rishis and Brähmans. Those men on earth who bathe there on Saṁkṛanti, on Vidyāpātha, on the day of the eclipse of the sun and moon, and on the two Ayanas,68 will help (relieve) the twenty-one kulae and gain Kailāsa."

62 I. e., as thunder.
61 Or Durśaya: see supra.
63 Siva: having an irregular number of eyes: also the name of a follower of Siva.
64 Līt., noose.
65 I. e., all this has happened today.
66 Cirling round or walking round.
67 I. e., the Varada.
68 Here kula means purusāra, seven, on the father's side, seven on the mother's side, and seven on the side of the father-in-law; altogether make up twenty-one kulas or purusāras.
NOTES.

Preem.

On Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of the Phālguna, cold season of summer, solstice of 1815, of the year Vijaya, this copy of the above (Vanaśī-Śāhāstrey) was completed by one Suba Áravāni, son of Dakshināmūrti Anantāvadhāni of Āravāni, for the use of self and others.

Vanavāsī.

Banavāsī or Vanavāsī, the Forest Settlement or the Forest Spring, with, in 1831, a population of about 2,000, lies on the extreme east frontier of the (North Kanara) district, about thirteen miles south-east of Sirsi. It is a very ancient town, situated on the left bank of the Varada river, and is surrounded by a wall. The chief inhabitants are Havīs, Gulgars, Lingāyats, and Árē Maratthis, petty dealers and husbandmen. A weekly market is held on Wednesdays, when grain, cloth and spices are sold. The chief object of interest at Banavāsī is the temple of Madhukēśvara, which is said to have been built by the early Hindu architect, Jakṣamāñchārya, the Hemādpant of the Kanara country. The temple is built in a court-yard or quadrangle, whose outer wall is covered so as to form rooms and shrines which are dedicated to Gaṇapati, Narasimha, and Kadamāśvara. In one of these shrines is a huge cot of polished black granite, supported on four richly-carved legs. The temple is of considerable size, and is richly sculptured. Over the bull, or Nādi, is a canopy resting on four granite pillars. According to the local tradition the temple was built by Viṣṇu in memory of the defeat and slaughter of the two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha.

According to the local traditions Vanavāsī was called Kaumudi, or the Moonlight City in the first cycle or Kṛita-Yuga; Jayanti, or the City of Victory, in the second cycle or Trāyatī-Yuga; Baśindari, or the palm-tree goddess, in the third cycle or Drāpara-Yuga; and Vanavāsī, or Banavāsī, that is, the Forest Settlement, in the present cycle or Kali-Yuga. The earliest historical (or quasi-historical) mention of Banavāsī is about B.C. 240, when, shortly after the great council held at Paṭa, in the eighteenth year (B.C. 242) of Aśoka, a Buddhist elder or hero named Rakshita, was sent to Banavāsī to spread the Buddhist faith. About B.C. 100, Bhuṭāpāla, the donor of the great Karīla Cavo in West Poona, which he calls the most excellent rock mansion in Jambudvīpa, is described as coming from Viṣṇujayanti, which is probably Vanavāsī; and in inscription 4 in Nāšik Cave III, Viṣṇujayanti appears doubtfully to give its name to an army of king Gōtamiputra Sātārāpī (B.C. 5).

The local Pāli inscription of about A.D. 50-100 in the court of the Madhukēśvara temple shows that about that time Vanavāsī and the territory of which it was the capital, was governed by a king named Āravāni Sātārāpī of the Duta family. The mention of a monastery or vihāra and the Buddhist way of dating in one of the three seasons, so common in the Nāšik inscriptions, show that the minister who made the gift was a Buddhist. The next known reference to Vanavāsī is by Ptolemy (A.D. 15C), who enters the city in his list of places near Linyrike, that is probably Dāmirike or the Damāi or Tamil country, under the forms Bananaus and Banavasī. In the fourth and fifth centuries Vaiṣṇajayanti, or Banavāsī, appears as one of the capitals of a family of nine Kadamba kings, who were Jain in religion, and of the sons of Hārīti. A stone inscription, dated A.D. 634, records that the Chulukya King — Pulikēśin II. (A.D. 610-634) — "Laid siege to Vanavāsī, girt by the river Haṁsas, which disports itself in the theatre which is the high waves of the Varada, and surpasses in prosperity the city of the

\[\text{[1]}\] The Rev. Mr. Kittel (Nāṣikroh's Zanasastra Prakāsa, note 31) derives the name from bāna, forest or wood, and bēs or bēsi, a spring of water, and considers that Vanavāsī is a Sanskrit form of the original Dravidian name. Dr. Fleet (Kanarāroh Dūnartik, p. 7, note 2) inclines to take Vanavāsī as the original Sanskrit and Banavāsī as the modern corruption. This Vanavāsī would mean the city of the Province of Vanavāsī, the resident or settlement in the forest. Inscriptions show that, while the forms Banavāsī and Vanavāsī are coupled with some word representing a district or province, Banavāsī is coupled with the word for city.
gods; (while) the fortress on dry land, having the surface of the earth all round it, covered by the great ocean which was his army, became, as it were, in the very sight of those that looked on, a fortress in the middle of the sea."

Though the ruler’s name is not mentioned, it is probable that at this time Vanavāśi was the capital of an early branch of the later Kadamba dynasty. From this time Vanavāśi seems to have remained subject to the Chālukya kings. About A.D. 947-48 the Vanavāśi Twelve-thousand, that is the Vanavāśi province of twelve thousand villages, was governed by a family of feudatories who called themselves Chellikānas or Chellpataks.

In 1020 Al-Birūnī mentions, in his list of places in Western India, Vanavāśi on the shore of the sea. During most of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and during the early part of the thirteenth century, though at times subject to the Kalachuris (1108-1183) and the Hoyāla Ballālas (1047-1310), Vanavāśi continued to be the capital of a family of Kadamba kings, who called themselves supreme lords of Vanavāśi, the best of cities, and whose family god was Viśnū under the name of Madhukēśvara, which, as has already been noticed, is still the name of the god of the great Vanavāśi temple of Jayantipura (or Vanavāśi). After the Kadambas in 1229 and in 1273, the Vanavāśi Twelve-thousand is recorded as held by two of the Dēvagiri Yādavas. In 1251 the Vanavāśi Twelve-thousand was governed by Mallikīrjuna II., apparently an independent ruler. In the fourteenth century, and probably till their overthrow in about 1590, Vanavāśi was held by the Vijayānagara kings, one of whom, Sadāśivāyana, has left two inscriptions, one of them dated 1552-53, of grants made to the temple of Madhukēśvara. After the Vijayānagara kings Vanavāśi seems to have passed to the Sōnda family, the first and the third of whom, Arappa (1555-1598) and Ragun Naik (1615-1633), have left records, dated 1579 and 1628, of grants made by them to the temple of Madhukēśvara. In 1891, Buchanan described Vanavāśi as situated on the west bank of the Varadā in open country with good soil, except where laterite came to the surface. During the troubles of the latter part of the eighteenth century the number of houses had fallen from 500 to about 250. The walls were ruination and no signs remained that it had ever been a great city. It was the residence of a tahsildār or sub-divisional officer. In the dry weather the Varadā was small and muddy with little current; in the rains it was nowhere fordable, and had to be crossed in leather-boats.74

Sōnda.

Sōnda,75 about ten miles north of Sirsil, with, in 1881, a population of 5,017, is a small town, which, between 1590 and 1762, was the capital of a family of Hindu chiefs. Sōnda lies about a mile to the left of the Sirsil-Yellāpur road on a low hill to the west of the Sōndi brook. The approach to the town is by a ford a little distant from an old stone bridge. The houses are mostly mud-built and thatched, and there is no regular market. The only objects of interest at Sōnda are its old fort and a Smārta, a Vaishnava, and a Jain monastery. The fort stands on a high ground to the south of the Sōndi brook. It is ruined and deserted, and its high walls are hidden by trees and brushwood. The masonry shows traces of considerable architectural skill. The posts of the gateway are single blocks fourteen to sixteen feet long, and in the inner quadrangle are several ponds lined with large masses of finely dressed stone. Perhaps the most remarkable of the fragments is a trap slab twelve feet square and six inches thick perfectly levelled and dressed, which rests on five richly-carved pillars about three feet high. Except this, which is locally believed to be the throne, not a vestige is left of the palace of the Sōnda chiefs. Another object of interest is an old gun eighteen feet long with a six-inch bore.

75 According to Dr. Buchanan, Sōnda is a corruption of Suddha, or the pure. In a Vanavāśi inscription of Pragūnī Naik, the third Sōnda Chief, dated 1529 (Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV. p. 205), the name appears as Sōnda.
Between 1590 and till 1680, under the Sonda chiefs (1590-1762), Sonda was the centre of three districts in the Kanara uplands. After 1680 the Sonda territory included, in addition to their upland possessions, five districts in the Kanara low-lands. The country in the neighbourhood of Sonda is said to have been well cultivated under the Sonda chiefs, and the town to have been very large. It is said to have had three lines of fortifications, the outermost wall being at least six miles from the modern Sonda. The space within the outermost wall, about three miles each way, is said to have been full of houses. In the two spaces surrounded by the outer lines of wall the houses were scattered in clumps with gardens between.

In 1675 Fryer notices Sonda as famous for its pepper, the best and the dearest in the world. The chief lived at Sonda, being tributary or rather feudatory, bound by allegiance as well as by purse to the princes of Bijapur. The Sonda Chief's pepper country was estimated to yield a yearly revenue of £1,200,000 (Pagodas 30 lakhs), of which he had to pay one-half to Bijapur, Sivaji sometimes sharing the tribute. The Sonda Chief had 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot. In 1682 Sambhaji led a detachment against Sonda, but apparently without effect. In 1693 Gemelli Careri passed through some of the territory of the Sonda Chief, whom he oddly names Sondekirinekaraja! He was lord of some villages among the mountains, but tributary and subject to the Great Mughal, whom he was obliged to serve in war. The Chief lived at Sambaran, about forty miles north of Sonda.

Sambaran had a good market and an earthen fort with walls seven spans high. From this single village the chief was said to receive a yearly revenue of £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000), which says Careri, show how cruelly the idolaters and Musalmans oppress the people. During the reign of Imodi, the last Sonda Chief (1745-1762), the town suffered much from Marathas attacks. According to the details furnished to Buchanan by an old accountant, about 1750, when fresh cesses had to be introduced to buy off the Marathas, a house-tax was levied, to which 100,000 houses contributed. This is a wild exaggeration, for in 1764, when Haider took it, Sonda had only 10,000 houses. Haider destroyed the town, and in 1801, Buchanan found the houses had dwindled from 10,000 to fifty. In 1799 so much was the country exposed to the raids of Marathas bandits that the minister of Mysore had to station a guard at Sonda. From its desolate state and the disorders to which it had been exposed, the Sonda territory took Munro longer to settle in proportion to its extent than any part of Kanara. The representative of the Sonda family still (1883) holds a position of honour in Goa.76

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI, B.A., M.F.L.S.

No. 44. — The Buffalo made of Lac.

भोज / पररङ्गि सुग्रेव सूजनस्यन्तति तराकृते सूक्ते।
नांहिनस्यन्ति मायेन जातु न जान्मस्य जनुधरी माहिरं।

"What is the use of this miserable existence. I am poor, extremely poor. My wife is every day teasing me for ornaments, while I find it very difficult to keep my life and soul together. But, poor woman, how can I blame her? When she sees her neighbours rich, she curses her fate and imagines that she must also become rich one day or other and wear jewels. Alas! She has no idea of my difficulties in Tanjore. There is no scope for earning money here. The old-fashioned donations to Brâhmâns on religious or festive occasions and other charities are slowly disappearing with the rapid progress of this dark yuga. So, if I mean to better my prospects, I must quit this place. I must proceed to Bânâras. They say, that in the whole of India, that sacred city is the only place where charities still flourish."

Thus contemplated a needy Brahman of Tanjore, when suddenly his wife entered his room with her child of four or five years. The girl was crying and pulling her mother towards her by the end of her cloth.

"Is the morning meal ready, my dear? I am unusually hungry to-day," said the poor Brahman.

Replied the wife: — "Ready! What else have I to do in this house? Daily I get up at five in the morning, sweep and clean the house and the utensils, bathe, cook, eat, and sleep. Again I get up the next day, and the same routine is repeated. Last evening Uma, the daughter of Appavaiyiar, came down here to invite me for her brother's marriage. What a fine necklace she has? They say that gold sells very cheap now. How well would our child appear if, instead of standing bare like a palm-tree, she had a few ornaments to wear. We cannot try for many, for we are not rich. But one or two jewels, those most necessary for the ears and the neck, must be made."

At this point the bewildered husband smiled and tried to take up the child to play with it. But the wife, dragging the girl towards her, continued: "O Gauri, thus your father deceives you, if we begin to speak about ornaments. Do not approach him."

But the child said: "When will you make me a necklace, papa!"

"Soon, my dear girl. Come here." Then the conversation changed to other subjects, and in a few minutes the whole party was reconciled and happy.

But the Brahman's mind never remained ruffled. He resolved to improve his condition in the world by some means or other, and the course he thought the easiest was to proceed to Banaras. He soon informed his wife of it, and promised to return as speedily as possible with loads of money and jewels. He also requested her to take special care of the house and their daughter Gauri. The wife assured him that she would take the best care of the family. Our hero was easy at heart, started for the sacred city, and reached it safely.

He spent two years on the banks of the Ganges, and accepted indiscriminately all kinds of donations. It is considered very objectionable to receive certain gifts, e.g., oil, buffaloes, etc.; and owing to this belief the accompanying fee offered for receiving such gifts is generally large, as an inducement to accept them. Our hero's object was to make money. Who would perceive how it was made? So he freely accepted them, and was amassing a large amount of money. In less than a couple of years he had made nearly Rs. 5,000. How glad will my wife be to receive me with so large an amount, thought our hero, and started on his return journey to Tanjore. When he had reached Poona it occurred to him that his wife would all the more be pleased if he brought her some ready-made jewels instead of jingling coins only. So he sent for a goldsmith, and, reserving only the necessary money for his journey, gave him all the rest to be converted into two gold necklaces of a hundred beads each.

"Your orders will at once be executed, my lord," said the wily jeweller who had a most honest face. Like an obedient and honest servant he received the money, appointed a time for the delivery of the necklaces, and on the day before they were due he gave them to our hero. There were gold beads one hundred in number in each; the weight was correct, and the quality of the gold the same as that of the gold originally purchased for making these jewels.

"You are the most honest and punctual goldsmith I have ever seen. It is rare to see one of your type in your art. Unfortunately, I have not reserved any money with which to reward you for your punctuality," said the Brahman, and the goldsmith, after thanking him for the kind words, took his leave.
Our hero soon reached Tanjore, and had a happy meeting with his anxious wife and child, for had not the long-absent husband returned with two beautiful necklaces of gold? The wife and the child each took her necklaces. The former went into the house to cook the usual meal, and the latter outside to play, and to show to her neighbours her father’s present. Sitting before the fire, the wife took the necklace from her neck, and weighed it often in her hand, and the more she did so, the more she began to suspect that all was not right about it. There was no harm in examining one of the beads, thought she, and she took one off the string. She put it into the fire, and after a second there was a slight fizz and smoke, and it began to burn like lighted lac. She was horrified to see that her husband had been duped by a wily goldsmith. She pitied him, and, after some time, related in a calm way the trick that had been played upon him. But the poor Brahman’s peace of mind was gone as soon as he came to know of the trick. The idea that all his hard-earned money had been thrown away made him mad, and he had afterwards one fixed idea in his head, that goldsmiths are never to be trusted.

On the morning of the third day, after the discovery of the trick, he asked his wife how she had managed to live during his absence in Benares. Said she:—“I bought a buffalo from Ponnasari, the goldsmith, that lives in the Car Street.”

“What! from Ponnasari, the goldsmith!”

“Yes, my lord. From its milk I made butter, and from the sale-proceeds of the butter and ghee I have managed to live very comfortably. She gives us two measures of milk every morning and evening.”

“You poor innocent woman! You have not examined it. It is not a true buffalo. It is a buffalo made of lac!”

“No, my husband. It gives us milk, and, therefore, it cannot be one made of lac.”

“Therefore, I say, women are fools! What if it gives you milk? It is still made of lac. You are a fool not to see through the tricks of goldsmiths.”

“No, my lord. It grazes upon grass, therefore it is not made of lac.”

“Oh, my good wife! You must have brains to guess at the tricks of goldsmiths. I say it is still made of lac. Say no more.”

“No, my lord. After it came to us as it has given us two calves. How can it be then a buffalo made of lac.”

“You stupid woman. You do not know the tricks of these goldsmiths. In your own innocent way you believe the animal to be a living one. No. Whatever you may say, I am as certain as certain can be that it is still made of lac. Now hold your tongue and gainsay me no further.”

The poor wife could only pity her lord for his state of mind. It was impossible for her to convince him by any argument, so much was the goldsmith’s trick reigning predominant in his mind. She went to the backyard, dragged the poor animal into the house, made a small cut in one of its ears, and produced the red blood as evidence that it was a living animal. Her husband, as soon as he saw the blood, broke out in a most vehement language: “You foolish woman! Do you still continue to think that the buffalo of Ponnasari is not made of lac? What you show me now is blood, you think! Is it not of the colour of lac, and is not Ponnasari’s buffalo a buffalo made of lac? Do you, too, want to deceive me?”

Several of the best known men of Tanjore came to convince our hero that the buffalo in his house was a living animal. But he persisted in his belief that it was not, and must be one made of lac as long as it was purchased from Ponnasari.
This is the story told to account for the following well-known verse:

Mudhe! payo pi dighe tripam-apy-anati tarpanam Sute,
Nadinhamasya mayam jau na jau jatu jatshali Mahishi.

“O Innocent woman, What if it gives us milk, what if it grazes upon grass, what if it bring forth calves! You do not know the tricks of goldsmiths. It is for all that a buffalo made of lac.”

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A FOLK ETYMOLOGY OF LAL BEG’S NAME.

The holy prophet (hazrat paighambar), saint (Mehtar) Iliaš (the prophet Elias), attended at the Court of Almighty God where many prophets were sitting. Mehtar Iliaš coughed, and finding no room to spit in, he spat upwards, and his spittle fell upon the prophets. They all felt disgusted, and complained to Almighty God. The Almighty ordered that he should serve throughout the world as a sweep (jādū dhi kārā). Mehtar Iliaš begged that some prophet might be created in the world to intercede for him, and it was ordered that such an one should be born. According to the order of the God of Mercy he came into the world, and took to sweeping, and passed many days in the hope of forgiveness.

One day the Great Saint (Bayād Pir Sāhīb — i.e., Pir-i-Dastagir or Sayyid ‘Addal Qādir Jilānī, flourished 1073 to 1166 A. D.) took his coat (shikā) off and gave it Mehtar Iliaš to wear. Mehtar Iliaš put it into an earthen pitcher (mattā) and intended to wear it at some auspicious time. One day the Great Saint asked him why he did not wear the coat. He answered: “My work is to sweep, and it would become dirty. I will wear it on some lucky day.” The Great Saint said: “Wear it to-day and come to me.” He agreed, and went to open the pitcher, but it was shut so fast that he could not open it. He came to the Saint and said that the pitcher would not open. The Saint said: “Take my name and say to the pitcher that the Pir Sāhīb calls you.” Mehtar Iliaš went and did as he was bidden, and putting the pitcher on his head, brought it to the Saint.

The Saint said: “Nīkal dā, Lāl, bēg, come out quickly, my boy!” (lāl is my dear boy, my darling son; bēg is quickly). Immediately out of the pitcher a fair man (gōtē rōg kā dāmī) wearing lāl bēg (should be bākāch) or red clothes (yā lāl kāpā) came out, and the Saint said to Lal Bēg (Lāl bēg sā parnāydy): “this was the order of Almighty God that you should be the Prophet (Nābī) of the sweepers (mehtarīū, bākṣ), and intercede for them at the day of judgment.” Mehtar Iliaš took him home, and placing him under a nīm tree (Asīdaravakta indicā) filled his huqa (pipe) for him (a custom of the sweepers to the present day towards their religious teachers) and worshipped him. Lal Bēg became at once invincible, and Mehtar Iliaš went to the Great Saint and told the story. The Great Saint said that Lal Bēg had disappeared because he did not approve of his religion. “However, worship him and he will intercede for you.” He then ordered Mehtar Iliaš to do penance, and said: “In the first age the gautīnūt (vessels worshipped to represent Lal Bēg) will be golden; in the second, it will be silver; in the third, copper; in the fourth, earthen.” This is why the Mehtar now worship vessels of earthen, and believe in their prophet.

R. C. Temple in P. N. and Q. 1883.

PANJABI NICKNAMES.

In the Pañjābi some nicknames are, as in England, connected with some event in the victim’s career, — e. g., a low caste employed, a Jhinwar or drawer of water, named, say, Lal Singh, rose to greatness, passing over the heads of men of good caste, and was immediately dubbed by his less fortunate comrades Jal-thich Singh or Water-drawing Singh, and unkind references to the discarded implements of his profession were covertly made. Again, a European officer who gave a down-trodßen county ‘aman (peace, happiness, prosperity) was honorifically nicknamed Tārān Sāhib, or Mr. Rescuer from drowning. The title of Dhari-wāla, or the man with the beard, resulted from a weakness that a late ruler of the Pañjābi had for allowing persons with fine beards Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 a month for curls, combs and other toilet articles. A man,
so unfortunate as to bear the name of Dharm Singh, or the religious one, was, of course, called Pāpī Singh, or the sinful one, the opportunity for a joke being too good to be lost. A consequential person got the name of Pērē or the turkey, but this last is universal. Compare the use of the words Bubbly Jock in Scotland.

I once came across an odd case. One Dasōndhī, known as Trūnpji, was not known by his real name to the lambarārī (headman) of his own village, who had known him all his life. Dasōndhī was a Rānghar; therefore his grandfather had been in a native cavalry regiment, and therefore a trumpet-major. The progression is easy enough. Trūnpji is an obvious and easy corruption of the name of the English rank.

M. Millet in P. N. and Q. 1883.

MALABAR CUSTOMS.

No. 1. - Korava.

As soon as a child is born to the mother — for the mother is the most distinctive factor in a Malabar tāvedd or family, those who wait outside her room in expectation of the joyous event (chiefly the maid-servants and lady-visitors) raise a korava, which is a shrill vocal note peculiar to the women of Malabar. It is produced by the slow expulsion of air through rounded lips, between which the tongue assumes a rapid to and fro motion, the chamber of resonance being formed by the mouth and a small portion of air almost pent up before the lips by all the fingers of the right hand similarly rounded.

In the greater portion of the country and among the generality of the Malayāḷīs, the korava serves the purpose of a general notice by the people of the house to their neighbours as to the recent addition to the family. In some places, as in Trivandrum and South Travancore, the korava has become the index of the birth of a child, boy or girl; but elsewhere, it is a special note of joy, struck only at the birth of a boy.

At the same time, to supplement, as it were, the notice given by the korava, a male member of the house or an old dependent of the family goes into the southern or western yard of the house, and taps the earth forcibly, three or four times, with the flat portion of the woody coconut leaf called in the vernacular sāddī. This custom, which certainly must have admirably served its purpose according to the notions of the primitive Malayāḷīs, is still with scrupulous religious care preserved in almost all the Malabar tāvedds.

K. Paramu Pillai.

GURU GUGA AS A SNAKE-GOD.

(§§ 377, 378, Ibbonson's Karnāl Settlement Report). In § 378 it is noted that Gūga "is supposed to be the greatest of the snake-gods." It seems usual (universal) near Lāwā in the Ambāḷī district, for the mārī (shr ine) of Gūga Pīr to have close to it to right and left two shrines, that to the right being dedicated to Nār Singh and that to the left to Gerkhāṭha. The following explanation was given to me by the Jāt lambarārī (headman) of Chalumji, in the Ambāḷī district, and before that in another village. The Chalumji Jāt explained that Gūga had been Gerkhāṭha's chōṭā (disciple), and it was also said that he had been born owing to Gerkhāṭha's kindness in blessing his mother, who was childless. Nār Singh, he said, was Gūga's servant or dīvaṇ. Again, in a Jāt village, near Lājāwā, the two shrines were explained to belong to Kāli Singh and Bhārī Singh, Nār Singh being another name for one or both of these. I have also seen a picture of Gūga Pīr on the parapet of a new well in a Jāt village. The saint was seated on a horse, and was starting from the Bāgar country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hands a long staff (bālotā), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the bālotā. The people said that if a man got bitten by a snake he would think he had neglected Gūga. Both jāmndi and Musalmān Jōgās take the offerings made to Gūga. They carry about his āchu (a standard covered with peacock's feathers) in Bhādām (August-September) from house to house; but give some small share of the collections to the Chāhṛās (scavengers).

J. M. Douie in P. N. and Q. 1883.

THE RED-HAND STAMPS AT TILÔKPUR TEMPLE.

At the temple of Balsamārī Dēvī at Tilōkpūr, near Nāhan, the priest stamps a red hand on the left breast of the coat of a pilgrim who visits the temple for the first time to show that he has, as it were, paid for his footing. If the pilgrim again visits the temple and can show the stamp he pays only four annas as his fee to the priest. What is the meaning and origin of this?

R. C. Temple in P. N. and Q. 1883.

1 [Nār Singh or Anār Singh now stands for Nārāśīnha, the man-lion mātrī of Vishṇa. Legends relate that Gūga left Bāgar in Bājpūr to go after his twin half-brothers Arjana and Jāsana, who had insulted him in spite of his mother's protest. — Ed.]
EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SELUNGS OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

A GOOD deal of the information contained in the following extracts of correspondence regarding the Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago is to be found in Dr. John Anderson’s little work under that title, published in 1890. The information now given will, however, supplement that in Dr. Anderson’s book, and will afford students an opportunity of checking the statements of travellers and others with those of the officials, who have for years been responsible for the control and guardianship of this remote people.

I.

From Dr. J. Anderson, F.R.S., Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta, to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma—23th May 1882.

As you expressed a wish that I should put down in writing my impressions regarding the condition of the Salones in the island of Padaw and in the Dowe group, I now do so with pleasure.

In Padaw, or King’s Island, I purposely visited a comparatively recent settlement of these people, at a place called Yaymyitkyee, on the western side of the island, opposite the southern extremity of Mainggyee Island. I reached this village (Yaymyitkyee), starting from the village of Kabaing on the south-western shore of Padaw, by a tolerably good path that passes first through clearings in the neighbourhood of Kabaing, and then penetrates the primeval forest, which is tolerably free of undergrowth. Only one ridge of hills is crossed, and, as it is of so great height, the road is not a fatiguing one. A few Karens are located at Yaymyitkyee, and this path has been made by them and the people of Kabaing in their intercourse with one another.

Yaymyitkyee lies on the lower portion of the western aspect of the slope of the ridge, and is situated at some distance from the sea, from which it is reached by a long creek that dries up in its higher part at low-water.

A Karen acted as my guide across the island, and my porters, four in number, were of the same race. Knowing the timid nature of the Salones, I had taken the precaution to acquaint them beforehand of my intended visit, so that on my arrival I found them all present, although, when they saw me approach, they had threatened to decamp.

Their houses I found collected in two groups on the centre of an extensive clearing, through which ran a small mountain rivulet. The majority of the trees had been cut down, but the bare gaunt stems of many magnificent trees still stood leafless and charred, attesting to the destructive character of the fire by which the foliage and the branches of the felled trees had been burned, and the ground had thus been partially opened out for the cultivation of paddy. The first group of houses stood about a hundred yards apart from the other. It consisted of four small houses, built after the model of Burmese dwellings, and occupied by the headman and his three sons-in-law. The second group numbered eight miserably small hovels, erected on rickety platforms raised about three feet from the ground, and measuring 12 feet by 9 feet in dimensions. The platforms were made of a few cross-sticks, with bark laid loosely over them, and the little hovels built on them were open on all sides except one, which was radely closed with bark stripped from the fallen trees, and they were certainly the smallest and most squalid dwellings I have ever seen. A little paddy was stored in huts close at hand, walled in with mats and raised a few inches above the ground. The household goods of the inhabitants of these houses consisted of mats for sleeping on, mat pillows stuffed with the cotton of Bombax Malabaricum, a few earthen pots, coarse China bowls, and water vessels made of a gourd and slung in an open network of rattan.
The headman, his wife, and youngest daughter were dressed in Burmese fashion; but the clothing of the remainder of the adults was restricted to a cloth tied across the hips and doubled up between their legs, the rest of the body being nude, this costume being common to the men and women alike. Everything about these people was indicative of the greatest poverty, and as the rice, gourds, and yams which they succeed in raising are insufficient for their wants, they eke out a subsistence on wild edible roots, and also on fish and shell-fish procured in the adjoining creek or on the neighbouring coast.

The occupations of the men are felling the forests, cultivating and reaping the paddy, gathering honey and wax, spearing fish and collecting shell-fish in the creek and on the shores; but in much of this they are assisted by the women, who also, as is common to all the Salones, devote a considerable portion of their time to the manufacture of mats. These mats, along with the honey and wax, are readily disposed of by barter to the traders who visit the western shores of the island during the north-east monsoon.

The Salones at Yaymyitkyee, with one exception, came originally from Done, that is, from the large group of islands immediately to the west of King's Island, and of which the largest are Elphinstone, Grant, and Ross Islands. The exception was the nephew, and at the same time son-in-law, of the headman, who was a Salone of Tavoy island, very fair and remarkably like a Burman. All the members of this colony were more or less related to one another, and all claimed to have relatives in the Done group of islands.

These northern Salones of the Archipelago are known to themselves as Kathay Salones.

On being questioned as to what had induced him to settle on King’s Island, the headman gave as his reasons the hardships and privations which had to be endured in moving from place to place amongst the islands in search of food, the uncertainty of food-supplies, and the absence of permanent dwellings. He had been induced to take the step by the representations of the Karens at Yaymyitkyee, with whom he had met on his visit to King’s Island in search of honey and wax, and who had pointed out to him how much more comfortable he would be, were he to forsake the usual migratory life of a Salone and become a cultivator of the land. He had, so far, been satisfied with the result, although the difficulties which he had at first to encounter were very great, as he had originally settled only with his sons-in-law. The second and more squalid group of huts was occupied by fresh settlement of Salones related to him, and who had been led by his little measure of success to follow his example.

The great poverty of this people was due, according to him, to the fact that they were new-comers and had yet to make their way. They had been only one year in the clearing.

From Padaw, or King’s Island, I visited the Done group, where I found the Salones in their normal condition as a sea-people, spending the greater part of their lives in their boats along with their children and dogs, and only betaking themselves to a short sojourn on land during the stormy weather of the south-west monsoon, when they erect on the sandy shores huts of much the same character as those of the second group at Yaymyitkyee.

The employments of these people consist of visiting the most westerly islands of the Archipelago during the first two or three months of the north-east monsoon, where they collect bêche-de-mer and the large Turbo marmaratus, the animal of which is extracted from the shell and dried in the sun.

During the remainder of this monsoon they generally frequent their own group of islands, an occasional boat only visiting the western groups. Among their own islands, their chief occupations are spearing the large fish known to them as oono, collecting bêche-de-mer, occasionally a few pearls, and a little black coral. After the south-west monsoon has set in, they devote themselves chiefly to collecting honey and wax in the forest, and hunting pigs.
Daring the north-east monsoon they are generally visited by traders, with whom they barter their mats, dry cane, honey and wax, pearls, and other objects, for rice and shamshee, and a very little cloth. I had the opportunity, while I was at anchor for about fifteen days in the great bay on the south-eastern side of Elpinstone Island (Peeleah of the Salones), to have about me thirty-five fine boats of these people, with their respective headmen and headman-in-chief (Hama). The Salones, as has been already said and as is well known, live for one-half of the year in their boats. A boat usually contains a family, but I have observed as many as five adults, besides children and dogs, living in one boat. A boat is generally 20 to 24 feet in length. All the household operations are carried on in the boat during the period it is tenanted, and as they never appear to clean them out, the stench emitted from decaying food and other substances is intolerable to any one but a Salone. I have already alluded to their temporary land-dwellings, but these have an advantage over the boats in the way of cleanliness, as they are annually rebuilt.

I had a good deal of conversation (through my interpreter) with the headmen, more especially with Hama, who told me that the Salones of his group (Done) would be very glad to settle on land and cultivate, provided they were assured of protection and would not be taxed for the land until they had a fair return for their labour of clearing and establishing cultivation, which, however, would be a question of some years. Without protection of some kind it would be impossible for them to settle, as he informed me, on some previous attempts of this kind, their reaped crops of paddy and the fruits of the doorian and other trees were stolen by the people from the mainland, traders and others: so much so that a doorian garden in the above bay belonging to him for some time had ultimately to be abandoned, and hardly a trace of it now remained. He also complained to me of the waste to which the results of their fishing of the cane were exposed; and I had an instance of this feeling, as some boats which were late in arriving at Peeleah refused to remain with me beyond a day or two, as they were afraid that the cane which they had left behind on the rocks to dry in the sun would be stolen in their absence, which, they said, was not an unfrequent occurrence. But these poor people are subjected to a greater evil than any of these in the incapacity and unscrupulousness of the traders who barter with them. It is the policy of these men always to lead the Salones to believe that they are in their debt and so to have them in their power; and these trading boats on their return visits compel the Salones to accompany them to collect the rice and to spear fish to satisfy their demands, they paying them in rice measured in baskets far below the recognized measures in use at Mergui, and even neighbouring villages. While I was in Peeleah I had the greatest difficulty in persuading the first ten to fifteen boats, which came to see me, to remain, as news had arrived that a noted Chinese free-booting trader from Mergui had appeared amongst their islands. They had the greatest dread of this man, because he compelled them to work for him, and paid them nothing except in driblets of rice. It must be remembered that these people, as they are precluded cultivating, are almost entirely dependent on the traders for rice, as they very seldom muster courage to go to Mergui.

I have been also informed that these traders sometimes even go the length of committing serious assaults upon these unoffending people, and, I believe, some of them have been tried and prosecuted at the Courts of Mergui for so doing; but I am told that the punishments, having been pecuniary, can be well borne, considering the profits they make out of their trading with the Salones, and are therefore not deterrent. It was also brought to my notice that some of these unscrupulous men even resort to the nefarious practice of dragging the shamshee, which they barter with these people, in order to reduce them to a state in which they can do with their property much as they please. Of course, I only repeat what I have heard, but I think it desirable to put this information on record. While I was at Peeleah and the Salones around me, the bay was visited by two Chinese trading boats, one of which came provided with large quantities of shamshee, which the Salones, having once tasted, did not cease bartering for until the whole supply was finished; and it was a painful sight to see these
simple people so debauched for the time being as to be oblivious to their own and their families pressing necessity for rice. When I arrived in the bay many of their boats had no rice and they had been reduced entirely to live on fish and shell-fish, and the younger children, in some instances, were crying for hunger, as their parents had no rice to give them.

The islands produce some valuable timber trees, and from the configuration of the islands, and the way their steep slopes approach the sea, the trees are easily accessible and the timber could be floated with little difficulty. I at first thought that perhaps the tides might present some obstacle to the floating of the timber to the mainland, but this anticipated difficulty does not appear to exist, because a Salone boat manned by some men and women arrived at Mergui, while I was there, with a derelict raft of timber from the island of Domei, having thus come through a part of the Archipelago noted for the strength of its currents. The learning of the direction of the currents is only a matter of observation, and their course being known, instead of being a hindrance, would aid the transit of timber. Anyhow, the fact exists that this comparatively small boat, in rather stormy weather, towed a number of large logs of teak into the harbour of Mergui.

II.

From the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma—21st June 1882.

It may perhaps not be out of place if I record such little information as I have been able to collect regarding the Salones and the general impression conveyed to my mind by Dr. Anderson's memorandum. I have always taken an interest in the curious race in question, though I have never been able to visit them at their homes. When I first visited Mergui, now over 10 years ago, I believe such a circumstance as a Salone visiting the place was extremely rare, if it ever occurred. Some six years later I found that they did occasionally come there, and during the last two years I cannot call to mind any occasion, on which I have been there, when I have not seen some of them. There are a few Chinese traders who seem to be on very good terms with them, as parties of them every now and then come to their houses; and on my last visit to Mergui I was particularly struck by meeting a party dressed out in a sort of Burmese costume, and evidently proud of their newly-acquired garments.

Now, there may be, and probably is, some foundation for most of the statements made to Dr. Anderson; but, I think, from the above facts, it can hardly be doubted that the Salones are not, as a rule, oppressed and ground down by the tyranny of traders or others, for if that were so, a race so shy and suspicious, as they have always shown themselves, would more and more avoid the haunts of men, and seclude themselves in the islands, whereas, as a fact, they are apparently, from their own choice at least, beginning to emerge from that seclusion and to have intercourse with other places and people. With regard to the allegations that they are precluded from cultivation, I must say it sounds very like similar stories I have heard from Karens and other savages in excuse for their not doing that which they really were too indolent to do. It is extremely probable that here and there some garden or granary may have been robbed by passing traders, just as gardens are frequently robbed by boatmen on the banks of all our large rivers; but it is difficult to believe that such depredations have been carried to such an extent as to prevent the Salones from cultivating anything, if they really wished to do so, or that they could not find in the Archipelago some spot suitable for the purpose, and seldom, if ever, visited by traders.

I fear that it is but too probable that the Salones are frequently imposed upon in various ways, and that spirits, drugged or not, are frequently introduced amongst them by unscrupulous persons; but from these evils, as also from the petty thefts complained of, it will be extremely difficult to afford them adequate protection, until they change their habits of life, and until there are better means of communicating with them available by the District authorities than now exist.
III.

From the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burma — 13th July 1882.

I have the honour to forward herewith, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a Report, dated the 21st ultimo, from the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, on the subject of the Salones, together with its annexures in original.

From Mr. Menzies’ Report, dated the 20th June 1860, it would appear that at that period the Salones frequented Mergui to a much greater extent than was subsequently the case, so far as my information goes; but why this should have been so it is difficult to understand.

IV.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to the Commissioner of Tenasserim —
dated 21st June 1882.

The facts related by Dr. Anderson, taken generally, are, no doubt, correct, but they have already been, from time to time, brought to the notice of Government by my predecessors in office for the last twenty years, and several philanthropic attempts have been made, both by Government and Missionaries, to ameliorate their condition without success.

The following letters, written 20 years ago, of which I enclose copies, give the result of careful and interesting enquiries then made by the different officers in charge of this district, and give a very complete and comprehensive account of the race:—

(1) Dated the 11th August 1857, from Colonel Ryan, Deputy Commissioner, giving extracts of a Sketch of the Salones by Dr. Helfer.

(2) Dated the 11th May 1858, by Captain Stevenson, Deputy Commissioner.

(3) Dated the 20th June 1860, by H. G. Menzies, Deputy Commissioner, a full and very graphic account and most interesting, from the perusal of which it will be seen that every endeavour has been made to improve their situation, but in vain. They were freed from taxation, and a paid headman was appointed to report all cases of crimes, but from Mr. Menzies’ Report it will be seen that he was the head of only one group, and inclined to be jealous of other more numerous or powerful factions than his own; he drew his pay, but never made a single report of crime, and consequently the pay was subsequently withdrawn.

Missionaries settled amongst them, and tried to get them to settle down, but to no purpose.

As to the statement reported to Dr. Anderson by his interpreter, “that Hama, the headman of the Done or Elphinstone group, would be very glad to settle on land and cultivate, provided they were assured of protection and would not be taxed for the land for some years, until they had some return for their labour of clearing, etc.” this is certainly opposed to all the information we have hitherto gained, whether from Government officers or from Missionaries, and also to my own experiences.

Dr. Helfer states: — “These boats, not longer than 20 feet, are the true homes of the Salones; to it he entrusts his life and property; in it he wanders during his lifetime from island to island; a true ichthyophagist, to whom the Earth has no charm, and whom he neglects so much that he does not entrust to her a single grain of rice.”

Captain Stevenson writes: — “Mr. Kincaid, an American Missionary, who visited these people in 1838, says the Salones are very poor, having no houses, no gardens, no cultivated fields, nor any domestic animals but dogs.”
I myself have repeatedly asked them to come and settle permanently near to Mergui, where we could give them ample protection and where there is abundance of rich and fertile soil only waiting for the hand of man to be cultivated; they have invariably one and all replied that they could not, as they would not be happy if tied down to one place. Even when visiting St. Mathew’s Harbour with the Chief Commissioner in the “Enterprise” in March 1880, we found a Salone who could talk Burmese, who said he was the son of the former paid headman, and had visited what he was pleased to call the great city, alluding to Mergui. I asked him why he did not return and stay at Mergui, and only received the same stereotyped reply, “Matha, I should be unhappy;” so that the statement made by Dr. Anderson to the effect “it must be remembered that these people, as they are precluded cultivating, are almost entirely dependent on the traders for rice, as they seldom muster courage to go to Mergui,” is scarcely accurate. If they are precluded from cultivation, it is by their own wish and pleasure, and not from any obstacles in their way, for every endeavour has been made to induce them to do so, but in vain.

Dr. Anderson seems to think that the absence of rice is a great hardship, and that it must be the mainstay of life, for he says: — “When I arrived in the Bay many of their boats had no rice, and they had been reduced entirely to live on fish, shell-fish, and the younger children were crying for hunger, as their parents had no rice to give them.” To any one coming from India, no doubt, the absence of rice would imply the absence of the greatest necessity of life, but, from all I have read, heard, and seen of these people, rice is a luxury, and not a necessity. Fish, combined with yams, and the numerous kinds of wild potato, are their ordinary diet; all are starchy substances, and quite as capable of supporting life as rice and it is the fact of the abundance of these kinds of tubers found growing wild among the islands that has enabled them to survive generation after generation, their condition being neither better nor worse than at the beginning.

To the above general rule of absence of cultivation on the part of the Salones, there has been only one exception at the village of Yaymyitgyee, situated on a creek on the north-west side of King’s Island, alluded to by Dr. Anderson. It was originally a Karen settlement, merely a group of 10 houses, on the banks of a small stream. Their cattle (buffaloes) seem to have thriven more than their masters, for they have over 100 buffaloes. They plough and cultivate paddy and also towngya. Some years ago a party of Salones from the Elphinstone group, coming in to winter for the rains on the larger islands nearer to the mainland, entered this creek and squatted near to the Kares, who, being a quiet and peaceful race, very different to the self-seeking rapacious Chipamen, appear to have struck up a kind of friendship with them, resulting in that party of Salones ever after remaining there, and cultivating towngya after the manner of the Kares themselves, and there they are to the present day, and will, I hope, induce others to follow their example; but the settlement was commenced over 20 years ago (vide Captain Stevenson’s Report, dated May, 1858), and had they been robbed of paddy and doirans, as mentioned by Dr. Anderson, it is not likely that they would have remained. Their rice and fruit left in their boats, whilst they go into the forest to search for honey and yams, may often, no doubt, be carried off by any passing boat, but I have no grounds of believing that their settlement has ever been robbed of its produce, for it is probable that the Kares who live in the same settlement would have reported the matter, if they, the Salones, did not.

On receipt of your letter I sent for one Myat Sein, a man who has been sailing about these islands all his life, and who was formerly my Serang, and used to pilot me about the islands, and whom I sent to Dr. Anderson to accompany him as steersman for his boat, and who was with him on his visit to Yaymyitgyee. He says the Salones are often plundered and swindled by Malays and Chinese, the former being more feared than the latter, but that he never heard that their settlement had ever been robbed; that there are no “dorian” trees in the Salone
tongyas; the Karens have some, but not the Salones; in fact, "dorian" trees bear fruit only in the rains, a time when the Chinese do not visit the islands, so that I think the story, as it passed through the hands of the interpreter, may probably have been somewhat added to.

Myat Sein tells me that the party of Salones at this settlement of Yaymyigtee consists of 10 houses and about 40 persons; that the headman, by name Shway Doke, was formerly one of the paid headmen, and can speak Burmese well, so that it would be natural to infer that he would be well aware of our good intentions, and would have come in for protection and redress if he needed it. Myat Sein further tells me that they expect another five boats or families to come in this year from Elphinstone Island and join them in the permanent settlement.

I think I may, therefore, say from the above that though we have abundant grounds of knowing that the Salones are no doubt subject to much extortion and swindling at the hands of Malays and Chinese, there is nothing to show that the only one settlement they have as yet made has been in any way ill-treated, or interfered with; in fact, from the settlement being still in existence, and from the increment expected to join them this year, there is every reason to believe to the contrary.

As regards the traders who visit the Salones, knowing their great skill in spearing fish and diving for shells, no doubt, often do, as it were, hang on their skirts, and take their fish in exchange for rice at very unfair rates; how far the exchange is conducted by fair barter, how far by trickery or force, it would be difficult to say; but as long as they will wander about in distant and out-of-the-way places, it is quite impossible to prevent this sort of thing being carried on.

As regards dragoning the liquor supplied to the Salones, this may have been done in old times once or twice, but there is no reason to believe it to be a common practice. The effect of ordinary country-spirit should, I think, be quite sufficiently powerful to render resort to other drugs unnecessary. Furthermore, the Salones are so mild and timid that they freely give up everything without resistance, so that neither force nor drugging should, I think, be required to be resorted to.

We now come to the last head of the Report, regarding the prevalence of illicit sale of spirits by unlicensed traders. To prevent illicit distilling and sale in the islands, a license has always been granted for the supply of spirits to the fishermen, in the hope that the former would keep down all other secret manufacture. But, considering the enormous number of islands, several over 100 miles in circumference, covered with dense jungles, the numerous creeks, bays, and channels of which in every direction give every facility for illicit manufacture, to properly check this an enormous cordon of boats would be required, and the result would be totally inadequate to the cost.

The reports attached by me will show that the subject has by no means been neglected, but has from time to time been studied with much attention and interest by each succeeding officer in charge of the district, and the only obstacle to carrying out their humanitarian views has always been the question of expense.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY J. M. CAMPBELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 14.)

Shells. — In India, spirits fear shells, especially the shells called bhavdiri cowries, 42 that is, the cowries of Bhavdil, the wife of Siva. Indian spirits are also much afraid of the conch-shell or vishnu of Vishnu. 43 In the Bombay Konkan, the belief in the spirit-soaring virtue of the

\[42\] Cyprea moneta.

\[43\] Dacium undatum.
conch is so strong that, when a person is possessed by an evil spirit, Brâhmanas fill a conch with water, wave it above the ādiśrīna stone of Vishnu, and sprinkle the water over the possessed, when the spirit flies. In North India, to cure a burn, cowries are strewn over the burned place. The North Indian and East Gujarāt Vaijātras adorn their women's head-pads, their money-bags, and the head-stalls and saddle-cloths of their bullocks with a close embroidery of cowry shells. The Arādhās, a class of Bhāvānī beggars in the Dekhan, wear a garland of cowry shells like a sacred thread, a shell necklace, and shells in the hair and round the arms and wrists. In Poona, Būtīs, devotees and beggars of Bhavānī, are covered from head to foot with cowry shells. The Poona Râuls blow a conch-shell in front of the corpse, and pour water into the mouth of the dead from a conch-shell. The Bhâgârs, a class of Poona spicsellers, before a marriage, carry a conch-shell to the temple, bring it home, set it among the family gods, and call it their dēvak or guardian. In front of a Bhâgar funeral a priest walks, blowing a conch-shell. Among the Poona Vēlāls, a Tamil class of Vaiśyās, when a man dies the chief mourners go to a well to draw water to bathe. Before them walks a Jâṅgâm or priest, blowing a conch-shell. The Dekhan Murli, the bride of the god Khandaoba, in the marriage ceremony, wears a necklace of nine cowry shells. The initiation of the Gondāhrs or Rhapsodists consists in putting on a cowry-necklace. After a death the Ahmadnagar Châm-bhârs call a Jâṅgâm to blow a conch over the grave, and at an Ahmadnagar Lingâyat Burud's wedding a Jâṅgâm blows a conch while a Brâhman repeats verses. The Khânḍêsh Vaijâtras throw cowry shells and onions at the priest after a marriage. The Dharwar Lavâla, or pack-bullock owners, tie cowry shells round their head-dress. The Dīsaras, a class of Bengal beggars, move about with a gong and a conch-shell resting on the right shoulder. When a Dīsara dies, a conch-shell and discs are tied to his arm and taken off when he is buried. The Râuls of Sholâpar blow a conch-shell in front of the dead. The Halavakkil Vakkals of North Karnâra feed the dying with a shell spoon.

The Kâvârs, or Korachars, women of Mysore wear strings of beads and shells falling over the bosom. The Mâria Gonds wear a girdle of cowries; the Dêmâns, or priests of the Mâlliers, like the women of the early Ceylon tribe of Veddâlas, have strings of cowries fastened to their necks, and the Gonds wave cowries and copper coins at their weddings. Shell ornaments, especially conch-armlets, are much worn in Bengal. Cowry-shells are used by Southern Marâṭhâ Brâhmanas in divining and by the Kanuša diver or wild astrologer of Coorg as dice. The Mârattas or Kalâdis, the priest or diveriner of the slave-caste Malabar Polars, finds out by arranging cowry shells to what spirit prayers should be offered. In a cairn, opened ten miles south-east of Haidarabad in 1867, Turbinellus pyrum shells and a

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44 In support of this practice the Brâhmanas quote:—

"सूर्यपर्यं प्रथम संयमं भाषिः केसवोऽन्द्रीः।
भारतां श्रृण्ण्णां सृष्टिः केसवोऽन्न्नेत्।"

If a conch filled with water is waved over Kēśava, that is, the Śrīpariva stone, and the water is sprinkled over the possessed, the devil disappears."

45 Folklore Record, Vol. IV. p. 130.
54 Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 279.
55 Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 279.
58 From MS, notes.
67 Descriptive Sociology, 3 (iii).
necklace of shells were found. The 


The Chinese hold cockle-shells sacred, and wear beads and necklaces of volute monilis. A blast on a conch trumpet is the signal for the opening of a military review in China. The conch is blown in Japanese processions and in Melanesia to scare spirits. The chief representative of the Hervey Islanders' god, Kongo, is a conch-shell. Most of the ornaments worn by the Motus are shell ground or bored by a rude drill. The Motus have no regular marriage ceremony. Ten white shell armlets, two shell necklaces, an axe, and a pig are given by the bridegroom to the bride's father, and he takes his wife home. A shell is a favourite brow ornament among the Melako and Mahango East Africans, and it is a charm and neck ornament among the Ugogo negroes. In West Africa, the women of Guinea wear bracelets of cowry or porcelain shells. The Gold Coast negroes wore bags of shells as fetishes. Hottentots wear ostrich-shell girdles and cowries in their hair. Shells are hung in tents in Nubia. In 1824, the foot-soldiers of the Central African Boursees wore round the loins a tanned skin strung with coarse shells. In South Africa, Dr. Livingstone was presented with a conical shell to hang round his neck. Stanley mentions men in East Africa wearing shells above the elbow and a shell circle round the head. A shell and a string of beads were given to Dr. Livingstone by a South African tribe to avert his anger. By the Congo people new shells are called God's people. Cowries are profusely used in their head-dress by South Central African women. Among some tribes of South Central Africa, women wear a shell in the hole in the upper lip. The people of the Island of Thane employ the shell of volute episcopalis as a hatchet, fixing it in a handle. The people of the Arru Islands, west of New Guinea, use armlets of white shells. The Papuans of New Guinea place a shell in the middle of their girdle. They also wear shells, fish-bone armlets, copper or silver wire, bands of plaited ratten, and pandanus leaves. New Zealanders wear head, neck and waist ornaments of shells, and, like the people of the New Hebrides and many other Eastiers, they use the murex tritonis as a military horn. The New Mexican Indians wear ornaments made of shells. North American Indians use the venus mercenaria as money. Sea shells were popular charms among the Indians of the North American Coast. The women of the Antilles, in the West Indies, clashed armlets and anklets of shell when they danced before their gods.

References:

19 Compare Kuthiwar Gazetteer, p. 281.
21 Mrs. Gray's Fourteen Months in Canton, p. 314.
26 Basnett's Legends of the Sea, p. 458.
27 Burkhardt's Nubia, p. 302.
28 Dr. Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 361.
29 Dr. Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 281.
36 Basnett's Legends of the Sea, p. 458.
In Europe, red pigment and pierced sea-shells have been found in the Dordogne Caves in the south of France. The Bologna Museum shells are shown among the contents of Etruscan and later Umbrian tombs. The Romans kept their salt and perfumes in cockle shells. In the north of Scotland, before the introduction of Christianity, warriors drank out of shells, a practice which continues in the use of horns or silver drinking cups still called shells. The shell was one of the earliest ornaments which the Christians continued to regard as worshipful. The shell continued a favourite emblem and ornament, and was carved on tombs, sometimes with the addition of wings. In the Middle Ages, pilgrims to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain, and also pilgrims, after their return from the Holy Land, wore a scallop on their hat or coat. The women of the Levant still deck their hair with porcelain, that is, with cowries. In Guernsey, the shells of the edible sea-eat are plastered on house walls as an ornament. European gypsies hold the cowry sacred, and hang cowries round their donkeys' necks to ward off evil influences. Among the Turks, as among the ancient Greeks, the cowry is a potent charm against fascination.

The worship of the shell as a guardian, a guardian body, or a guardian home seems based on the custom of shell-fish as a leading article of food. In addition to the guardian influence of the shell-fish as food and medicine was the value of the painted shell as an absorbent. These grounds of worship may have been strengthened by the shining in the dark of the oyster and of one of the snails (holuria inuithina). Finally, as shown by their scientific names, the shapes of several shells identifies them as specially tempting guardian shrines.

Spirits. — Spirit, or Spirits, was originally applied to the air, steam, or breath of certain heated substances. In common use the term is limited to the condensed steam or breath of fermented liquors. The limiting of the term spirit or spirits to intoxicating spirits or alcohol may be partly due to the commonness and familiarity of intoxicating spirits compared with the other varieties of spirit which are known chiefly to the chemist. This explanation may to some extent be accepted. At the same time, apart from its special commonness, the properties of alcohol are in agreement with its monopoly of the term spirit or spirits. Its guardian-effect in dissipating sadness or bad spirits, its fiend-force maddenning or making unconscious, its fiery nature both in taste and in burning, its virtue as an antiseptic or scarer of the demon corruption enforce the belief that alcohol is a spirit or a spirit-home.

Wine or strong drink cheered man, drove out sadness, and made the drinker like one guardian-possessed. Therefore, strong drink was feared by evil spirits and drove them away. To keep away or to drive out the spirit of sadness was good to get drunk once a month. This, says Burton, was maintained by some heathen dissolute Arabians and profane Christians. It was exploded by the Rabbi Moses, and copiously refuted by a sixteenth century physician of Milan.
Among the Khândésh Párvās the usual marriage ceremonies begin by the boy's father taking a liquor jar to the girl's house and sprinkling some of its contents on the floor of the marriage booth.18 Párvās also make offerings of rice and kōbrā liquor to their deity called Bīrā Kumbia at the opening of the marriage ceremony.19 Among the Nukri Kumbia of Tāhāy the bride and bridegroom are each seated on a wooden stool, and liquor is given them to drink as soon as the marriage ceremony is completed.20 The Dhrūva Prabhus of Poona, after child-birth, wash the mother with brandy and hot water.21 Similarly, probably as an antiseptic or corrosion-scatter, the good Samaritan of the New Testament parable dressed the traveller's wounds with oil and wine. The Telaṅga Nāvās of Poona drink liquor both at their weddings and funerals.22 The Shōlāpār Mārwar Brāhmaṇs, on the full-moon of Āśvin (September-October), drink liquor in honour of their goddess Amblā.23 Among the Bijāpur Bedars, when an adultress is let back into caste, her hair is cut, and, to purify her, her lips are touched with a red-hot coal of the ru24 bush, and a little liquor is given her to drink.25 The Dhārwar Koravas, a tribe of hunters, drink liquor when a girl comes of age.26

Among the Gonds, on the day before a wedding, the fathers of the bride and bridegroom drink liquor together;27 during the wedding, liquor is waved round the heads of the bride and bridegroom, and after the wedding is over, the wedding guests have a feast with liquor.28 The Pāṭāl Gonds are purified by drinking spirits.29 After a Gond birth the women of the house drink liquor. They keep the water in which the mother and child were washed, and pour liquor over it,30 and after a funeral they sprinkle the mourners with liquor.31 The Hos of South-West Bengal use noise and hard drinking to drive out haunting or possessing spirits.32 The Oraon of East Bengal pleases the gods most when he makes merry by dancing all night and drinking liquor.33 The Velamars, a wild tribe of Travancore, use ardent spirits when they make offerings to their gods. They also drink spirits at births and funerals.34 The early tribes of the Central Provinces are notorious for excessive drinking. All acts of worship end in drunkenness.35 According to certain authorities the worshippers of Siva should drink spirits on his great night in February.36 In the Vēdie hymns the intoxicating juice of the soma37 is a guardian which drives off evil influences as is shown by the help Sūma gave the god Indra in his battle with the demons.38 The worships of spirits is still more clearly brought out in the Persian religion, as is natural in a religion which considered feasting good and fasting evil. The smallest use of homa secures the slaughter of a thousand evil spirits or dānas. Homa makes the soul of the poor equal to the soul of the rich; homa is the healer, the winner, the bringer of wisdom, the scarer of plague.39 Among the Beni-Isrà'il of the Bombay Konkan, on the evening of the sixth day after a birth, men are called and sit all night on mats in the verandah, singing and drinking.40 When a Beni-Isrà'il boy is circumcised the wound is dressed with brandy and oil.41 At a Beni-Isrà'il marriage the bride and bridegroom together drink wine, and afterwards the bridegroom pours wine into the bride's mouth.42 The Beni-Isrà'il drop grape-juice and sugar-candy into the mouth of the dying.43 In early times (B.C. 1500 ?), the Jews were ordered to pour strong wine unto the Lord for a drink-offering.44 The filling of a cup of wine for Elijah is part of the modern passover.45

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18 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XII, p. 28.
20 K. Raghubhushaṇa Prabhusaṇa.
22 Asclepias gigantea.
24 Asclepias angustifolia.
25 Asclepias indica.
26 Bleek's Assa, VII, IX.
27 Asclepias gigantea.
33 St. James' Gazette, of 20th March 1859, p. 5.
Vessels full of drink were set in Tätár and Upper Egypt funeral pits. In China, a feast is begun by pouring out liquor, a form of grace before meat. At some feasts a loving cup is also blessed and passed round. In drinking, the Chinese clink cups in old English style. The followers of the Grand Lama of Tibet offer their god bread and wine. The Ainus, an early tribe of North Japan, before drinking, throw liquor or sake over the head, as an offering to the spirits. Rice beer is offered to the gods of the sea in a Shinto temple in Japan. The custom of drinking healths is prevalent in Japan. In Central Africa, possessing or haunting spirits are driven out by forcibly the possessed to drink. The Wanikas of East Africa carouse at marriages, deaths and all other religions rites. In East Africa, the people of the Ugogo country mourn their chief by pouring liquor and sprinkling ashes over the body. In Dahomey, the custom of drinking toasts is observed, apparently with the same object as smoking toasts in New Guinea. In East Africa, plantain spirit is a favourite medicine, often curing illness. At their religious feasts the Indians of South America get hopelessly drunk. In Jamaica, when negroes have to cut down a sacred silk-cotton tree, they pour much wine round the roots of the tree, and the cutters are made to drink until they are drunk. In Mexico, during the five bad days that come every four years, children were made to pass through fire and to drink spirits. The Mexicans washed in wine, and considered wine holy. At present, in Mexico, on entering the teocalt or brewery where the pulque or bitter aleo milk, the soma of the New World, ferments, every one says "Alabo a Dios, I praise God," and reverently takes off his hat. When a fresh supply of aleo milk is poured into the vat the vatman with a long switch makes the sign of the cross in the curdled milk already in the vat saying "Hail, most Holy Mary." To this the milk-bringer replies: "I praise God and the most Holy Trinity."

In the Egyptian ritual (B. C. 2000), to keep evil spirits from coming near the dead body, the mourner, morning and evening, sprinkled the whole house with sacred herbs and liquor. A law bound the ancient Athenians to keep to the last pure and unmixed wine for a relishing taste to the honour of the good genius. The Greek funeral fire was put out with wine. In Rome, the object of drinking wine by the men who ran round the town in the Lupercalia seems to have been to drive away spirits. Roman funerals sometimes ended in boisterous scenes. Before the Roman senate began business each senator dropped wine and incense on the altar. The early Scandinavians had the custom of drinking immoderately at the winter solstice in honour of the gods. After sacrificing they drank to Odin for victory and to Nyord and Freisa for a good season. They also drank to friends killed in battle. When they became Christians they drank to God, to Christ, and to the saints. In Scandinavia, a new king always drank an ox-horn of wine before sitting on the throne. Liquor is drunk in Russia.

44 Yule's Cathay, p. 502.
45 Kidd's China, p. 324.
46 Imma's Ancient Faiths, Vol. II. p. 263.
47 Reid's Japan, Vol. II. p. 142.
49 Cameron's Across Africa, Vol. I. p. 120.
50 Leake's Australian Antiquities, p. 32.
52 The National Review, June 1905, p. 560. The sense seems to be: the spirit who has been dislodged from the silk-cotton tree is enticed by the liquor spilt on the ground and into the wood-cutters, and so lose his chance of doing an injury. This detail is an illustration of the law mentioned in the previous note on "Liquor," that the ceremonial drinker is a scape-goat drinking from duty in order that the angry or evil influence may harm itself in him and so cause no general mischief.
54 Brockenhurst's Mexico of To-day, p. 82.
55 Potter's Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 213.
57 Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 195.
58 Jones' Customs, p. 538.
60 Carbbold's China, p. 66.
61 St. John's Nipon, p. 29.
63 New's East Africa, p. 96.
65 New's East Africa, p. 287.
after a baptism. A loving cup goes the round of the table at a Russian Imperial banquet. Red wine is poured in the form of a cross on the throne or altar-table of a Russian church. The Germans, at their feasts, drank each other’s health in turn, saluting each other by name. Percy (1770) adds one custom of drinking to the memory of the dead instead of to the spirits of the dead. Among the early Scottish Highlanders, according to the poems of Ossian (A. D. 300-600), spirits, drunk out of shells, were held in high honour. The worshipfulness of several sacred English trees, among them the birch, alder, fir and mountain ash or rowan, seems to be due to the fact that liquor was made from them. The English word ale used to mean a feast. To spill wine is lucky, since wine poured out drives off evil spirits. The evil cause of spilling salt is turned aside by pouring out wine. In Scotland, special hard-drinking marked the squire’s funeral, the body had to be baptized in whiskey. In England, in the 13th century, it was usual after a death to lay in the mouth of a bee-hive some wine-soaked funeral cakes. While seeing the New Year in, householders drank spiced hot ale called lamb’s wool. Panpers, or in some districts young women, carried from door to door a bowl of spiced ale adorned with ribbons singing songs. These bowls were known as Wassail bowls from the Anglo-Saxon Weal hel, Be in health. In old times, in Yorkshire, fishers sprinkled the prows of their boats with good liquor, a custom they had learnt from their ancestors, and which lives in the breaking of a bottle of wine over a ship’s bow in launching her. After his coronation the English king takes the Sacrament of bread and wine.

Spittle. — All the world over the rubbing on of spittle, especially of the fasting spittle, has been found to cure wounds and to lessen inflammation. Spittle is, therefore, a widespread guardian or spirit-scarer. Again, spittle is one of the issues of the body, and, as all issues hold part or some of the spirits of him from whose body they come, it follows that the spittle-issue of a holy man has special healing and evil-scaring properties. Once more: if spittle is a guardian home and is also a home of the spirit of the spitter, it follows that spittle is a likely lodging for trespassing, possessing and other evil spirits. When, by inhaling, smelling or otherwise, a person becomes possessed by an influence, disease, or other evil spirit, the trespassing spirit is likely to make his abode in the spittle of the possessed. It follows that, by getting rid of his spittle, the person trespassed upon is likely to get rid of the disease-spirit or other evil lodger. These three experiences and conclusions, namely, that spittle is healing, that in his spittle lives some of a man’s spirit or spiritis, that as trespassing spirits lodge in the spittle of the possessed they may be spat out, seem to form the sense basis of the world-wide honour and horror of spittle which the following cases illustrate.

In the Konkan, that is the seaboard to the north and south of Bombay, when a person is affected by the Evil Eye, salt and mustard seed are waved round his face and thrown into fire, and he is told to spit. In Gujarit, when a Shī'ite travels with a Sunni, he spits secretly to avert or avail of the evil Sunni influence. Among the human-sacrificing Khonds of North-East Madras, Macpherson noted in 1842 that a member of a tribe who did not sacrifice said to a sacrificer: — “You traffic in your

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73 Mrs. Romanoff’s Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church, p. 77.
74 Jones’ Craven, p. 392.
75 Mrs. Romanoff’s Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church, p. 91.
76 Mallet’s ‘Northern Antiquities,’ p. 191.
77 The references are frequent. The joy of the shell (Clarke’s Ossian, i. 209; ii. 167); the shells resonant (op. cit. ii. 187); the shell of joy went round in praise of the king of Morven (op. cit. ii. 93); the souls of the warriors brighter with the strength of the shells (op. cit. ii. 55).
78 Compare Hunter in Evelyn’s Silvia, Vol. i. p. 225.
80 Dyce’s Folk-Lore, p. 158.
82 From MS. notes.
83 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
84 Brand’s Popular Antiquities, Vol. i. p. 279.
85 Mitchell’s Highland Superstitions, p. 34.
86 Chambers’s Book of Days, p. 727.
88 Jones’ Crewe, p. 121.
89 Information from Mr. Fazal Lutfullah.
child's blood," and spat in his face. In North India, itch is cured by rubbing in saliva. Among the Roman Catholics of North Canara, at baptism, the priest wets the tip of his thumb with spittle, and with it touches the child's ears and nostrils. Dubois (A.D. 1810) describes a monastery, ten miles from Chinneriyapatan (Seringapatam) where lived a Hindu teacher whose followers quarrelled for his spittle. In agreement with one of the traditions of the Prophet, Muhammadans, in waking after a bad dream, spit on the left side and ask divine protection against Satan.

Among the Kirghis tribes of Central Asia, the sorcerers or spirit-scarers whip the sick till blood comes and then spit in his face. The Polynesian legends tell that spirits were made from the spittle of the gods. The Australians throw dust on their feet and spit as signs of hostility. Among the Musalmans of North-West Africa, the spittle of a madman or a lunatic is considered a blessing. The saying is: "O blessed Nazarene, what God has given let not man wipe away. Thou shalt be happy, Sidi Moma has spat upon thee."

When a Hottentot has to pass the night in the wilds he chews a root, and spits in a circle round him, and within this circle no evil animal can come. In preparing a charm, the negroes of West Africa mutter sentences, and spit thrice on a stone. Barbot (1760), quoted by Burton, notices that the interpreter of the king of Zanzibar in West Africa took one of the royal feet in his hands, spat on the sole, and licked it. The priest of the Waruaans gets an offering of six fowl from the chief's wife, spits in her face, and she is happy. Stanley says that king Lukondeh of Ukerewe in East Africa is believed to have superhuman powers. When his subjects approach him they clap their hands and kneel. If the king is pleased he blows and spits into their hands, and they rub their faces with the spittle. In inner West Africa, when a child is named, the schoolmaster spits thrice into its face, and when the people see the new moon they spit on their hands and rub them over their faces. At a big festival the king of Dahomey, in Western Africa, spits on the drum-sticks before they are used. The people of Madagascar think that the fasting spittle cures sore ears and eyes. Also when they smell a bad smell they spit. Among the Waruaans of Central Africa spitting on a person is considered an attempt to bewitch. Among the Dyurs of the White Nile the usual salutation, when two people meet, is to spit on each other. The spitting is a token of affection and good-will. In Central Africa, on the seventh day after birth, the priest spits thrice on the child's face. When a South African Bakwain sees an alligator, he says, "There is Sin," and spits on the ground. The West African negro will not pass the rock or tree where a spirit lives without laying or it a leaf, a shell and some spittle. When Mungo Park (1800) started on his journey up the Niger, his Negro guide picked up a stone, murmured some words over it, spat on it, and threw it in front to drive away evil influences. Here the stone is a spirit-home, the words made a spirit pass into the stone, the spittle kept the spirit from harm, and the spirit, coaxed into becoming a guardian, drove off all other spirits. In North-East Africa, certain tribes salute by spitting into each other's faces. The traveller Johnson was much sought after as a medicine-man, and his spittle
was so valued that he had to keep his mouth full of water. In North Africa, the priest of the Mandingoa spits thrice in the face of a child when he names it. On new-moon days, in Africa, people say prayers, spit on their hands, and rub their hands on their face. A Zulu woman, attacked by her husband's spirit, keeps the spittle that gathers in her mouth while she dreams, and the exorcist buries it in a hole. Abyssinian Christians think it a sin to spit on the day they take the Sacrament.

In America, a traveller rubs his legs with grass, spits on the grass, and lays it on a cross-road shrine and drives off the demon of tiredness. The Pernvians spat on the ground as a sign of contempt and abhorrence. Frohisher (A.D. 1577) tells of a Greenland woman who, when her child was wounded by an arrow, took off the English doctor's salves and licking the wound with her own tongue, not much unlike an English dog, healed the child's arm.

Among the classic Greeks, women when alarmed spat into their bosoms. The girl in Theocritus' Idyl, xx. (B.C. 200), spat thrice on her robe to scare an unwelcome lover. Lucian (A.D. 150) mentions spitting thrice in the face as part of an incantation. According to Athenaeus (A.D. 200) doves spit into the mouths of their young to guard them against fascination. At the sight of an epileptic or of a madman the ancient Greeks spat thrice into their bosom. Galen (A.D. 100) held that epilepsy and contagion were scared by spitting. To spit on the hand added strength to a blow. Fasting spittle cured boils. Galen advised spitting on meeting a lame man on the right; spitting into the bosom in framing a wish; spitting thrice in saying a prayer and in taking medicine. The Romans spat into the folds of their dress to keep off the Evil Eye. Both Tibullus (B.C. 40) and Persius (A.D. 50) praise spittle as a guard against the Evil Eye. According to Pliny (A.D. 70) serpents cannot abide spittle more than scalding water; fasting spittle killed them. A woman's fasting spittle cured blood-shot eyes. Spitting on the person struck with the falling sickness prverted infection, and spitting in the eyes of a witch broke her power to enchant. If a stranger looks on a child asleep the nurse spits thrice. Boxers spit in their hands to make the blow heavy: to spit in meeting a lame man, or in passing a place where danger has been run, prevents ill-luck. Fasting spittle cures warts, boils and inflamed eyes, skin, and wounds. Spittle rubbed behind the ear drives out gloomy fancies; rubbed on the brow it stops a fit of coughing. The Emperor Vespasian (A.D. 90) cured the blind by rubbing his eyes with spittle. At a Roman birth the nurse touched the infant's lips and forehead with spittle.

Christ healed the eyes of the blind by anointing them with clay and spittle. The authority of this miracle is given as the reason why the Roman practice of touching the newborn babe with spittle was continued in Baptism by the Christian Church. The Christian catechumen spat thrice at the devil. During the fourth century a Christian sect, called the Messalians, made spitting a religious exercise in hopes of spitting out the devils they inhaled. Of the

14 From MS. Note, 5th April 1883.
16 Moore's Oriental Fragments, p. 129.
17 Descriptive Sociology, pp. 2, 33.
19 Story's Castle of St. Angelo p. 50; Elworthy's The Evil Eye, p. 42.
22 Elworthy's The Evil Eye, p. 147; Aubrey's Remains of Gentility, p. 42.
23 Pliny's Natural History, Book xxvii. Chap. 7.
26 Elworthy's The Evil Eye, p. 439; Black's Folk-Medicine, pp. 188, 184.
28 St. Mark's Gospel, viii. 34; viii. 23.
29 Golden Manus, p. 670.
30 Leckie's History of Rationalism in Europe, Vol. I. p. 35; Student's Encyclopaedia, "Witchcraft."
high value attached to spitting by others than Christians during the fourth century Philagrus' saying is proof: — "When you spit into the drog pot under no barbarous names. The spittle without the names is just as healing." 42 That the object of the Catholic priest in teaching the ears and nostrils of the infant or catechumen at Baptism is to scare evil spirits is shown in the service for adult Baptism, where, when the priest applies the spittle to the nostrils, he says: — "Devil be put to flight for the judgment of God is near." 43 The healing spittle and the spittle of hate are the same both in virtue and in object, namely, to scare the devil. In the Russian Baptism sermon, when, on behalf of the child, the God-father and God-mother renounce the Prince of Darkness, they bow and spit at the Prince. 44 The old respect for spittle continues among modern Greeks. The modern Greek woman, like the classic Greek, when alarmed, spits into her own bosom. 45 The modern Greek, like the Slav, is shy of praise. If praised he tries to save himself by spitting; 46 if a child is praised the mother or nurse blows a spray over it. 47 The classic beliefs about spittle remain fresh in modern Italy. In 1623, when De la Valle was travelling near Mangalore, in India, he saw in a forest a statue of Birimoro (apparently Bhairava) or Buto (Bhūta), a savage god, spitted in his face three times, and went away. 48 At the present time, in Italy, fasting spittle rubbed on the knees cures bear-eyes, cancer and pains in the neck. To spit in the right shoe scares fascination. 49 In the Middle Ages, in Spain as in Italy, to spit in the face had the sense that the person spat upon was a devil or was devil possessed. Saint Eulalia, the Spanish Christian girl, spat in the face of her judge. 50 In Roumania, you must not praise a baby or say any one looks well without spitting. 51 In Transylvania, the Saxons hold that spitting has power to keep off spells and other evils. 52 The Wotyak Eins of East Russia beat evil influences out of every house by clubs and lighted twigs, shut the door, and spit at the enmost devil. 53 In a Russian story a blind maiden cures her eyes by rubbing them with her own saliva. 44 Before a witch's house and in crossing haunted water by night Germans spit thrice. 55 In Germany, if a fisher spits on a pot hook and calls on the devil, he will catch fish. 46 In France, hair that comes out in combing and cut hair have to be spat on to prevent them becoming enchanted. 27 According to Aubrey (A.D. 1665) if you praised a horse belonging to one of the wild Irish, the owner spat on the animal. 28 In Ireland, in 1650, a child who had been eye-bitten might be cured by being spat on. 59 Still in West Galway and other outlying parts of Ireland a new-born child or a beast, when first seen, must be spat on, especially if praised, since praise brings bad luck. The first money earned in the morning is spat on for good luck. An animal beginning to recover from sickness must be spat on. The people of Cork spit on the ground in front of any one whom they wish to bring into trouble. 60

In the seventeenth century in Scotland, the skilful cured sick animals by spitting. 21 Till the present century fastening spittle cured warts and skin diseases. 22 In making a bargain it was the rule that the parties should spit each in his own hand before the final settling grasp. 63 In East Scotland, if a fish-hook catches at the bottom of the sea, some evil-eyed person is believed to hold it. The fisher takes a bit of seaweed, spits on it,
threw it overboard, and again spits to overcome the ill-wisher.\textsuperscript{64} To spit to windward is unlucky.\textsuperscript{65} The sense seems to be that the fair wind resents being treated as a fiend or foul wind and so causes mischief. The belief is widespread. Besides, in different parts of Europe, it has been recorded in the Maldives and in China.\textsuperscript{66} In the small island of Foulah off Shetland, in dressing a sheep, the gall is carefully taken out, thrice spit on, and covered with ashes that no dog may see it.\textsuperscript{67} In St. Kilda, the last funeral rite is to spit on the grave.\textsuperscript{68}

In England, up to the tenth century, the Saxons put spittle into their holy salves.\textsuperscript{69} Spittle is also an ingredient in Herrick’s charm (A.D. 1650) :–

\begin{quote}
Sacred spittle bring you hither,
Meal it and now mix together,
And a little oil with either.\textsuperscript{70}
\end{quote}

During the Middle Ages, spitting on the joints cured rheumatism. Up to the present century the power of a man with an Evil Eye was destroyed by spitting thrice in his face.\textsuperscript{71} Fasting spittle rubbed on warts cured them: fasting spittle was also rubbed on new shillings that were to be used to cure ringworm.\textsuperscript{72} To spit thrice averted the ill-luck caused by meeting a person who squints.\textsuperscript{73} If a dog bites a child the owner of the dog should spit on the hand of the child’s mother.\textsuperscript{74} A sleeping foot is cured by marking it a cross with spittle.\textsuperscript{75} The fasting spittle of men was believed to cure snake-bite.\textsuperscript{76} It is recorded that, on 16th August 1869, to cure her of the Evil Eye, a woman spat in the face of another woman who squinted.\textsuperscript{77} An English care for the scrofula was for a fasting virgin to spit three times, touch the sore, and say: :– “Apollo denies that the heat of the plague can increase when a naked virgin quencheth it.”\textsuperscript{78} When an English baby yawns, the nurse spits or pretends to spit into its mouth.\textsuperscript{79} If any one regrets having given a blow and spits in the hand that dealt the blow the person struck will cease to suffer.\textsuperscript{80} In Cheshire, in 1748, Brigget Brootock, an old woman, wrought many cures by rubbing with fasting spittle.\textsuperscript{81} In Yorkshire, in 1800, it was the rule to spit three times in the face of any one with the Evil Eye.\textsuperscript{82} In North England, and also in Lincolnshire, fish-women and hucksters spit on the hand or sacrifice, that is, on the first money they take in the morning.\textsuperscript{83} In North England, any one who sees a horse-shoe or a piece of iron should take it up, spit on it, and throw it over his left shoulder. He should frame a wish, and if he can keep the secret to himself his wish will be granted.\textsuperscript{84} In Staffordshire, fasting spittle cures warts.\textsuperscript{85} In Staffordshire, when a dog is heard to howl, which is caused

\textsuperscript{64} Folk-Lore Journal, Vol. III. p. 151.
\textsuperscript{65} Basnett’s Sea Legends, p. 434.
\textsuperscript{66} Buchanan’s St. Kilda in Dalroil’s Darker Superstitions of Scotland, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{67} Basnett’s Sea Legends, p. 434.
\textsuperscript{68} Black’s Folk-Medicine, pp. 133, 184.
\textsuperscript{69} Black’s Folk-Medicine, pp. 133, 184.
\textsuperscript{70} Home’s Year Book, p. 353.
\textsuperscript{71} Black’s Folk-Medicine, p. 83.
\textsuperscript{72} Brand’s Popular Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 59.
\textsuperscript{73} From MS. Note.
\textsuperscript{74} Gentleman’s Magazine Library, “Popular Superstitions,” pp. 233, 294.
\textsuperscript{75} Napiers’s Folk-Lore, p. 99.
\textsuperscript{76} Henderson’s Folk-Lore, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{77} Gentlemen’s Magazine Library, “Popular Superstitions,” p. 117.
\textsuperscript{78} Henderson’s Folk-Lore, p. 104. The sense seems the same as the sense of Mungo Park’s negro guide spitting on a stone and rolling the stone in front of Park to keep off evil. In the North England case the horse-shoe or other iron is a spirit-horn. Spitting on the iron drives out of it any evil influence that may have made a lodging in the iron and so dimmed its guardian power. The cleansed iron becomes a centre of guardian influence. Dropping the guardian iron over the left shoulder drives from the unlucky side of the guardian influence. Dropping the guardian iron over the left shoulder drives from the unlucky side of the
\textsuperscript{79} Dyer’s Folk-Lore, pp. 136, 167.
by his seeing an evil spirit, the risk of attack from the spirit is avoided by taking off your left shoe and spitting on its sole.\textsuperscript{96} In Kent, when a funeral passes, people troubled with warts wet the forefinger with spit, rub the wart and say: "My wart goes with you."\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{97}} In a stone wall in Norfolk Road, Brighton (A.D. 1875), is a crystal which school-boys call the holy stone, and in passing spit on it for luck.\textsuperscript{98} The Devonshire peasant, when he sees one magpie, which is unlucky, spits thrice over his right shoulder.\textsuperscript{99}

**Sugar.** — **Sugar,** one of the wholesomest, most fattening and most cheering of foods, is a chief protection against evil spirits. Among the higher Hindus of Bombay, on such auspicious occasions as betrothal and coming of age, sugar or sugar-cakes called \textit{batāśās} are handed to the guests. In the Konkan, among Brahmans, when a girl comes of age, a lighted lamp is waved round her face and a pinch of sugar is given her to eat.\textsuperscript{100} So also when a Konkan Brahman starts on a long journey, curds and sugar are given him to sip in order that no evil may befall him by the way.\textsuperscript{101} The household gods of the Dekhan and Konkan Brahman are daily washed in the \textit{paṇḍhānra} or five deathless, that is, milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar.\textsuperscript{102} The Goyandhan or Golak Brahman of Poona lay molasses in front of the cot in which a child is born.\textsuperscript{103} In the Dekhan Rāmāl marriage, the bride puts molasses into the mouth of the bridegroom and of his father and mother.\textsuperscript{104} The Bombay Prabhu in his morning visit to worship the cow offers her sugar.\textsuperscript{105} In the Dekhan, on Dasara day, (September-October), the horse, when worshipped, is fed on sugar.\textsuperscript{106} The Dekhan Chitpāvan, when beginning to build his marriage booth, makes a square and lays sugar on it.\textsuperscript{107} In the Dekhan, sweet milk is dropped into the dead Māng’s mouth.\textsuperscript{108} In Nāsik, when a child has small-pox, the mother weeps the child against molasses in the small-pox goddess’s temple. The Nāgar Jain Mārwarīs offer sugar to the wedding betelnut Gānpatī,\textsuperscript{109} and the Jain funeral feast consists of sweet dishes.\textsuperscript{110} At the beginning of a new year’s ploughing Bijāpur Raddis give their bullocks a sweet dish, and wave dressed food round them.\textsuperscript{111} Sugared water is put into the mouth of the dying Kānara Musalmān.\textsuperscript{112} Among the Belgann Korvās, the bride and bridegroom feed each other with sweetened rice.\textsuperscript{113} The Raiputs of Kāthiāwar distribute molasses on the day of naming and betrothal.\textsuperscript{114} Among the Dhārvār Mādhav Brahman nothing sweet is eaten in the house of mourning for thirteen days after a death,\textsuperscript{115} apparently to avoid the risk of prematurely driving away the spirit which should stay in and about the house for twelve days, and should not leave until the thirteenth day after the performance of the \textit{pāthkāya urādhā} which enables the spirit to proceed on his journey to heaven.\textsuperscript{116} The Śravaks after a birth distribute molasses and sesamum seed. In Western India, among higher Hindus, sugar and sesamum seed are distributed to friends and relations on the 12th day (12th January), on which the sun crosses the sign of Capricorn, and on the 1st of Chaitra (March-April) people eat nān leaves and sugar in order that they may not suffer from any disease during the year.\textsuperscript{117} In Mysore, fine white soft sugar is made into shapes at weddings and on other great occasions, and given to guests.\textsuperscript{118} The Beni-Irāllās of the Konkan have a ceremony called \textit{sikhtar pula}, or sugar eating, as a preliminary to marriage.\textsuperscript{119} In Kāthiāwar, on the bright second of every month, people light a fire on the

\textsuperscript{97} Notes and Queries, Fifth Series, Vol. IV. p. 485.
\textsuperscript{98} Dyer's Folk-Lore, p. 82; Notes and Queries, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. p. 21.
\textsuperscript{99} Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
\textsuperscript{100} Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
\textsuperscript{102} Mr. K. Baghunath’s Pitā’s Prabhas.
\textsuperscript{104} Op. cit. Vol. XVII. p. 82.
\textsuperscript{106} Information from Col. Barton.
\textsuperscript{107} Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
\textsuperscript{109} Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
\textsuperscript{110} Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII. p. 103.
\textsuperscript{111} Mr. K. Baghunath’s Pitā’s Prabhas.
\textsuperscript{112} Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII. p. 123.
\textsuperscript{116} Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. X. p. 516.
seashore, throw clarified butter into the fire, and sugared milk into the sea. On the third of November 1886, Bai Pannalal, the minister of Udaipur in Rajputana, gave a feast to twenty-five thousand people in memory of his mother. The Mahajans or Banias, in Udaipur and eighty villages round, ate over thirty-one thousand pounds (three hundred mans) of sugar in sweetmeats. The Holi or spring festival on the March-April full-moon is a great time for sweetmeats. In Bombay, shops are full of necklaces of sugar medals stamped with the lucky face of Singhunam or Old Horny. The Indian Musalmans pour some drops of sugared water into the mouth of the dying. The sweetened juice of the homa (Asclepias acetab) is dropped into the mouth of the new-born Parul. In honour of a Parul girl's first pregnancy, both her own and her husband's families distribute sweetmeats.

When the Egyptian Muslim bridegroom comes to the bride's room he sprinkles sugar and almonds on the bride's head and on the heads of the women with her. In Italy, in A. D. 1590, on Christmas Eve, sweetmeats were given to the Fathers in the Vatican. At Milan, during the Carnival, strings of carriages and wagons pass laden with small sugar knobs about the size of peas. The balconies are crowded with people with large stores of these pellets. And between the people in the wagons and those in the verandahs such quantities of comfits are thrown that, when the procession has passed, the street is as white as after a smart shower of snow. In November 1657, at the wedding of his daughter, Oliver Cromwell threw sack posset of wet sweetmeats among the ladies, and doused with wet sweetmeats the stools where they were to sit. In West Scotland (1830), when a baby is taken to a strange house for the first time, the head of the house must put sugar into its mouth and wish it well. In North Haunt, on St. Andrew's day, a bell called Tantrew is rung and sweet toffee is eaten.

**Sulphur.** Sulphur as a healer, a disinfectant, and a fire-maker, is the dread of spirits. Among the ancient Jews the wedding crown was of salt and sulphur. In Egypt, at the procession of Isis, a boat was carried which had been purified with a lighted torch, an egg, and sulphur. At a Greek sacrifice the vessels were purified by rubbing them with brimstone. Those who took part in the Bacchic mysteries were purified with fire, sulphur and air. Theocritus (B. C. 300) advises the herdsman to purify his house with sulphur, and then rain upon it innocuous water and the accustomed salt. Before Medea began her rites for renewing Jason's father's youth, she thrice purified him with fire, water and sulphur. The Romans, in their early shepherd-festival of the Pallia (21st April), to purify them, rubbed sheep with sulphur or made them pass through the smoke of sulphur, rosemary, firewood, and incense. Pliny (A. D. 70), apparently referring to the practice described by Theocritus, says that the Romans burnt sulphur to hallow houses, because its smell drove off feuds and spirits. He also mentions sulphur as a cure for leprosy, cough and scorpion bite. Tibullus (B. C. 40) speaks of purifying with sulphur, and Amortius Nemesianus recommends the shepherd who is worried with a love charm to illuminate himself thrice with chaplets.

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10 Vaikuntharam's Element Worship, MS.
11 Times of India, 11th November 1886.
12 Hether's Quaternar-I-Iden, p. 409.
13 From MS. notes.
14 From MS. notes.
15 From MS. notes.
18 From MS. note, 1885. In Rome plastered pass hark taken the place of the old comfits, Ency. Brit., "Carnival."
21 Bewson's History of the Jews, p. 472.
23 Calverley's Translation, Idyll XXIV, p. 139.
25 Pliny's Natural History, Book xiv, Chap. 15.
26 Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 33.
and to burn laurel leaves with sulphur and pour wine over them. Some very primitive people rub stones and feathers with sulphur in kindling fire.

In England, the belief in the cleansing virtue of sulphur survived the Reformation. Herrick writes: — "I'll exspiate with sulphur, hair and salt and with the humour of the crystal spring." Brown notes among the "Vulgar Errors" of that time (A.D. 1650) the belief that bitumen, pitch or brimstone could purify the air of the devil. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine Library, in 1747, notes that in England in 1720 some rolls of brimstone had been found in a grave. In the North of England, in 1834, a babe at its first visit to a house was presented with an egg, a handful of salt, and a bunch of matches. In Scotland, Dalzell notes that sulphur smoke was perhaps the commonest way of scaring the devil. In Scotland, in 1850, the sulphur fumes of a gas work cured a child of whooping-cough. Sulphurous acid is a valuable disinfectant. Of recent years, in Bombay and in Thanjavur near Bombay, the burning of sulphur fires has been found serviceable in epidemic attacks of cholera. It is probably not so much because of man's experience of the misery of burns or of suffocation by sulphur fumes as because of their value in guarding against disease, that is, in scaring spirits, that fire and sulphur form so important a part in the upholstery of Milton's Hell.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 7. — Lilan, Princess of Rubies.

Once upon a time in a certain country there lived a great amity: the son of a carpenter, the son of the khotuli, the son of the minister, and the son of the king. Finding the absence of adventures in their own country irksome, they resolved amongst themselves to go in search of them abroad. So in due course they started, reaching an out-of-the-way place on the first evening. Here, for their safety, they agreed amongst themselves to keep watch during the night by turns.

The carpenter's son kept the first watch. But hardly had he begun his watch when there appeared near him a beautiful young woman, making a musical sound by the jingling of the silver bells which adorned her ankles. On finding, however, the watcher awake, she retreated a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye. On this the carpenter's son spoke within himself thus:

"Oh! what have I done? By my vigilance I have been the cause at this time of night of driving away one — it may be a sister or a daughter-in-law — standing perhaps in need of human help in this unfrequented desert."

The woman, divining these thoughts, retraced her steps, and taking her seat gracefully on the watcher's knee, carried on a loving conversation; but as soon as he became sleepy she ate him up and his steed together with the saddle, bridle and all.

It was now the turn of the khotuli's son to keep the second watch. When he went to his post at the allotted time he did not find the carpenter's son there. He inwardly reproached for having run away, and jeopardising his companions, remarking that the culprit's relatives should be hanged for this breach of faith.
As in the case of the carpenter’s son, the woman with the jingling ornaments came near the khotwald’s son, and, on finding him awake, quick as thought went back a hundred yards. But when there came into his mind kindly thoughts, the captivating seducer, divining them, retraced her steps, and coming up to the khotwald’s son sat on his knee, and began talking pleasantly. Hardly had the watcher begun to feel sleepy, when she gushed him down, and also his steed, saddle and bridle, for she was an ogress.

It was now the turn of the minister’s son to watch. On commencing his watch, he noticed the absence of both his predecessors and reproached his faithless companions to himself for having deserted the prince, and at the same uttered a threat that he would get both the culprits’ relatives hanged for this breach of faith. But then the same beautiful woman approached, and, on finding the minister’s son awake, went back a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye. When, however, the minister’s son began to be sorry for being the cause of driving away a woman at such a time of night in a wild country, the fair creature, retracing her steps, came to him, and gracefully sitting down upon his knee began to speak the sweet language of love. But the moment the watcher felt sleepy, he was eaten up, his steed sharing the same fate, together with the saddle and bridle.

The watch by the king’s son followed that of the minister’s son. On finding himself alone and deserted as it seemed by his three companions, he exclaimed:

“I do not know what value my friends have put upon their lives, which are at the best only precarious; but by deserting me, in spite of their profession of love, they have surely held their lives dear.”

Hardly was this exclamation uttered when the king’s son espied the beautiful young woman coming towards him, who, as before, in the twinkling of an eye retreated a hundred yards on seeing him awake. “Men grow by years, but princes grow by days,” runs the proverb; so the prince at once suspected foul play. For he reasoned:—how could a woman cover a hundred yards in the twinkling of an eye, unless she be some Bli or evil spirit? With this in his mind, he at once climbed a tree, troubled by his loneliness. The ogress knew that she was discovered, but, taking advantage of the prince’s solitary position, approached the tree and began to shake it, having first whetted her appetite on the steed tethered close by to a stake. But the prince, firmly planted on one of the uppermost branches, would not come down; while the ogress sat at the base of the tree, expecting the climber every moment to come down, or fall a prey to her out of sheer fright.

Now it so happened that at this time a king arrived in that desert country in the course of his travels with a large retinue of followers, some of whom were despatched to various parts in search of water. Some of these, coming to the tree where the prince was, asked him to come down.

“Oh no, I will not come down, for I am sure to be eaten by the woman whom you see sitting below,” was the reply that descended in clear tones from one of the uppermost branches of the tree.

On this the followers turned to the woman for an explanation. She had replied that she was waiting for her insane husband to come down, and then there came from the top of the tree the question:—What had become of the climber’s three companions—the carpenter’s son, the khotwald’s son, and the minister’s son, besides their steeds and his own steed? She replied reasonably enough that they must have gone to slake their thirst, and thus the followers of the king believed in the insanity of the prince. Pleased with the beauty of the woman, they asked her whether she would go with them for safety to their king, as she would be helpless in such a wild country with an insane husband. After slightly demurring, not to arouse suspicion, she consented, and so they took her in a palanquin to their master.”

* A form of oriental judgment much in vogue in olden times is the native courts.
In due course the palanquin was set down in the camp of the king, who was exceedingly glad to behold so fair a person emerge from it. Sympathising with her because of her insane husband, and offering her his protection, he conceived a violent passion for the woman; and it need hardly be said that the ogress, before long, became one of the favourite queens. Her loving husband, on reaching his own country, constructed for her a specially sumptuous palace.

The ogress-queen, exulting in the fact that there was an unlimited number of elephants, camels and horses belonging to the king, to satisfy her instinctive hunger, began swallowing them up night after night. The disappearance of the great beasts was so rapid that the king was in a quandary as to how to apprehend the robber, who was so quickly making away with his property. So he issued a proclamation, promising a handsome reward to any one who should give information that would lead to the detection of the crime, which had for so long a time evaded all vigilance.

The reading of this proclamation in the vicinity of the ogress-queen’s palace attracted her attention, and sending for one of the officials concerned, she informed him that she was in a position to give the information required, and hence was anxious to see the king without delay. With great haste came the king, whom the ogress at once took to the chief queen’s palace. The unfortunate woman’s cot was removed from her sleeping apartment, and men were employed to dig the ground underneath it; when lo and behold the bones of elephants, horses and camels were found! Now through a stratagem of the ogress-queen the bones had found their way there without the knowledge of any one — either of the chief queen or of her maid-servants — and seemed to prove in the clearest way that the chief queen, though then carrying a babe in her womb, subsisted on huge beasts, as if she were an ogress. The king on this evidence, without feeling the slightest compassion for his queen and her unborn babe, ordered her to be taken to a forest and then and there beheaded.

In due course the executioners came and took her to the forest, but when they unsheathed their swords to behead so delicate a creature in accordance with the royal mandate, their courage failed them. So putting back their swords into the scabbards, the executioners, whose hearts resembled not the black stony heart of their king, killed a doe and took its eyes to the king, saying that His Majesty’s commands had been obeyed, and that these were the signs.

In the forest, where she was left to live as best she could without revealing her identity, the Rani built herself a hut, in which she sustained life on the fruit and berries growing around her, and in course of time gave birth to a male child. The child grew as the years advanced, and the mother used to make for him, out of shreds from her skirt, slings with which, in his tiny hands, he used to bring down small game such as birds and sometimes harts and roes. But how long could they maintain themselves on berries and fruits and occasional small game?

So the young prince said to the mother one day:— “Mother, I hear of a sadabarth, and I am anxious to go.” His mother consented, and, at the time of his departure, put a ruby in his lanki, or loin-cloth, to see whether this would effect a meeting between herself and her husband the king, or whether the latter would make out the prince from his royal appearance.

While receiving his share at the sadabarth, the ruby fell out of the boy’s loin-cloth, and a priest stooping down, picked it up, and would not restore it, although the youthful owner persisted in demanding it. Seeing the determination of the child to have his lawful property, the priest gave it over to the king, who questioned the child as to how he came by such a gem, when the necessary of life were wanting to him. But the only answer he received was:— “Give me my ruby, give me my ruby.” With a view to test whether the precious stone

* Sadabarth means a free distribution of rice, dill and ghali, and also the place where it is doled out. There are many institutions of this sort in the Madras Presidency.
actually belonged to the boy, the king put it in a tray along with other precious gems, and told the tiny owner to distinguish it from the others.

"You are a king, and hence can distinguish precious stones. I can, too!" Saying thus the boy went to the tray, and picked out his lid (ruby),\(^4\) exclaiming at the same time that he would fill a tank with such lids in six months, if the king would fill a similar tank with pearls.\(^5\) This wager was accepted by the king.

Having received his dole, the young prince returned to his mother's hut, and on giving it to her, told of the wager. She was exceedingly sorry, and reproached herself for having, in an evil hour, put the ruby in the boy's loin-cloth. But no persuasion could deter the young prince from going in search of lids in accordance with the wager laid.

Accordingly he started, and in the first stage of his journey slept underneath a tree having first killed with his sword a huge snake which, on his arrival, was in the act of running up the tree.

Now on one of the top-most branches of the tree was the nest of a pair of white crows. These birds had lost their offspring from year to year; and the mother-bird returning home that day with food for the last hatched brood, saw the young man sound asleep underneath the tree, and, taking him to be the enemy who had purloined her progeny year after year, was on the point of killing him, when the young ones, who had been eye-witnesses of the snake incident, prayed to God for speech for one moment. Their prayer was granted, and they told their mother how much they owed to the youth for having snatched them from the jaws of death.

Pleased with the young prince, the hen-bird and her mate, who had also returned in time to hear the story, treated him with every mark of kindness, and lovingly asked him his errand. As soon as they knew that he was in search of lids, they promised to take him to Lìlan,\(^6\) Princess of Rubies, who, though not accessible to man, could alone, they said, give him the precious gems he was in quest of.

As promised, the female bird took the young prince on her wings, and set him down in the palace of Lìlan in far off land, the male bird shading him from the rays of the sun with its wings all the way. On taking leave of the saviour of their progeny, the birds gave him a feather and spoke thus:

"If you are in need of our service at any time, just turn this feather over a fire for a few seconds, having first put a little frankincense into the fire, and then we shall be present, and do your bidding."

The princess who was in a cage transformed into a bird, on seeing the prince, the first human being who had ever arrived at the palace, at once exclaimed: — "Oh, what have you done, young man? Why did you come here? You must thank your good fortune in not finding the ogre here at this moment, or else he would have made a meal of you."

Hardly were the words uttered, when the young man was turned into a fly and put on the wall, and immediately appeared the ogre in a great rage exclaiming:

"I smell a man, I smell a man."

"Do not be disguised, father. There was no one here in your absence, and you see me as you left me in the cage," replied the bird from the cage.

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\(^1\) There are puns here on the Peso-Hindi terms lid and lid, red, ruby, also darling, and līlin, a dim of līlī, i.e., a little darling, a boy, but it could also be made to mean a possessor of rubies. Līlin is masc., but the commoner form līlan is fem. and is usually used towards courtesans.

\(^2\) Ldīdī: Arab. plu. of lid: another pun.

\(^3\) Manus gus, manus gus, is the vernacular expression.

\(^4\) For the pun here see above note.
On this the Râkhas was pacified, and made the princess take her natural form by the waving of his golden magic sword, after which she ministered to his wants.

For six months, short of six days, the princess treated the prince with every mark of kindness, but making him resume human shape only in the absence of the ogre. One day he told her that he had remained long enough, and was, therefore, very anxious to depart, but wished that she should ask the ogre wherein his life lay. She accordingly on a day when he was extremely pleased with her, thus spoke to her ogre-father:

"Father, father, will you tell me where your life is? For I am afraid of what will become of me when you are dead."

"Do not be anxious, my child," replied the ogre; "for my life is very safe, and not accessible to any human being. It is in the form of a parrot, hung high up to an iron shaft, in the middle of the waters of the seven and seven seas, which no man hath crossed. When the neck of this bird is wrung, then only shall I die, and not till then."

Having heard these words, the prince summoned his kind friends, the white crows, with the aid of the feather, and, sitting on the wings of the hen while the cock shaded him by its wings from the piercing rays of the sun, crossed the seven seas, and espying the other seven seas, discovered just in middle of them an iron column to which was suspended a cage with a bird in it. The prince at once climbed the column, took out the parrot, broke its legs, pulled away its wings, and then wrung its neck. This being done, he returned to Lâlan's palace, which he had left without telling her, and on being informed that her ogre-father was killed, she set up a loud lamentation and began to fill the earth and sky with her wailing.

The prince consoled the princess in her affliction, and before long threw a little frankincense on the fire and turned over it the magic feather and summoned his constant friends, the white crows, and, sitting on their wings with Lâlan, he reached their home, where, after spending a few days with great pleasure amidst their progeny and in their company, he bade a farewell to the friendly birds, and started for the hut of his mother, who received him and Lâlan. Here the prince regretted that he should have in his haste forgotten to bring the lâls, for which purpose he had gone to the very distant country, and was bent upon going again to fetch them for the wager's sake.

"Do not be sorry," said the princess, "and I see no need why you should go back to the far off land. In order to get the objects of your desire you have only to twist my neck a little, after transforming me into a bird as my ogre-father used to do by waving in a particular manner his golden sword, which I luckily brought with me. When I shed tears, from the pain you will give me, I will drop in lâls."

Accordingly, changing the princess into a bird, the prince went to the capital of the king with whom he had laid the wager. He placed the bird in a prominent position in the centre of the tank, and after a slight twist of its neck, lo and behold! the tears it shed were changed to rubies, so many as to fill up the tank quite to the brim and over its masonry banks.

While the tank of lâls was filled thus to overflowing, the tank of pearls was not half filled, though hundreds of carts full of pearls had emptied their contents into it.

Seeing that his reputation was at stake, and his wager lost, the Râja went to the residence of the young man in the forest privately, and acknowledged him the winner of the wager; and, in so doing, saw and recognized his old Rânl. At her feet he fell, and asked her pardon for the grievous mistake he had made in sending her away to the forest. The falseness of the ogre-queen was duly proved later on and she was ordered to be burnt in a lime-kiln.

Taking his wife and son, whom he embraced with great affection, the king reached his home and there reigned with his wife, while his son, united in marriage to Lâlan, who was no other than the daughter of a king stolen by the ogre when an infant, dwelt with them.
CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—In republishing my Inscription No. 77 (vide "Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore," note, Vol. XXIV, page 279), from an impression of Dr. Hultsch, Dr. Kiellhorn observes (vide footnote 3, page 202, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., Part V.) that "there is no indication that a Chronogram is intended, and, as a matter of fact, the Kollam year 365 would correspond to A.D. 1189-90, while Jupiter's mean place was in the sign Karkaṭa from the 3rd January to the 29th December A.D. 1184."

Aware of the numberless tricks adopted by native writers, particularly of Malabar, to hide, in some unsuspected word or phrase of their verses, the dates they wish to commemorate, I took the term Gilaṃba in the distich in question as indicative of the Kollam era, and Mārtanda, the word immediately preceding, a Chronogram, to signify the exact year in that era. If, however, the date 365 symbolized by that Chronogram does not tally with the position of Jupiter in Karkaṭa, I think we may seek another clue for the date in the closing words of the verse—māya atma kehanyāḥ, which in the kalāṇḍu system would mean 1565015. We may take this as indicative of the exact number of days in the Kali year, the corresponding expression for 1st of Dhanu in the current Malabar year 1072 being Bhagavasāraṅga (vide Travancore Almanac for 1072). A rough calculation shows that the number of days so indicated in Kali would correspond to December A.D. 1184, when Jupiter was actually in Karkaṭa. I hope a finer calculation on the basis of this new interpretation will give us the exact day of the dedication of the drum by Aditya Rāma. Whether this Aditya Rāma was literally the Umbrella-bearer of Kōla Mārtanda, and not one who inherited the royal insignia of that "Lord of Kolamba," is a different question, on the solution of which alone can we decide whether Atma Kehanyāḥ means the 'Soul of endurance,' as Dr. Kiellhorn contends, or the 'Soul of the earth,' as I still venture to think.

Passing over the second inscription, No. 8 of Sarvāṅgānāthā, my interpretation of which is confirmed by Dr. Kiellhorn's calculations, I may note that the third—or the one from Varkillar cannot have anything to do with Patikara, as the deity of that sanctuary is not Hari but Harṣa.

I may take this opportunity also to correct an obvious error in the foot-note added by Mr. V. V. to page 157 of the Indian Antiquary for June 1896, where the expression Kāsta Dvīnras in Śākara's verse quoted by me is taken to allude to Sundara. This must be surprising information to all Tamil scholars, who invariably reckon Īppakāti Nīgaru as the wife-traitor among the Saiva Saints (vide his life in the Periga Purāṇa).  

V. Sundara Pillai.

Trivandrum, Travancore, 27th Feb. 1897.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By G. R. Sivebailah Pantulu.

Continued from p. 55.)

XIII.

Dwijakirti, king of Cholamandalam, had three sons. As he was old and no longer capable of guiding the helm of the State, he resolved to give his kingdom over to any of his sons who might be fit to rule.

In order, therefore, to ascertain their respective capabilities, he sent for his eldest son first and asked him what he most desired. He replied that he was most anxious to have around him the best logicians, grammarians, rhetoricians, and other men of science, and to pass his time in the study of the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, and other sacred books. "The king thereupon gave him a few villages for his upkeep, and told him to go and do according to his wishes."

He then sent for his second son and asked him what he desired most. He replied, "I am anxious to acquire much wealth, and visit sacred shrines." The king thereupon gave him the money necessary, and sent him on his pilgrimage.

He then sent for the third son and asked him what his desire was. He replied, "to acquire a kingdom, lety a great army, protect the people, make the provinces fruitful, and thus acquire a good reputation."

The king was much gratified at these words, and thinking that he was the fittest person to rule the
kingdom, made over charge of the kingdom to him. The son assumed the reigins of government, treated his people with justice and generosity, and consequently his people flourished.

You should therefore enquire into the capabilities of the person, and his mental tendencies, before entrusting him with authority.

XIV.

At Banaras lived a washerman, who had an ass and a dog. One night some burglars made a chink in the wall, and waited till he should go to bed to break in and rob all his property. The dog was then absent from the spot; but the ass, seeing the robbers enter the master's house, divined what would happen, and how the house would be rid of all its valuables in no time, and thought that if the dog were here, he would bark loudly, awake the master, and prevent the household property from being robbed. But he did not know when the dog would come; and thought that everybody ought not to be indifferent to his master's affairs, especially in a time of sore distress. He ought, therefore, to be very and thus awake the master—so he prayed to the top of his voice. The washerman hearing the ass bray, and thinking that he was unnecessarily awakened by it, lost his temper, took a stick, beat it well, lay down, and was enjoying sound sleep once again, when the robbers broke in and began plundering the house. At this juncture the dog returned. The ass, seeing the dog, narrated to him what had happened; how the thieves broke into the house and carried off the greater part of the property; how he had brayed, wishing to prevent the occurrence; how it was misunderstood by their master; what a severe drubbing he had received, and so on. He requested the dog at any rate to bark and let the master know the fact. Thereupon the dog began to bark loudly. The washerman hearing it and thinking that the house was being broken open by robbers, rose immediately and searching into every corner of the house, found that the thieves had carried everything off, and was very much grieved.

Moral: — Ne aiter ulter crepidam—Let the shoemaker stick to his last.

XV.

A certain king of the Karnatak had a flower-garden, in which he spent most of his leisure hours. He had a minister, whose son was in the habit of going daily to the garden and parling the flowers. The king, mistaking a number of them day after day, told the gardeners in charge to be on the alert to apprehend the rogue and bring him before him. They accordingly kept watch, caught the minister's son red-handed, put him into a conveyance and took him to the king's palace. The minister was at the time standing at the gate. Those who were near him told him what had happened, how his son had stolen the flowers, how he was caught by the gardeners in the very act of stealing, where he was being conveyed before the king, and wanted the minister to save his son from the infamy. The minister thereupon loudly answered, "It is of no consequence, if he has a month he will live." The son, hearing this, quickly perceived the exact import of his father's words, and immediately ate all the flowers. When they brought him before the king, he asked the boy why he had stolen the flowers. To which the boy said that they brought him there unjustly, for he only went to see the garden, but did not steal anything. As there were no flowers found upon him, the king believed this, and having punished the gardeners sent them away.

Thus, a ready person may always get himself out of a scrape.

XVI.

A merchant of Bellary had a garden at the back of his house, in which they were growing all sorts of vegetables. One day, when the door was wide open, an ass belonging to a washerman entered and began to graze. The merchant's wife became infuriated at the sight, took hold of a large stick, and struck the ass with such force that she broke its leg. When its owner heard of this, he came up, abused the merchant's wife, and gave her a kick in the abdomen, which resulted in a miscarriage, as she was pregnant at the time. The merchant thereupon went to the Judge and complained that by this wicked deed, the son that would have been born to him, the son who he trusted would be a support to him in his ripe old age, had perished. He requested therefore that condign punishment might be inflicted on the culprit. The Judge immediately sent for the owner of the ass and asked him why he had done the deed. He stated in his defence that he kicked the merchant's wife in the abdomen, because she had broken the leg of his ass, which carried the clothes he washed. The Judge, reflecting for a short time, decided that the
merchant should carry the washerman's clothes until the leg of the ass be cured, and that the washerman should keep the merchant's wife till he could restore her to her husband in a pregnant condition.

Moral: — What it is to be a fool!

XVII.

In days long gone by, there lived a wealthy merchant at Delhi. One of his servants purloined some of the property in the house and absconded the next day. The merchant thereupon instituted every search for the thief, but to no avail. Not long after, the merchant chanced to go to another city for business purposes. He there saw the servant who had committed the robbery walking in the street, so he seized him and taxed him with having stolen the property and absconding; but the fellow seized the merchant by the waist-cloth and clamorously demanded his property, saying that the merchant was his master, that he had stolen the goods out of his house, that he had been looking out for him for many a day, and had now found him. He wanted him, therefore, to hand over the property and then go about his business. On this the real and the false merchants, still disputing, went before the Magistrate and represented their grievances. The Magistrate reflected a little, and ordered them both to put their heads through a window, and calling the executioner, said to him, "whoever is the servant, cut off his head." Now it came to pass that the fellow who had committed the robbery being really the servant, and hearing that they were going to cut off his head, withdrew it, while the merchant, on the contrary, never removed his head from the window. On this, the Magistrate discerning that the man, who withdrew his head, was really the servant who had robbed the house of the merchant, punished him severely.

XVIII.

In the Dakhan lived a Brâhma who had two wives. To the elder of these a son was born. When the son was about ten months old, the old Brâhma set out with his family on a pilgrimage to Banâras, but he unfortunately died on his way. The two women thereupon went to an adjacent agrihârâs (the Brâhmanas' quarters in a city or village), and remained there, rearing the boy with great affection: so much so that the child knew not which of the two was his real mother. But one day the younger lady quarrelled with the elder, and, declaring that she would no longer remain with her, took the child and set out to go home. The elder thereupon seized the child and demanded of the other why she was taking him away. The younger replied that as she had borne the child she was going away with him. So the two still disputing went to the Judge and told their story. He reflected a little, called his servants and ordered them to divide the child in twain, and to give each a half. The younger lady remained silent, but the elder, being the real mother, was of opinion that so long as the child did but live it was enough; and, not consenting to the Judge's proposal, said to him that the child was not her own, and requested him to give it to the other lady. The Judge, hearing these words, decided that the elder lady was the child's mother, and had the boy given to her.

XIX.

King Jayachchandra had two favourites, one a Musalman and the other a Brâhma, to whom he was constantly giving presents, by means of which they grew rich and lived happily. One day the king asked them by whose favor they enjoyed their happiness. The Musalman immediately replied that he was indebted for his, solely to the sovereign; but the Brâhma declared that he derived his from the grace of the Almighty. The King, wishing to put their assertions to the test, filled a pumpkin with pearls, which he delivered to the Musalman, and at the same time presented the Brâhma with two fanâmas. On their way home the former, not knowing the contents of the pumpkin, began to grumble at the king's present, and told the latter that he would sell it to him for his two fanâmas, to which the Brâhma consented. When he broke it and found the immense wealth that it contained, he returned with great glee, and related the adventure to the King, whose vanity was completely cured by this occurrence. Unassisted by the hand of Providence human endeavours are fruitless.

XX.

There lived at Rajamundry a Musalman, whose house was robbed one night. After careful search he traced some of the lost articles to the house of a person, whom he suspected for more reasons than one to be the rogue, and took him therefore before the Judge. The Judge asked the Musalman if he had any positive proof that the prisoner was the person who had robbed his house. He answered in the negative; whereupon the Judge told him that he must dismiss the case, as he was strictly forbidden by the law to
enquire into cases, where there were no eye-witnes-
sesses to the fact. On hearing this the Musalmán
removed one of his slippers and began to beat
the rogue. The Judge, in a great passion, asked
him what the matter was. He told him that it
was because he had not communicated to him
beforehand his intention of robbing his house,
in order that he might have witnesses ready to
prove his villainy. The Judge was very much
troubled at this reply and remained silent.

XXI.

A crow perched on a banyan tree near the sea-
shore, saw a swan passing by and asked where it
was going, to which the latter replied that it was
going to the Mánassaras. The crow thereupon
was extremely anxious to accompany the swan,
and requested the latter to take it along with it.
The swan, hearing these words, said, "O crow,
where is the Mánassaras and where are you?
How great is the distance between you and the
saras?" The crow was very much enraged at the
reply, and said, "You speak without knowing
what you are about. If you examine the real
truth, you will find that I can fly quicker than
yourself. I will exemplify this at once — do you set
out and come with me?" So saying, it soared up
the skies and went a short distance along with the
swan. Afterwards it flew ten yards in advance,
and again coming back to the swan said jocosely,
"Why, you said something about flying quicker
than I, and yet you don't accompany me; the fact
of the matter is that you, without looking into
your own powers, had trifled with me." By the
time that the crow had gone a little further, it
became tiged and unable to fly along and was
in sore distress. The swan thereupon laughing,
placed it on its own wings and prevented it from
falling into the waters below, brought it to the
shore and left it there.

Thus an impotent fool, who begins by despising
the strong and the good, will in the end come to
degradation.

XXII.

At Thirupatt lived a Brahman in poor cir-
cumstances, who received on a certain day a
pot of flour as a present from a certain merchant.
He took it, and, being very tired, seated
himself on the verandah of a house and solilo-
quized thus, "If I sell this pot of flour, I shall
get half a rupee for it, with which I can purchase
a kid. This, in a short time, will produce a flock,
I will then sell them, and buy cows, buffaloes, etc.,
and thus in a few years I shall be the master of
three thousand head of cattle. I will then pur-
chase a mansion, which I will furnish elegantly,
and marry a beautiful damsel who will crown my
happiness by giving birth to a son. My wife will
be particularly fond of me, but I shall not allow
her too much freedom, and shall sometimes send
her away with a kick when she comes to caress me."

Thus thinking, he thrust out his leg like one
really going to kick, struck the pot and broke
it into pieces. The flour got mixed with dirt, and
all his ideas of happiness vanished.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT SMALL-POX IN CALCUTTA.

During the outbreak of small-pox in Calcutta in
February, 1897, it was believed that the Goddess
Sita, the deity presiding over small-pox, was seen
at dead of night walking quickly along one of the
public thoroughfares. A policeman went boldly
up to her and was about to lay hands on her, when
he was prevented by some unseen influence, and the
irate-goddess pronounced sentence of death on
him at the same hour on the following night, and
then vanished into the air. The policeman was
said to have related the story before he expired.
In consequence of the tale people flocked to the
temple of Sita at Ahirl Top, which the goddess
was said to have declared to be her seat, and per-
formed pujâ there.

Subsequently the story underwent further
developments, and the goddess was said to have
commanded the policeman to tell the panic-stricken
people of Calcutta that she was going to leave
them soon and betake herself to "Western Climes."
The public in consequence, in order to propitiate
the goddess and encourage her to depart, aban-
donated their usual food and took to eating only
flattened rice and curds. So great was the de-
mand for these things, that some people could
not get them, and had to be satisfied with milk
and sugar as a minor means of propitiating the
goddess.
WORK implies waste. No mason, however careful, can turn to account every stone quarried out, it may be at great cost, and given him to build with. Some break in dressing, and others are found not to suit. So it is with all arts and industries—literary and scientific labours not excepted. Perhaps, more of the poet's plots break in the course of construction than pots under the potter's wheel; and who can number the laboriously spun-out inductive generalizations that have snapped under the strain of exceptional phenomena? But what is lost for one end is seldom found good for none. The absolutely good-for-nothing is as rare in this imperfect world as the infinitely good-for-all. The chips that fall off from the chisels of the cabinet-maker are just the things for tops and toys to be made out of. Broken-down inductions and imperfect generalizations that the theorizer must perforce reject constitute the wise saws and modern instances of the practically shrewd.

Let me hope that the principle will apply to the materials I have gathered, and am still engaged in gathering, with a view to help the future historian of Travancore. From the nature of the case, only a small proportion of the inscriptions in any province of India will be found pregnant with political history. Lucky is the epigraphist who finds even one in a hundred turning out really such. Most of our licitic records are like that fixed proportion of postal covers, which year after year turn up with the "awfully" affectionate address "To my own dear uncle!" None the less unavoidable is the labour spent in discovering, copying, deciphering, and interpreting these evidently indefinite and ill-conceived stone documents. Though rejected as unfit by the makers of dynastic tables, may they not prove good as pegs to hang our ethnic speculations upon, or as sticks to lean on in the quagmires of philological conjectures? At any rate, containing, as they do, solid and substantial facts, they ought to be able to serve us at least as torches in our weary wanderings in the dreary limitless past, exposing and exercising the endless illusory legends, traditions, and such like ignes fatui, which alone now seem to people even the ages but one step removed from the present. But utilitarian considerations apart, it seems to me a pious duty which we owe to our forefathers, to collect and preserve what memorials they have so lovingly left behind. To reject as trash such of them as have come to our notice, on the ground of their not answering any particular requirement of ours, would be adding insult to injury. It would seem as if we heard their last parting words and yet heeded them not!

I propose, therefore, in the following pages to record those inscriptions of Travancore which have come within my notice, but which I did not see my way to utilize in the course of my papers on the "Early Sovereigns of Travancore (ante, Vol. XXIV.)." In doing so, I shall first take up those which give distinct dates in a definite era; next, those giving regnal years of the then sovereigns, some of whose dates have now been ascertained, while others yet remain to be found out; and lastly, those whose age seems doomed for ever to remain a matter of mere conjecture. To all of them, I shall try to add notes and comments as I go on rendering them into English.

The three definite eras, made use of in Travancore records, are the Kollam, the Sikka, and the Kali, and the origin of all of them seems to be equally enveloped in impenetrable mystery. It is quite natural that, to the limited intellect of man, the origin of many things should be shrouded in eternal darkness, such as the origin of the Universe, or the origin of evil, which is perhaps just the same question on its moral side; but that the origin of so artificial an institution, of so simple a convention, as the institution of an era, an era to reckon time with,
should admit of speculation is itself nothing short of a marvel — a standing monument of the historical inpetitude of the Indian races. But the era with which we have mostly to do here is the Kollam, and so I offer a few remarks on it before passing on to the inscriptions dated in that era.

The Kollam era.

Though the Kollam era is in everyday use, no one seems to know why it was started, or what kollam itself means. The word "kollam" has a striking resemblance in sound to the name of several important towns. It is evidently derived from the same root as Korkai, the oldest known capital of the Pailvyanas. It was Dr. Caldwell who first suggested the obvious analysis of Korkai into kol + kai, as well as its identification with the "Kolkhoi" of the Greek writers of the first and the second Christian centuries. I feel unable, however, to accept Dr. Caldwell's interpretation of the root-meaning of Korkai. "Kol in Tamil," says he, "means 'to slay,' and kai, 'hand or arm.' Kolai, therefore, would seem to mean 'the hand or arm of slaughter,' which is said to be an old poetical name for 'an army, a camp,' the first instrument of Government in a rude age. Kolai is capable also of meaning 'place,' e.g., Podiyai, 'place of concealment,' the name of the mountain from which the river of Kor-ka' takes its rise. Compare the name Coleroon, properly Kollidam, 'the place of slaughter.'" I am sorry I cannot agree with Dr. Caldwell in many of the derivations here suggested. The word kol means many other things in Tamil besides 'to kill,' which last seems to me to be the last of its connotations to be thought of in this connection. In no age, however rude, could a nation have looked upon their capital as a place where people were killed and not protected. No doubt, the expression "kollam kolaiyam" is often used, particularly in Malayalam, to signify political authority or rather criminal jurisdiction, but the very combination would seem to prove that kol is distinct from kolai or 'slaughter.' The particle kai in Korkai is obviously the well-known suffix of verbal nouns as in inyai and inuukai, and not an independent word meaning 'hand or arm.' Tho' the word kai meaning 'hand' is used by itself in connection with disposiciones of armies, very much as the term "wing" in English, yet neither in poetical nor in popular Tamil does kollai occur in the sense of 'army or camp.' That the verbal suffix kai is sometimes found in connection with words which by metonymy indicate localities may be admitted, but by itself it never means 'a place,' as Dr. Caldwell suggests as an alternative interpretation. Nor is he happy in his illustrations. Podiyai, a corruption of Pottak, the Sanskrit form of Pudiya, is never found in classical Tamil, or in accredited lexicons like Thiirukkural and Nightfya. The Tamilians recognize only Podiyam and Podiyil — not Podiyai or Pottak — as the name of the famous mountain of their patron saint Agastya. Nor is it beyond doubt whether Coleroon is Kollidam or Kolliyam. But whatever be its correct form, it is difficult to conceive why so large a river should have been a place of slaughter in any age, however rude or remote. I feel quite sceptical, therefore, about the slaughter-theory of Dr. Caldwell. All that we can accept then out of these etymological speculations is that Korkai is analysable into kol + kai; and that is the important point we have here to bear in mind.

If kol is the root of Ko kai, it is even more obviously the root of Kollam — am being as good a suffix of verbal nouns as kai. Compare, for instance, the word nakkam. It seems to me further that Kochchhi or Cochin, one of the best of the natural harbours in the world, is also derived from the same root. The equivalent term Balapuri is a ludicrous Sanskrit translation of the Dravidian name Kochchhi, for which the Keralamduoym is chiefly responsible. Whether Cochin is identical or not with the Colcis Indorum — the Indian Colcis — of the Pentinger Tables, as I surmise it is, we cannot be far wrong in analysing it into kol + chi, ch' being another well-known suffix of Tamil words. It seems to me probable that the well-known ports Colombo and Colachat are also derived from the same root, though

1 E.g., Valaiyai and Ijaiyai — "the Right and Left Wings" which have now come to stand as collective names of certain groups of castes.

2 [Compare ante, Vol. XVIII, p. 211. — E. H.]
greatly disguised. Kolambu and Kolachchail are respectively analysable into kol + am + pu, and kol + a + chai; am, pu and chai being known suffixes of Tamil words. That Sanskrit writers habitually translate Kolam into Kōjamba, may, to some extent, serve to show how Kolambu and Kolachchail may have been corrupted into Kolambu and Kolachchail. If we are right so far, the root-meaning of kol becomes more or less manifest. All of them — Kōkai and Colombo; Cochin, Cochin, and Quilon in Travancore; and Quilaund in Malabar — are sea-port towns; and Kolaki, Kollam, and Kōkai (Kochin) are known to have been famous in ancient days for their natural harbours. May not, then, the root-idea of these words be 'sea-port, harbour, or emporium of trade'? We find support for our conjecture in the current use of kolla in Malayālam — kolla means a breach, as of a dam, through which water flows, and both Quilon and Cochin are remarkable for the inlet or breach in the coast-line through which the sea communicates with the backwaters. That Kōkai was situated at the mouth of the Thamara, and that the town which grew up in its neighbourhood and finally superseded it about the time of Marco Polo⁴ was called Kiyal, meaning 'a lagoon,' would show that Kōkai must have been in its palmy days as much distinguished for an inlet into its backwater as Cochin is to-day. This then strikes me as the most probable connotation of kol, and we may accordingly take Kollam (Quilon), Kolkai (Kōkai), and Kōkai (Cochin), if not Colombo and Colachel as well, as originally meaning towns with natural harbours formed by a breach in the coast-line.

But as it is not safe to be dogmatic in such matters, I would suggest one or two other possible explanations of the word Kollam before proceeding to consider the era named after it. Comparing such words as kollai in Tamil, meaning 'an enclosure round a dwelling-place,' kolli, which, in Canarese, means 'crooked,' in Malayālam 'crooked and therefore worn out,' as well as 'a crooked corner or valley,' and in Travancore Tamil 'a net made of ropes for enclosing and carrying unhusked coconuts,' kōkai in Malayālam meaning 'to enclose,' and kōkai, 'a figure or form with the outlines meeting one another,' we may easily conclude that one of the root-ideas of kol must be 'an enclosure,' and therefore 'a town.' Indeed, it will be remembered, the English word "town," derived as it is from the Anglo-Saxon root "tun," meaning an enclosure or garden round a dwelling-house, would exactly correspond to the current use of kollai; and kollam, kōkai, kolmai, may, therefore, be all regarded as meaning nothing else than enclosed towns opposed to the open country. If neither of the above derivations is found satisfactory for reasons I cannot now divine, there is yet a third which I may, perhaps, be permitted to add. The word kolai means in all the Dravidian languages 'dignity, pomp, or majesty;' and it is easy to show that the final vowel of the Dravidian word is not a part of the root. The English word "town," as in town of a city, and the substantives kōrgas and krim, meaning respectively 'king' and 'kingship,' are evidently derived from the same root as kol, which can be nothing else than kol, the radical in kollam, kōkai, and kolmai. These words would then seem to mean places associated with power, pomp, or royal presence — a meaning admirably suited to the facts (1) that at least two of them are known to have been real capitals of ancient royal families, and (2) that "other residences of kings were formerly called kollam, such as Kōjamba, etc.," according to Dr. Gundert. In the face of these and similar other easy interpretations the root kol seems capable of, I am not prepared to accept Dr. Caldwell's sanguine-theory. More positively absurd would be any attempt to trace kollam to kolamba, the meaningless jargon of Sanskrit writers.

Let us now turn to the era itself. Till recently European scholars would seem to have known even so much as that it was an era. Mr. Prinsep calls it a cycle — the cycle of

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⁴ See Dr. Caldwell's History of Travancery, p. 87.
⁵ Kiyal is a good Tamil word, though current only in Malabar.
⁶ The particle in which changes the kol to kolai is an important and widely-used element in the formation of Tamil words, which it would be foreign to our purpose here to explain or to illustrate.
Paraśurāma, and Dr. Barnell, in correcting this error, falls into another. He rightly says it is no cycle but an era, but adds that "it began in September 824 A.D." and "is only used in the South Tamil country and Travancore." 4 In Travancore and in the Tinnenvelly district, where the era is used, the year begins not in September, but in the middle of August, and the province where it begins in September is not Travancore or the South Tamil country, but Malabar, which Dr. Barnell does not include. Why the Malabar year begins a month later in Malabar proper cannot be expected to be easy of explanation when so little is known about the origin of the era itself. The difference in the local use of the year is nevertheless worthy of being borne in mind, at least in connection with the dispute whether the Kollam era is so named after Quilon in Travancore or Quillandy in Malabar proper. Neither of them need claim the honour exclusively, since the era has a different month for its commencement in the two places contending for it.

But whether connected with either or with both, it is of greater importance to know what event, if any, the era is intended to commemorate. Dr. Gandert suggests in his excellent lexicon, that it was meant to celebrate the foundation of a Siva temple; but as no reason is given to support his opinion, we cannot afford to discuss the view. No important Siva temple of any antiquity is known, however, to exist either at Quilon or at Kollam in Malabar. In the nature of things, we should expect a grander event of greater national importance in justification of the starting of an era than the building of a nameless temple. The only two events of any importance in Malabar which can be assigned to this epoch are (1) the mysterious disappearance of the last of the Perumāls, and (2) the death of Sukravācharya, the most renowned of the Indian scholiasts.

The tradition in Malabar regarding the first is that the last Chērāmān Perumāl embraced Mahāmādānism, and left the Indian shores for Mecca, and that it was in consequence of his sudden departure that the Chērē empire, including Malabar, became split up into petty principalities. Following the tradition, Mr. Logan has gone so far as to identify a tomb on the shores of the Persian Gulf as that of the missing Perumāl, and, with the help of the epigraph thereon, to fix the date of his death as Kali year 3991 or Kollam year 6. Allowing 6 years as spent in the Perumāl's trans-marine peregrinations, we may plausibly take the Kollam era as founded on the day he sailed away from Malabar. But antecedent probability is wholly against this theory. It is not at all likely, in the first place, that any nation would establish an era to celebrate a national disgrace. To every Hindu, even after so much of Mahāmādān intercourse, the conversion to Islam is an abhorrence; and how much should it have been a thousand years ago in the case of so revered a king as the true representative of the old line of Chērāmān Perumāls? It is surprisingly strange again, in the next place, that all Malabar and Travancore should have united to start an era exactly at the point of time when their integrity, according to the very hypothesis, was irreparably lost. The Chērē empire is said to have fallen to pieces, because of the disappearance of the Perumāl; and yet the empire was at one, according to the theory, to start an era which is still in use throughout its original extent! In the third place, if the era were founded to commemorate any single event such as the exit of the last of the Perumāls, how could we account for the fact of the era beginning in August in Travancore and a full month later in Malabar proper? Can we suppose, without positively spoiling the beauty and mystery of the story, that the Perumāl sailed a month earlier from the port of Quilon in Travancore and then landed in Malabar to quit it thirty days later? But lastly, the oral tradition, on which alone the theory is based, is itself contradicted by the only written record we have, which refers to the event.

The mysterious disappearance of the Perumāl is in fact the last of the legends embodied in

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4 See Elements of South Indian Epigraphy, p. 78.
5 See Vivian, Suryō, Periyā Purāṇam.
the Periya-Purāṇam, the historical value of which, as we have seen elsewhere, it is impossible to exaggerate. The date of this Pārēśa cannot, for reasons explained elsewhere, be later than the twelfth Christian century, or about 350 years after the establishment of the Kollam era. Surely, the version of the story, as found in this written record of the twelfth century, deserves greater credit than an oral tradition which cannot be traced back for more than a couple of centuries. The Periya-Purāṇa version then is this:—“While the Saiva saint Sundarar was at Tirurājaikkilam, the Chāra capital, celebrating it in certain hymns which still exist, the time came for him to depart the earth. Accordingly, one morning, the angels of Mount Kaḷiḷaṣa waited upon him with a white elephant and a commission to translate him athwart the sky to that rocky abode of gods. Elated beyond measure, the saint tarried not even to utter a parting word to his royal friend, but, ascending the celestial elephant, started forthwith on his travel through the azure blue. The Perumāl, coming to know what had taken place, and unable to sustain the separation, mounted his steed and uttered a mantra in its ears, which enabled it to ascend into the air and overtake the paradisaical pachyderm. The ministers and generals of the king, beholding the miraculous scene, shook off their mortal coils with the help of their swords and followed their beloved king. So the aerial procession reached Mount Kaḷiḷaṣa, but the Perumāl found admission into the divine presence only after he had composed the poem called Ādī-Uṭī, which one Māṭīṭaṭai is said in the Pārēśa to have communicated to the world here below by reciting it in the town of Tiruppiṭāvar.”

Such then is the legend as embodied in the Periya-Purāṇam; and all that it enables us to conclude is that a saintly Chāra prince mysteriously disappeared from his capital. There is nothing whatever in this or any other written record of respectable antiquity to lend support to the story of the conversion and the voyage to Mecca; and without such support it is not safe to accept the evidence of the tomb on the shores of the Persian Gulf as relevant to the question of the origin of the Kollam era.

Proceeding then to the next great event about this time with which the Malabar era may possibly be associated, we may at once state that the age of Śaṅkara Chāritya is not yet beyond the pale of dispute. It may be even questioned whether he was a native of Malabar. But all the theories yet advanced with any show of justification converge in pointing to the early years of the ninth century as the probable period of the great philosopher. May not then the Kollam era be taken to commemorate some event in connection with the life of Śaṅkara? The only definite date yet assigned to the Āchārya with any degree of probability is that of Mr. K. B. Pathak, according to whom Śaṅkara must have died in 820 A. D., i.e., four years before the commencement of the era. The date of his birth, according to the āṭīkas in a manuscript volume in the possession of one Govinda Bhattar of Belgaun, is Viśvav-vaṣha, Kali year 3299-10 and that of his death, full moon in Vaśākha, Kali year 3921.11 Thus, then, it is impossible to connect the establishment of the Kollam era with any event in Śaṅkara’s life, he having lived four years before the commencement of the era itself.

Indeed, I must confess, I do not feel disappointed at this result. The curious difference we commenced with noting in the reckoning of the year in Malabar and Travancore would show that the era, whatever its origin, could not have been the consequence of any particular historical event. It would be quite in keeping with the character of the people if it turned out to be the result of some grand astronomical conventions rather than of events in the humbler

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8 See ante, Vol. XXV. p. 149 f.
9 It is difficult to say who this Māṭīṭaṭai was, or how he obtained a copy of the poem composed in Kaḷiḷaṣa. May he be the same Śīlaṇa, the corn-marchast, who narrated the story of Kiṭṭhippiram to its author Paṅgūvāda? 
10 [See ante, Vol. XI. p. 175. — E. H.] 
11 "क समधे प्रश्रयमाणां ज्ञानमे वेदांव पूर्णमाः / "
walks of human life. Finding among the celestial phenomena, too, no event of any importance about the year 824 A. D. except the appearance of a comet in China, I can suggest now no other explanation of the era than that it seems to me to be the modification of another older era current in Upper India under the name of Saptarshi, or Nastra-sanvatsara. The peculiarity of this northern era is that though it is to-day 4972, it is spoken of as 72, so that omitting all hundreds it would be found to be identical with our Malabar year, except for 4 months beginning with Mēsha. The Kāśmir calendars calculated in this era and other recorded dates in it usually begin with this formula: Sṛi-Saptarshi-chātra-nanmatuva Sāvatv 4972 tathā cha Sāvatv 72, i. e., 'the year 4972, in agreement with the course of the Saptarshi, and, therefore, the year 72.' It would thus appear that up to the year 99, the Kollam year was just identical with the Saptarshi year. May it not be then that our Kollam year is simply the Saptarshi era with its origin forgotten, and, therefore, counted on into the hundreds? It is by no means extravagant to suppose that the people who lived in the Kollam year 99 went on to name the next year 100, and not the epiphem year, in spite of whatever astronomical reminiscences that survived in the minds of the almanac-makers of that age. In fact, nothing could have been more natural, and once the numeration was permitted, the issue of an independent era, exactly of the kind we have, was inevitable. The only fact which would then require explanation is why, when the Saptarshi begins with Mēsha, our Kollam should commence with the month of Siśā. In all probability the astronomers of the period, who determined upon the adoption of the era, found it necessary so to amend the northern luni-solar year in order to convert it into a purely solar one as the Kollam year professes to be. While agreed as to the necessity of the amendment, the astronomers of Malabar were apparently not at one with their contemporaries in Travancore as to the number of months that had so to be left out; and hence, perhaps, the divergence we have already noticed as to the month with which the new year was to begin—whether it was to be Siśā or Kanyā. That the era obtaining in Travancore should thus be assimilated with the one in Kāśmir, the other extremity in the continent of India, must, at first sight, appear strange; but it is not certainly stranger than the close similarity which Mr. Ferguson notes in the styles of architecture obtaining in Travancore and in Nēpāl. What our only historian of Travancore says with respect to the origin of this era is entirely in consonance with our theory.

"In the Kali year 3926 when king Udaya Mārtiṣaṇḍa Varmā was residing in Kollam (Quilon)," says Mr. Menon, "he convened a council of all the learned men in Kērala with the object of introducing a new era, and after making some astronomical researches, and calculating the solar movements throughout the twelve signs of the zodiac, and counting scientifically the number of days occupied in this revolution in every month, it was resolved to adopt the new era from the first of Chūgam of that year, 15th August 825, as Kollam year one, and to call it the solar year." What need could there have been for all these "astronomical researches," "calculations" and "scientific countings," unless the astronomers of the period, anxious to start a new era, were adapting and amending for their purpose one that was actually current at the time? If those scientific men were really adopting an existing era, none could have suggested itself with greater propriety than the Saptarshi year—the "Sāstra-sanvatsara," the scientific year par excellence. As regards the Kali, the Malabar astronomers of 824 A. D. probably found that it was itself in need of even larger alterations than the Saptarshi. The latter is exactly 25 years later than the Kali, and it appears to me extremely likely that these 25 years were left out of the Kali to form the Saptarshi era for some astronomical reasons similar to those which I have ventured here to assign for the omission of the first 4 or 5 months from Mēsha to Siśā in the conversion of the Saptarshi into the Kollam. But this is a speculative question, and I am afraid it will continue to be a debatable one for many years yet to come.

(To be continued.)

12 See note, Vol. XX p. 149.
EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SELUNGS
OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 91.)

V.

From Captain E. M. Ryan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to Major A. Fytche,
Officiating Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moulmein — dated the
11th August 1857.

Dr. Helfer has given the following graphical Sketch of the Selunes:—

"Spent this day among the Selunes. At my first arrival in the night a general terror
spread over the defenceless community, they not knowing whether friend or foe was approaching.
Suspecting an incursion of Malays from the south, the women and children had fled into
the interior, and their best property, sea-slugs, and rice had been buried in all hurry in the jungle.
Finding that a white-man was come among them (it was in these parts for the first time), their
approhensions changed into joy, and the whole community came in the morning to where I had
landed to welcome me.

"There were about 70 men, women, and children altogether; they had encamped on the
sandy sea-beach; each family had erected a little raised shed covered with palm-leaves, where
all the members huddled together in the night. There they sat, a dirty, miserable-looking
congregation, the women occupied in making mats of a peculiar description from sea-weed
(which are sold at Mergui and Moulmein and much sought after), the children screaming
apparently out of fear at the strange apparition, dogs, cats, and cocks all joining to make the
full chorus. Everything had the appearance of confusion, and even the animals seemed to be
aware that my arrival among them was an extraordinary event. Some of these sheds appeared
like butchers' stalls. Large pieces of tartle, rendering the atmosphere pestilential, were
everywhere drying in the sun. It is their main food. Shell-fish were seen extracted from their
shells, and wild roots of a species of Dierocoea, as well as the fatal Cycas circinalis, were prepared
for cooking.

"On the beach lay 20 or 30 boats, well built and light, like ant-shells swimming on the
surface, the bottom built of a solid trunk, the sides consisting of the slender trunks of the palm
strongly united and corked with palm hemp. These boats, not longer than 20 feet, are the true
home of the Selunes: to it he entrusts his life and property; in it he wanders during his
lifetime from island to island; a true ichthyophagist, to whom the Earth has no charm, and
whom he neglects so much that he does not even entrust to her a single grain of rice. But
even as fishermen these people are to be considered yet in their infancy. They have even no
nets, the trident is their only weapon, with which they spear sharks and other fish as well as
tartle; all the rest they want is done with the da or with the hand; they know no other
instrument.

"In their exterior they are well built, apparently healthy, darker than the Burmese; part
of them approach the Malay type, part of them the Ethiopian; the curly hair of some of them
especially speaks in favour of Negro origin. Might they have had formerly communication
with the Andamanese?

"I spent the whole day in conversation with them through the medium of their headman,
who understands Burmese; besides him and two others, the rest were unacquainted with it.
Some spoke, besides their own idiom, Siamese; some Malay. They behaved with remarkable
civility and decorum. They related that their children are exposed to sickness and death
from three to six years; those who survive that period are considered safe. I think they die,
to judge from description, in consequence of dysentery, not improbably caused by the indigestible nature of their food, at that tender age. They know no medicines whatever, — a strange exception, — uncultivated Natives being generally in the possession of the greatest number of simples, besides the host of charms and other indifferent substances to which great virtues are attributed. To get physic and charms from the Chinese, they sell their most valuable produces — pearls, amber, etc. The greatest present I could make them, besides some ardent spirits, was medicine. When they saw me drink coffee, and heard 'that I drank black substance every day, they concluded this to be the greatest medicine of the white-man, and were not satisfied till I gave them a good portion of it. They are addicted to liquors to a frightful degree; intoxication is the greatest enjoyment they know. By all who have to do with them (Chinese and Malays), they are provided with toddy in the first instance, and, during the subsequent state of stupor, robbed of any valuables they possess.

"They are indolent; only young men work, that is, collect what falls under their hands. Surrounded with valuable riches of Nature, they remain miserably poor. The regeneration of this race will possibly never be effected; but the Salones open a fine field to a truly philanthropic missionary. Their ideas of the deity are very imperfect; they believe in superior agencies without any distinct idea. When asked what they thought would become of them after death, they answered that they never thought about it, and added, by way of excuse, 'we are a poor people who know nothing.' They are full of superstition and fear. When a person dies, the person is exposed in the jungle; the whole congregation leave immediately, and do not return till after years, when the bleached bones are collected and burned.

"I accompanied a party of young men on a fishing excursion. They are very dexterous in managing the spear, which was attached to a bamboo 20 feet long; they caught in an hour three large turtles, two sharks, and some other fish."

VI.

From Captain J. F. J. Stevenson, Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to Captain H. Hopkinson, Officiating Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moumeina — dated the 11th May 1858.

I beg to offer you a few remarks upon the peculiar tribe of people called Salones, who live in some of the islands of this Archipelago.

Before doing so, it seems right that I should place before you Lieutenant Burn's, which, doubtless, he wished to embody in his Revenue Report.

Lieutenant Burn: — "Another subject I am very anxious to bring to your notice is the fact that there is a tribe of people inhabiting the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, who are untaxed, and I regret to say, to all appearance, totally uncared for in every way. I have endeavoured to ascertain from the Office records the time and cause of this non-taxation, and the only record on the subject that I can find is a copy of a letter from your Office, dated Mergui, the 12th August 1841, from E. A. Blundell, Esq., then the Commissioner of these Provinces. The letter has no number, and is not even attested as a true copy; the original appears to have been lost.

"The people are exceedingly simple and quiet, but very wild and barbarous; they inhabit huts which are made by placing four sticks on the ground and throwing a mat over them. For the most part they cultivate nothing, but live chiefly by fishing.

"They have one pecon (a Salone) over them, on a salary of Rs. 10 a month, who is supposed to give an annual account of their numbers. I have since my stay down here visited some of these islands and stayed among the people. I found them apparently in a state of great poverty, but on further enquiry I am led to believe that this is caused in a great measure by their being nearly one and all addicted to an immoderate use of spirits, opium, and ganja. This may, and very likely has had, the effect of decreasing their numbers, but I am led to believe if a good man
was appointed over them, and they were to have periodical visits from the officer in charge, which with a steam gunboat would be perfectly practicable at all times and seasons, something might be made out of, and done for, them, as, besides a very extensive trade in salt-fish, they carry on a fair trade in tortoise and other shells, the prices of which are exceedingly remunerative. Their boats, which are very cleverly and curiously constructed, constantly come to Mergui, and sell their cargoes to great advantage; but such is the moral degradation of these simple people and tendency to vice that although after selling their cargo they may have some hundreds of rupees, they seldom go back to their villages with much more than a large supply of spirits and opium, being cheated out of the rest by some of the rascals of the towns, who are constantly on the look-out for them; in fact, they certainly are reduced to a very great state of abjectness, not respecting themselves, and looked down upon by every one of their fellow-men; and I respectfully beg to question whether considering them too low and abject to be taxed is not a fair reason with a savage and simple people like these for them to form so low an opinion of themselves that, without any self-respect, they degenerate into a species little better than those who roam our forests. They are well aware that all their neighbours are taxed, and from conversation I had with one or two who spoke Burmese, I was led to come to the above conclusion, which I now have the honour of submitting to you. On one of the islands near Mergui are a few families of these people who have taken to cultivation. I have not as yet had time to visit them, as they are at some distance out at sea. The taxation I would recommend would be exactly the same as is levied on the other tribes of Burmese and Karens.

"I would, while on this subject, draw your attention to the following extract of a letter from Mr. Kincaid, an American Missionary, who visited these people in 1836, now 20 years ago. He says:—They (the Salones) are very poor too, having no houses, no gardens, no cultivated fields, nor any domestic animals but dogs. I never saw such abject poverty, such an entire destitution of all the comforts of life.' Thus wrote one who had seen and visited them 20 years ago, and so one would write of them to this day. Since 1836 some attempt was made by Major Broadfoot, Commissioner, by means of Mr. Brayton, an American Missionary, to teach them to read and write and convert them to Christianity. Mr. Brayton, I believe, baptised forty-six, and also established a school among them in 1846, but, owing to his going away, the school was abandoned, and, from what I can learn, nothing has since been done for them."

From the little that I know of these people, I am very much inclined to think that Lieutenant Burn's proposition will bear examination. I am aware that the people have a good market for the products he enumerates.

You are aware that it is a tedious and even difficult task to go about their islands with merely an ordinary canoe, such as we have at our disposal here. A small steamer I have long thought absolutely necessary to enable this district officer to supervise his officials properly, and generally administrate affairs with any approach to efficient management.

I took the liberty of submitting this proposition upwards of two years ago, on my first appointment here. It has been strongly supported by my successors, and received the notice of Government. Lieutenant Burn, who had the opportunity of seeing this district throughout two working seasons, has, you will observe, referred to it in his remarks on the Salone Islands.

VII.

From H. O. Montrie, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Mergui, to the Commissioner, Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces, Moulmein — dated the 20th June 1860.

In the preparation of the annual revenue and statistical returns, which it was my duty to submit to you at the close of the official year 1859-60, I was struck by the inadequacy of the data at my disposal on which I had, in the case of the Salones, to found these returns.

1 The passage referred to by Lieutenant Burn is to be found in Mason's Tenasserim.
You are aware that one of the Salones is in the pay of Government, receiving monthly Rs. 10. I presume that this individual receives this pay more with the view of indirectly bringing him into communication with the authorities here, than as a remuneration for the performance of any specific duties: certain it is at all times that he has hitherto done nothing to entitle him to remuneration.

You will have remarked that the information yearly supplied to your Office having reference to the Salones may be said to be stereotyped, as the returns do not vary.

Enquiring into the causes of this, I ascertained that the practice had been to draw the Salone Thoogye's pay monthly, and to hand it over to the jemadar of the general guard, who was supposed to pay it to that individual whenever he presented himself at Mergui to receive it. As this practice evidently failed to meet the requirements of the case, I immediately directed its discontinuance, and forbade the issue of any pay to the Salone Thoogye, unless he presented himself at my office to receive the money.

Consequent on this order the Salone Thoogye presented himself before me yesterday, and I took the opportunity afforded by his presence to elicit from him as much information as I could regarding the peculiar race of beings over whom he is supposed by his position to exercise control.

So far as I can learn from office records but little is known regarding the Salones, and as it is highly improbable that I shall have the opportunity of otherwise placing on record the information I have become possessed of, which may at some time prove useful, I have thought it best to embody the result of my enquiries in the shape of a letter to you.

The Salone Thoogye informs me that his people are at present located on four islands of the Mergui Archipelago, named by him Zadet, Sumpee, Buttay, and Doung. The first corresponds with St. Mathew's Island; the third with Pink or Sir R. Owen's; the fourth (I think), Lord W. Bentinck's; and the second, Sullivan's or Sumpee Island of our charts.

He estimates the number inhabiting these islands as follows:—On Zadet Island about 49, on Sumpee about 55, on Buttay about 59, and on Doung Island about 46 families, giving about six souls as composing a family. This last estimate is evidently too high, but, remembering the number of children I saw with the families located in Paway Island, in March last, I think we shall be justified in assuming five as a fair average number of young and old in a family. The Thoogye himself has six children, hence perhaps his fixing a high average.

The Thoogye's estimate would, if adopted, give a total of 1,200 souls, and, subject to my correction, 1,000 souls, — a far higher number than you will find entered in the returns.

The Thoogye, Oo Pay by name, was, I learn, first invested with such official authority as his office may be supposed to result in, by Major Birdmore, and he appeared before me looking very unhappy under the penance of continually adjusting a peon's belt with a brass-plate which was placed across his shoulders by that officer.

Oo Pay possesses such acquaintance with the Malay and Burmese languages as enables him to converse with difficulty in both.

It appears that each island colony has its headman. Their names are — in Sumpee, Pu Kam; in Buttay, Lo Wuy; in Zadet, Choe Doot. Of Lo Wuy my informant gave me the worst possible character: perhaps jealousy may have occasioned this, as the number of families under the jurisdiction of Lo Wuy on Sumpee exceeds that on Doung. Oo Pay's particular charge. Lo Wuy is, Oo Pay informed me, much addicted to intemperance; he described him, exhibiting the most expressive countenance at the time, as a 'perfect devil.'

I was under the impression that the Salones were decreasing in number yearly, but Oo Pay contradicted this. From his statements it would appear that both cholera and small-pox have this year prevailed among the tribe. He estimated the deaths from cholera at 14, and
from small-pox about 40. Non-adults were most obnoxious to the latter disease. These figures refer to the Deang population, which would probably suffer most, as most exposed to the risk of infection or contagion from their greater intercourse with, and proximity to, our coast villages or Mergui itself, where the diseases have had, so to speak, their head-quarters during the last year.

I questioned Oo Pay closely as to the treatment pursued with sufferers from sickness. The Salones depend for recovery solely on supernatural aid. Three men in the tribe are supposed at present to have the power of invoking the aid of the evil-spirit. They perform a sort of “devil dance” round the sufferer; the spirit, if they are successful, is understood to draw out the disease through the arm of the patient; and Oo Pay knows old people who have witnessed the appearance of the evil one embodied in the shape of a bit of broken glass, but has not himself been so fortunate as ever to have had an interview. Possessed of the disease from which the patient has by him been relieved, the devil, in his turn possesses himself of the person of the individual who was successful in obtaining the happy result. He is invariably a thirsty devil, and Oo Pay has seen a whole jar of shanabluq drunk off by the possessed man. He took the trouble to explain that though the man actually drank aqua vitae, it was not for his own, but for the enjoyment of the spirit in him. It is to be supposed that the evil-spirit vanishes with the fumes of the imbibed liquor, but Oo Pay was not clear on this point, and was evidently disinclined to go deeply into the subject. When the sick man recovers, the “medicine-man” receives remuneration: should his intervention be unsuccessful, none.

I learnt from the Salones I came across on Paway Island that both sick and dead were customarily deserted, the dead being placed on a small and covered raised pandal, when they were left to decay, the spot of, so to call it, interment being left unvisited till sufficient time had elapsed to ensure the disappearance of the remains. As regards the mortally sick, I was told they were made as comfortable as possible, and left to Nature, being supplied with food and a boat; that sometimes they recovered, and the boat enabled them to rejoin their friends. Oo Pay states that this latter practice is not universal. I rather from his manner, and the positive statements of the Paway people, doubt him; he admitted that though his own Deang people did not subscribe the custom, yet the Sunpee people did.

Questioned regarding the domestic relations existing among the Salones, Oo Pay assured me that polygamy did not exist. The marriage ceremony, as described by him, is simple. The man, in the presence of the elders, presents a piece of white cloth to the parents of the bride, and to herself some tobacco, pita leaves, and other such trinkets; an admiring circle sit round and “talk and laugh,” and the couple are henceforth man and wife. If the bridgroom is not a sufficiently wealthy man to possess a boat of his own, the couple, till in a position to maintain a separate establishment, reside with the parents of the bride. It is not usual or necessary for the parents of the bridgroom to make any presents to anybody on the marriage.

Oo Pay displayed considerable astuteness, combating my efforts to elicit from him the mode in which the offenders were punished, telling me that any one who stole or did other wrong would in due course be brought before me by him. He, however, said that before the Salones came under British sway, in cases of homicide, the life of the man-slayer was held forfeited, and taken by the friends of the slain. I rather opine that in this respect what was, still is. I know of no case on record in which Oo Pay has summoned offenders in any way to Mergui.

Money appears to be easily earned by the Salones, but to be invariably spent on consumables or converted into a supply of the articles they use but cannot manufacture at the place and time of receipt. Mats are the circulating medium among themselves. A boat can be purchased for 30 mats, a fishing spear for four, and so on. The mats in question are neat, and such as may occasionally be seen in hot Indian stations, used as a covering for couches or
beds, being cooler than anything else. The Salones, who generally fall into bad hands when they visit our villages and conclude most of their bargains in the arrook-shops, get an average price of four annas per mat at Mergui. The mats are in demand. I paid a Rupee for one the other day. They are chiefly made by women, and a woman does not occupy more than a day in completing a mat. As I have elsewhere mentioned to you, one of the most valuable of the articles in which the Salones trade is a sort of flexible and waterproof covering for boats, manufactured from the leaves of a plant which are stitched together with bamboo-splinters. These are made in a very short time, and sell here for eight annas a piece. The leaf is not, I believe, obtainable on the mainland, hence the high price realized for these simple, but most useful, articles of traffic. The Salones also bring to market sea-slugs, sea-snails, béche-de-mer, wax, fish, and mother-o'pearl.

Oo Pay informs me that though he has, as it were, divided the Salones into four settlements, yet that they constantly leave one of these to join another, and that these recognize him as having supreme authority. I am afraid he is sufficiently civilized to be aware that truth is not always consonant with the furtherance of his personal interest, and that he connects assumption of supreme authority with retention of his monthly stipend. I should doubt his having much influence over Lo Way, whom he so heartily abuses, or the immediate following of that individual: similarly with the other headmen and those who acknowledge their rule. He states the headmen he names (see supra) are all aged, about his own age, which I should say was between 50 and 60. These men, I believe, occasionally visit Mergui, and they should be encouraged on such occasions to present themselves, as from them much information might from time to time be obtained regarding the Salones.

I have told Oo Pay that I shall expect him to be able to speak with some greater certainty than he now can regarding the number of the Salones, etc., when he visits Mergui after the termination of the south-west monsoon and has had an opportunity of seeing the Southward islands. His knowledge of numeration being limited, the population return is to consist of a bundle of sticks with notches on them, showing boats (their houses), men, women, and children of both sexes. He seems willing, and with encouragement might be made more useful than he has hitherto proved. He estimates the number of boats in the possession of the Salones at present at 140. This scarcely corresponds with the estimated aggregate of souls, but it is possible that they manage to pack into them when moving from island to island.

I may mention here, as you may possibly never have seen a Salone boat, that it differs much in construction from, and as regards seaworthiness and elegance of shape is far superior to, the ordinary Burmese boat. The bottom of the boat is solid wood scooped out and opened; rising to the total height of the boat at each extremity, but almost flattened in the centre; yingas sticks, thick in the centre, and tapering to each extremity, though round, are bent into the rounded form of a boat's side and neatly placed one above the other. The ends being smaller than the centre, they are easily compressed into the required space at stem and stern, so as not to interfere with the general symmetrical appearance of the boat. The interstices are caulked with damper. The objection to this boat is that the yingas portion of them requires annual renewal and the process is not easy. To the sufficient beam given to these boats, as compared with those in use with Burmans, may be attributed their possession of greater buoyancy and safety in a rough sea. At the stem and stern, a semi-circle is scooped out: this gives to the boat an odd look, but the object is patent; were it not for the step which is then formed, the younger children would be unable without aid to get into or out of the boats. Siamese sometimes build similarly with yingas, but the crescent-shaped bow and stern is never adopted by them, and invariably distinguishes the Salones' boats from all others.

The Salones possess a host of most mangy, ill-fed dogs. They seldom lose an opportunity of adding to the number. These dogs are employed in hunting wild pigs, with which some of
the islands in the Archipelago abound. As the common village dog is seldom an adept at, or inclined to receive instruction in, hunting, when he first gets into the hands of the Salones, he is subjected to very severe training. Fresh from the streets of Mergui, or other coast town or village, he is deposited by his new master on the first convenient uninhabited island presenting itself. He either dies of starvation, if too indolent to hunt for his subsistence, or soon learns to catch his prey. In a couple of months he is sought for, and if found alive is reclaimed and taken home. The dogs seem, with the exception of being badly fed, to be kindly treated after their initiation into Salono life, and I was amused at Paway by seeing them following their masters into the water, when they approached wading to my boat. On my landing every woman might be seen holding a child or two under one arm and a dog under the other, the precaution being adopted in the case of the latter to prevent any noisy demonstrations or misbehaviour.

Oo Pay states that he is not aware of any specific violence towards the Salones on the part of the Malays, and ignored all dread of them. His statements are at variance with those of the Salones I have previously had intercourse with, and if the Malays are really innocuous, it is difficult to explain the cause of the consternation which is apparent among the Salones when they first find a strange boat in their neighbourhood. At Paway the whole settlement took to the jungles as soon as it was evident that my boat was coming to theirs, but when we were sufficiently close to enable them to discover who we were, dogs, women, and children again emerged from the jungle; questioning them as to the cause of their hasty concealment of themselves, they told me that they had mistaken us for Malays, by whom they had only ten days previously been plundered.

The costume of the Salones scarcely supports the maxim that “simplicity adorns.” That of the males is the familiar dress of the Madras catamaran men; that of the females is scarcely more elaborate or decent; a strip of dirty cloth wound once round the waist and between the legs completes it. Oo Pay had evidently, when coming to me, either bought or borrowed a set of clothes which fitted him ill and made him very uncomfortable, and his patago gave him as much trouble as did his belt of office.

That the Salones do not progress in civilization I think I may presume, for if they have done so, they must have commenced from a lower degree in the scale of humanitv than is compatible with their supposed ameliorated condition after 30 odd years of occasional intercourse with ourselves and those subject to our influence, as they are still low in the list of uncivilized savages.

It seems rather a reproach to us that such a nation should exist under our rule uncared for and unnoticed, but at the same time it is not easy to suggest what efforts to improve them would prove most effectual. There have been no failures or successes to aid us in forming an opinion on this head that I know of.

I think that one step towards reform would be to prevent their falling into the hands of Chinese sharps, when they visit Mergui, by forbidding the sale to them of opium or shamas. At present with them a trading excursion here ends in a debauch, and they squander in an hour the fruits of days of toil, besides steeping themselves in degradation. If it is worth while to keep Oo Pay in pay, the plan might be adopted of also nominating the other headmen Government servants, giving them lower rates of pay, three or four Rupees a month, anything sufficient to induce them to come to Mergui to receive their pay, and the difference in pay would elevate Oo Pay in their eyes and increase his influence. He is, as far as can be learnt, of steadier habits than the generality of his tribe.

Deprived of the opportunity of spending his earnings in drink, the Salone might learn in time the value of money by finding himself the possessor of articles he would consider as luxuries. As his household goods increased in quantity and value, it might occur to him that
a house was a more desirable abode than a boat, and gradually their location might assume a greater degree of permanence, dependent, of course, on the degree of protection we afford them from Malay dacoities.

At present, Oo Pay may rule in Doung, but I doubt altogether his having the slightest influence elsewhere for good or evil. I do not think that it is generally known how frequently the Salones visit our villages. I daresay I have seen this year from the window of my house, by two and three at a time, a hundred Salone boats on the beach of Mergui. Such frequent communication with Mergui would, I think, make them acquainted in some degree with our modes of government, and familiarize them with the dreadful word "taxation." As I have elsewhere stated, I consider these people by no means poor; and though tax them as you may, their revenue contributions could never amount to much, yet I would tax them on the principle that tax-paying would inculcate on them the necessity of looking beyond the morrow, and habits of frugality are a capital foundation for improvement. The tax or tribute exacted I would receive in kind, so many mats per male per annum, and make Oo Pay responsible for collection. The whole tribe should be annually collected on some certain fixed island to receive a visit from the Deputy Commissioner, pay their tax, and state their grievances; if any, the revenue collected being spent on articles suited to their use which might at these annual gatherings be distributed as presents. This would probably prove inducement sufficient to ensure attendance, and if they learn that we do not, with the rest of the neighbouring world, look down on them as wholly beneath our notice, we shall soon find them making efforts to render themselves more presentable and deserving of our favour.

I fear that I have been led to write at too great length on this subject; but it is one I take a considerable interest in, and I can offer no other apology for the lengthiness of my letter.

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND Custom.

BY J. M. CAMPEL, C.I.E., I.C.S.
(Continued from Vol. XXVI. p. 104.)

Tattooing. — Hindus believe that tattoo marks scare or house spirits. In the Karnatak most Hindu women tattoo on their bodies the figures of the padma or lotus, the śāṅkha or conch-shell, and the chakra or discus, the chief weapons of Viṣṇu. Of the origin of tattooing, the Brahmans say that Viṣṇu, the wife of Viṣṇu, told her husband that whenever he left her alone she became frightened. Viṣṇu took his weapons and pressed them on Lakṣmi's body, saying that the marks of his weapons would guard her against evil. Following this example, Hindus tattoo their bodies that no evil may befall them.42

42 Information from Mr. Inamdar.
In South India, almost all young girls have their arms marked with flowers. The Jains of East Bengal wear three strokes on the brow over the nose and three on the temple, apparently the forerunners of sacl-marks and made with the object of frightening spirits. The Karens of East Bengal wear three red lines radiating from the seat of their breeches. The lines were formerly marked on the skin. In Gujran, in Western India, carriage bullocks (1820) are tattooed with tigers and flowers. Tattooing is common among the Burman tribes along the east frontier of Bengal. The Burmans tattoo their bodies with the figures of lions, tigers, elephants, rats, and birds. Some of these marks are special charms against evil spirits and diseases. All Burman boys get their thighs tattooed. By some Burmans tattooing is resorted to as a medicine. Chin women tattoo their faces to prevent their being carried off by Burmans. Friar Oderic in 1321 found a singular generation in Sumatra who branded their faces with a little hot iron in some twelve places.

The Andamanese tattoo their heads and paint them with clay. The custom of tattooing is carried to great perfection among the Motu women, whose bodies are covered with tattoo marks resembling fine lace garments. The Motus tattoo as olive leaf in the clavicular region of their bodies. In the Melville Islands, the people gracefully tattoo their bodies like the lace on a hearse's jacket. The Samoans are elaborately tattooed. The Papuans of New Guinea make scars on their shoulders, breasts, and thighs. The skin is cut with a sharp instrument, and white clay or some other earth is rubbed in the wound. The Papuans of North Guinea tattoo crossed swords and daggers on their bodies. West Australians almost invariably tattoo their shoulders, backs, and breasts. Hay describes in North-West Africa a tall and aged Muslim man with round his neck the tattooed representation of a chain with a cross hanging to it.

In North Africa, the chins of high-class Muslim girls are adorned by figures burnt into the skin with gunpowder. In modern Egypt, both men and women tattoo parts of the body. The people of Mecca tattoo their boys, and, in some cases, their girls, faces by drawing three cuts down each cheek and two cuts across each temple. In Central South America, the big rubber race of Guaycurous tattoo the face, paint the body, bore the lips, and shave the heads except a top-knot. The people of the South Sea Island of Tanna make tattoo-marks in the shape of fish and of leaves. Among the Samoans girls are tattooed when they come of age. In the Fiji Islands, women only are tattooed. In Micronesia, east of the Philippines, tattooing is general. No untattooed girl can be married. The gods will not accept an untattooed man as a sacrifice.

The following instances show the antiquity of tattooing. The ancient Ethiopians painted the images of their ancestors on their bodies, apparently with the object of honing the ancestral spirits and making them guardians. Among the Thracians (B.C. 450) to be tattooed was a mark of noble birth. The archaic Greeks tattooed their face, arms, and breasts. The
ancient Britons tattooed their bodies with wood or wad prepared from the *indigo* plant. The fondness for tattoo marks among most European nations seems to be mainly due to the dislike of giving up what was once believed to be lucky.

These examples suggest that, like other forms of ornament, the root-object of tattooing is to secure luck by the two familiar methods of scarfing unsacrable spirits and housing sacrable spirits as guardians. That in origin tattooing is religious or lucky, and not simply ornamental, is supported by Reville's remarks on the Polynesian tattoo. The Polynesian tattoo marks are made by incising, with the help of a sharp-toothed comb, dust of the *ancutus triletum* nut. The dust is inserted under the skin by a priest, and, while the marking is in progress, the priest and his family sing songs in praise of tattooing. Lizards, sharks, and birds are common tattoo marks, but the luckiest shape is that of the person's guardian badge or *tiki*. Again, Reville writes: "The tattoo mark is a divine badge or livery. While he is being marked, the victim is *tuku* or sacred, because during the marking his guardian touches and seals him. Slaves were not tattooed, women were a little, and among freemen the higher in rank were the most marked." Contrary to the general rule, the highest in rank were unadorned by tattoo-marks, because, says Reville, they were already part of the divine tribe. The sense seems to be that the object of marking ancestral and other guardian shapes was to enable the guardian to pass into the person tattooed, any person in whom the guardian already dwelt required no tattoo-mark or other fresh guardian entrance. This view is supported by the practice in Tonga Island, where the high priest (in whom the guardian dwells) is the only person who is not tattooed. That the tattoo-mark is a guardian entrance is in agreement with the general English belief that *moles and other natural skin marks are lucky*. Further, that the basis of the luck in skin spots is that they are spirit entrances is shown by the practice of the seventeenth century English witch-finders, who drove pins into moles and other natural marks to discover the place through which her familiar passed in and out of the witch's body. A similar belief seems to be the basis of the Jewish prohibition against offering in sacrifice any animal which has on its body any mark of the nature of a spot or blemish. In another passage Reville says: "The object for which the Polynesian is tattooed is the same as the object for which the Hottentot performs his religious dances, namely, to make him unite with the deity." That is, in simpler phrase, to give the guardian a door of entrance either into the dancer or into the person who is tattooed. Once more Reville says: "The tattoo-mark is to the Polynesian what the shaven circle on the crown of his head is to the Catholic priest." This seems correct, as the original object of priestly tonsure is to allow the guardian to pass through the air in the priest's skull, a way by which the guardian has previously entered through the virtue of the laying on of hands in consecration. It may be objected that certain tattoo-marks, and also the belief that the tattoo-mark is lucky because it scares evil influences, belong to a stage of thought when the mark was held to be a scare and not an entrance. This difference of view may at first seem to amount to a contradiction. Still, as has been more than once noticed, the difference between scaring evil influences and housing good influences disappears when it is remembered that by housing it the angry element in most spirits is appeased and the spirit becomes friendly, according to the law, the guardian is the squared fiend. Reville notices that the Palans of West New Guinea wanted to tattoo the English, while the Ratakis in the extreme East would not tattoo the English. The explanation apparently is that the Ratakis, like the Tahitians and the Mexicans, held there was a sacrable element in the strangers, and that, therefore, the guardian might pass into and dwell in them. On the other hand, the Ratakis, like the Chinese, saw nothing but the unsacrable or devil.

element in the strangers, and refused to tattoo them, lest, through the marks, the guardian might pass in and suffer or be enraged.

That the general object of tattooing is to house ancestral spirits finds support in the similar African practice of adorning by scars. Denham noted that among the Tibboes of North Africa most men had scars which denoted rank and were considered an ornament. One chief had a scar under each eye, and a half-moon star on his brow. The sense of these ornamental scars seems to be to provide an entrance into the warrior for the ancestral spirits who gather before an affray and who enspirit or hearten their descendants. The belief that a wound is an entrance or passage is probably connected with the widespread blood-sucking or vampire beliefs. It is preserved by Shakespeare, who twice makes Marc Antony describe Caesar's wounds as dumb mouths opening their ruby lips.

Threads. — Among Hindus the belief is strong that spirits fear the Brahman sacred thread. In the Kônkan, when a Brahman boy sees the spirit Hadal, he shows her his sacred thread, and the spirit flees. Brahman boys are believed to be specially liable to spirit-attacks before they are girls with the sacred thread. Among all high class Hindus, when the bride and bridegroom are married, they are made to sit facing one another, and are encircled with sacred threads. At the wedding of a Dekhan Râmôli a Brahman passes a thread four times round the neck and shoulder and four times round the waist of the bride and bridegroom. The Agarval Vânîs of Poona wear either a sacred thread or a necklace of tulsi beads. The Ahmadnagar Mhârs pass a yellow thread seven times round the necks of the bride and bridegroom, and on the fifth day after a birth they lay before a silver image of Satvâl a coil of thread, food, and flowers. Many classes of Hindus in Bîjâpur, at the turmeric rubbing before a wedding, make the bride and bridegroom sit in a square called suri, at each corner of which is a water-pot round whose necks a thread is several times passed. The Lôhârs of Belgaum put on a sacred thread two days before marriage. The Sêgar Gavandis of Shêlâpar, on the naming day, tie a thread round the child's wrists. The Barkhûl Vânîs of Kâñara put on a sacred thread on the wedding day. The head of the Kondu Vandlus, a wild tribe in the Northern Sirkars, wears the sacred thread. Gujarát Jains do not wear the sacred thread, but in worshipping their idols they wear across their shoulders a silken tape, a piece of cloth, or a golden chain hung in the way a Brahman wears his sacred thread. In Southern India, sacred threads are at all times worn by Brahmanas, Jains, and Kshatris, and by Vaiṣyâs and Pîchâchis on their wedding day. Hindus when girls with the sacred thread are called duvinâ or twice born. All Hindus at the time of performing funeral ceremonies shift the sacred thread to the right shoulder. The Parsis wear a sacred thread called kasti.

Umbrellas. — The umbrella is considered by Hindus to be holy or rather to be a guardian. So the umbrella held over the bridegroom's mother in a Chitpavan wedding is called abhâgir pîchhâtra or the guardian umbrella. Poona Marâthâs on the eve of the Desahra (September-October) festival worship an umbrella, repeating the prayer: — "O thou who art the shade of prosperity guard our king." The Dhruva Prabhâs of Poona, before a thread-girding, set up a pole and tie an umbrella to its top, and also a handful of dry grass and a couple of coconuts. Similarly, at their marriage and thread ceremonies, the Pîchâchalis

83 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
88 Information from Mr. Bhumbâli.
89 Moore's Oriental Fragments, p. 312.
92 Julius Caesar, Act iii., Scene i., and Act iii., Scene ii.
97 Madras Jour. of Lit. and Sc. Vol. IX. p. 18.
and Sonârs of Bombay set up over the top of a pole an open umbrella and two coconuts. In most Hindu marriage processions an open umbrella is held over the bridgroom when he is escorted to the bride's house. Among the Sholapur Khâtūs, when a married girl comes of age, she and her husband are taken to the temple of a village god with two umbrellas held over them. At the weddings of the Belgaum Karûtars or shepherds, the boy and girl stand under an umbrella and grains of rice are thrown over them. The tomb of Asad Khân in Belgaum is surrounded by umbrellas and ostrich eggs. In the Bombay Presidency and in Southern India, many Hindu temples have silk umbrellas which on high days are carried over the idols when they are taken out. The Kâlhpâr title Chhatrapati, or Lord of Umbrellas, is highly valued by the Marâthâs, who hold that it belongs only to the descendants of the great Sivaji. The standard of the kings of Caicout was an umbrella. An umbrella was held over the king in Egypt, Assyria and Persia. The Assyrian umbrella was fringed with tassels and its top adorned with flowers. A long streamer of silk fell on one side. A white umbrella was held over the king of Ceylon at his coronation. The king of Burmah carried a white umbrella as a sign of royalty. In China, the umbrella is a token of rank. State umbrellas of the first and second order are adorned with the figure of a gourd. In Africa, umbrellas are used only by men of rank. The king of Dahomey is accompanied by four white umbrellas, besides parasols which are waved like fans. Gift umbrellas formed part of the show of Roman Catholic dignitaries. Pope Alexander the III. allowed the Doge of Venice to have a lighted taper, a sword, and an umbrella borne before him.

The following account of the religious element in umbrellas is taken from the Saturday Review: — Umbrellas, like lawyers and doctors, are an unfailing source of merriment to the good people who would fain be considered wits, but have neither the natural gift nor the retentive memory which is necessary to support the character. The word "gamp" is sufficient to demand a smile, and the implication that umbrellas are the creation of the devil to tempt otherwise honest men, and as much a legitimate prey to the human race as mice are to cats, or flies to lizards, is an unfailing draw, whether in a comic paper or an after-dinner speech. Old Jonas Hanway knew, when he brought his umbrella home with him from Persia, and braved the jeers of robust people who rather liked being wetted, what a benefactor he was to the English nation. If every laugh, every time it is but mechanical, draws a nail out of one's coffin, what a clog on the Birmingham nail trade the old traveller has proved! The custom of carrying umbrellas which he introduced, must have done even more good than Magdalen Hospital, of which he was the founder. Umbrellas have come to be put to a variety of purposes now that it is not considered effeminate to use them. They are handy at the cattle show for prodding fat beasts; old ladies signal omnibusses with them; less amiable people find them admirable receptacles for stolen goods; gentlemen with mustaches lay claim to military rank on the strength of carrying them tucked under the left arm; "mashers" do not disdain them if they are rolled up tight and not brought into use and vulgarity; some people even employ them for protection against the sun. None of these uses, however, represent the true purpose of the umbrella. It came from the East, and the purposes it is intended to serve are truly oriental. Negro kings do it, it is true, masquerade with umbrellas and strut about with much dignity under gaudy expanses of dyed cotton. But negro kings are known to have heterodox notions as to the uses of a good many things belonging to ancient or modern

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6 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
7 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXI. p. 70.
9 Information from Mr. P. B. Joshi.
10 Jones' Crown, p. 338.
11 Jones' Crowns and Coronations, p. 542.
13 Yule's Cathay, p. 51.
civilization. They use the tricolour of France for purposes of clothing, and the more advanced of them are said to supply the place of handkerchiefs with such flags. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that they debase the use of umbrellas. The limited number of the specimens available prevents them from becoming objects of prey; but otherwise than as guards for a procession they are not held in any great estimation, and the true spiritual purpose of the umbrella is as entirely lost sight of in Africa as it is in Europe.

The umbrella is properly a remnant of solar worship; and it is only the degeneracy of later times, and especially the levelling and democratic spirit of Europe, which has debased it to the paltry uses of keeping oneself dry, and, with a few ancient persons, not on that account to be accused of sun-worship or Sabean heresies, of warding off the fierce rays of the sun. The robust people of old times did not want to be protected from sun or rain. They were too hardy, and too much inclined to do nothing, unless they could not avoid it, to care for the elements. If there was a very heavy tropical shower, they simply got under shelter. If the sun was too hot for work, they were glad of the shade for being lazy. In any case their occupations were such as precluded the use of the umbrella as a mere effeminate means of protection. Even now-a-days the agriculturist does not hoist an umbrella when he ploughs his fields or hoes his terrains; and the nautical man, unless he be the captain of a Thames penny steamer, does not fear rheumatism so much as to unfurl a gingham. The primitive fisherman rather liked being wet than otherwise when he hauled in his nets. The rice cultivator absolutely dreads in slush. Umbrellas are not, therefore, necessarily a sign of the degeneracy of the human race, though superficial observers might think them so. The Siamese work, the Thia Chang, gives us the correct notion of their proper origin:—"The expression, San Konang (the three brilliant things)," says the learned author, "designates the sun, the moon, and the stars. These illuminate the world by the command of the Lord of the heavens, and disseminate their beneficent rays into all parts of the universe. To point the finger suddenly at them is a grave breach of respect, and merits grievous punishment." Here, then, we have the true first notion of the purpose of the umbrella. Weak human nature is unable so to govern its actions as to be uniformly mindful of the celestial powers. In the common affairs of life men are constantly pointing in all directions, and might inadvertently stare rudely at the sun, or the stars, or even at the sun, though there is not so much danger of that. In order to protect themselves against such thoughtlessness, and, moreover, to avoid the danger of unseemly actions and possibly disrespectful gestures in full view of the God of Day, the umbrella was invented. Consequently, when the article first came into use, it was most generally used in fine weather when the sun was high in the heavens, and thus was most liable to be offended. In rainy weather the danger was not so serious, for the great laminary covered up his face in clouds as with a veil, and it was not so necessary to guard against being rude to him. As a natural consequence, whenever it rained, the primeval sun-shade inventors put down their umbrellas and were happy. In latter days, sceptical people, who did not scruple to speak disrespectfully of the sun, let alone the stars, found the parasol—in the etymological sense—convenient for keeping off the rain; and, when the pious-minded were lowering their umbrellas, these heretical weaklings unfurled theirs to shelter their sorry bodies. Hence the modern desecration of the ancient implement of worship.

There are abundant proofs of the original religious signification of the umbrella, which, but for modern prejudices, would long since have established the sanctity of the article, had it not been for the levity which has been so long suffered to direct its jokes at the venerable survival. The mistletoe sinks to the level of "kiss-in-the-ring," the Pyramids serve as a means of support to rascally Arabs, the Derby horse drags a "growler," the Druidical stone is a convenience for uneasy cattle, and the pious sun-shade becomes an unwarrantably loaned umbrella. Is it not sculptured on the ruins of Nineveh and on the monuments of Egypt, where every detail of the carving shows that it is bright sunny weather, and that there is not a hint of a shower? In the fifth incarnation of Vishnu the Preserver, that chief of the Hindu Trinity
goes down into the infernal regions with an umbrella in his hand. In the Rig-Veda the god is represented as being the sun himself. We have here, therefore, a direct injunction from the very source of the worship. Nor are we without classical allusions to the proper use of the umbrella. In the Skilophoria, the feast of Athene Skiras, white umbrellas were borne by the priestesses from the Acropolis to the Phalerus, irrespectively of the state of the weather. Umbrellas were usual at the feast of Bacchus, where no doubt the votaries often got into a state which it was desirable to conceal. Aristophanes tells us that Prometheus had an umbrella held over him that he might not be seen by Jupiter, which gives us the original notion without any disguise whatever. The probability that harm will happen if the celestial luminaries are irritated by objectionable movements or demonstrations, is also borne out by the old traditions of all parts of the world. The Ojibways warn their children not to point with their fingers at the moon, on the ground that if they do, she will infallibly lose her temper and bite the rude digits off. It is a well-known fact that the moon is carnivorous. The Greenlanders say, when she is not seen, that she is out hunting seals. When she has been hunting long enough, she fattens into the full moon. The stories of German folklore tell us that the finger pointed at a star will certainly rot away, because the angels kill it. If the moon and the stars are so touchy, it is evident that the interposition of an umbrella between mortals and the sun is a still more imperative protective measure.

The umbrella having such a distinguished origin, it is not to be wondered at that in the East it is one of the chief royal insignia and is guarded from being put to too common uses by severe sumptuary laws. In Africa, it is not at all uncommon to find a tribe in possession of one umbrella only, and that umbrella, the distinguishing marks of the king — his entire regalia, in fact. But in India, and especially Indo-China, where Sabsim is not yet altogether dead, the umbrella is a very important State appurtenance; and the King of Burma, as every one knows, is not only Lord of the White Umbrella, but of all the umbrella-bearing chiefs. There is a very formidable etiquette of umbrellas. None but the King and the White Elephant may have white ones. The king has eight of them, duly carried round about him, all at once seven feet or more across, and elevated on twelve-foot poles. Englishmen who have unwarily expanded shades with white covers have expiated the heinousness of their offence by penance in the stocks, with nothing to shelter them from the avenging rays of the sun, kindled to unwonted anger by the bad language the victims make use of on the occasion. Next in estimation to the white umbrellas are yellow specimens, seldom conferred on any except queens and princesses who are in special favour. Golden umbrellas fall to the lot of princes of the blood-royal — when there are any — eminent statesmen, generals, tributary chieftains, and distinguished provincial governors. Then come in their gradations red, green, and brown silk-covered umbrellas, with deep fringes, or without them, and all of the most portentous width and elevation. All officials attached to the Court are allowed to signalize their distinction by varnishing their umbrellas black inside. The sun has thus the greater difficulty in detecting their trickeries and peculations. However much they may reverence the "three brilliant things," none of the umbrella-bearing chiefs are allowed to conceal their doings from these luminaries when they are within the palace precincts. If they offend against the sun and the moon, they offend equally against the king, and that potentate relieves the celestial bodies of the trouble of punishing them. The most distinguished may, indeed, carry their sun-shades as far as the palace-steps, but there the signs of dignity must be left along with their owners' shoes. The common rabble are even more exposed to the dangers of outraging the sun's sensibilities. Their umbrellas — poor things at any rate, and of Western dimensions, so that a good substantial sin under cover of them is an impossibility — ought not to be used near the palace stockade at all, and must certainly be lowered when they pass any of the gates. This is, without doubt, rather a hardship, but there is no denying that the Arbiter of Existence is more immediately dangerous than the moon and the stars, or ever than the sun, and the "three brilliant things" are therefore
systematically floated in the neighbourhood of the Golden Palace. It is, indeed, greatly to be feared that, though umbrellas are still emblems of rank and dignity, their primordial religious sanctity has been forgotten even in the East. Certain it is that there is no one now alive who is sufficiently scrupulous in the use of his umbrella to be able to intercede with the celestial powers and work miracles by the aid of his parasol. Even the pagoda-umbrella, spirit-like things with successive fringed circles one above the other, and undeniably sacred, are not put in their proper place, but stand beside the images, instead of over them. Though certainly it is not to be supposed that a sedate and holy image would under ordinary circumstances point or even stare rudely at anybody, far less the sun. Yet with all their fallings away from the original purpose of the umbrella, it must be conceded that Easterners use it far more against the sun than against the rain. Even we English preserve the tradition in the same umbrella, and have not fallen into the shameless French and German heresies of calling the article parasol and Regenschirm. We may abstract other people's umbrellas from the rack with as little compunction as if they had not a bit of sanctity about them, but we do not increase the heinousness of the sacrilege by clasping the reverend sun-shade with a pulpy mackintosh.

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 8. — Jambhu Râja.

Once upon a time in a certain country there lived a king. One day, while taking his siesta after the discharge of the affairs of State, he dreamt that a horse came into the gyâri, and that he would purchase it. With a view to testing the truthfulness of the dream, the king entered the market-place that evening, and found a beautiful, spirited horse standing there. He asked the owner whether he would part with the animal, and, receiving a negative reply, he left the place for his home.

The horse now took to refusing his food, and on seeing this, the owner thought within himself: — “Several kings have asked me to part with this animal, and I would not; yet for all that he never refused his food before. I am sore afraid that I may lose the horse, so I had better part with him to the first buyer.” A few days after this the owner of the horse, who was a merchant, was requested to be present in connection with some commercial transactions in the same market-place where the king had asked whether the animal was for sale.

The king again dreamt that the horse had come, and that he should buy him at any cost. Accordingly, on his way home, he went to the gyâri and found the animal. Giving the merchant the two lâkhs of rupees which he demanded for the animal, he got possession of him.

Still the horse would not touch his fodder, even when it was carried by the king himself or his queen in turn. It was only when the king’s daughter took it and placed it before the animal that he would eat it. Struck with the affinity which existed between the princess and the horse the king cast dice, and found out that the beautiful young lady was destined to become the bride of the animal. In due course, therefore, the father married his daughter to the horse and gave them apartments near the palace.

Now the horse was no other than Jambhu Râja changed into this form. At night he used to divest himself of his horse-covering and pass his time in the company of his wife without her knowledge! But this state of things could not last long, for she began to feel suspicious.
that her husband was not really a horse, so one night she pretended to be asleep, and saw her husband take off his horse-covering. She became possessed of it with great skill, set it on fire, and broke the spell to the immense joy of her parents.

In due course Jambhu Râjâ had a palace constructed close to the royal residence of his father-in-law. There, in the midst of pleasure and comfort he lived, loving and loved by his wife, and performing deeds of kindness to mankind. In his absence his two sisters sent by their mother came to the palace disguised, the one as a needle-seller and the other as a bangle-seller. In the midst of their duty they asked the Râgi her husband’s name, though they knew that she was her brother’s wife. As she did not know it, she promised to tell them on another occasion. After the lapse of two or three days they came again. In the course of their conversation, naturally and without arousing any suspicion, they asked the Râgi her husband’s name. On this she frankly admitted that she had entirely forgotten to ask about it. Thereupon the sisters gave her a needle telling her to stick it in her towel, so that when she wiped her face in the morning, it would come in contact with the needle, and she would be reminded at once. It need hardly be said that the needle pricked the Râgi’s face next morning, whereupon she ran to her husband and asked him his name.

“You will repent of it,” said the husband.

“No,” replied the wife.

“Do you really ask my name?” again said the husband.

“Yes,” returned the wife.

On hearing this the Râjâ ran to the brink of the river close by. Hardly had he uttered his name, “Jambhu Râjâ,” than he disappeared into the waters below. In due course he returned to his parents’ home, but complained of heat like burning fire throughout his body. Hundreds of water-carriers were employed to pour water over him, but nothing could cool him nor alleviate his acute suffering.

Now, after the Râjâ disappeared, the Râgi raved like a mad woman for a time. Then she became a gosâli, and started in search of her husband. Perilous and long was the journey she had imposed on herself; and though her courage sank within her at times, and her tender feet, unaccustomed to walking, became swollen, she walked on until she reached the confines of the kingdom of her husband’s parents.

Here, on the branches of a tree, a pair of chakwa chakwi birds were holding a close conversation.

“Our Râjâ’s son, Jambhu Râjâ, is suffering greatly from heat in his body,” said the male bird.

“Yes, dear,” said the female bird, “but there is no cause for anxiety. If any one were to collect our dung, and reduce it to powder, and apply it to his body, he would be cured instantaneously.”

Saying thus the birds flew away up into the high heavens. Our heroine, who was conversant with the language of birds, gratefully gave heed to the speech. Collecting some of the dung she reached the capital sooner than she would otherwise have done, weary and footsore as she was. The people that first met her gave a group of water-carriers whom she interrogated thus:—

“Sisters! sisters. Whither are you going with these pots full of water?”

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* Compare the legend of King Sûntânu.
* It is said that there are fires under the sea, Vâdavanâli, a mythological person, being in charge of them.
"Ah! don't you know? Are you new to the country?" said they. "Our old Rājā's son, Jambhu Rājā, is suffering from a malady. We are carrying water to pour over him in order to cool his body."

"Just so, sister; I am new to the country, having only just entered your Rājā's capital. Look at my haggard appearance and the dust on my feet. In the course of the day, after I have found a lodging and taken my meals and a little rest, I shall also follow you, carrying a pot of water, if you see no objection!"

Thus saying, Jambhu Rājā's wife dropped her ring, into one of the water-pots without their knowledge. It fell over the Rājā when the contents of the gāphā were emptied over him, and prepared him for his wife's arrival.

A few hours after, the Rājā, disguised as a panniḍrā (water-carrier), came in the company of the water-carriers. She formally poured the contents of her pot over her husband, so as not to arouse suspicion. Making herself known, she applied the dung of the chakeṣe chakeṣe birds to his entire body, and the burning pain left him entirely. The Rājā, sending for his mother, told her of his recovery, and desired that the water-carrier, who was the cause of this, should remain with him.

Now, the Rājā's mother was a bad woman, and she knew who the water-carrier was. Once she had asked her to plaster with cow-dung their dwelling-place which, by the force of her magic, she had made to bristle with sharp needles at every conceivable point. The Rājā divining this, wished for their disappearance, and no harm had befallen his wife.

Again the bad woman had wished for scorpions and centipedes in the house, and it was so; but Jambhu Rājā made them disappear before his wife plastered it. Thus his wife was saved from harm for the second time.

Still the woman was bent upon treating her daughter-in-law cruelly or doing away with her. She gave her a dirty sārī, well steeped in oil, and told her to wash it quite clean, or she would punish her very severely. Coming to know of this the Rājā asked the cranes (bagāā) to clean the cloth, and thus averted the punishment, which would otherwise have been inevitably inflicted on the ill-used young woman.

Chagrined at being thus frustrated in her attempts, the cruel persecutor gave to her panniḍrā daughter-in-law three khajāsī of grain to winnow. Again the Rājā came to the rescue and asked all the ants to clean them without losing one ear. They did so accordingly, but the Rājā's mother found one corn missing. Thereupon he said: "Come all ye ants and tell me who stole the corn," and a small timid ant threw out of her tiny mouth the missing thing. Then the woman inferred that her son had all along been protecting his wife from harm and persecution, and now took the extreme step of sending the Rājā to his betrothed wife's home with the following letter to the girl's mother:

"Your daughter's enemy (because of the would-be position of co-wife) is coming; poison or kill her at once."

She came back, however, none the worse, but safe and sound, to the great vexation and astonishment of the mother-in-law. How could she come otherwise, for the words of the note the Rājā substituted were as follows:

"My adopted daughter is coming, treat her very kindly."

Now Jambhu Rājā's mother wanted to celebrate his marriage with the betrothed of her selection, though she knew full well that he had married the disguised panniḍrā and loved her extremely. Indeed, the ceremonies began, and the marriage procession (bardā) started. In the procession the wife was converted into a torch-bearer and a torch was put into her hand. All of a sudden she caught fire, at which she cried out: "Husband, husband, my cloth is on fire."
"Not only your cloth, but my body and mind," replied the husband.

Saying thus, and taking his wife, the Raja translated himself through the mid-air to his former palace.

No. 9. — The Disguised Royal Thief.

In a certain country there once lived a king. He had a dutiful son who, on rising from his bed in the morning, used to prostrate himself at his father's feet. The father used to confer a blessing: — "May you prosper, and your prosperity be more than mine, yea, double." In like manner the son prostrated himself at the feet of his mother, who used to bless him: — "May your intelligence be more than that of thieves."

Now the prince thought of the strangeness of the mother's constant blessing, and made up his mind to test the intelligence of thieves. So one dark night, setting aside his princely robes and completely disguising himself, he left his home, and had not wandered long in the streets before a thief accosted him: — "Who are you?"

The prince, who had expected this, in order to establish a friendship, replied: — "Do you not know that I am a brother of the profession?"

"Well, come on," said the thief.

They had proceeded but a few paces, when another thief came, and after a while they were joined by a third.

As they were all walking in company, the first thief asked the second what qualifications he possessed. "Brother," replied he, "I understand the language of beasts. I can tell you the precise meaning of their cries. Will you kindly tell me yours?"

"Yes," said he. "If I see a man once in the night, I can recognize him even after twelve years."

When the third was questioned as to his merits, he answered: — "Brothers, I can tell you what is hidden in the palace, nay, in the bowels of the earth — gold, silver, copper, or whatever it may be."

The disguised prince was in trouble while this discussion was going on, not knowing what he should say in his turn; but a thought struck him in the nick of time. When at last the question was put to him, he said that he could save his brother-thieves from the gallows, if matters come to such a crisis.

The thieves that night had resolved to plunder the Raja's palace. So the thief who could tell of hidden wealth was consulted, and they started. On the way a dog barked, and they at once all asked the comrade who was conversant with the language of beasts: — "Brother, why does the dog bark?" "It tells us," said he, "that the owner is with us, and that we should be on our guard." "How could the owner be with us, you fool?" angrily retorted they, and proceeding on their course they approached the palace.

Now the prince was sorry that he should be associated with thieves in plundering his own palace. He did not relish the idea, much less the fact. Nor did the mere thought of losing the vast wealth accumulated for seven generations please him. He, therefore, deserted the thieves, and hastily reaching the palace informed the guards of their intentions and of their probable arrival within a very short time. The result was that the thieves were caught in the very act of laying their hands on the accumulated treasure.

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[a] This folk-tale is the most extraordinary conglomerate of stock Indian incidents that I have yet seen. — Ed.
[b] Narrated by Mr. Tikram of the Sitabali Buti Dispensary, Nagpur.
The day had dawned. The king was informed of the robbery, and in due course he had the thieves brought before the tribunal. He enquired into the grave charges against them, and finding them guilty, he ordered them to be taken instantly to death.

Now the thief, who said that he could recognize a man after the lapse of twelve years, went to the prince who was sitting to the right of his royal father, and, taking him by the hand, he exclaimed that he was one of them. Greatly surprised, the king asked for an explanation, and the son, taking him aside, rehearsed from the beginning, how his mother's blessing had led him to test the intelligence of thieves. He had indeed been surprised — one thief interpreting the barking of a dog, another telling of a state of the palace coffers, and the third recognizing a face seen only in the dark. He also told, how he had promised them to save their lives. "The time has now come," said the prince in conclusion, "for me to fulfil the promise, but the power lies with you, sire; so I beg of you to kindly grant the thieves their lives." The king from the kindliness of the heart complied with the request of his ever dutiful son.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLK-LORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 112.)

XXIII.

King Jayasratha of Panchala had a son who was gifted with much sense from infancy. One day, beholding the king, he asked him what the sure road to reputation was. The king replied: — "When you rule the kingdom, without oppressing the people, you must find out who are rich and who are poor, and protect the latter by giving them food and clothing from time to time. Thus will you obtain an extended reputation. But, however much you may bestow on the rich, no fame will accrue to you. To give you an example, if rain falls while the crops are withering for want of water, the cloud will obtain fame, but however much it rains in the ocean, no reputation can result to the cloud." Thus speaking and considering how clever the boy was, the king made over half his kingdom to him. The youth assumed the sceptre, confirmed the leases that had been given to the people, and finding out the poor caused food and clothing to be given to them, and cherished them much. He thus obtained great celebrity.

XXIV.

At Channapattanam lived an Englishman, who, as he knew no other language than English, kept an interpreter thoroughly conversant with the vernaculars of the country. One day some conjurers came to the gentleman, and, having fixed their bamboo, danced and displayed several feats of agility before him. The gentleman was highly gratified, and sending for his interpreter, told him to give them ten pagodas. The latter took them home, gave them one pagoda, and told them to go about their business. As they thought this a poor recompense for their trouble, and suspected that the interpreter had deceived them, they turned to the gentleman, and showing him the pagodas, informed him that his interpreter had given them only this much. As the gentleman was ignorant of their language, he sent for the interpreter and asked him what they were saying. He told him that among the ten pagodas he had given them, they said that that pagoda was a bad one and wasted a better one in exchange for it. The gentleman thereupon became very much enraged and ordered them to be well thrashed and sent away.

They who are ignorant of the vernaculars of the place they inhabit, and believes what others tell them, must necessarily be guilty of injustice.

XXV.

A Brāhmaṇ well versed in every branch of science, was journeying with his disciples on a pilgrimage to Banaras, and about sun-set one evening, met a young Brāhmaṇ boy, who was feeding a herd of cattle near a wood, of whom he asked the distance to the adjacent village, where he proposed to halt for the night. The boy responded: "Just look at me, at the cattle I am feeding, the forest, and the sun, and your question will be answered; for if the village was not very near, would such a young boy as I am be feeding so many cattle near a forest at this time of the day?" From this sensible response, the Brāhmaṇ formed a high opinion of the boy's abilities, and, following him home, told his father that the lad was too clever to be employed in feeding cows, and requested that he might be allowed to take him with his other disciples to Banaras, where he would educate him.
The father gladly agreed to the proposal, and the lad afterwards turned out a very brilliant character.

XXVI.

As a boy was sitting on the brink of a well crying bitterly, a thief came there, and, seeing him, asked him why he was crying. He answered that as he was playing, he looked into that well, when the pearl necklace that was on his neck slipped off and fell into the water. If he should go home without the necklace, his parents would thrash him; and on that account he was crying. The thief, thinking he would be able to steal it, said to him: "My lad, be not afraid, I will go down to the well and get the pearl necklace; do you take care of my clothes." Having left his clothes on the bank, he descended into the well, naked. As soon as he had got to the bottom, the boy took his clothes and ran away with them. The thief, having searched for a long time and not finding the necklace, came up again; but not seeing the boy anywhere, he exclaimed: "Even I, who am a rogue, have been deceived by a boy."

Moral: — However clever a person thinks himself, he may be outwitted by others.

XXVII.

There was a tiger in a certain wood who used to kill and devour all the beasts that inhabited it. One day he caught a wild buffalo, and while eating it, one of its bones stuck in his jaws. Being unable to extract the bone, blood and pus collected there and caused the tiger a good deal of pain. The tiger laid himself down under a tree, and in great pain opened his mouth, and exclaimed thus: "How shall I extract this? How shall I live? What shall I do?" In his distress he saw a crow upon the tree, and said to him: "O crow, you see the pain I am suffering from; if you will but extract the bone and restore me to life, I will give you as much as you want from the food I procure every day." The crow was moved by this supplication, and, taking compassion on him, entered his mouth, from which he took out the bone, and asked the tiger for the flesh he had promised. The tiger replied: "When you entered my mouth, I did not crush you under my jaws, but allowed you to come out uninjured. Ungrateful for this, do you ask me for flesh? Look to your business."

Thus people in prosperity often forget the friends who have served them in adversity.

XXVIII.

There lived at Dhârapura a Brâhman, who went one day into the forest to gather some fruit and flowers. At this juncture, a tiger came there, and the Brâhman, becoming afraid, tried to make his escape. The tiger, however, pursued and overtook him. In this sad predicament, the Brâhman begged him to spare his life for three days, that he might return home, settle his affairs, and take leave of his family. The tiger asked him what was to be done in the event of his not returning. He replied, there was no fear, for he would take his oath to return. The tiger having consented, he returned home to console, and after employing the three days in settling his affairs and taking leave of his family, he arrived at the prescribed time, at the place where he had appointed to meet the tiger, who was so pleased at his veracity that he allowed him to depart uninjured.

Thus a person who keeps up to his word is always respected.

XXX.

In Jayasthâla on the banks of the Kâveri, there lived a Brâhman, Durgâtha by name. As he was in very indigent circumstances, he used to go a-begging to four different villages, come home at about two or three o'clock every day, and cook his own meal and eat. Things went on thus for some time, and when on one day the poor Brâhman was plodding his weary way homeward, it came to pass that Ivâra and her wife were samânting in the heavens. Pârabti, the wife, unable to endure the sight of this poverty-stricken Brâhman, took compassion on him, and requested her husband to bless him with riches. Whereupon Ivâra replied and said that Brâhma had not written on his face that he must enjoy wealth, and that he must therefore live and die a beggar. Pârabti thereupon said: "Let me see how this Brâhman cannot become wealthy when we will it," and threw a heap of one thousand gold mohars on his way. The Brâhman came to within ten yards of the heap, when suddenly the thought struck him to see if he could walk like a blind man. He accordingly shut his eyes and passed off the heap of mohars on the way.

Moral: — The law of karma (fate) is inevitable.

XXX.

There was a Brâhman, Vasanthâvâjîr by name, at Srîramâpura, on the banks of the Tamrapûrâ. He conceived the idea of performing a yajña (sacrifice), and wanted four or five of the best goats for the purpose. He went, therefore, to a neighbouring village, purchased the goats, tied a rope round their necks, and was winding his way home, when four Sûdras wanted to appropriate the
goats to themselves. One of them, therefore, came and stood before the Brähman and said, "Why are you carrying a number of mad dogs?" The Brähman merely thought him a fool who confounded goats with mad dogs. He went on a little farther, when another of the Śrādhas put him the same question, and wanted him to take care, lest the mad dogs should bite him. The Brähman, on hearing these words, entertained a slight doubt in his mind. While pursuing his track a little further, a third of the Śrādhas came close by the goats, grew exceedingly angry, and began to rebuke the Brähman for letting loose a number of mad dogs on the way-farers. The Brähman, on hearing this, became certain that they must be mad dogs and tried to unloose them, when the last of the Śrādhas came up and wanted him to tie them up to a tree adjacent, as, by letting them loose, they would fall upon people and bite them. The Brähman thereupon tied them to a tree and ran away. The Śrādhas then untied them and took them home.

**Moral:**—An intelligent person can be duped by a number of men maintaining the same foolish opinion.

### XXXI.

In the village of Yachavāra there lived a Śrādra named Isukathakkākiḍigadu (lit., the holder of a quantity of sand). One day, he wanted to go to another village and started with a sērg of sand tied to the hem of his garment. At Māchavara, an adjacent village, lived another Śrādra, Pedathakkākiḍigadu (lit., the holder of a quantity of cowdung), who also wanted to go to another village, and started with a sērg of cowdung tied to the hem of his garment. They met each other accidentally in the evening, went to the same village, and seated themselves on the pīlō of a rest-house. Isukathakkākiḍi saw the bundle of Pedathakkākiḍi, took it to be a quantity of food, and resolved to reserve it for his own use, and so asked him what it was. Whereupon Pedathakkākiḍi, who entertained the same desires about the bundle of Isukathakkākiḍi, told him that it contained a quantity of food, and asked Isukathakkākiḍi what the contents of his bundle were. To which here replied:—"I have rice with me, but I regret I have not, like you, brought other food with me. I feel exceedingly hungry, but what can I do?" Pedathakkākiḍigadu, hearing the pitiful words of his friend, said:—"Do not feel sorry. Let us exchange our bundles. I do not feel hungry just now." They mutually consented to the proposal, exchanged their bundles, and each fearing the other went to a place afar off in different directions, untied their bundles and were extremely amazed.

**Moral:**—Entertain not thoughts of deceiving others, lest they deceive you.

### XXXII.

At Gannavāra lived a very poor Brähman, Divasarma, who eked out a livelihood as a beggar. One day, when he chanced to go to the adjacent wood for fuel for his sacrifice, he saw a huge tiger under a spreading banyan tree. Snarling with fear, he bethought him how best he could go home. There were a few lambs near the tiger at the time, who saw the shivering Brähman and that he had come in innocence of his danger; so they wished to devise means for saving him. The lambs therefore approached the tiger and said:—

"O King Tiger, your charity knows no bounds. Your fame extends over the four corners of the world. A Brähman has been here for a very long time, eagerly longing to see you." The tiger thereupon was overjoyed and told the lambs to fetch the Brähman to his presence. Then the lambs went to the Brähman, told him not to be afraid, and took him along with them to the tiger. Whereupon the tiger was exceedingly pleased with the Brähman, and presented him with some of the ornaments of those whom he had slain on previous occasions. The Brähman thereupon was filled with joy, took the jewels home, sold some of them and lived comfortably out of the proceeds of the sale.

Some time after, a neighbouring Brähman, feeling jealous of the former's situation, thought he could also make a fortune by going to the forest, and on going there saw the tiger surrounded by a number of foxes and dogs. These animals, thinking they might share the spoil, reported the coming of the Brähman to the tiger, and had him slain.

**Moral:**—People will assuredly come to grief if they approach a king when he is surrounded by evil councillors.

### XXXIII.

In Bengal (?) there was a king who built a huge fort and lived in it with a very large retinue, and was invincible so long as he remained in the fort.

Now, a tributary king (poligar) conceived the idea of somehow drawing the king out of his fortress, confining him in prison, and occupying his vast dominions. With this object, he went to the king one day and informed him that on the morrow his son's marriage was to be celebrated.
and requested the king to be present on the auspicious occasion. The king consented, but his minister heard the news, approached him, and said:—"You have entertained, I hear, thoughts of going to the Polygar's house. He is a man full of tricks and has large forces. I am sure he will do you some mischief, once you are away from the fort. Do not go to the Polygar."

To which the king replied:—"What care we how full of tricks he is? He has been so long faithful to us, and, judging him from his antecedents, he will not, we think, do us any harm. Had he entertained such thoughts, why did he not invade our dominions while we remained in the fortress?"

The minister replied:—"As you are invincible, so long as you remain in the fort, he dare not do you any harm. He therefore seeks your friendship. But should you once go out of the fort, you are helpless. He will not suffer the auspicious moment to pass away. He will show you then his spite. To give you an example, the lottes, so long as it remains in water, spreads forth its petals despite the heat of the sun, the sun all the while aiding it. But once it comes out of its proper element (water), the same sun makes it wither away. It is the same with the Polygar and yourself."

The king was exceedingly pleased with these words and refrained from going to the Polygar.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS—OBSTRUCTION BY THE BRIDEGROOM'S SISTER.

When a Hindū Panjābī brings home his bride, it is the custom for the sister to stand in the doorway and to prevent the bridgroom and his bride from entering the house until they pay her something. What is the meaning of this custom? The sister can have no claim to the house, for she is among the Hindūs parvīd dhon (a stranger's property), because she on her marriage leaves her parent's family and enters into another's family.

Gurdial Singh in P. N. and Q. 1883.

SPIRITS MUST NOT TOUCH THE GROUND.

The above is a common belief among the people; and you will sometimes see two bricks stuck up on end, or even two tent-pegs driven into the ground in front of a shrine to a bhūt (ghost) or satyād (shaivād), the malignant spirit of one who has met a violent death, for the spirits to rest on. This is probably why the vessel of water kept full for the use of the spirit for some time after death is put up in a tree; why the bones (phal) after cremation must never touch the ground, but always be hung up in a tree on their way to the Ganges; why a Hindū on a pilgrimage must sleep on the ground, and not on a bedstead; and why there are so many spots guarded by demons where it is safe to sleep on the ground only.

Denhil Isbetson in P. N. and Q. 1883.

OPPROBRIOUS NAMES.

One favourite device for averting the jealousy of the godlings is to give a child a name which conveys a contemptuous meaning: thus, if a parent has lost one child by small-pox, he will probably give the next child one or other of the following depreciatory names:

1. Mūrī, bad.
2. Rullā or Rāllū, explained to mean jīā kā pātā nāhīā hai (i.e., a person who can't be found, or who has wandered); in the south-west of the Panjāb, at any rate, rullā means 'wander'.
3. Kūrī, like the sweepings of a village.
4. Chhāryā, scavenger.
5. Chhīttār, an old shoe.
6. Chhōjā, as worthless as a chhōjā, or winnowing basket.
7. Ghsītīā, trailed along the route.
8. Nātīā, having a nāth (nose-ring) in his nose. The last requires some explanation. If a man has lost several male children, the nose of the next born is pierced, and a nose-ring inserted in order that he may be mistaken for a girl, and so passed over by the evil spirits.

A son is also clothed very shabbily if several of his elder brothers have died, no doubt because it is hoped that he will thus escape the notice of the godlings.

Musalmāns also shave the child's head, leaving only a single lock on one side, called "phē kā sukh," or propitiation of the patron saint; sometimes, too, they bore the child's ear, inserting a kaurī (shell) as an ear-ring. A full list of depreciatory names would be interesting.

J. M. Done, in P. N. and Q. 1883.
MISCELLANEOUS TRAVANCORE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY THE LATE RAO RAHADUR P. SUNDARAM PILLAI, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.

(Continued from p. 118.)

The Inscriptions.

Proceeding then to the inscriptions, I propose to record them in the order of their dates. As the collection is still continued, we shall have to insert later on in the series such of them as may be hereafter found to come between, according to their dates.

I.

Puravari Inscription, 335 M. E.

The earliest of the inscriptions with me which is yet to be published is one dated 335 in the Malabar era. It is found on the northern side of a mandapa in front of the old temple at Puravari-Chaturvedimangalam already referred to in another paper. It runs thus:

No. 41

Text.

1 17 [Svasti Śrī Kollam-tōj]i 335 mūndi-çhojana-mūndi-çhojana-

2 lār Kuruukku Tiru-maru-mārpaŋ Puravari Vīṇagārāvārkkku nittal nilam-āchandira-tārān-chelvātaka nām viṣa nilam-āvidu Iyvr en nilam Uttama-rāman-kalukku tērku kalārai-

3 kku mēkkā (vaḻakk-kā-kkalukku) . . . . . . . . Vīṣai-arivālukku

4 ki[jakk]u nāḷk-kollai nadu[n]īl nilam mukkasi-

5 yam Uttama-rāman-kalukku vaḻakk A(ru)vaiakkku mēkkā chaṭṭu-mukkattukku kijakk un-

6 tu(ru)valukku tērku Innaṅk-kollaiyil nadu-nil tava[r]ai nilam kanīyum āka nilam oru-māvum mēṛ-paṭi-yūril Saṅkara viṣaṅgaṇ Iyv-Aļvārku tiru-vamrukkku āchandira-tārān-chel-

7 vatāka viṣa nilam Iyvr oru-paṭi vahru da vaya-kā-

8 lukku vaḻakk kijakk Pū-vaṅgaṇkkku (terkum) Nāṭč-ińṭṭu-kūṇḍu-(o)-

9 lam × × Nāṭč-savaram-udaiyar dēra-dānagam Pirvavāiakkku mēṛkam Ināṅk-cl-

10 lai nadu-nil arai-māvrai-kkānīyum Iru-paṭi nilam Aṛtukku mēkkuk Āpavaraṅg-vayaṅkalukku tērku kundaraikkku kijakk Vopparaikkku vaḻakkk Inaṅk-kollaiyil nadu-nil kanīyil nila-

11 kān-i-raiṅkkānīyum āka nilam oru māvum Iyv-iṛ-

12 vō[m]um Innil[a]m Iranḍu [māvum kai-k] kōḍu Ṭu chem-

13 pilum veṭṭi-kōḷkaveṇḍu Tiru-paḍiyiḷ śir-vāṛṭṭu-kkūntṭum Iyv-Aļvār

13 See Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore, ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 257.
14 The number above the line gives the serial number of this new series and the one below the number in my register.
15 The word above the line indicates the characters and the one below the language of the inscription.
16 The stones bearing this inscription having been disturbed, the text has been reconstructed by bringing together bits of sentences engraved on stones now standing apart from one another.
17 Square brackets indicate words supplied and the small ones those indistinct and doubtful.
"Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to the year 353 after the appearance of Kollam, I, Tirumurumarpam of Kurukkudi (living) in Kotthar alias Mummudi-Cholanallur, make a gift of the following land, to support, as long as the moon and the stars last, the daily oblations to the god Vinnagar Alvar of Puravar, viz., my land named a, measuring mukhadi, situated in this village, and within these four boundaries, viz., to the south of the Uttamarman channel, to the west of Kalair, to the north of Vashakku Erkkal, and to the east of Vithayarival; and also my land called Tavari, measuring kani, situated in this village and within these four boundaries, viz., to the north of the Uttamarman channel, to the west of Aruvikanam, to the east of Chattumukkam, and to the south of Noduntuvaravai: the total making one mano of land; and I, Saikara-Vijanga, of the same place, make a gift of the following lands to furnish rice to this Alvar, as long as the moon and the stars last, viz., the land (measuring) aramavarakthad, among the one crop lands of this village situated within these four boundaries, viz., to the north and east of the Sernita Vayarkal (= Field-Stone), to the south of Tumurarai, to the west of Nanchinattu Kunjundalam and Piravai, belonging to the temple of Naichivarumadiyar, and also the land (measuring) kusaraikthad among the double-crop lands situated within the following four boundaries, viz., to the west of the river, to the south of Anavarasan Vayarkal, to the east of Kunjara, and to the north of Veppara, making a total of one mano; both of us solemnize the gift by pouring water at the holy steps and wish this gift to be entered in copper-plate. Thus do we, Tirumarumarpam of Kurukkudi and Saikara-Vijanga, make this gift to the servants of this Alvar. — Witness whereof our hands: Tirumarumarpam of Kurukkudi (signature), Saikara-Vijanga (signature), Sri-Raman on behalf of Vidyuram Sabha (holy signature). Thus do I know, Vijanga Saikara."

Unbounded must have been the self-complaisance of the two good men of these days, Tirumarumarpam and Saikara-Vijanga, as they wended their way back from the temple after having thus satisfied themselves of the security and permanence of their charitable endowment for all time to come. For, little could they have then dreamt that the very stones bearing the inscription would come to be pulled asunder and displaced so completely in a subsequent structure as to tax our ingenuity and patience in the attempt to piece together and find out the meaning of their lithe document. The stones as they are now found forming the basement of the mapalam give but a chaos of words that do not at all run into one another; and it is by suitable transpositions of their sections that we have been able to extract any sense out of them. As for the endowment itself, let us hope that the publication of this document will produce no needless qualms of conscience in those who now enjoy the property, no doubt on good authority and long possession. As regards the donors, both appear to have been men of Kurukkudi or Tirukkurukkudi in the Tinnevelly District, but long settled in Kotthar. Neither of their names, Tirumarumarpam (meaning one with the goddess of fortune in his breast) and Vijanga (meaning the unwrought), is now in current use. That one of the witnesses to the deed bears the name of the second donor inverted, Vijanga Saikara, would prove that the second donor at least was not without issue, and that in all probability the two donors were brothers, so that the signature of the son of the second was taken as sufficient evidence of the consent of the family to their free gift. Nothing else can we now know about these generous Vaishnavas of that day. Nor do we know anything of that Sri-Raman whose holy signature on behalf of the village association was held sufficient to indicate his
acceptance of the gift on the part of the temple authorities. In all probability, he was the Brahman manager of the shrine or the head of the temple servants. Neither of Vijaśyā nor of the Nāṁchēśvaramudaiyār temple mentioned in the document have I succeeded in gathering any information.

It is remarkable that the system of land measurement followed is the one that since the days of Rajarāja seems to have been in use in the Tanjoṛa District. It is in itself a wonderful system. It divides a veli equal to 6½ acres into a series of primary fractions \(\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{1}{4} \cdot \frac{1}{8} \cdot \frac{1}{16} \cdot \frac{1}{20} \cdot \frac{1}{80}\), and then into a further series of secondary fractions being \(\frac{1}{320}\) of the above series, and again into a tertiary series of \(\frac{1}{320}\) of the second, and so on, so that a kōli, kōli muddiri of a veli would cover nothing more than an infinitesimal portion of space measuring but \(\frac{81}{102400}\) of a square inch.

That the lands in Nāṁchināḍu must have been surveyed for revenue purposes in this fine system of measurement sometime before 335 M. E., the date of our present inscription, is proved by the description of the extent of the land endowment in terms of that system. The four pieces said to have been granted measured one mā, which in current measurement would make \(\frac{13}{40}\) of an acre or 32½ cents or 2½ paras of land. It will be curious to know when and by whom this Tanjoṛa method of Revenue Survey was introduced and carried out in South Travancore. It seems to me probable that it must have been due to some of the successors of Rajarāja, who conquered and ruled over South Travancore and Thanjavūr in the previous century. No trace of this system is discoverable in places nearer Travandram, nor does it now obtain currency either in the Madura or in the Thanjavūr Districts, proving thereby (1) that even in the palmiest days of the greatest modern Chōla power, places about Travandram or north Vēppid were not subject to foreign sway, and (2) that the Chōla power did not last long enough in places to the south of Madura to enable their system of land measurement to take root in the country.

On the use of the curious word edir (opposite) in the expression “the year opposite the year 335 after the appearance of Kollam,” about which there has been an apparently endless controversy, we shall comment on a future occasion, as in this case there is not the confusing double year notation which has given rise to it. “After the appearance of Kollam” does not necessarily mean after the foundation of a town called Kollam — appearance being scarcely an apt word to designate the construction of a city. It may mean here nothing more than “after the reckoning by Kollam years came into use.” We may, perhaps, note in passing that the king of Travancore about the date of this inscription was Vira-Bavivarman whose name we meet with in the following year in an inscription on the walls of this very temple.

Kōṭṭār Inscription, 322 M. E.

The next record in the order of date is one engraved on the southern wall of a mandapam in front of the Chōlapuram temple in Kōṭṭār. We have already referred to this shrine founded

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18 A good deal of confusion seems to prevail with regard to the unit of measurement in the Tanjoṛa system. Both Winslow and Dr. Holtzscher (see foot-note No. 4, page 92, Vol. I. of South-Indian Inscriptions) say that a veli is equal to 5 kōḷji. But the former estimates a kōḷji as being about 5 acres, while according to the table given by the latter it ought to be \(\frac{1}{122}\). Here kōḷji, of course, cannot mean the usual fraction of \(\frac{1}{80}\). Evidently, the kōḷji which Dr. Holtzscher gives as equal to 100 kōḷju must have been differently estimated in Sāka 1206, as an inscription of that date, No. 72, Vol. I., gives 32 kōḷju as making 4,000 kōḷji, i.e., 125 and not 100 kōḷji per kōḷji. This fact, as well as the diverse extent that a kōḷji may cover according to Winslow, from 1 square foot to a square of 12 feet, would point to the desirability of sticking to the fractional system in preference to the more modern but less uniform measurements in kōḷji and kōḷju.

19 See Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore, ante, Vol. XXIV, p. 255.
in honour of that great and victorious Chōja king Rājendra alias Kallētnāga, the hero of the Kalingattu Parāqī. It runs thus:

No. 3

Tamil

Tamil'

Text.

1 Svasti Śrī Kolla[m] 392 māṇḍu Kali-yoga-varsham nālāyirattu-maṅṣūru orapatṭālām-āṇḍi-
2 Ṛṣvedirāme-[āṇḍu viruchekha-nayirra Nāčchi-nāṭṭu Tira-kkōṭṭāraṇa Mummūḍi
Chōjanallūr-uṇḍiā-Thā-
3 jēndra-Chōḷiwa[ra]mmudaiya maḥā-dēvārka kōṭṭāraṇa Chōḷa-Kōralaporuttu-
khulattār Kēsvan-arṇasu vai-
4 tā Tiru-nand[ā]-vilakkku Oṉru Irviḷḷakk-oṅgukkum Iñat tania sechunu etṭu Ivv-achchet-
tum
5 Ik-ku[vi]-[Siva] Brāhmaśarām kaṅkāṇḍu poliyūṭṭaka muṭṭēmar-chandrāṅīttavār
chelattavum

Translation.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the year 392 opposite the Kaliyuga year 4317, the Sun being in Vṛışṭi (Scorpio), (the following agreement is made): — Kēsavaṇ Arṇasu of Kukattūr in Kōṭṭār alias Chōḷa-Kōralaporam arranges for a perpetual lamp to be lit in honour of the Mahādeva of the temple of Rājendrachōḷiśvaram alias the lord of Mummūḍi-Chōjanallūr, otherwise known as holy Kōṭṭār in Nāṭchirnāṭṭu, and pays for the upkeep of this one lamp eight aĉchu; and we the Siva-Brahmans of this temple, accepting this sum of eight aĉchu given by this man, promise, out of the interest accruing therefrom, to keep up the light without default as long as the sun and the moon exist."

But the sun and the moon of the Siva-Brahmans have long been set, and no unwelcome ray of light now disturbs the serpents inside. As regards the donor, what sin he was thus seeking to purge himself of or perchance what blessing to purchase with his eight aĉchu — an heir of his body or success in his trade? — it is impossible now to find out. That he was no king, though he bore the name Arṇasu, is clear from the way in which he is spoken of by the Siva-Brahmans. Ministers of religion generally know how to behave well and will never call a king "this man," particularly when he pays them aĉchu or coins of value. Whatever an aĉchu was worth it will be seen that eight of them were enough to yield such interest as to keep up a perpetual light. The word used for "interest" is poliţiṭṭu (feeding by multiplication), and there can be no doubt that it is from this root that the Malayāḷam word poliṭṭu is derived — the transition being marked by poliţi, which occasionally turns up in old inscriptions.

But the most curious feature of this document is the multiplicity of names used for Kōṭṭār. This old name seems to have successfully withstood all the Chōja efforts to supersede it with their own denominations. It seems to have been one of the peculiar ways of the Chōjas of the Parantaka dynasty to commemorate their conquests by altering the names of villages, towns, and provinces so as to flatter their own vanity; and the consequence was that Chōja geography came to suffer as much from the plague of homonyms as the kings themselves. In all probability Kōṭṭār was called Mummūḍi-Chōjanallūr — the good town of the thrice-crowned Chōja — in honour of its first Chōja conqueror — Rājārāja — one of whose śīradas was Mummūḍi. On its re-conquest by Rājendra, it became the seat of a shrine called after that famous emperor, and was accordingly known as Rājendrachōḷiśvaram or simply Chōḷiśvaram or Chōḷaporam. The term Chōja-Kōralaporam, which at the date of this inscription seems to have been the official designation for Kōṭṭār, would seem to suggest that some amicable arrangement subsisted.
about that time by which the Kāraṇa or Vēṇād prince enjoyed its possession under the sovereignty of the Chōḷas—a conclusion we have elsewhere pointed out as also otherwise probable.

Before passing on to the next inscription with me, I would request my readers to bear in mind the use of the perplexing word aitar, or “opposite,” in the phrase recording the date of this deed. Here it unquestionably means “equal to”—“the Kollam year 392 equal or corresponding to the Kali year 4517.” It may be also well to note in passing that this is a fine specimen of the Chōḷa style of inscriptions, where the Tamil-Grantha characters are freely intermixed with the Tamil ones. The king of Travancore about the date of this inscription was Sri-Vira-Rāman Kāraṇavārman whom our Kaṭṭinaṅkūlum record shows as having been on the throne just three years previously.

III.

Kōṭṭār Inscription, 396 M. E.

The next inscription I propose to present is one dated 4 years later, and inscribed on the same wall of the same shrine Rājendra-Chōḷāsvaram. It runs thus:

No. 3

Text.

1 Svasti Sri Kollam-tōṇi 396 maśaḷṇa mituṇa-nāyiru Nāṭchināḷa-Tirukkōṭṭār-anu mummudhi-Chōḷanallū’r Udaiyār
2 Irāṇendira-Chōḷāsvaram Udaiya Mahādēvar Sri-Koyilir Aṭār-anu vikrama Chōḷapandiyapurattu māḷṇ Parataṇ mitā Ekundarārū’ru
3 viṭṭa Kuṇram-eninda Pīḷḷaiyar-kuru Ṛṇgam amurtupaṭikku tanta aṭchhu 15 Ivras-achchu patiṇāṭchūm Ikkyōlir siva Bra-
4 hmaṉirōṇ-kaikkeṇḍu poliyēṭṭkē kai-kuṇḍu nittal nāḷari arisi-yūṅi-kaṟiyamurtam palakai-talaiyē-
5 1 alandu ṭāṭṭa amurtu Cheyippōṁ-sākavum Ippadī mutṭāṭēy[33] nittal niman tam-āka Chandratittavār Cheluttuvōṁ-āka

Translation.

"Hail! Prosperity! In the year 396 after the appearance of Kollam when the sun was in Gemini (the following arrangement was made):— Māḷṇ Parataṇ of Aṭār alias Vikrama-Chōḷapandiyapuram having given 15 aṭchhu for providing daily oblations to the image of Kuṇram Eninda Pīḷḷaiyar, set up by his mother in the holy temple of Mahādeva of Rājendra Chōḷāsvaram alias the lord of Mummudhi Chōḷanallūr, otherwise known as the holy Kōṭṭār in Nāṭchināḷu, we the Siva-Brahmans of this temple, accepting this sum of 15 aṭchhu given by this man, shall, out of the interest accruing therefrom, measure out every day on the temple pl斛 a nāḷ and a half of rice and the required vegetables, and, duly cooking the same, shall offer them as oblation. Thus do we promise to discharge this our daily duty without failure as long as the moon and the sun endure."

Here then we have an illustration of the manner in which idols multiply in temples. The good mother of Māḷṇ Parataṇ, anxious to secure special merit in the eyes of her favourite

[33] This y. or 1v at the end of this word is an obvious error.
[34] This is probably the pl斛 placed on the door-way of the temple.
[35] This expression might mean "after submitting the amount to be checked."
deity, set up an image of Kungam Erinda Pillaiyar or 'the young divinity who pierced the hill,' meaning of course Subrahmanyam with reference to his destruction of the mountain of Krauncha; and the temple authorities always encouraged the creation of such sub-shrines as it invariably tended to increase the temple endowments and to enlarge the establishment under their control. In this case, the pious son invested $15 achchus for the support of his mother's favourite deity, and since the interest thereon was enough to fetch every day one nali and a half of rice and vegetables, the amount could not but be regarded as considerable. Even at 12 per cent. $15 achchus could not have yielded as interest more than $13 achchus per year, which, putting aside the vegetables, was found enough to purchase 549 nulchas of rice or over 23 paras of paddy, assuming the nulcha of 396 M. E. to have corresponded to a nali of our own times. The achchus here referred to therefore must have been a gold coin certainly worth more than 10 of our modern depreciated rupees. Unlike the two previous donors, Paravan appears to have been a native of South Travancore itself, as Alur, his native village, is a well-known locality in the Ernelli Taluka, or, as it was then called, Ranaśágamallur. The term Vikramacholpandiyapuram used as a synonym of Alur is of course another illustration of the persistent Chola policy of creating a geographical nomenclature to suit their own vanity. The language of this and the previous inscription being in excellent Tamil, we have to suppose either that there were about this time learned men attached to the temple to draft out such documents, or that the great Chola conquest of Nārāyaṇa tended to the spread of general knowledge and learning. It is likely that this endowment was made like the previous one in the reign of Sri Vira-Rāman Kāralavaraman of the Kādinaṅguḷam inscription. 20

ON THE DATES OF THE SAKA ERA IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Concluded from Vol. XXVI: p. 291.)

Locality of the Era.

The earliest genuine inscription, the date of which is explicitly referred to the Saka era, is the Badamí cave inscription of S. 500, of the time of the Western Chalukya Mainvalīvarna and his elder brother Kṛṣiṇāvarman I, No. 13 of my chronological list; and the list contains altogether 15 dates of the Western Chalukyas of Badami, the latest of which is No. 89 of S. 679, of the reign of Kṛṣiṇāvarman II. We next have 30 dates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālikadeś and the Gujarāt branches of the Rāṣṭrakūta family, the first of which is No. 37 of S. 675, of the time of Dantidurga, and the last No. 89 of S. 904, which records the day on which Indra IV. died. Following upon the inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Kālyāna furnish 41 dates of the list, from No. 88 of S. 902, of the time of Tula II., to No. 128 of S. 1106, of the time of Sāmeśvara IV. Contemporaneous with some of these dates, we also have 9 dates of the Kālachuriyas of Kālyāna, the earliest of which is No. 179 of S. 1079, of the time of Bijaṇa-Tribhuvanamalla, and the

20 The unfortunate death of this valued Native contributor has brought this paper to an untimely end.

1 Among the dates Nos. 1-12 there are three (of S. 100, 279, and 588) from spurious Western Gaṅga, and three (of S. 202, 215, and 417) from spurious Gurjara inscriptions. The earliest date of the list from a genuine Western Gaṅga inscription is No. 28 of S. 890.

2 The chronological list actually gives 35 dates, but three of them (Nos. 34, 55, and 61) are reckoned here as belonging to the Śitala, and one (No. 79) to the Western Gaṅga, while one (No. 60) is not authentic.

3 The number would have been much larger if the Western Chalukyas had dated all their inscriptions in years of the Saka era. But Vikramāditya VI. mostly used an era of his own, the so-called Chalukya-Vikrama-sarabha or Chalukya-Vikrama-kīrti, or, in other words, he had his inscriptions dated in regnal years; and this practice of quoting regnal (and Jorrian) years only has been largely followed by his successors (as well as by the Kālachuryas).

4 A later date for this king is furnished by the inscription quoted under No. 137, which, as I now learn, is one of Sāmeśvara IV., dated in S. 1111 (not 1011).
latest No. 197 of S. 1105, of the time of Siṅghaṇa. The next dynasty to be mentioned is that of the Hōysalas of Dōrasamudra of which the list gives no less than 31 dates, from No. 189 of S. 1025, of the time of Ballāla I., to No. 274 of S. 1208, of the time of Nāmisīhna III. And another family which is well represented in the list is that of the Yādavas; for we have five dates of the Yādavas of the Śeṣuna country, the earliest of which is No. 95 of S. 922, of the time of Bhillama II., and the latest No. 165 of S. 1063 (for 1064), of the time of the Mahākāla of Bhūpadēva, and afterwards 32 dates of the Yādavas of Dēvasirī, from No. 207 of S. 1113, of the time of Bhillama, to No. 277 of S. 1227, of the time of Rāmacandra.

The history of the dynasties, hitherto mentioned, has been told from their inscriptions by Dr. Fleet, in his Dynasties of the Kannara Districts of the Bombay Presidency. Proceeding to the great feudatory families, treated of in the same work, we first have 21 dates of the Silāras (or Silāras, or Silāhāras). Eleven of them are from inscriptions of the Silāras of the Northern Koṅkaṇa, from No. 54 of S. 765 (?), of the time of Pulaṭaṇṭi, to No. 201 of S. 1105, of the time of Aparādiṇa; one, No. 58 of S. 930, is from an inscription of Raṭṭaṇaṇa, a Silāra of the Southern Koṅkaṇa; and 9 dates are from inscriptions of the Silāhāras of the Deccan, from No. 120 of S. 980, of the time of Mārasimha, to No. 210 of S. 1114, of the time of Bhōja II. Of the Raṭṭas of Saṃdattī there are 7 dates, from No. 88 of S. 902, of the time of Sāntīvarman, to No. 233 of S. 1151 current, of the time of Lakhmidēva II. Of the Sindas we have the three dates No. 91 of S. 911 (for 913), of the time of Pulikkāla, No. 110 of S. 955, of the time of Nāgāḍītya, and No. 190 of S. 1084 (for 1085), of the time of Chāvunda II.; of the Kādambas of Hāṅgal the two dates No. 124 of S. 990, which is of the time of Kirtīvarman II., and No. 137 of S. 1111 (not 1011), of the time of Kāmadēva; and of the Kāmadānas of Goa the only date No. 176 of S. 1018, of the time of Pernālī-Śīvāchitta. Lastly, of the Guttas of Guttal the list contains 8 dates, from No. 194 of S. 1103, which is a date of Jāyāдвāla I., to No. 256 of S. 1155 current, of the time of Guttā III.

To the times, covered by the dates which are enumerated in the preceding, also belong a number of other dates from the south and the eastern coast of India. Thus the list contains 10 dates of the Western Gaṅgas or Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi, the earliest genuine date of which is No. 62 of S. 809, of the time of Satyavākya-Śaṃgavera-Permānada, and the latest No. 87 of S. 899, of the time of Satyavākya-Śaṅgavera-Racchanāla-Permānada. Of Anantavarman Chōḍajagadēva, one of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara, the list gives four dates, from No. 133 of S. 999 to No. 190 of S. 1057. We also have four dates of the Eastern Chalukyas, from No. 78 of S. 867, of the time of Amṛta II., to No. 159 of S. 1056 (for 1055 current ?), of the time of Kulōṭṭuṅga Chōḍajadēva II.; three dates of the Kākatiya dynasty of Worangal, viz., No. 179 of S. 1084, of the time of Rudradēva, and Nos. 234 and 247 of S. 1153 and 1172 current, of the time of Gaṇapati; and three dates, Nos. 241, 242 and 244 of S. 1160, 1161, and 1165, of a king Rājarājadēva, who may belong to the Chōḷa dynasty.\(^{12}\)

\(^{8}\) The list contains two later dates which profess to be taken from Kālachārya inscriptions, No. 200 of S. 1108, and No. 204 of S. 1119 current; but these dates belong to a time when the rule of the Kālachāryas apparently had come to an end.

\(^{9}\) A later date of the same king, No. 238 of S. 1229 (?), is quite incorrect; but dates of the Hōysalas dynasty which are later than S. 1205 are furnished by the inscriptions published in Ep. Cari. Part I.

\(^{10}\) To these also belongs the date No. 56 of Māmāyāśeṇavarśa, the year of which Dr. Fleet now takes to be S. 982 (not 793).

\(^{11}\) An earlier date, No. 60 of S. 797, of the time of Prathvaśāna, is by Dr. Fleet regarded as plainly not authentic, so far, at least, as Prathvaśana is concerned.

\(^{12}\) The two dates Nos. 80 and 81, of S. 973 current and 872 expired, which profess to be of the time of the Sinda Permānada, are by Dr. Fleet considered quite impossible dates.

\(^{13}\) Of the Kālambas of Goa we possess 5 dates in which the era of the Kaliyaṇa is used (from K. 4270 to K. 4348).

\(^{14}\) Earlier Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara use an era of their own.

\(^{15}\) Some of the Eastern Chalukya inscriptions are dated in regnal years, but the majority of them give no years at all.

\(^{16}\) Some Śaka dates of Chōḷa kings I have given in Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 98 ff.
Of the first half of the 18th century of the Saka era we have remarkably few dates. After the middle of the 13th century a large number of dates is furnished by the inscriptions of the kings of Vijayanagara. Of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara we have 32 dates, from No. 282 of S. 1261 (for 1262), of the time of Harivara I., to No. 321 of S. 1392, of the time of Viramahakan I. Of the second dynasty there are 28 dates, from No. 323 of S. 1430 (for 1431), of the time of Krisnaivyasa, to No. 356 of S. 1483, of the time of Sadasivavaraya. And of the third dynasty (of Kanadu) we have 9 dates, the first of which is No. 359 of S. 1478, of the time of Sadasivavara I., and the last No. 371 of S. 1506, of the time of Shyamaivara II. The other dates of the same or later times, which it is unnecessary to enumerate in detail, are mostly from records of the Nyakas of Velur, of the kings of Maisur and Coorg, and of the Sotupatis of Kanadu.

The dates mentioned in the above comprise about four-fifths of the whole list. All these and about 60 other dates from inscriptions of subordinate chiefs and from private records are from that part of India which, speaking generally, would be south of a straight line, drawn from the mouth of the Nurbad Badi to the coast of the Mahanadi, and thence to the coast of the eastern coast of India, excepting perhaps the extreme south of the peninsula. In that part of India, therefore, the Saka era is shown by the dates collected to have been principally used, and there we find the earliest dates which are distinctly referred to it. But we have a few dates to prove that, from comparatively early times, the era occasionally was used, sometimes by the side of local eras, also in other and widely distant parts of India. Thus the date of the first Prajñā of Bajnaithi, No. 49, of apparently S. 736, is from the extreme north of India, where, to judge from the date of the first Prajñā of Bajnaithi, people ordinarily used the Saptarshi era. The Deoga eras of Bhujjendra of Kamraj in the body of the inscription is fully dated according to the Vikrama era, but at the end the expired years (784) of the Saka era are also given. The date No. 68 of S. 836 is from Eastern Kishinar; the date No. 161 of S. 1059 from the Gayā district of Bengal, and the date No. 227 of S. 1141 from the Tipperah district of the same province. In the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen. Ges. Vol. XL. p. 49, Dr. Hultsch has published a copper-plate inscription from Assam, dated in S. 1107; and in the Journal, Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XLIII. P. I. p. 322, there is a copper-plate inscription from Chittagong, with the date Sak-bishad 1165. Finally, the chronological list also gives some dates from Cambodia, the earliest of which is No. 18 of S. 546 (from an inscription which also contains the date No. 14 of S. 524), and five dates from Java, the earliest of which is No. 35 of S. 654, and the latest No. 290 of S. 1295.

Nomenclature of the Era.

What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is that, with

13 The year of the date No. 335, which is given as 1162 or 1163, probably is really 1466.
14 Anie, Vol. XX. p. 404, I have stated that, speaking generally, down to about A.D. 1300, the use of the Vikrama era was confined to that portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Nurbad to Gayā, from Gayā to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Rump of Nepal, and by the line of coast from the Rump of Nepal to the south of that river. More towards the west, in the parts of India in which the two eras are principally used are separated by the tract of country in which during the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. we find the Kalachuri-Chālī era employed.
15 See ante, Vol. XIX. p. 25, No. 39.
16 Of 338 Vikrama dates of inscriptions, known to me, only 72 are explicitly referred to the Māyāra-Vikrama era. Of the remaining 266, 74 Gupta dates, at the utmost, or 26 (by the expressions Gupta-vidyagāma, Gupta-nāyika, Gupta-śrī, or Gupta-śrī) are or less distinctly referred to the Gupta era, and only 5 of the latest dates contain the technical phrases Pāśābhabhūsa and Pāsābhabhūsak. Of 41 dates which, of them with more or less probability, have been referred to the Kalachuri-Chālī era, only four dates (of the years 903, 904, 905 and 906) contain the phrase Kalachurisamphak, two dates (of the years 910 and 915) have Chālī-vidyagāma, and in one date (of the year 902), which is in verse, the era is denoted by the expression Chālī-dīkṣa. In the 26 dates which — here, also, with more or less probability — have been assigned to the Harsha era, the name of this era is nowhere alluded to.
insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of
the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word Saka or its derivative
Saka. And even as regards these five dates, the absence of the word Saka from the two dates
No. 23 of S. 589 and No. 299 of S. 1317, which are in verse, may be said to be due to the
exigencies of the metre;¹³ the date No. 7 of the year 388 is altogether carelessly worded and
is, moreover, from a spurious record; the reading of the date No. 54, "samsya [765]," is somewhat
doubtful; and in the date No. 199, which I have given as "samvatsara 1107," the word samvatsar
is preceded in the original by one or two effaced aśkharas which might well be taken to
represent the word Saka.¹⁴

Now, among the various expressions, employed by the writers to indicate what era they are
following,¹⁵ there are five which are principally used. They are Saka (or Saka-rāja)-kīla,¹⁶
Saka-vārṣeṣāvattēśu, Saka-rāja-kīla-samvatsara, the simple Saka-vārṣa, and the phrase
śāleśvaka-śaka or some modification of it.

Saka-kīla,¹⁷ the time (or era) of the Saka (or Saka, Saka king or kings), occurs first in the Western Chatukya date No. 16 of S. 532, where it stands in the Nominative case
and is followed by the Nominative pūrṇa varṣa-jalāni devatī(ī)vi (trīdānam). We also have Saka-
śāleśvaka, without a word for "year," in No. 117 of S. 573; Saka-rāja-samvatsara in No. 33 of
S. 631 and No. 37 of S. 673 (here with vyanīta); Saka-kīla-gat-dōda in No. 45 of S. 726 (P).
Saka-kīla-rāja-samvatsara in No. 71 of S. 843; Saka-rāja-kīla (samvatsara), without a word for "year," in No. 60 of S. 824; Saka-rāja-kīla, without a word for "year," in No. 220 of S. 1131;
and Saka-rāja-kīla-dōna (vāraśīkān... nivaśēṣu... nivaśēṣu...) in Nos. 206 and 210 of S. 1112
and 1114. Besides we find, in dates which are in verse, yātī kīla Saka-dānum, without a word for "year," in the date No. 24 of S. 550, from Cambodia; Saka-kīla-rāja-vattēśu, without a word for "year," in No. 60 of S. 797; Saka-kīla-gat-dōda in No. 77 of S. 867; Saka-rāja-
śāleśvaka, without a word for "year," in No. 89 of S. 904; Saka-kīla (vāraśāla), without a
word for "year," in No. 125 of S. 931; Saka-rāja-kīla (vāraśāla), without a word for "year," in No. 172 of S. 1075; and Saka-rāja-kīla (vāraśēṣu vṛttēśu...) in No. 279 of S. 1235.

Saka-vārṣeṣāvattēśu,¹⁸ when ... years of the Saka (or Saka, Saka years) had passed, or "after the expiration of ... Saka years," occurs first and is chiefly used in the
inscriptions of the Western Chatukyas of Bādami. The earliest genuine date of the list¹⁹
which contains this phrase is No. 26 of S. 611, and the latest No. 171 of S. 1073. Instead of
vattēśu we occasionally, in altogether five dates, have samvatsāra, vyattēśu, atikrāṇākṣu and
gatēśu; and three inscriptions from Java have the compound Saka-vārṣa-kīla. Before S. 1000
the expressions grouped under this head occur in 16 dates, and after S. 1000 in 6 dates
the years of which (No. 168 of S. 1065, No. 171 of S. 1073, and No. 267 of S. 1199)
have been shown to be really current years.

¹³ A third similar date is that of the Travandram inscription of Sarvāṅgandhiha, of the [Saka] year 1096, which
also is in verse; see Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 206. That in the inscriptions from Camboiia there are several dates (in
verse) which contain neither a reference to the era employed in them nor even a word for "year," has been stated
¹⁴ The date No. 199 is from an inscription of the Śilāra Aparāditya, and another inscription of the same Aparā-
ditya (date No. 201) undoubtedly has the phrase Saka-samvatsara. That the word samvatsara, without Saka, is
used to denote years of the Saka era, when a date, after having been given in words, is repeated in figures, will be shewn
below.
¹⁵ My remarks here throughout refer to those dates only of which I have been able to ascertain the exact
wording, about 300 dates of my chronological list, commencing with the earliest genuine date No. 12 of S. 506.
With what follows, compare Dr. Fleet's valuable paper "On the Nomenclature of the principal Hindu eras," ante,
Vol. XII, p. 267 ff.
¹⁶ In a few dates samvatsāra, bhāpāla and bhāpati are substituted for śaṃśya, especially in verse.
¹⁷ Compare the corresponding expressions Martial-kīla and Gupta-prākīla (equivalent to Gupta-kīla) in dates
of the Vikrama and Gupta eras. In some dates Śaṃśya must be translated by "year (or years) of the Saka era,"
²² A Western Chatukya date No. 793, not included in the chronological list, which also contains the phrase
Sakunripa-kal-ātit-sahvatsara,24 'years passed since the time (or of the era) of the Saka king (or kings),' we meet first in the date No. 38 of S. 679, which is from an inscription of one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarāt, and of the 46 dates which contain the phrase half the number are from inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. Three other dates, instead of kal-ātit, have kal-ākṛtāt; one has aitī-ātit, and two omit the word sahvatsara; two have Sakabhadpi-ākṛtāt-sahvatsara, one has Sakunripa-kalātit-wara-sahvatsara, and one Sakuripā-kalātit-ātit-sahvatsara.25 The latest of the dates which contain any of these expressions is No. 221 of S. 1135, and of a total of 56 dates 45 are earlier and 11 later than S. 1000. The years of two of these dates (No. 107 of S. 943 and No. 140 of S. 1032) have been shown to be current years.

Saka-varṣa26 (without aitīta), the year of the Saka (or Sakaś) or 'Saka year' occurs first in the date No. 72 of S. 851, from a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription. It is mostly used in inscriptions the language of which is Kanarese, where we have Saka-varsha (or varisha, or warsha), Saka varsha (or varsham), Saka-varshada, Śrīmat-Sakavarsha, Śrī-Sakavarsha, Śri-vijayābhikyudaya-Sakavarshā, etc. In Sanskrit inscriptions, where the expression is used comparatively rarely, we have Saka-varsha-, Śrī-Sakavarshē, and also Saka-varshē vartamānaṃ, or pravartamānaṃ (in No. 250 of S. 1170 expired and No. 206 of S. 1167 expired), and Saka-varshēdabdhyāsa27 (in No. 240 of S. 1160 current). Counting these dates of the list of which I know the exact wording, I find that the phrase occurs 47 times between S. 1000 and S. 1200, 17 times before S. 1000, and 18 times after S. 1200.

Disregarding as suspicious the two dates Nos. 187 and 193 of S. 1095 and S. 1108, we find the name Sālivāhana, for which in verse we also have Sālivāha, for the first time in the date No. 265 of S. 1194, from an inscription of the Dēvaśīrī-Yādava Rāmacandra, and have it also in the date No. 269 of S. 1200, from an inscription at Sravantī-Belgoa, and in the date No. 275 of S. 1212, which is from another inscription of the Dēvaśīrī-Yādava Rāmacandra. After that we meet it again in the date No. 283 of S. 1276, from an inscription of Bukkāraṇya I. of Vijayanagar, and from that time it occurs frequently, especially in the inscriptions of the second dynasty of Vijayanagar, but also in those of other rulers of Southern India. In prose, the phrases made use of are Sālvēhāna-saka (also with śrī, or śrī-jayābhikyudaya-niripa, prefixed to it), Sālvēhāna-sakavarsha (also with śrī, or śrī-jayābhikyudaya, or śrī-vijayābhikyudaya), and Sālivēhāna-sāk-dāda (in No. 304 of S. 1731); in verse we have Sāk-dāda Sālivēhāya (in No. 293 of S. 1301, etc.), śrī-Sālivēhā gāte śāk (in No. 302 of S. 1321), and Sālivēhāna-niripa-sakavarsha (in No. 340 of S. 1460).28 This last expression shows that the sense, which the phrases Sālivēhāna-saka and Sālivēhāna-sakavarsha came to convey to a Hindu, was that of 'the year of the era of (or established by) Sālivēhāna,' but it may be doubted whether this meaning was distinctly present to the minds of those who first used the phrases. I rather believe that the name of Sālivēhāna, as that of a personage famous in Southern India, was prefixed to the ordinary Sākē and Saka-varsha, 'in the Saka year,' simply in imitation of the name of Vikramāditya in the Vikrama dates, and feel sure that the addition of the name to the current phrases

24 I give this separately, because it is a more technical and standing phrase than the expressions enumerated under Saka-kal. In dates of the Vikrama era we have a corresponding phrase (Vikramāditya-kal-dīna-sahvatsara) first in a Kachchhapaghat inscription of V. 1131; ante, Vol. XV. p. 299.
25 No. 107 of S. 1065, where the word aitīta clearly is used in the sense of 'year'; see ante, Vol. XIX. p. 24.
26 We have no corresponding technical phrase Vikrama-varsha; but from about the beginning of the 13th century of the Vikrama era we frequently in Vikrama dates find sahvatsara ... varsha, or aitē ... varsha, with the figures for the years between sahvatsara and aitē and varsha, and here the terms aitē and aitē undoubtedly are meant to refer the dates to the Vikrama era, as distinguished from the Saka era.
27 Here Saka-varsha can only mean 'the commencement of the Saka era.'
28 In an inscription of S. 1503 (for 1504) in Rā. Cār. Part I. p. 38, No. 165, we also have Sālivēhāna-dāda, and in dates of manuscripts varsha Sālivēhāna-janmasthā. According to E. B. Campbell, ante, p. 155, an Udaipūr inscription of V. 1773 = S. 1350 has Saka-dāda, Sālivēhāna-dāda, but this can hardly be correct. That the phrase Sālivēhāna-saka, in quite modern times, is not confined to the south of India, is shown by some dates, given in my note on the Septarsha era, ante, Vol. XX. p. 132.
was especially suggested by the dates of the Chaulukyas of Aphiśāgha with whom we know the Yaśavas of Devagiri, in whose dates we first find the name Sālavahana, to have been in close contact.

In addition to these standing phrases, which are used in about 200 out of 300 dates, we have a variety of other expressions which are employed more rarely. Those of them that occur chiefly in prose may be grouped under the heads of *Saka-nripati* (or *Saka-nripa*)-vatsara, the simple Saka, and Saka-sahvatsara.

*Sakranripati-sahvatsara*, 'years of the Saka king (or kings),' we have in the Western Chalukya date No. 17 of S. 534, *Sakranripati-sahvatsara-saśaṇa* ... *aśiṭeśu*; and *Sakranripati-sahvatsara* in No. 49 of S. 735 and No. 90 of S. 904, *Sakanripa-sahvatsaraśaṇa* ... *yugiteśu* or *gaṭēśu*, and in No. 214 of S. 1117, where (against the rules of grammar) the text has *Sakranripa-sahvatsaraśaṇa-dvāraka*. Instead of *sahvatsara* the (poetical) word *abha* is used in No. 227 of S. 1141, where we have *Sakranripatim-aśiṭita abhaḥ* (as well as in the spurious Western Chalukya date No. 10 of S. 411, which has *Sakranrip-dvāraka* ... *yugiteśu*).

Saka we find first, in verse, in the date No. 25 of S. 5931 from Cambodia, and afterwards in the prose dates No. 190 of S. 1096, No. 233 of S. 1193, and No. 372 of S. 1570; and, with *gaṭē* in No. 298 of S. 1313. Instead of it, we have Saka in Nos. 237 and 238 of S. 1157 and 1158, and (in a compound and in verse) in No. 317 of S. 1355; and Saka in No. 243 of S. 1162, No. 253 of S. 1182, No. 254 of S. 1183, No. 276 of S. 1222, and No. 277 of S. 1227 (here written Saka). Since, with the exception of No. 238, Saka 1118 varah, and No. 233, Saka 1172 varah, none of these dates contains any separate word for 'year,' Saka, as well as Saka and Saka, can only be translated by 'in the Saka year.'

*Saka-sahvatsara*, 'in the Saka year,' occurs rarely, and is apparently foreign to the south of India. We find it in the dates Nos. 67 and 68 of S. 832 and 836, which are both from Gujarāt; in No. 56 of S. 932 (not 732), from an inscription of the Silāras of the Northern Kośala; and in Nos. 126 and 166 of S. 991 and 1069 (for 1064), two dates of the Yaśavas of Sālavahana. It is also used, when the date is repeated in figures, in the date No. 174 of S. 1073 of the Silāra Mallikārjuna. Instead of it, we have *Saka-sahvatsara* in the date No. 301 of S. 1109 of the Silāra Aparājita, and perhaps also in the date of the same king No. 199 of S. 1107. The fuller expression *Saka-sahvatsaraśaṇa* would seem to occur only in the date No. 246 of S. 1171 of the Devagiri-Yaśava Krishna.

The expressions which remain occur almost exclusively in verse. The most common of them, in the order in which they appear first, are *Sakabhu* (or *Saka*), 'in the year of the Saka (or Saka), we find, everywhere in verse, in the dates No. 19 of S. 543 from Cambodia, No. 112 of S. 1045, No. 161 of S. 1059, No. 299 of S. 1315, and No. 300 of S. 1317. In verse we also have *Sakamabhu* in No. 310 of S. 1346, *Sakabhuḥi samaye* in No. 280 of S. 1236, and *Sakabhuḥi gaṭē* in No. 290 of S. 1601; and in prose, *Sakabhuḥi aśiṭeśu* in No. 245 of S. 1171, and *Sakabhuḥi aśiṭeśu* in No. 97 of S. 225.

Saka, 'in the Saka year,' occurs, in verse, in the dates No. 20 of S. 550 from Cambodia, No. 116 of S. 972, No. 156 of S. 1050, No. 192 of S. 1099, No. 234 of S. 1153, No. 254 of S. 1301, No. 306 of S. 1332, No. 319 of S. 1377, No. 333 of S. 1450, and No. 341 of S. 1461; and, in prose, in No. 219 of S. 1125 (for 1125), and No. 226 of S. 1136. With the exception of the date No. 306 which has *varah*, none of these dates contains a separate word for 'year.'

19 See ante, Vol. XX. p. 405.
20 The meaning is the same as that of *Saka-varahabhuḥ-dvāraka*, given above.
21 This date shows that *abha* is by no means a late expression; the same applies to the term *abha* which will be given below.
22 The corresponding phrase *Tikravas-sahvatsara* occurs in nine Chalukya inscriptions. — European scholars now generally speak of the Saka years as *Saka-sahvatsara*, a practice which I have followed myself; but there can be no doubt that *Saka-sahvatsara* would be a more suitable expression.
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Sak-ābhd, 'in the Saka year,' we have, in verse, in No. 133 of S. 999, No. 134 of S. 1001, No. 247 of S. 1172, No. 286 of S. 1278, and No. 292 of S. 1300; and, in prose, in No. 135 of S. 1003. In verse we also find Sāk-ābd in No. 313 of S. 1348, Sāk-ābdāk in No. 301 of S. 1326, and Sāk-ābdindn in No. 158 of S. 1060; and in prose, Sāk-ābdēku in No. 160 of S. 1057.

Saka-vatsarē, 'in the year of the Saka (or Sakaas), occurs, everywhere in verse,' in No. 333 of S. 1478, No. 341 of S. 1506, No. 344 of S. 1523, No. 409 of S. 1556, No. 368 of S. 1568, and No. 367 of S. 1556; and Saka-vatsarēku, in verse, in No. 104 of S. 944, and in prose, in No. 146 of S. 1040.

Besides we find, in dates which are in verse, Sāk-ābdāra-varēkē, 'in the year of the Saka king (or kings),' in No. 18 of S. 556 and 546 from Cambodia; Sāk-ābdāra-varēkē-bhūbhujām, 'when... years of the Saka kings had passed,' in No. 21 of S. 556; Saka-śanay-ābdē, 'in the year of the time (or era) of the Saka king (or kings),' in No. 23 of S. 556 from Cambodia; Sāk-ābdāra-varēkē-vātērē, 'the year... of the Saka king (or kings) had passed,' in No. 35 of S. 554 from Java; Sāk-ābdē Saka-śanayē, 'in the year... in the time (or era) of the Saka (or Sakaas),' in No. 25 of S. 556; Sāk-ābdē Saka-śanayē, 'in the year... in the time (or era) of the Saka king,' in No. 28 of S. 1144; Sāk-ābdē Saka-śanayē, 'the time... of the Saka king was measured by... years,' in No. 281 of S. 1293; and, in a compound and without a word for 'year,' Sāk-ābdē Saka-śanayē, in No. 316 of S. 1303. And finally we have in prose, in the earliest given date of the list, No. 13 of S. 500, Saka-śanayē Sāk-ābdē Saka-śanayē, 'when... years had passed since the coronation of the Saka king.'

Where, after having been given in words, a date (or the number of years of a date) is repeated in figures, these figures are preceded by sāk-ābdē in eight dates, the earliest of which is No. 37 of S. 675 and the latest No. 138 of S. 1016, and three of which are from inscriptions of the Sillās of the Northern Kohkān. Other terms, used in the same way, are sāk-ābdē in the date No. 38 of S. 679, sāk-ābdē in No. 39 of S. 922, sāk-ābdē in No. 73 of S. 855, sāk-ābdē in No. 55 of S. 775 (for 773), sāk-ābdē (followed by 773) in No. 50 of S. 725, Saka in No. 138 of S. 1003, Saka in No. 161 of S. 1059, Saka-sahvāt in No. 174 of S. 1078 (from a Sillā inscription), and Saka-śanayē in No. 316 of S. 1303. In No. 61 of S. 799 and nine other dates the figures are not preceded by any word for 'year,' and in the dates Nos. 264 and 267 of S. 1194 and 1199 the numeral figures precede the numerical words by which the year of the date is expressed.

From the above we see that, ever since the earliest date of S. 500, the era with which we are dealing has been uniformly described as that of the Saka or Sakaas, or what really is the same, of the Saka king or kings, but that none of the phrases enumerated contains any suggestion as to whether those Sakas were, or what particular Saka king or kings those, who first used

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23 The corresponding phrase Viśākha-varēkē, also, is only used in verse.
24 With this antāsvarā-sa-ākē, in which the word 'date of course is superfluous, we may compare the expression antāsvarā-sa-ākē in dates which are in Kauarese, e.g. in No. 74 of S. 856. Compare also, in Viśākha dates, antāsvarā-sa-ākē in No. 178, 12, 2 and 4, and p. 174, 11 and 11, and the similarly redundant use of the word uṣṇa in antāsvarā-sa-ākē 1049 (Sākā, 28, 1, 5). See, moreover, the date of the Našāitā plates of the Chakrāyā Pulākārā, antāsvarā-sa-ākē 400 400 (Vienna, Congress, Asian Section p. 284, l. 48, with which we may compare the date of an unpublished inscription at Jāṇḍpur, which has antāsvarā-sa-ākē, followed by a numerical symbol for one of the hundreds (perhaps 300). In my opinion, we have an abbreviation of this antāsvarā-sa-ākē in the samudra of the Kālā inscription of the Sāmanta Dvāratā (ante, Vol. XIV, p. 45), the date of which we read 'samudra 347 Ṛgīkā-bākī 6.'
25 The years of the Mālaya-Viśākha era are described both as years 'according to the reckoning of the Mālaya' and as years 'of the Mālaya land'; see ante, Vol. XX, p. 404. Some stress has been laid on the fact that in the date of S. 500 the coronation of the Saka king is spoken of, but I fail to see the particular value of this expression. As the regnal years of a king were his Viśākhabhāsaka-antāsvarā (as they are called e.g. in the date No. 17 of S. 584), it was only natural to describe 'the years of the Saka king' as his Viśākhabhāsaka-antāsvarā.
terms like Saka; it is true that in a considerable number of dates the earlier phrases by which the years of the era were denoted are preceded by the proper name 'Sālavāhana'; this name, however, occurring, as it does, in late dates only, would not be expected to reveal the true origin of the era, and its connection with the era has been justly considered to be quite inappropriate.

Under these circumstances, I can only draw attention to another peculiar feature in the wording of the given dates, by which, taken as a whole, they are clearly distinguished from the dates of other eras, and which may, at least, enable us to connect them with some of those earlier dates of inscriptions, the exact relation of which to the well-known eras is open to discussion. I refer to the frequency with which, in the given Saka dates, the term 'year' is rendered by the word vareha.

Down to S. 1200 we have about 150 genuine dates, in prose, and here we find the word for 'year' to be vareha in about 90 dates, and saka-vareha in 60 dates. On the other hand, in the case of the Vikrama era the word vareha, down to V. 1200, appears in three dates only out of 123, and two at least of those three dates are in verse; of 71 Gupta-Valabhi dates, down to the Gupta-Valabhi year 900, only four contain the word vareha, and all four are in verse; and in the dates of the Kalachuri-Chedi and Harsha eras vareha does not occur at all. The regular, technical word for 'year' in the dates of these four eras is saka-vareha or some abbreviation of it, and the great preponderance of the word vareha in the technical language of the Saka dates must, no doubt, be regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Saka era.

Now an even more pronounced difference in the use of the words saka-vareha and vareha (or their Prakrit equivalents) is noticeable in the earlier dates known to us. In the dates of the inscriptions of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudēva the word for 'year' everywhere is saka-vareha, sava-vareha, or sava; and in those of the Sālavāhana or Andhrabhṛtyaśas we have saka-vareha, sava-vareha, or sava throughout. But no such word appears in the inscriptions of the Western Ksatrapas. In an inscription of the son-in-law of Nahapána, (Arch. Surv. of West. India, Vol. IV. p. 102, No. 9) we have vased 402 and vased 401 in one of a minister of his (ibid. p. 103, No. 11), vased 46; in the Jhunagādh rock inscription of Rudradāman (ante, Vol. VII. p. 259), vareha dwiypatitaśa; in the Gundā inscription of his son Rudrasiṁha (Bhāmagar Inscr. p. 22), vareha triuttara-śa; in the Jadsāna (Gaḍha) inscription of his son Rudrasēna (ibid.), vareha 100 20 7; and in the Mulavāna inscription of another Rudrasēna (ibid. p. 29), vareha 200 50(?) 2. In the dates of the Western Ksatrapas, therefore, and in them only, the word for 'year' everywhere is vareha (or its Prakrit equivalent), and this circumstance seems to me to connect these dates in an unmistakable manner with the dates which are distinctly referred to the Saka era, in which the word vareha decidedly predominates. In fact, the way in which vareha is used both in the dates of the Western Ksatrapas and in the Saka dates universally so called, tends, in my opinion, to support the views of those scholars who have assigned the former to the Saka era, on historical grounds; and leads me to consider my list of dates as a continuation of the series of dates, from the year 41 to the year 310, which are furnished by the inscriptions and coins of the Western Ksatrapas. — This is all the information which I can derive from the Saka dates themselves.
CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

PREFACE.

I have kept by me for years the notes from which the articles on "Currency and Coinage among the Burmese" have been compiled in the hope of being able to complete them for publication; but I have found, as so many others have found before me, that advancement in the public service involves an ever-increasing official demand upon one's time, and I fear it is hopeless for me to even utilise the contents of the library I have specially purchased for the purpose of gathering together all the available information on the subject. But as my notes contain much that is, so far as I am able to ascertain, new to students and therefore worth publishing, I have determined to print the articles resulting from them for what they may be worth, incomplete as they are.

My notes cover the following points, which I propose now to take up in separate chapters. I will first discuss currency amongst the peasantry, including that of chipped bullion, with its effects on the people and their methods of valuation. These will be followed by some remarks on the age of bullion currency in Burma, on the terms used for "coin," and on barter and exchange. In the Second Chapter I propose to remark on the bullion weights of the Far East, and in the Third to describe what I have called "lump currency," i.e., the use of the metals in mere lumps—silver, gold, lead, tin, and spelter—and stamped lumps and irregular tokens. This will lead in the Fourth Chapter to a consideration of the coin of the realm introduced by King Boddipya, Mindon, and Thibb, with remarks on the Mandalay Mint and the effigies on the coins. In the Fifth Chapter, I will discuss "coin" as distinguished from "coin of the realm"—a very interesting point in Burma, as it involves a study of the tokens and spelter money used by the people, and of the curious taungbyin currency of Upper Burma. And, lastly, I will discuss in the Sixth Chapter the not unimportant points for numismatists of forgeries, "pagoda medals," jettons, and charms.

CHAPTER I.

DISSERTATION.

1.

Preliminary Remarks.¹

I found, soon after my arrival in Upper Burma in 1887, that great interest attached to the coinage and currency of the country, as no coinage, properly so called, had existed before 1861.² I was therefore living among a people of considerable civilisation, who had but recently been introduced to the use of coins, who must consequently be familiar with methods of barter in bullion and of trade without coinage, and amongst whom must be many relics of pre-coinage days. My official duties were many and engrossing, and I had very little leisure to devote to coin collecting, or to the study of local customs; but I was so fortunate as to gather specimens of currency sufficient in number and complete enough to illustrate what may be called the whole evolution of coinage. These are now in the British Museum, to the authorities of which I am indebted for the careful production of the fine plates

¹ Three letters published in the Academy for 1890, pp. 322 f., 345 ff., 426 f., give a preliminary account of the subject now discussed.
² See Yule, Asia, pp. 226, 344; Crawford, Asia, p. 343; Symes, Asia, p. 325; Saugermano, p. 169; Primey, Useful Tables, p. 30; Taunh Pas, Vol. II. p. 41; Piozio, Int. Num. Or. Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 1; Hunter, Pegu, p. 83; Alexander, Travels, p. 21. Malcolm, Travels, Vol. II. p. 114, writing in 1855, notices that coin was only beginning to be generally introduced into Tenasserim. See also Vol. II. p. 113. At Rangoon the Madras rupee circulates generally for a ticket, and along the rivers up to Prome, it is known, and will be received. But at the Capital and throughout the interior it is weighed, and deemed inferior silver. In Aracan and the Tenasserim Provinces, pice and pie now circulate as in Bengal, and money is scarcely ever weighed.
that accompany these pages. The value of the collection seems to me to lie in the fact that, so far as I know, it enables us to study, from specimens as to whose date there can be no sort of doubt, for the first time, the currency of a nation immediately before and immediately after the introduction of a system of regular coinage.

Admirably as Evans, in his Coins of the Ancient Britons nearly forty years ago, as Keary, in his Morphology of Coins in 1886, as Prof. Ridgeway, in his Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards, and as Terrion de la Conperie, in his Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum, and others, have illustrated by induction how currency must have preceded and led to coinage, no writer has, I believe, previously had the advantage of studying on the spot the whole proceedings of a people in the act of passing from one stage to the other. And I cannot but hope that the facts I have been able to state in the following pages will lead to a better understanding of the true place in evolution of the many curious forms of currency which obtain in the Far East and elsewhere than would otherwise possible. That future enquirers will not be obliged to grope quite so much in the dark as had those of a former generation, I may quote the following, for the period, acute observation of Mr. W. B. Dickinson, when exhibiting a Siamese ticket to the Numismatic Society on the 23rd March, 1848: — “The examination of the coin offered for inspection may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society, and may tend to cast a possible light on the form of bullion money: an invention, which perhaps was not a sudden and complete change from weighed bullion to regular coin, but was preceded by steps which gradually led to coinage: steps of which no record has descended to us.” It is just these few steps that I have had the good fortune to note and record as they were taken before my own eyes, as it were. No one can, however, be more fully aware than myself of the dangers that beset the path of the pioneer in such an enquiry as the present, and I cannot pretend to have done more than record the facts that have passed under my observation as they appeared to be correct to me, and must leave it to others who may come after me to sift the evidence now brought forward and the statements now made. I have also gathered, quantus valerat, what information I could relating to this subject from books about Further India and the neighbourhood, but this is necessarily incomplete, as in the East one has to trust to one’s private library entirely for such information.

The Burmese coinage was introduced by King Minder about 1861, although some of his coins, after a fashion I have already noticed in this Journal as being common in India, — bear date 1852, which was the year of his accession. Previous to this the only “coins” of Burma — excluding, of course, the Amakan and the so-called Pega series of Phaye — that I have heard of, are the mysterious “fish coin” of 1781, and the coins or tokens brought to Ava from Calcutta by Cox in 1796. Sir Arthur Phaye had seen one of the former, and took it to be a token to be buried in the foundation chamber of a pagoda; but I have three more, found in Mandalay, which makes me think they are real coins of King Bawpaw. The latter were avowedly sacred tokens. The inference, therefore, is that any Burman, resident in

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* The bullet money of Ridgeway, p. 29. See also Beck, Temples and Elephants, p. 141; J. A. S. B., Proc., for 1837, p. 149.
* Silver Coinage of Siam, p. 47. Coinage was not introduced into Siam until 1824, according to Sarat Chandr Das, J. A. S. B., Proc., for 1837, p. 148 ff.
* Anta, Vol. XVII. p. 279 n.
* A memorandum of 1794 on the trade of India has, however, a curious and no doubt erroneous reference to coined money in Pegu: “Many sorts of clothing are sent into Pegu, a port in B. Bay, which returns Rubies and ready money, the coins or current money of the place.” Anderson, Siam, p. 95. See also p. 144, where it is stated that Burney in 1678 hoped to give the authorities at Bantam an account of the coins current in the country (Siam).
Upper Burma, who is, say, over fifty years of age, must have in his or her (for the women are the principal hucksters)10 youth habitually dealt in an uncoined currency.

This uncoined currency my specimens prove to have been:

(1) lumps of metal whose fineness could only be known by actual rough assay or by appearance;

(2) lumps of metal whose fineness, but not weight, was attested by a stamp or mark;

(3) irregular tokens.

Assay11 was, and is still, carried on by recognised jewellers and assay-masters in the usual Indian style with wax and touchstone, and by comparing the touch with that of pieces of recognised or ascertained standard. Value is estimated by reference to silver standards, i.e., a piece of gold or copper is said to weigh so many rupees and annas (strictly, tickals12 and nasis, or tenths of a tickal), and its value is found by simple multiplication, with a deduction for alloy, or by division, as the case may be.

However, for ordinary business purposes the main test for fineness was appearance, for it is not so difficult to tell fineness by the appearance of unworn lumps of metal as it would seem to be prima facie. A reference to Plate I, and to the descriptions of the figures in the letter-press explaining the Plate will prove this ocularly to the reader. The reason is as follows:13

There are several methods of extracting silver from the ore, and each method leaves its own mark on the products; and I have found that after a while I could detect the quality of certain classes of silver myself without a reference to assay. Long practice makes dealers adepts in judging silver, worn and unworn, at sight; and I found that most of the old "bazau" women could do so at once with fair accuracy. I have often tried their powers by saying that a worn lump of silver I have exhibited to them was of a certain class, and have been corrected at once by being told that it was of the class to which I had previously ascertained it to belong by assay. But, owing to the introduction, first of King Mindon's coins, and now of the British, this kind of practical knowledge is rapidly disappearing, and the younger women and girls, who have begun to trade since the general introduction of coinage, are no better judges of silver than European women are. They are not even so good as Indian women, as they never wear

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11 Pogolotti's Chapter XXXV. is on assays of gold and silver, and should be well worth while to study, if made accessible. See Yule's Ceylon, Vol. II. p. 207. Compare the origin of Roman Coinage, Poole, Coins and Medals, p. 43 f.
12 Hux's "ounces" used in Tibet (Nat. Ill. Library Ed., Vol. I. pp. 144, 146) are, I presume, the tael or quadruple tickal. With Hux's statements can be compared the statement of a writer in Young Fao, Vol. II. p. 168, in an article entitled, Sur les monnaies et les voies de communication des Provinces de la Chine adjacentes le Tonking. He gives throughout prices in "livres," and then adds a note: "The livres is 19 ounces and the ounce is 37 gr. 24 centigr. The livre of silver was worth at the commencement of 1891, 1,500 soupees." In Pogolotti's time (early 14th century A. D.) gold was bought by the angie (4 ounces) in silver. Yule, Ceylon, Vol. II. p. 297. So de Morga (Hakluyt Society's Ed. pp. 246, 341) says that in the Philipines in his time (1568-1590) the Chinese paid "in silver and real, for they do not like gold," and that the Japanese were paid "chiefly in real, though they are not so set upon them as the Chinese, as they have silver in Japan." See also Two Years in Ava, p. 281; Anderson, Siamese, pp. 65, 127. Maxwell. Journey on foot to the Patani Frontier, p. 48, however notes that in the neighbourhood of the Belong Gold Mines silver was scarce and that gold was the currency in 1875. Ridgeway, Origin of Currency, p. 3, explains the change of meaning in the denominations kyat, (tickal) and pe briefly and effectually thus: "The names of monetary units hold their ground long after they themselves have ceased to be in actual use, as we observe in such common expressions "bet a guinea," or worth a "grand," although these coins are no longer in circulation, and so the French sou has survived for a century in popular parlance and the Thaler has lived into the new German monetary system.
13 Primep, who assayed the Ava bullion sent over to India after the First Burmese War as indemnity, says, Useful Tables, p. 36, "The figures given by the action of the fire upon a thick brown coating of glaze (of the oxides of lead and antimony) answer in some degree the purpose of a die impression." Malcolm, Travels, Vol. II. p. 298, says practically the same thing.
silver jewellery, and hence have no need of the metal, except for currency. The art of testing weight by handling is still, however, common among the young and old of both sexes.

Mandalay jewellers are of course good judges of silver, but they are also capital judges of the probable amount of silver in a lump of lead. Here is a case in point. In February, 1859, there occurred, in the poor Eastern portion of the town, one of those devastating fires so common there. It destroyed over 700 houses, and I have known worse fires both before and since in that heartless place. Being at that time officially responsible for the welfare of the burnt area, I procured, on this particular occasion, by subscription and otherwise, a sum of money sufficient to start the poorest of the sufferers in life again. Among the recipients of a dole was an old working jeweller, who had been completely ruined. He spent the small capital supplied him in a speculation in lead. This was against all rules in those times of trouble (lead being valuable for bullets), but I permitted him to do it, to see what would happen. He proceeded to extract the silver that was in it and made a profit on the transaction that was almost what he told me beforehand he expected to get. The lead was subsequently properly disposed of.

Lumps of metal stamped to show fineness, but not weight, were in more or less common use. They were all, so far as I know, of foreign origin — either Chinese, Siamese, or Shan, being in fact silver, silver, or tin, which are not properly Burmese currency, and are only considered in detail later on, owing to the light their use throws on the present subject.

2. Peasant Currency.

The irregular tokens above spoken of were lumps of metal made into certain forms and used as coins, though never intended for that purpose. Anything answers for currency to the petty dealer in an Upper Burma bazaar, provided she knows that it is of true metal and has a value by weight.¹⁴ I have had a copper button and a copper seal (Burmese) tendered to me in all good faith in payment of petty bazaar fees by Burmese women. The same observation is true, too, of most country places in India, as is proved by the existence of the Metal Tokens Act (Indian Act I. of 1889) of the Indian Legislature, the preamble of which is as follows: "Whereas it is expedient to prohibit the making or the possession for issue, or the issue, by private persons of pieces of metal for use as money." The Act then goes on to say (Section 3): "No piece of copper or bronze or of any other metal or mixed metal, which, whether stamped or unstamped, is intended to be used as money, shall be made except by the authority of the Governor-General in Council." We thus see, despite the many centuries that have passed since the introduction of "coin of the realm" into India, that the use as currency of any lump of metal of recognised quality is still so common as to require a special Act in our own days to repress it. Nothing seems to be able to overcome in fact the popularity of the Maasuri, Chachrauli, Gorkhupuri, Piaqü, and Dabali paisa, chalans, et hoc genus omne, in the conservative Indian village.¹⁵

I found a number of English early Nineteenth Century jettons, or brass card-counters, current at Patiala, Ambala, Hardwar, and elsewhere in 1890. They have turned up, too, in Rangoon, and have the appearance of farthings, but with such nonsense on them as "the Prince of Wales's model half sov.," (sic), etc. They pass for what they are intrinsically worth, just as do the metal tokens prohibited by the Act above-mentioned.

¹⁴ Of the habits of the Chinese in this respect Terrien de la Conquerant writes: "A fiduciary coinage has never been willingly accepted in China, and the coins, whatever mark they bore, were never taken for more than their intrinsic value without great objection." Old Naturalis and the Sceneras in China, p. 14.

¹⁵ This is the English word "double." The "double piece" or half-anna piece is, however, a recognised legal coin under that name. See also Secs. 3, 8, and 14 of the Indian Coinage Act (XXII. of 1870).

The copper seal above spoken of is an ordinary Burmese seal, badly cut, with the word Myitma on it and so must have belonged to one of the cavalry regiments. It, as well as the copper button, was looked on as currency, because it was of true copper and weighed roughly a piece.

Besides the above, a third specimen of token currency, in the shape of a British quarter-anna of 1837 with the obverse filed smooth, was tendered as a piece in payment of a ferry fee. Here there may have been swindling on the part of the person who filed down the coin, but the bona fides of the old woman who tendered it was never questioned. In her eyes it was currency because it was copper and weighed half a piece or thereabouts.

The Tókhál and Luhápá Nagás of the Manipúr Territories act much in the same spirit, when they buy their brides for “Manipúr sél about the value of ten rupees.” The sél is a small rude coin of bell-metal of very low value, and is the only currency recognised in those parts.

In the same neighbourhood we have a curious instance of the British rupee being a token pure and simple in Woodthorpe’s Lushai Expedition, 1871-1872, p. 182, where he says:—“A cooly, having no use for his money and being no doubt utterly tired of his monotonous Commissariat fare, gave one rupee for a fowl, which thenceforth was established by the Lushais as the standard price, though of the actual value of the rupee they were entirely ignorant, appreciating more highly a few copper coins (but? sél). A few sepoys, who had a supply of the latter, took advantage of it to buy back, at about a sixth of their value, the rupees which the Lushais had previously received from the officers.”

John Crisp in his “Account of the Inhabitants of the Peggy, or Nassau Islands, lying off Sumatra,” confirms the proposition that, where coin is not the usual currency, any kind of coin will answer the purpose of currency for what it may be intrinsically worth. He says, writing in 1792, that the Nassau Islanders’ “knowledge of metals is entirely derived from their communication with the inhabitants of Sumatra. They are still strangers to use of coin of any kind, and a metal coat-button would be of equal value in their esteem with a piece of gold or silver coin, either of which would be immediately be hung about the neck as an ornament.” Their currency was a “sort of iron hatchet or hand-bill,” a statement in itself interesting enough.

Strettell (Ficus Elastica, p. 130) in 1870 found that the Kachins valued Burmese rupees only for their intrinsic worth in silver, and British rupees for making necklaces. Even when they took rupees in payment, they would only value them at a weight in lump-silver worth ten annas (p. 185).

This notion was common in Lower Burma as late as 1825, for Alexander, Travels, p. 27, mentions that in the neighbourhood of Rangoon he found Spanish dollars used as a neck ornament by village children and pleased them greatly by adding “rupee-pieces.”

To carry this class of evidence down to 1893, I may note that in his Report on the Administration of the Northern Shan States for 1892-3, Mr. Scott tells us, p. 30, that “in the East of Hsi-Paw (Thibaw) an impression has fastened on the people that the rupee of the East India Company’s date with the impressions of George IV., William IV., and the rupee in which Her Majesty’s head appears without the crown, are not valid tender and are worth no more than fourteen annas.”

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17 See Brown’s Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur, pp. 40, 89. When this writer says (p. 31), that the Kansai Nagás sell slaves for money, paying Rs. 50,ified for them, he doubt mean payment in sél.
18 I fear that so far the story must be apocryphal.
20 See post, Section on Barter and Non-metallic Currencies.
"I have posted up notices in the Bazaar," says Mr. Scott, "and have ordered all the Sawbwas to notify throughout their States that these rupees are as valid and current as the most recently minted coin, but without any effect whatever. Threats to punish them for refusing legal tender are equally futile. They submit with an air of martyrdom. The eccentricities with regard to coined money are in fact endless. On the Chinese border two-anna pieces are all the rage. A man might scoff at the idea of selling a pony for Rs. 150, but if you offered him 300 two-anna bits, the odds are that he would accept without further chaffering. In the Wa States, on the contrary, they look on silver money of any kind with comparative nonchalance and impartiality. A two-anna piece is no more attractive than a rupee, and it is quite possible to get a hen's egg for either, but if you produce copper coin, the whole neighbourhood is on the alert to sell everything it possesses from its wives downwards."

Here we have a double influence at work: — distrust of an unaccustomed mark on the currency, together with a desire of sticking to what is known in preference to adopting what is unknown as currency, and the habit of using anything as currency which happens to be of a recognised metal.

Perhaps the existing attitude of the Further Indian wilder tribes towards currency may be best expressed in the words of Dr. Gardner, in describing the early Jewish coinage in Coasts and Metals, p. 153: — "It would seem that until the middle of the Second Century B.C. the Jews either weighed out gold and silver for the price of goods, or else used the money usually current among the surrounding peoples or among those who came into commercial contact with them." In a modified degree, owing to a closer acquaintance with a civilised currency, this attitude is still characteristic of the Burmese peasant, and in still more modified degree of the peasantry of India proper.

This view is confirmed by what Barros has said in his Decadas about cowries in the Sixteenth Century: — "There is also a kind of shell-fish (in the Maldives), as small as a small but differently shaped, with a hard, white, lustrous shell; some of them, however, being so highly polished and lustrous that, when made into buttons and set in gold, they

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21 This was not Dr. Anderson's experience. See Mandalay to Momein, pp. 91, 278.
22 Worth Rs. 97.
23 Ridgeway's ingenious explanation of this class of fact is that certain coins used as currency by civilised men happen to be valued by certain savages or semi-savages as personal ornaments and hence the preference of different tribes for different specific coins without reference to intrinsic worth. Origin of Currency, p. 36. In the Parliamentary Return of the Laishai Expedition (Par. Pap. House of Commons, E. I., Cachar, 1572) we have several instances of the Laishis' view of money and the value they set on ornaments. Of these the best examples are pp. 251 and 267, respectively, showing the terms for money and for ornaments to be synonymous. Page 251:
"The list of property which the Looshais say was taken from them by the sepoys does not agree with the property sent me by Colonel Stabb. The following articles were missing: dodos (knives) Rs. 5, gold inek of the neck Rs. 1, 7 notes (loin-cloth) Rs. 2, markin cloth Rs. 2, silver bangles Rs. 2, rupees of the neck Rs. 1, payre (turbans) Rs. 1, bakor (Losha) Rs. 2."
Page 267: — "The Sookpihil's (Chief's) mundris (original form of mundrasns — see Yale, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.) offered 20 melanas (buffaloes), 20 guns, 2 dipoicks (cuddhyu), 20 goat's, and 20 green necklaces, for the captives, but no purpose."
24 The same inference is apparently seen in the following extracts quoted by Anderson, Siam, pp. 67f. In 1616 the English factors in Siam bought sappan-wood to send to Japan. Cocks was the agent in Japan. "The factor in Siam in exchange for the sappan-wood and the rest of the cargo wished a return from Japan in a coin, a specimen of which William Eaton was to take back with him to show Cocks, who was told that if he could send coin of the same description it would tend very much to the employer's profit, 'provided it be kept secret.' Cocks' reply to this request was that he could not accede to it, as it was unlawful in Japan to stamp any coin, but that it was permitted to melt silver into bars." Anderson then notes: — "By 1008 the exportation of 'silver plate' from Japan to Siam must have practically ceased, as Kempter relates that on his visit to Ayuthia in that year all the money of Siam was coined from Dutch crowns, which were for this purpose coined in Holland and imported by the Dutch East India Company at seven shillings the crown."
25 In view of actual facts in modern India and Further India, I cannot help thinking that the true coarser of the ancient European and Asiatic world could hardly have descended to the present. See Nicolò Conti's statement that he found about 1,430 in India. India in the Fifteenth Century, Vol. II, p. 30.
26 Quoted in Gray's Ed. of Pizard du Laval (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II, p. 34 f.)
look like enamel. With these shells for ballast many ships are laden for Bengal and Siam, where they are used for money, just as we (Portuguese) use small copper money for buying things of little value. And even to this Kingdom of Portugal, in some years as much as two or three thousand quinintals are brought by way of ballast. They are then exported to Guinea and the Kingdoms of Benin and Congo, where also they are used for money, the Gentiles (Heathen Natives) of the interior in those parts making their treasure of it."

The whole situation was accurately described by Pyrard de Laval, nearly three hundred years ago, when describing the currency of the Maldives: — "The coin of the realm is silver only and of one sort. These are pieces of silver called larins (hood-money) of the value of eight sous or thereabouts of our (French) money, as I have said, as long as the finger and doubled down. The king has them struck in his Island and stamped with his name in Arabic characters. All other coins are foreign, and though they are current, they are only taken at their just value and weight, and they must be gold or silver; all others are rejected." And again at p. 235, he says: — "They take no silver without weighing it and trying it in the fire to prove it: and every body has weights in his house for this purpose." 28

3.

Chipped Bullion.

In using lumps of metal of indefinite size as currency the practice in Burma was, and is still, in places, as in China, to chop off the required weight from the lump and to tender the chip in exchange for the article wanted. 29 In out-of-the-way places some dealers still keep a hammer and chisel for the purpose, and others either go to the local jeweller or assay-master and get the lump chipped off for them, or borrow his hammer and chisel and do the needful themselves. 30

If we may define a coin as a lump of metal stamped with recognised marks to indicate fineness and weight — i.e., exchange value — the collection shown on Plates I. and II. exhibits a complete history of the evolution of coinage. Thus:

1. the mere lump of metal whose fineness can only be tested by actual assay or outward appearance, and its weight only by actual weighment;
2. the lump of metal whose fineness is attested by a mark stamped thereon, but whose weight can only be ascertained by actual weighment;
3. the token whose appearance and apparent weight gives it an exchange value without further test;
4. the coin stamped by marks to indicate weight and fineness — i.e., exchange value;
5. the coin of the realm, or coin stamped with those marks which give it a forced currency within the realm and make it the legal medium of exchange.

Huc, Nat. III. Library Ed., Vol. I. p. 146, has a very interesting note on the treatment of coins by cutting in Tibet, as if they were ingots of metal: — "The monetary

27 Equal to a weight of about 190 to 150 tons, the quintal or kantla being practically the British cwt.
30 Captain Youngusband informed me that in his travels in China he found it necessary to apply to working jewellers to chop pieces from the silver bars or ingots he carried as money, as it was a difficult and tedious operation in unpractised hands. See also La Loubère, Siou, E. T., Vol. I. p. 72. Primey, Useful Tables, p. 30, says that the "lumps of silver sent from Ava after the First Burmese War as indemnity weighed "20 to 30 tikals (30 to 40 tulas)," and so were obviously useless for currency except by chopping. Colquhoun, in his Across China, Vol. I. p. 132, has rather an interesting reference to lump currency when he tells us that sacrifices to the "Wealth God" by the Chinese consists of hares, eggs, game, fire-works and carp which for this occasion is called "silver-ingot fish."
system of the Tibetans consists entirely of silver coins, which are somewhat larger, but not so thick as our francs. On one side they bear inscriptions in Tibetan Parsee (for Persian) or Indian characters; on the other, a crown composed of eight small round flowers. To facilitate commerce, these coins are cut in pieces, the number of flowers remaining on each piece determining its value. The entire coin is called Tchen-ka. A Tcha-putche is one half of the Tchen-ka; or in other words is a piece of four flowers only. The Cho-kan has five flowers, the K'a-kan three."

This is the crescent money of Terrien de la Couperie, Catalogue of Chinese Coins, p. xx. He describes it as "the crescent money from Ancient Pegu and of Tibet," and as resulting "from cuts of round money." It is quite possible that the coins Huc saw were in fact Nepalese, for Prinsep tells us that in 1833 the only coins current then at Lhasa were Nepalese silver mohars, and that "as the Bhoteahs have no other currency they are compelled to cut them into halves, quarters and eighths."

As regards China, Colquhoun, in 1832, took with him "Mexican dollars, new and chopped, for use on the (Sikiang) river." And to shew that the custom of chipping obtained in Burma a century ago, I may remark that the French Traveller, Ficquet, in 1786, notes that small sums were paid in chips of lead off large lumps, and that large sums were similarly paid in silver.

In a most interesting and graphic account of the wreck of the Corbin off the Maldives in 1602, Pyrard de Laval (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. I. p. 61) after explaining how they rescued some of the great mass of silver in the wreck and buried it, goes on to say: "But at length, when our comrades, who were left at Pouladou, found that they got nothing to eat and were dying of hunger, they were constrained to unearth it and offer money for food, and the people gave them food for the silver. The mischief was that the smallest piece of money they had was the twenty soles piece of Spanish money, and the islanders, seeing our men's ignorance, never gave them change: so that for a thing of the value of two liares they had to give one of these pieces, so that at this rate for five or six pieces a man sometimes hardly got a meal. Had our men had the cunning to do as they use at the Islands and all over India (where money of every kind and mint is accepted so long as it is good metal) — that is to chip it in small pieces and then to weigh it out when required — their silver would have lasted them much longer. But, as I said, for the smallest commodity they gave a whole piece. So by this waste the silver lasted but a little while to most of those who had it; and to them the natives would give nothing except for money, so they endured all manner of discomforts."

The whole passage is valuable in every way as exhibiting what currency in the East really was 300 years ago, and the aptitude for trade when opportunity offers, so strongly characteristic of the poverty-stricken peasantry throughout India and the Far East. It further exhibits that accurate appreciation of what passed before his eyes, which distinguishes Pyrard, and to which I have already had occasion to allude.

(To be continued.)
THE ORIGIN OF THE TOWN OF AJMER AND OF ITS NAME.1

BY G. BÜHLER.

The statements regarding the antiquity and the name of the famous town of Ajmér or Ajmēr, found in the various historical and descriptive accounts of Rajputāna, are very conflicting. Colonel Tod tells us in the beginning of his Annals of Redjashān, Vol. I. p. 10, note 1 (Madras edition), that Ajmēr is the “hill of Ajus” (sic) the “Invincible” hill — mer signifying in Sanskrit “a hill.” But on p. 683 f. of the same volume he gives a different story and says that the town was built by, and derives its name from, a goat-herd of Pushkar, who was called Ajajāl and was an ancestor of the Chohan king Busideo (Visaladeva).

Sir A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II. p. 252 ff., ascribes the foundation of Ajmēr to the Chohan or Chāhamāna prince Ajayapāla, whom he places — very properly rejecting the bardic story according to which he lived before the days of the Mahābhārata — some time before Māvak Rae. Referring the traditional date of the latter king, Saucvats 741 or 747, to the Saka era, he makes it equal to A. D. 819-825, and in order to prove the antiquity of the town, he appeals to Feriaht, who mentions “the king of Ajmēr” in A. H. 63 (A. D. 684), 377 and 399, and asserts that Mahmūd of Ghazni sacked Ajmēr in A. H. 416 or A. D. 1025 on his expedition against Sūnmāth.

Further, the Rajputān Gassetteer, Vol. II. p. 14, gives, according to traditional accounts, the year A. D. 145 as the date of the foundation of Ajmēr and the name of its founder as Rājā Aja, “a descendant of Anhal, the first Chohan.” Finally, Prof. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, Vol. III. p. 151, conjectures that the original name of the town was Ajamālī, for which later Ajamāra was substituted, and that it is mentioned by Ptolemy, ca A. D. 150, as Gagasmira. In addition there are two native works, not noticed by the European writers, which likewise assign a great antiquity to the town, giving at the same time its correct name.

First, the Hamnāramahādāya of Nayachandra (I. 59) states at the end of the description of Ajayapāla2 the third successor of Chāhamāna the ēro hōros of the Chōhāns, that this king “established the fort of Ajayamēru, lovely with a beauty that surpasses the glory of heaven.” Secondly, an anonymous list of the Chāhamāna kings, printed in the Bombay edition of the Prabhavasahinīmāpi, p. 52 ff., calls Ajayarāja, the fourth prince of the Chōhān dynasty (the beginning of which is placed in Saucvats 608) Ajayamērudurgakdrakaḥ, “the founder of the fort of Ajayamēru.”

While all these authorities agree in attributing to Ajmēr a considerable antiquity, the brief note from the Pithiarāja-jayana, inserted by Dr. J. Morison in his important article on the Genealogy of the Chāhamāna (Vienna Or. Journal, Vol. VII. p. 191) under the twentieth king, Ajayarāja or Sālhaṇa, relegates its foundation to a very late period, as it calls this king the builder of Ajayamēru.

The passage, on which Dr. Morison’s note is based, is a rather long one in Sarga V. of the poem. The inscription of Ajayarāja begins with verse 77 and continues through, perhaps, more than forty verses to the end of the Sarga.3 Verse 99, which has been lost with the exception of the last words of the commentary [ṛ]ṇa नगरः हञ्ज्ञात, contained the statement of that Ajayarāja built a town. Then follows the inscription of its splendour and holiness in a long

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1 Reprinted from the Vienna Or. Journal.
2 Mr. J. N. Kirtane has printed in I. 41, erroneously महीनीर्ही जयपाल; instead of महीनीर्ही जयपाल, and has given also Jayapala in the Introduction, p. 14.
3 Here and in the sequel I make use of Dr. Morison’s transcript which he has kindly placed at my disposal for my work in connection of the Chōhānasa. The state of the dilapidated original makes it impossible to give the numbers of the verses always exactly.
row of stanzas, each of which contains a relative sentence connected with the word nagaru in verse 99. The first two run as follows:—

नवगरजभेदयः सार्ये गर गुरावः।
न हि गुरावसेवनेन स्वसदसे न इहे इति ॥ १०० ॥

वत्तति स्थानानाहस्वयमवन्व भविष्यति नागः।
वेदार्थायाम बालाद गायनः समस्तकालं ॥ १०२ ॥

"100. Whose appellation Ajayamēru becomes appropriate through its dwellings of the gods; for, owing to its sanctity, nothing exists that is not found (there);"

"101. Where through the peculiar efficacy of that sacred spot the lowest become blameless, since there even the courtesans unite (themselves) in real passion (with their lovers)."

The end of the description is found in the verse which stands last but one in the Sarga:—

एविशालान्जनेष्वरिनि मानिनः
कुश्त तकावः इवार्जनायांजनः।
शास्त्वेशसहस्रन्यान नयनेन विभाषनः
सत्यार्थे न विशिष्टामितीमयुक्तम् [व] रूपः ॥

"Having made such a settlement on the Ajayamēru hill, his majesty Ajayārāja went up full of curiosity as it were, to look at heaven, after he had placed on the throne his son, in whom political wisdom was united with the strength of the arm."

The next and concluding verse of the Sarga says that the name of this son was Arṇorāja, whose reign is described in Sarga VI and in a portion of Sarga VII. The time of this prince can be ascertained with tolerable accuracy from the statements of the Prithvirājvaivāya, of the Gujarāt chronicles and of Kumārapāla's Chitragaḍā inscription. From the Prithvirājvaivāya (Sarga VII) we learn that Arṇorāja took as his second wife Kāśchānadevi, a daughter of Jayasimha-Sidāharāja of Gujarāt, 4 and consequently was a younger contemporary of that king, who, according to A.D. 1094-1148 (Vikrama Śāvat 1150-1190). Further, the Gujarāt chronicles, beginning with Hēmchandra's Dvārakasūryakōta, all describe the successful war which Jayasimha's successor Kumārapāla waged against Arṇorāja or Anēka, and the Chitragaḍā inscription 2 proves that this war came to an end in, or shortly before, Vikrama Śāvat 1207, which may correspond to A.D. 1149-50 or 1150-51. Finally, it appears from the date of the Ajāṇḍ inscription 2 of Arṇorāja's second son Vighraḥ IV. or Vīsālaḍēva, Vikrama Śāvat 1210 or A.D. 1153, that he must have died 5 between V. S. 1207 and 1210.

From these dates it is plain that Arṇorāja reigned in the second quarter of the twelfth century and his father between A.D. 1100 and 1125 or thereabouts, and that Ajayamēru must

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4 The text has नवस्य, but Jōnarāja's commentary is: यथव मगराजभेदयः सार्ये गर गुरावः। न हि गुरावसेवनेन स्वसदसे न इहे इति ॥

5 The text is: नवगरजभेदयः सार्ये गर गुरावः। न हि गुरावसेवनेन स्वसदसे न इहे इति ॥

6 Jōnarāja's explanation is as follows: अविशालान्जनेष्वरिनि मानिनः कुश्त तकावः इवार्जनायांजनः। नयनेन विभाषनः सत्यार्थे न विशिष्टामितीमयुक्तम् [व] रूपः ॥

7 The text of the most important verse has been lost, but Jōnarāja's commentary says: मुगलोद्धाराजज्ञाना राजा कुरु कुरु देवाराजचन्द्रकालं। “That Kāśchānadevi, whom the king of Gujarāt Jayasimha had given to him, bore him who was called Śomeśvara and who (being an incarnation of Śiva, was) unitcd day and night with Uma (Pīrdrāti).”

8 The date is that of the incision of Vighraḥ's Harakāṅiṅtaka.

9 According to the Prithvirājvaivāya (S. VII.) Arṇorāja was assassinated by the eldest son of his first wife, Sudhārvā of Marvā:—

Then the eldest son of Sudhārvā did that service to his father, which the son of Bṛhka (Paraśurāma) — offering a libation of water to Compassion — performed for his mother.” Jōnarāja reads परिवर्तनजयांकुलम् as a compound and explains: “That Śomā, who was called Vighraḥ, a daughter of Śomeśvara and Śomeśvarī, a daughter of Śomeśvarī, married Vighraḥ and bore his son, Kūtakānaṇḍa, a great warrior and great hero, who was the subject of the famous poem "Sūrālakṣāna."
have been built during this latter period. The testimony of the Prithvirdajavijaya, of course, out-
weighs that of the modern tradition as well as that of the Hammiramahakavya and of Ferishta.
For the poem was composed during the reign of Prithviraja I in the last quarter of the twelfth
century, while the Hammiramahakavya dates at the best from the end of the fourteenth century
and Ferishta wrote the poem two hundred years later towards the end of the sixteenth century.
Moreover, the Prithvirdajavijaya is the only work in which, as Dr. Marston has stated, the gene-
alogy of the Chahamanas agree with that contained in their inscriptions, while those of the
other Sanskrit sources do not even agree with each other and clearly contain anachronisms.

With respect to one of Ferishta's statements, the sack of Ajmer by Mahmud of Ghazni, it
must be pointed out that the older accounts of the expedition against Sumanth do not name the
town. Ibn Asir, the oldest author, merely says that after crossing the desert on his way from
Multan to Aphilvad, Mahmud perceived "on one side a fort full of people, in which place
there were wells," and that he took and sacked it. In Ferishta's other references the expres-
sion "the king of Ajmer" no doubt is meant to denote the Chahamana (Chohans) of Sakambhari,
who, to judge from the length of the list in the Prithvirdajavijaya, seem to have ruled in Eastern
Rajputana since the sixth century A.D. The fact that Ajmer was their capital at the time of the
Mahomedan conquest explains Ferrishta's mistake.

It deserves to be noted also that the name of Ajmer does not occur in the Indian itineraries
of the earlier Arab geographers, given in the first volume of Elliot's History of India, that only
one of the Gujarati chronicles, the Prabhavakaritika (XXII. 420), mentions it in connection
with Kumarpala's war against Aroraja (when it did exist) and that the only Chahamana in-
scription found at Ajmer, is that of the time of Vrigaha IV., mentioned above. All these
points, of course, speak in favour of the assertion of the Prithvirdajavijaya, that Ajaya, the
twentieth Chahamana king of Sakambhari, was its founder, and the late date for the town
must be accepted as historical.

As regards the name of Ajayamadh, its meaning is no doubt, as the Prithvirdajavijaya, v. 100,
suggests, "the Mura made by Ajayaraja." Mura is primarily the name of the fabulous golden
mountain (hamsadru), the centre of Jambudvipa on which the gods dwell (vaidurya) and it is
figuratively applied in geographical names to any hill covered with splendid temples and palaces.
Thus we have in Rajputana Jesalamed, "the Mura made by Jasa," which primarily denotes
the hill-fort, rising with its temples and palace above the town of Jesalmer or Jaisalmer in
Marva, Komalmur, properly Kumbhalmed, "the Mura built by Kumbhal or Kumbhakarna,"
which is the well-known hill-fort in Mewar, and Balmur or Barmur, properly Bihadamed, the
Mura made by Bahaq, a hill-fort in Mballi. In Kathiavur, there is Jhanjemer, properly Jhan-
ja, the Mura made by Jhanja, and in the Central Provinces there is another Ajmergarh, properly Ajayamedagna, "the fort, i.e., the Mura made by Ajaya."

March 12th, 1897.

10 Elliot's History of India, Vol. II. p. 409. — This unnamed fort no doubt was erroneously converted into Ajmer
by Ferishta or his informants. It is more probable that Mahmud took the straighter road to Aphilvad vid Mapdor
and Pali, and that one of these forts is meant by Ibn Asir.

11 Another figurative meaning of mera, derived from the notion that mount Mura is the home of the gods, is "a
large temple with six towers, twelve stories and wonderful vaults" (Brihatsahtakam, vii. 20). According to the
Prabavakaritika, p. 124 (see also p. 175 f.) king Karpa of Gujarati constructed a building of this kind, called
Kumhalmeda pralamda, in Aphilvada. Similarly, the Prabhavakaritika, XII. 402, mentions a Siva temple, called
Sakhabhadru.

12 This form is still used by Pashtis and Yatis and occurs regularly in the colophons of the palm-leaf MSS., in
the inscriptions and in the Jain books.

13 In the Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. III. p. 23, the fort is called Komalgur, while Col. Tod gives Komalmer.
The name Kumbhalmed occurs in the Jaina Prativalis, see the description of the Kharatara Sripd Jinaahatra, Ind.

14 Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol. II. p. 271. The form Bihadamed is used by the Jains, see the description of the

FOKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKETSWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. 10. — Kathuveluku and Tangaveluku.

Once on a time in a certain country there lived a Brahman, who had two very beautiful daughters. The eldest bore the name of Tangaveluku and her sister Kathuveluku. The father had these girls married at an early age. In due time, Tangaveluku, who had been married in her seventh year, advanced towards womanhood, and the garbavati, or garbharus, ceremony had been performed. Shortly afterwards, Kathuveluku, too, attained to womanhood, but the sobana ceremony could not be performed, for her husband, Deśhādi Rājā, was travelling in the East and West and North and South of Aryavarta.

Not having seen her sister, Tangaveluku, for a long time, Kathuveluku, adorning herself in all her ornaments, went to visit her. Tangaveluku, on seeing her appear even more beautiful than when she had last seen her, wept bitterly, for she had heard of the death of Deśhādi Rājā. The younger sister asked the cause of her weeping, but she would not tell her for a long time. As Kathuveluku persisted, she yielded, and with tears in her eyes, said: — "My loving and only sister, Kathuveluku, I wept because I thought of what you will do with your youth and loveliness, young and lovely as you are, for I have heard of the death of your husband in the course of his travels in Bharatavarsha."

Hearing this, Kathuveluku took leave of her sister and returned to her parents. Informing them of her misfortune with tears, she entreated her father to prepare a funeral pyre, so that she might burn herself in it and rejoin her husband in the next world.

In due course the pyre was prepared. After distributing pushpa, kumbha, baramula, sarbista and vastra to the puja stri, and after making pandava* to the assembled crowd, Kathuveluku, without swerving for one moment from the self-imposed ordeal, and calling upon heaven and earth to witness, notwithstanding the high flames leaping to the skies, jumped upon the pyre. But an unusual heavy rain came down from the blue sky and not only extinguished the funeral pile, but burst the banks of the rivers abounding in the country and made them overflow, and caused a general flood. One of these rivers, by the impetuosity of its flow, swept the immaculate victim of the burning fires along with it. On the morning of the next day the chastest young widow of Deśhādi Rājā, whom the fires refused to touch, carried by the benign current, found herself landed on the bank of a river in a strange country.

A mālabāra in service of the king of the country saw her and was impressed with her extreme beauty. Pitying her forlorn condition, wetted and shivering as she was, he took the young lady home and told his wife to tend her as their child, as they had no children. Now it was the duty of the mālabāra every morning to make ready garlands and immortelles, gujras and tudras for the royal family. In this work he was relieved on one occasion by his adopted daughter. The queen observed the change, and so struck and pleased was she with the artistic talent displayed in the arrangement of various flowers constituting the wreaths, etc., that she sent for the mālabāra and asked him who had made ready the māla that day.

* Consummation of marriage.
* Pushpa, turmeric; kumbha, a powdered substance, vermilion in colour, applied in the form of a circle to the forehead by Hindu women; baramula, small caskets to hold kubidas often made of wood; sarbista, ornaments; vastra, clothes.
* Puja stri, lit., meritorious ladies, or those ladies whose husbands are alive as distinguished from widows. They are allowed to wear the kumbha marks on the forehead and to apply turmeric to their face, hands and feet.
* Salutations.
* Lit., maker of necklaces or medals of flowers, usually a maid.
* Gujras, small garlands of flowers for the hands; tudras, small garlands of flowers for the head, rather for the head-dress.
“My daughter,” was the reply.

“Bring your daughter to me some day,” said the mistress.

Accordingly, the náthakāra took his adopted daughter to the palace one day, and she was at once, much to the regret of the foster father, taken into the service of the royal family as a suitable companion to the queen’s daughter, who was of the same age.

Now, on a certain occasion, the queen gave a sir of pearls to one of the maid-servants, telling her to string them. The náthakāra’s adopted daughter, who happened to be present, said she would do the work, but her mistress would not trust her with it. However, she insisted, and in an auspicious moment began the work. While thus occupied Kathuvelu was called on and called several times for her noon-day meal. So she left the pearls in a temple to Gangāsa attached to the palace, and went to her food. But what was her surprise on her return to find that the pearls had completely disappeared.

The loss of the pearls was, in due course, brought to the notice of the queen. She was very wroth, and had the culprit’s head at once shaved as a public insult. Besides this punishment the poor widow of Dēshādi Rājā was made to sweep the verandahs, granaries and stable-yards during the day, and at night to act as a lamp-stand at the latter place.

Now, Dēshādi Rājā was alive, notwithstanding the rumours of his demise, and had arrived in this country from his extensive travels in the land of Bharata and of Kaśyapa Muni, embosomed and nestling amidst the Yamulgi Parvatam; for the queen was no other than his sister. Here, in the palace, he saw poor Kathuvelu standing alone during the night at the entrance to his chamber, for her position had been shifted to the palace from the stable-yard since the Rājā’s stay in the palace. He was very much displeased with the inhuman treatment meted out to the maid-servant: and was anxious to know the cause of such a harsh treatment, but somehow or other he forgot to ask about it.

During his stay with his brother-in-law and sister, Dēshādi Rājā asked that a mistress be provided for him. This, of course, could not be done without informing the queen. So she was informed, and said:—“We had better send that girl who lost the lakh of rupees worth of pearls: she is beautiful. By this way at least the loss of the pearls will be recompened.”

Accordingly, Kathuvelu was ordered to dress herself and go to the newly arrived brother of the queen in the palace during his stay. She understood the purpose and wept much, but obey she must. So, fervently praying to Iśvara inwardly to preserve her chastity, she, on the first day, heaving deep sighs, approached the entrance of the chamber and stood weeping. On the second night also she approached the entrance of the chamber with a heavy heart and stood weeping. The third day, too, saw her standing and weeping at the entrance. The fourth day also marked the tears of Kathuvelu, wetting the ground at the entrance to the chamber of the Rājā. But on the fifth day, when she had begun weeping after approaching the entrance and taking her stand, the Rājā, who had observed her behaviour for the last four days, and taking her to be a prostitute, asked her who she was and why she was weeping. Upon this Kathuvelu with clasped hands unfolded her tale of woes. She told how she had been married to the unfortunate Dēshādi Rājā, who had died while making acquaintance with different countries, and in consequence how she had had a funeral pile prepared and jumped into it to rejoin her husband in the next world, but how an unusually heavy rain at that moment came down from the high heavens, as ill-luck would have it, and

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1 Shaving of the head, lopping of the ears, cutting of the noses of women and parading them in streets after making them sit on donkeys with their faces pointing to the tail of the animal, were old punishments inflicted on women for misconduct or infidelity to their husbands or other offences.

2 Kashmir.

3 Himalaya Mountains.
extinguished the flames: how one of the several rivers which inundated the country in consequence, instead of accepting her sinful self as a sacrifice when refused by fire, swept her along only to lay her on the banks of a river of a strange country, where a mālakāra taking compassion on her, adopted her as his daughter; how she was torn away from him by the queen to become a companion for her daughter; how she lost the pearls in the temple of Gaṇeśa and had in consequence been punished.

She went on to say: — “I have been the lamp-post at the entrance to your chamber since your arrival (though I was in the stable-yard before), and now I am compelled to lead the life of a prostitute against my will, when, as heaven and earth know it, I have laid the hem of my garment to Dēghosta Rājā, and to him alone. To save me from dishonour and allow me to die pure, when death overtakes me, is now within your power,” said Kuthivelu, prostrating herself at his feet with tears trickling down the pallid cheeks of her swollen face.

Hearing her sorrowful story, and recognizing, from the narration in the poor, badly-tREATED servant sent to him, his own wife, Dēghosta Rājā took her to his side and wept bitterly, exclaiming that he was her husband. But Kuthivelu would not believe that he was her husband, for had she not learnt from the lips of her sister that he died while travelling in the classic Āryabhiṣā, and were not women always being deceived by men by false persuasion? However, Dēghosta Rājā sent for his brother-in-law the next day, and in high terms asked the cause of the maltreatment of his wife, and straightway made his way to the temple to Gaṇeśa and beat the image in his anger with a rātan, stating that he was the root of the disappearance of the pearls for which his poor wife was so bitterly persecuted. Whereupon the god gave up the pearls!

Dēghosta Rājā soon afterwards, leaving his cruel sister and brother-in-law, who were at a loss for an explanation of the maltreatment of his wife, reached his father-in-law’s country, followed by his patient wife, Kuthivelu.

Here, to the great joy of Kuthivelu’s father and sister, was very soon celebrated with great pomp and splendour the marriage of Dēghosta Rājā with Kuthivelu for the second time, for both had been reported dead and were alive.

It need hardly be said that the pair lived happily afterwards, attaining a good old age.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIYAN PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 140.)

XXXIV.

At Chatrapur lived four poor friends, who, being in great distress and sorely puzzled how to eke out a livelihood, met at a certain spot to devise means for bettering their condition. They thereupon performed severe austerities to the Kāli of the place, who, being pleased with them, appeared to them and asked them what they wanted. They asked her to confer riches and happiness on them. The goddess thereupon gave each of them a talisman, which was to be carried on the head. They were told to go in a northerly direction, and wherever the talisman fell from the head to dig there, and take whatever came to each person’s lot. The four friends set out on their errand, and went a certain distance, when the talisman of the first person fell from his head. When the spot was dug into, an enormous quantity of copper was found. The first man saw the others, and said that he was quite content with his lot, and stopping there, he carried the copper home. After travelling a little more distance, the talisman of the second man fell from his head. The spot was dug into, and an enormous quantity of silver was found. He followed
the action of the first friend, and desisted from going any further. The other two travelled for some time longer, when the talisman on the head of one of them fell off. When the spot was dug into, an enormous quantity of gold was found. He thereupon told the last friend not to proceed any further, as, with the quantity of gold found, both of them could live happily. But he gave a deaf ear to the advice, and went on for some time longer, till the talisman fell from his head. The spot was dug into, and a quantity of iron was found. He was overcome with grief at his lot, and regretting the neglect of his friend's advice he retraced his steps. But, alas, in this he was sorely disappointed, for he was not able to find his friend. Thereupon immersed in grief he tried to get at the iron that had fallen to his lot, but he was not able to find the iron. Very sorry for his lot, he came back to the town and lived once more by begging.

Moral: — A person who hears not the advice tendered by his most intimate friends will surely come to grief.

XXXV.

Lake Vimalavati has been occupied from time immemorial by large numbers of fish. Once upon a time, a crane, which happened to pass by, conceived the idea of praying on them, and stood on the brink of the lake. But it saw the fish going away from it shaking with fear, and so it said: — "I very much regret your going away from me in the belief that birds of my order make you their prey, and that I would do the same. But I have not come here with such an object in view. I, following others of my kind, have killed a good many fish, and become a sinner, but I am now grown very old, and have renounced the world. I am come here to perform penance. Fear not any harm from me. You may roam anywhere you please."

The poor fish believed the wily words of the crane, especially as the crane did not interfere with them at all, though they approached it. After some time had thus elapsed, the crane appeared to be very much dejected and melancholy. The fish approached it, and asked it what the matter was. To which the crane replied: — "What shall I say? A twelve years' famine will very shortly visit the land. Not a drop of water will then remain in this lake. I am able to know this by second sight, and, as you are my close friends, I cannot resist the temptation of informing you, lest you die when the famine comes."

The fish were exceedingly joyful at the humane nature of the crane, and requested it to save them from the impending peril. The crane thereupon informed them, that there was a lake a few yards further off, which would never dry, and that it would be a very happy refuge for the fish. The latter requested the former to take them up and leave them there. The crane thereupon took them up one by one and left them in the sun on a mountain-top, and slowly devoured them.

Moral: — We should never, therefore, believe the words of our natural enemies.

XXXVI.

A famine, in days long gone by, once devastated the whole of the southern country, and there was not a drop of water visible in pond, lake, well or tank. The elephants, very much troubled by thirst, went in search of a place where they could satisfy it to their hearts' content, and found a tank called Chandrapushkarani. As the tank was full to the brim, they rested there and quenched their thirst, and also found a habitation in the woods adjacent, till the whole country was again green with verdure. But the track of these elephants was full of hares, and they were smashed to pieces under their heavy footsteps. The hares, seeing the calamity that had befallen them, and how they were greatly reduced in numbers, met at a certain spot to devise means for sending the elephants away to a distant spot. One of them said: — "Why fear the elephants? I have devised means to get rid of them."

On a certain moon-light night, it climbed and sat on an adjacent mountain-top, and said to the elephants who came by, as usual, to drink from the tank: — "O, ye elephants, I have been deputed by Chandra (the moon), whose tank it is, to inform you that this tank has been dug under his orders. That is the reason why it goes under the name of Chandrapushkarani (lit., the moon's tank). He comes here every night and dallies with his wives. For some time past he has been interrupted in his pastime by your advent and meddling with the waters. He is therefore very angry with you. Quit the tank instantly, or otherwise, he told me, he would smash you up ere dawn. If you want to see whether he is angry or not, just look into this tank and you will be satisfied."

The elephants were wonder-struck, and seeing the reflection of the moon, agitated by the wind in the waters, mistook it for his wrath with them, bowed to the moon, requested him to excuse them as they had come there in innocence, and desired the hare to intercede with the moon on their behalf. The elephants thereupon quitted the place instantly, and the hare from that time forwards lived comfortably.
THE MANDUKYA UPAHISHAD.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

The Mandukya Upanishad.

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सत्यम् एव जयते

Hiraṇayāna pātṛena satyasya apihitam Mukham

Yaḥ asū adityaḥ purushaḥ saḥ asū aham

Om! Kham! Bhrma! H

The Mandukya Upanishad.

Perhaps no class of metaphysical literature is likely to exercise so great an influence on future schools of thought in Europe as those mystical products of the Indian mind known as the Upahishads. No less an authority than Prof. Deussen does not hesitate to say: 'Whatever, with growing knowledge, may be the final form of these and other parallels, they at all events prove what penetrating questions have been raised and in their way answered by the Indians, and what a mistake it is to exclude the philosophy of the Hindus from the philosophical curriculum. In the course of time this state of things must and will be altered.'

Professor Max Müller has contributed two volumes of translation of these ancient treatises to the Clarendon Press series, and, to judge alike from the friendly and the adverse criticism of which they have been the subject, interest in these matters is likely to grow rather than to diminish.

Now the Mandukya, which, in the opinion of competent pandits, best expresses in terse form the essential theosophy of India, does not form one of the aforesaid series. There is a short literal English translation of the work by Dr. Roer in the second volume of the Bibliotheca Indica, a similar prose rendering into German in his Indische Studien by Prof. Albrecht Weber and into French by M. Regnaud. But hitherto, at all events in Europe, this Upanishad has not received the attention which it undoubtedly deserves.

It bears its name from an ancient Rishi called Manduka, the Frog, or from a school of Āchāryas of that name, the Mandukya Sikha.

Professor Weber has pointed out that we read in the Prátiśākhya of a Manḍukéya as one of the Rik grammarians. To fix the exact date of its composition seems quite impossible. It is certainly after that of the eleven classical Upanishads, but we know it must have been before Gāṇḍapāda, the teacher of Gāṅgādhara, and before Saṅkara, the latter's pupil, who both wrote a commentary on the work, which is attached to the Atharva Veda. For a true understanding of the doctrine and history of Brahman and as a preparation for the standpoint of the Upanishads the Atharva Veda is most important. In the fifth Mandala we have a description of the origin of man, of the Vedic student as an incarnation of Brahman and of Brahman as the Breath of Life, the World-Support and the Teleological Principle.

Says the Chândogya (v. 18, 2): 'Of that Atharvā Veda the head is Sutējas, the eye Viśvarūpa, the breath prithyavartman, the trunk bahula, the bladder ravi, the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the garhaṇya fire, the mind the avaṇhārya fire, the mouth the dhaṇavya fire.'
The position taken up by the Māṇḍūkya may be described psychologically, cosmologically and theologically, the idea being that the macrocosm and the microcosm are involved and evolved in the same way, the whole process being symbolized by Óm, the real Brahman. It is the doctrine of Atman trikātuṣṇa or three-sheathed Soul.

From a psychological point of view we have a representation of the states known as the conscious, the sub-conscious and the super-conscious, here called vāśva, tāijsa and prajña corresponding to the three Kōsas named annamaya, the sheath of nourishment, of the gross body; jñāvāčārīnā, the sheath of the subtle body; and ángadāmya, the sheath of bliss, of unity and liberty. In later books the qualities tamas, rajas and sattva are similarly conceived and applied. According to Indian psychology abhidāra, individuality, consists of Sarīra the solid frame, indriya the sensor nerves, manas the motor nerves, and Atman the subsuming and controlling Spirit. certain phases of Atman being sometimes distinguished as buddhi the faculty of decision and citta the faculty of memory.

The Atmā, represented by our Upanishad in three states, appears first of all as what metaphysicians of the older schools used to call bahishkaraṇa; that is to say, the human spirit manifests itself through the physical temple in manifold activity of body and brain as Atmā vāśvāṇa. The Atlantic cable and the telephone, the railroad and the revolving planet, the Taj Mahal, the statues and the subterranean products of Aegina, the Mahabharata and the Iliad, the Promethean, Anitjose and Hamlet, the Ninth Symphony and the Hymn of Praise: all the creations of genius, the highest achievements of science and of art come under this head. We have, in fact, the action and reaction of indriya and manas, resulting in the many-colored activities of an ordered world. Pravritti of Purusha or Viśva of Atman is thus the first modal expression of what Spinoza would call Natura naturans, the primary form of Natura naturata.

In the second place we have Nivritti or Atman tāijasa. This is the sub-conscious state, in which the soul withdraws from the outside world in order to pass in review the forms and, sensations in the Kosmos known to Atmā vāśvāṇa. It is antābhākaraṇa, the dream of the doer in the mind. In the words of the great poet of the Middle Age, it is Un' alma sola, che vive e sente e sò in se rigira.

The third phase is the super-conscious, in which the Atman prajña beholds, as it were, its own apotheosis, the Manj is resolved into the One, trikātuṣṇa is again ॐkōva, in the blissful state of śāmyāsvāsthā.

Cosmologically the theory is that the universe, when it comes out of the Absolute, manifests itself from finer to grosser states in three stages and goes into the Absolute in the opposite way, and he who knows this secret, which has been symbolized by the threefold ॐ and by the Atman, becomes master of his own different states of existence and knows the truth.

But the theological, or rather theosophical, standpoint is the really important one, to which the other two are altogether subsidiary. 'I pray Thee, tell me Thy name' is the prayer of the poet in all ages, struggling, like another Jacob, with the thought that is within him. About the same time that Rishi Magdhu was whispering this rahaya, the old Persian prophet Zarathushtra exclaimed (Ormazd Yasht, i. v.)—

"Tell me Thy name, O holy Ahura Mazda, that name which is the greatest, the best, the most beautiful, the most efficacious, the strokes of which are the most victorious, which succours best, which best confounds the malice of demons and of men, that I may overcome both, and Yatus and Pairikas, so that none may destroy me."
After enumerating 19 names Ahura Mazda answered: —

I am that I Am!

Amongst the Greeks, too, who can forget the chorus in the Agamemnon of Aischylos?

Zeus — if to The Unknown
That name of many names seem good —
Zeus, upon thee, in utter need, I call.
Through the mind's every road
I passed, but vain are all
Save that which names thee Zeus, the Highest One!
Were it lent mine to cast away the load,
The weary load that weighs my spirit down!

Now, as regards the Mandukya, the whole treatise is primarily an exposition and expansion of the sacred Name. 'Hold the bow,' says the Mandaka, the Upanishads proclaim; sit in it the sharp arrow of concentrated attention; draw it with the whole mind of devotion, and forget not that the mark is the great Imperishable. Om, the great name of God, is the bow, the soul the arrow, the mark the Supreme Being himself. Shoot it with all your care and diligence. As the arrow is held fast in the mark, so is the soul lodged in Divinity.' In the Bhagavad-gita Krishna says to Arjuna (viii. 13): —

Omityékktharam Brahma vyáharan mánmanusmaran,
Yáh prayáti tyajan déhdah sa yáti paramid gatíān.

'Whoever pronounces the sacred Om, the one imperishable Brahma, thinking all the while of me, he, thus abandoning his body, treads the path supreme!'

And here we see the great difference between Aryan and Semitic religious feeling. Whereas to the Hebrew the Tetragrammaton or Shén-ša-Meôrash is too sacred to be by any means ever uttered or even to be written in the way it occurs in the Bible, the Ekdhásnam to the Hindu is a word not only to be written, but, by very reason of its sacredness, to be recited before every reading of the Veda and to be brooded on day and night!

But though this is true of the Jews at the time of the Upanishads we must not forget that it was not always so. It has long been known that in Hebrew history we must distinguish three periods in which names and words bore very different characters:

In the first, when the people were called Hebrew, names stood for truths and words were the symbols of realities. Of that early age simplicity and sincerity were the chief characteristics. Names were drawn either from the idea of the family or from that of the tribe: from some prominent peculiarity of the individual or from the religious idea. It is quite true that, though in those days names were real, the conceptions expressed were not the most lofty. Thus the thought of Deity was not yet אל = אֱלֹהִים the great secret of existence, but only אֱלֹהִים Might.


כָּלָ֣ה יִתְנַבֵּ֖א עַתְּקָהֶ֑י מֵעַלּוֹ֣ תַּ֗לָּתָּו יִרְשַׁ֣לֶם

Gen. xiii., 20.
Unabated simplicity combined with emotion more fervently-religious characterizes the Israelites of the second epoch, which begins with the Exod. And with intense feeling comes sublime thought. The soul within stretches out into the Infinite; the whole being expands into a mighty longing to utter the Unutterable. None has stated this more beautifully than Rev. P. W. Robertson.

'The heart of the nation was big with mighty and new religious truth — and the feelings with which the national heart was swelling found vent in the names which were given abundantly. God, under his name Jah, the noblest assemblage of spiritual truths yet conceived, became the adjunct to names of places and persons. Osha's name is changed into Je-hoshua.

Observe, moreover, that in this period there was no fastidious, over-refined chariness in the use of that name. Men, conscious of deep and real reverence are not fearful of the appearance of irreverence. The word became a common word, as it always may, so long as it is felt, and awe is real. A mighty cedar was called a cedar of Jehovah — a lofty mountain, a mountain of Jehovah. Human beauty even was praised by such an epithet. Moses was divinely fair, beautiful to God. The Eternal name became an adjunct. No greatness — no goodness, was conceivable, except as emanating from Him: therefore, His name was freely but most devoutly used.'

Here words are not only real but are pregnant with deep religious truth, with thought profounder far than at the earlier stage. 'What is His name?' says Moses, 'What shall I say unto them?' And the great answer came, as at last it came to the Iranian prophet: —

I Am that I am!

It was only at the third period, which was at its zenith in the time of Christ, that names to the Jews became hollow and words lost their meaning. Then it was that the decay of national religious feeling began. For, whenever the debasement of a language takes place, it is a sure sign of the insincerity of a nation.

To again quote the weighty words of Rev. J. W. Robertson: —

'A nation may reach the state in which the Eternal Name can be used to point a sentence or adorn a familiar conversation, and no longer shock the ear with the sound of blasphemy, because in good truth the Name no longer stands for the Highest, but for a meaner conception, an idol of the delused mind . . .

Yet in this period, exactly in proportion as the solemnity of the idea was gone, reverence was scrupulously paid to the corpse-like word which remained and had once enclosed it. In that hollow, artificial age, the Jew would wipe his pen before he ventured to write the Name — he would leave out the vowels of the sacred Jehovah, and substitute those of the less sacred Elohim. In that kind of age, too, men bow to the name of Jesus often just in that proportion in which they have ceased to recognise His true grandeur and majesty of character.'

With the Arabs the recitation of the Name seems ever to have been a sacred duty, and no true follower of Islam fails to prefix every undertaking with the words َلا يَسِيلُ َلِكَ .

Returning to the Upanishads we read in the second Prapâhaka of the Chândogya (Ch. xxiii.): —

Prajâpati brooded on the worlds. From them, thus brooded on, the threefold knowledge issued. He brooded on it, and from it, thus brooded on, issued the three syllables Bhû, Bhuvah, Svâh. He brooded on them, and from them, thus brooded on, issued the Om. As all leaves are attached to a stalk, so is all speech attached to the Om. Om is all this, yes, all this is Om!'
Vṛṣṇi, too, commenting on the Yōga Darśana, says:—

The recitation of Om and the constant presentation to the mind of its signification: these are the two means of Upāsana, of true worship. The Yōga who constantly does both, develops concentration, or, as has elsewhere been stated, the aforesaid recitation and realisation develop concentration, and concentration facilitates realisation till, by the continual action and re-action of both, the light of the supreme divinity begins to fully shine in his heart. 1

Of such a Yōga or Sannyāsin Mr. Rudyard Kipling has given us a most interesting and delightful picture in the story of Pūran Bhagat. A man of world-wide culture, the prime minister of a Native State, who for many years had been par excellence a man of affairs, one day renounces all, and goes quietly forth with leopard-skin and almsbowl to dwell in the forest and to meditate on God.

That day saw the end of Pūran Bhagat's wanderings. He had come to the place appointed for him—the silence and the space. After this, time stopped, and he, sitting at the mouth of the shrine, could not tell whether he were alive or dead; a man with control of his limbs, or a part of the hills, and the clouds, and the shifting rain, and sunlight. He would repeat a Name softly to himself a hundred hundred times, till at each repetition he seemed to move more and more out of his body, sweeping up to the doors of some tremendous discovery; but, just as the door was opening, his body would drag him back, and, with grief, he felt he was locked up again in the flesh and bones of Pūran Bhagat.'

In all Vēdiic literature the most sacred name is Om. Whereas other names of the Supreme also express or imply phenomena, or things that pass, this word alone indicates the Eternal, expresses the nāmaṇāma. But this is not all. 'The deepest and in truth the highest reason,' says the Vēdiānist, 'is that the signification of Om is the Key-note of the realisation of the Divine Spirit. The several letters of Om, with unparalleled exactness, mark the successive steps of meditation by which one rises to the realisation of the true nature of Divinity.' 2

This sacred syllable consists of three letters, A, U, M, and these by the Maṇḍikāya are made the modal expressions of the First Cause, the means of the self-development of the Divine along the three planes of Vyāvahāra, Pratibhāsa, and Paramāarthā. ॐ represents jagrat, the 'wakeful' phase; ा swampa, the 'dreaming'; and u sushupti, the 'slumbering.' In brooding over the meaning of ॐ the devotee has in mind the Deity as Frazer of systems and of worlds, as Brahmā emerging from Brahmā, a divine self-protection into infinite space, resulting in the music of the spheres and in Nature as the manifold manifestation of Mind. As regards motive for jagrat the Indian Yōga would probably agree with the Persian Sūfi: 'I was a hidden treasure and I longed to be known, so I called forth Creation that I might be comprehended.'

Reflection on ॐ leads to a thought of the supreme Being as turning in upon Himself to review the results of His previous act of Creation. The exquisite play of light and shade, the full-toned tints and forms of star and tree and flower; all the high harmonies of this so solid-seeming world are seen and heard as in a dream, until, in that matchless line of Dante—Cio ch'io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso Dell' universo!—or in the words of that surpassing poem—Genesis: 'God saw all that He had made, and lo! it was very good!'

The Deity viewed as Himself the embodiment of all ideas and principles is the meaning of अ. Creation and contemplation are over. The objective world has ceased to be. It is sarvoparamatā. The All again becomes the One. Behind and above all that appears is that which is, das Werden is again das Sein. For अ is mātra, that which measures all, is the Resort of all. The Chāndogya tells us: 'that Self abides in the heart. And this is the

1 Sūtras xxvii. and xxviii. 2 Gurn Vidyarthi's Vēdiic Magazine, July, 1898.
etymological explanation. The heart is called krodhayam instead of kridhayam, i.e., He who is in the heart. He who knows this, that He is in the heart, goes day by day when in deep sleep (sushupti) into heaven (suvarga), i.e., into the Brahman of the heart.'

Says the Kaṭha Upaniṣad :—

\[ Svapnaṁ āsaḥ jayatāṁ cha ubhāu yásāṁ puruṣāyaṁ \\
Mahāṁśāṁ vibhūmsmānam maṁ vādā na śochati \]

'That wise man sorrow not, who, awake or in a dream or in both, beholds the great and omnipresent Self.'

It is from the Māṇḍūkya that Sadānanda, the author of the Vāḍānta-Ṣāra, seems to have drawn his inspiration. "A follower of Kūmārila Bhaṭṭa," he says, "is of opinion that the soul is intellect conditioned by ignorance, according to Scripture which saith: 'Soul which is full of joy is also replete with knowledge' (M. U. v.), because in deep sleep light and darkness are alike really present, and because one is under the impression that one does not know oneself.'

The Sātāpatha-Brāhmaṇa well says (x. iii. 2. 1.):

\[ Yadā vai prabuddhaṁ svapnaṁ, praṇāṁ tarhi vāsāṁjñāti, praṇāṁ chakshuḥ, praṇāṁ manāḥ, praṇāṁ srotuṣu. Sa yaḍa prabuddhaṁ, prāṇāḥ eva adhi-punar jāyantē. \]

'When a man sleeps, speech is merged in life, eye in life, mind in life, ear in life. And when he wakes they are reborn from life.'

Professor Deussen has put this into modern metaphysical phraseology. 'The Will, as the objectification of which every man and every animal appears, is originally and essentially unconscious. It is only in a limited sphere of animal life, becoming narrower as we descend the scale, that it furnishes itself with consciousness. Nothing proves more clearly the secondary and so to say borrowed nature of all conscious life than the necessity of sleep. In sleep, owing to the isolation of the brain from the motor and sensory nerves, consciousness is periodically extinguished, that is, the union between will and intellect is suspended, and the latter, for the sake of its (that is the brain's) nourishment, is merged completely in unconscious life, which, as the central and essential entity, unwearily exercises its functions, whether we sleep or wake.'

In two other Śūstras of the Vāḍānta-Ṣāra (47, 57) we read:—

\[ Sarvoparamatmā svapnaṁ \]

'Since everything attains rest (or realises itself) in Him, He is deep sleep.'

As regards the way in which the Māṇḍūkya deals with the three letters of the mystical syllable we can have no better commentary, whether by Gāṇḍapāda or Saṅkara, than the remarkable words of Prāṇā Upaniṣad:—

'The three letters of Ōṁ, when duly contemplated and in their respective order set free the devotees from the troubles of this world. The contemplation of the first āṇā confers upon him the most exalted state of existence possible on this earth, that of the second fills him with the joys of the spiritual world, and the contemplation of the last blesses him with Moksha.'

And here I may mention a very interesting fact in the theology of Islam. The first verse of the second Śūra of the Kūrā consists entirely of three letters — A, L, M. That is to say, the chapter begins: 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful — A, L, M; this is the Book, there can be no doubt about it.' Of these letters the explanations have been many and various, but nearly all commentators agree that they refer to the Deity. A modern Vāḍāntin goes so far as to hold that we have here simply another form of Ōṁ (i.e., A, U, M). But though I venture to think that no Semitic scholar would agree to this, we may certainly admit that such a form in Semitic divinity is sufficiently striking.

* Har Nārāyana: Vedic Philosophy, p. 74.
Lastly, we may notice how in Indian theology the number three prevails, as indeed, in many cases it seems to exhaust all that can be conceived of a subject.

God is Light: in Him is no darkness, and it is a remarkable fact that all the varieties in the composition of external light must be referred to mixtures of Red, Green and Violet, all differences of hue depending upon combinations in different proportions of these three primary colors. He is the Soul of sacred sound, the great Tone-Poet, and we must not forget that all harmony is based upon the common chord of tonic, mediant, dominant C, E, G. He who is above Space, conceived as Length, Breadth, Heigh, and beyond Time, known to us as Past, Present, Future, is in popular thought Brahma-Vishnu-Siva; to the Vedántin He is Sat-Chit-Ananda; in our Upánishad the imperishable ॐ is trikáua, appears in three sheaths as jagrat, svapna, sushupti, whilst the Ātmā is similarly known as vaśānara, tājasa and prājñā. Not less than three lives enclose a space, and, in this connexion it is interesting to remember that the Indians of the Western Continent represent the Infinite by a Triangle (Mikmaq: ᴺᵃ ᴺᵃ ᴸᵃ ᴵᵍᵃᵃ). Indeed, this colossal conception of Deity is deeply seated in the human breast. The prophet of Paradise, the master of 'mystic, unfathomable song,' sees all things in God as the different modes in the unity of the Spinozian substance. Our thoughts are born in God, not in the moment of time in which we think them, but exist in Him in that Eternity which is peculiar to mathematical truths.

Here, then, we have the realisation and reconciliation of Adhibhūta, the separable nature of Brahma, Adhidaiva the procreative principle in Nature, and Adhiyajña the meeting of the human and the divine. It is the unfolding of the infinite Spirit, whose face is hidden in the golden veil of Truth. The feeling after the Divine which we find in the Rig-Veda:

Ekam sat vipra bahudhā vadanti

is here merged in the beautiful thought bridi-sayam He is in the Heart! For surely this is the meaning of 'the Jewel in the Lotus' ॐ Mani Padma, the sacred name in the heart of man.

And we of the West, to whom the sweet Galilean vision, the revelation of the Son of Man has come, know that the secret of union is the Sacred Name engraven on the heart, when we hear the farewell prayer: 'Holy, righteous Father, keep them in Thy name, which Thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are one!'

Translation.

To Him, the one, imperishable ॐ,
Who was, and is, and shall be; 'yond the foam
And fret of Time, and man's and Nature's home!

His name is Brahma, spirit, self and Soul,
Four-fold in form, and yet, in essence whole!
O'er Nature's realm He watches, vision true
Guards mind and matter, speech, thought, me and you!

And so, in second phase, He aye appears
Worlds' dreamer and the Architect of years!
As rest, self-folded, human souls in sleep,
When ear and eye repose, no vigils keep;
So He, in thought, in joy, knows slumber deep!

Yes, this is He, awake or in a dream
Within, without, o'er all things is supreme!

* Par. xvii. 19.
Not solely self-absorbed know Him to be,
Nor yet as wholly lost in trackless space;
As mind made manifest, as giving face
To truth, ay, this and more: we cannot see
The half, much less the whole of Him who lies
Unseen, unsearchable; His qualities
No man can name. Within the soul, know this,
An undivided Blessing and pure Bliss!
This matchless spirit present ev'rywhere
The symbols A, U, M, can best declare.
Of waking, watching find in A the sign,
The first phase this of Being all-divine:
O take this step and all desires are thine!
And meditation doth the U proclaim,
An ordered world, an architectural mind.
Whoso has taken the second step will find
His home rejoicing in the sacred Name!
In M behold the silent Soul in sleep:
Who grasp this truth, of world-thought measure keep.
The fourth is Reconciliation sure,
The last, the best, the measureless, the pure,
Awake, aware, asleep — life's thrill and flash,
The Soul supreme, the silence and the hush!

अओम्

माण्ड्योपायिपदः

(To be continued.)
FESTAL DAYS OF THE HINDU LUNAR CALENDAR.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Some years ago I compiled, chiefly from the Dharma-sindhu and a number of Native calendars, a list\(^1\) of the principal festivals and religious observances connected with the tithis of the Hindu lunar months, of the names and epithets of certain tithis, and generally of such items of information concerning individual tithis as seemed likely to be of use in the verification of Hindu dates. This brief list was not intended for publication. If, nevertheless, I now yield to the request of a friend to publish it, I do so, because something of the kind appears really to be wanted, and in the hope that I may induce others to correct, and improve on, what I can offer myself.

What I should especially like to see treated by a competent Native scholar, is the question, how the tithis, for the purpose of the particular festivals or rites connected with them, are joined with the civil days.\(^2\) For my own use I have indeed translated most of the rules on this subject, given in the Dharma-sindhu\(^3\) but some of these precepts are so intricate that I should be afraid of giving an authoritative version of them or of applying them in practice. In my list, therefore, I have only inserted, in square brackets, some very general hints. Thus, by the word pūrva-vidhā I have indicated that certain tithis, so far as regards the rites mentioned along with them, are liable to be joined with the days on which they commence.\(^4\) And more frequently I have given the time of the day or night\(^5\) during which a rite must be performed or a festival celebrated, statements from which it may sometimes be possible to ascertain with which day a tithi should be connected, because the particular time of the day or night, mentioned in the list, must generally be included in the tithi.\(^6\) But I know only too

\(^1\) For a similar list see W. Jones's article on the lunar year of the Hindus, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 297 ff.

\(^2\) In the case of rites, prescribed for a certain tithi, there can be no doubt as to the day on which the rite should be performed, when the tithi happens to last from sunrise to sunset; and the same is mostly the case, when the tithi lasts from sunrise to sunset. But tithis often commence after sunrise of one day, and end before sunset of the following day, and the question therefore arises whether, for the purpose of particular rites, they should be joined with the days on which they commence, or with the days on which they end.

\(^3\) The general rules on the tithis, given in the Dharma-sindha, have been translated by the Rev. A. Bourquin, in the Jour. As. Soc. Vol. XV.

\(^4\) A tithi is pūrva-vidhā (in the sense in which this term is used here), when it commences more than 4 ghaṭikas before sunset of one day and ends before sunset of the following day; and when such is the case, it must be joined with the day on which it commences. Thus, when the first tithi of the bright half of Kārttika commences 20 ghaṭikas after sunrise (or 7 gh. before sunset) of Monday and ends 16 gh. after sunrise of Tuesday, the Tātā-pūtra, prescribed for the first tithi of the bright half of Kārttika, must be performed on the Monday (although in civil life that day is Āśina-vādi 15). When, on the other hand, the first tithi of the bright half of Kārttika commences 41 gh. after sunrise of Monday, and ends 40 gh. after sunrise of Tuesday, the same rite must be performed on the Tuesday (in civil life Kārttika-saṅdi 1).

\(^5\) The day, from sunrise to sunset, is divided into the forenoon and afternoon. But it is also divided into five equal parts, each of about 6 ghaṭikas, called pūrva-ghaṭika (the early forenoon), aśamasa (the forenoon part, maidhāna (midday), aprākha (the afternoon part), and aṣṭhyāna (the late afternoon part). The four ghaṭikas before sunrise are called aśamasa (the rise of the dawn), the six ghaṭikas after sunset, āṣṭhyāna (evening), and the two ghaṭikas in the middle of the night, āṣṭhyāna (midnight).

\(^6\) This may be shown by an example. The time which I have given for the Gauḍa-chaturthi of Chaitra-pakṣa is 15 gh. after noon on Sunday. If, then, the 4th tithi of the bright half of Chaitra commences 13 gh. after sunrise of Sunday and ends 14 gh. after sunrise of Monday, the Gauḍa-chaturthi must be joined with the Monday (Chaitra-saṅdi 4); but if the 4th tithi commences 5 gh. after sunrise of Sunday and ends 7 gh. after sunrise of Monday, the Gauḍa-chaturthi must be joined with the Sunday, and in calendars this Sunday will be described as Gauḍa-chaturthi, although in civil life it is Chaitra-saṅdi 3. A now it is clear that sometimes the 4th tithi of the bright half of Chaitra may occupy the whole or part of the midday portion of two days (as would be the case, if it were to commence 15 gh. after sunrise of Sunday and to end 17 gh. after noontime of Monday), and that for such and similar cases we want special rules to guide us. In the present instance the special rule for all Gauḍa-chaturthi is this, that, when the fourth tithi occupies, entirely or partly, the midday part of two days, or does not occupy the midday part of either day, it must be joined with the day on which it commences (in the present case, with the Sunday). If there was a similar conflict in the case of a Manśāci of a bright fortnight, for which the prescribed time is the forenoon, we should have to decide in favour of the day on which the tithi ends, provided the tithi were to occupy more than 6 gh. after sunrise of that day; but if the tithi happened to occupy less than 6 gh. of the second day, we should have to join the Manśāci with the first day. There are many such special rules, which form an essential part of the Hindu calendar.
well that such and similar short remarks, by themselves, are not sufficient to solve the problem, even in cases which are not beset with any great difficulties.

I add here some general notes on several of the tithis, which could not be given in the list:

A fourth tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Tuesday. Such a tithi of the bright half is called Sukha, and is most auspicious for making donations. A fourth tithi of the dark half, which falls on Tuesday and continues till moonrise, is called Aigāraki.

A seventh tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Sunday, particularly so, when it is joined with the nakshatra Rēvati. A seventh tithi of the bright half, which falls on Sunday, is called Vijaya,7 and donations made on it secure great rewards. A seventh tithi of the bright half is called Bhadrā, when it is joined with the first quarter of the nakshatra Hasta. Moreover, a seventh tithi of the bright half is called Mahājaya, when a saṁkrutti takes place on it, and for making donations such a tithi is said to be superior even to an eclipse.

When the sixth and seventh tithis meet on a Sunday, this coincidence is called Padmakayo.

An eighth tithi is considered auspicious when it falls on Wednesday (Budh-āśṭami).

An eleventh tithi of the bright half, which is joined with the nakshatra Panarasu, is called Vijaya.

Eight kinds of the twelfth tithi are called Mahā-dvādasi. Their special names are Unmilant, a 12th tithi which follows upon an 11th tithi that is current at sunrise on two days; Vaiṣṇavā, a 12th tithi which itself is current at sunrise on two days; Trisparśā, a 12th tithi which commences after sunrise and ends before the next sunrise; Pakṣavardhini, a 12th tithi preceding a full-moon or new-moon tithi which is current at sunrise on two days; Jayā, a 12th tithi joined with the nakshatra Pushya; Vijaya, a 12th tithi joined with the nakshatra Sārṣabha; Jayantī, a 12th tithi joined with the nakshatra Panarasu; and Pāpanāsini, a 12th tithi joined with the nakshatra Rūhiṇī.

A fifteenth tithi of the dark half (i.e., the new-moon tithi) is regarded as very auspicious for making donations, when it falls on Monday (in which case it is called Sūnavati, or on Tuesday. — Concerning the 15th tithi, it may also be stated that a solar eclipse which takes place on Sunday, and a lunar eclipse which takes place on Monday, are called chudāmanī, 'crest-jewel,' and that donations made at such eclipses are said to bear endless fruit.

In the following list the Roman figures at the commencement of the lines give the numbers of the tithi's of the half-months.

I. — Chaitra-śuklapaksha.

I. — Vatsar-ārmbha, commencement of the year.

Navarātr-ārmbha, commencement of the vernal Navarātra. (For the autumnal Navarātra see the same tithi of Āśvina-śuklapaksha.)

Kalpādi. [Forenoon.]

III. — Gaunt-tritiya.

Matsya-jayantī, Vishnu's incarnation in the form of a fish. [Afternoon part.]

Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

IV. — Vaiṇāyakā or Gāga-śatruṭthi. [Midday.]

V. — Śri-pañcami, according to some. (See the same tithi of Māgha-śuklapaksha.)

Kalpādi. [Forenoon.]

7 This is the viṣṇa-āśṭami of the inscription, published in Ep. Ind. Vol. III. p. 54 ff.
8 For another meaning of Padmakayo see below, under Kārttika-śuklapaksha XV.
VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-āṣṭāmī.  
Bhavāny-āṣṭami, birth of Bhavāni.  
Bathing in the morning during this tithi, when it falls on Wednesday and is joined with the nakshatra Purna-bu, is as meritorious as a vājapādyya sacrifice.

IX. — Rāma-navami; Rāma-jayanti, Vishṇu’s incarnation as Rāma. [Midday.]

XI. — Kāmāḍa ēkādaśi.

XIII. — Madana-trayōdaśi; Anāgāpījana-vrata, worship of the god of love. [Pūrṇa-viddha.]

XV. — Hanumāj-jayanti, birth of Hanumā. (Only in calendars.]

Maṇavādi. [Forenoon.]

Bathing, etc., during this tithi, when it falls on Sunday, Thursday, or Saturday, is as meritorious as an aśamudaka sacrifice.

Chaitra-[or pūrmānta Vaisākha-]kriṣṇapaksha.

IV. — Saṃkṣaṭa-chatarthī. [Moonrise.]

VII. — Kāl-āṣṭami. [Pūrṇa-viddha.]

XI. — Varāhini ēkādaśi.

XIII. — (See the same tithi of Phalgunī-[pūrṇa Chaitra-]kriṣṇapaksha.)

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

Bathing (especially in the Ganges) near Siva during this tithi (according to some, when the tithi falls on Tuesday) prevents trouble from Piśāchas or demoniac possession.  

II. — Vaisākha-tuklapaksha.

III. — Kalpaḍi. [Forenoon.]

Trātyayugādi. [Forenoon.]

Akhilaya-tritiya; is highly auspicious, when it falls on Wednesday and is joined with the nakshatra Bṛha. [Forenoon.]

Parasurāma-jayanti, Vishṇu’s incarnation as Parasurāma. [Midday; or, according to others, evening.]

IV. — Vaiṇāya or Gaudiya-chatarthī. [Midday.]

VII. — Gaṅga-saptami; Gaṅga-āṣṭami, birth of Gaṅga. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-āṣṭami.

XI. — Mōhini ēkādaśi.

XII. — When the 12th tithi of the bright half is joined with the nakshatra Hasta, while Jupiter and Mars are in the sign Śūra, and the sun in Mēṣa, this coincidence is called Vyatipata.  

9 Annapūrṇā is an epithet of Durgā.

10 According to Molesworth’s Mrīdhi and English Dictionary, on this tithi ceremonies are performed for the averting of difficulties or troubles. When a Saṃkṣaṭa-chatarthī falls on Tuesday, it is called Abhūka-chatarthī, see above.


12 For other meanings of the term Vyayatipata see above, Vol. XX. p. 292 f.
XIV. — Nṛsiṁha-jayanti, Vishnu's incarnation as man-lion. [Sunset.]

The tithi is highly auspicious, when it falls on Saturday and is joined with the nakṣatra Svāti.

XV. — Kurma-jayanti, Vishnu's incarnation in the form of a tortoise. [Late afternoon.]

Donations on this tithi are particularly enjoined.

Vaisākha-for pūrṇimānta Jyaiśtha-krishnapaksha.

IV. — Saṅkṣaśṭā-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āṣṭāṃ. [Pūrṇa-vidhā.]

XI. — Aparā ēkādaśī.

XIV. — Sivarātrī. [Midnight.]

III. — Jyaiśtha-nuklapaksha.

VIII. — Rambhā-tritiyā; Rambhā-vrata, worship of Bhavīni. [Pūrṇa-vidhā.]

IV. — Vaiṅāyaki or Gaṅga-chaturthi. [Midday.]

X. — Daśahara;13 Gaṅga-avatāra, descent of Gaṅgā to the earth. [The choice of the day depends on the union, during the forenoon, of the greater number of certain occurrences, such as the tithi's falling on Wednesday (according to others, on Tuesday), the nakṣatra being Hasta, the yogā Vṛtā, etc.] When Jyaiśtha is intercalary, the Daśahara falls in the first (intercalated) Jyaiśtha.

XI. — Nirjalā ēkādaśī.

XV. — Vaṣa-pūrṇimā or Vaṣa-stāvitrī.14 [Pūrṇa-vidhā.]

Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

When the moon and Jupiter are in the nakṣatra Jyaiśthi, and the sun in R Ṛṣi, the tithi is called Maḥā-jyaiśthi, and is most auspicious for making donations.

Jyaiśtha-for pūrṇimānta Āśādha-krishnapaksha.

IV. — Saṅkṣaśṭā-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āṣṭāṃ. [Pūrṇa-vidhā.]

XI. — Yoginī ēkādaśī.

XIV. — Sivarātrī. [Midnight.]

IV. — Āśādha-nuklapaksha.

II. — Rāthayātrā-dvitiyā; Rāma-rathōtsava, Rāma's car-festival.

IV. — Vaiṅāyaki or Gaṅga-chaturthi. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇa-āṣṭāṃ.

X. — Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

XI. — Viṣṇuṣyayan-ōtsava; Sayanī or Viṣṇuṣyayan ēkādaśī, on which Viṣṇu goes to sleep.

This re is an epithet of Gaṅgā, as 'taking away tensins.'

14 Molesworth explains Gaṅga-stāvitrī-vrata to be a particular observance of women, i.e., worship of the Ficus Indica, etc.
XII. — Chāturmāsya-vrata commences on this titki (or on the 11th).

XV. — Manvādi. [Fer簡單.]

Śivaśayan-ūtsava. [Evening.] — Kākīḷa-vrata; Vyāsa-pūjā.

Ashādha-[or pūrṇimānta Śrāvana-]krishnapaksha.

II. — Aśūnyaśayana-vrata.¹⁵ [Moonrise.]

IV. — Saṁkṣaṇa-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āśtaṁ. [Pārva-viśāḥ.]

XI. — Kāmadā or Kāmikā śāḍāśi.

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

V. — Śrāvana-suklapaksha.

III. — Called Madhuśravā by the people of Gujarāt.

IV. — Vaitūya or Gaṅgāsa-chaturthi. [Midday.]

V. — Nāga-pañchami,¹⁶ on which the serpents are worshipped. [The day on which the titki commences, if the fourth titki ends less than 6 ghaṭīkās after sunrise of that day, and the fifth titki less than 6 ghaṭīkās after sunrise of the following day.]

VI. — Kālki-jayanti, Vishnu’s incarnation in his last Avatāra. [Sunset.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-ashtami.

XI. — Pūtrādā śāḍāśi.

XII. — Viśuṇoḥ pavīṭhrāḍāpanam. The pavīṭhrāḍāpana is ‘the ceremony of casting new threads around an idol that they may be sanctified, and of thence taking them to wear.’

XV. — Rīg-yayuḥ-śravaṇī, for students of the Rīgveda and Yajurveda the chief time of renewing the sacred thread (upākṛṣṭa).¹⁷ [Pārva-viśāḥ.]

Rakṣā-bandhana, the tying of a piece of silk or string round the arm, as a preservative against evil spirits. In Marathi, the titki therefore is called Bākhi-pūrṇima. (In Marathi it is also called Nāraḷi-pūrṇima, because cocoa-nuts are thrown into the sea, and the monsoon is declared to be broken up.)

Hayagriva-jayanti, birth of Hayagriva.

Śrāvana-[or pūrṇimānta Bhādrapada-]krishnapaksha.

II. — Aśūnyaśayana-vrata.¹⁸ [Moonrise.]

III. — Kajjali-trīṭyā.
IV. — Saṅkaśaṭha-chaturthi; commencement of the Saṅkaśaṭha-chaturthi-vrata. [Moonrise.]

Bahulā-chaturthi; worship of cows. [Late afternoon part.]

VI. — Hāla-shaśthi.

VII. — Sītalā-saptamī; Sītalā-vrata. [Pārva-viḍḍhā.]

VIII. — Kālāśaḥtami. [Pārva-viḍḍhā.]

Janm-aśṭami, Krishṇa-aśṭami, Gokul-aśṭami, or Krishṇa-jayanti, birth of Krishṇa; is very auspicious, when joined with the nakṣatra Rōhiṇī, and also, though in a lesser degree, when it falls on Monday or Wednesday. [In general, midnight.]

Manvādi. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Ajā ḍādaśī.

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

XV. — Pīṭhārīl (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth) a name of this tīthi on account of a particular observance, viz., 'the drawing with flour the figures of 64 Yūginis, and the worshipping of them.'

Kuśāṭpatinī (only in some calendars).

VI. — Bhaḍrapada-śuklapakṣa.

III. — Varāha-jayanti, Vishṇu's incarnation in the form of a boar. [Afternoon part.]

Haritālikā; worship of Pārvatī.

Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

IV. — Gaṇeśa- or Varada-chaturthi; especially auspicious, when it falls on Sunday or Tuesday. [Midday.]

According to the Bhaṭṭaṇayatṛapurāṇa, called Sivā.

V. — Rishi-paśchamī. [Midday; others differently.]

VI. — Sūrya-aśaḥṭi.

Skanda-aśaḥṭi (only in some calendars. See the same tīthi of Mārga-aśaḥṭi-śuklapakṣa).

VII. — According to the Bhaṭṭaṇayatṛapurāṇa, called Aparajītā.

VIII. — Durga- or Annapūrṇa-aśaḥṭi.

Dārv-aśaḥṭi. [Pārva-viḍḍhā.]

Jyāṣṭhā-līlā-pūjana-vrata, when the moon is in the nakṣatra Jyāṣṭhā (which need not necessarily be the case during this particular tīthi).

IX. — Adiśkaṇḍha-navaśī (only in some calendars).

XI. — Viṣṇuparīvartana-śāva; Parīvartini śādaśī. On this tīthi, or on the 12th, Viṣṇu, sleeping, turns on his side.
XII. — Is called Śravaṇa-dvādaśī (or Vījayā), when joined with the nakṣatra Śravaṇa; and is particularly auspicious, when it falls on Wednesday. (The union of the 11th and 12th tīthi and the nakṣatra Śravaṇa is called Vīshnū-prīthvīkhaṇḍa.

Vamana-jayanti, Vishnū’s incarnation in the form of a dwarf. [Midday.]

XIV. — Ananta-chaturdaśi, sacred to Vishnū.

XV. — Praushṭhapaḍi pūrṇimā; Praushṭhapaḍi-śrāddha.

Bhāḍrapada-[or pūrṇimanta Āśvina-]krishnapakṣa.

I. — Mahālay-ārmbha. Śrāddhas are performed during the whole of this dark half.

II. — Aśūnyaśayana-vrata. [Moonrise.]

IV. — Saṁkhaśa-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VI. — Is called Kapilā-shaśānti, when it falls on Tuesday, and is joined with the nakṣatra Rōhiṇī and the yōga Vyāṭpāta; and is particularly auspicious, when the sun, besides, is in the nakṣatra Hasta. [Donations on such an occasion secure great rewards.

Chandra-shaśānti. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kālā-lahāṇi. Mahālakṣmi-vrata. [Pūrṇa-viṭṭī.]

Ashṭakā-śrāddha. [Afternoon part.]

IX. — Avidhiavā or Mātrī-navami (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth, offerings are made to the manes of women who have died unwidowed).

XI. — Indirā ēkādaśi.

XIII. — Kaliyugādi. [Afternoon part.]

Is called Magha-trayodāśī, when joined with the nakṣatra Magha; and Gajachchhāyā, when the sun, besides, is in Hasta.

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

XV. — Sarvapitri amāvāsyā (only in some calendars; so called, because Śrāddhas are offered to all ancestors).

Is called Gajachchhāyā, when the sun and the moon are both in the nakṣatra Hasta.

VII. — Āśvina-śuklapakṣa.11

I. — Navarātri-ārmbha. (See the same tīthi of Chaitra-śuklapakṣa.)

IV. — Vainiyakti or Gaṇeśa-chaturthi. [Midday.]

V. — Lalitā-paṭhchami; Upāṅgalaśimā-vrata, worship of Durgā. [Afternoon part.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-āshānti.

Mahāśānti; is especially auspicious, when it falls on Tuesday.

11 See the same tīthi of the two preceding months.
10 Molesworth says that, because this synchronism is very rare, Kapilāšaṣṭikā yōga, in Marīṭhī, is applied to any astonishing and un hoped for combination of favourable circumstances.
12 Under the nakṣatra Māla (on about the 7th tīthi) of this half Saravatī is worshipped.
IX. — Mahā-navami or Durgā-navami. [Pūrva-viddhā.]

Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

X. — Vijaya-daśami, anniversary of Rāma’s marching against Rāvaṇa; worship of Aparājīti, dēśāntara-yātrā, etc.; (Dasrā festival). Is very auspicious, when joined with the nakṣatra Śravaṇa. [Afternoon part or evening; special rules.]

Buddha-jayanti, Vishnu’s incarnation as Buddha. [Sunset.]

XI. — Pāśūṇkṣa ḍādaśi.

XV. — Kōjāgārt pūrṇimā; Kōjāgara-vrata; the night is spent in worshipping Lakṣmī and Indra, and in games of chaney. [Midnight.]

Navāsana-pūrṇimā (only in some calendars. According to Molesworth, so called, because at this time people generally begin to dress the new corn of the year).

Āsvina-[or pūrṇimānta Kārttika-]kṛṣṇapakṣa.

II. — Akṣānyāyana-vrata.29 [Moonrise.]

IV. — Karaka-chaturthi (in some calendars called Saṅkasaṭṭha-chaturthi). [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āśṭamī. [Pūrva-viddhā.]

XI. — Rāma ḍādaśi.

XII. — Gṛvatsa-dvādaśi (in Marāṭhī also called Vasū-bārāsa), on which the cow and calf are worshipped. [Evening.]

XIII. — Dhma-trādyādaśi, on which money-lenders and others worship money.

XIV. — Śivarātri. [Midnight.]

Naraka-chaturdashi; bathing, etc., of people who are afraid of falling into hell. [Moonrise.]

XV. — This tithi and the immediately preceding and following tithis are called Dipāvali (Divēl), a festival with nocturnal illuminations, feasting, gambling, etc., in honour of Viṣṇu and in propitiation of Lakṣmī. The principal day is the one on which the moon is in the nakṣatra Śvāti.

VIII. — Kārttika-sukla-pakṣa.

I. — Bali-pratipada; Bali-pūjā, worship of the Daitya Bali. [Pūrva-viddhā.]

II. — Yama- or Brāhṭri-dvitiya (in Marāṭhī, Bhāṣā-bhāṣā). On this tithi Yama was entertained by his sister Yamunā; hence ‘sisters (on this tithi) give entertainments to their brothers, who make presents in return.’ [The day on which the tithi commences, if the tithi occupies the afternoon part of that day only; otherwise the day on which the tithi ends; others differently.]

IV. — Vaiṇāyakī or Gātvā-chaturthi. [Midday.]

VI. — When it falls on Tuesday, feeding of Brāhmans, etc.

VII. — Kalpādi. [Forenoon.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-āśṭamī.

Gāp-āśṭamī; worship of cows.

IX. — Kṛitayugādi. [Forenoon.]

\[29\] See the same tithi of the three preceding months.
XI. — Prabodhini ekadasi. (According to some, the Prabodhini-otsava takes place on this tithi; see the following tithi.)

Bhishmapanchaka-vrata commences.

XII. — Prabodh-otsava, ‘ceremonies for the purpose of awakening Vishnu’; and Tulasivivaha, ‘the marriage between an image of Vishnu and the Tulas plant.’

Manavadi. [Forenoon.]

(According to some, the Chatmasya-vrata ends here. See below.)

XIV. — Vaikuṇṭha-chaturdashi. [Midnight.]

XV. — Tripuri-purnima; Tripur-otsava, at which lamps are placed on the lamp-pillars in front of the temples. [Late afternoon and evening.]

Manavadi. [Forenoon.]

Chatmasya-vrata ends. (See the 12th tithi of this half, and of Ashvitha-śuklapaksha.)

Donations on this tithi are particularly enjoined.

The tithi is very auspicious, when it is joined with the nakshatra Krittikā. It is called Mahā-krittikā, when the moon is in the nakshatra Rohini; or when the moon and Jupiter both are in Krittikā. (When the moon is in the nakshatra Krittikā, while the sun is in Viśakhā, this auspicious coincidence is called Padmaka-yoga.)

Krittikā-[or pūrṇimānta Mārgaśīrsha-]krishnapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkṣaṭa-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāla-āṣṭāmī or (in pūrn. Mārgaśīrsha) Krīṣṭu-āṣṭāmī; as on this tithi Kālabhairava (a form of Siva) is worshipped, the tithi also is called Kālabhairava-āṣṭāmī and Kālabhairava-jayanti. [Midday; others differently.]

XI. — Utpati-ekadasi.

XIV. — Sivaratri. [Midnight.]

IX. — Mārgaśīrsha-sūkla-paksha.

IV. — Vainayaki or Gapāśa-chaturthi. [Midday.]

V. — Naga-pūja or Naga-pañchamī; in Mārāṭhī Nāga-diśṭi; according to Molesworth, ‘a festival, on which serpents of flour, etc., are made and worshipped.’

VI. — Champa-śaśṭhi, ‘on which there is a festival of Khaṇḍobā’ (an incarnation of Siva). [In the choice of the day, the preference is given to the union of Sunday or Tuesday with the nakṣatra Satabhishaj and the yōga Vaidṛiti or to the occurrence of the greater number of the three.]

Skanda-śaśṭhi. [Pūrvva-viśād.]

According to the Bhairishyaptupura, called Mahā-śaśṭhi.

VII. — Śrīya-vrata.

According to the Bhairishyaptupura, called Nandā and Jayanti.

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇa-ashamī.
IX. — Kalpādi. [Forenoon.]

XI. — Mōkahadā ēkādaśi.

XIV. — According to the Liṅgāpurāṇa, called Pañhāṇa-chaturdāšī.

XV. — Dattātrēya- or Datta-jayanti, birth of Dattātrēya (an incarnation of Śiva). [Evening.]

Donation of salt on this tīthī, when it is joined with the nakṣatra Mṛiga, secures beauty of person.

Mārgaśirha-[or pūrṇimānta Pausha-]krishnapakṣa.

IV. — Saṁkaśa-chatarthī. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āšṭamī. [Pūrva-viḍḍhā.]

Ashṭākā-śrāddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Saphālā ēkādaśi.

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

X. — Pausha-śuklapakṣa.

IV. — Vaināyakī or Gaṇēśa-chatarthī. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgā- or Annapūrṇā-āśṭamī.

When the tīthī falls on Wednesday, bathing, feeding of Brāhmaṇas, etc., are very meritorious, especially when the moon is in the nakṣatra Bharaṇī, or, according to others, in Rōhiṇī and Ādrā. [1]

XI. — Putradā ēkādaśi.

Manvādi. [Forenoon.]

Pausha-[or pūrṇimānta Māgha-]krishnapakṣa.

IV. — Saṁkaśa-chatarthī. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kāl-āśṭamī. [Pūrva-viḍḍhā.]

Ashṭākā-śrāddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Shaṭṭilā ēkādaśi.

XIV. — Sivarātri. [Midnight.]

XV. — When during this tīthī, on a Sunday in day-time, the nakṣatra is Śravaṇa and the yōga Vyatipāta, this coincidence is called Ardhāda. It is a most auspicious occasion for making donations. When one of the particulars enumerated is wanting, the coincidence of the rest is by some called Mahōda. [2]

XI. — Māgha-śuklapakṣa.

IV. — Vaināyakī chatarthī, Gaṇēśa-chaturthī, Gaṇēśa-jayantī (these three only in calendars); or Tīla-chaturthī. [Evening.]

Kundā-chaturthī; worship of Śiva with jasmine flowers. [Evening.]

According to the Bhawishhyatpuruṇa, called Santa.

V. — Vaiṣṇava-paṁchamī; worship of Rati and Kāma. [The day on which the tīthī ends, if it is joined the forenoon of that day only; otherwise the day on which the tīthī commences.]

Śrī-paṁchamī, according to some. (See the same tīthī of Chaitra-śuklapakṣa.)

[1] I do not see how the moon can be in Rōhiṇī and Ādrā on the above tīthī; on Pausha-sudi 8 she generally is in Rāvaṇī and Aśvin.

[2]
VII. — Ratha-saptami (also called Mahâ-saptami). [Rise of the dawn.]
   Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭami.
   Bhûshma-ashṭami. [Midday.]

XI. — Jayâ ēkādaśī.

XII. — Bhûshma-dvâdaśī. [Pùrvâ-vîddhâ.]

XIII. — Kalpâdi. [Forenoon.]

XV. — Donations on this titi are particularly enjoined.
   When on this tithi the moon and Jupiter are both in the naksâtra Maghâ, the
titi is called Mahâ-mâghi.

Magha-for pûrûnânta Phalguna-jkrishnapaksha.

IV. — Saṁkâsha-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

VIII. — Kîl-ashṭami. [Pùrvâ-vîddhâ.]
   Ashâtkâ-rauddha. [Afternoon part.]
   Birth of Rama's wife Sîtâ.

IX. — Râmadesa-navami (only in Bombay calendars).

XI. — Vijayâ ēkâdaśī.

XII. — When joined with the naksâtra Sravaṇa, called Tila-dvâdaśi (or Vijayâ).

XIV. — Sivarâtri or Mahâ-sivarâtri; is very auspicious, when it falls on Sunday or
   Tuesday, and is joined with the y órga Siva [Midnight.]

XV. — Drâparâyugâdi. [Afternoon part.]
   The union of the naksâtraSatabhishaj or of Dhanishthâ with this tithi is
   particularly auspicious for Srâddhas.

   XII. — Phalguna-aklapaksha.

IV. — Vainâyakâ or Gaţśa-chaturthi. [Midday.]

VIII. — Durgâ- or Annapûrṇâ-ashṭami.

XI. — Âmalakî ēkâdaśī.

XV. — Hûleka or Hûtâsanî pûrûnî (in Marâthi, Hâli). [The day of which the tithi
   occupies the evening; but there are many special rules.]
   Manvâdi. [Forenoon.]

Phalguna-for pûrûnânta Châitra-jkrishnapaksha.

I. — Vasantarâma-bûlsa or Vasant-ûtsava, spring festival.

III. — Kalpâdi. [Afternoon part.]

IV. — Saṁkâsha-chaturthi. [Moonrise.]

V. — Baûga-paṇchami, 'on which people throw colour, etc., about'; (only in calendar).

VIII. — Kîl-ashṭami. [Pûrvâ-vîddhâ.]
   Ashâtkâ-rauddha. [Afternoon part.]

XI. — Pùpamûcha or ēkâdaśī.

XIII. — Is called Varunî, when joined with the naksâtraSatabhishaj (the deity of
   which is Varunâ); Mahâ-varunî, when it falls on Saturday and is joined
   with the naksâtraSatabhishaj; and Mahâ-mahâ-varunî, when it is joined,
   besides, with the y órga Subha. Donations made on such occasions are as
   meritorious as those made at an eclipse, etc.

XIV. — Sivarâtri. [Midnight.]

XV. — Manvâdi. [Afternoon part.]
ESSAYS ON KASMI Ri GRAMMAR.
BY THE LATE KARL FRIEDRICH BURKHARD.
Translated and edited, with notes and additions,
by G. A. Grierson, Ph.D., C.I.E., I.C.S.
(Continued from Vol. XXV. p. 216.)
Aorist with Dative Suffix.
172. Subject, a noun.

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<th>by me ...</th>
<th>to me, .Directory to</th>
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It was sent.

\* Fem. \* sūm-m-ay; pl. sūm-m-ay, and so throughout; e. g. sūm-h-ay (for sūm-h-a, they are sent by them to him.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>to us, एस असी</th>
<th>to you, एस ठोरी</th>
<th>to them, एस ठीमा</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by me</td>
<td>मैं सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
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<td>by thee</td>
<td>तू नहीं सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
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<tr>
<td>by him</td>
<td>हम सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
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<tr>
<td>by us</td>
<td>हम सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
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<td>by you</td>
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<td>by them</td>
<td>तीसरे सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
<td>सूरा</td>
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**XI. The Compound Tenses.**

173. In these the suffixes are attached to the Auxiliary verb: e.g., चहु-अन रुखहात, I am seeing him; चहु-अन मैं ठोरी चहु-अन वेंझु, by me to you it has been by me to you said, I have said to you.

10 by her, नगिमा तनी.

11 In the same way the Pluperfect II. can also take the suffixes; e.g., मैं तू कर्पा नहीं, by me for you it had been made by me for you.
174. The Causal is treated, in regard to the suffixes, in the same way as the simple verb:

175. Similarly, the suffixes are also added to intransitive verbs: e.g., قلل، نفل، 3rd pl. m. of قلن, to go. دنا-ئ, they flee before him; دمان-ئ, he met them.

So, also, we occasionally meet the Infinitive with a suffix appended: e.g., رکار-ئ (to thee).

176. The Verbs دیان, etc., with suffixes.

**Imperative.**

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<td>me</td>
<td>دی-م</td>
<td>دی-ام</td>
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<td>thee</td>
<td></td>
<td>دی-ئ</td>
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<tr>
<td>to thee</td>
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<td>دی-ئ</td>
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<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td>دین</td>
<td>دیئن</td>
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<td>to him</td>
<td>دیئس</td>
<td>دیئئس</td>
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<td>you</td>
<td></td>
<td>دیئئئئ</td>
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<td>to you</td>
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<td>them</td>
<td>دیئک</td>
<td>دیئئک</td>
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**Respectful form.**

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<td>2nd</td>
<td>3rd</td>
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<td>me</td>
<td>دیئئئئئ</td>
<td>دیئئئئئئ</td>
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<td>you</td>
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<td>دیئئئئئئ</td>
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<td>to you</td>
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<td>him</td>
<td>دیئئئئئئ</td>
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<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td>دیئئئئئئ</td>
<td>دیئئئئئئ</td>
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114 See § 20.
115 مولبا دیان, — to crucify, with Acc. (Matth. xxvii. 22, 23.)
116 [Not دیئئئئئئ as we should expect from § 49 (c).]
### Present Indefinite or Future

#### Singular

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<th>1st</th>
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<th>3rd</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me, by me</td>
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<tr>
<td>thee</td>
<td>dīma-t</td>
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<td>dīma-qa</td>
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<td>them, to them</td>
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13 See note 1, § 170.

14 Np. مارس, he slew him.

15 Bat دیما-ها, we give him-to-you (Double suffix).

16 We also meet دین تمس (Cf. Np., Matt. xxx: 19).
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<td>by thee</td>
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<td>by him</td>
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<td>dyutu-vq-m</td>
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<td>dyutu-m</td>
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Many of the above forms are doubtful.

**THE ANDAMAN TOKENS.**

**BY R. C. TEMPLE,**

The position of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands is one of great isolation, even in this year of grace, 1897; and when it was first started, its isolation and the difficulty and uncertainty of communications with the outer world were extreme. Hence arose the Andaman tokens, to meet temporary difficulties as to local currency.

<sup>17</sup> Words similarly spelled are to be distinguished by the pronouns in the Instrumental.

<sup>19</sup> Similarly for the Feminine, after the model of the Paradigm § 133; e.g., סד"ה sidd-m; from סד"ה sidd-ק sidd-ק, sidd-ק, by us—to you.
In September and October, 1860, Capt. J. C. Haughton, Superintendent of the Settlement, had to face a temporarily depleted treasury with many calls upon it for cash for current wants. He met his difficulties with skill and promptitude, though furnished with the slenderest of mechanical appliances for the purpose. First, "with the aid of a punch and some card-board, tickets were cut out, which, being duly sealed and signed, passed current for one Rupee." This then was the first token, and it was all in MS., there being no Press in the Islands at that time.

Trouble with the card token began at once, for "some Burmese forgers speedily imitated the mintage, but were detected and punished. I have this month (writing on the 12th October, 1860, to the Government of India) made tickets of a more elaborate sort." Here we have the second MS. token.

The Andaman tokens were, therefore, of card at first and were clearly introduced to overcome a temporary failure in currency. Six thousand were issued monthly.

It was almost from the first perceived that the use of tokens in place of cash could be made to be of great advantage in a Settlement, consisting entirely of convicts and those in charge of them, from a disciplinary point of view. It provided a local currency "not easily exchangeable by parties on board ships." And it was this consideration that made the Superintendent recommend the permanent continuance of a token currency for the Andamans. He asked that it might be in copper, because of the worry of preparing his cards and the danger of their being forged. The suggestion was for a first issue of 20,000 copper tokens, to be struck at the Calcutta Mint "with any simple inscription such as, Andaman One Rupee Token, with the year on the reverse and a hole in the middle." As an alternative to a new die, Capt. Haughton suggested the use of the die of the double gold Mohur or any coin or medal not in general use for one side of the token.

The Government of India fell in with Capt. Haughton's ideas, and at the suggestion of Col. Baird Smith, Mint Master, utilised the design of the Straits Settlements "whole cent" for the new token. And thus came into existence the third Andaman token bearing date, 1861. This token was in copper, the obverse being copied from the Straits Settlements Copper Cent, and the reverse bearing Capt. Haughton's inscription. Its full description is:

_Obs.: Crowned Head of Her Majesty to left, Queen Victoria. Rev.: In wreath, ONE RUPEE; outside, ANDAMAN TOKEN 1861. Round hole through centre. Weight, 144 to 145 grs. Width, 1.15 in. Mr. Rodgers, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Pt. IV, 1896, p. 198, by mistake classes these tokens as silver._

In 1861, 29,000 copper tokens were received at the Fort Blair Treasury, and in 1866, 20,800 more were received, which bore date, 1866, on them, as can be proved from some forgeries (officially broken) cast in base metal in my possession, but I have been unable to find a genuine copper example.

There were other remittances of these tokens in large numbers, and when they were all finally called in on the 28th April, 1870, it was calculated that 17,788 had not been returned to the Treasury. They are rare enough now!

In 1867, the metal currency of the Settlement again became insufficient for the second time, and a card token was instituted temporarily between the 8th July, 1867, and the 26th October, 1867, by Col. B. Ford, Superintendent. This was done avowedly while waiting for "the arrival of a supply of 10,000 (copper) tokens indented for from the Calcutta Mint." It was called a "paper currency." The value of these tokens was one rupee; and they were printed on both sides. _Obs.: VALUE ONE RUPEE IN THE FORT BLAIR TREASURY: below, the number in blue ink. Rev.: "this office (i.e., the Superintendent's) Royal Arms Stamp crossed by a facsimile of my signature (B. Ford) stamped." The copper tokens came to an end on the 23rd April, 1870, by the orders of the Government of India, and they were called in
on, and before, that date by a Circular Notice issued by Col. H. Man, Superintendent, on the 28th March, 1870. Major Nelson Davies, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, during the brief period while the Settlement was placed under the orders of that Government, inspected it in 1867, and reported adversely on the token system as a disciplinary measure; because, while tokens were introduced, the silver coignage which they were to represent was also freely admitted (vide Inspection Report, Penal Settlement of Port Blair, 1867, Vol. I. pp. 18, 38, 62; Vol. II. pp. 49, 153, 245). In this Report Major Davies, no doubt, hit upon a fatal error in the practical application of the token currency and hastened its extinction.

There were, therefore, in use in the Andaman Islands between 1861 and 1870 at different periods token currencies issued in the following years:

I. — 1860: card token, punched.
II. — 1860-1861: improved card token, punched.
III. — 1861: copper token, punched.
IV. — 1866: copper token, punched.
V. — 1867: card token.

Of these, the card tokens of 1860, and the copper tokens of 1861 and 1866, were forged to a considerable extent.

All the tokens are now rare, and beyond some genuine specimens of the copper token of 1861 and forged specimens of the copper token of 1866, I have never been able to come across them at all.

A JAINA ACCOUNT OF THE END OF THE VAGHELAS OF GUJARAT.

BY G. BÜHLER, Ph.D., LL.D., C. I. E.

On going over the Tirthakalpa or Kalapradipa of Jinaprabha, one of Dr. Peterson's acquisitions for the Bombay Collections,¹ I find in the description of Satyapura, the modern Sancor in south-western Marvāj, a brief account of the conquest of Gujarāt by the Mahomedans which, I think, deserves to be made known, though the text is rather corrupt. For Jinaprabha is a contemporary witness of the events, which he mentions. According to Dr. Peterson, Fourth Report, p. xxxviii, his known dates range from (Vikrama) Sainvat 1349 to Sainvat 1369. But according to the last verses of the Satrunjayakalpa, this portion of the Tirthakalpa was composed in V. S. 1394:

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प्राचीनस्य राजारिथाः सांस्कृतिक सांस्कृतिक
अयोध्या राजसार्थ: काली सम्बन्ध: || १३१ ||
श्रीरिवण[८] माधि[८] कविष्ठकानन्य: दिनो||
सकाप्यां तस्म: कान्तिनिमन् [८] समाधिः || १३२ ||
```

His account is, therefore, worth taking into consideration, especially as the dates of the Mahomedan historians do not agree, some placing the conquest of Gujarāt in A. D. 1300 and others, like the Mirāi: Aḥmādī and Firishta three years earlier. What Jinaprabha says,⁵ is as follows:

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अह तेरसवत्थकयिन्द्रवर्षे अधाविन्दरस्य नायिन्दी कुमारः || न वर्त्तकालवर्षीयो नीर्मितवर्षायो न भवस्यायो न नायिन्दोऽः ||
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¹ The MS. used is No. 1256 of 1857-8, fols. 130.
² The MS. has कान्ति. —
³ Perhaps कान्ति: —
⁴ See H. Elliot's History of India, Vol. III. p. 74.
⁵ Fol. 20, l. 6 f. of the MS.
"Then in the Vikrama year 1356 the youngest brother of Sultan Allāvadin, called Ullā Khan, started from the town of Daulī for Gujārāt, accompanied by the minister [Nusrat Khān] and nobles. The lord of Cittakūṭa (Chitor), Samaraśāka, then protected the Mēvād country by paying a fine (?). Then the Yuvarāja Hammira, having . . . . the Vagga country and having destroyed hundreds of towns reached Assāvalli, and king Kānpadova (Karna II) fled. And having broken (the king of Somanātha with a strong blow . . . . 9), having punished 10 Rana Mānjarīkka of Vamapathālav (Vanthil) and established his authority in Soraṭh (Ulagh Khān) settling in Assāvalli, burnt the monasteries, palaces and temples.

Jina prabha then goes on to narrate a miracle, performed by the Yaksha Bambhisanti, who made the gongs in the temple of Satyāpurī ring, whereupon the army of the Mātakhasa fled and the Jaina temple was saved for a time. He, however, admits that later the temple was defiled and the sacred image of Mahāvīra was carried to Delhi in Vikramasāvat 1396 by Allāvadin's order and made an asāyaṭṭhāyaṣṇāṭhā.

FOLKLORE IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY M. N. VENKATESWAMI OF NAGPUR.

No. II. — The Old Woman of the Sugar-cane Field.

Once upon a time in a certain country there lived a king. One day he started on an expedition, and, preceding his army and retinue, he became cut off from them, and found himself in the heart of a dense forest. Feeling very thirsty, and not having a single attendant to fetch for him a little of water, he entered a sugar-cane field hard by. The owner of the field was an old woman. He addressed her thus:—

"Mother, will you kindly give me to drink? I feel very, very thirsty."

"Sir," said the woman, "I have no water here, but there is a well a mile hence. You can go, mounted as you are on your horse, and slake your thirst there."

"But," said the king, "I am exhausted and fatigued, and have not the strength to go so far, even on my charger."

On this the old woman, who was of a compassionate nature, pierced with a thorn one of the sugar-canes and extracted a little-full of juice and offered it to the king. He drank it, and finding it refreshing asked for more. The woman repeated the process, and obtained another. He drank also and asked for a third draught, so thirsty was he. This request also she complied with. Refreshed thus, the king, before leaving the field, asked the owner what rent she paid for the ground. He was informed "one rupee," and the ungrateful king thought that the ground-rent levied was too little.
On a future occasion circumstances similar to the above brought the king to the same sugar-cane field in the forest. He asked his old acquaintance for a drink. The obliging woman pierced with thorns ten sugar-canes, all to no purpose; for not one yielded any juice. The king asked of the cause of this. "Ah!" exclaimed the old woman, "do you not know it? This is caused by the perjury of the king; for his mean heart has made the soil to lose its fertility."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN INSTANCE OF THE POWER OF INDIAN VILLAGERS TO COMBINE FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

The other day, in visiting an Ahir village in the Gurgon district, I had occasion to pass through the dry bed of the village pond, accompanied by several of the villagers, and noticed that each man, as he passed along, stooped down to pick up a clod of earth, which he carried to the margin of the pond and threw down outside. On enquiring the reason of this, I was told that it was a rule in the village, that no inhabitant should pass through the bed of the pond without doing a little in this way to deepen it, and clear it of the sediment that is washed into it every year in the rainy season.

In the Sisâ District, where owing to the great depth of the wells and the general brackishness of the water in them, the pond is more important than usual to the comfort of the village, it is very common to find that a man is told off daily by rotation, among the different families of the village, whose duty it is to be present at the pond in the morning when the women come to get their daily supply of water for household purposes. He is provided with a spade and a basket or two, and before a woman is allowed to fill her jars with water from the pond, she must carry out a basketful of earth excavated by the man on duty from the bed of the pond and throw it down outside. As this process goes on every day the pond is deepened by slow degrees, and its capacity for holding water thus increased. This is interesting as a simple example of the power of a village community to combine in a sustained course of action for the common good.

J. Wilson, in P. N. and Q. 1883.

AN ORDEAL.

A writer in Blackwood's Magazine (June 1883), reviewing Fitzjames Stephen's History of English Criminal Law, says:—""In the 23rd Canto of Il Purgatorio Dante writes:—'chi n'ha colpa ereda che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe,' in allusion to an old superstition, according to which it was believed that if the murderer ate a sop of bread and wine on the grave of his (supposed?) victim within nine days of the murder, the right of vengeance was forfeited. To guard this right the relations of the murdered man watch his tomb to prevent the ceremony from being accomplished."

This method of avoiding a blood-feud was evidently of the nature of an ordeal, it being assumed that if the man was the real murderer and had killed the deceased wrongfully the sop would choke him. The colection of bread and wine is apparently connected with Holy Communion. Does any similar method of purging one's self by ordeal from the accusation of blood-guiltiness, and so avoiding a blood-feud, exist among the races of our frontier?

Denzil Irbyton, in P. N. and Q. 1883.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE SIDDHANTA DEEPKAA.

The Light of Truth or Siddhanta Deepika, a Monthly Journal devoted to Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Science, etc., Madras, G. N. Press, 4, Garbavappan Street, Black Town, Nos. 1 and 2.

We must express our pleasure at the appearance of this Magazine, though it is, perhaps, somewhat too much imbued with the perferbdium ingenium that distinguishes the Dravidian populations to altogether please the more phlegmatic Englishman. But its aim is high and its tone elevating, and there is no doubt that it will do a great deal towards making better known, to the literary world at any rate, the great wealth of Tamil Literature, if it continues as it has begun, by giving the texts with renderings of the greater specimens thereof. It is of value, for instance, to have a reproduction of such texts as the Sivamãna Siddhâyã of Arû Nandi Silâcharyâ, even though the transliterations of the vernacular words are unsteady and not always correct.

We now also a memorandum by the veteran Tamil scholar, Dr. G. U. Pope, on the Tirumâvakan of Manika Vâchâkar, and an advertisement stating that he will publish an Edition of it in full, if funds are forthcoming. Let us hope that they will be forthcoming.
CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY H. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 161.)

4.

The Effect of Bullion Currency.

Of the effects commercially of the Burmese system of specie currency Yul92 makes the following pertinent remarks:— "Curiously enough our rupees were not merely not current as coin at Amarapura, but the people were often unwilling to take them at all, except at a greatly depreciated value. So I have known a Scotch shopkeeper to decline that small thing," a sovereign, preferring the well-thumbed indigenous one-pound note.93 In 1657, Caesar Frederick (Purchas, Vol. II. p. 1761) says:— "If he (the merchant) bring money, he shall lose by it."

"In any case of shop-purchase, before arriving at a price, one is always asked to show the money.94 Then a new element of bargaining comes into every purchase; the value of the money has to be ascertained, as well as the value of the goods; and in all mercantile transactions or other affairs involving considerable payment, an assayer or priest is employed, who receives one per cent. upon all sales. He is supposed, on this understanding, to be responsible for the quality of all gold and silver received in payment. These penads profess to judge by inspection merely and to appraise in this way within half per cent. of the

92 Arak, pp. 258, 259. See also p. 344. As an instance of how far wrong one can go in generalising without precise knowledge as to the effect on a people of commercial relations novel to oneself, I would note the remarks of Mr. S. Davis, F. R. S. (the hero of Benares in 1798, in his posthumous Paper on the Bhokta (J. R. A. S. Vol II. 1830), who says, p. 17, that "there was (in his time) no other coin than the 'Bhokto' rupee," and that in very small quantities. He then proceeds to describe the people as living in a kind of Arcadian simplicity without money. But a perusal of these pages will show that it is the possession of 'money,' properly so called, that tends to induce commercial honesty and simplicity in dealings rather than the want of it.

93 In the Mandalay District the debased taw-po-jina copper currency, described later on, was in 1837, found to be preferred to the Royal Mint currency. See Sladen's experience in Bhamo in 1837, and Cooper's in Western China in 1838, detailed farther on in these articles. For the opposite experience, where British rupees were current in the Siamese Shan States, when the local money was not, see Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 139. Compare with his statement at Ceylon'ra's remark in Amissah the Shaka, p. 217:— "Dr. C. R. C. found our rupee was a redoubtable rival to the Siamese tical at Luang Prabang, and was accepted at the same value, although it is really worth twice as much less." In Bhamo and thereabouts, as far as Moni, supee silver has, I am told, disappeared from currency and its place taken by British rupees, and rupees are accepted at much above their intrinsic value in exchange for supee. In 1833 Cosmas de Körich told Prinsep that rupees were everywhere current in Western Tibet: Useful Tables, Thomas' Ed. p. 32. Malcolm, Travels, Vol. II. p. 145, in 1833 found "Company rupees and pice" everywhere current in Arakan. In Tibet, Macnahan, Far Cathay and Farther India, p. 237, says:— "According to Mr. Baber, "Those (rupees) which bear a crowned presence of Her Majesty's head are named Llama Tbroa or Vagabond Lama, the crown being mistaken for the head-gear of a religious mendicant." In 1861, an attempt by a British officer to introduce a copper coinage into Manipur to displace the local bill-metal entirely failed. The people would have none of it. See Brown's Statistical Account of Manipur, p. 69. In 1824, the Burmans at Prome at once melted down rupees paid to them by the British Forces into local currency in tokens. See Two Years in Arak, p. 290. M. Rouher, a French Toughking official, after explaining that dollars were only accepted at 7½ discount and then only in small quantities, gives this advice to travellers in Yunnan:— "Il y a donc tout avantage, pour les voyageurs qui voient faire le voyage, à se munir de lingots d'argent." Teung Poo, Vol I. p. 51. The Chinese, in the early Seventeenth Century, melted down all the foreign silver they could get hold of, side Pyrriel de Laval's statement (Hak. Soc. Ed. Vol. II. p. 174):— "The Chinese, too, never let so much as a tattoo [the modern 'tizzy,' worth in Henry VIIIth's reign 6½] go out again, for they melt all this silver into ingots and keep all their treasure in silver, and not in gold, which is vastly common and cheap there.

94 Malcom's remarks on this point, Travels, Vol. II. p. 279 f., are worth quoting in full. "Silver, in passing from hand to hand, becomes more and more alloyed, so that, when a man is asked the price of a thing, he says, 'let me see your money.' He then regulates his charge by the quality of the silver, and a piece is clipped off to meet the bill; change, if any, being weighed in lead." O. Lockyer, Trade in India, 1711, p. 39, as to the Malay Country; p. 132, as to China.
real value. Colonel Symes says that in no instance did he hear of a breach of trust committed by one of these pezals; but Col. Burney with longer and more accurate experience of them, calls them a sad nefarious set, quite unworthy of this high character. Their power of appraising is also much less than they profess. Burney found the valuations of some of those most esteemed as highly skilful to differ as much as ten per cent. among themselves.

"Adding this percentage or brokerageto the loss of frequent melting, including doubtful considerable embezzlement by the operations, which is estimated at from one to two per cent. on each process; and considering that all the silver current in the country is believed to go through the melting-pot on the average twice a year, some idea may be formed of the cost and wastage of this system."

In Burmese times the pezals drove a thriving trade, for Phayre, *Int. Num. Or.,* Vol. III. Pt. I. p. 38, tells us that "at the time of the British occupation of Prome, a town having 20,000 inhabitants, there were in it not less than twenty pezals; that is, brokers and assayers of silver. They had their furnaces and crucibles in the corners of streets or under open sheds, like smithies, where they pursued their calling." Maleom, *Travels,* Vol. II. p. 244 f., says that he found in 1835 "the assayers of the precious metals expert and exact; and as money goes by weight, and is therefore constantly cut to pieces and alloyed, these persons are numerous." And at p. 270, he well explains the general attitude of the people towards currency. "The people are not anxious for coin. They cannot trust their rulers. They love haggling in bargains. They make a profit on their money, as well as goods, by increasing its alloy, and a numerous class of assayers, or brokers, called pezals (by foreigners pezahs) subsist by melting up silver, to improve or deteriorate it, as they are desired. This they do before the owner's face, and have only the crucible and scoria for their trouble."

Stretell, in his *Focus Elasting in Burma Proper,* 1878, a book full of the most valuable information about Upper Burma and the ways of its inhabitants, is disappointing as to currency, as he always quotes transactions and values in rupees. However, he mentions the brokers of the Great Bazaar at Mandalay, the Zëj, and states that "the rate of exchange from rupees into silver bits was four per cent. and into copper bits Rs. 3-2. The curious expression "silver bits" means, I gather, from pp. 76, 114, 155, 155, of the book, chips from lumps of silver, the smelting and adulterating of which for currency the author found to be the chief employment of the silver-smiths living north of Mandalay. Stretell talks of "legal" qualities of silver, going on Capt. Bower's *Bhamo Expedition Report,* 1838, but he states he did not think that the silver-smiths adhered to the standards and he notes also the waste caused by the system. "Buying and selling is both tedious and wasteful: not only do those unfamiliar with the quality of the metal suffer, but great waste occurs in chopping off wee pieces from the ingot, to obtain the required weight at which the article purchased has been valued." Stretell had

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41 See my remarks ante on valuation by rough assay. 42 See also Scott, *The Burman,* p. 290.
43 See also McLeod's opinion in 1836 in his *Journal* (House of Commons, No. 429 of 1839, pp. 57, 69), when writing of King Tung and Ava.
44 So does the French traveller Flouart, who was in Pegu in 1856. See *Tong Pas,* Vol. I. pp. 203, 215 ff.; Vol. II. pp. 25, 31, 38, 49, 72, 293, 295. But fortunately he quotes (Vol. I. p. 215), "780 tickets or roupies de 25 pour cent.," which shows us that he really meant tickets when he said "roupies." At p. 236 he talks of "roupies de 25 pour cent."
45 Twice he mentions "pezals," i.e., dollars, as currency, viz., at Vol. I. p. 205 and Vol. II. p. 41. Anderson, *Mandalay to Mohnia,* also almost always states payments in rupees, and sometimes even in pounds and shillings. See pp. 204, 233, 283, Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans* is quite disfigured by this habit. See pp. 70, 130, 135, 192, 273, 290, etc. The idea, no doubt, is in "popular" works to bring prices home to European readers, but it is apt to do the opposite: e.g., Colquhoun, op. cit. p. 253, in quoting a statement of Richardson's, says, "each household paid half a ticket of coarse silver (4, 34d.)." This is quite incorrect: half a Siamese ticket was in Richardson's time worth roughly 12d., when of standard silver, and was certainly worth nothing of the sort when of coarse silver, as Richardson himself knew very well. One would also like to know exactly what was meant by the translator in the English version of the *Voyage de Siam,* published in 1858, when he writes (p. 122) of the "Chinese" of Batavia: "Some of them are very rich, and we were told that one of them died lately, who left behind him a Million in coined Money."
evidently no greater faith in the pewa; than had Yule, and unless the "silver bits" he bought with rupees at Mandalay at four per cent. exchange were of pure silver, which was exceedingly unlikely, he was swindled by the Bazaar pewā of Mandalay.

Yule also says that "basida these puwās: there is another class so called. They are brokers appointed by the Government, who conduct all purchases made by foreigners of produce for exportation, apparently, with some notion of keeping a check on the exportation of precious metals. They receive a half per cent. from the seller in all wholesale transactions." This must be the taroga, of whom we hear so much from the oldest of the travellers, and is probably the pypun of Symes (Asa, p. 326), though Symes seems to have confounded the pypun (equal to the Indian 36 annas)  with the pewāt.

Florent, who was in Burma about ten years before Symes, writes thus: "There is again in Rangoon a class of men very useful to the stranger. They are a species of broker or exchange agent, and are called professionally poiuent (pudhān). They receive and pay for their constituents. In this way one avoids being cheated in the quality and weight of silver. It is necessary to take great care to record documents, and to do it in a manner that they cannot be counterfeited. 'Les poisants' take one per cent. of all the sums in their charge and are responsible for their full distribution, which they certify by receipts for the sums they have paid away." Florent, then, evidently had a small opinion of the honesty of the brokers.

They naturally always loomed large in the eyes of the old travellers. In 1796 we find Cox (Burmah Empire, p. 12) congratulating himself that, when he went to view the great pagoda at Rangoon, he found that the "poysah or svirac" had a house close by, and so gave him a good view of the place and people unmolested.\footnote{\textsuperscript{43}}

We hear of them from time to time when European merchants began trading in Burma and Pegu, and Yule's quotations in Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Taroga, are so fully to the point in this connection, that I give them here in full: "This (word taroga) represents a word for a broker (or person analogous to the Hong merchants of Canton in former days) in Pegu, in the days of its prosperity. The word is from South India. We have, in Telugu, taraga "the occupation of a broker": Tamil, tarogant, "a broker."

\footnote{\textsuperscript{43}} They are referred to in Two Years in Assam, p. 230, as a particular class of silver-smiths. Something of the same system must have existed in Portuguese India in the early Seventeenth Century. See Pizzar de Laved's account of the cherpes (pewās) of Goa, Hak. Soc. Edin, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff. Part of the E. I. Company's establishment at Malacca in 1711 was "two Essay Masters, both at 120 l. per An." Lordy, R. I. Trade, p. 14.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{44}} Tomm. Psa. Vol. II. p. 60: see also Hunter, Pegu, p. 65, who was in Rangoon the year before Florent.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{45}} Cox, or rather his son and editor, is one of the most perfect coiners of words among Indo-European writers. Thus, poysah as above becomes poizah at p. 179, and "poizah or shoof" at p. 186.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{46}} There is a word tarwa, constantly used by British merchants in Siam and Burma in the Seventeenth Century, but not explained in Yule, which seems to be connected with taroga. It meant a written license to trade, or as Mannon Gibson quaintly puts it, "a licence of life Parten." — See Anderson, Siam, pp. 34, 111, 117, 124, 125, 127.
There was evidently a custom of the same description prevalent in Siam until quite lately, for in Sir Henry Parkes' "Agreement" consequent on Sir John Bowring's Treaty of 1855 with Siam, we find in the "Schedule of taxes on garden-ground, plantations, and other lands" the following Section:— "Sixty cornies are levied per tical as expenses of testing the quality of the silver on all sums paid as taxes under the the long assessment. Taxes paid under the annual assessment are exempted from this charge." Again under "Customs Regulations" we find a Section:— "The receiver of duties may take from the merchants two salungs per catty of eighty ticals for testing the money paid him as duties." 49

Horace Browne, in his Account of the District of Thatonyo, a high authority on all matters connected with Burma and its people, however, (p. 36), agrees with Symes as to the honesty of the old brokers, for he writes:— "Produce brokers were licensed. They were to take one per cent. on the value of the goods sold from the seller and the same from the buyer, and one half of the amount received by them they had to pay in as Government revenue. This Governmental supervision of brokers was an institution well suited to the requirements of the country, and its abandonment on the British side of the frontier is one of the points in which our administration contrasts unfavourably in the eyes of the people with that of the Native Government. Under the Native Government dishonesty or peculation on the part of a broker was almost unknown, and on the rare occasions when it did occur was easily detected and punished. Under the British Government ignorant people from the interior are frequently victimised by men who set themselves up as brokers on the river-bank."

It must be remembered, however, that Burney got his information from personal experience and observation, whereas Symes spoke from slight experience and Browne perforce heard only the statements of persons, who were, as likely as not, laudatores temporis acti.

The ways of Chinese money-changers and brokers in similar circumstances are well illustrated by Hue, 50 who has no hesitation in setting them all down as rogues. According to their customer, they cheated in weight if they valued fairly, and they cheated in value if they weighed fairly; or they weighed fairly and valued fairly, but cheated the country bumpkin in calculating. But Hue does not lay it to their charge that they doctored the silver, as we shall see below that the Burmese did, though he tells us a story to show that this was at any rate sometimes done.

M. Rocher, a French Tongking-official, writing in 1890, 51 tells us much the same story of the Yünnan traders. He says that the silver tael is the currency of the country, but that the quality of the silver and the currency varies with each place. At Mong-Tze the tael weighs 0.987 grammes and is 3 per cent. higher in value than that of Yünnanfu, 10 per cent. better than that of Shanghai and about 1.45 less than that of Canton. And he then goes on to say that, "It is difficult to give a weight with mathematical exactness. 52 Every dealer has two methods of weighing, according as he pays or receives. The difference between the two varies several points in the tael!"

Gouger, in his own inimitable manner, gives a graphic, and for the present discussion instructive, account of his first dealings at the Burmese Court, at p. 41 of his Prisoner in Burma. The date must have been sometime in 1822 or 1823. After explaining how the various ladies about the Court had each taken from his bales what she fancied, he writes:— "So far everything went on agreeably, but now came the painful duty of telling each of the fair purchasers how much she had to pay, and the still more difficult one of assessing the value of the gold and silver she presented for payment. The king's command, however, must

52 Dr. Voderman, writing in 1890, on Chinese apothecaries' weights in Batavia, remarks, after giving some valuable and remarkable instances, on the total want of uniformity in them. Tung Po, Vol. I, p. 169 ff.
be obeyed. Each lady must again be paraded in turn to make payment for what she had taken. His Majesty remained to see fair play and entered into the spirit of the trafficking, laughing heartily at every dispute which subsequently occurred. Scales and weights were now introduced, but this I could not stand. My amour propre rebelled against it. — I insisted on making over this part of the play to Shwai-ee (Shwë I, a Musalmin servant with a Burmese name). I professed my ignorance of the touch or gold and the face of silver, an avowal that no doubt relieved the apprehensions of the ladies, who were looking for a grasping creditor, and who, with all their good-humoured smiles, were not free from a spirit of avarice, or it might be only a love of bargaining. Never was a man so baited as the poor Malabarree (the servant). Whenever he gave his honest opinion of the value of the gold, he was instantly assailed, accused of cheating, threatened, coaxed, bullied and called very hard names. When I was appealed to, I always gave judgment in favour of the lady, for finding that the gentle creatures were, by their own unbiased and voluntary assessment of prices, paying five and six times as much as the goods cost, I could well afford to be generous. The easy indifferency I manifested in submitting to what they knew to be attempts at imposition gained me high favour, while it conferred also perhaps the character of a green-horn. — With all their eagerness to take petty advantages, honesty was enforced in the main and no one was allowed to evade the payment of her debt. My factum put up his gold and silver into bags.\footnote{22}

Mr. Gouger’s subsequent difficulty was that, having amassed thus a weight of silver and gold equal to about £8,000, he could neither legally transport the metal itself, nor goods representing its value, out of the country, except by bribing officials, but he notes that the bribing, though heavy, was worth a merchant’s while, considering the prices paid for goods imported (p. 63 f.).

I must clinch my evidence by a passage from a book by a well known Burmese writer, Maung Bah Wah. It is in English and is entitled, The Outward Man and the Inward Man.\footnote{23} At p. 55, the writer gives a reminiscence of his childhood, which is of the first importance for the present subject: — “I remember when I was a child, how I hoped to see my father come back from his trading tour, and my mother from the bazaar, where she went only once a week, or sometimes twice, and brought provisions sufficient for a week. We had no copper or silver coins then as you have now (writing for your grand-children), and with which the present-day children know how to buy and sell. In those days it was not every grown-up person that knew how to properly assay lumps of silver, which were more or less impure and which were then in current use. Some are preserved in the Payre Museum here (Rangoon).”

That travellers had to be habitually cautious as to receiving bullion, we have many instances, of which the following is a fair example. Dr. Richardson, in his Journal of a Fourth Mission to the Interior of the New Settlements in the Tenasserim Provinces, in 1836,\footnote{24} writes of the Môn’s State, and says: — “In the meantime he (the military commander) sent me for current expenses 43½ ticals (called 50) of coarse silver, or Rupees 32½.” This shows

\footnote{22} At p. 63 he says that the people “came with bags of silver and gold in bullion to pay for their purchases.”

\footnote{23} A remarkable book by a remarkable man. He was a leading member of an ardent sect of Christians in Rangoon, who have, with an independence of spirit and thought very notable in the conditions, worked out for themselves, and formed without extraneous aid, a dogma and ritual of their own quite worth study. Maung Bah Wah very kindly presented me with the literature of the Sect, and I hope some day to give an account of it. The crux of the Sect is explained in “A Statement of the True Case,” 1886, in English. Its ideas are contained in The Lord’s Supper, Pibbó, 1887; The Lord’s Day, Ubhût, 1883; The Fellowship of the Apostles, Thanayone 6, 1885; Hymns, 1885; New Spiritual Songs, 1887. All these books are in Burmese.

\footnote{24} I have gathered in conversation with Maung Bah Wah that they were presented by himself and were specimens of ngwe-km, a species of silver currency to be described in its proper place later on.

\footnote{25} House of Commons, Part. Papers, No. 249 of 1899, p. 124.
that this cautious traveller both weighed and valued the silver presented, as a matter of course.  

Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. I. p. clvii., incidentally proves that the difficulties created by a bullion currency are a very old story in Eastern lands, and has a most interesting quotation from Pliny, showing that nearly two thousand years ago the more intelligent rulers of the Far East were quite alive to the value of an exact currency, though unable to secure it. "We had an opportunity of more correct information in the reign of Claudius, when ambassadors came from the Island (Ceylon). A freedman of Annaeus Placanus, who had farmed the customs of the Red Sea from the Imperial Exchequer, after sailing round Arabia, was driven by storms past Carmania, and on the fifteenth day made the port of Hippuri (in Ceylon). Here he was entertained by the king with kindness and hospitality for six months; and when he learned to speak the language, in answer to the king's questions, told him all about Caesar and the Romans. Nothing that the king heard made such a wonderful impression on him as the opinion of the exactness of our (Roman) dealings, which he formed from seeing, in some Roman money that had been taken, that the coins were all of the same weight, though the heads upon them showed that they had been struck by different princes."  

In 1836, Dr. Bayfield, Assistant Resident at Ava, was sent on a journey from Ava to the Assam frontier, and the observations of this highly qualified observer give us a fair insight into the monetary system of a country having a lump silver currency of fluctuating intrinsic value. Throughout his Report he uses the tickal, to denominate a fixed weight of the metal and to estimate payments in cash. Thus we find him (p. 135) saying, "the monthly duties of the chokey (custom-house) average about seventy ticals, of which forty go to the Queen and the remaining thirty are divided amongst the customs officer and his followers." But that the quality of the silver entered vitally into all fiscal calculations, the quotations below will show.

(Page 188.) "This district was ordered to furnish 25 men for the Myōwun's deputation, and was therefore called upon for 25 viss of silver (one viss equals 100 tickals), each man being supposed to receive one viss for his services. This sum is collected from the district at the rate of two or three ticals per house, more or less, until the amount is paid. Before the men get it, however, it is refined down to about 70 to 75 tickals, previously deteriorated to 50 per cent., money!. The Government officers keep the remainder."

I gather that the Government collection was in ywotri, or standard silver, and that by 50 per cent, silver is meant 50 per cent. of that standard. The next quotation supports this idea (p. 28 f.): "This evening an officer of the Wuntho force, a poor old man, 61 years of age, applied to me for some cough medicine. He complained bitterly against the Myōwun, who had tricked him for presuming to intercede for his men against a demand for two

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87 So Pegolotti, in advising travellers and merchants of his day (early XIVth Cent. A. D.), says: — "You may reckon the canna (ingot of silver) to be worth five golden florins (ducats)" and so on. He is always cautious: "you may reckon;" "you may calculate." See Yule, Cathay, Vol. II. p. 293 ff. Yale, op. cit., has a number of references to the use of gold and silver by weight in the XIIIth and XIVth Cent, A. D. all over the Asiatic Continent: Vol. I. pp. excix., exxi.; Vol. II. pp. 541, 560, 560.

88 The following note in the Atharawm, No. 3442, Oct. 14, 1802, p. 515, shows that the working of the human mind has in this matter been everywhere and at all times the same: The place called "the steelyard" (in London) derived its name undoubtedly from stilbier, a corruption (through atelier, studio, studier, studiero, of stervrip, the standard coin). Just as the Worshipful introduced sterling money, so also they introduced the system of weighing by the balance, the scrupling penny, the standard coin of specific value and definite weight.

89 See Bengal Govt. Selections: Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma, 1837, pp. 524-525.

90 This was the usual custom in his day. Thus, in 1839, Capt. Hanley, op. cit., p. 333, remarks that "the price of the common or mixed amber is 24 ticals a rupee, or Rs. 4 per lb. per cent.," which must be taken to be merely a rough calculation of relative values. Bayfield, p. 143, values, in 1839, 120 tickals at Rs. 150. Watson, in 1838, had to weigh out 21 rupees as the equivalent of 6 tickals in the Shan States. Records, Govt. of India, Salween Survey, p. 22.

91 Tael silver will be described under its appropriate head later on.
tickals per man, which the Myōwun had this day ordered to be assessed. This is the third demand that has been made upon them, and considering the excessive price of provisions (4 to 5 tickals per basket of rice), it does seem, even for Burma, somewhat unjust. At Mogaung three tickals, at Maingk'au two, and here two, making from the whole force, say 1,500 who pay, out of the 2,000 men, 10,500 tickals. It is true, that with the money thus collected the troops are furnished with rice, but it is probably at the rate of 500 per cent. above what they themselves buy it at, and above what the Myōwun actually pays for it. The peculiar beauty and refinement of the transaction is that the money is paid out of the sum each man received for his services on the present mission, and although they were paid in silver varying from 25 to 50 per cent. alloy, the Myōwun's assessment must be made in *vyetstā* (vyetstā), nearly equal to rupee silver.\(^{42}\)

The ways of this exemplary Burman official under the late dynasty are thus clearly explained to us. His escort received something under 40% of the pay collected for them in the first transaction. Of standard silver each man had received in fact 40 tickals at the outside and of this the Myōwun had extracted from him before the journey was half through 7 tickals for food, for which the Myōwun had paid about 1 i. tickals. So that his personal profit at that stage had amounted to 65% on the original transaction. It is hard to believe that any "paymaster-general" of forces could make such profits, were the facts not stated in the matter-of-fact diary of an eye-witness.

As to the disastrous effect this particular official's exactions had locally on occasion, Bayfield tells us (p. 164) that the people of Tenkū had to pawn their cattle in order to meet them.

In estimating revenue, Bayfield usually states the sum simply in "viss" and occasionally in "viss of silver." The silver he meant was evidently *vyetstā*, as he says (op. cit. p. 230): "The total amount of revenue received last year was 220 viss of silver, equal to about 25,000 rupees." This would make a tickal worth about one rupee and a seventh, shewing this estimate to be in terms of *vyetstā*. Similarly, he estimates large payments in viss and "viss of silver:" thus, at p. 163, he puts the cost of a monastery at 95 viss, and at p. 224, part of the price of a Kaohin Chief's bride at a "viss of silver." But when talking of commercial prices he is sometimes careful to state the quality as well as the weight of silver: thus, in Khyangdaung in 1836, rice sold at 50 tickals of 25% to 30% money per 100 baskets (p. 159), and paddy sold in the Bhamo market at 15 tickals of 10% silver per 100 baskets (p. 230). These sums I take to be respectively worth in existing rupees about Rs. 39 and Rs. 13, the latter a price which would make a modern Rangoon rice-miller's fortune in a single year.

Horace Browne, *Account of the District of Thayetmyo*, in giving (pp. 95 ff., 101 ff., 107, 111) a description of the revenue in Burmese times from 1783 to 1832, not only says that the revenue was paid in *vyetstā*, but gives several calculations of the value in rupees of revenue stated in viss of silver, and these calculations show that it was paid in *vyetstā*. And they, moreover, prove that the ways of Dr. Bayfield's Myōwun were not confined to that official, as the following interesting quotation from Gen. Browne's observations (p. 103) will sufficiently show:—

"The interference of the officials with the standard currency (in King Pagūn's time, 1846 to 1852), and weights of the country caused universal alarm and dissatisfaction. The revenue had always been paid in "vyetstā" (5% alloy)\(^{43}\) silver. The standard now was raised and 29 to 30 per cent. extra was demanded on the plea of this silver being of too low a value.\(^{45}\) The revenue collectors, moreover, now claimed the right of attaching pieces of lead to the royal standard weights which were used in receiving revenue."

\(^{42}\) *Vyetstā* is 83% of Burmese pure silver and modern rupee silver is 90.1%. In Bayfield's time it was probably of less value.


\(^{44}\) This tax mistake is later on under the description of *vyetstā*.

\(^{45}\) Either percentage would have raised the quality beyond the purest silver the Burmese could make.
Practises of this description seem to have been habitual with the Burmese, for Clement Williams, Through Burma to Western China, p. 88, tells the following tale:— "I also learned from the Chinese (at Bhamo) that the mines in the Burman-Shan territory, which were formerly worked by the Chinese, who paid duty to the Burmans, had for some time been left unworked, in consequence of the oppression of the Burmese superintendents. These mines yield a rich argentiferous lead, from which silver can be readily extracted, and are said to be easy of access. For the same reason, gold was little sought after,—a fortunate find being always exaggerated and made an excuse for plunder by the officials. Even turning up the ground in the old city was not safe, if anything rare or valuable was found. An inhabitant of the old city of Pagan, for example, came upon five vessels of gold with twelve thousand rupees, for which an equivalent in the new gold was ordered to be given by the King; the money was sent from the treasury, but very little of it reached its proper owner, as the Myowoon, on various pretences, managed to secure the lion's share."

Badly, however, as the Government officials behaved in the instances above quoted, the Chinese are shown to have behaved worse not long previous to 1844; witness this statement that the tributary Tartar princes had on one memorable occasion received their pensions payable in gold in ingots of copper-gilt.66

5.

Valuation by Weight.

I have already had reason to refer to payments in ticks and viss, i.e., by weight, when discussing the effect of an uncoined currency on pecuniary transactions. I now propose to consider the point in greater detail.

There is a distinct statement as to valuation by weight in the remarks of a writer who was in Rangoon in 1782 (Hunter, Pau, p. 85):— "The principal money of this country is silver, which is not coined, but paid by weight. The smallest denomination is the Tycal: one hundred Tycals make one Viss; and these are used in weighing goods as well as money."67

In continuation of this evidence, we find that during the War of 1824, Burmese property was apparently valued by British officials and others in ticks: vide Wilson's Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War.68 Thus, in No. 85, describing the papers taken in the entrenched position of the Burmese on the 15th December, 1824, (p. 102 ff.), he gives all sorts of curious information about the Burmese General Mahâ Bandula.69 Among other papers, a letter was found, addressed to him, which acknowledged the receipt of "1,000 ticks per order of Mahâ Bandula." A paper was also found describing a number of the general's private expenses.

This paper is full of remarkable old Anglo-Indian words, and from amongst the items I select the following as interesting in many ways:

- Leaves for cheppering Bundoolah's house ...
- Pawn for Bundoolah ...
- Betel for do. ...
- A pot for Bundoolah to bath (etc) in ...
- Saddle, bridle, etc. 70

- Ticks 1
- 4
- 1
- 19

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65 Malcom, Travels, Vol. II, p. 239, distinctly states the same thing in 1832. Three 'cyclists,' going round the world wrote to the Calcutta Englishman (Oct. 13, 1837, p. 5) from across the Burma-Chinese border:— "The manner in which we proceeded was to have drafts on Chinese firms in various towns. From these firms we were able to obtain nuggets of silver. The nuggets we carried with us, and in every village we sold them by weight in exchange for 'cash.'
66 See also Two Years in Ava, pp. 192, 261, 265 ff., and Alexander, Travels, p. 21. Laurier, Pau, p. 51, has a confused reference to the same ideas in the War of 1824, when he writes of Rangoon:— "Juvenile money-changers, as they sat, gave a rupee as occasional ring, tossing it with the air of men well up in their business; they receive one pice or three pias—the fourth of an ounce or three half-pennies—for changing a rupee."
67 For this title, see Pliny, Hist. of Burma, p. 229, and Bigandet, Life of Gaumaina, Vol. II, p. 89.
68 In a list on p. 184 of property captured, which had belonged to Bandula, we find:—"silver Tules 1, silver Kotharas 1, silver Pauk Bonus 1, silver Pawn box 1, A red Ungatha, 4 or 5 plain Putholes ("rupees"); a broadcloth 'madder,' a Check (or check) Sackcloth, Bhooties."

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Again in No. 174 (B).—Deposition of John Laird, Esq. (a prisoner among the Burmese), we have (p. 223) a clear instance of money valued merely as weight; there being at that time no coinage whatever:

"Q. Did you go up (to Ava) in chains?
A. No, I paid a bribe of 60 ticals to the commander of the war boat sent from Ava to convey me and was excused.

Q. With what offence were you charged?
A. With none whatever that I am aware of. I was simply told that the King had called me. Fifty men came to my house to put me in irons. I said, 'Don't put me in irons. I will make you a present.' They demanded 600 ticals, and were finally satisfied with 60."

Mr. Laird also stated he never paid by retail more than one tical a viss for pickled tea, and describing the reason paid by the prisoners he stated it all in ticals (pp. 226 ff.). Nevertheless in valuing Siamese sugar we find:

"Q. What was the price of this sugar in the market of Ava?
A. From 30 to 35 aroo rupees73 the 100 viss, or 365 lbs. avoirdupois (pdr.)" (p. 226).

At p. 238 ff., is the deposition of "Agha Mahomed," a merchant, who (on p. 239) states that a bounty of 150 ticals was given to the Burmese Army because the King saw that the English paid their troops monthly and considered that this was the reason they fought so well.74 "But few troops obtained" this bounty.

In the Appendix to Wilson's work we find revenue and fines stated simply in ticals.75 E. g., Document No. 21, p. xlvi., says:— "The tax on the Karians (Karens in the Bassein District) was rated at about 18 ticals annually per plough or yoke of buffaloes, — the total produce of this was about 45,000 ticals." On p. xlvii. it is stated that "the revenue on law proceedings was divided between the Government and the local authorities, and the latter not infrequently were obliged to contract for their proportion. They sometimes had, however, to pay instead of receiving, and in case of robbery, where the offenders were not secured, the head men of the

71 There are several passages in De Morga's "Philippine Islands" showing that the early Spanish merchants valued money by weight as often as by quantity of coin. E. g., "The galloon Santo Tomas, which was expected from New Spain, with the silver of two years belonging to the merchants of the kingdom." (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 170).

72 This was in 1578. On the 5th April in the same year the Spanish Captain, Francisco de Ibarro, when his ship, the Boer Jesus, was seized by the Dutch, threw all his specie overboard, and that was taken by the Dutch was in the pilot's house, where there was a little bag with just a pound of gold" (p. 177).

73 In 1695 Governor Pedro de Acuña, gave some mandarins from China "a few presents of silver and other articles" (p. 220). In describing the curious local custom of full, half, and quarter and joint slaves, De Morga says, p. 229, that "the common price of a (complete) slave usually is (c. 1800) at the most ten ticals of fine gold, which are worth eighty dollars (Spanish)."

74 At p. 303, he says that barter of one thing for another was the usual way of trade, and sometimes a price intervened which was paid in gold according to the agreement made."

75 Anderson, Siam, quotes many passages from English mercantile documents showing that the English also in the Seventeenth Century valued money by weight: e. g., p. 143 l., Capt. Bartin of the Potam Merchant, made a claim in 1678 for 1,100 ticals of ready money. In the same year Mr. R. Sanger, the factor in Siam, received an advance of '200 cattos of silver from the King' (p. 144). See also p. 160 f., 290.

76 That the term "rupeas" was an exceedingly vague one, is graphically pointed out by Mr. Gouger, Prisoner in Burman, p. 298, where he shows that a memorandum, attached to the Treaty of Yandaboo (1826), stating that the term "rupeas" in the Treaty meant circa. 100, 2 Bengal rupees, and not Madras rupees, was due to his advice, and made a difference of Rs. 70,000 on the whole agreement in favour of the East India Company, owing to the rupee rupees being worth 64 to 7 per cent. more than the Madras rupee. The mistake arose of omitting to define the terms from the British officers drafting the Treaty coming from Bengal, whereas the only rupee known to the Burman Government was the Madras rupee. I ought to remark, however, that the additional article to the Treaty says nothing about sovos or rupees. See Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War, No. 170, p. 210.

77 Gouger, Prisoner in Burma, p. 270, says the amount was 100 ticals, equal £12.

78 In Quedah (Kora or Kala) the Chinese found in 1818-196 A. I., that "as taxes the people pay a little silver." 196 Indian Trees and Customs, Vol. I. p. 242. In Malacca, in 1416 A.D., tribute was paid in "tals of gold;" op. cit. p. 243.}

Cl. Geol. of India Records, Salween Survey, 1865, p. 7.
villages were punished by heavy fines, payable half to the State and half to the Viceroy. The chief punishment of all crimes was fine: as, 15 ticals for abuse without blows, 30 ticals for assault without bloodshed, 30 ticals for adultery, 20 per cent. for debt denied, from 100 to 500 ticals for murder and gang robbery, although they were sometimes capitally punished."

At p. ix. in Document No. 26 pearls in Tenasserim are valued in ticals, whereas in Mergui we find that as early as 2nd March, 1826, an Officer reporting that the tical had been superseded by the rupee.75

In Document No. 33 is a long account of money dealings with Siam in 1827 at p. lxxxiii. ff., from which we gather that "the Siamese tical, as assayed lately at the Calcutta Mint, is worth one sicca rupee and about three annas and a half. The sicca rupee is not current in Siam, but the Spanish dollar76 is very readily received — at the usual market rate of six and a half selungs." At the calculations given, dollars and ticals on these pages work out to 1,625 ticals to 1 dollar.

But on p. lxxxvii. we have an exceedingly interesting note as to methods of dealing with a currency without coinage. Opium in Siam was contraband at that date, and "the penalty of late years has been forfeiture of the opium, with a fine of eight times the weight in silver." 77

Mrs. Leonowens, authoress of those somewhat inflated books, Siamese Harem Life, and English Governess at the Siamese Court, and who was in Bangkòk from 1862 to 1869, gives several instances, interesting because unconsciously introduced, of the way in which the currency was regarded in her time. In Harem Life we find, at p. 20, that "a reward of twenty caties (about 1,500 dollars)" is offered for a runaway girl, and at p. 40 that these "twenty caties" had been expended in articles for the use of priests. Here we see weight used for money, and by a chance note that the metal was silver.78

Dr. Anderson, Mandalay to Mombèn, p. 90, mentions that a Kachin Sbwà demanded "two bushels of rupees" as the price of an escort. At p. 432, he noticed that the only way of making a Kachin Chief grasp the amount of silver in a sum of ten thousand rupees was by telling him that he would receive "three basketfuls of silver."

Writing a few years previously, Clement Williams (Through Burma to Western China, p. 50) states that he found a man washing gold at Singò, near Mandalay, and the payment of this man by weight of silver comes out rather curiously: — "The digger, who was old, somewhat surly and not at all energetic, said that he did not earn more than a mòo (threepence) a day, and he only worked because the Governor wanted gold for presentation to his Majesty." A mòo is one-tenth of a tickal, which Williams valued at half-a-crown in silver.

In Scott's Administration Report of the Northern Shan States for 1892-3, in the remarks, p. 16, on the North Hsin Wi (Theinmi according to customary European spelling) State, there is a rough treaty of peace between the Chinese, Kachins and Shan, which well illustrates the mode of dealing with money and of valuing it. "It appears that there was a compact in Kun Long, drawn up many years ago, according to the terms of which the Chinese, 75 In 1845 the rupee seems to have been well understood, for winter in his intelligent and well illustrated book, A Trip to Rangoon in 1843, says that "the charge for a passage in a Burmese boat from Rangoon to Ava was then only about two rupees."
76 Being the money then current in Penang, Quedah, Singapore, etc. See Crawford, Siam and Cochinchina Chaps. I., II., and XIX. also in Cochinchina, see op. cit. pp. 223, 517, 582. The term dollar is used also in the great Treaty with China of 1842. See Herdlett's Treaties and Tariffs, China, p. 7. Taels are not mentioned in Treaties till 1858. See op. cit. pp. 27, 31, and we seem to have again reverted to dollars in Treaties in 1855, op. cit. p. 102: and to have stuck to that denomination ever since.
77 So in Java at the time of the T'ang Dynasty of China (618-906 A. D.) the pay of troops and the price of girls in marriage was estimated in lump gold. See Indo-China, 2nd Series, Vol. I. p. 132.
78 See also op. cit. pp. 61, 63, 259. At p. 103 a reference seems to be made merely to "taels of gold," there called "pieces of gold," and to a ratio of 16 to 1 between gold and silver. See, too, Siamese Court, pp. 166 f, 166, 208.
Kachins and Shans were to live in amity and unite against whichever party broke the peace. The penalty for failure to obey the terms of the agreement was to be a mule-load of money, one panier full of gold and the other full of silver. The Kachins broke the treaty by fighting, the Shans by refusing to fight, and the Chinamen are equally indignant with both, all the more because there is not the remotest chance of recovering the fine from either Kachins or Shans."

Further on, at p. 25, in the remarks on the Wild Was, the author states, with regard to the custom of these peoples of propitiating their spirits by offerings of human heads, that "heads may be bought by unlucky or indolent villages. The prices run from two rupees (no doubt tickets) weight of silver for the head of a Lem, who is as easily killed as a puppy-dog, to a couple of hundred for unusual or fashionable heads."

In 1838 an exceedingly interesting and ethnologically valuable communication was received by the Burma Government from the 'Laotie' on the subject of the power of a Burman Buddhist to make a will. Eight cases of unquestionable wills were given, and from these I will now proceed to show how personality in cash was stated.

The oldest will quoted in point of date was that of P'ayatagar Sayà Ü Mò, his titles of of P'ayatagar (Pagoda-builder) and Sayà (Doctor) shewing him to be a man of much consideration, and at any rate of some wealth. It is dated 7th waning first Wazó, 1186, (B. E.; July, 1823). His property was practically in land, estimated according to the baskets of rice that could be sown on it. Part of this he wished to have realized, and accordingly it was sold to his son. This sale is the only mention of currency in the will and runs thus: "Therefore the rice-land mentioned above, together with the trees on the ridges of the said field, is sold to my son Minshwidaungara (a title) for 30 ticalls of tamatkh silver." 81

The second will quoted is dated 2nd waning Tɔsɔlin, 1222, (B. E.; Sept. 1860) and is that of an old lady, the widow of the Yëjì Wuìn, an official. This will was upheld by both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the same year. It sets forth: "I therefore bequeath to my eldest daughter Mi Pà 1 viss of gold, 3 viss of silver ornaments, 1 necklace of large pearls worth 7 viss, and 1 ruby necklace worth 3 viss of silver; to my son Maung Myàt Min, Ex-Sin Wandaik (official title), 1 viss of gold, 7 viss of silver ornaments, and 1 necklace of large pearls worth 5 viss of silver; to my youngest son, Maung Pò Shàwè, 1 viss of gold and the . . . . fields bought with 10 viss of silver, and presented to Him, on the occasion of his ears being born, during the lifetime of his father, the Yëjì Wuìn." Taking the tickal at 2s. 6d., and the gold value of silver at the period at 16 to 1, we get a total amount of £255 as the value of the property thus left. It will be observed that the money is all reckoned by weight. The silver was probably meant to be yëstmi in quality. 82

The third will is dated 12th waning Tɔsɔlin, 1224, (B. E.; Sept. 1862) and is that of the Mônè Sëkëjí (General). He declares his personal property to consist of "gold, silver, rings, badges, clothes, etc." and proceeds to dispose of it without mentioning specific amounts. He also sets forth that "my mother possesses property consisting of a piece of mayin paddyland called ìpàdësì, and an enclosure bought with her money." The words translated "bought with her money" are, however, in the original text, amì ìsà àt mò yà wè ìsìt, i.e., "bought with (my) mother's property."

79 This reads very like the history of the treaty for the preservation of the integrity of Denmark in much more civilized times and places.
80 Council of State, maintained for a while after the annexation of Upper Burma. It is the Lotoo, Hlinlaw, etc., of writers on Burma. It is very disappointing that the Customary Law of the China, by Maung Tet Pya, an old Government official, which was written in 1833, is useless in the present connection, because it states all money values in B. A. P.
81 See post, where this quality of silver will be explained.
82 The shares mentioned in the will were very fair, being respectively 59 viss, 28 viss and 25 viss of silver.
Next comes a will drawn up in the 3rd waxing Wágæn, 1242, (B. E.; 8th August, 1880) by Sayêbîjî (high official title) Kyî Maung Gâñé, and in this we find rupees introduced. He says: — "The monies (debts) owing to me shall be sued for, the costs being equally borne by the co-heirs. If any of them cannot afford to bear the costs, and if a decree for the said monies (debts) is obtained by the remaining co-heirs, the party bearing the costs shall deduct 20 per cent. (nuñjî 100 'yîpî 20 200 kyî 'nôk pyî maâ, deducting 20 in 100 silver) of the sum awarded, and the balance shall be equally divided amongst them all. The two diamond rings worth over rupees (nuñjî silver) 2,000 shall be sold, and the proceeds applied to the cost of copying palm-leaf MSS. at a cost of rupees (kyîjî) 272, and presenting them to the Majjôd Sâdô (Bishop), after having these MSS. gilt in a proper manner. The balance I bequeath as follows: — To Shwê Bû, Rs. 200, Mî Pû, Rs. 200, Mî Nîn, Rs. 100, and Ma Minbô, Rs. 100. The remaining money (nuñjî-myûd) shall be devoted to my funeral expenses."

There are two wills of 1884, that of the Pagën Minjî (Minister) and of the widow of the Myinzijî Wun (official). The former is dated the 8th waxing Wágæn, 1246, (B. E.; 13th Aug. 1884): — "On their (two little girls and a little boy) attaining their 17th year, my elder daughter shall give five pairs of gold wristlets, weighing 20 ticals, formerly worn by her, and 10 ticals of gold, 20 ticals in all, to Ma Kyîdô, 20 ticals of gold to Sôbôjî (the boy, a title), and 20 ticals of gold to Ma Èkyô, provided that the said legatees live with my daughters, Shôn Ma Jî and Shôn Mê Pû and my younger brother, the Sayêbîjî (an official). Should these children leave the household with their respective mothers, let them receive only 5 ticals of gold each. — If the sum of Rupees (nuñjî) 5,400, advanced by me to purchase commissariat stores for the Royal troops, is repaid, Rupees 100 each shall be given to Shwê Nyun and Shôn Hinjî (both wives). I have given to Shwê Din, Shwê Nyun and Shôn Hinjî ear-rings, necklaces, rings and money (nuñjî-myûd)."

The latter is dated 5th waxing Tazamûn, 1246, (B. E.; 4th Nov. 1884) and says: — "My property, animate and inanimate, consisting of gold, silver, ornaments, clothes, rice, and ground lands and irrigated lands, still remains. On my death my eldest son the Lêtjêsâdô, ex-Wun of Kâlî Pônmyô, (an official), shall retain in his possession — a diamond ring valued at Rupees (diyûdê, coins) 1,000. — He shall also receive Rupees (nyûdêngiûdê, silver coins) 3,000, as an equivalent for the viss of gold, the emerald ring valued at Rs. 500 and the ruby ring valued at Rs. 500, which were included in the presents. — To my grand-daughter Kîkingjî I bequeath 20 ticals of gold — to Mê Pi 10 ticals of gold, — to my niece Myadãng-Wun thôn (wife of the Myadang Wun) Mê Sô Rupees (nyûdêngiûdê) 1,750 in Shôpûn-pîn Vînêgo, and a paddy-field valued at Rs. 500; 50 ticals of gold shall be equally divided between —."

Of 1887 there are three wills included. First of all, "Her Royal Highness, the wife of His Excellency, the Pakên Minjî, dated 2nd waxing Thûshên, 1249, (B. E.; 19th Aug. 1887), who leaves everything to her adopted son Maung Pô Kân. This conservative lady goes back to the old system and describes her personality as consisting of gold, silver, diamonds, etc., and debts."

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83 Described as "still young and will probably marry again."

84 This is an exceedingly valuable statement, because it fixes the amount of exchange between gold and silver; there: — Rs. 2,000 = 1 viss or 100 ticals of gold; 1 tical = 1 rupee: therefore the ratio is 2,000 to 125 or 16 to 1. However, I think by 1884 the kyôt had come to signify the weight of the Birmese silver coin (diyûdê), which is a tola and not a tical: so that what is meant is that exchange between gold and silver was then 20 to 1, or somewhere about the real rate of exchange, as understood in Europe. In Lower Burma diiûdê has long meant a rupee; wide Spearman’s B. R. G. Archer, 1873, Vol. 1, p. 407: "The rupee (diiûdê, lit., a circular piece of metal, stamped, whether a coin or metal) is in universal use."

85 I paid this identical lady, on behalf of the British Government, a large sum in rupees on the 31st March, 1888, for some work done by what was then the East Gate of the Palace at Mandalay; but quite lately I discovered in conversation that all knowledge of the old East Gate of the Palace itself had disappeared, so far as the ordinary British residents were concerned, by 1895.
The other two are by the same person, "Her Royal Highness, Her Ladyship of the Western Palace, Queen of the Convener of the Fifth Synod (King Mindon)," who made two wills, dated, as a sign of the British supremacy, in dates A D. and B. E. Both wills speak of rupees.

The first is dated, "This day, the 12th February, 1837, of the Christian Era (K'ayit Dëkhtyit 1837 k'u 1'p'ëg'ëg' 16 th 13th waning Taböwë, 1249, B. E., and says:—

"The land now bequeathed measures 350 feet from east to west and 222 feet from north to south, and comprises masonry houses, kitchens, stables and trees situated thereon, the whole property being valued at about Rupees (ngødidding) 4,000." The second is dated, "This day, the 23rd December, 1837, of the Christian Era (K'ayit Dëkhtyit 1837 Dëwimba 16 th 13th waning Pyätë, 1249, B. E.," and says:—"He (nephew) moreover gave me Bs. 815 (ngød 815 kyå) to defray the costs of a suit in which I had to establish my proprietary rights over my enclosure and lands." 

There is also a quantity of very valuable evidence on the valuation of property, etc., in later Burmese times of the same nature in Taw Sein Ko's Selections from the Records of the Hlultaw, 1899, which is unfortunately still untranslated from the original Burmese.

The following quotation from Crawford's Avs, Appx., p. 27, will further throw much light on the practical methods of valuing property among the Burmese in pre-currency days:

"Registry and Conveyance of Land:—Year 1156, (1794 A. D.) 12th day of the increase of the moon Nat-dau, (Nâdô, December) the Governor of Akharing (Akh'în, an old Burmese township) in the Rangoon District and wife say, the mortgage of our inheritance of, and rightful authority over, the town of Akharing, from Moung Po Tan, let Meng Chau Dagonkaunyan, a title) and wife receive — according to the saying of Governor Bhodanka, a title) and wife Aung, the original mortgage of Moung Po To, amounting by weight of silver of 5 per cent. alloy, 650 ticinals; also, law expenses in the redemption of the town, silver of ten per cent. alloy, 550 ticinals. Also, in payment of old debts demanded, silver of 5 per cent. alloy, 155 ticinals — on account of the Governor of the town Shwepyitant'w'haungyan (P'romo) receives of silver, 25 per cent. alloy, by weight 308 ticinals. Also an Awengwun (Secretary of State) beneath the sole of the golden foot has a demand, to pays which, Bhodanka and Aung received silver, 25 per cent. alloy, weight 150 ticinals: — the same collectively amounting to 2,293½ ticinals: — the silver to Bhodanka and Aung, Meng Chau Dagonkaunyan and wife pay, and purchase the right of possession of the town Akharing"

The mortgage in this transaction, grandiloquently described in the translation as "Governor," signs himself by the much humbler title of Mjó-thu-gyîl, or hereditary head of a township under a Governor, and it is clear from the deed that the mortgagee paid his 2,293½ ticinals in varying quantities of no less than three different standards of silver, differing so much as to contain 5 per cent., 10 per cent., and 25 per cent. alloy. Calculation will show that the amount of pure silver paid over was 1,734½ ticinals: — this, taking the currency of the period to be yuetsi silver of 10 per cent. alloy at half-a-crown a tickal, amounts to a payment of

As an addition to the interesting dates above quoted, I may add that the signature to the original document forwarding those wills runs thus:—Kinchin Minji 1188 k'u 12 Mê la 14 year 1250 11 Nayû 1870 15 year 11, i. e., Kinhun Minji (Prime Minister), 14th May, 1888, 15th waxing Nayû, 1250 (B. E.).


See Syms, Avs, pp. 829, 862: Crawford, Avs, p. 446. At p. 444, however, he values it at two shillings only. See also Crawford, Avs, pp. 195, 301. The author of Two Years in Avs, p. 98, makes the rupee go eight to the £ in 1834, which seems, however, to be a mistake, unless he means by "rupee" a "tickal of silver," but at p. 196 he says that 100 tickets equal £12. And at p. 201, 150 tickets equal nearly £20. At p. 289 he has another rate. Malcolm, Travels, seems always to mix up the tickal and the rupee: Vol. II., pp. 99, 112, 137. A century earlier than Syms the tickal weighed half-a-crown and was worth three and threepence: Loubère, Siam, E. T., Vol. I. p. 72. Bock in 1834 values the tickal at half-a-crown: Temples and Elephants, p. 4. Wilson, Documents, Appx., p. iv, states that 1 tickal equals in silver rupees about Rs. 2 as. ½ in 1827. Two Years in Avs, p. 286, makes 1 tickal equal sica Rs. 2 as. 5½, or 2s. 8½ d. Clement Williams, Burma to Western China, 1884, p. 85, makes a tickal equal 2s. 6d.
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£238-2-0 sterling. But of course no Burman would think of making such a calculation as this.

In making presents, the quality of the silver was discreetly omitted, and merely the weight was given. Thus, in Symex, Annu., p. 493, we find the chief Queen of King Bódopayā presenting the Governor-General with "a silver box weighing 90 tackall, and a silver cup of 11 tackall. Also another silver box weighing 44 tuckall and another cup weighing 6 tuckall, and two silver trays, one weighing 66 tuckall, the other 77." The "tackall" on this occasion was "a little more than half an ounce," as Symex tells us.

From the Kalyāṇ (Pegu) Inscriptions, dated 1476, A. D., we have some very interesting evidence on this head, as it not only shows that at that time gold, silver and jewels were valued by weight, but also that the ticket of silver was then, as now, the standard of value.

King Dhammachātī of Pegu sent emissaries to Ceylon, and offered, among other things, to the Holy Tooth Relic, "a stone alms-bowl, embellished with sapphires of great value and having for its cover a pyramidal covering made of gold weighing 50 phalas; an alms-bowl with stand and cover complete made of gold weighing 60 phalas; a golden vase weighing 30 phalas; a duodecagonal betel-box made of gold weighing 30 phalas; a golden reliquary-stand weighing 33 phalas." He also sent "for presentation to Bhatuvanakabahu, King of Sinhaladipa (Ceylon):—two sapphires valued at 200 phalas of silver; two rubies valued at 430 phalas." Also "200 phalas of gold were given to the emissaries for the purpose of providing the 22 theras (monks) and their disciples with the "four requisites."

Now, the Pāḷī phala is the Sanskrit pāla, for which the modern Burmese equivalent is bōl(l), a weight equal to 5 ticks (kyāt), or 20 to the pēkha (visā), i.e., 20 to the viss. The old pāla, however, as far as I can at present calculate, was about half the modern bōl(l), or weight of 5 ticks.

That the old priests of Burma intended to calculate weights in the old familiar Indian style of pāla and tuāl, whatever weights they may have had to base their denominations on, is clear from the statement in the same Kalyāṇ Inscriptions, that King Dhammachātī presented to the cēttiya at Tījampānaagara, i.e., to the Shwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon, "a large bell made of brass, weighing 3,000 tuālā." Taking the tuālā at about 145 oz. troy, i.e., about 10 lbs. av., we get the weight of this bell to be about 11 2/5 tons. A weight, I may say, more than doubled by the Mahāghāta, or Great Bell, of the same Pagoda, cast in 1,432 by King Dārāwad, and usually said to weigh over 25 tons; while King Bódopayā's (1781-1819) bell at Myingun weighs about 80 tons.

82 Anjv, Vol. XXII. p. 41.
83 In 1435 A. D. and 1515 A. D., we find the Chinese valuing gold coins by weight. Indo-China, 2nd Series, Vol. I. pp. 215, 222.
84 Letter's Burmese Grammar, p. 170.
85 Tāv. 1:99 oz. ar. against 292 oz. But the point will be discussed later in its appropriate place. So the Siamese catty is double the Chinese catty. See Crawford, Sac., p. 331.
86 Anjv, Vol. XXII. p. 45, where tuālā is unfortunately mistranscribed tela.
87 Phyo, Hist. of Burma, p. 219. King Dhammachātī's bell, I am told by the Trustees of the Shwedagon Pagoda, never reached the Pagoda, having been dropped in the stream, near Rangoon, known as the Payung Creek. It may be there nevertheless, as the second large bell in the North-West corner of the Pagoda platform was "the great bell of the War of 1894, and was then estimated to weigh 18,000 lbs., or about 8 tons. See Laurie, Second Burmese War, Rangoon, p. 196. There is a valuable note on the two great bells in Bigandet's Life of Gaudama, Or. Ser. Ed., Vol. I. p. 74. The Bishop makes the weight of the Mahāghāta to be 91,682 lbs. plus 2½ to be added for copper, gold and silver thrown into the mould by the devotee, during the process of casting. This gives two weights of about 45½ and 59½ tons respectively. The Bishop also says that the Myingun Bell is supposed to exceed 200,000 lbs., or about 8 tons. The measurements he gives of the two bells show that his statement of 42 tons for the weight of the Mahāghāta must be nearer the truth than the 25 tons. See also Yale, Anjv,
Evil of Bullion Currency.

Enough has already been written and quoted to show that the actual monetary condition of a country without a definite and settled currency is not by any means of that desirable simplicity, which civilized man is so apt to attribute to savages and semi-savages. The truth appears to be the other way, viz., that simplicity in dealings can only exist, where money consists of a recognized coinage and where wealth is expressed in terms of that coinage. In fact, Ovid's famous line should, so far as regards accuracy, have properly run: —

"Efectiutius opus iritumata donorum." 199

We have, however, such quaint testimony in an observer so acute as De Morga, as to what he considered the evil effects of an exchange of currency for barter in the case of Orientals, which he saw going on before his own eyes, (1598-1609), that I cannot forbear to quote it here: 100

"The tributes which the natives pay to the collectors were fixed by the first Governor, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi (1571-1574) in the provinces of Bizayas and Pintados, and in the isles of Luzon and its neighbourhood, at a sum of eight reals1 as the whole yearly tribute of each tributary. This they paid in the produce which they possessed, gold, wrappers, cotton, rice, bells, fowls and the rest of what they possessed or gathered, a price being fixed and at a certain value of each thing, in order that when making payment of the tribute with any one of these articles, or with all of them, it should not exceed the value of the eight reals. In this manner it has gone on till now, the Governors raising the prices fixed and valuations of the produce as has seemed expedient to them at different times. The tax collectors have derived very great profits from collecting in kind; because after the produce came into their possession, they used to sell it at a higher price, by which they largely increased their incomes and produce of their collectorates, until a few years previously (to 1609) when, at the petition of some monks, and the instances, which they made upon the subject to His Majesty, orders were issued that the natives should pay their tributes in whatever they chose, either in kind or in money, without being compelled to anything else: so that having given their eight reals they would have fulfilled their obligation. This has been carried out, and

1 The Hakluyt Society's editor of De Morga constantly intrudes into the footnotes his firm belief in the villainy that lies in gold, and is quite delighted when he finds (p. 294) that the natives of the Philippines hid their gold mines. "Et sic medius sium quam terra citat," he exclaims. So writes Ovid also in the line following that mentioned in the text: "Jannya nomini ferum, ferroque nostrum cursum Prolicerant.", But such sentiments seem to me, however, to be the result of superficial observation, or of incorrect reasoning from the facts observed. Captain Trant, the anonymous author of (see Laura, Paga, p. 257) Two Years in Alta, obviously a thoughtful observer in many ways, from his book, puts the result of the want of regular money very well: — "Commerce cannot flourish without the extraneous aid of money: but in this country the precious metal is melted into bars and ingots and merely kept to look at; and the value of bullion is completely paralyzed" (p. 251). Also Dr. Anderson, Selangs of the Moro Archipelago, p. 4 f., accounts for the poverty of the Selangs "by the system of barter, by which they dispose of their goods and which gave to dishonest traders the opportunity to fleece them. This state of things, however, is now much improved, but so long as the barter system exists — and it is still prevalent — and so long as the love of strong drink is pandered to by the traders who deal with them, the Selangs will remain poor." See also the remarks of the traveller Florence as to the state of commercial affairs in Paga in 1765. Tableau Pago, Vol. II. p. 41 f.; also Ridgway, Origins of Currency, pp. 11, 259.

1 Eight Philippine reals were equal to one Spanish dollar.
experience has shewn that, though this appears to be a compassionate ordinance, and one favourable to the natives, it does them a great injury, because, being, as they are, of their natural disposition inimical to labour, they neither sow, nor weave, nor work the gold, nor rear fowls, or other provisions, as they used to do when they had to pay tribute in these things: and they easily, without so much labour, acquire the sum of money with which they acquire themselves of their tribute. From this it follows that the natives, from not working, possess less property and substance, and the country, which was very well supplied and abounding in everything, commences to feel a want and scarcity of them, and the holders of the collectarates, both His Majesty, as well as the individuals who held them, have experienced great loss and reduction in their value."

On the other hand, of the infinite trouble which the obligation to barter constantly brought on the old English merchants in the East, we have many instances in that very excellent book, Dr. Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*. E. g. at p. 136, a Mr. Sanger reports in 1676 of the tin in Siam, i. e., Mengkut, that the King's price was "188/14 (dollars) 50 p (per) Bah. of 3 Pec 11 ch. ready money may be purchased at or about 45 P p Bah. and it is so much y° better if it can bee so reduced w; goods in bart. Here we have the barter value of goods clearly stated to be higher than the cash value.

In 1678 the President and Council at Fort St. George objected to Burneby's invoice of goods from Siam. "He had " invoiced the copper at three several prices, viz., at 12, 10, and at 8 tayle p. chest, which they believed represented " the rates he had received in barter for other goods and bought for ready money." It was therefore difficult they said 'to know the lose or gains upon it here'; therefore they presumed it would be 'a more plain way to charge it all at y° ready money price, for otherwise the gains is made upon y° copper in the goods in which it is bartered, and soe in other goods received in Barter.'"

In a *Report on the Trade of Siam* written in 1678, Anderson quotes, p. 421, the following:--
"Copper(ers) of them whose occasions necessitate an immediate sale to negotiate their Returns, may at first arrival be bought for 6: Taell. 1: Tecall. p. Pec. 1. for Cash, but at y° same time tis curr. 1: Taell in Barter." Here again the barter value of goods differed from the cash value.

A little thought will shew how great the uncertainty and difficulty in making up accounts of loss and gain must have been under such a system. There was a double appraising: - of the goods to be bought and of the goods to be given in return. Then, the value of goods when bought by barter varied in an indeterminate manner from their value when bought for cash, i. e., apparently for coin. The quotations shew the variations to have been as 45 to 50, as 12 or 10 to 8, and as 6 to 8, almost in the same year. And lastly, in rendering accounts all these varying values had to be reduced down to a cash value. Truly one perceives what a blessing a fixed currency in coin of the realm really is, when one comes to realise the difficulties that beset our ancestors in the East only two hundred years ago.

*(To be continued.)*

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1 The whole passage reads suspiciously like special pleading, but, if it be not, and given that the practical result of changing payment of taxes in kind to an optional payment in cash had actually the result of reducing the products of the country, it is odd that a trained lawyer like De Morga should not have seen that his statements amount to this: the collectors undervalued the payments in kind, which the people naturally looked on as unfair, and the tax in cash was so light that the people had not to work in order to pay it.

2 They used to barter with each other. In 1689 Pothe at Ayuthia bartered a "chest of copper" for "a butt of beer" with a Captain Heath. Anderson, Siam, p. 199.

3 Cf. also op. cit. p. 159.

THE VAJASANEYA UPANISHAD.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.B.A.S.

Vajasaneya or Isa Upanishad.

Vajasaneya Upanishad.

This 'rahasya' of the Vajasaneyins, which is one of the shortest of these ancient treatises, forms the last chapter of the later collection of the Yajurveda called sukla, 'white,' and may be said to be the companion to the Katha Upanishad, which belongs to the earlier collection or the same Veda called Krishna, 'black.' The Vajasaneya Saahitih is ascribed to Rishi Yajnavalkya and called Sukla because the Mantra portion is kept distinct from the Brahmana, whereas in the older Taittiriya-Saahitih of Vaisampayanam the separation between the Mantras and the Brahmanas is greatly obscured, if not altogether lost. Hence its name Krishn.

Like the Talavakara of the Sama Veda our Upanishat is also known by the first word of the first Mantra, which in this case is Isa. There is great uncertainty about the text, not only as to the number, but also as to the order of the Mantras, and even as to the Santi-patha. The text I have used, and which I subjoin, is that of the Allahabad edition (Samvat 1945).

Of all the Upanishads the Vajasaneya is perhaps the most spiritual. It has been more than once translated into English prose, but I venture to think that, excellent as these translations often are, notably those by Dr. Rer and Prof. Max Muller, we shall never rightly appreciate such majestic Mantras of the aspiring Spirit until we strive to render them into verse.

After invoking the divine blessing upon the reverent aspirations of both master and pupil, the Rishi begins by boldly stating the sublime truth, so familiar to us in the words of the Hebrew poet, that 'the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein.' This is all the more remarkable, because the word used is not Brahman or Atman but the far more personal Is. It is the very secret of Bhakti-jijnasa. A very similar thought, though with a more pantheistic tendency, is exquisitely expressed in the Gita:

Samañ labeshha bhütesha tishantah Paramasvarah
Vinasvatvanvasyaantah yah pasyati sa pasyati.

Samañ pasyan hi sarvatra samansthiti mithvara
Na pinastvamitanam tam yat parin gatihi.

In all things dwells the Lord supreme,
Undying, when they cease to be.
Whoso can look beyond the dream
And know Him — he indeed can see:
The Self within he cannot wrong
But treads the Path serene and strong!

Then we are told how the traveller on the Path must know the secret of vairagya, of action without attachment. Having once seen that the world is in the Lord, we must not set our affection upon things that pass, but rather strive after the Heart of things and find that He is our Pearl. Rishi and Sufi agree in this, that

Kulla shein halikun illa vajhu-hu,
'All things shall perish save His face';

and can exclaim together:

Tara si Kungara-i-arah ml-sanand saffir:
Na danamat ki dar in Khakdan che uftadast.

'From God's high throne in love to thee they call,
This dust-heap and thy goods abandon all!'
The Bhagavad Gītā says that there are four classes of men who seek refuge in God: the oppressed, those who seek truth, such as are impelled by good, and the wise. Of these, it says, the wise man who in uninterrupted devotion consecrates himself wholly to the One, is the best, for he loves God above everything, and God loves him. So here, the man who by atman-śanyama yōga, never attaining as Plotinus taught it, has found the vanity of this passing world, gives up wealth and earthly enjoyment for the deep, quiet gladness of a soul set free in God.

With the great poet of the Middle Age he feels

La sua volontà e nostra pace,
Cio ch‘ella viva e che natura face!

His will having become one with the supreme Will, he discovers the Divine in all his fellows and can never again look with contempt upon any member of the human race. Indeed, to the true yogin it must ever be a matter of profound sorrow, that any of God’s creatures should so put out the light that is in them, as to be fit for nothing but those depths of sunless gloom where dwell those of whom Dante used to say: non ragentium di lor, ma guadà a passa!

And so the seer passes from Parashu to Prāna, from Śākambha to Uchchishta until the goal is reached — Īśa, Lord of all, in whom he lives and moves and has his being. He discovers the meaning of Creation and sees how, from the foundation of the world, the All-Father has been assigning to His children their stations and duties.

But the materialists, who see nothing in the dawn upon Himāla peaks, in the brooding blue of the star-strewn sky but a chance concatenation of a congeries of atoms; who can behold, unmoved, the abundance of Nature in the tropical forest at noonday, who can watch the flight of a swallow, the play of the breeze in the summer-grass or the dainty dance of a shining sea and still proclaim: ‘No God!’ are of all men most miserable. We can almost hear the Rishi weep as he utters these sorrowful sikṣas! And, indeed, if this were the last word of Indian wisdom we too might shed the tear for Āryavarta. But it is not. As in the Kabbala the devout Hebrew finds Ani to be the secret name of God, so here the Rishi rests at last in the great Aham, and the Upanishad ends with the exquisite thought of the unfolding of the infinite Spirit — Īśam, Kham, Brahman — whose face is hidden in the golden veil of Truth!

By Īm protected may we be,
Mid all our study, till it cease,
Be softly chanted: peace! peace! peace!
Illumined in serenity!

O dweller ‘neath these nether skies,
To see how all things in accord
Proclaim: the world is in the Lord!
Abandon wealth and lift thine eyes!
For life, if thine a hundred years,
Must be naught else but faithful deed
Without a thought of praise or meed,
Escaping penitential tears!
To sunless regions ‘neath the ground,
Where dark and lonesome spirits hide,
Go slayers of the soul, who slide
From depth to depth without a sound!
More hidden, more soul-piercing far
Than sight or hearing, taste or touch
Is He, the great first Spirit, such
As only sages know, fixed as the primal Star!
He wandereth not, yet moves about,
Is far, but still for ever near:
The world within is His, and clear
His traces in the world without!
Beholding all things in the Soul,
The Self in all the world around,
We know no Sorrow, nor are found
To look with scorn on Nature's scroll!
He ev'rywhere is seen to be
All-knowing Prophet, Fruit pure,
To each assigning, to endure,
Reward of works eternally!

Ah! truly to be pitied they
Who worship what they do not know,
But most of all are fail of woe
Who grope in darkness through the day.

For wisdom's life is of the heart,
But folly's ever one of sense;
So say the sages, and the whence
To them is known: they live apart.

And he who truly masters these,
In ignorance sees nought but death,
In knowledge life, ay, lasting breath
That to the spirit leads with ease!

O ye who find in atoms all
The first and last of Nature's law,
Ye worship blindly, and the awe
Of things unseen — beyond your call!

For spirit's life is of the heart,
But that of matter one of sense:
So say the sages, and the whence
To them is known: they live apart.

And he who realises this,
Who dies to matter and who lives
To spirit, he it is who gives
Himself to everlasting bliss!

O Soul, sustained by ether free;
Undying part of man's estate,
Seed-sower, thou, ere 'tis too late,
Just think: what shall the harvest be?

O Fire divine, by those fair ways
That lead to good, as truly guide,
And ward all evil from our side,
That we may yield thee lasting praise!

O Om, O Spirit infinite
Whose face within the golden veil
Of truth is hid: to thee all hail!
Thou art our refuge, our delight!
NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C. I. E.

No. 1.

Numeric System and Arithmetic.¹

In consequence, no doubt, of the long-established trade in coconuts and their acquaintance with foreign traders, the Nicobarese possess an adequate system of numeration, more than sufficient for their own requirements. Especially is this the case with the Car Nicobarese, who, having a word (viz., ida²) denoting 20,000 (really 10,000 pairs), are able to express any multiple of that number.

Travellers tell us in reference to the art of counting, "which is the foundation of science," that it is common to find the primitive method of counting by fingers and toes still in practical use, while in many languages some of the very terms employed in numeration are traceable to this peculiarity. That the Nicobarese system of numeration originated in the practice of counting by means of the fingers, is evidenced by the fact that, while tai¹ and tane-tai denote the hand (or finger); oal-tai the palm; ok-tai the back of the hand; we have lamai indicating 5; isai a score; and okkai 200 (also, in certain circumstances, 10). When, however, a modern Nicobarese counts, he never makes use of pebbles, cowries, grains, or other objects, and only occasionally, or for emphasis, of his fingers. Usually he names the numeral which he desires to express without any such aid. But, when a Nicobarese, possessing more than three or four children, brothers, sisters, etc., is asked their number, he will, before committing himself to a reply, almost invariably enumerate them on his fingers by turning down the fingers of one hand with the fore-finger of the other, commencing with the little finger.

In his transactions with ship-traders the Nicobarese keeps a tally of the quantity of coconuts promised or delivered, by means of strips of cane or bamboo, called leuakk agadi. At intervals of about one-third of an inch along these strips, nicks are made by bending the fibre over the thumb-nail, each nick thus formed representing a score (really 10 pairs) of nuts either due or delivered.³ As this is the only system of keeping tally which they possess, they have no method of recording any lower numeral than a score of nuts. I have, too, known a Nicobarese in enumerating from memory the huts in a village employ a similar strip of cane, making a nick for each hut he called to mind, and, on noting the last, count all the nicks he had made. It is hardly necessary to add that no figures or cyphers are in use. The Car Nicobarese also on certain occasions maintain a calendar of wood (styled kervita),⁶ resembling in most cases a sword-blade, on which incisions are made, each of which signifies a day.⁷

The Nicobarese system of numeration is that known as the vigesimal, the peculiarities and irregularities of which, are soon mastered. A striking peculiarity is that, in counting coconuts, money, and edible birds' nests, the natives of the Central and Southern Groups (both coast and

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¹ It should be borne in mind that, except where otherwise stated, the remarks and Nicobarese words in these papers refer to the dialect spoken by the natives of the Central Group of islands (viz., Camorta, Nanowy, Trinkut, and Katchal), where the Indian Government established a station in 1889.

² This is doubtless derived from the Malay ida (10,000) which has its source in the Sanskrit pada (100,000).

³ The more extensive individual transactions in coconuts with ship-traders at Car Nicobar — the exports from which probably exceed the aggregate of the rest of the group — accounts for the employment at that island alone of a term of such magnitude. [Derivatives of pada are common all over the Far East with senses varying between a thousand and a million. — Ed.]

⁴ There is no specific word distinguishing the "hand" from the "finger." × Anfe, Vol. XXIII, p. 109.

⁵ At Car Nicobar notches are cut in a stick in sets of five, each notch indicating a score of nuts. This tally stick is styled kinh-tek.

⁶ Anfe, Vol. XXIII, p. 133.

⁷ Another practice of reckoning time by days is to be observed in the use of the knotted cane strip, styled tiniku (ante, Vol. XXIII, p. 109).
inland communities) reckon by pairs, scores, and four-hundreds, the corresponding terms employed bearing to some extent a family resemblance; while other objects (with a few exceptions shortly to be mentioned) are reckoned by scores. In the remaining three dialects the systems somewhat differ: Car Nicobar reckons by pairs, scores, two-hundreds, four-hundreds, two-thousands, and twenty-thousands; Chown by pairs, scores, two-hundreds, two-thousands, and four-thousands; Teressa and Bompoka, by pairs, scores, two-hundreds and two-thousands.

Another point to note is that (in the Central Group) the term dōkaip when referring to coconuts, money, and edible birds' nests signifies 300, but it can be employed only with momchitama signifying 400: it cannot, therefore, be used in reference to the above objects for any less number than 600 (Ex.: — hāng-momchitama-dōkaip = 1 × 400 + 200). Employed, however, with other objects, e.g., men, huts, paddles, etc., dōkaip denotes 10 only; but, as in the former case it can be used only with momchitama, which then signifies 20, and therefore the lowest number for which it can be employed is 30 (Ex.: — hāng momchitama-dōkaip-yōang-paiyūbi = 1 × 20 + 10 (lit., fruit)-men).

Two only of the six dialects — and these the most widely apart — viz., the Car Nicobar and the Shom Pei (e., the inland tribe of the Great Nicobar) adopt the Malay system of counting from 11 to 19 inclusive, viz., 1 (and) 10, 2 (and) 10, 3 (and) 10, etc., whereas the four other dialects have the Burmese system, viz., 10 (and) 1, 10 (and) 2, 10 (and) 3, etc.11

None of the numerical terms employed in the dialect of the Central Group express a second meaning except tafśal (6), which also signifies "pair, couple," but when employed in the latter sense no confusion is possible, as it is invariably preceded by one or other of the numerals from hāng (1) to hāng-hāta (9) inclusive. Ex.: — tafśal-tafśal-hāng = 13 (lit., 6 pairs + 1).

With the exception of the term ḍāk, the only numeral which appears to be of foreign derivation is that denoting 7 (tākā in the Central Group and sūt at Car Nicobar), which resembles the corresponding equivalent in the Indian languages proper (sāt), but this, doubtless, in the absence of any more satisfactory evidence, is a mere coincidence.

In order to exhibit, by way of contrast, two of the somewhat diverse systems of numeration employed in these dialects the terms used in the Central Group and at Car Nicobar will now be shown in parallel columns. With reference to the foregoing explanations the terms preceded by (a) represent those that are employed in relation to coconuts, money, and edible birds' nests, while the terms preceded by (b) represent those that are used in speaking of other objects, e.g., men, animals, huts, canoes, baskets, spears, etc.

### Table of Comparative Numeration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRAL GROUP.</th>
<th>CAR NICOBAR.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(a) hāng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) hāng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(a) hāng-tafśal (lit., one pair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) aū.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(c) hāng-tafśal-hāng (lit., one pair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(and one)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) lūe (or lāi)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8 This is due to the Nicobarese practice of tying two coconuts together by means of a strip of the husk of each, the object being for convenience of carrying them on a pole over the shoulder, or of allowing a quantity to be carried together in either hand.

9 This diverse use of the terms momchitama and dōkaip, when the context is known, causes no confusion. [Perhaps the simplest explanation would be that dōkaip when used with momchitama signifies "half plus." — Ed.]

10 The use of this and other numeral co-efficients will shortly be explained.

11 [This use of what have been called the direct and inverse methods of enumeration concurrently on one group of Islands is most interesting; vide Knott, the Abacos, in Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Vol. XIV. p. 46. — Ed.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Group</th>
<th>Car Nicobar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 (a) áh-tafial ...</td>
<td>(a) neit-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) fían ...</td>
<td>(b) ūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (a) áh-tafial-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) neit-tahol-leng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) taní ...</td>
<td>(b) taní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (a) lóe-tafial ...</td>
<td>(a) lóe-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) tafíal ...</td>
<td>(b) tafíal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (a) lóe-tafíal-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) lóe-tahol-leng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) sít ...</td>
<td>(b) sít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (a) fóan-tafíal ...</td>
<td>(a) fán-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) enfoaan ...</td>
<td>(b) hōo-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (a) fóan-tafíal-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) fán-tahol-leng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) maichūa-tare ...</td>
<td>(b) maichūa-tare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (a) taní-tafíal ...</td>
<td>(a) taní-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) sam ...</td>
<td>(b) sam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (a) taní-tafíal-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) taní-tahol-leng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(b) hōo-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 (a) hōo-hare-tafíal-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) maichūa-tare-tahol-leng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(b) maichūa-tare-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 (a) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(a) heng-anai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(b) heng-anai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (a) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(a) heng-anai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) hōo-hare ...</td>
<td>(b) heng-anai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (a) taní-tafíal ...</td>
<td>(a) taní-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) taní-tahol ...</td>
<td>(b) taní-tahol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102 (a) shōm-inai-héáng ...</td>
<td>(a) sam-anai-héáng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) sam-anai-héáng ...</td>
<td>(b) sam-anai-héáng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 (a) shōm-inai-taní-tafíal-momochiama ...</td>
<td>(a) sam-mong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) tani-taní-momochiama ...</td>
<td>(b) tani-taní-momochiama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000 (a) tani-taní-momochiama ...</td>
<td>(a) tani-taní-momochiama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 (a) shōm-inai-taní-tafíal-momochiama ...</td>
<td>(a) tani-taní-momochiama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200,000 (a) hōo-hare-taní-taní-momochiama ...</td>
<td>(a) sam-lak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When it is intended to convey the meaning that a round number is referred to, the term yūk-ngare (indicating "whole," or "no more and no less") is added. Ex.: — dā-momochiama-dōktai tāk ruptu yūk-ngare. Exactly one thousand rupees. When the number referred to falls short by a little of some round number it is sometimes expressed by employing the word taní-tahol.

13 Where tafíal and tahol (indicating "pair") are shown within brackets it denotes that it is optional to express them.
14 It is interesting to note, however, in the Car Nicobar dialect, from considerations of euphony, the term denoting "200" varies, as to its initial letter, according to the last letter, of the preceding numeral. Ex. — 200... neit-tahol; 400... neit-tahol; 600... lūe-yong; 800... lūe-yong; 1,000... tani-tahol; 1,200... tafíal-tahol; and so on up to 2,000... sam-mong.
15 Note that, for the reasons explained in the foregoing, the numeral used to denote 2,000 (lit., 5 x 20 x 20) in referring to men, animals, huts, etc., is the same as that signifying 40,000 (lit., 5 x 20 x 400) when referring to coconuts, etc.
16 [Compare the Taungthi (Phnò) numeral suffix ph, and the Shān numeral suffix mng or ūng, which is written ฐิ. — Ed.]
(to reach), as follows:—lōe tare tangia dā-moči̍hama hen nī, 37 (lit., 3 more reach two-score) huts.

From the foregoing examples it will be seen that no conjunctions are employed in expressing numbers involving the use of several numeral terms.

By prefixing, infixing, or suffixing, the particles m̌, ma, em, am, or em to a numeral the sense of "only" such a number is conveyed. Ex.:—hembind, only one; śhμ, only two; lamē, only three; foan, only four; tamaun, only five; tamsu, only six; misa, only seven; menfō, only eight; henbind-mu, only nine: shan, only ten.

The processes of addition and subtraction of simple quantities are accomplished on the fingers, or by means of the lənkō̄-ngōt. Supposing, for example, that A owed B 200 coconuts and incurred a further debt of 350 coconuts, he would express the fact by turning down, in the presence of B, one finger after another of each hand—commencing in each case with the little finger—and, on reaching the thumb of the second hand, he would close both fists and bringing the knuckles together, open both hands simultaneously, as though throwing something from each on to the ground, at the same time exclaiming "suām" (1) — the word "tung," indicating "score," being understood—thereby signifying 200, and adding the words "hēng-moči̍hama" (400), i.e., by taking the previous debt of 200 into account. He would then recommence, and after counting the fingers of one hand and the little and third fingers of the second hand, he would say "tamaun" (7), and, crossing the next (i.e., middle) finger with one of the other hand, he would say "tausi" (5) — the word "tang" indicating "pair" being understood—following this up by again closing both hands, bringing the knuckles together and opening them simultaneously in a downward direction and exclaiming "hēng-moči̍hama-tausi-tausi-tang" which denotes 550.

Multiplication10 and division are never attempted. They do not seem to experience the need for any such calculations, sufficiently at least to stimulate whatever faculty they possess for devising some practicable methods.

The necessity for expressing fractional numbers or quantities is experienced to so slight an extent, that but few seem to agree as to the exact meaning of the few terms that are on rare occasions employed for the purpose. These terms are:—

hēng-moči̍hama = one-half.

hēng-tausi = one-third (? also one-fifth, one-sixth, etc.).

hēng-tausi-tausi = one-fourth.

hēng-tausi-tausi = one-third (? also two-fifths).

hēng-moči̍hama = two and one-third (or thereabout).

hēng-moči̍hama = one and one-half.

hēng-tausi = two and one-third (or thereabout).

The terms denoting cardinals are very limited, and from the absence of uniformity in their use it is evident that they rarely have occasion to employ them. In order to express the order in a row of objects or in a race they cannot reckon beyond the 7th, the term denoting which also signifies "the last." The two sets of terms in use are here given:—

(1st) orē; ongē; or mōre; (1st) mōre
(2nd) tanōe-ok; (2nd) tanōe-ok-mōre
(3rd) mong-yuāng-ē; (3rd) mong-yuāng-ē
(4th) menyā; (4th) tanōe-ok-mong-yuāng-ē
(5th) tanōe-ok-menyā; (5th) menyā
(6th) menyā-ka; (6th) menyā-ka, also
(7th) manā̄(k)-nuān-šian

10 The word for 8 (muān) apparently composed of 6 (2) + seen (4), seems to be a solitary instance of an attempt in this direction.
The only explanation—such as it is—given for this paucity of terms by those who have been questioned on the subject is that there are never more than 7 “moons” in a Nicobarese “year” (i.e., monsoon), and that, although they have specific names for each “moon,” they associate each in their mind as either the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc., of the “year.” In their canoe-races, moreover, there would rarely be so many as 7 competitors.

In order to express a certain date since any event, such as the 9th, 15th, 23rd since new moon or since some one’s arrival, departure, death, etc., the suffix “she” added to the cardinal, denoting the number of days, is all that is needed. Ex.:—tineh heng-monchiana-loe she dám na loit kaifinga, this is the 23rd night since his departure.

Collective numbers.—In order to indicate pairs or sets of four or more of certain objects the following terms are employed:

- tefûal, in reference to a pair of coconuts, rupees, or edible birds’ nests.
- tâk, in reference to a pair of bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.
- amok, in reference to two pairs of (i.e., 4) bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.
- amok, in reference to a pair of cooking-pots.
- kumintap, in reference to a set of four or five of the smallest size of cooking-pots. 17
- nêng, in reference to a set of ten pieces of tortoise-shell. Ex.:—lôe nêng ok-kâp three sets (i.e., 30) pieces of tortoiseshell.

Such phrases as “by pairs,” “by scores,” “by four-hundreds” are rarely used, but would be expressed as follows:

- by pairs, hêng-tefûal-hêng-tefûal.
- by scores, hêng-inai-hêng-inai.
- by four-hundreds, hêng-monchiana-hêng-monchiana.

Recurrent time.—Shud is the term most commonly employed as the equivalent for the English “times.” Ex.:—tanai shud, five times; but several other terms are in use, each of which, however, in a restricted sense. Ex.:—

- lôe kosta-tai, 3 times (in reference to hammering or other hand-work).
- âk ko-châch, twice (in reference to jumping).
- fôan ko-ngâ-lâkh, 4 times (in reference to going).
- tanai ko-â-nê, 5 times (in reference to talking, singing, etc.).
- fôan ko-shî-chakê, 4 times (in reference to eating, etc.).
- tâk ko-shî-dâkhê, 7 times (in reference to washing, etc.).

Numeral co-efficients.—One of the many proofs of the affinity existing between the Nicobarese and the Indo-Chinese races is the presence in full force in all their dialects—including even that of the isolated and degraded inland tribe of Great Nicobar—of the system, which necessitates, in the enumeration of objects, the employment of a term—known to grammarians as numeral co-efficients—descriptive of the particular object referred to.

Contrary to the practice, generally (if not always) adopted in both Burmese and Malay, these co-efficients are invariably inserted between the numeral and the object designated and not after the latter.

1. yûng (fruit); kôi (head); tat; tat-yûng; tat-kôi are used in referring to human beings. 18 e.g., fôan yûng Pigu (4 Burmese); âk kôi kôm (two children); hêng tat dû (one bachelor); tanai tat-yûng Malôy (five Malays).

17 Vide ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 111, item 103.
18 The Car Nicobarese equivalents of these are respectively as follows:—
(1) tâk; (2) nêng; (4) tâk; (6) monchî; (6) mâ; (7) nêng; (9) ko-nâm and tum; (11) chumî; (14) mûtam.
19 Also to the carved wooden figures, called koresu (vide ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 135).
(2) nōang (cylinder) is applied to animals, birds, fishes, insects, eggs, spears, boxes, baskets, ropes, legs, fingers, lips, nose, eyes, teeth, dhās, fish-hooks, rings, seeds, etc. Ez.:—lōe nōang hā (three fishes).

(3) (nōang-)yōang20 is applied to fruits only, e. g., dā iñai (nōang-)yōang oyu (40 coconuts).

(4) tāk (wide); in connection with flat objects, such as planks, paddles, coins, tortoise shells, edible birds’ nests, finger-nails, leaves, feathers, cloth, clothes, thatch; also, however, cooking-pots and fishing-nets, e. g., fōxā tāk pōva (4 paddles).

(5) hen,21 when referring to dwellings and other buildings, tunai hen ni (5 huts).

(6) chanang,21 to trees, posts, hairs, etc., issa chanang othān (7 trees).

(7) danōi,21 to ships, boats, and canoes; lōe danōi chō̄ng (3 ships).

(8) hīle,21 to bamboo utensils containing shell-lime.

(9) tōm (bunch), to bunches of plantains, betel-nuts, Pandanus, etc., or to single pineapples and papayas.

(10) manoal (also mekōāha), to bundles of prepared Pandanus or Cycus paste.

(11) pōmāk (bundle), to large bundles of split cane, also to the large trimmed bundles of imitation firewood offered by mourners at the grave.

(12) mekuā,21 to small bundles of cane, ten of which equal one pōmāk.

(13) mīnō (bundle), to small bundles of firewood.

(14) lamen,21 to bundles of Chinese tobacco.

(15) aonē,21 to books only.

(16) chamu,21 to ladders only.

(17) šamana,21 to pieces — of, say, 40 yards — of calico, etc.

(18) kamōidō,21 to cords and fishing-lines.

To the above may be added the following expressions for distance:—

Het-nōang22 (used with ši-šu, green coconuts) in order to express distance by sea, e. g.,
lōe het-nōang ši-šu hā tan (we could arrive (there) in three green coconuts’ time).

Kohto22 (used with maiyō, take a betel-quid) in order to convey an idea of distance by land or time spent on a visit; e. g., fōxā kohto ina maiyō tan (you two could reach (that place) in four betel-quids’ time).

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MISCELLANEA.

1039. — It (caxa, cash) hath a four-square hole through it, at which they string them on a straw; a string of two hundred Caxas, called Sata, is worth about three farthings sterling, and five Satas tied together make a Sapocon. The Javians, when this money came first amongst them, were so cheated with the Novelty, that they would give six bags of Pepper for ten Sapocoons,

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20 The bracket denotes that it is optional, though more correct, to express nōang with yōang.

21 The original meaning of this term is not known to the present inhabitants.

22 The meaning of this is that Nicobarines invariably carry green (i. e., turp) coconuts when going any distance, or when likely to be absent some time, in their canoes in order to refresh themselves when thirsty; one or more coconuts would be drunk by each person according to the distance travelled.

23 The practice of chewing betel-quids being universal among them the approximate time ordinarily occupied showing one or more is well known and serves the purpose shown in the text.
thirteen whereof amount to but a Crown. But they had but leisure enough to see their error; for in a short time, the Island was so filled with this stuff, that they were compelled to absolutely prohibit all trading, which so disparaged this money, that at present two Sacks of Pepper will scarce come for one hundred thousand Caxas." — Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels into the East Indies*, E. T., 1633, p. 117.

1703. — "This is the reason why the Caxas are valued so little: they are punched in the middle, and string’d with little twist of Straw, two hundred in one Twist, which is called Santa, and is worth nine Deniers. Five Santas tied together, make a thousand Caxas, or a Saçoon (I misprint for Sapoon)." *Collection of Dutch Voyages*, p. 199. This passage gives the same story as Mandelslo, interpolated, I gather, in the account of the first voyage, 1593-7, by the anonymous editor.

1813. — "The only currency of the country (Cochin-China) is a sort of cash, called sappico, composed chiefly of tungnunu, making a quan." — Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Ed. 1823, pp. 444-5, in Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. sappico. Yule adds that mass and sappico are equally Malay words.

1821. — "The proper coined money of Tonquin and Cochinchina is called a Safeek, or Saçako, and consists formerly of brass, but now of zinc. . . . Sixty sappico’s make a war. . . . Six hundred sappico’s, which make a mous, are commonly strung upon a filamento of rattan, and in this manner kept for use." — Crawford, *Embassy to Siam*, p. 517.

1830. — "The money current on Bali consists solely of Chinese piece with a hole in the centre, which have been introduced into Bali from time immemorial. They value them at half a cent, and 690 may be obtained for a silver dollar. They however put them up in hundreds and thousands, and from hundreds and thousands, and from one rupee copper, and a thousand called sapaku, are valued at five rupees." — *Singapore Chronicle*, June 1830, in Moor, *Indian Archipelago*, 1837, p. 91.

1862. — "Pâko, a string or file of the small coins called pichis." — Crawford, *Malay Dic.*, s. v. sutu: in comp. sutu, is "one" in Malay: pichis or putas is a cash.

1878. — "From sapek, a coin found in Tonquin and Cochinchina, and equal to about half a pfennig (1/300 Thaler), or about one-sixth of a


1880. — "He (Da Cunha) seems to imply that the smallest denomination of coin struck by Albuquerque at Goa in 1510 was called cepayqua, i. e., in the year before the capture of Malacca, and consequent familiarity with Malay terms. I do not trace his authority for this; the word is not mentioned in the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*, and it is quite possible that the dinheiro, as these small copper coins were also called, only received the name cepayqua at a later date, and some time after the occupation of Malacca." — Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. sapeco, commenting on Da Cunha, *Portuguese Nomenclature*, 1880, pp. 11, 12, 22.

1886. — "Sapico, Sapäque. This word was used at Macao for what we call cash in Chinese currency; and it is the word generally used by French writers for that coin . . . . We can hardly doubt that the true origin of the term is that given in a note communicated by our friend Mr. E. C. Baber: — "Very probably from Malay sa, one, and pak, a string or file of the small coins called pichis . . . . pâko is written by Pâve pâko. (Dict. Malay-Francais, 1875-80) and is derived by him from the Chinese pâte, cent." . . . . Sapêkou would then properly be a string of 100 cash, but it is not difficult to perceive that it might through some misunderstanding . . . . have been transferred to a single coin." — Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. sapeco.


1892. — "This is a brief history of the sapico (more commonly known to us as the cash), the only native coin of China, and which is found everywhere from Malaya to Japan." — *Ridgeway, Origin of Currency*, p. 157.

R. C. Temple.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By G. E. Subramiah Pantulu.

(Continued from p. 168.)

XXXVII.

There was a king at Anantapur, Kunthibhôja by name. While he was holding his darbar, being seated on his throne, and surrounded by

a host of pundits, ministers, and others, a Kshatriya came and bowed and said that he was an expert in archery, and that he came there to serve the king as he was not able to get a living elsewhere. The king engaged his services at one hundred rupees per month. From that day forwards he kept a vigilant watch over the king's palace. On a certain midnight, while the king was sleeping comfortably upstairs, he heard the cries of a woman, called his attendant and asked him what it was. The archer said that he, too, had heard the same cries for ten days past, but could not say why it was, but that he would make enquiries, should the king command him to do so. The king consented, and followed him incognito to see whither he went. He went outside the town, and there saw a woman with disha,velled hair, seated near the temple of Durga, crying at the top of her voice. He asked her who she was and why she was crying. She replied that she was the tutelary goddess of Kumthibhājā's kingdom, and that as the king was to breathe his last in two or three days more, she was crying— for, who would protect her then? The archer then asked her if there were any means by which the king's life could be saved. Whereupon she said that if the archer's son were offered as a sacrifice to Durga, the king would live for a very long time. The archer thereupon consented to the proposal, went home, and informed his son of what had transpired. The son asked him to perform the sacrifice instantly and save the life of the king, for, by the king's good many people lived. The archer then took his son to the temple, drew his sword from the scabbard, and was about to slay him, when Durga appeared before them, and said that she was so pleased with his bravery that he must desist, and said moreover that she would confer on him any boon he might ask. The archer then requested Durga to spare the life of king Kumthibhājā, and to bless him with long life and prosperity. Durga gave him the boon sought for and disappeared. The archer, overcome with joy, sent his son home, and went to the king's palace. The king, who witnessed incognito everything that had transpired, quietly reached his palace, went upstairs, and pretended to be asleep. The archer went to the king and said that a woman who had had a quarrel with her husband was weeping bitterly, and that he had pacified her and sent her home. The king feeling grateful to the archer, raised him to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of his forces.

Moral: Honest servants will not fail to risk their own lives when calamities befall their masters.

XXXVIII.

Three fish lived in the bed of a river. One of these perceived that the water would dry up in the ensuing summer, informed its other companions of the same, and said, farther, how they would run the risk of being carried off by the fishermen at the time, and that they should therefore seek a habitation elsewhere. It wanted, therefore, that all of them should go into the current and settle in the sea or in the bed of another river. The other two laughed at the words of their companion. The clever fish, therefore, went and settled in another quarter unaccompanied. Not long after, the summer set in, and the waters of the river dried up. A fisherman threw his net into the bed, caught the two fish and put them on the bank. One of them was possessed of some sense and appeared to be dead, remaining motionless, while the other began to jump. The latter therefore was dashed to the ground and smashed to pieces. The former, perceiving the fisherman going away with his net, crawled unperceived and jumped into the waters and lived comfortably.

Moral: Whoever perceives coming events and tries to avert danger shall surely be happy; and the person who tries to extricate himself from difficulties, even after they happen, may also consider himself lucky, but the man who remains idle will surely come to grief.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Bedsteads as Spirit Haunts.

Spirits are said to upset the bedstead (chārpē) of men sleeping in them, and to throw the mortals on the ground. Many simple people have related stories to me of this, as a well-ascertained fact. Brides and bridegrooms must not sleep on chārpēs for several days before and after marriage. The number of days fixed varies with their tribe. This is doubtless done to avoid the evil that might be worked through witchcraft.

Gurḍyaal Singh, in P. N. and Q. 1883.

Hindu Titles of Musalmans.

The Musalmān Gakkher family of Khānpūr in the Hazrā district (held by Cunningham to be the ancient Taxila) still retain the Hindu title of Rājā. — e. p. Rājā Jāhānādā Khān, a leading member of the family formerly an Extra Assistant Commissioner in that district. The reason is, I believe, given in Wace's Hazrā Settlement Report.1

T. C. Powden, in P. N. and Q. 1883.

1 [See Wace, pp. 26 and 67. — Ed.]

5 [See Wace, pp. 26 and 67. — Ed.]
THE CASTLE OF LOHARA.

BY M. A. STEIN, Ph.D.

The following notes on an ancient stronghold of the mountains enclosing Kashmir have been prepared for my annotated translation of Kalhana's Rajataragini now passing through the press. Their publication in this place may be useful as supplying a specimen of the commentary which accompanies that translation. They may also serve to illustrate the results which a closer study of the Chronicle and a series of antiquarian tours have furnished as regards the ancient topography of Kashmir and the adjacent territories.

The whole of these results has been embodied in the detailed maps of Ancient Kashmir, which with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I have been able to prepare, as a supplement to my work, at the Survey of India Offices. I hope soon to publish these maps with a separate memoir in the Asiatic Society's Journal. Until then I must refer for any of the topographical details discussed below to the maps shewing the modern topography of the territory, as contained in the "Atlas of India" and other publications of the Survey of India.†

§ 1. Lohara or Loharakoṭṭa, the "Castle of Lohara," has played an important part in Kashmiri history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two cantos of Kalhana's Rajataragini. In view of the very frequent references which Kalhana makes to this locality, its correct identification is essential for the full understanding of the events related in that portion of the Kashmir Chronicle.

It may justly be doubted whether Wilson who first proposed to identify Lohara with Lahore (Essay on the Hindi History of Cashmir, p. 47), would have hazarded this suggestion if the text of Books vii. and viii. had then been accessible to him. Notwithstanding, however, the evident impossibility of making this assumed position of Lohara agree with the numerous passages in which Kalhana speaks of it as a hill-fortress and as situated in close proximity of Kashmir, Wilson's conjecture has been accepted with implicit faith by subsequent interpreters. It has thus found its way into numerous works not directly dealing with Kashmir. With some other topographical misunderstandings of this kind, it has helped to create greatly exaggerated notions as to the political power and territorial extent of the Kashmir kingdom at that late period.

§ 2. The local indications furnished by the passages to be discussed below, had led me for some time back to look for Lohara in the mountain districts which adjoin Kashmir immediately to the south of the Pir Pansar range. But it was only in the course of a tour specially undertaken in August, 1892, in search of this locality, that I was able to fix its position in the valley now called Loharin, belonging to the territory of Prünis (Parnota). A brief account of this identification has been given in the "Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse" of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, 14th December 1892, and in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society (see Academy, 1893, Nov. 24).

§ 3. Referring for some further topographical and ethnographical details to the remarks given below, it will be sufficient to note here that Loharin, marked Loran on the maps, comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pir Pansar range between the Talakoti Peak and the Tāsmaidaū. The Loharin River which is formed by these streams, reaches at Manī the stream of the Gāri Valley which adjoins Loharin to the N.W. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Sūnā River with which together it forms the Tohl (Tausli) of Prünis.

† See "Atlas of India," Sheets 23 and 22, scale four miles to one inch; also Map of Kashmir with part of adjacent mountains surveyed during 1855-57, scale two miles to one inch.


† Comp. e. g. Rājat. viii. 140, 703, 862, 939; vii. 203, 379, 567, 759, 831, 1297, 1630, 1794, 1795, 1797, etc.

The broadest and best-cultivated part of the Valley of Lohārīn lies about 8 miles above Manaḍī, at circ. 74° 23′ long. 33° 45′ lat. The cluster of large villages situated here (distinguished after the tribal names of their inhabitants as Tānt+ravand, Gāj+ravand, and Dōvetand) are jointly known by the name of Lohārīn and may be regarded as the centre of the district. Through Lohārīn proper and then through a side-valley descending from the mountains on the N. leads the path to the Tōsa‘mādīn Pass which since early times to the present day has formed one of the most frequented and best routes from the Western Panjāb to Kāsмир. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established explains the close political relations of Lohara with Kāsмир as well as the prevalence of a Kāsmirī population in the present Lohārīn.

§ 4. In examining the main passages of the Rājataṇḍāgī bearing on Lohara with a view to proving its identity with the modern Lohārīn, it will be most convenient to follow the order of Kalhaṇa’s narrative.

The prominent place occupied by Lohara in the historical events related in Books vii and viii., is chiefly due to the close connection which the marriage of King Kṣesānagupta with Didda, the daughter of Śīhārāja of Lohara, established between the royal families of Kāsмир and Lohara. This union as well as the fact that Śīhārāja was himself married to a daughter of Bhima Sihā, the mighty ruler of Udabhāṇa (Vaishām) and Kābul, proves that the territory of the former could not have been restricted to the Lohārīn Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of the Fer Panjāb such as Manaḍī, Sirān, Sadrīn, perhaps also Pānits itself. Didda who after the death of Kṣesānagupta and after disposing of her son and grandsons ruled Kāsмир in her own name (980-1005 A.D.), adopted as her successor Saṅgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Udayarāja. Lohara remained in the possession of her nephew Vīgṛharaṇāja of whom we do not know whether he was a son of Udayarāja or another of Śīhārāja’s numerous sons.

§ 5. Vīgṛharaṇāja had already in Didda’s lifetime appeared as a pretender. After the death of Saṅgrāmarāja (A.D. 1028) he made a second unsuccessful attempt to seize the Kāsмир throne. He marched from Lohara for Srinagar, burnt on the way the Kāsmirian frontier-station (duāra), and appeared after two and a half days’ hard marching before the capital where he was defeated and slain.

Vīgṛharaṇāja’s expedition took place soon after the death of Saṅgrāmarāja which fell at the commencement of the month Aśādha (June-July). At that season of the year the shortest route of the invader lay over the Tōsa‘mādīn Pass. This, notwithstanding its height (circ. 13,500 feet above sea level), is open for traffic of all kinds from May till November. The practical possibility of covering the distance within the above time was tested by me in 1892 on the tour referred to. Leaving Lohārīn on the morning of the 19th August with baggage animals and load-carrying coolies I reached without difficulty on the evening of the following day the edge of the Tōsa‘mādīn plateau above the village of Drang (see note 7). From there half a day’s march across the level Valley would suffice to bring one to Srinagar.

Vīgṛharaṇāja’s son and successor Kāhitrāja whom we find also mentioned as ruler of Lohara in Bilhaṇa’s Vikramaṅkadevaracharita, resigned his throne in favor of Utkarṣaṇa, the grandson of King Ananta and younger brother of Haṣa. When Utkarṣaṇa on Kālaṇa’s death (A.D. 1089) was called to rule over Kāsмир, he united with his new kingdom the territory of Lohara.10

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2 See vi. 176 where Śīhārāja is called saṅgarājan Lōharaḥkakhaśah śved; vii. 1200 and viii. 914 sqq., where Pānits (Pānits) seems to be referred to as within the confines of Lohara territory; also vii. 1945, 2277.
3 Comp. vii. 262; viii. 1841.
4 See vi. 110 sqq. The duāra referred to in this passage can be safely identified with the draṇa or frontier watch-station which was situated on the Kāsmir side of the Tōsa‘mādīn Pass above the present village of Drang. It is mentioned under the name Karhoṭarāja in viii. 1997, 2010. Compare my note on iii. 227.
5 Comp. Vihrarāja sa. xviii. 47, 97.
6 See vii. 295 sqq.
7 Comp. vii. 703 sqq.
which henceforth became the mountain fastness and place of safety for the Kasmir rulers in the troubled times of the succeeding reigns.

§ 6. In the time of Harsha we hear of an expedition sent against Rajapuri, the modern Rajauri, which took the route via Lohara, i.e., over the Tōmāmādān Pass. When subsequently the pretender Uchchala, the descendant of a side branch of the house of Lohara, made his first irruption into Kasmir, from Rajauri, he led his small band of followers through the territory of the Governor of Lohara. After defeating the latter's forces at Paripota, he surprised the commandant of the Dādas and reached safely the rebel camp in Kramarāja, the western portion of the Valley. Kalhana's special reference to the consternation caused by the sudden appearance of the pretender is significant. It is clearly connected with the fact that Uchchala's invasion took place at the beginning of the month Vaiśākha, i.e., in April, when the Tōmāmādān Pass, according to the information collected by me at Lohār, can be crossed only on foot and with some difficulty.

§ 7. After the death of King Harsha, who to his own disadvantage had neglected the advice of his ministers, cancelling a timely retreat to the mountains of Lohara, the rule over Kasmir and Lohara was again divided. The latter and the adjoining territories left to the share of Sussala, whereas Uchchala, his elder brother, took Kasmir. From Lohara Sussala made an attempt to oust his brother, but was defeated on the march to Srinagar near Selyapuru and forced to flee to the country of the Dards. From there he regained Lohara by difficult mountain tracks.

When Uchchala fell the victim of a conspiracy, his brother received the news within one and a half days, and started at once for Kasmir to secure the throne. The murder of Uchchala took place on the sixth day of the bright half of Pausa of the Laukika year 4167. This date corresponds to the 8th December A.D. 1111. So late in the year the Tōmāmādān route must have been closed by snow. It is therefore probable that Sussala marched by one of the more western and lower passes which lead from the valley of Sadrūna to the valley of the Vitastā below Vārāhamula. It agrees fully with this supposition that we find subsequently Sussala encamped above Huskapura (Ushkūr) opposite Vārāhamula which would be the natural goal for an invader using one of the above routes. Foiled in his endeavour on this occasion Sussala retreated with difficulty to Lohara over paths on which the snow lay deep and under continual fighting with marauding Khainas.

§ 8. Sussala some months later succeeded in wresting Kasmir from his half-brother Salhana, and subsequently used the stronghold of Lohara for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding place of the treasures he accumulated by an oppressive rule. When threatened in the summer of 1120 A.D. by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikshahara he sent his son and family to Lohara for safety and followed them himself in the month of Mārgārāuka of that year via Huskapura. In the following spring the usurper Bhikshahara despatched a force via Rajapuri in order to attack Sussala in his mountain fastness. These troops on their advance from the south were met by Sussala at Paripota and there utterly routed. During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more when Jayaśimha is brought back to Kasmir after three years' residence at Lohara and met by his father at Vārāhamula.

11 See viii. 939 sqq. 12 Comp. viii. 1276 sqq. 13 See viii. 1303. 14 viii. 125, 1058, 1068. 15 See viii. 8. 16 See viii. 2. 17 See viii. 3. 18 See viii. 4. 19 See viii. 192 sqq. 20 Selyapura is probably the present village of Sypür in the Dāmas Fargana, situated on the direct route from Drum to Srinagar. 21 See viii. 207. 22 See viii. 279. 23 See viii. 310. 24 See viii. 411. 25 Comp. viii. 519, 437, 627. 26 viii. 717, 819 sqq. 27 Comp. viii. 1227 sqq.
§ 9. Fuller details regarding the topography of Lohara are to be found in the narrative of the events which took place there during the rule of Jayasimha, r. e., in Kalhana's own time.

Of the princes whom Sussala on his accession to the Kaśmir throne had confined at Lohara, Lothana with five of his relatives was in A. D. 1130 still in captivity there. A conspiracy of some of the officers in charge of the Lohara garrison (koṭihārītya) utilized the opportunity offered when Preman, the commandant of the castle, had gone down to the neighbouring Atṭālikā on business, and set free the prisoners in the night of the 10th Jyaiśthha väți of that year.25 Lothana was proclaimed king, and before daybreak the stronghold and the treasures which Sussala had deposited there, were in his possession. Preman on receipt of the news hurried back on the morning from Atṭālikā, but was met by the conspirators at the approach to the castle and forced to retreat.

The expressions used by Kalhana in the passages recorded below make it clear that Atṭālikā must be the name of a locality situated below Lohara and in comparatively proximity of the castle.26 In view of this evidence and of what will be said below regarding the position of the force sent for the recapture of Lohara, I do not hesitate to recognize the name Atṭālikā in that of the present village Atōl, situated close to the point where the valley of Lohârin meets that of Gâgrâ, some eight miles below Lohârin proper.

At the actual junction of the two valleys lies Manjî. This place consists entirely of shops, some eighty in number, and these account for its name, which means 'market' in Pahârī as well as Panjâbī. Manjî is now the commercial centre of the whole district and has probably occupied the same position in earlier centuries. I see a distinct reference to it in the passage viii. 1991 where Kalhana relates the looting of Atṭālikāpura, r. e., 'the market of Atṭālikā (Atṭālikā).'

§ 10. The news of this rebellion was carried by a messenger to King Jayasimha and reached him on the following day at Vijayeśvara (Viṣṇūr).27 He at once despatched a force for the recovery of Lohara. The Kaśmirian leader took up his position at Atṭālikā from where he endeavoured to close all approaches to Lohara.28 While the besieging troops suffered from the great summer heat and the consequent fevers,29 Somapāla, Rājā of Rājapura, who was instigated by Suoji, a disaffected minister of Jayasimha, approached from the south to attack them.

The Kaśmirians wished then to retreat to their own country, and finding the route by Srambara closed by the enemy, were obliged to take to a difficult mountain pass called Kâlońska. They started from Atṭālikā on a path leading along the precipitous side of a defile and were followed on the opposite side by the enemy. The Kaśmirian troops and their followers reached that day without opposition a mountain village called Vanikāvās and camped there and in the neighbouring hamlets. At midnight they were surprised by Suoji's force and thrown into confusion. In the general stampede which followed, the Kaśmir army is destroyed and its leaders captured. The fugitives were plundered in the mountains by the Khaśas.30

The situation of the Kaśmirian troops at Atṭālikā and the route taken by them on their disastrous retreat can be fully understood by a reference to the map. When threatened from the south by Suoji, who advances from Panotasa, the Kaśmirians wish to regain their own territory, but cannot use the direct route over the Tōjā-maidān Pass as it is blocked by the rebels at the Lohara castle. The other main route up the Gâgrâ valley which would open to

25 Comp. viii. 1794-1831.
26 See viii. 831, 1819, 1994. — I believe Atṭālikā to be the correct form of the name; it is written thus by A in viii. 831, 1819, 1945. Atṭālikā is found twice (viii. 1842, 1844) and Atṭālikā also twice (viii. 831, 1069) in that Codex, f. agrees with these readings.
27 Comp. viii. 1773, 1793-93.
28 Comp. viii. 1836, 1840.
29 See viii. 1785, 1783, 1890. — Manjî, which lies at an elevation of probably not much over 4000; it, as I fand myself in August 1892, a hot place even in the rainy season. Its inhabitants suffer a good deal from the dangerous fevers to which all the lower valleys to the south of the Pântāl are subject at certain seasons; comp. my notes on viii. 1875, 1892. Rice culture flourishes about Manjî, whereas at Lohârin, which lies at an altitude from six to seven thousand feet and consequently has a climate colder than the Kaśmir Valley, rice does not grow and Indian corn is the chief product.
30 Comp. viii. 1787-1966.
them the approach to the Firāzpūr Pass or to any of the other passes leading over the mountains to N. W. of the Tōṣ-maidān, is closed by the enemy stationed at Sūrankot. This place I identify with the large village of Chāmkār situated about 5 miles above Māḍīl in the Gāñghī Valley.²¹

There remains thus for their escape only the route through the side valley which opens to the S. W. at the village of Palāra, some three miles above Māḍīl on the way to Lohārī. A difficult path, marked on the larger Survey map, leads through this valley, past the village of Van to an alp called Kūliyan from which a valley leading down to Sūran is gained. From the latter place the Kāsmīr force might have retired in safety over the Pir Panisāl Pass.

Van I identify with Kālhaṇa’s Vānikāvāṣa²² and Kāliyan with Kālenaka. The dangerous defile through which Jayasimha’s troops retreat to Vānikāvāṣa, is clearly the narrow gorge of the Lohārī River which must be passed before reaching Palāra. For about two miles the road leads there high above the river along precipitous cliffs, and in many places it appears to have been artificially cut into the face of the latter.

§ 11. The conclusive evidence furnished by the above narrative as to the position of Lohāra permits us to note more briefly the remaining references in the Chronicle. A temporary absence of Lōthana from Lohāra gave an opportunity to another pretender, Mallārjuna, to take possession of the stronghold and the territory attached to it. Lōthana turned out of the Kōstārāja harassed his rival from Aśālīka and other places,²³ but made subsequently peace with him and proceeded to invade Kāsmīr with the help of powerful allies among the rebellious Dāmaras. He crossed the mountains and took up a position at Kārkotdrāng, i.e., the modern Dāmāng below the Tōṣ-maidān plateau.²⁴ Eventually Lohāra was reoccupied by Jayasimha’s troops and Mallārjuna forced to flee.²⁵ On the way he was plundered of the treasures carried away from Lohāra and ultimately captured at the village of Sāvanīka. The latter is distinctly designated as belonging to the territory of Lohāra and can hence be identified with the village of Sūran in the Tōhī Valley already mentioned.²⁶ Finally Kālhaṇa relates to us the installation of Guluhaṇa, Jayasimha’s eldest son, as ruler of Lohāra during the life-time of his father.²⁷

The references to Lohāra in the later Chronicles are few and do not add to our knowledge regarding to its situation.²⁸ As a stronghold it had evidently retained its importance for Kāsmīr only as long as the dynasty which had its home there, remained in power. That trade continued to pass through Lohāra, can, however, be concluded from an allusion to the customs revenue levied there in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh about A. D. 1530.²⁹

§ 12. Of far greater interest and importance are the references to the fortress of Lohāra which we meet in Alberđūn’s Índica. We owe them indirectly to the unsuccessful expedition which Māhīmūd of Ghazna had led against Kāsmīr. Alberđūn at the close of his account of Kāsmīr geography²⁰ mentions to the south of the capital the high peak ‘Kulārkak’ resembling by its copula shape the mountain Dūnbīvand (Demūvand). “The snow there never melts. It

²¹ Analogies in the phonetic conversion of other Kāsmīr local names which have been discussed by me in n. i. 100, vii. 176 and permit us to trace back the modern name Chāmkār to Sūrankot through *S(a)vaṁbārā > *Saṁbār. Initial Ṣ which otherwise is regularly replaced in Kāsmīr by h, is preserved, as s or š, in cases where this initial consonant was protected by immediate contact with a following consonant; comp. e. g., Kāl. Chārtā < Sīr. Bārdhāra.
²² In Vanīkāvāṣa we have probably the simple name Vanīkī with the addition of ādān ‘habitation,’ see note viii. 1877. ‘Van’ is the Kāl. form of the name which on the map is marked ‘Van’ according to the Pahāri pronunciation.
²⁴ Comp. viii. 1899 sqq.
²⁵ Comp. viii. 1993 sqq., 1910, and above note 7.
²⁶ vii. 2022.
²⁷ See viii. 2273 sqq. with note viii. 2277.
²⁸ viii. 2301, 2372.
²⁹ See Jāmārūja, 454 sqq.; Sīrāza, iii. 482; IV. 187; Fourth Chronicle, 181, 204 sqq.
³⁰ See Fourth Chronicle, 204 sqq.
is always visible from the region of Tâkeshar and Lauhâwar (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two farsakh. The fortress Râjâgirî lies south of it, and the fortress Lauhâwar west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town Râjâwar (Râjapuri) is three farsakh distant from the peak. 

It can scarcely be doubted that Allârânû refers here to Mount Ta.takûţî which rises to an elevation of 15,524 feet in the central part of the Pir Panâl range and is the highest peak in the whole chain of mountains to the S. of Kashmir. Its bold form and isolated position make Mount Ta.takûţî most conspicuous, in particular for an observer from the south. It is surrounded by extensive snowfields which remain throughout the year, and bears on its S. face a small glacier. Mount Ta.takûţî has the shape described by Allârânû and can be seen through the greatest part of the year from the districts of Siâlkoût and Gujûrâwâla to the E. of the Chûnâb (Tâkeshar). Its snowy dome has occasionally in very clear weather been sighted by me even from Lahore. 

The position of the fortress Râjâgirî (recte Râjâgitri), which is referred to also by Calcha, vii. 1270, as in possession of the Râjâ of Râjapuri, must be looked for at some point of the upper Sûram valley, i.e., to the south of the Mount Ta.takûţî. Finally the ‘fortress Lauhâwar’ which Allârânû places west of Mount Kalârjak, can be no other than our Lohârân. The entrance of the Lohârân valley lies almost due west of the Ta.takûţî, at a distance of about 13 miles as the crow flies.

The identity of Allârânû’s second fortress with Loharakotta is shown yet more clearly by another passage of the Indica, where its name is given as Lauhâwar and its distance from the capital of Kashmir estimated at 56 miles, “half the way being rugged country, the other half plain.” Without examining the question as to what measure is meant by the ‘miles’ of the text, it may be noted that the actual length of the route from Lohârân to Sânhagar Gîd the Toûmâyadân Pass can be put at about 60 English miles. Of these c. 20 miles lie in the level plain of the Kashmir Valley. Adding to this distance that portion of the route which leads over the flat grassy slopes of the Toûmâyadân plateau on the Kashmir side of the pass, and which is almost equally easy, we approach very closely to the proportion indicated by Allârânû.

But Allârânû has left us yet another indication for testing the correctness of our identification. In the last quoted passage of the Indica he informs us that he had himself made an observation of the latitude of the fortress ‘Lauhâwar,’ and shews it there as 34° 10’. In his Canon Masadîdous, however, as Prof. Sachau’s note ii., p. 341, informs us, the latitude of Lauhâwar is given as 33° 49’. Whichever figure we may adopt, the result of Allârânû’s observation agrees closely enough with the actual latitude of Lohârân which is about 33° 43’ according to the Survey maps. 


14 The Tâkeshar of Albersdn corresponds to Kalha’s Ta.kkâdâki, and Hinae Tâng’s Tâk. Râ (Takka); comp. my note on Rât. v. 150.

15 Cunningham, Anc. Geogr. p. 151, is certainly mistaken in identifying Albersdn’s peak with the great Nanga Parbat (33,539 feet above the sea) which lies in Azâr to the north of Kashmir. On account of the intervening ranges it is more than doubtful whether Nanga Parbat can ever be seen from any point of the Panjû plain.

I am unable to explain the same Kâlûwar given to the peak by Albersdn.

16 Compare my note on vii. 1270.


18 The fair accuracy of the other Indian latitudes observed by Albersdn is shewn by Prof. Sachau’s comparative table, ii. p. 341. — Insanûgah the Canon Masadîdous was written after the author’s Indica and is preserved in more than one MS., its figure, perhaps, deserves greater consideration. It must also be noted that Allârânû in the same passage of the Indica gives the latitude of Kashmir from a Hindu authority as 34° 9’. From his knowledge of the relative geographical position of the two localities he must have considered this observation as incorrect, if the latitude of Lauhâwar was really taken by him as 31° , 0. Yet he makes no remark regarding this difference.
§ 13. Albūrī’s personal acquaintance with the fortress ‘Lauhūr’ can only date from the unsuccessful expedition which Mahmūd of Gh sensual against Kāsmīr. The Muhammadan historians extracted by Elliot assign varying dates to this expedition, but agree in relating that Mahmūd’s invasion was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of ‘Lūh-Kōt’ which as Firishta tells us, “was remarkable on account of its height and strength.” “After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kāsmīr, the Sultan was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghazni.” The description here given agrees so well with what Albūrī says of ‘Lauhūr’ (Lohara) and its position on the confines of Kāsmīr, that we cannot hesitate to recognize in Lūh-Kōt the Loharakotfa of the Chronicle. Considering the endless corruptions to which Indian proper names are exposed in the works of Muhammadan authors, we may rest satisfied with the form in which the name of a little-known locality has in this instance been preserved for us.

§ 14. In modern times it fell once more to the share of Lobārīn to witness the failure of an invader. Ranjit Singh who in the summer of 1814 had led in person a portion of the Sikh army into the Valley with the object of entering Kāsmīr by the Tālāmāidān Pass, met here with a reverse to which the natural difficulties of this mountain region had contributed quite as much as the resistance of his Pañhān opponents. Similarly we may suppose that the ancient Loharakotfa derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The valley of Lobārīn from the defile of Palāra upward offers a series of excellent defensive positions which would need but comparatively little fortification to be rendered almost impregnable for an enemy not possessed of guns. At several places cross ridges with precipitous cliffs descend into the Valley and reduce it to a gorge. Barriers are thus formed from which the route on either side of the river is completely commanded.

§ 15. In Lobārīn proper distinct traditions of an ancient ‘Killa’ or fortress cling to the isolated ridge which projects, in the direction from N. W. to S. E., towards the right bank of the Lohrīn River just above the village of Gēg-vand (shown on the Survey map as ‘Gajjan’). At its S. E. extremity this ridge falls off abruptly with a rocky face. On the N. E. and S. W. sides its slopes descend with equal steepness to the beds of the streams which flow through the Tāntīvand and Gēg-vand villages. The top of this ridge lies about 300 feet above the level of the Valley and forms a narrow plateau about a quarter of a mile long. At the S. E. end of this plateau rises a small hillock. This was pointed out to me by old villagers as the site of a fort which is supposed to have stood there long before the time of the Muhammadan Rajīs of Prūjīs.

41 Comp. Elliot, History of India, ii. pp. 455, 466 sq. Firishta’s account places the expedition in A. H. 496 (A. D. 1091); according to the Tabākī-i Akbarī it took place in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021). As Albūrī’s residence in India as an involuntary follower of Mahmūd’s court falls after the capture of Khvārism, A. D. 1017, the later date would be preferable.

42 The pious legend of the Lobārīn people attributes the MahārāJ’s defeat to the miraculous intervention of the Saint ‘Sayyid Chanān’ who lies buried near the village of Tāntīvand in Lobārīn proper. Mysteries and ‘alarums’ proceeding from his Zikr are said to have thrown the Sikh army into confusion and to have brought about its precipitous flight.

In reality Ranjit Singh’s retreat was due to far more natural causes. His troops had suffered already great losses by sickness and desertion on the advance to the Tālāmāidān plateau. When the latter was reached by his advanced-guard, the Sikhs found themselves without supplies and confronted by a strongly posted force of Afghan Khans, the Afghan Governor of Kāsmīr. After a few days spent in inaction Ranjit Singh received news of the defeat which his general Rāhu Dīlā, sent with a second column by the Pir Panggāl Pass, had suffered before Šūpiyan.

Ranjīt Singh then felt obliged to order a retreat. This developed into a complete debarce when the hillmen of the Dīāl of Pīchh (Prichh) attacked the Sikhs from the mountains about Lobārīn. On the 30th July 1816 Ranjit Singh himself had to flee to Manjī after the complete loss of his baggage and a great portion of his army. The best account of this expedition I have been able to trace, is that given by Baron Hügel, Kashmir und das Reich der Sikhs, iii. pp. 141 sqq.
No remains are now visible overground except traces of rough walls on the sides of this hillock and stone-heaps at various places. As the whole ridge has been used for a long time back as a burial ground, many of the large stones placed over the tombs may have originally been carried away from the site of the 'Killa.' A large treasure is believed to be buried there. The ridge itself is accessible only by a narrow neck which connects it on the north with the hill-side behind. The approach to this point appears to have been guarded by two smaller forts which the tradition of the Loharin people places on spurs projecting from the mountain, one to the west and the other to the north of the commencement of the ridge. Quite close to the latter point is a fine spring.

§ 16. Though the traditions and scanty remains here indicated do not by themselves admit of any certain conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the ridge described would have afforded an excellent position for a hill castle designed for barring the route up the valley. The actual road leading to the Tūrmaidan Pass winds round the foot of the ridge on the S. and E. On account of the proximity of the deeply cut river-bed the road could never have followed a different direction. On the left side of the valley and opposite to the ridge, a high mountain spur descends with rugged cliffs to the river-bed. The difficult path which leads along this bank towards the Nūpur Pass, is unfit for laden animals and could have been easily defended in case of any attempt to turn the ridge.

In view of the topographical facts here indicated I am inclined to look upon the ridge in the centre of Loharin as the most likely site of Loharakaṭṭha. The absence of more conspicuous remains over-ground can scarcely be considered an argument against this assumption, if we keep in view the time-honored fashion in which forts are constructed in and about Kaśmir. The walls are built of rough unhewn stones set in a framework of wooden beams and are liable to rapid decay, if once neglected.49 This fact is sufficiently illustrated by the wholly ruinous condition of many of the forts which the Sikhs erected on the routes to Kaśmir in the early part of this century.

Adding to this fact the destructive action of the heavy monsoon rains and the equally heavy snowfall to which the southern slopes of the Pir Pansal are exposed, we cannot well feel surprised if a once famous stronghold can now, after seven centuries, be traced only in shapeless heaps of stones and a lingering tradition.

CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 312.)

7.

Age of Bullion Currency in Burma.

As to the age of metal currency in Burma, the oldest reference I can find is from the Hān History, Chapter on the T’an (Burma) State, kindly supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker:

"In the year A. D. 97, the king of T’an by name Yung Yu (unidentified as yet in Burmese) selected and sent interpreters to offer precious things from his country. The Emperor Ho rewarded him with a golden seal and a purple vest, adding money and clothes for the smaller chieftains."

49 For the description of a fort built on the above system see s. p. the accounts of the recent siege of the Chitrāl Fort (1905).

What was actually meant by "money" at that period seems to be difficult to determine. According to Terrien de la Couterie, *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. 25, the *wu-t¹-s¹* copper cash were current from B. C. 40 to A. D. 190, but he shows at p. 303 ff., that there was great confusion in the currency after A. D. 25, and again about A. D. 147. At any rate, he says that, after A. D. 25, "silk, clothes, metal in lumps, and corn were again resorted to (for currency), as in the olden time." He says, however, that in A. D. 40 "5-*t¹-s¹* cash were regularly brought into circulation."

In any case, whatever this T’an "money" may have been, it was not indigenous; and as to the age of the uncoined currency of the Burmese, Parker, *Burma: Relations with China*, p. 11 ff., gives a very interesting fact. Quoting from the *Annals of the T’ang Dynasty* he shows that the Fiao (Pyu) Kingdom mentioned therein was undoubtedly Burmese, and then goes on to quote:— "gold and silver are used as money, the shape of which is crescent like"; it is called *t¹-t¹-k¹-t¹* and also *t¹-t¹-t¹-an-t¹-t¹*. The period of the T’ang Dynasty was 618-907 A. D. and the year referred to in the question was apparently 832 A. D.

Professor Terrien de la Couterie, in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins in the British Museum*, with his usual boldness, takes us, in describing similar currency in China itself, into periods usually held to be at best semi-historical, when dating the various kinds of it; but, as regards Burma until something older turns up we may take this date, 832 A. D., as the oldest known. Thence the story is carried on by Marco Polo and the many early European explorers of the regions of Further India, and, when the Burmese native annals shall have been well explored, probably more definite information will be forthcoming.

But I may as well add here a couple of facts in support of the general statements from Chinese sources not usually accessible and supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker.

In the year 1297, Kublai’s successor gave Tih-lie-p’u-va-ma-a-tib-ti-yi a patent as King of Burma, and recognised his son Sin-hoh-pah-tib, as heir apparent. This Sin-hoh-pah-tib, or Sinhopadi, had been sent to congratulate the new Emperor (Ch’eng Taung), who fixed the annual tribute (of Burma) at 2,000 *ounces of silver*, 1,000 silk *savage*, 20 tame elephants, 10,000 measures of grain.10

In A. D. 1556, the Mong (Burmese) "chiefsean" and the Chinese authorities in the Shan States had a quarrel, and the Chinese led the Burmese into a successful ambush at Ka-lu, which appears to be Katha on the Irrawaddy. Here they starved the Burmese army, in whose camp the famine was so great that "a gill of rice was sold for a pinch of gold."11

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9 This is referred to by de la Couterie in his *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xx., as the "crescent silver money of Ascent Pugn." Unless there are specimens existing to prove the contrary, it may be pretty safely assumed that this "crescent silver" consisted in reality of chips from lumps of waste or dross, i. e., "flowered silver." These lumps, as they come from the crucible, are generally flat and circular.


11 Exceedingly valuable and interesting references on this point are to be found in Yule’s *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I. pp. cxxi, cxvi, cxxix., cxvii, 116 ff., 225, 324, 340 n.

12 In the present real confusion of names and dates in Burmese history, it is difficult to say positively who are meant by these titles, for the Chinese words are not equivalents for names. They represent the Skt. uttara *Rupavasutiya-a and Singhapati*, and from the context we may take it that the Burmese King meant by the latter title is Nañaptipada (Narasishapati), whose well-known nickname is Tuykpyt, or "Fled from the Chinese."

13 See de Morga’s almost contemporary statement that, among the independent tribes of the Philippines, rough gold (i. e., unrefined gold just as found) was bartered for food. (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 285.) I may add here that the Kadu of Katha in Burmese behaves much in the same manner to the present day. Cf. *India-China, Second Series*, Vol. I. p. 228. Maxwell, *Journey on foot to the Polar Frontier*, p. 45, says that gold dust was the currency in 1575 at the Belong Gold Mines. Compare Pyard de Laval’s account of Malacca, Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II. p. 178. A very interesting and still earlier reference to the use of gold dust as currency occurs in Sata Chandra Diss’ *Indian Pendants in the Land of Snow*, p. 70, where the death of Gyzatso Sungi, the Tibetan worthy, at Buddha Gay, is attributed to failure to pay for a chariot, thus:— "I learnt a mystic charm called the Nava Sandhi, or the Nine Conjunctions, from a certain black Tirkhins named Baha. In return for it I promised to remunerate him with an ounce of gold. I offered him gold dust of that weight, but he, thinking it was less by a small measure, wished me to bring the gold after weighing it, which I did not do." Gyatsan was a contemporary of Ati, = Dipako Narjikana, who was born in A. D. 989. Cf. also Skertill, *Reza Birzies*, p. 135: *Oolchous, Amongst the Shan*, p. 2.
The story is carried on by a Burmese record quoted by Phayre, *History of Burma*, p. 137, who says that in 1658 the pseudo-emperor Yunhii, in his distress upon being driven out of Yunnan by the Manchus, desired refuge in Burma and offered one hundred viss of gold to the King.

One can hardly expect in such a work as the *Life and Legend of Gaudama* to find any trustworthy evidence as to the use of money in the days of the Buddha; and, in any case, one would most likely come across the ideas of comparatively modern Burmese writers in statements as to money made therein. I therefore only note here that in five instances of payment I have found in Bishop Bigandt's version, taken from a Burmese translation of 1773 A.D., every mention of a payment or value is in "pieces of silver." Similarly, in the few instances in which Hiuen Tsang (629 A.D.) mentions money, he seems, in relating stories, to refer to the currency used according to his own ideas: e.g., Vikramaditya's and Manohita's benefactions are stated in "lakhs of gold coins;" a professedly prohibitive fee for visiting a shrine is fixed at "a great gold piece;" etc. "gold pieces" in greatly exaggerated amounts are several times mentioned. It is worth remarking, however, that he only once mentions silver as a currency or standard of value, and then only in describing Persia by hearsay. From this last statement, "in commerce they use large silver pieces," one may gather that by "pieces" he generally meant ingots or lumps.

Money and values are pretty frequently met with in the *Jātakas*, or *Eats* as they are called in Burmese, and it is interesting and historically useful to trace the forms and expressions employed for money in the stories, as the forerunners of the ancient and modern terms. From Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I., I extract the fact that the following *Jātakas* contain reference to pecuniary translations or values, Śeri-vāpiya, Chullaka-sāṭhi Nandi-āsi, Nanda, Khadirāgāna. In the *Nidānakathā*, as given by Rhys Davids, there are also several mentions of money, always in the same terms as in the *Jātakas*, but, as this last appears to be a comparatively later Siamese compilation, I need not further notice it here.

Now for the benefit of English readers Rhys Davids translates small sums by "half-pennies" and "pennies," and larger sums by "pieces" and sometimes simply by numbers, as "worth a hundred thousand," and also uses the expressions, "money" and "cash."

However, in the original Pali text the expression in the *Sāri-vāpiya Jātaka* translated "halfpenny" is *addhamshakekākā* and in the *Chullaka-sāṭhi Jātaka* the expression translated "penny" is *kahāpana,* while the expression in the *Sāri-vāpiya Jātaka* translated, "the Bodisat gave them all the cash he had in hand (five hundred pieces) and all his stock-in-trade worth five hundred more," is in the text: - *Bodhisattā tussiṁ khaṁ kathagatāṁ paṁca kahāpaṁsatāṁ paṁchahastagbhāsakaṁ chā bhāpaṁ savamā daitya.* In the *Chullaka-sāṭhi Jātaka*, again, the word in the text for "farthing" in the translation is *kākanīkā.* As for the expression for "money," in the *Nanda Jātaka* it is simply *dhammaḥ,* which is also translated "treasure" in the same text, and elsewhere "property."

12 Say 225, 000.
15 Vol. II. p. 278.
16 Pages 121 f., 120 f., 227 f., 232 f., 227, 351 f.
18 Pages 3, 37, 71, 91, 183. The Burmese Ex-ministers, when quoting authorities for the making of wills by Buddhists, gave an ancient reference to the use of lump currency in the following quotation from the "Numbhāpāna Yāsaka Patthā Jāmpanadāpta,* and Chapter of the *Dhammapadāsthakātha,* a commentary by Mahātheva Buddhaghāshāa or the *Dhammapadā,* one of the books of the *Khandakānakātha:*
19 "Go to such and such a place, where we have hidden 40 flies (scores) of treasure, which you may dig up and maintain yourself with."
22 *Kahāpana is also on the same page translated "penny."
Now, as far as I can understand, the mávakā (Skr. māvakā) was a weight of gold; the kārśhāpaṇa (Skr. kārśhāpaṇa) was a weight of various metals, i.e., a bullion weight, pure and simple; and the kārṇākā (Skr. kārṇākā) was a very small weight, an atom. I would, therefore, take it that values were, when these Jātaka were put together, simply expressed by weight, leaving the audience to gather the metal referred to from the context or from their imaginations.

8.

Dinga and Tickal.

In an enquiry of the present kind, the words dinga, a coin, and tickal, the standard fiscal weight, must necessarily be of frequent occurrence. Their origin is, therefore, a point of importance, and it will be found on investigation to be exceedingly interesting in every way. I have, therefore, here collected most of the information regarding them that has come my way.

The very numerous quotations which follow prove that the Burmese word dinga, a coin, and the Anglo-Indian word tickal, the standard weight, are, curiously enough, both direct descendants of the same Indian word, tānka, and have come to express respectively the two senses in which that word was used, viz., the standard weight and the coin which expressed that weight.

In order to make good the above statement it will be necessary to trace, century by century, the history of the word dingā, and then the history of the word tickal in the same way. The great difficulty in the identification of tickal with tānka lies in the fact, and in order to show how this letter came to be introduced into it, it will be necessary to consider the history of the many curious forms that the Burmese words sitkā and yōngdō have assumed in the writings of Europeans about the Far East.

To proceed first to consider the derivation of dingā from tānka:

DINGA.

In my quotations I have followed the wide-spread word tānka, in its many forms, in over 100 quotations extending over 1,000 years and throughout the entire Eastern World from Russia and Hungary to China, through Persia, Turkestan, all India and Tibet and through the Indian Archipelago as far as the Malaccas, the Malay Peninsula, Burma and the Shan States. And there can be no doubt that the Burmese, in their word dingā, have merely adopted one form of the universal tānka, a word of ancient Indian origin and usage for a weight and coin. There can also be little doubt that tānka and tānka are essentially the same word and often used to express the same meaning. Later on I will show that tānka and tickal have the same derivation, hence it follows that dinga and tickal are but variant forms of one original word.

With the Indian word tānka, in its forms of ṭō, ṭō, dhō, and so on, have been confounded, naturally enough, another series of words of analogous sense and usage derived from the Arabic danaq, a small weight; while at least one Prakrit word, ṭāk or ṭāk, a measure of land, seems to have been confounded with tānka.

c. 832. — "Gold and silver are used as money, the shape of which is crescent-like: it is called tōng-kī's tō and also tān-t'sānt'sā." — Hist. of the Tang Dynasty in Parker, Burma Relations with China, p. 15

1027-28. — Y. ¥ tēng tān. — "In the Lahore coinage of Mahmūd of Ghazni, A. D. 418-419, we find on the Skr. legend of the reverse the word tānka in correspondance with the dirham of the Arabic of the obverse." — Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 49.

That is (?) previous to 330 B. C. By Y. is meant a reference to Yale's Hobson-Jobson.
1201. — "That kind-hearted king awarded him from his treasure a large dish-full of gold and silver tankas worth about 10,000 silver tankas." — Tabakát-i-Násirí in Elliot, Vol. II. p. 313.

1236. — "He (Rukun’uddín Firdaw) would ride out drunk upon an elephant through the streets and bazaars, throwing tankas of red gold around him for the people to pick up and rejoice over." — Tabakát-i-Násirí in Elliot, Vol. II. p. 332.

1259. — "A silver tanka was offered for every head and two tankas for every man brought alive." — Tabakát-i-Násirí in Elliot, Vol. II. p. 381.

1802. — "On the following day, contrary to his expectation, the King [Alā’uddín Khilji] sent for the Kazi and received him with great kindness. He conferred on him a handsome gold embroidered vest, and a purse of 1,000 tankas." — Briggs, Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 355.

1825. — "Nizamuddīn Ahmūd Ḥukhmī was surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this Prince [Muḥammad Taghlaq] took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tankas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tanka only exchanged for 16 copper pice." — Briggs, Ferishta, Vol. I. p. 410.

1830. — Y. s. v. Barjānī in Suppl. — "Thousands of men from various quarters, who possessed thousands of these copper coins, now brought them to the treasury, and received in exchange gold tankas and silver tankas, shashqūns and dūgāns, which they carried to their homes." — Tārikḥ-i-Firdaw Shāhī in Elliot, Vol. III. p. 240 f.

1835. — Y. s. v. tānqūs. — "According to what I have heard from Shaikh Mubārak, the red lak contains 100,000 golden tankas, and the white lak 100,000 (silver) tankas. The golden tanka, called in this country the red tanka, is equivalent to three mikhāls and the silver tanka is equivalent to 8 hashkānī dirhams, this dirham being of the same weight as the silver dirham current in Egypt and Syria." — Masāḥib-ul-Abṣār in Notices et Extraits, Vol. XIII. p. 211.

c. 1341. — Y. s. v. tāngā. — "Then I returned home after sunset and found the money at my house. There were 3 bags containing in all 6,233 tankas, i.e., the equivalent of the 55,000 dinārs (of silver), which was the amount of my debts, and of the 12,000 which the Sultan had previously ordered to be paid me, after deducting of course the tenth part according to Indian custom. The value of the piece called tanka is 2½ dinārs in gold of Barbary." — Ibn Batūta, Vol. III. p. 426.

c. 1350. — "Sultan Firūz issued several varieties of coins. There was the gold tanka and the silver tanka." — Tārikḥ-i-Firdaw Shāhī in Elliot, Vol. III. p. 357 f.

c. 1350. — "When the Sultan had issued these many varieties of coins, it occurred to his benignant mind that a very poor person might buy an article in the market and a half or a quarter jital might be due to him in change, but, if the shopkeeper had no dangā, no change could be given . . . . so the Sultan accordingly gave directions for the issuing of a half jital, called adhā, and quarter jital called bākh." — Op. cit., loc. cit.

1404. — Y. s. v. tānqūs. — "Vea sua moneda de plata que llaman tangaes." — Clavijo, f. 46 b.

1447. — "Tirhāt tribute of the Tirhāt Rājā: 250,000 silver tankas and 2,750,000 black tankas." — Erskine, Baber and Humayun, Vol. II. p. 54, in Thomas, Pathan Kings, pp. 117, 337.
c. 1470. — "Shabait, on the Indian Sea, is a very large place; a tribute of one tenka a day is paid there to each Korosanes, big and small." — Nikitin in India in 15th Cent. Vol. III., p. 20.

c. 1470. — "The seaports of Cheen and Machin are also large. When a woman conceives a child by a stranger, the husband pays him a salary. If the child is born white, the stranger receives a duty of eighteen tankas: if it is born black he gets nothing, but is welcome to what he ate and drank." — Nikitin in India in 15th Cent. Vol. III. p. 21.

1511. — "The Mirdi complained that his losses amounted to six lakhs of tankahs of Gujarât currency, that tankah being worth eight Muradli tankahs — at the present time this tankah is still current in Khâmdesh and in the Dakhin." — Mird-t-i-Sikandar in Bayley, Gujarât, p. 246.

1516. — Y. s. v. tanga. — "A round coin like ours, and with Moorish letters on both sides and about the size of a fason of Calicut . . . and its worth 55 maravedis, they call these tangas, and they are of very fine silver." — Barbosa, p. 45.


1526. — "2 fulnes = 1 dinar; 12 dinars = 1 tanga; 10 tangas = 1 new larin; 3 tangas 9 dinars = 1 old larin . . . . at Cambaye 1 tanga larin = 60 reis." — Lemoins in Subsidios, Vol. III. pp. 38, 53.

1535. — Y. s. v. copeck. — "It was on this that the grand Duchess Helena, mother of Ivan Vassiliwitch and regent in his minority, ordered, in 1535, that these Dengui should be melted down and new ones struck, at the rate of 300 Dengui, or 3 roubles of Moscow à la grivenska, in kopeks. From that day accounts have continued to be kept in Roubles, Kopeks and Dengui." — Chaudoir, Aperçu sur les Monnayes Russes.

c. 1541. — Y. s. v. tanga. — "Todar . . . . fixed first a golden ashml as the enormous remuneration for one stone, which induced the Gakkhars to flock to him in such numbers that afterwards a stone was paid with a rupee, and this pay gradually fell to 5 tankas till the fortress (Rohtas) was completed." — Tîrîk-i-Khân-Jâhân-Lôlî, in Elliot, Vol. V. p. 115.

1551. — "The value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12½ tangas." — Ains-i-Akbari, Blochmann's Tract, p. 37.

1551. — "The dam weighs 5 tankas, i.e., 1 tola, 8 mashas and 7 surkhs; it is the fortieth part of a rupee. At first this coin was called paisah [we may now add "and last"] and also Bahlöf; now it is known under this name [dam]." — Ains-i-Akbari, Blochmann's Ed., p. 31.

1551. — "Fasîl of Khâjand [? 1059-1071] says that in former days dirhams had been of two kinds: first — full ones of eight and six dângs (1 dâng of his = 2 quirits; 1 quirit = 2 tassuj; 1 tassuj = 2 bahlbâh); . . . . the dinar is a gold coin, weighing 1 misqâl, i.e., 1 3½ dirhams, as they put 1 misqâl, = 6 dângs; 1 dâng = 3 tassuj; 1 tassuj = 2 bahlbâhs; 1 bahlbâh = 2 jaus (barley-corncorns)." — Ains-i-Akbari, Blochmann's Ed., p. 36.

1554. — "Nuñez in his Tables does not mention these (crucesudos or patacés) by either name, but mentions pardoas, which represented 5 silver tangas or 300 reis." — Yule, Hobson-Johnson s. v. pardoas in Suppl.

1554 — Y. s. v. bargay in Suppl. — "Eas tangas brancas que se recebem dos foros, são de 4 barganis a tanga, e de 20 lees e bargay." — A. Nuñez in Subsidios, p. 31.

— Shabait = Shabat = Sumudra, the Port of Sumatra: see Yule, Hobson-Johnson, s. v., Sumatra, and Cathay, p. 322.

— By the coast of Cheen and Machin, Nikitin meant that of Siam, Cambodia and Cochin China.

— Meaning, says Yule, Bahlöf or Sikandar lands of copper.
1554. — Y. s. v. Budgrouch. — "Bagaranos at Maluco (Moluccas) 50 = 1 tanga, at 60 reis to the tanga, 5 tanaas = 1 pardao." — A. Nunes, p. 41.

1554. — Y. s. v. jestul. — "In Suuda, . . . . the cash (caixas) here go 120 to the tanga of silver." — A. Nunes, p. 42.

1554. — Y. s. v. bargany in Supplt. — "Pay in land revenue according to ancient custom 36,474 white tanguas, 3 barganis and 21 leals, at the tale of 8 barganis to the tanga and 24 leals to the barganini, the same thing as 24 bazaranos, amounting to 14,066 pardaoas, 1 tanga and 47 leals, making 4,201,916 2/5 reis." — Estelha, Tombo in Substitutos, p. 46 f.

1559. — Y. s. v. tanga. — "The old Moscovite money is not round, but oblong or egg-shaped, and is called dengas. . . . 100 of these coins make a Hungarian gold piece; 5 dengas make an altin; 20 a grifna; 100 a poltina; and 200 a rubele." — Herberstein in Annuario, Vol. II. p. 158 c.

1571. — "Gujarati tankchahs at one hundred tankchahs to the rupee. At the present time the rupee is fixed at 40 damas . . . . As the current value of the tankchah of Pattan, etc., was less than that of Gujarati." — Miráti-i-Akhmadi in Bayley, Gujarati, pp. 6, 11.

1580. — "We learn from Balbi that there were at Goa tanaas, not only of good money worth 75 basaronchi, and of bad money worth 60 basaronchi, but also of another kind of bad money used in buying wood, worth only 50 basaronchi." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.

1580-1589. — "Later in the century, however, we learn, from Balbi (1580), Barrett (1584) and Linschoten (1583-1589), that the principal currency of Goa consisted of a silver coin called xerabin or pardao-xerabin, which was worth 5 tanaas, each of 60 reis." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supplt.

1584. — Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt. — "This kind of money is called basaronchi and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty money, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money . . . . and 5 tanaas make a seraphine of gold, which in merchantize is worth 5 tanaas good money; but if one would change them into basaronchi he may have 5 tanaas and 16 basaronchies, which matter they call cerafaggio, and when the bargain of the pardao is gold, each pardao is meant to be 6 tanaas good money.


1584. — Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt. — "The ducat of gold is worth 9 tanaas and a half good money, and not stable in price, for that when ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tanaas and three-fourth partes, and 10 tanaas, and that is the most that they are worth." — W. Barrett in Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 410.

1592-3. — "At the present, namely, A. H. 1002, Hindustán contains 3,200 towns, and upon each town are dependent 200, 500, 1,000 or 1,500 villages. The whole yields a revenue of 640 krors murádt tankas." — Tabahtí-i-Akbarí in Elliot, Vol. V. p. 186.

1598. — Y. s. v. tanga. — "There is also a kind of reckoning of money which is called tanaas, not that there is any such coined, but are so named only in telling, five tanaas is one pardao, or xeraphin badde money, for you must understand that in telling they have two kinds of money, good and badde, for four tanaas good money are as much as five tanaas badde money." — Linschoten, ch. 35.

1598. — Y. s. v. pardao in Supplt. — "They have a kind of money called pargados which is of Gold of two or three sorts and are above 8 tanaas in value . . . . There is yet another kind of golde called S. Thomas, because Saint Thomas is figured thereon and is worth about

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28 This refers says Yule to the copper tika.
21 Translating, however, from Balbi xerábinne di argendo.
7 and 8 tangas . . . For when they buy and sell pearls, stones, golde and siluer and horses, they name but so many pardawes, and then you understand that one pardaw is sixe tangas: but in other ware, when you make not your bagain beforehand, but plainly name pardawes, they are pardawes xeraphins of 5 tangas the piece." — Linschoten, ch. 35.

1609-1602. — "Tanka or Abar Shihb struck at Bairat, (year) Ilahi 44 (month) Amurdâd.

Abar Shihb one tanki, (year) Ilahi 47 (month) Tir, struck at Agra . . .

Tankâ Akbar Shâh 16th part, (year) Ilahi [?] (month) Khurdâd." — Lane-Poole, Coins of the Moghuls, p. 54 f. (legends translated).

c. 1609. — "So we could not get our money till next six days before we left the place; and for fear lest any should take it from us, we gave it to the goaler's wife to keep for us, my companion and I contracting with her to be fed for one tanguia a day each. This tanguia is worth seven sous and a half there (Gos) or five sous here (France)." — Pyrard de Laval, E. T. Vol. II. p. 21.


c. 1610. — "The silver money of Gos is perdoes, larins, tanguias, the last named worth 7 sols. 6 deniers a piece." — Pyrard de Laval, E. T., Vol. II. p. 69.

1615. — Y. s. v. tanga. "Their moneys in Persia of silver are the . . . the rest of copper, like the tangas and pious of India." — Richard Steele in Purchas, Vol. I. p. 543.

c. 1621. — "Mirza Jââl Beg Sultan [in Sind] made this agreement with his soldiers, that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive 500 gabor, every one of them worth 12 miris, called in the Mir's time pánstân, of which 72 went to one tanka." — Târîkh-i-Tahârî in Elliot, Vol. I. p. 287.

1636. — "The Mony of Muscovy . . . . . The greatest piece is worth but a peny and is called a Coppee or Denaire." — Olearius, Travels, p. 97.

1639. — "Their [at Sarat?] ordinary way of accoounting is by lacs, each of which is worth 100,000 rupias, and 100 lacs make a cron or carroa [karâr], and ten carros make an areb [are]. A Thiel of silver [read gold] makes 11, 12 or 13 rupias, current money. A massas [masha] and a half make a Thiel of silver, ten whereof make a Thiel of gold. They call their brass and copper-money Taucques." — Mandelâlo, Travels, p. 86.

1659. — "[At Goa] they are made of Tinne and Latin [?] of Spelter: Latin being for brass = French laiton; mixt together, and eight of these Basarncues make a ventin, whereof five make a tangia . . . . Five Tangias make a sarafin of silver . . . . and six Tangias make a pardai . . . . They have also santemes [= S. Thomas] of 10 Tangias and Pagodes of 14, 15 and 16 Tangias." — Mandelâlo, Travels, p. 107.


1659. — "Professor Wilson gives a plate of some specimens of 297 larins found at Sangamâsvâra, in the Ratagiri Collectorate, in 1846 . . . . read the legend of one side as 'Sultan All Aadal Shah,' and of the other 'Zarb Lârî Dângh Sikka,' i.e., 'Struck at Lârî' (or rather 'a Lârî' as Mr. Thomas suggests — 'stamped tanga'), and of the date A. H. 1071, i.e., A. D. 1659. Notwithstanding this legend, the probability is that the coins were struck at Bijápâpur." — Gray, Pyrard de Laval, Vol. I. p. 233 f.

12 This may, however, merely go to prove Yule's assertion in Hobson-Jobson, s. v. copec, that the copec = dûfûr kâptâ, the word denaming being taken as a misprint for denarrj.
13 Thêl here seems to be sole and may at last give a derivation for the much disputed tâng.

1676. — "Fryer's statement of equivalents (1676) enables us to use the stability of the Venetian sequin as a gauge; we then find the tangu gone down to 6 d. and the pardao or xeraphin to 2 s. 6 d." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. pardao in Supply.

1688. — "They (the Siamese) are not more exact as to their weights; in general, they call them ding." — La Loubere, p. 72.


1760. — Y. s. v. budgrock. — "At Goa, the xeraphin is worth 240 Portugal reaes, or about 16 d. sterling. 2 vintins make a basaraco, 15 basaracos a vintin, 42 vintins a tanga, 4 tanga a paru, 2½ parues a pagoda of gold." — Gross, Vol. I. p. 282.

1805. — "1 hubba = 1 barleycorn . . . . 1 dâng = 8 barleycorns; 1 dirhum = 48 barleycorns . . . . 1 dirhum = 6 dângs. 1 dâng = 2 hubbas." — Majma’ul AKBâr in Herklotz, vi.


c. 1829. — "At the present day in Persia the tanga seems to be worth only 6 d." — Fraser, Tour, p. 81.

1827. — "A silver tickal or dings is nearly the weight of a Madras rupee . . . . Rice was abundant and cheap, thirty-six seers for a dinger." — Alexander, Travels, pp. 21, 29.

1828. — "The words in the original (for the form of assessment) are tâka and buh [pagoda]. There are names of coins that seem to have no connection with the tenure in question. They perhaps found their way in, instead of the less known tâka and hundâ, meaning lump or mass." — Campbell, Rom. Gazetteer, Vol. XIII., Thana, p. 565.


1832. — "Weights (apothecaries). From the Ulfâr-Udviye [date?] N. B. (a) signifies Arabic, (p) Persian, (h) Hindoosteane . . . mâtân (h), 8 Ratties; tolâ (h), 12 mâtân; tâng (h), 4 mâtân; dâng (h) or dânuq (h) [?] 4 1/8 ratties; dirhum (p) or dirhum (a) 4 mâtân and 1 rupee. — Herklotz, Qaanoon-e-Islam, vi.

1832. — "Apothecary's weight from a respectable Musulan Practitioner . . . . 1 tola = 12 mâtân, 1 tân = 4 mâtân . . . . 1 dirhum or dírum = 2½ mâtân . . . . 1 dâng = 4 mâtân; dâng = 6 ratties." — Herklotz, Qaanoon-e-Islam, vii. f.

c. 1833. — "Coinage of Nepal . . . . 1 takka = 2 mobor = 4 sooka = 16 Annee = 80 pyasa = 400 dam." — Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed. p. 32.25

c. 1833. — "The ser at Bombay is divided into 9 pais or 72 tunks, or 72 troy grains each . . . . Skr. tânka, tânk, Mar. tân or tânk." — Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed. p. 107.

c. 1833. — "The ser, being liable . . . . to vary in weight for every article sold, as well as for every market, is generally referred to the common unit in native mercantile dealings, as, "the ser of so many tolas (or sikkas, bars, takâs, etc.). The standard or bazaar ser being always 80 tolas." — Prinsep, Useful Tables, Thomas' ed. p. 96.

24 At p. 338 Briggs notes on the text "1st class of horses from 100 to 120 tunks," i.e., 150 rupees. He thinks there was a typographical error.
25 Dr. Wright's information in his History of Nepal, 1877, p. 287, f., differs considerably from this.
1833. — "21 tungas = tilla or 11 1/2 s. 9/07 d." — Bokhara Money Tables in J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. VII. p. 398.


1843. — "The first princes used dinars and dirhems, like the califs. These were succeeded by tankhas, divided into dams and jitals. Shir Shah changed the name of tankha to that of rupeia or rupee which was adopted by Akbar. And the latter prince fixed the weight and relative value of money, on a scale, which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use." — Elphinstone, Hist. of India, Vol. I. p. 208.

c. 1845. — "The monetary system of the Tibetans consists entirely of silver coins, which are somewhat larger, but not so thick, as our francs . . . . The entire coin is called Tchan-Ka." — Huc, Travels, Ill. Lib. Ed., Vol. II. p. 146.


1852. — "Tangga — a wedge or ingot of the precious metals . . . . ingot, mass of gold or silver, tangga." — Crawford, Malay Dict., s. v.

1852. — "Tank. Persian, a weight of about two ounces . . . . tanka, Persian, gold, money, a certain coin . . . . tanga, Persian, cash, gold or copper coin . . . . danak, danik, dastak, dawank, Arabic, the sixth part of a dram or two carats, also a small silver coin; (Persian) däk, the fourth part of a dám, (according to some) the fourth part of a miskol; dänak, a small grain, the fourth part of a dram, a sixth of anything." — Johnson, Pers.-Arab. Dict. pp. 300, 388, 389, 554.

1854. — "Takä, two pice, a copper coin equal to two pice; in the plural it means also money in general." — Ludhiana Dict. of Punjabi, p. 203.

1855. — "Tanka, in the forms tanka and tanga (for these are apparently identical in origin) is in all the dialects lazily used for money in general." — Wilson, Glossary, s. v. in Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. tanga.

1857. — "Takä, an aggregate of 16 Sivari pice; also an aggregate of four pice, an äga; also as in Gujarat an aggregate of three pice. Money . . . . also used for a rupee, Sëkä pärch takä . . . . takä (Skr. tanka), a weight, according to some, of one tola or the 72nd part of pakkä sër: according to others, of nine mišë; according to others of four mišë . . . . (poetry) a rupee or any silver coin." — M Modern, Marathi Dict. pp. 337, 338.

1857. — "The tankha appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and, perhaps, when at its proper standard, was of about the same value . . . . Hence the value of one tanka at the latter part of the fifteenth century may be fixed at about two shillings." — Major, India in the 15th Cent. Vol. III. p. 20.

1858. — "Skr. tanka, tank, also Pers. tanka, gold, money, a particular species of coin." — Thomas, note to p. 22 of his ed. of Prinsep's Useful Tables.


1865. — "The great unit of medieval and modern times is the takä of not less than 145 grains, of which six make the chha-taka or ohstak, equal to 870 grains, or nearly two ounces; and 100 make the sataka or ser, the derivation being sat-taka or 100 takas . . . . Then 80 ratis or 145-332 was the weight of the tanka of copper." — Cunningham quoted in Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, J. A. S. B., 1867. p. 6.
1866. — "The identity of Ibn Batuta's Indian dinar and the silver tangah will be seen to be beyond question when this note has been read through." — Yule, Cathay, p. 439.

1866. — "Tangah always means with Ibn Batuta a gold coin. Sometimes he calls it a gold dinar." — Yule, Cathay, cxxi., viii.

1869. — "The dām in the Aḥ-i-Akbarī, and consequently in most revenue accounts, is considered to be the fortieth part of a rupee; but to the common people it is known as the fiftieth part of a takā." — Beamis, Memoirs of the Ricas of the N.-W. P., Vol. II. p. 81.

1871. — "The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the tankah, and its analogous fractional subdivisions, both of which form the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity." — Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 220.

1871. — "Moreover, it may be seen distinctly that the Tankāh was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great Mahmūd of Ghaznī [c. 1000 A. D.], while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of Dirham in the Kufic legend of his new Lahore mint of 'Mahmūdpur,' admits the corresponding word takā or tanka in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse." — Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 49.

1871. — "The tungi of Khwārizm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown." — Astley's Voyages, Vol. IV. p. 434, in Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 49.

1871. — "In Telugu, tankam is 'a coin formerly current, now used only in accounts, equal to four silver fansams. There was a gold tankam and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete' . . . . The Russian, dōngi." — Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 49.

1871. — "At the exchange of 2 s. per tankah, the jital would, therefore, correspond in value to 1 1/4 farthings, or rather less, as the 2 s. is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece [of 1303-1315]." — Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 161.

1872. — "Tanka, a spade, hoe, hatchet . . . . a weight (of silver) equal to four māshas or 24 raktikās . . . . a stamped coin . . . . tankapati, the master of the mint . . . . tankāsālā, a mint . . . . tankaka, a stamped coin especially of silver, silver money . . . . tankakapati, the master of the mint or superintendent of the silver coin . . . . tankaka-sālā, a mint . . . . tanga, another form of tanka, a spade, a hoe . . . . a weight of four māshas . . . ." — Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dict. pp. 355, 356.

1872. — "Dhānaka, a weight of gold, a gold coin, part of a dinār . . . . dhānaka, a copper coin worth about two pence." — Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dict. p. 453 f.

1873. — "One tangah (of Akbar) = 2 dāms; now-a-days one tangah = 2 pāls." — Blochmann, Aḥ-i-Akbari, p. 37.

1873. — "A tank is valued at 4 māshas, but it must have weighed a little more." — Blochmann, Aḥ-i-Akbari, p. 16.


1875. — "The normal weight of the paşa, taking the reti seed at from 1.75 to 1.8 grains, was from 140 to 144 grains. Afterwards when coin was stamped the paşa was called the copper tangah, or stamped piece, a name which still survives in the modern takēa, the double paisā." — Cunningham, Arch. Survey, Vol. X. p. 78.

1878. — "Tangah, a money of account used in Turkistan consisting of 25 small copper cash (of Chinese make with square holes through them) . . . . the value of the tangah varies constantly in the bazar in the number of tangah that may be given for a kura (a Chinese silver ingot weighing about 2 lbs. and worth about Rs. 170) . . . ." — Shaw, Eastern Turkistan in J. A. S. B. for 1878, p. 69 f.
1878. — "The Amir of Kâshghar has lately supplied the lack of small silver coinage, by issuing silver coins worth a tangah each, and called ak-tangah (white tangahs) after the model of Bokhâra and Khâkand coins so called. They are current at a small premium . . . consequently a Khâsân tangah is worth nearly twice as much as a Yârkand or Kâshghar one." — Shaw, Eastern Turkistan, p. 70.

1880. — "The rupee (dângga, literally a circular piece of metal, stamped, whether a coin or medal) is in universal use and the names given to fractions of a rupee are derived from the measures of weight." — Spearman, B. B. Gazetteer, Vol. I. p. 407.

1881. — "Tângka, a rupee as a coin." — Cushing, Shan Dict. p. 223.

1882. — "This system of assessment was known under several names . . . takbandi, tokibandî . . . tok, properly thok, is an un-Sanskrit Marathi word meaning lump or mass; taka, is doubtful; it is said to be Hindustani and to mean both a coin and a measure of land (12) bigâ's. In this case takbandi, properly tokibandî, would imply that the land had been measured. If so there is no place in this set of terms and must have been confused with or miswritten for tokibandî or thokibandî." — Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII., Thana, p. 550.

1882. — "The rupee is kyat, sometimes also called dîngga, that is, a circular piece of metal, whether a coin or a medal." — Scott, the Burman, Vol. II, p. 300.


1884. — "Tâkâ, Hindî [Pkr. takkâ; Skr. tâkka], a copper coin equal to two pice; two pie; (local) a rupee; money . . . taksâl, Hindî [Skr. tâkka-sâlî], a mint, assay office . . . . tânk, a weight equal to four mâshas . . . . a spade, hoe . . . . a weight of silver put for a coin . . . . tâkpati, a mint master; tâk-sâlî, a mint." — Platts, Hindustani Dict. p. 357.

1884. — "Dâng (= Skr. dhâqaka), a small denomination of money, a sixth part of a dinar, a weight, the fourth part of a drachm, a sixth part of anything . . . . dânaq, the arabicized form of dâng." — Platts, Hindustani Dict. p. 503.

1894. — "Dânaq, dâniq, danaq, pl. dâwânîq, sixth (or fourth) part of a drachm." — St.-recogn, Arabic Dict. p. 351.

1886. — "Tanga, Marhatta tânk, Turki tanga. A denomination which has been in use over a vast extent of territory and has varied greatly in application. It is now chiefly used in Turkestan, where it is applied to a silver coin worth about 7½ d. — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.

1886. — "The Goa tanga was worth (in 1750-50) 60 reis, that of Ormus 62 34/43 reis." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.

1888. — "Tanga . . . the obvious derivation is the Skr. ṭāṅka, a weight (of silver) equal to 4 mâshas . . . . a stamped coin . . . . " — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.

1888. — "Tânksa or tanga seems to have continued to be the popular name of the chief silver coin of the Delhi sovereigns during the 13th and 14th centuries, a coin which was substantially the same as the rupee of later days. And in fact this application of the word in the form tâṅka is usual in Bengal down to our own time." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. tanga.

1886. — "The salary of Ibu Batarai, when Judge of Delhi, about 1340, was 1,000 silver tankus, or dinars as he calls them (practically 1,000 rupees) a month, which was in addition to the assignment of villages bringing in 5,000 tankus a year. And yet he got into debt in a very few years to the tune of 55,000 tankus, say £5,500!" — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, Suppl., s. v. Pardau.

"I think that this is extremely unlikely."
1886. — "The jital of the Delhi coinage of At-tud-din was according to Mr. E. Thomas's calculations 1/64 of the silver tangá, the coin called in later days rupee. It was, therefore, just the equivalent of our modern piece." — Yale, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. jextul.


1891. — "Money, tunka . . . . rupee, tunka." — Macnab, Haka or Bawnghe Dialect of the Chinns.

1892. — "Here we have a primitive people [in Sierra Leone] with a weight system of their own, based on the Daouna and Taku [these were beans] . . . . I learn from another source that 6 Takus = 1 ackie (2) ackies 1 ounce) . . . . " — Ridgeway, Origin of Coins, p. 186.

1892. — "The Patans introduced a gold and silver coinage of singular purity and equal weight in either metal (about 174 grains) with often identical inscriptions, called the Tanka, which the Moguls afterwards converted into the gold mohr and silver rupee." — Lane-Poole, Coins and Medals, p. 186.

1892. — "The dám (paisa, fulás, tanka) about 320 gms. . . . Tanka large (double coin) 640 gms. . . . Tanka small (dam) 320 gms. . . . Tanki, fifth of dám, 63 gms." — Lane-Poole, Coins of the Moghuls, xciv.

1892. — "The fact that the Chin word for 'rupee,' tanká, is derived, like the Lushai, direct from the Hindustani and not through Burmese, points to the inference that, when first introduced to this coin, these Chins were probably living west of their present habitat; i.e. in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the Lushais still reside." — Houghton, Chin Language, in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII. p. 127.

1893. — "The Bokharan unit of money is the tenga, equal to 20 kopeks in Russian, or about 3 d. in English money." — Peach, Geography of the Turkestan Country in J. U. S. J. of India, Vol. XXII. p. 258.

1893. — "It will be at once evident that a great deal of this descriptive account exactly corresponds with the Burmese of our time . . . . use of the dônga (still the Burmese word for coined money), do being the Burmese sign of the plural." — Parker, Burma Relations with China, p. 15.


1893. — "We are told that the coins used were called dônga, which is still the Burmese for 'money.'" — Parker in China Review, 1893, p. 42.

1893. — "Tunkam (tanka, San.; tankah, Hind.). From (tank, San., to bind). Instrument. So a stamped coin or weight. (a) Chief silver coin of the Delhi sovereign, substantially the same as the rupee of the later days. 4 dubs = 1 silver fanam; 4 silver fanams = 1 silver tunkam. There was also a gold tunkam coin and a copper. (b) Epithet applied to the finest gold or that of 10½ touch. (c) Goldsmith's weight, 16 dubs = 1 tunkam: 1½ tunkams = 1 catcha seer (miray). Approximate actual value, 1 tunkam = 7 ozs. 4 dwts. Here a tunkam is the weight of the value in copper of a gold tunkam." — Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III. p. 533: see also Vol. I. p. 609: Vol. II. p. 512.

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17 I merely quote this to show a possible spread of the dám and tanká to West Africa. The ackie would appear to be the well known Turkish weight aqakchá. Professor Ridgeway quotes Pinckerton's Voyages, Vol. XVI. p. 374, to show that the dubs and facey were beam weights of 2 grs. and, uncertainly of 4 grs. respectively.

18 Alluding to the quotation under 2. 332, above. The suffix is, however, more likely the honorific ı. The two words in that text tengántë is and tashántë being respectively the Burmese dirgoldë, royal money, and sádántë royal gift.
I will now pass on to the word tickal, which has long puzzled philologists, belonging apparently to no known Oriental language and certainly not to any European language. The numerous quotations which follow, however, I think establish the fact that tickal is the Indian तिकाल = तिकाल, through the Talaing or Peguan t'kō (h'kō, h'ki, h'kō). 39

"Tickal" means primarily merely a certain fixed weight, and secondarily a coin (not in Burma however) of that weight. The difficulty, as already said, in identifying it with तिका lies in the final l, which is constant from its first appearance in 1554 to the present day. But in order to show how it got there in a legitimate manner, I will give a series of quotations relating to two quite separate words, sīktā and yōngō, which go to prove that Europeans have in other instances attempted the pronunciation of the to them difficult accented open vowels, like the final l of tickal by the addition of a superfluous l. 40

The pronunciation, as the quotations given below will show, of tickal has always been two-fold, according as the accent has been placed on the first or last syllable. At present in Burma it is usual to pronounce it like tickle, and in Siamese like tsoawl. 41

(To be continued)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 153.)

B. — CLASSES OF SPIRITS.

The mighty army of Hindu spirits is mainly recruited from the human souls whose life on earth has been blighted or maimed. Still-born children, unmarried men and women, women who have died in pregnancy monthly sickness or child-bed, and people who have been murdered drowned or slain by some other form of violent death, are supposed to become spirits. 42

39 I give it as a hint of some importance to investigators into Far Eastern Indo-European terms, that the Talaing is the language to search for their origin. In the days of all the old travellers Peg was the great city they went to see and trade in, and it was in Talaing and not Burmese hands until 1700 A.D. In fact they can, and do, all tell us a good deal of the Talaing (i.e., the Peguans) and very little about the Burmese, then an almost mythical race inhabiting the far interior.

40 Other words which I have come across, to which I have been suffixed to final open vowels by Europeans wherever none exists in the vernaculars, are cukūl and gudūl. The Portuguese wrote cukūl and cukūl for the weight candy (khunā). Yule, Hobson-Jobson, z. v. candy, quotes Garcia, f. 55, 1553, and Lindenholz, p. 69, 1568, in support. Mad. Mat. Misc. Vol. III, p. 12, says the same thing, probably following Yule. For gudūl (gandā), see Heine's Ed. of Elliot's Glossary, Vol. II, p. 315.


42 Kunkhl Kunbhl divide their spirits into two classes — pharchē kōt or house spirits, mainly friendly, and bhīnchē kōt or outside spirits, mainly hostile. So Sir Thomas Brown (A.D. 1660, Reliquia Medica, p. 37) draws a distinction between the wandering souls of men and the unquiet walks of devils. The Poona Kunkhl believe that the ghosts of the murdered and the ill-used, and of all who hanker after house, wife or treasure, wander and are unfriendly to the living (Trans. By. Lit. Soc. Vol. III, p. 219). The Bijapur Lamints believe that the ghosts of misers, creditors, and women who have left young children behind them, come back and give trouble (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII, p. 209). The Kābighera or fishermen of Bijapur greatly fear the ghosts of women who die in childbirth, of women who have left babies, of unmarried girls, of unmarried men, and of misers (op. cit. Vol. XXIII, p. 115). And the Bijapur Daards say that people who die with unfulfilled wishes become ghosts and trouble the members of their family and even strangers (op. cit. Vol. XXIII, p. 185). The people of Khāra fear the spirits of the unmarried dead (Jour. Ethn. Soc. Vol. I, p. 115). The Shikuls of Tinnely believe that any one dying a sudden, untimely or violent death haunts the place where his body lies or wanders as a demon (Caldwell in Halkett's Hindus, p. 519). The early Christians believed that magicians could call up spirits and that the most powerful spirits were those who died a violent death, most of all those who were killed before birth (Smith's Christians
In the Bombay Presidency, the Konkân is the place which most abounds in spirits, and where spirit-worship, as well as the popular belief in the power of spirits to do evil, is strongest. So much is this the case that an account of Konkân spirits includes details of almost all the spirits that are worshipped in the Presidency. Konkân spirits may be grouped under five classes — spirits of the fire, air, earth, water and under-world.

**Fire Spirits.** — Agni or Fire-spirits were familiar in early India. The Mahâbharatâ tells how, out of the fire-sacrifice a spirit stepped and gave Dasaratha the holy food which his wives ate and gave birth to Râma and his brothers. In the Konkân, fire-spirits, except Vija or Lightning, are mainly represented by Ágya Vētal, Fiery Vētal. Ágya is a higher form of the ordinary village Vētal, where he is found he is treated as the minister, kīrkhârī, of the Monkey-God Hanumān. He is lodged in Hanumān’s shrine in a rough red stone, somewhat lower than the image of Hanumān. Ágya dresses in green, rides a green horse, loves a green sword. His henchman is Mānîsâsura, the buffalo-spirit, and under the henchman is a large escort. The host marches at night, each spirit in the host carrying a torch. All can see the torch light: the initiated alone, the priestess and the medium, see the forms of the god and his attendants. This spiritual insight is not gained without weeks of laborious rites performed before a human corpse hung head down from a branch. If the rites please Ágya he enters the corpse and speaks. Ágya’s great day comes when a no-moon falls on a Tuesday. In Bombay, Ágya’s best known shrine is at the top of the Sīl Rasta or Ladder Road up the south-east face of Malabar Hill, close to the Ladies’ Gymkhana. Gângâ Bâl, the priestess into whom the spirit of Ágya at times comes, says that the loss of the green glade, now the Gymkhana, so wounded Ágya that he now rarely possesses her.

**Air Spirits.** — The sameness between airs and spirits, the strength, formlessness, and caprice of the wind, its angry howlings, its kindly rustlings have led mankind to agree that the breeze is a spirit, and that a spirit rides in the storm and dances in the whirlwind. The fifteenth century Swiss mystic Paracelsus said the autumn air is not so full of flies as it is of spirits.28 In the Konkân, breath or breeze (âvâra) is almost as common a name for a ghost as kālā, that which has been, or as prāta, that which has gone forth. So in cases of possession the patient or the medium is the jhāâda or tree whose branches the spirit sways, and of whom, when he tosses the patient, the people say khalīta, ‘he plays.’ So his breath is one of the spirits that lives in a man. God breathed into Adam the breath of life. The Australian word for soul and for breath is the same — wany.24 The German Goddess Perchta or Pertha breathed on a girl and struck her dumb.25 The Norwegians had an illness called alegust, elf-breath.26 At the tomb of the modern idôt-saint, ‘Ali-al-Baqr, people catch the air in their hands and thrust it into their bosoms and pockets.27

Under spirits of the air comes the astral or star-spirit, perhaps as old as Chaldean star-worship (B.C. 4000-2000). These astral spirits were supposed to be of the same substance as the stars. They were mortal, returning to their essence after 300 to 1,000 years. Each man and each planet had a star-spirit. Other star-spirits were unattached, roaming as they pleased. These were the sweet or the angry influences, which the stars sent to earth, as they

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22: Antiquities, pp. 1283, 1284. The Polynesians and Red Indians believed in a soul, an airy substance in human or animal form that rose from the body of the dying. The soul passed west beyond the sea or hovered over the tomb or sank into the under-world (Revil of’s Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés, Vol. II. p. 72). In England, unbaptised children were believed to become ghosts. The noise made in their south flight by the beam goar (A. septum)known as Gabriel’s Hounds, is supposed to be the calling of the spirits of unbaptised children (Henderson’s Folk-Lore, p. 131). The souls of tribesmen are friendly, the souls of hostile tribes unfriendly, and among tribesmen the souls of the unhurried and of the bad are hostile (Spencer’s Principles of Sociology, Vol. I. p. 106).
26: Pool’s Arabic Society in Middle Age, p. 69.
were annoyed or as they were pleased. Another class of air-spirits was invented by
the philosophers, who, in their fear of materialism, placed all secret powers of Nature, both outside
of and in man, under the influence of souls or spirits. In the case of morality what was good
was angelic, what was blameable satanic, according to the saying of the Prophet — "From
goodness arises an angel, from badness a devil."29

The following examples show how widespread in area and in time is the belief that all
spirits are air-spirits, and that a spirit lives in the breeze and rides in the storm. In Chaldea
(B.C. 2000), the burning south-west wind blowing from the deserts of Arabia causes ruin.
So theSouth-west wind is, or is the bearer of, a fiend, and an image is set at the door or
window to house the fiend.30 Among Hindus is a sect of wind worshippers, Pavana Bhaktas,
who believe that the substance of God is air, and that the intellectual soul also is air.31 So with
the Hebrews; in the Old Testament, Job (Chap. xxxii. v. 8) says: — "There is a spirit in man
and the inspiration or breath of the Almighty giveth him understanding." In the New
Testament (St. John, Chap. iii. v. 8), Christ says: — "The spirit or wind bloweth where it
listeth. Thou canst not tell whence it comes or whither it goes. So is every one that is born
of the spirit or wind." Coleridge (1800) says: — "All forms of animated nature are but organic
harps, diversely framed, that tremble into thought as o'er them sweeps plastic and vast, one
intellectual breeze at once the soul of each and God of all."32 Wordsworth lays stress on the
still diviner quality in wind, namely, that it gives life to the dead: — "Dry holly-leaves in
myriads jump and spring as if, with pipes and music rare, some Robin Goodfellow were there
and all those leaves in festive glee were dancing to the minstrelsy."33 So the holiness of the
Bull Roarer or wind-maker is widespread, and all winnowing and other fans are guardians
because they are wind-makers.34 The Greek sacrificed to Boreas, the North-wind, and beat the
Persian.35 The Chinese boatmen talk to Zeng, the Wind-spirit.36 In Cornwall, the moaning
wind-spirit is a certain Treg-eagle, who sold himself to the devil.37 "The air," says Burton
(1650), adopting the saying of Panceus (1450), "is not so full of flies in summer as it is at
all times of invisible devils. They counterfeit suns and moons, and sit on ships' masts.
They cause whirlwinds and tempestuous storms."38 The commonness of seeing visions and
apparitions in the air shews how widespread is the belief that the air is the great spirit-home.
In Germany, girls see white maidens, and the history, even of Western Europe, is full of
visions of armies fighting in the sky.39 Some authorities praise air-spirits for their goodwill
to men. According to the poet Pope the gnomes or earth-spirits enjoy mischief, but the sylphs
or air-spirits are the bestconditioned creatures possible.40 These good air-spirits are the
guardian-breases. The spirit of the storm has the features of the earlier guardian. Odin, the
Norse wind-god, sweeps the sky with a following of souls. The gusts before a storm are the
souls of women hunted by Odin.41 The Indian Maruts or storm-gods, the Skandinavian Ogres
or Cloud-ships, Odin's wild huntsmen and crew are all wind-worshipings.42 In Russia, the
wind-demon is attended by the souls of unbaptized children.43 In Rhenish Westphalia, when
the wind throws a door open or whistles through the house, they say: — "There goes the old one
of last year."44 The Fins in the Middle Ages sold winds in knots. If you untied the knot

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28 Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, pp. 405, 569.
29 Introduction to Dabistan, Vol. I. p. clxv. Coloridge (Note to Ancient Mariner) classes all spirits as air-spirits.
He arranges them under the three heads of angels, human souls, and a third class found in all climates and elements.
30 Lensmont's Childlike Magic, p. 52.
31 Lines composed at Cleevedon.
32 Compare Long's Custom and Myth, p. 36.
33 Folklore Record, Vol. IV. p. 90.
35 Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, Vol. III. pp. 913, 993 and 933-64; also Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, p. 511.
36 Introduction to the Raps of the Lock; Skew's Piers the Ploughman, p. 110.
38 Quoted in John's Forest Trees, Vol. II. p. 66.
39 Bassett's Sea Legends, p. 88.
40 Bassett's Sea Legends, p. 42.
41 Bassett's Sea Legends, p. 42.
42 Clodd's Myths and Dreams, p. 44.
the spirit was loosened. In Gigha in Argyleshire in West Scotland, if a wind was wished, a sacred well was cleared of stones, and the water was thrown in the direction from which the wind was wished. Some words were said and the stones filled in. If the well had been left open there would have been a storm. The question, whether the Almighty or any guardian can be made responsible for the weather, has always been a subject for dispute. The half-mystic Christian sect of Priscillianists (Spain, A.D. 350) ascribed storms to the devil, thunder to his roaring, and rain to his sweat. The Manicheans (A.D. 330), many of whose opinions Priscillianists adopted, said thunderstorms were the rage of a chained devil. When a thunderstorm came the classic Greeks offered a black lamp, as storms were reckoned among the gods of the lower world. In Germany, Wusten’s furious host was the storm-wind. According to the Celts storms were stirred by the fays or fates, and according to the Swedes by the woodwife Skegora. Kali, the black cloud-home of the Goddess of ruin, is the Hindu name for the blue-black almost violet cloud mass that hides the heavens before or after a thunderstorm.

More than the life of the breeze or the rage of the storm the strange and fantastic movements of the whirlwind have carried conviction that the mighty shape is the form of a fiend. In old German, the whirlwind was known as wind’s brant, the wind’s bride. According to the Slav and the Pole an evil spirit dancing stirs the dust into a whirlwind. In France, the belief prevails that whirlwinds are caused by witches and wizards who travel in them. In the department of Orne the clergy cause storms and sweep on in the wind gusts. A man shot at a hailstorm and lamed a priest. In Germany, the devil is believed to be seated at the centre of every whirlwind. When Arabs see Zobsale, the Pillar of Dust, sweep across the desert, they call:—“Iron, Iron, thou unlucky,” thus scaring the dust pillar, who stands in awe even of the name of iron. In India, in ordinary talk, a dust storm is a saitan or devil.

The breeze is a guardian. If unchecked it would flow so as to favour its worshippers. A calm is evil. A calm is the guardian overpowered and quenched by an unfriendly spirit. In the west of Scotland (1885), when the wind is unfavourable, sailors whistle or kill a pig and point its head in the direction of the wished-for wind. The Italian traveller Nicolò Conti (1420-24) commanded a ship in the Indian seas. They were becalmed seven days; on the eighth, the sailors who were Arabs brought a table to the mast, performed rites and danced round the table and called on Mathia, their God. One of them became possessed with a demon and began to sing and run about the ship as if mad. He came to the table, ate some live coal, and called for a cock and sucked its blood. He asked the sailors what they wanted. The sailors said:—“We want a wind.” He told them the wind would come and warned them to take care. He fell half dead on the deck. When he came to his senses he had forgotten all he had done and said. The wind sprang up and they got to port. Not every calm is devil caused. Sleep is the air-walking Willie Winkie, Death’s twin brother, the ghostly and guardian power that calms the stormiest.

In the Konkan, the chief fair-spirits are (1) the Sâtkuvaris or Seven Maidens, and their mate companion Góvalá Dídá or Father Cowherd, (2) Vija or lightning, and (3) Epidemics.

50 Grimm’s Teutonic Mythology, Vol. II. p. 632. 51 Conway’s Demonology and Devil Lore, Vol. I. p. 106. These doings of priests belong to them in their character of wizards, that is, of people endowed with a spirit specially powerful both for good and for evil.
54 MS. note, 9th August 1885. 55 Major India in the Fifteenth Century, Vol. III. p. 26. The sense seems to be—God’s wind is stopped by the devil’s wind. The men dance till excited. The spirit of the hostile wind enters one of them, drinks the blood, is content and lets God’s wind blow.
(1) Satkuvaris. — The Satkuvaris are the ghosts of seven sisters, or at least of seven maidens, who died unmarried. They are supposed to cause skin-diseases like maita or small-pox, gobar or measles, and kani or chicken-pox, and they are always accompanied by a male companion called ghoulai or cowherd, probably the ghost of an unmarried cow-boy. These eight spirits live in the air, and in the evening and at noon haunt caves, valleys, ponds, rivers and gardens. In the evening or at noon, when they make their rounds, a rattling or rumbling is heard in the air from the wheels of their chariot. A tliis a time if any woman comes in their way, or draws their attention by pointing a finger at them, or by staring at them in the air, they come down, take hold of her, enter her body, and make her their abode. They will then trouble her in various ways by causing melancholy or low spirits, paleness or discoloration of the body, and loss of appetite, until a bhagat or medium finds the secret and appeases them with an annual tribute of coconuts or fowls, or both. One of the most usual forms of injury done by the Seven Maidens is to make the offending woman barren. That the Seven Maidens are one of the causes of women’s barrenness is a belief that is shared by many native physicians along with the Kumblis and Marâhâs of the Konkân. The head or queen of the Seven Sisters is Stalâdâvël, the old goddess, who is supposed both to cause and to cure small-pox. At Kâlêvé, in the Thanâ district, a large image of Stalâdâvël is famous for its power of curing small-pox, barrenness, and other spirit-diseases. Every year on the full-moon of Vaiâk̄h (April-May) a big festival is held in honour of Stalâdâvël at Kâlêvé, when hundreds come to fulfil vows or to pray their respects to the goddess. The persons who make vows to Stalâdâvël are generally women, and they often make very strange vows. In some cases the woman who has made the vow comes with sandals or shoes on her head and stands in front of the temple; in other cases a boy or girl suffering from small-pox is made to lie across the threshold of the temple and the people are allowed to pass over the body. Again, the mother causes her hands and feet to be fastened with iron chains, and then moves round the temple of Stalâdâvël, or she makes the boy or girl, who has been cured, move round the temple.

(3) Vilas or Lightning33 is the spirit of the infant sister of the god Krišna, who was killed by Kausa, king of Mathurâ. The spirit of lightning is so much afraid of the leaves of the apta32 and shami30 trees, that when Konkân Kumblis and Kolls go out in the rainy season, they generally take apta leaves with them.61

(3) Epidemic Spirits32 include the spirit or goddess of cholera, locally called jarimâri, mahâmâri, or wakhâ. In the Kolâba and Ratnâgiri districts, and to some extent in Thanâ, cholera is annually worshipped. When cholera appears in a Konkân village, the people explain her arrival by some defect in their annual offerings to the goddess. To propitiate her the villagers assemble and call a bhagat or medium, in whose body the goddess of cholera appears. They ask the medium what steps should be taken to please Jarimâri. The medium tells them to make the goddess offerings of fruit, rice and goats, and to escort her with music.

67 At Nasik, at about twenty feet from: the temple of Gopâpati, is a small broken image of Stalâdâvël. When a child has small-pox its mother pours water over this image for fourteen days, and on the fifteenth brings the child to the temple, weighs it against molasses or sweetmeats and distributes them among the people. The image was broken about ninety years ago by one Bhâmbâh (Bhâmbâp). His only son was sick with small-pox, and though he did all in his power to please the goddess, his son died. Enraged with his loss Bhâmbâh went to the goddess and broke off her hands and feet. Though maimed, the people still trust this Stalâdâvël, and during small-pox epidemics so much water is poured over her that it flows in a stream down the stone steps to the river (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI).

33 The Romans believed lightning to be a spirit. They buried what was struck by lightning and surrounded the spot with a wall (Gibbon’s Decline and Fall, Vol. I. p. 412).

32 Bubunia fomentosa. 60 Mimoso sumo.

30 The worship of the apta and shami trees has probably its origin in the belief in the electric influence of their leaves.

32 Compare the common belief in Europe in aerial devils who, if displeased, sent plagues, and if pleased did good (Burton’s Anatomy of Melancholy, pp. 129, 131).
Modern Europe, air-spirits continued to be held unfriendly to man. One phase of Christianity inclined to transfer responsibility for drought, cold, floods and storm to the Prince of the Power of the Air, who was little, if at all, different from the devil. The sound of Christened Church bells drove away the storm-spirit. The Red Indians think of the Great Spirit as the wind, always invisible, but taking part in the festivities which men make in his honour. It is the great spirit that blows like a blast through all present at a tribe meeting, filling each with the wind of sympathy and enthusiasm. That the storm and the whirlwind are spirits, or the abodes of spirits, is an almost universal belief. The Dyaks of Borneo think the wind is a spirit. The Bushmen say:—"The wind was once a person, he became a bird." Reginald Scott suggests that the air is believed to be the chief resort of spirits, because when spirits are seen they leave no trace. Had they been of water moistness would remain; had they been of fire something would have burned: had they been of earth, some trace would be left. The Jews believed that the souls of the evil dead wandered between the earth and the moon.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

By G. R. Subramiah Pantulu.

(Continued from p. 224.)

XXXIX.

In days long gone by there lived on the banks of the Krishna, a crane on a silk-cotton tree. Once upon a time it beheld a swan passing by and said:—"Your body resembles mine in colour, but your beak and legs are red. I have not come across a bird of your kind till now. Who are you? What is your errand?"

Whereupon the swan gave the following answer:—"I am a swan, I am an inhabitant of Brahma's Manasasaras. I am coming thence."

The crane then asked what things were procurable there and what formed the chief article of its food. To which the swan replied:—"As these things are made by angelic hands, it is beyond my comprehension to describe the grandeur of the place; but you may hear some of the important things procurable. In and around that region are found golden earth, ambrosia, gold lotuses, heaps of pearls, clouds of perfumes, and the tree of paradise. Every object thereon is a wonder:"

When the swan informed the crane that it partook of the foods of such lotuses, the latter impatiently asked the former if any oysters were procurable there. On receiving a reply in the negative, the latter burst into a fit of laughter and said:—"Why prattle of the excellences of a place void of oysters? Is it a pity you do not know the excellences of oysters?" Thus the crane put to the swan to shame.

Moral:—People will talk big about the meanest things if they like them, and disparagingly of the best things if they do not like them.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOLY STONES.

It has been stated that naturally perforated stones (possibly artificially enlarged) exist in parts of India,—the neighbourhood of Bombay and Gujarát have been cited as localities,—and that people who have passed through them are supposed to have become new-born,—i.e., to receive a new birth of the soul. Can any one state exactly where such stones are to be found, and whether they are still in common use in such a sense, as, for instance, when the Mahârîjâ of Travancore, a Nair by birth, is made a Brahman by passing through a golden cow?

Cosmopolitan in P. N. and Q. 1883.

73 Straits Journal, December 1878, p. 127.
74 Lang's Custom and Myth, p. 55.
75 Napier's Folklore, p. 11.
CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 246.)

TICKAL.


1554. — Y. s. v. Viss. — "The baar of Pegau contains 120 bicas; each bica weighs 40 ounces; the bica contains 100 ticals; the tical weighs 3½ oitavas." — A. Nunes, p. 38.


1636. — "The coinage of the country [Siam] is of very pure silver. The tical is worth 30 sols, the mace 7½ sols, and the foang 3 sols 9 deniers. They usually reckon by catties of silver; each catty being worth 20 taels or 144 livres; for the tael is worth something more than 7 francs." — Schouten, Ost-Indische Voyages, p. 34.

1639. — "The money of this country (Siam) is very good, by reason the King only has power to stamp and so prevents variation of the value; there are of it three sorts: Ticals, Masses and Foangs. . . . Four Ticals make a Tael." — Mandelslo, Travels, E. T., Vol. II. p. 130.

1678. — "Hee raised it to 2 Teccallis upon notice that ye price was advanced in China." — Anderson, Siam, p. 435.

1688. — Y. s. v. — The proportion of the (Siamese) money to ours is, that their Tical, which weighs no more than half-a-crown, is yet worth three shillings and three half-pence." — La Louère, E. T., p. 72.

1688. — "The Tical is a silver coin and is worth four mayons . . . All these names are not Siamese, but common amongst the Europeans which are at Siam . . . Tical and mayon are words the Origin of which I am ignorant of, and which the Siameses do call baat and seling." — La Louère, E. T., p. 164.

1727. — Y. s. v. — "Pegu Weight, 1 Vies is 39 on. Troy, or 1 Vies is 100 tecculs; 140 vies is a Bahaar. The Bahaar is 3 Pecul China." — A. Hamilton, Vol. II. p. 317.

c. 1759. — Y. s. v. — "A dozen or 20 fowls may be bought for a Tical (little more than ½ a Crown)." — Dairymple, Or. Repert., Vol. I. p. 121.

1775. — Y. s. v. — "Pegu weight: 100 moo = 1 Tual; 100 tual = 1 vis = 2 lbs. 5 oz. 5 dr. avr.; 150 vis = 1 candy. Siam: 80 tuals = 1 catty; 50 catties = 1 Pecul [tual is obviously a misprint for tical]." — Stevens, New and Complete Guide to E. I. Trade.

1782. — "The principal money of this country is silver . . . the smallest denomination is the Tycaul." — Hunter, Pegu, p. 85.

1783. — Y. s. v. — "The merchandise is sold for teccials, a round piece of silver, stamped and weighing about one rupee and a quarter." — Forrest, Voyage to Mergui, p. vii.

1783. — "Lorsqu'on fait un marché (à Raonçon) on traite par Tical et par Bise . . . L'or se pese aussi et vaut 25 à 28 Ticals d'argent selon la rareté. Le tout se livre au poids. Il n'y a de monnoye proprement dite que les Piastres que l'on pese aussi. La Tical vaut 48 à 50 s. de France. La Bise vaut 100 Ticals, La Piastre vaut 2 Ticals; ce qui fait environ 5 l. 12 s. de France." — Flouest in Young Pao, Vol. II. p. 41.

42 Y. in this connection refers to Yule's Hobson-Jobson, where the quotation in the text will be found. In addition to the words given ante, p. 245, n. 40, I have come across "candil or credil." candil = candy; credil = (?) kbdnt = kbdnt = kbdnt. Collection of Dutch Voyages, 1709, Appx. to First Voyage, 1596-7, p. 247. Also in De Morga, 1669, Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 271, nipal tree occurs for nipa, no doubt through Port. nijar. See Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v.
1796. — "After dinner he offered me 100 ticals, which he informed me he received from the looto (Hlutdaw) by his Majesty's orders: and, that I was to have 100 every ten days." — Cox, *Lancashan Empire*, p. 116.

1800. — "The first commission of theft does not incur the penalty of death, unless the amount stolen be above 800 kiat, or tackal, about £100." — Symes, *Anthropology*, p. 306.

1800. — "What foreigners call a *tackal*, properly kiat, is the most general piece of silver in circulation; it weighs ten pennyweights ten grains and three-fourths; its subdivisions are, the tubbe, two of which make one moo; two moo one math; four math one *tackal*, and one hundred *tackal* compose one viss." — Symes, *Anthropology*, p. 326.


1817. — "The *tical*, alluded in the following statement, contains ten in one hundred alloy [i.e., yewdui silver]. Besides these, a sum of two ticals is paid to a person called the Aon-dest, and another of half a tical to a person called the Athao-bo (as judicial fees): officers whose duty it is to purchase and administer the "pickled tea" necessary to the ceremony of closing the transaction." — Crawford, *Siam*, p. 410, quoting Aitken, *Report on Bassin*. (c. 1805). — "Sometimes" a tical of silver with a portion of alloy is equal to 200 ticali of lead, sometimes to a thousand and even more." — Sangermano, p. 167.

1821. — "The shop-tax is levied on the following rude and summary principle. A dealer in cloth pays four *tickals* a year [and so on]." — Crawford, *Siam*, p. 379.

1826. — "The division of the Tical are, 2 Tabbal = 1 Tamoo: 2 Tammoo = 1 Mat: 4 Mat = 1 Tical: 100 Tical = 1 Tabisa or Viss: 100 Tabisa = 1 Peiya or Ava Pical or 250 Penang Catties." — Wilson, *Documents*, Ixi.44


1838. — "The nominal currency of the Empire is the tical, which, when of flowered silver, is equivalent to 1 rupee, 5 annas, 4 pic, Sicca; and assuming the rupee at 2 s., equals 2s. 8½ d." — Trant, *Two Years in Ava*, p. 280.

1838. — "Vis, *tikal* and moo are the general terms used in the transaction of (Burmese) commerce and accounts . . . . 100 tickals are precisely equal to 140 tolas . . . ." — *Princes*, Useful Tables, p. 130.

1835. — "The price of the common or mixed amber is 2½ tickals a vis, or Rs. 4 per one and a half sec." — Huxley in *Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah*, p. 109.


1836. — "Ken-lay is the military post dividing the proper Burman from the Shan (Myelat) territory, where a duty of a quarter of a *tikal* is levied on each bullock." — Richardson's *Journal in Parl. Papers, East India*, 10th August 1839, p. 144.

1836. — "I halted on the bank of a small stream in thick jungle, near the village called Ban-sa-to; it has only been inhabited three years by these people, who are Shans of Mok-mai, 44 *Aea* I take to mean *yard*, or *rat*. It is a curious way of reckoning for Burmas, but then Cox is always curious. 45 The use of the numeral *ts* (one) as an integral portion of the words for weights is instructive.
from which they were driven by the heavy taxation of the Burman Government; 40, 50 and even 60 tickals of coarse silver being often demanded from one house during the year. Whilst here, under Pha-pho, the whole village, which consists of eight or ten houses, by making a small present of five or six tickals value, are free from all demands, and even this small present seems voluntary." — Richardson's Journal in op. cit. p. 112.

1836. — "He complained bitterly against the Myo-woon, who had struck him for presuming to intercede for his men against a demand for two Tickals (sic) per man, which the Myo-woon had that day ordered to be assessed. This is the third demand that has been upon them, and considering the excessive price of provisions, four and five Tickals (sic) per basket, it does seem, even for Burmah, somewhat unjust." — Bayfield in Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah, p. 208 f.

1837. — "The rupee is current here (Zimmâ) as well as the Siamese tical (the round coin), but the money most in circulation is coarse silver of about 8½ per cent. alloy, I believe, melted into a circular form .... one hundred ticals are given for 45 Madras rupees, but these are only equal to 75 Burmese ticals." — McLeod's Journal in Parl. Papers, East India, 10th August 1839, p. 37.


1843. — "The examination of the coin offered for inspection, [a takal or tickal on 23rd March 1843] may not be without some little interest to the members of the Numismatic Society." — Dickens, Silver Coinage of Siam, J. Num. Soc. p. 47.

1850. — "The Siamese Government," says Dr. Morton, "have several hundred men permanently occupied, each of whom, it is said, is expected to deliver one tickal (about one rupee and a quarter) weight of gold dust per annum." — Mason, Nat. Productions of Burmah, p. 37.

1852. — "Kyap, a kyat or tickal, a weight equal to four mats." — Judson, Bur. Dict., s. v.

1855. — Y. s. v. viss. — "The king last year purchased 80,000 viss of lead, at five ticals for 100 viss, and sold it at twenty tickals." — Yale, Assam, p. 256.

1855. — "Tickal is no more Burmese than viss, but its origin is more obscure. The true Burmese name is kyat. Tickal is applied by foreigners also to the Siamese but, a coin nearly equal in value to a kyat of silver. Perhaps it may be a corruption of the word Taki, which is applied in different parts of India to different coins: in some places to a peice, in some to a rupee. Major Phayre, moreover, believes Tickal to be a conception of Takyat, one kyat." — Yale, Assam, p. 144.

1855. — "The money that circulates in Siam consists principally of ticals or bats of the value of 2s. 6d. sterling ... There is a double tickal, — a half tical ... a quarter tical." — Bowring, Siam, Vol. I. p. 257.

1864. — "My informants, in reference to weight of the articles and weight of silver paid for them, used the Burman unit of a tickal. A tickal is about 1-28th of a pound. A tickal of silver is worth two shillings and sixpence. A viss is 100 tickals, or exactly 3652 lbs." — Clement Williams, Burmah to Western China, p. 33.

1868. — "I then proceeded with the expedition, and when I finally returned to Bhamo I found that my wife had been imprisoned for two days and had to pay 10 tickals of silver." — Sladen, Bhamo Route, in Parl. Papers, 17th April 1871, p. 143.

1874. — "In weight one hundred kyats (sic) make a Pietha (vis) which equals 365 lbs. avoirdupois. Four Mats make one Kyap (sic) ... This weight is always called a Tickal by foreigners: a corruption probably of Ta-kyap, one kyap." — Browne, Thayetmyo, p. 60.
1874. — Y. s. v. Tucka. — "How much did my father pay for her? He paid only ten ṭākā. I may state here that the word rupeyā, or as it is commonly written rupee or rupi, is unknown to the peasantry of Bengal, at least to the Bengali Hindu peasants, the word they invariably use is ṭäkā." — Gorinda Samanta, Vol. I. p. 269.

1874. — "Tkīl (spelt ḍakōv), a weight a little less than half an ounce. The hundredth part of a viss." — Hanwell, Pekuan Language, p. 70.


1879. — "The Tical is a Chinese weight of about 4½ ounces and the viss an Indian of about 3½ lb." — Laurie, Our Burmese Wars, p. 372. [This information is, of course, wrong.]

1879. — "The basis of the Burmese weights is the Tickal (kyat) which equals 252 grains troy, or exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 60°." — Cooke, British Burma Manual, p. 735.


1894. — "Each of the six Laos States is called upon to pay tribute to Siam, — curious representation of trees in gold and silver, about eight feet high, each with four branches, from which again four twigs with a single leaf at the end of each depend. The gold trees are valued at 1,080 ticals (135l.) each, and the silver ones 120 ticals (15l.) each." — Zeck, Temples and Elephants, p. 156.

1886. — "Tical. This (ṭiṭkāl) is a word which has long been used by foreign traders to Burma, for the quasi-standard weight of (uncoined) current silver. The origin of the word ṭiṭkāl is doubtful. Sir A. Phayre suggests that possibly it is a conception of the Burmese words ta-kyat . . . . on the other hand perhaps it is more probable that the word may have represented the India ṭākā." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Tikal.

1886. — "Tucka. Hindi, ṭākā ; Bengali ṭākā. This the word commonly used among Bengalis for a rupee. But in other parts of India it (or at least ṭākā) is used differently, as for aggregates of 4, or of 2 pice, e. g. pōčch ṭākā pāiād, two ṭākās of pice, generally in N. W. P. = 20 pice, and for Skr. ṭānka, a stamped coin." — Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. ṭākā.

1886. — "Note that while the grāt, tikāl, tolah and rupee are called the same in weight, the peitha, or viss, is 142 tolahs in weight and merchandise is not weighed to the same standards as silver money." — Gordon, Companion to Handbook of Colloquial Burmese, p. 160.

1900. — "The Mat Game . . . . we will suppose that there are but four playing, and that each places a tical on a different number." — Holt-Hallett, Thousand Miles on an Elephant, p. 253.

1892. — "Tickal, ṭap mi." — Symington, Kachin Vocabulary, s. v.

1893. — "Kyat, a kyat or tical, a weight equal to four mats; before capital numerals akyat . . . . (2) kyat ḍōng ḍiṅgā, current (rupees) coin of the realm . . . . kyat-chēn . . . . weight by tical, weight estimated in ticals." — Stevenson, Bur. Dict., p. 217 f.


**SITKE.**

This word means literally "a chief in war," but has been used to denote an officer of varying functions and standing by the Burmese. The great variation of form which it has assumed in the works of foreign writers is due to attempts to pronounce the final difficult open ṑ of the word and the initial patal s. The presence of a superfluous final l in some forms will be remarked, and also the pronunciation of ṑ as ṕ, reversing the evidence under Yongdū, where ṕ has become sometimes ṑ or Ṙ.

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51 I may remark that pōčch ṭaṅkā pāiād = 1 Rupee and a quarter = 1 tical. Compare with this the statement in 1 Hunter, Peku, p. 85: — one tysal of 25 per cent. silver is esteemed equal in value to the Bengal Silver Rupee.

52 S however, the quotation under "1893," iv., fo.
1732. — "The man to whom she [a ship] had formerly belonged, laid claim to her, and on application to one of the Magistrates (I believe the Cheekaw) procured an order to stop from working ... the third officer is the Cheekaw, of whose peculiar department, if he has any distinct from his seat in Council, I know nothing." — Hunter, Pegu, pp. 47, 53.


c. 1735. — "To all Commanders of Garrisons and Governors of seaports, in like Virtue as to the Maywoon of Hennawu, (Pega) ... Commander of the Troops, whose title is Chekay." — Syms, Ava, p. 494.

1736. — "A Chekoy also came on board much about the same time, in a common boat: he is in the war department, and is superior to the other two." — Cox, Burmah Empire, p. 3.

c. 1805. — "This (Courtr) is composed of a Governor — a Zicchâ, or military commander." — Sangermano, p. 55.

c. 1824. — "He was standing, he said, near his Tsakkai, an officer of rank, when a huge ball of iron came singing 'tsek, tsek,' which he distinctly heard its flight, when, true to its mission, it burst upon the very man it was calling out for, the unfortunate Tsakkai." — Gouver, Prisoner in Burmah, p. 220.

1825. — "A letter from ... Talien (Taling) chieftains, dated about the 20th of December 1824, addressed to the following men ... Chekay (Major) Onpan, chief of Lanning." — Wilam, Documents, p. 142.

1833. — "He questioned me as to what I wanted here and wished to know why I had not brought letters to the Tsakay, etc." — Richardson's Journal, in Parl. Papers, East India, 10th Aug. 1869, p. 120.

1836. — "The Myowoon had deputed the Mogoung Taikai, a relative of his own, to await my arrival here and to furnish me with anything I might require." — Bagfield in Hill Tracts between Assam and Burmah, p. 140.

1836. — "The present Government of Mogoung consists of a Myowoon, or Governor; a tsakke, or military commander; eight Shan amats, or inferior officers, writers, etc." — Bagfield in op. cit. p. 183.

1836. — "The amats have compelled the Sekko to deliver over to their custody the whole of the serpentine mine revenue at present collected." — Bagfield in op. cit. p. 233.

1837. — "Received a letter from Dr. Richardson at Moulé, dated 6th of March. It was brought by some of the Tsitikê's people." — McLoud's Journal in Parl. Papers, East India, 10th Aug. 1869, p. 86.


1852. — "Two of the chief officers belonging to Kyouk-ghee, with two Tsekkays or assistants to Mongbwa, ex-Governor of Martaban, were brought in." — Laurie, Pegu, p. 599.

1853. — "Let this Royal proclamation be distributed among all the hereditary chieftains of Palaces and Umbrellas, the Tsakwus ... Taikês (Judges)." — Yule, Ava, p. 366.

1854. — "Within the Royal Kingdom all those that are under my Royal authority, ... governors of provinces, Tsitkus or lieutenants, and heads of divisions or circles, etc." — Yule, Ava, p. 367.

1864. — "Received a visit from the Tsitkai and officials." — Watson, Sulean Expedition, in Select Foreign Department Records, G. of L. No. 50, of 1865, p. 6.

1864. — "The town of Yê-mê-then or rather Yê-mê-xin, as the Taikai of the district writes it." — Fedden, Sulean Expedition, in op. cit. p. 31.

1867. "The Tsoetkay, or Governor of the district, came down some miles with several palling boats to meet us." — Dyche in op. cit. p. 41.


1876. "A tsakai can only move diagonally one move at a time, backward or forward (in Burmese Chess)." — Strettell, Fitas Elastica, p. 57. [In the illustration to p. 58 the word is spelt Sakay.]

1879. "The police report that Mong Moong [Monge], the Sitkhe [misprint for Sitkhe] of Minhla, has been ordered to collect 700 boatmen and arms there with muskets." — Parl. Papers, Burmah, (1886), [c. 4,614], p. 66.

1882. "The pieces are as follows (in Burmese chess): Min = one king; Sipko = one Lieutenant-General . . . Sipko can move diagonally in advance or retrograde one square at a time." — Scott, The Burman, p. 72 f.

1883. "If they have to settle timber accounts to have leave to come up to Mandalay with the Thitkyeitkyee Tsoekai . . . The Thitkyeitkyee Sit-kai has therefore been sent to call you all to give evidence in your case according to your knowledge and without fear." — Parl. Papers, Burmah, (1886), [c. 4,614], p. 183 f.

1883. "In order to attain this object they hired Nga Mongyee, the previous Tsi-tak of Thit Saigyee [Thitkyeitkyee of the last quotation] as their advocate . . . . Thitkyeitkyee Tsoekai, Ko Mong Gyea told again." — Parl. Papers, Burmah, (1886), [c. 4,614], pp. 185, 195.

1890. "The accused Manung Gyi and Manung Lat were respectively Moork of Taungnyo and Sitko of Thitcheikgyi [yet another form!] in the Ningyan district." — Parl. Papers, Burmah, No. 1, (1887), p. 160.

1893. "(Letter) to Moby Sith & directing him to proceed to Ngwelaung and superintend the working of the silver mines . . . From Sith & of Kale-Teinyin-Yazagy reporting the suppression of the disturbances at Mogaung . . . From Mone Sithgyi praying that the authority exercised by him as Military Superintendent of Mon & be not divided . . . From Theinny Sawbwa stating that he is administering his State in consultation with Sitkhe Nemyominha manaing appointed by His Majesty." — Thein Ko Hluttaw Records, pp. 4, 5, 6.

1893. "Sith & a lieutenant-general . . . a sitkhe is now a judicial officer of the subordinate judicial service. In the Burmese times a sitkhe is Upper Burma ranked next to a wun. There were two sitkhes in a wun's headquarters." — Stevenson, Bur. Dict. p. 367, 47

Yongdo,44

The wide divergence in the form which this word has assumed in the works of various writers is due, firstly to its being composed of two separate parts, Yong, a court or office, and

— There seem to be two separate radicals sit in Burmese: the one meaning "war, battle" the other meaning "to examine judicially." Hence probably the double, civil and military, senses in which the word sitkhe is used. See Stevenson's remarks under sitkhe, etc., on p. 260.

— The Government recognized spelling is Younaw. In this Journal I have adopted * to represent ai.
the honorific suffix to; secondly to the word Yong being in the vernacular spelt ruñi. It will be perceived that the, to most languages, difficult final open vowel ë, as in useful, has been pronounced and written ai and that this ai (= é) has also had a final superfluous ë added to it.

1688. — T. s. v. Ovidore in Suppl. — "(At Syriam) Ovidores (persons appointed to take notice of all passages in the Bunday [office of administration] and advise them to Ava) . . . Three Ovidores that always attend the Bunday, and are sent to the King, upon errands, as occasion obliges." — Fleechow's Diary in Dalrymple, Or. Rep. Vol. I. pp. 335, 360.

1739. — "There are no Fees, but what the Town contributes for the Maintenance of that Court, which in their Language is called the Rounday, and those contributions are very small." — A. Hamilton, East Indies, Vol. II. p. 49.

1781. — "Vita ciò nonostante nella Città reale un Senato, che in lor linguaaggio Bondai chiamano, nel quale si diffusissimo le controversie, che avvengono tra i privati." — Griffini, Percoto, p. 80.

1783. — "Le lendemain nous fumes au Bondail pour certifier nos déclarations; par respect pour ce lieu il faut se dénudar. Personne n'est exempt de cette humiliation." — Flower in Tonny Pao, Vol. I. p. 190.


1795. — "He met several masters of merchant ships, who informed him that they had received an order from the Broom, or public court, in which the council of Government assembled." — Smyser, Ava, p. 146.

c. 1805. — "The Lutti in the capital, and the Ion or Bondai of the provincial cities, then exact, from the heads of the different places under their jurisdiction, not only the number of men ordered by the Emperor, but also a certain quantity more." — Sangermano, p. 77.

1817. — "An old Burmese woman, in the service of an European gentleman, was cited before the Bung-d'haan, or court of justice at Rangoon." — Craigford, Ava, p. 407.

c. 1824. — "'They will be of no use to you,' urged the considerate guardsmen; 'they are going to carry you to the Letnna-Yoon Tonnya — the Death Prison!" — Gouger, Prisoner in Burma, p. 149.

c. 1824. — "There was another Court of Justice in the city called the Yoong-dau, presided over by the Myawoon, or Governor of the town, answering to our police-court." — Gouger, Prisoner in Burma, p. 57.

1826. — "Kaulien Mengyi came forward and avowed that he was not present, but that he had gone as far as the Bung-d'haan, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion." — Craigford, Ava, p. 257.

1826. — "Bandula replied — 'In eight days I will take my dinner in the Bungdau, or public hall, of Rangoon and afterwards return thanks at the Shwedagon Pagoda.'" — Craigford, Ava, Appz., p. 69.

1826. — "About eleven o'clock we had a summons to proceed to the Raundaw." — Wilson, Documents, p. 217.

1827. — "An elephant was appropriated to each of the English gentlemen, and the procession moved on until arriving at the Bingdau, or hall of justice, which is to the east side of the Palace." — Wilson, Documents, xxxviii.

1827. — "Only two wooden houses existed much superior to the rest, and these were the Palace of the Maywoon and the Rounday, or Hall of Justice." — Trant, Two years in Ava, p. 27.

1831. — "Hall of Justice, Yon-daw." — Lane, Eng.-Burm. Dict. s. v. Court.

1845. — "The Burmese cannot pronounce y but as y. Thus Boong, Noon, and Room and Yoong, Yoon and Yoom, 'a hall of justice' are found interchangeably written." — Latter, Bur. Grammar, p. 178.
1851. — "Yong, a court house, place where justice is administered, seldom used singly." — Judson, Bur. Dict., s. v.

1855. — "No investigation shall take place, or decision be given, in civil suits at the inner or upper or Royal Courts (Royal Criminal Court) or at the Yoom-dau; all such cases should be made over to the Tara-Yoom (or Civil Court) . . . . All criminal cases shall be inquired into and decided at the Eastern Hall of Justice (Yoom-dau)." — Yule, Ava, p. 364.

1855. — "Within the Royal Kingdom all those that are under my Royal authority, the Hlwoitbau (Supreme Court), Yoom-dau (Inferior Court), Tsanwbas, . . . ." — Yule, Ava, p. 367.

1870. — "The authorities in our immediate vicinity are the Yoons of Zimmay." — Coryton, Letter to China through Moulmein, Appx. v.

1882. — "Civil appeal cases sent from the Yohnsaw or Criminal Court, where the Mywoons (city-burden), usually two in number, sit daily: from the Tayah-Yohn, the Civil Court." — Scott, the Burmans, p. 243 f.

1893. — "Yong, s., a court-house, place where justice is administered; v. to collect, assemble, gather together, [see] sa; seldom used singly." — Stevenson, Bur. Dict. p. 936.

9.

Barter and Non-metallic Currency.

To enter on a discussion on the steps made by mankind from barter to non-metallic currency, and thence to metallic currency and coinage would be necessarily to take up a subject as wide as the world, and it is not my intention in these pages to go further than to discuss it only so far as it concerns the Burmese and their neighbors. A good and short statement of the whole question is to be found in Ridgeway's Origin of Currency, p. 10 ff.

A good many references have performer been already made to barter in its various forms, and it will be sufficient here to point out how far and in what shape it exists in Burma now, or has existed, so far as the materials at my command permit me. In doing this an opportunity will present itself of shewing to what extent the customs of the Burmese illustrate the general subject.

Professor Terrien de la Conerie in the introduction to his Catalogue of Chinese Coins, p. xx. f., gives an elaborate table of the "shapes of currency from barter to money," in which he enumerates 31 different descriptions of currency, beginning with gems and winding up with "the recent octagonal money of Belgium." He divides his 31 kinds of currency into three chief heads — natural, commercial, industrial; but he leaves out of account the preliminary step of barter of general produce, which has always existed and does still exist among the more primitive races of mankind. Of this first step we have an exceedingly quaint and withal typical description in its earliest forms in Olearius, Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors to Muscovy, Tartary, Persia, etc., p. 73, of Davies' Translation (1672). After telling us (p. 69), that "the Author, who hath made one digression, to speak of the Samojedes, though not falling under the Subject of his Travels, thinks he may make another, to say somewhat of Greenland," goes on to state: — "There is no money in the Country, being so happy as not to know the value of Gold and Silver. Iron and Steel they most esteem, and prefer a Sword or a Hatchet before a Golden Cup, a Nail before a Crown piece, and a pair of Cisers, or a Knife, before a Jacobus. Their trucking is thus; they put all they have to sell together, and having picked out among the Commodities that are brought to them, what they like best, they put them also together, and suffer those they deal with to add or diminish till such time as they are content with the bargain."
For my present purpose I cannot follow de la Coubere in his classification, and it will be more convenient to consider the many points that will present themselves in the following order:

I. — Barter generally.

II. — Natural produce:

(1) Rice.
(2) Salt.
(3) Cotton.
(4) Mulberries.
(5) Coconuts.
(6) Livestock.

III. — Manufactured Articles:

(1) Tea-bricks.
(2) Skins.
(3) Cloth.
(4) Drums.
(5) Glass jars.
(6) Pottery.
(7) Ingot iron and articles of iron.
(8) Gold and silver trees.

IV. — Conventional Currency:

(1) Cowries.
(2) Paper.

Barter generally. — Now, although de la Coubere says nothing as to general barter in China in his *Chinese Coins*, as above shewn, he has, at p. 13 f., of his *Old Numerals and the Swapan (Abacus) in China*, an interesting, and in the present connection instructive, outline account of the history of barter in China. "Barter, in China, as everywhere else, preceded coinage. Gold, silver, copper, silk-cloth, tortoise-shell, precious stones, grains and shells of some kind, were used for that purpose, according to certain regulations afterwards introduced for the measures and equivalents of weight. Various sorts of small implements or tools in bronze, more convenient to pass from hand to hand, were soon preferred to the other materials. Tradition attributes the casting of that kind of objects in ancient times only for the sake of the people impoverished by droughts or otherwise. Small spades, adzes and knives, improper for the work for which their shape was intended, and later on, flat rings, were multiplied and entered into currency. Trustworthy statements are, however, scanty. Strict regulations for the barter were issued after the establishment of the Tchun Dynasty (Eleventh Century B. C.). At the beginning of the Sixth Century Tchwang, King of Tsa (one of the States of the Chinese Confederation), attempted, without success, to make all this differently sized bullion exchangeable, indiscriminately, regardless of its weight. It was the first attempt in China of a fiduciary money."

In Burma proper, habits of general barter have been noticed by many travellers. A typical instance is to be found among the Kachins in Anderson's *Mandalay to Mowrman*, p. 419: "The *taewba-gadaw* (chief's wife) of Woonkah duly arrived with her gift of fowls, eggs and sheroa (Kachin beer), and received broadcloth and other presents, with which she speedily disappeared, not without grumbling that she had not been paid in money for her fowls." Again at p. 374, he talks of the Kachins "coming down to barter their goods for salt and *ngape* (fish condiment)."

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49 One can hardly help taking these very early dates quantum satis.
This was in 1875, and in the following year, Strettell (Ficus Elastica, p. 125 f.), journeying among the Pwons, found that they took slaked lime to Bhamo, which they bartered for cloth or articles of food. "The late Mr. Graham, agent of the firm of Sutherland and Mackenzie, joined me here. He was hurrying up the river in a loung (canoe) to establish a bartering system of trade with the people, which he seemed to think would prove a most remunerative business. He had with him a good supply of Manchester piece-goods, twist, thread, etc., which he intended advancing — as he went along — on promise of ivory, amber, etc., etc." Strettell (p. 165) found also that while the Burman of the plains paid tribute to the King in Rupees (asii, ticka), the Kachins of the hills paid in slaves, amber and ivory. At p. 187, he tells us he met a party of Kachins (Singphoes) from the amber mines with their yearly tribute:— "four pairs of elephant tusks, a pair of amber idols, five spears, and two golden cocks (pheasants)."

Turning to a wild people at the other extremity of Burma, we find the following statement in Wilson's Documents of the Burmese War, p. ix., quoting from the Government Gazette, March 2, 1828, about the Selungs, there called "Chalones and Pase": — "They scarcely know the value of money, and are, therefore, losers in the bartering trade with the Chinese and others who visit them. Perhaps they think themselves the greater gainers, since they give products of no use to them for others of vital importance, and are, thereby, enabled to maintain a degree of wild independence." Of this unequal commerce Dr. Anderson in his Selungs of the Mergui Archipelago, pp. 23, 27, etc., gives a graphic account. "These poor creatures gather "black coral," eagle-wood and so on, which they exchange for a little cloth, paddy, tobacco, and perhaps 'the smell of opium' now and then, valued at not a fifth of what they give in exchange."

Among the wild tribes of the Chin Hills and the difficult country between the Burmese and Assamese low-land tracts barter is of course the rule, and innumerable instances could be culled from the big bluebook on the Lushai Expeditions of 1872, but for the present purpose it will be sufficient to quote the following statements from other sources. In a memoir on the Eastern Frontier of Sylhet by Lieut. T. Fisher, to be found in Wilson's Documents, 1827, at p. xxxv., we find that the "Pytoon Kookies, who settled near the South-East Frontier of Sylhet, export yearly a quantity of strong cotton cloth called kashe, which is manufactured by their women. This they exchange for raw cotton, tobacco, copper and iron." In the Government Papers entitled Hill Tracts between Assam and Burma, p. 103, we find Capt. Haanay in 1836 noting that in return for amber "the Chinese sometimes pay in silver, but they also bring with them warm jackets, carpets, straw-hats, copper pots and opium, which they give in exchange. They also barter their merchandise for ivory and gold dust, but only in small quantities... I understand that within the last few years several of them have gone to Assam with gold dust, ivory and a little silver, for which they receive in return muskets, cloth, spirits and opium." The people, however, who thus dealt in general barter were "Singfos," i.e., Kachins. But in regarding these "middle mountaineers," as the Burmese call them, Dr. Brown in his Statistical Account of Manipur, p. 89, oddly remarks in 1873, "besides coin, bartering articles in the bazar is quite common." And lastly Woodtherpe in his Account of the Lushai Expedition in 1871-2 tells us, p. 182, "we were frequently visited by large numbers of Lushais from Chepni and Tingridum, bringing in fowls, yams, and eggs for barter, worth following up.
the articles most coveted in exchange being cloth and salt.” In this last quotation brings us close to conventional barter, a stage beyond a general exchange of articles as convenience prompts, and so leaving the matter here as regards the Western frontier of Burma, let us return to the Eastern.

In Colquhoun’s *Amongst the Sānas* we find, p. 51, that the villagers of Zimmé paid taxes in cloth, chillies and safflower: taxes being a pretty sure indication of barter values. At p. 60 we are told that the small tribe of the Kakkis “are said to pay no taxes, but make presents of mats, cloths and other articles to the Chiefs and supply them with rice when they travel, as well as carry their baggage.” In the Appendix to Vol. II. of *Acros Chryse* there is an interesting translation of a Chinese MS. account of the Kwei-Chan Miao-tzu dated about 1730. It is practically an account of various Shān tribes, and throughout it are allusions to barter values in various forms, which the following will sufficiently indicate. A tribe, therein called the Kau-erh Lung-Kia (p. 369), “after the spring-time stick a small tree in a field, which they call the ‘Demon-stick.’” There is a gathering around this stick and a dance, and then engagements are made and they go away. If a young woman afterwards wishes to break off her engagement she has to redeem herself by giving an ox and a horse. After this she has to use a go-between.” Again, at p. 374, we are told that the Chu-sí Kek-lao “always have their revenge on an enemy. If they are not strong enough they engage some one to assist them by the bribe of an ox or some wine.” Although to continue the quotation is a little beyond our present point, it is so quaint that I cannot forbear: — “Those who have strength will first eat some meat and drink some wine, and then they do not mind if they are killed in the revengeful act. Those in the district of Taing-ping are better: they have entered into an agreement with the Chinese!”

That in Siam two hundred years ago everything could be procured by barter we have interesting evidence from a complaint, noticed by Anderson, in *English Intercourse with Siam*, p. 170, from the East India Company’s Inspectors that copper and tin could not be bartered for in Ayuthia in 1681 because of a royal monopoly in those articles. At p. 421 ff. of his excellent book Dr. Anderson gives as much as he could read of a “Report on the Trade of Siam” written in 1678 and attributed to the factor, George White; and from this we have a confirmation of the general nature of the barter system then prevalent in Ayuthia. At p. 425, this valuable document states: — “The ships from Suratt and Coromandel, bring cargoes of ser: sorts of Callicoes prop for y: vse of y: Country and Exportation to Japan, China and Manillah, w: they barter for Tynn, Copp., Tutinague, and Porcellaine.” In 1822 Crawford found the Siamese poll tax paid “in some parts of the country by a commutation in certain of the rude produce peculiar to each province, as sapan-wood, wood, of aloes, saltpetre, ivory, and peltry.”

Going further East we find that an acute observer, De Morga, stating (Hak. Soc. Ed. pp. 302, 324) that, among the Philippine Islanders in the later 16th Century, “their usual way of trade was by barter of one thing for another, in provisions, cloths, cattle, fowls, lands, houses, crops in the ground and slaves; also fisheries, palms, nipa trees and woods,” and again that tribute was paid “in the produce which they possessed, gold, wrappers, cotton, rice, bells, fowls and the rest of what they possessed or gathered.”

Lastly to show that precisely the same ideas and customs flourish to the present day among Asiatic peoples, when circumstances and civilization permit, I quote a Russian account of Turkestan as it now is: — “From this cursory examination of the natural productions of the

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54 The fluxes inflicted by the Expedition were, as usual, in terms of the local currency or exchange: — e. g., rice, metanas (cattle), pigs, goats, and fowls (pp. 293, 295); and in the *Peri. Papers* on the subject passim.
55 A “soving custom,” worth reading by the Folk-lore Society, and also as a primitive form of employment.
Khivan oasis we find that the inhabitants export to Russia and Bokhara, cotton, silks, fruits, hides, fish, wool and woollen manufactures, carpets and rugs. With the nomads they barter wheat, rice, barley and articles of dress for cattle, and wool; with Bokhara they exchange their horses for green tea and tobacco; from Russia they receive manufactured articles, iron ware and sugar.  

Instances and quotations might be gathered to an indefinite extent from the observations of travellers and residents in the East, and I have merely endeavoured to show in the above cases that the inhabitants of Burma have acted, or still act, in the matter of general barter after the manner of their neighbours, and that where barter of general produce obtains without the medium of a recognised currency the scale of civilization is very low.

Perhaps one of the most important observations yet made on the effect of a general system of exchange by barter on the administration of a country is to be found in Soppitt’s *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 19, which I will here quote in full, owing to the very valuable light it throws on the subject under discussion. Mr. Soppitt says: — “Among a people with no coinage of their own and situated for a number of years in a part of the country (North Cachar) far removed from centres of trade and means of communication with civilized people, money was naturally scarce, and it was necessary to accept fines and revenues, paid in kind, as equivalent to the payment in actual coin. A small store of money was kept at the Court, but little was current among the ordinary villagers. A regular scale for fines and revenue was, therefore, drawn up, shewing the value of the various domesticated animals kept by the people, with price of liquor, etc. The following was the scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A big pig</td>
<td>Rs. 1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cock and two small hens</td>
<td>0 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 big hens and 4 small...</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeons (each)</td>
<td>0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ducks (each)</td>
<td>0 8 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor (per lao)</td>
<td>0 4 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A big conch shell</td>
<td>10 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A bull mithen (<em>bos frontalis</em>)</td>
<td>10 0 0 to Rs. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A cow mithen</td>
<td>10 0 0 to &quot;15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A big buffalo</td>
<td>10 0 0 to &quot;16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A he-goat</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A she-goat</td>
<td>1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dog</td>
<td>0 4 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following pages Mr. Soppitt gives some extremely interesting instances of prices in terms of the above articles, and further shews the extent to which similar valuations were, and are still, carried on, by quoting instances to prove that a "year's labour has risen in scale value from Rs. 15 to Rs. 60."

Also in Mrs. Wylie's *Gospel in Burma*, at p. 383 f., there is a very interesting quotation from a letter of Dr. Mason, dated 1858, showing how public affairs are managed by a people but partially introduced to a fixed currency. The letter gives an account of the commencement of the now flourishing Karen schools in Toungoo, and it describes how the necessary buildings came to be erected by public subscription. The form that the subscriptions took is thus described: “For these the Karens contributed:

- Rapées in cash, 970
- Elephant, 1
- Goats, 3
- Pigs, 4

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NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

Malcolm, the American Missionary traveller, tells us that in Lower Burma about the time of the War of 1824, the Native Government constantly levied fines on the value of the human body, and in p. 261 of his Travels, Vol. II., he gives the scale of valuation:—

"A new-born male child ... ... ... 4 tickals  
A new-born female child ... ... ... 3 "  
A boy ... ... ... ... ... 10 "  
A girl ... ... ... ... ... 7 "  
A young man ... ... ... ... ... 30 "  
A young woman ... ... ... ... ... 35 "

Of rich persons twice these prices are exacted; and of principal officers still larger sums, rapidly increasing in proportion to rank."

To the above I can add a little evidence of my own from the Nicobar Islands. In 1896, I had occasion to purchase a piece of land, measuring about 8½ acres, from the Chief of Mys in Car Nicobar, on behalf of the Government of India, for a meteorological station and Government agency. For this piece of land I paid the Chief on the 21st March, 1896—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Suits of black cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Piece of red cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Bags of rice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Packets of China tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Bottles of Commissariat rum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE NICOBARESE.

BY E. H. MAN, C.I.E.

(Continued from p. 223.)

No. 2.

Bark Cloth.

No attempt has yet been made by the Nicobarese to weave cloth. This may be explained by the fact that, in consequence of the equable nature of their climate, their absolute requirements in this respect are, to say the least, limited; and their needs have for generations past been supplied by traders from the neighbouring continents, who here barter calico and colored handkerchiefs, as well as other articles, for cargoes of coconuts.

Moreover, while in the southern portion of the Nicobar Islands it has been customary from remote times, both among the coast and inland communities, to manufacture bark-cloth for purposes of clothing, it has been the practice among the women of Chowra, Teressa and Bampoka — where foreign trade has heretofore been slack — to wear thick fringe-like skirts of split coconut-leaves, called hinong (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 47).
The use of bark-cloth for clothing is now-a-days almost entirely confined to women — and to those only of the Southern group — when in mourning, this being the result of the greater facility now afforded the inhabitants of Great Nicobar and the adjacent islands for procuring calico direct from trading-vessels, a larger number of which now visit the islands in consequence both of the extension of the coconutt plantations and of the immunity from the risks experienced in former years from disputes or misunderstandings with the natives.

This bark-cloth, which goes by the name of ok-bo, is of a somewhat similar character to that manufactured by the inland tribes of the Malayan peninsula and Sumatra, but, being of a darker shade, more nearly resembles coarse, newly-tanned leather. It is sufficiently flexible and durable to be used for purposes of clothing, sleeping-mats, pillow-covers and the like for considerable time (ante, Vol. XXIV. p. 134).

It is only occasionally that the men engage in the work of preparing this material, in the manufacture of which women, therefore, usually excel. The tree which provides the necessary substance is believed to be the Ficus breviscapa. The size of the pieces of bark taken from the tree depends on the requirements of the manufacturers.

A large strip, say, 7 to 8 feet long by about 3 to 4 feet wide, is apparently generally preferred. This is carefully removed by means of a chisel and, while still fresh, green and pliant, the outer skin is with little difficulty stripped off with the edge of the same implement without injury to the inner bark, which is then ready for the next process. This consists in beating the inner bark on a large flat stone with the edge of a small paddle-shaped mallet, first diagonally in one direction, and then transversely, the work being subsequently repeated on the other side of the bark, the object of course being to thoroughly disintegrate the pulpy substance adhering to the fibres, and thereby to render the material flexible and suitable for the purposes above-mentioned. When a large piece of bark is being prepared, this part of the process proves tedious and exhausting, as may be judged from the fact that a small piece about 18 inches square, which I saw dealt with, was still insufficiently beaten after some 20 minutes of hard work.

When the bark is sufficiently dressed, the now pliant material is conveyed to a pool of fresh water, where it is left to soak for about half-an-hour, after which time it is removed and again spread upon a large smooth stone by the operator, who proceeds to express all moisture by means of a suitable cylindrical stone. When this is accomplished to her (or his) satisfaction the material is hung up to dry in the sun, and is ready for use in a few hours.

No attempt is made to ornament the substance thus produced. Specimens are sometimes sought as curiosities or as barter by the natives of the Central Group, who also occasionally use this material for sleeping-mats, pillows and fighting-hats; but they do not — and, from all accounts, never did — as has been incorrectly asserted, apply it for purposes of clothing.

The Nicobarese have no knowledge of the art of knitting, and no plaited fringes or other articles of personal clothing or ornament are manufactured by them of cord or fibre of any description.

No. 3.

Cannibalism.

Almost incredible as it may appear to those at all acquainted with these Islanders, there is reason to believe, both from their own statements and those of the Swedish traveller Keopin (1646), that at least a small section of their community was addicted to cannibalism so recently as in the 17th, if not the 18th, Century A. D.

According to Fontana (1778), Keopin wrote as follows regarding his visit to the Nicobars: — "Having sent a boat on shore with five men, who did not return at night as expected, the day following a larger boat was sent, well manned, in quest of their companions, Specimens of bark-cloth have been supplied to the following Museums among others: — British Museum, South Kensington Museum, Kew Herbarium, University Museums at Oxford and Cambridge, Maidstone Museum, the Ethnological Museums at Florence, Paris, Leipsig, and Leyden, the Imperial & Royal Museum of the Court at Vienna, and the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

25 Asiat. Researches, Vol. III., Article VII.
who, it was supposed, had been devoured by the savages, their bones having been found strewed on the shore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away."

The statements made to me many years ago by the natives of Nanowry Harbour, as noted down at the time, are to the effect that, on a portion of the site of the former Indian Government Settlement near the south-eastern extremity of Camorta Island and in the vicinity of the small British government-yard, there stood a village called Chayaha, the remains of which were seen by those living about ninety years ago. The inhabitants of this village, although of the same race as their neighbours, were alone anthropophagi, preying upon such individuals of the other villages as they succeeded in surprising, and presumably also upon such strangers as ventured near their portion of the Harbour. It having at length been decided that something must be done to put a stop to this evil, a menisana (i.e., a shaman) of Oal-ta-meak village (Malacca) one day collected a quantity of wasps (tlo) in a leaf-wraper which he took, with some fish, to Chayaha, where he found a lad, who told him that all the villagers were absent, working in their gardens. The menisana thereupon instructed the lad to give them the fish on their return and, when all the party were assembled, to divide amongst them the contents of the parcel. The result of course was that the wasps, on being released, attacked everybody present, one only of whom—a youth, who had the sense to cover his head with a cooking-pot—escaped by swimming across the Harbour to Itoe village. It is added that none of those stung by the wasps recovered from their injuries. This alleged incident, at any rate, is credited with having been the means of ridding the people of their objectionable neighbours. The lad who escaped is described as having prolonged his life only by a few days, as he excited the suspicions of a woman, in whose hut he had taken refuge, by licking her back, after wiping off, at her request, the perspiration which streamed from her while engaged in preparing Pandanus paste. On this strange conduct being reported to the woman's husband he resolved to put a stop to it, and he accordingly procured a poisonous fish, known by the name of tiitch, which was cooked and introduced into the boy's food, causing his death. Another version has it that two lads, escaped from the wasps to Itoe where, in consequence of their manifesting a predilection for human flesh, they were beaten to death.

In connection with the foregoing, the following passage from the letters of the Moravian missionary, J. G. Haensel, who resided between 1779-87 principally at Nanowry and close to the village of Oal-ta-meak, would seem to possess some significance:—"They insisted that they were good by nature, and never did anything wrong, as we well knew. When we replied, that we knew that they had but lately murdered some people, and afterwards abused the dead bodies, each thrusting his spear into them, mutilating them in the most wanton manner, and at last cutting them to pieces, and asked them whether this was a proof of their natural goodness, their answer was—'That you do not understand; those were people not fit to live, they were gomoy, cannibals'"

In view of these statements it is curious that, so far as I know, no hint of the existence of cannibalism at the Nicobars should be found in the accounts of other writers, and that, supposing the practice to have been continued even no later than a time within the memory of some living during Haensel's stay, no reference is made to it in his published writings.

No. 4.

Swimming.

As compared with the Andamanese and the majority of other maritime races within the tropics, the Nicobarese are by no means distinguished for skill either in the art of swimming or of diving. They are, therefore, far from meriting the extravagant praise which, in all apparent seriousness and good faith, has been bestowed upon their achievements in this respect by an accomplished writer, who paid a short visit to the various islands of the group about 25 years ago.

The passage referred to occurs in Stray Feathers and makes mention of a well-known character—still the head-man of one of the principal villages in Nanowry Harbour—whom the
writer describes as seen by him "stark naked and looking the veriest savage imaginable, darting head foremost from his canoe, and catching the fish with his hands, as only these islanders can. According to their ideas any fool can plunge into the water and seize a single passing fish, but what does require skill is to plunge and come up with two large fish, the forefinger and thumb of each hand firmly fixed in the eye-sockets of a different fish. This, the Nicobarese hold to be something like fishing, and in still water you can hardly keep a Nicobarese in the canoe if he chances to spy two good sized fishes passing below in such relative positions as to render this feat practicable."

It may safely be asserted that it has never entered the imagination of a Nicobarese even to meditate, much less attempt, the performance of such a feat as that described with such vraisemblance.

From the fact that, with the exception of the Shom-Peñ tribe, the villages of the Nicobarese are situated either on the coast or in close proximity thereto, their children as might naturally be supposed, frequently disport themselves in the shallow water in front of their huts, whereby gradually acquiring a certain degree of confidence and learning to swim and dive without actual instruction from their seniors. In the absence, however, of any necessity or other incentive to attain excellence in the art, there exists in this easy-going, indolent race little or no spirit of emulation, such as might prompt them at least to strive to acquire a reputation for skill. No swimming races, or games in which swimming enters, are practised amongst them. From their statements it seems that they are chiefly deterred from frequent swimming and diving by their dread of sharks which have, though on rare occasions, been known to attack and wound some unfortunate of their acquaintance.

As a result it is found that but few among them will venture to swim further than about a quarter of a mile, and then only owing to some emergency or for some coveted prize; and, if any greater distance were attempted, the man would be deemed foolhardy, who omitted to provide himself with a small buoyant log — such as a billet of Sterculia alata — wherewith to assist him in keeping himself afloat. They never attempt to remain under water a long time, and the idea of competing with others in doing this would scarcely suggest itself to any of them.

Though swimming on the breast, on the side, and on the back are methods known and practised by some, the most common mode of progression is the hand-over-hand stroke. The only known occasion on which a member of the inland tribe of Great Nicobar (Shom-Peñ) was seen to swim — and that for a few yards only — he showed himself to be a complete novice in the art by imitating the action of a dog in the water.

Even among the coastmen there are some who neglect to acquire the art or, having acquired it in their youth, rarely (if ever) practise it in later years. As may be supposed, among the women the accomplishment is possessed in a still less degree, due presumably to the fact that in their case the need of its exercise is rarely experienced.

When a Nicobarese has occasion to dive to a depth of ten feet or less, he jumps into the water feet foremost, but on the comparatively rare occasions that some among them dive to such a depth as three or four fathoms — as when desirous of securing a Tridacna which they have espied, or of recovering a di or other valued object, which has fallen overboard — they take a header. On no occasions do they take weights in order to assist them in descending more rapidly and easily.

No. 5.

Astronomy.

In writing about the Nicobarese, Fontana28 (cir. 1778) expressed his belief that "the idea of years and months and days is unknown to them, as they reckon by moons only, of which they number fourteen, seven to each monsoon." This statement, however, requires some modification.

27 Of this wood the outriggers of their canoes are constructed. 28 Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, Art. VII.
1. Divisions of the Year.

The greater divisions of time are reckoned by monsoons (shom-en-gah, or shon-en-gah). As each monsoon lasts six months, more or less, two successive shom-en-gahs represent approximately one solar year. Roughly speaking, the South-West monsoon (sho-hong) continue from May to October inclusive, and the North-East monsoon (jul) from November to April. In order, therefore, to denote a period equivalent to our solar year the Nicobarese describe it either as du (two) shon-en-gah or as keng (one) jul keng sho-hong.

The monsoons are subdivided into lunar months (kahé) and, as the change of monsoon may take place during the course of the “moon” in April-May and of that in October-November, fourteen terms are in use for the purpose of indicating the possible number of lunations, or fractions thereof, which can occur in the two monsoons. The terms are as follow, the first fire in each monsoon invariably occurring in the order given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.-W. Monsoon (Sho-hong)</th>
<th>N.-E. Monsoon (Ful)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shih ........................ (about Apr-May)</td>
<td>Kikak-tok ............ (about Oct-Nov)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammaa ........................ (&quot; May-June)</td>
<td>Tü-it ................. (&quot; Nov-Dec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chani ....................... (&quot; June-July)</td>
<td>Hamak ................ (&quot; Dec-Jun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danah-pcab ................... (&quot; July-Aug)</td>
<td>Mitosha .............. (&quot; Jan-Feb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manah(k)-nga-pob ................... (&quot; Aug-Sept)</td>
<td>Mokchak ............. (&quot; Feb-Marj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanih and, or, ................ (&quot; Sept-Oct)</td>
<td>Danah-kapah and, or, } (&quot; March-Aprj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lah-meluh ..................</td>
<td>Kabah-chui(j)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, at the termination of the Manah(k)-nga-pob Moon, the weather prove stormy the new moon is called Lanih, but if the weather be mild and indicative of an early change of monsoon it is called Lah-meluh. Similarly, at the corresponding period in the N.-E. monsoon, the sixth Moon is called Danah-kapah; if there appears to be no likelihood of an early change in the direction of the wind, and Kabah-chui(j) in the contrary case.

When the change of monsoon occurs, the name of the “moon” then running is changed to that of the first “moon” of the new monsoon; hence it generally happens that Shih and Kikak-tok continue only for a fraction of a “moon,” viz., for the unexpired period of the “moon” during which the change in the direction of the wind occurred. By this means the error which arises from adopting the lunar year of thirteen complete lunar months is avoided. The chief point for the stranger to bear in mind is that the reckoning is by half-years, and not years, so that in referring to a period of 7 shon-en-gahs 3½ solar years (approximately) would be meant.

In like manner at Car Nicoar they have the following fourteen terms to denote the possible number of lunations or fractions thereof in the course of the two monsoons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.-W. Monsoon (Mes-sunga)</th>
<th>N.-E. Monsoon (Komfuata)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ihue .......................... (about Apr-May)</td>
<td>Tás-síla ................ (about Oct-Nov)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penyai-tong-makek .......... (&quot; May-June)9</td>
<td>Teng-tak-ken-chîta ..... (&quot; Nov-Dec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra-nângu .................... (&quot; June-July)</td>
<td>Kâ-cînu-ngarit .......... (&quot; Dec-Jan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenbî-lung-kunêta .......... (&quot; July-Aug)</td>
<td>Inôka-tî-wiê ................ (&quot; Jan-Feb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenrû (d)-ngaron-kampô ............. (&quot; Aug-Sept)</td>
<td>Kên-hût-taang-kông ........ (&quot; Feb-Marj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha-nâh-êe and, or, .......... (&quot; Sept-Oct)</td>
<td>Kên-hût-mîrânga and, or, } (&quot; March-Aprj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâ-nâi(t)-el-tu-ôka } (&quot; Sept-Oct)</td>
<td>Lân-nun-nga-el-kût-tî-jawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 A period equal to a lunation is styled kasa-hêna (from kahê, moon, and kâ, time), hence, for example, the period from the full-moon in Shih to the full-moon in Chani would be spoken of as âk kasa-hêna (not âk kahê) two lunar months.

At this island (Car Nicoar) custom prescribes a day of rest (called con-î-jêh) on the 7th day of the moon, at full-moon, and on the 22nd day of the moon, but only in those “mounths” marked *. From their long intercourse with Burman traders and seamen there can be little doubt that the practice is traceable to the Burman institution of “worship-days” (ôk-kun) which, in addition to those above-mentioned, include the last day of the month, thereby numbering four in all.
The principal, if not the only, seasons which are recognized as such are (1) ženg-a-rāj, or dāi, the time when deciduous trees shed their foliage (March-April); (2) dāi-tāna-yābi, the time when young leaves (dāi or rāj) are formed on the same trees (May-June); (3) shana-sa-nā, which occurs in the first few weeks of the rainy season, when planting and cultivation are mostly attended to in the gardens; (4) bora-nāk, the season during which memorial-feasts (bora-nāk) are held, viz., Nov.-April; (5) kōj-hāpā; and (6) kōj-iū, the calm seasons in April and October respectively when traffic is chiefly carried on between the various islands. There is no method of indicating divisions or periods of time by crops.

Not only do the Nicobarese possess terms to denote the chief phases of each lunation, such as, the “first-quarter,” “full-moon,” and “last-quarter,” but, as will be seen from the following Table, they are able to indicate any particular day in a lunation as clearly as we could ourselves.

Terms employed for each day and phase of a lunation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>bā-hāng-she-kāhē</td>
<td>1st Quarter, bā-hāng-lā</td>
<td>oong-yūn-ga-she-kāhē, also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>ā-n-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full-moon, hokngāka-she-kāhē, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>lō-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td>fawā-she-kāhē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>fōo-she-kāhē</td>
<td>Last Quarter, kānāl</td>
<td>Waxing moon, hēn-nē-i-she-kāhē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>tānai-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waning moon, tennyu-she-kāhē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>tānai-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>issā-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>enfoā-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>shōm-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>bā-hāng-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>bā-hāng-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th</td>
<td>ā-n-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13th</td>
<td>lō-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14th</td>
<td>fōo-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th</td>
<td>tānai-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th</td>
<td>tānai-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th</td>
<td>issā-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th</td>
<td>enfoā-yām-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th</td>
<td>heṅg-hāng-she-kāhē (also</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th</td>
<td>bā-hāng-she-kāhē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21st</td>
<td>enfoā-nā-tāna-nga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd</td>
<td>issā-tāna-nga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd</td>
<td>tānai-tāna-nga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th</td>
<td>tānai-tāna-nga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25th</td>
<td>fōo-tāna-nga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th</td>
<td>oon-gāwa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27th</td>
<td>bā-nāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28th</td>
<td>bā-nāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29th</td>
<td>bā-nāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th</td>
<td>kanat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31st</td>
<td>kanat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 This refers to the first day of the new moon, provided she is visible.
22 Moonless nights. Kanat is employed on the 30th day if the moon be not then visible, and nightly after that should the moon be hidden by clouds or mist. It may thus be the 3rd or 4th day of the moon when she is first seen.
23 Lit., “one piece” (as said in reference to a fruit or vegetable).
24 This word also signifies “boar’s-tusk,” in obvious allusion to its crescent form.
The corresponding terms employed at Car Nicobar are as follows:

(a) Yanihí-chingaít (waxing-moon).
1st day, kāhōk-chingaít.
2nd " aneāt-chingaít, 2 days' old moon, kānel-hāun (lit., pig's-tusk).
3rd " lūe-chingaít.
4th " fan-chingaít.
5th " tani-chingaít.
6th " tafūal-chingaít.
7th " sāt-chingaít.
8th " hōohare-chingaít, 1st Quarter, tut-hā-lāl.
9th " maichūtare-chingaít.
10th " chāmānga-chingaít.

(b) Rōka-chingaít (whole or greater portion of moon).
11th day, kāhōk-sian-chingaít.
12th " aneāt-sian-chingaít.
13th " lūe-sian-chingaít or sādo-chingaít (day before full-moon).
14th " fan-sian-chingaít or chawī (or komtōpla)-chingaít (full-moon).
15th " taur-sian-chingaít or anō(che)-chingaít) (days immediately following full-
16th " tafūal-sian-chingaít or chuk̓yēs-chingaít) (moon.

(c) Drōnga-chingaít (waning-moon).
17th day, kāhōk-drōnga-chingaít.
18th " aneāt-drōnga-chingaít.
19th " lūe-drōnga-chingaít.
20th " fan-drōnga-chingaít.
21st " tani-drōnga-chingaít.
22nd " tafūal-drōnga-chingaít, Last Quarter, drōngte-chingaít.
23rd " sāt-drōnga-chingaít.
24th " hōohare-drōnga-chingaít.
25th " maichūtare-drōnga-chingaít.
26th " sam-drōnga-chingaít.

(d) Sānōwa-chingaít (disappearing moon).
27th day, kāhōk-sānōwa-chingaít.
28th " aneāt-sānōwa-chingaít.
29th " lūe-sānōwa-chingaít.
30th " fan-sānōwa-chingaít.

The period between the last appearance of the old moon and the first appearance
of the new moon is called sīya-ap-chingaít. It, therefore, corresponds to the term kūwat
in the dialect of the Central Group.

2. Division of the Day and Night.

The varying position of the sun at the same hour at different seasons is accounted for
in a somewhat singular and ingenious manner. It is thought that the rising of the sun north of
the east during the heavy squally weather of May, June, July and August is attributable to the violence of the S.-W. gales driving it towards that position (1); while the fact of its appearing south of the east during the rest of the year is, on the same principle, ascribed to the force of the N.-E. winds, then prevailing, which prevent the dawn from breaking uniformly in the same point of the horizon.

The property of the sun-dial is unknown to the Nicobarese. From the following list of terms used by them to indicate the various hours of the day and night it will be seen that their day is divided with regard to the position of the sun at different hours until sunset, while the period between sunset and sunrise is in like manner divided in reference to increasing darkness, supper-time, approach of midnight, midnight, deep sleep, approach of dawn, and dawn:

(1) Forenoon, — lá-hala-heng.

Sun-rise, dañáka-heng; hen-sūla-heng.

About 7 a.m., eínhla-kōi-hindōaha,  oar-laki (morning).

,, 8 ,,  kōi-hindōaha-ka.
,, 9 ,,  kōi-hindōaha-chōng.
,, 10 ,,  eínhla-kiṁheng.
or 11 ,,  eínhla-kīm'heng.

(2) Afternoon, — là-hanga-heng.

About noon, kām-heng.

,, 1 p.m., sharia-la-heng (or shadīa-ha-heng).
,, 2 ,,  chin-faicha-chōng.
,, 3 ,,  chin-faicha-ka.
,, 3-30 ,,  chin-faicha-ēnhase.
,, 4 ,,  heng-imat-miţa.
,, 5 ,,  heng-imat-ēnhase; also heng-kāmōt (tārt-tapping time).
,, 5-30 ,,  einhase-shup-heng.

(3) Evening.

Sunset, shup-heng.
,, shortly after, lādīa-y.
Twilight, eënha-puyū-e.
Dusk, puyū-e.

(4) Night.

About 7 p.m., puyū-e-tuchū; puyū-e-pō; also faneśmla-kambish (roosting time).
,, 7-30 ,,  hēi-mokngōk (supper-time).
,, 8 ,,  hēi-mokngōk-ka.
,, 9 ,,  hēi-mokngōk-chi'yā.
,, 10 and 11 p.m., eënha-yūng-hatōm.

Midnight, yūang-hatōm.

About 1 a.m., hen-chatna.
,, 2 ,,  ha-bōaka-chi'yā.u.
,, 3 ,,  ha-bōaka-ka.
,, 4 ,,  ha-bōaka.

Dawn, shortly before, eënha-puyū-e.
Dawn, puyū-u.
Sunrise, shortly before, chhang-i-oal.

In order to particularise a certain hour of the day to an alien unacquainted with their terms, a native will, by protruding his lips or by stretching out his hand, point to the position of the sun at the hour in question, and say, "dāhtare heng, thither sun."
At Car Nicobar the terms used arc as follows:—
Sun-rise, mànat-la-tâ-wîc; pîhû.  
Morning, ko-tâ-ten'-pîhû.  
Forenoon, tâ ran'-pîhû.  
Noon, sâ-kâm'.  
About 3 p.m., tâ-ran'-hârap.  
" 5 " ko-tâ-ten'-hârap.  
Sunset, mànat-ta-tâ-wîc.  
Evening, hârap.  
Dusk, parû'-yânât.  
About 9 p.m., arû-hârap.  
" 11 " kûn-meng'a-hâre.  
" midnight, chyâul-hâtâm.  
" 3 a.m., chinrû-ta-pû.  
" 4 " rô-hâiyam (lit., "cock-crow").  
" 4-30 " ãl-kâa-pû.  
Dawn, måuâka.  
Sunrise, shortly before, ta-pû.

There is an alternative method for indicating periods of time on moonlight nights, viz., by applying the terms used for daylight-hours with the substitution of kâhâ (moon) for keng (sun), and by adding kâhâ to those terms which are complete without the prefix or suffix of keng: e.g., dandâla-kâhâ, moon-rise; kâm-kâhâ, the meridian altitude of the moon; chin-faïka-chëng-kâhâ, two hours later (i.e., than kâm-kâhâ), etc. It will thus be apparent that the entire list of terms from dandâla-kâhâ to shup-kâhâ can be employed only at full-moon; and, as the equivalent clock-time of such of the terms as can be used on other nights during the lunation — both before and after full-moon — necessarily differs to the extent of some 50 minutes from that of the next preceding or succeeding night, it is necessary to note the exact phase of the lunation in order to determine whether the term employed refers to some hour before or after midnight.

The practice of reckoning length of time by nights (râm or dâm) instead of by days is usual but not universal. Ex.: enëisâ hûnga râm na karâh, he died 8 nights (lit., nights) ago; again, shôm-lê hala râm shô ta-yare chëng-hêg, the Steamer will return (southwards) 13 days (lit., nights) hence. In these examples shiûkâm (day) might be employed in place of râm.

3. Time and Distance.

In order to express any short period of time or to indicate the distance of some village or spot on the same island, the Nicobarese would say that it was one (or more, as the case might be) "betel-quad-taking-time," so that a halt or visit occupying some 15 minutes, or a walk of about a mile, would be described as "one betel-quad-taking-period." Ex.: âh kohîl hê maiyâ loî tâng, we all reached it — some place about 2 miles distant — in two betel-quad's time. Similarly, a walk of about 4 miles would be considered and described as equivalent to "4 betel-quad.s," and so on. But in order to convey an approximate idea of some distance by sea in a canoe (say, from 2 to 20 miles between one island and another) they say that it is one (or more) "young-coccault-drinks" distant. Thus a canoe trip of less than two miles would be spoken of as less than "one young-coccault-drink;" while a trip from Nancowry Harbour to Chowra would perhaps be regarded by the majority as one of 6 "young-coccault-

15 The substitution of t for l is all that distinguishes the word for "sunset" from that for "sunrise."

drinks," and so on, relatively, between any two other places according to distance. Experience, however, shows that just as the capacity for absorbing fluids and chewing betel-liquids varies considerably in different individuals, so also do terms of this nature, when used by them, differ not a little in significance; as however, there is no great call for exactitude, either in regard to time or space, in connection with their movements these rough methods of determining distance are ordinarily sufficient for all their requirements.

The explanation of the use of these terms is, as may be supposed, to be found in the fact that the Nicobarese invariably carry young coconuts in their canoes when making a trip of some duration, in order to assuage their thirst; while betel-chewing is a practice universally observed among them. The following may here be added as further examples of the same nature:

bōang kola-huūsaha .......... a few moments, lit., one holding-of-the-breath.
bōang hat-dōh-na-yōnga-heng... about one hour (of the day only), lit., less-than-one-stage-in-the-sun's-passage-across-the-sky.
bōang misōya-heng ........... about three hours (of the day only).
bōang molōnǐa-heng ......... about six hours (of the day only), lit., one-half of a day.
bōang muyōia-ūh ............. about three hours (of the night only), lit., the time taken in burning one small bundle of firewood.
bōang bat-pomik-ūh .......... about six hours (of the night only), lit., the time taken in burning one large bundle of firewood.

4. Points of the Compass.

The Nicobarese possess terms descriptive of the points of the compass, viz., ta37-ŋālē, North; ta37-ngange, South; ta37-ngālan, East; ta37-ŋaiche, West; and are in the habit of making use of their knowledge in this respect in the daily affairs of life than is deemed at all necessary among civilized communities. For instance, there is in all their dialects a very extensive list of words expressing "motion" or "direction," which require several the special suffix appropriate to its class, implying whether the direction or motion be northward, southward, eastward, westward or . . . . . towards the landing-place (ta37-ŋaiche). The result of this seemingly pedantic mode of expression is that most careful observance of the rules on the subject is at all times necessary, not only to convey a correct meaning, but in order to avoid conveying the directly opposite impression to that intended; while by inadvertently employing a suffix appertaining to another class the certain risk is incurred of being to a greater or less degree unintelligible.

The words indicating the four cardinal points are not derived from prevalent winds, nor is it possible at the present day to decide definitely as to their origin. No trace can be discovered of the derivation of the terms denoting "south" (ŋange) or "east" (ŋālan), but the word for "north" (ŋālē) signifies also "above," and that for "west" (ŋaiche) means also "below"; the latter would thus appear to be associated in the minds of these Islanders with some idea of the position of the setting-sun.

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24 Ex.: — from bōang 5i-ŋēi sa'ai leit teyv 5i, you two arrived here in 4 "young-coconut-drink," time.
25 In construction the particle is dropped.
26 As from the very nature of their mode of life they have frequent occasion to visit the landing-place of their respective villages, special provision to meet this want is made.
27 Where the speaker is in doubt as to the direction he wishes to indicate, or where exactitude of expression is immaterial, he employs a suffix which denotes direction or motion without reference to any particular point of the compass. These terms, therefore, are in most common use, especially among the less intelligent.
28 As a suggestion it may here be noted that in the same dialect "kola" denotes "hence" (in the future), and "hanya" expresses ago (past time), while their traditions speak of their having originally come from the south.
Table of certain common verbs and adverbs having suffixes indicating direction or motion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Like that</th>
<th>North (also Above) ta-ngile</th>
<th>South ta-ngange</th>
<th>East ta-nghashe</th>
<th>West (also Below) ta-ngaise</th>
<th>Landing-place ta-nghiše</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(of some object in a northerly direction) shirí ngile</td>
<td>(of some object in a southerly direction) shirí ngangá</td>
<td>(of some object in an easterly direction) shirí ngase</td>
<td>(of some object in a westerly direction) shirí nigaše</td>
<td>(of some object without reference to its direction) shirí nase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go</td>
<td>af-al</td>
<td>af-ang</td>
<td>af-ahat</td>
<td>af-ach</td>
<td>af-aini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascend a hill</td>
<td>af-al</td>
<td>af-aini</td>
<td>af-ath</td>
<td>af-ach (descend a hill)</td>
<td>af-anse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascend a hill</td>
<td>o-le</td>
<td>o-le, o-he</td>
<td>o-anse</td>
<td>o-anse (descend a hill)</td>
<td>o-anse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrive</td>
<td>tang-la</td>
<td>tang-ngashe</td>
<td>tang-hat</td>
<td>tang-anse</td>
<td>tang-ane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climb a tree</td>
<td>chiat-la</td>
<td>chiat-anse</td>
<td>chiat-anse</td>
<td>chiat-anse</td>
<td>chiat-anse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring</td>
<td>kai-hala</td>
<td>kai-hangase</td>
<td>kai-hangat</td>
<td>kai-hangase</td>
<td>kai-hangase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascend a ladder</td>
<td>chuk-lare</td>
<td>chuk-lare</td>
<td>chuk-lare</td>
<td>chuk-lare</td>
<td>chuk-lare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come</td>
<td>kai-lare</td>
<td>kai-ngare</td>
<td>kai-hare</td>
<td>kai-hare</td>
<td>kai-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hither</td>
<td>ool-lare</td>
<td>ool-ngare</td>
<td>ool-hare</td>
<td>ool-hare</td>
<td>ool-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thither</td>
<td>dah-lare</td>
<td>dah-ngare</td>
<td>dah-hare</td>
<td>dah-hare</td>
<td>dah-hare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Steering Courses by Sun and Stars.

The acquaintance of the Nicobarese with the heavenly bodies is very limited, and such little knowledge as they possess is confined to the more intelligent of the elders of the various communities who are able to identify a few of the more striking of the constellations, planets and stars, to wit, the Pleiades, Orion’s Belt, the Southern Cross, Ursa Major, and Venus.

When travelling by night—which usually is only done in the calm weather breaks (kai-kapá and kai-ilíe), occurring respectively in April and October—they take advantage of such knowledge as they possess of the position of certain stars in reference to the situation of the neighbouring islands, to steer their course thereby. The islands they are in the habit of visiting most frequently are in no case more than 43 miles distant—other cases ranging from 8 to 35 miles—and all care is taken to arrange such trips, whenever possible, only while calm weather is assured and during neap tides—in order to escape strong currents and dangerous tide-rips,—their dependence on the stars for guidance is limited to the first half of the longest voyages, after which intervening islets or lofty hills, which then loom in view, are naturally preferred as surer indications of the correctness of the course. In these night voyages the polar-star is chosen as a guide by the natives of the Central and Southern Groups when visiting Chowra and Nanowry respectively, and by the natives of Chowra when steering for Car Nicobar; while the Southern Cross directs the Car Nicobarese voyagers in their expeditions to Chowra, and also the natives of the Central Group in their trips to Little

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41 It should be mentioned that none but the elderly members of the community venture to betray any knowledge of this subject, it being among their superstitions that acquaintance or familiarity with such matters tends to shorten their lives, or at least to age them in some mysterious manner. It is consequently only from certain of the more intelligent of the old people that any trustworthy information on these points can be gathered.
Nicobar. Sometimes they steer their course by keeping one or other of these stars directly stern of the canoe. Save to this limited extent no attempt is made to utilize their observations of the movements of the planetary bodies.


I give here a diagram of the various terms used in order to denote the different winds. It should be mentioned that the term (makhai-chiam) applied in the diagram to the N, N.-W., and S. S.-E. winds implies “straight,” by reason of their proceeding direct from these two points where lie adjacent inhabited islands, i.e., Chowra, Teressa, and Bompoka on the one hand, and the Southern Group on the other; so that, making their voyages thitherwards during the prevalence of either of these winds, they knew that on one course or the other they can make sure of being driven straight to their destination.

With regard to the clouds, the Nicobarese have but one word to express the different formations of cirrus, cumulus, and stratus, viz., mifaiyu, while to denote nimbus they merely say mifaiya-ta-al, lit., a black cloud.

Diagram showing the terms used to denote the direction of the various winds.
Explanation.

A denotes the direction of the wind at the close of the N.-E. monsoon, and
B " " " " S.-W. "

When these veer to the opposite direction by way of the north, they are both included in the terms kāṁsh-ūṣa-la-kapā (lit., wind turning north).

C denotes the direction of the wind at the close of the N.-E. monsoon, and
D " " " " S.-W. "

When these veer to the opposite direction by way of the south, they are both included in the term kāṁsh-ūṣa-la-bhīṣa (lit., wind turning south).

The kāṁsh-jal, when blowing almost continuously from the N.-E. (say, from February to April), is described as kāṁsh-jal-tā.

Similarly, the kāṁsh-shokāng, when blowing continuously from the S.-W. (say, from January to September), is styled kāṁsh-shokāng-tā.

In naming any of the winds mentioned in the accompanying diagram the word "kāṁsh" (wind) is prefixed.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, K.C.I.E., L.C.S.

(Continued from p. 262.)

Earth Spirits. — Most of the bhûtas or deities of the Konkâns are supposed to live on the earth. Of the noble army of Konkân bhûtas that live on the earth, perhaps the best known are Aîvantin, Athvar, Bahiri or Bharōba, Brahma-purush, Bâpdev, Bâbârâs, Chêla, Chandkâl, Chêndi, Dâkin, Frangi, Jakhâi, Janat, Jâkhâi, Khâphri, Khavis, Kalimbae, Kâkhâ- Mhâskoba, Mâhâvis, Munja, Navlâ, Pîr, Sambârâb, Vêtâl and Zoting.

Vêtâl is considered the lord or rāja of earth spirits. Vêtâl is made in the image of a man, except that his hands and feet turn backwards. His eye-balls are of a twisted green, and the hair of his head stands on end. He wears a green dress, and holds a cane in his right hand and a couch-shelf in his left. The also holds in his left hand a rosary of twenty-one rudrâkṣa beads, a piece of pressed cow-dung ashes, and a bracelet of his favourite rîth flowers which he usually wears round his right wrist. Generally, at midnight, Vêtâl starts on a royal progress, seated in a palanquin or riding a horse, and with a mighty escort of spirits before and after him, yelling frantically and waving lighted torches. Vêtâl is said to spend his time in serving the god Siva. His usual abode is a mountain, a wood thickly set with small trees and shrubs, or the bank of a river. His aspect is cruel and terrible. He has no body, and lives on wind. Only when Vêtâl sets out on his royal progress, or when he has business of the god Siva to perform, does he assume a body. Siva has made Vêtâl chief of spirits because Siva could find no spirit that excelled Vêtâl in learning, wisdom, talent, or strength. In the Konkân, Vêtâl is often represented by a large rough stone set under a tree and smeared with oil and red lead. Whenever any one is suddenly taken ill, or is possessed by an evil spirit, the Konkân villagers worship the stone of Vêtâl, and make vows to it for the recovery of the sick. Every

17 Elaeocarpus lanceolatus.
18 Calotropis gigantea.
19 With Vêtâl and his troop compare the European Hellespont or air-contending spirits in France, in Spain the Old Army, and in England King Arthur's Hunt. Grimm's Teutonic Mythology, Vol. III. pp. 941, 942.
year in the month of Māgh (February) the stone of Vēṭāl is worshipped with flowers and red powder, and each villager takes a bundle of lighted straw, and dances round the stone, yelling and howling.

Brahmapurush, the Brāhmaṇ man or Brahmarākhsha, the Brāhmaṇ fiend, comes next in importance to Vēṭāl. Brahmapurush is believed to be the ghost of a married Brāhmaṇ who during his lifetime was a miser, whom death overtook when his mind was uneasy with unaccomplished schemes. He seldorn attacks. But when he does, it is extremely difficult to get rid of him. According to the śāstras and pandits of the Mahārāṣṭra, Bhatojī Dikshit, the well-known expounder of the Siddhānta Kaśyapī, an elaborate treatise on Saṅskṛiti grammar, after his death, became a Brahmapurush, so great was his longing to teach the Kaśyapī. His spectre was so often seen in his mansion at Banaras that the mansion was set apart for the spirit's use. After a time a Brahmapurush boy, of twelve or thirteen, came to Banaras to gain a knowledge of Saṅskṛiti grammar. In Banaras, as a joke, the haunted mansion was shown to the lad as the dwelling of the greatest teacher of grammar. The lad entered the house and saw an elderly Brāhmaṇ performing his saṅkhya or morning prayer. The boy humbly saluted the Brāhmaṇ and told him the object of his visit. The Brāhmaṇ told him that he would make him conversant with Saṅskṛiti grammar in twelve months, on condition that meanwhile the boy would, on no account, leave the mansion. As for the boy's feeding the Brāhmaṇ said that he would be daily served at the proper time with a well-dressed dish. The boy consented, and remained for twelve months, during which he mastered Saṅskṛiti grammar. One day, after the year was over, he forgot his agreement, and left the house to enjoy the air. As he was walking one of the men who had recommended him to live in Dikshit's house, met the boy and expressed surprise at his escape from the haunted mansion. He told the pupil that his teacher was a Brahmapurush, and that when they advised him to go into the house he and his friends never expected the pupil to come out alive. The student, though greatly alarmed, resolved to go back to the mansion. The ghost, seeing that the boy was much frightened, told him not to fear, and ordered the boy to take his bones to Gaya, and perform rites to free the soul of Dikshit. From the day the rites were performed the ghost disappeared from the mansion.

Bhairōba. — When Bhairoba is shown as a standing male figure with a trident in his left hand and a damaru or drum in his right, he is called Kala-Bhairav. But he is generally represented by a rough stone covered with oil and red lead. His nature is terrible, and when offended he is difficult to appease. By some he is believed to be an incarnation of Siva, others class him as a spirit who is in favour with Siva.30 He is also consulted as an oracle. In consulting Bhairav as an oracle a betel-nut is set on each breast of the nude figure and the god is asked, if the consulter’s wish is to be granted, to let the right or the left nut drop first. Bhairav is not subordinate to Vēṭāl. When he makes his nightly rounds he rides a black horse, and is accompanied by a black dog.

Chēda, the Lad, is believed to be the ghost of a shepherd boy who died unmarried.31 He is widely known in the Korkān and is feared by the people. He is short and ugly. He is dressed in a longfr or loin cloth and a blanket, and holds a long pole with jangling bells. Over almost the whole Korkān, and particularly in Tāhā, every village has its īchēda, a stone set in some conspicuous place in the village. Whenever a cow calves, her owner offers the first milk to Chēda by pouring it over Chēda’s stone. If the offering is withheld Chēda will either spoil

30 In the Korkān and to a less extent in the Dakhas, spirits like Vēṭāl, Bhairoba, Mhaskoba and Siddhādēvi are considered demi-gods or something more than demi-gods. They are worshipped, not only by the early tribes, but even by Brāhmaṇs and other high classes. Although Korkān Brāhmaṇs look down upon Korka for worshipping spirits like Chēda, they themselves worship Vēṭāl, Bhairāba and Mhaskoba, and sometimes even Chēda and Muni.

31 Among Patnagiri Mārās and Karhādā Brāhmaṇs the word Chēda means a boy or lad.
or lessen the yield of milk.\textsuperscript{32} Chêda also, when displeased, takes the form of a tiger, and
eats the village cattle. To avoid this, annual offerings of fowls and cocoanuts are made to his
stone. Chêda is sometimes called Chêda-mâma or Uncle Chêda. Uncle Chêda is either a
divine watchman or a bully according as his powers are used for defence or for attack. Râmji,
a barber of Junnar in North Poona, had been in low spirits. An enemy had blighted him with
the help of a spell. Râmji started for the Konkân to buy a Chêda to keep his rival’s spell
from again entering his house. At Bhuwandi, in Thâna, he was sent to a Thâkur who dealt in
Chêdas. Râmji promised the Chêda, if he would come with him to Junnar, that the Chêda
would get an egg daily, a fowl every Sunday, and mutton and liquor twice a month on full
moon and on new-moon days. Under these terms Uncle Chêda agreed to go with Râmji and
guard his house in Junnar from charms. The Thâkur made Chêda a little image to live in and
Râmji carried him to Junnar. Râmji set Chêda on Lakshman, the local oilman, whose spells
had blighted Râmji’s health. Lakshman died and Râmji was greatly feared. “He has a
Konkân Chêda in his house, take care you do not anger him.” Râmji became religious and
joined the Vârkaris or time-keepers, the strictest sect of the followers of Vithoba of
Pandharpur. Now he could eat no flesh and drink no liquor. He explained the change to
Chêda. At first Chêda sulked. Then he admitted that as his master had given up liquor and
flesh he could not be expected to go on giving him these luxuries. So Chêda kept friendly,
Excess of devotion, or some other cause, made Râmji weak and nervous. His doctor said:
It is wind-stroke or viya. Eggs are the thing, strengthening food, eat eggs and you will soon
be well. Râmji ate eggs but forgot Chêda. Chêda was furious and was more than once heard
to say he would have Râmji’s life. Râmji called in Vithoba. Vithoba came, smelt the eggs,
and left. Râmji was alone with Uncle Chêda and Uncle Chêda killed him. Râmji’s mother
abused Chêda for killing her son, took his image and threw it into the middle of a river. As
Chêda cannot cross running water he is still at the bottom of the river and keeps quiet.

Jakhal, Jôkhál, Mukái and Navlái are the ghosts of women who died in child-birth
or unmarried, or with some other desire unfulfilled. They cause great mischief by bringing
disease, destroying corn, and occasionally waylaying and teasing travellers.

Kâphri, the spectre of an African who was murdered by robbers, has eyes at the back
of his head, tos near his ankles, and is generally like a human being with the chief parts of his
body reversed.

Mhasoba, Mhasoka or Mhasâsâur, who is generally represented by a large stone placed
under a tree, is the spirit of vengeance, and is specially worshipped by those who wish to injure
or take revenge on others. He roams at night in the form of a big buffalo, and gores any one
who may chance to meet him.

Munjá is the ghost of a Bràhman boy who died after his thread ceremony and before his
marriage.\textsuperscript{31} Munjá generally lives in the Pipal tree. The chief objects of the Munjá’s attack
are women whom he teases cruelly. Many stories are told of Konkan houses set on fire by
Munjá, and of women tormented by fire, by having their eyes pricked with thorns, or by
barricades. To appease Munjá, persons afflicted or possessed by him perform the Munjá
thread-girdling ceremony of the pipal tree and raise an embankment or pâd around the tree.
Many such embankments can be seen in the Konkan, even in the town of Bombay.

\textit{(To be continued.)}

\textsuperscript{32} Compare the German dwarfs and elves who were believed to draw milk from the udders of kine (Grimm’s

\textsuperscript{31} No class of spirits is more feared or more generally worshipped than the spirits of Bràhmans, especially the
spirit of an unmarried Bràhman. The Gonds worship munjá under the form of a little cone of red lead, 1½ inches
high, which rises of itself in a platform in the house as a shrine for the unmarried dead (Hibbert’s \textit{Aboriginal Tribes of
the Central Provinces}, App. L. p. 1). In Bengal, a case is recorded in which a Bràhman’s land was taken from him
by a chief, and, as he got no redress, the Bràhman killed himself and became the village deity (Tyndall’s \textit{Primitivism
Culture}, Vol. II. p. 118). So in Gujarát, the Haths and Chêdans gained much sanctity from their known readiness
to commit suicide, and from the belief that their spirits would haunt the man who had made them commit suicide.
A Morality from the Central Provinces.

Once upon a time in a certain country there lived a pious king. One day, having bathed and applied the tilaka to his forehead, he started, followed by his minister, to go to a temple to worship. To reach the temple there was a river to be crossed.

Now Ivana, with a view to test the piety of the king, assumed the form of a mangy dog, and appeared at the river precisely at the moment when the king and the minister were about to cross it. In this repulsive disguise the god approached the king repeatedly with a mute appeal to be taken to the temple on the other side; but he kept himself from coming in contact with what appeared to be a low cur. Yet the animal persisted in going up to the king, growling piteously.

The minister, on seeing this, said to his master:—"I see, sir, that this creature wishes to be taken across the river." So saying he took the dog into his arms, notwithstanding the mange, and began fording the river after the king.

The river was not easily forded, and so, when the water reached up the armpits of the minister, he put the dog on his shoulders, and when the water reached his shoulders he put it on his head, the king observing him all the time. And by the time the king and the minister reached the temple the former found to his great horror that he had been satisfied with the mange of the dog, this being the punishment inflicted by the god, because, notwithstanding his reputed piety, he was not, when passed through the crucible of experience, found right in his heart. On the other hand the minister who had handled the mangy dog from first to last was untouched, for his heart was approved by the god.

The moral is that we are not to look down upon the poor for their poverty or external defects; for who knows but that they may have hearts that commend themselves to Parameswara.

M. N. Venketswami.

Derivation of Satelee.

This is the form which a word for a small coin of the Malays assumes in a general table of Oriental coins and weights given by Stevens at p. 128 of his New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade. The following quotations will show that its derivation is precisely that of sopique given ante, p. 222 ff., and that it meant originally the same thing, viz., a string of pitis or cash. It is, in fact, made up of the Malay sa, one, + tali, a string, just as sopique represents su, one, + pibhu, a string of pitis.


1775 — "Batavia. 3 Cash are 1 Satelee. 6 Cash, or 2 Satelee, are 1 Sooka. 9 Cash are 1 Sooka Satelee . . . 39 Cash, or 13 Satelees, or Skillingis, are 1 Ducatoon." — Stevens, Guide, p. 124. Sooka is for suku, a quarter piece (of a dollar, etc.). The Cash here is the copper coin worth a string of pitis.

1862. — "Tali — a rope, a string, a cord. . . . Name of a small silver coin, equal in value to an eighth of a Spanish dollar, and consequently about 13 English pence. It is probable that the word is derived from the last, and has reference to the practice of tying a certain number of small coins on a string, which, judging by the hole in the centre of all ancient Japanese coins, appears to have prevailed in the Archipelago as well as in China." — Crawford, Malay Dict., s. v.


R. C. Temple.

Notes and Queries.

It would be interesting to enquire into the ceremonies prevalent in the Peshawar District with regard to the burial of martyrs, and into the qualifications which entitle a deceased person to rank as a martyr.

I remember a case in which a man was murdered. Previous to his death he was said to have made a declaration naming his assassin.

The murdered man received burial as a martyr, and one of the main contentions raised against the genuineness of his dying declaration was the fact of such mode of burial having taken place.

It was said that no man is deemed a martyr who speaks after receiving his death-stroke, and this man having received a martyr's burial, the dying declaration was not likely to have been made.

The late C. Spitta in P. N. and Q. 1883.
II.

I will now pass on to facts of perhaps still greater interest concerning the use of special articles as intermediaries in barter or exchange.

Natural Produce. — It will have been observed that, in the instances quoted, the observers who noted them have been careful to state the articles by name they saw used in trade by barter. As a matter of fact, even the naked Kakhs would not take everything, but restricted the articles they accepted in exchange for their own produce to certain customary things, of which they were habitually in great need. From this first glimmering of the idea of wealth represented by a conventional currency to such a currency itself in terms of natural produce is but a short, though an important step.

(1) Rice. — Yule notes in his Embassy to Ava, p. 259, that "rice is often used in petty transactions among villagers." It is still used in some parts of Upper Burma, but the rice so used is not food-rice, nor seed-rice, but useless, broken rice. It is in fact a conventional currency, like the imitation hoes, hatchets, knives, etc., of the Chinese and other races in the world. As this use of rice in Burma throws an important light on the subject before us, I may as well describe it in greater detail. Rice has been so used elsewhere in the East, as the following facts will show. Mr. E. H. Parker informs me that, in Annals of the Tang Dynasty of China, a book a thousand years old, it is stated that the Shans of old paid a tax of two measures of rice a year for each man who worked a plough, and it took three men to keep a plough going, one to drive, one to lead and one to poke up the ox! As I have observed already, taxes are pretty sure guide to barter values. Rice, again, formed an important part of the fines inflicted on the Lashais in the Expedition of 1671-2, as Woodthorpe informs us in his Lushai Expedition, p. 223, and elsewhere. Friar Odoric, in the early XIVth Century, in describing a rich man of Manzi in China, says: "Now this man hath a revenue of xxx tuman of tagars (Turki and Persian, taghadr = sack) of rice. And each tuman is ten thousand and each tagar is the amount of a heavy ass-load." On this text Yule, Cathay and the Way Therither, p. 153, remarks: "Revenues continued to be estimated in China in sacks of rice until lately, if they are not still so (1866). In Burma they are always estimated in baskets of rice."

In the XVth Century we find in the Âm Akbari, Gladwin's Ed., Vol. II, p. 156, that, in Kashmir, "every coin and even manufactures are estimated in kharvars of rice." Even in the remote, but by no means uncivilised, Maldives, Pyrard de Laval found, in the early XVIIth Century (Hak. Soc. Ed., Vol. II, p. 473) that "these islands are a great emporium for all parts and the Moors of India frequent them, bartering their salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands, and also rice and silver."

(2) Salt. — Holt Hallett, Thousand Miles on an Elephant, p. 164, states: "Dr. McGilvary said that up to 1874 salt was used as currency for purchases in Zimmâ Market," and we thus find ourselves started in the neighbourhood of Burma on another conventional article of barter. In the XIXth Century, Marco Polo found that the people of the "Province of Tzet" used "salt instead of money," and in the "Province of Caiddo" "the small change again is made in this way. They have salt which they boil and set in a mould (flat below and round above), and every piece from the mould weighs about halâa pound. Now 80 moulds of this
salt are worth one *saggio* of fine gold, which is a weight so called.\textsuperscript{54} So this salt serves them for small-change." Such statements as these naturally set Yule talking in his own invaluable way, and accordingly we find, in Vol. II. p. 36 f., that Ramasio enlarged on the text to the extent of stating that "on the money so made the Prince’s mark is printed and no one is allowed to make it except the royal officers": — a statement which gives us *coin of the realm in salt!*

And he adds, what is more to the point just now, that in Lieut. Bower’s *Account of Siam’s Mission* (p. 120), it is stated that at Momien the salt, which is a government monopoly is "made up in rolls of one or two viss and stamped." Yule also quotes a private note from Garnier tending to show a wide-spread currency of salt in Yunnan and the Burmese Shan States in modern times. Going back beyond Marco Polo’s time, Mr. Parker tells me that in the *Tang History* it is chronicled that a treaty was made with the Ai-los, under which each poll of the population had to pay two garments (with a hole in for the head to go through) and a measure of salt as tribute (to the Chinese); while Scott (Shway Yee) tells us in his *Report of the Northern Shan States* of 1833 that the Was sell walnuts to the Chinese in exchange for salt, thus carrying the salt currency of the Shan tribes down to our own times. The evidence above collected is strengthened by Colquhoun (*Across Burma*, p. 263), who tells us that in the last war in Yunnan the scarcity of salt was so great that it rose to nearly worth its weight in silver.

This statement is comparable with one of Valentyn’s quoted in Yule’s *Anu*, p. 377: — 

"Salt was so valuable (in Laos in 1641) that they gave for a *maas* of salt a *maas* of gold, which they could well do, as there was much gold both in the river and in the mountains above Namnoy."

Of the custom of the Kachins, Mr. G. W. Shaw gives similar evidence in 1890. Speaking of the Burman Sháns of the Upper Irawaddy and the manner in which the Kachins treat them he says: — "The Kachins’ exactions are little more than nominal. At Namngtalaw they came to about two viss of salt (value eight annas per annum); at Ywadaw five viss occasionally." He then tells us the story of one San Maing. "San Maing in his complaint says: — ’I went to Talawgyi and told the Kayingñgök to endeavour to get me back my wife and child, or I should report the matter to the Deputy Commissioner. The Talawgyi Kayingñgök said: — ’Very well, I will do so: do not report yet.’ So he sent to do it. But the *thuogy* of our village, Sangi, had already redeemed them for a gong and 100 viss of salt. The *thuogy* redeemed them because it would not do for the affair to be known to Government." \textsuperscript{55} Wilcox in his *Survey of Assam*, in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., notes that the Khãmtla and Sing-Pho (Kachins) dealt in salt. This was in 1825-3. Similarly Brown, *Account of Manipur*, notes (p. 43) that the Tonkhus and Luhnapas bring "daos, spears, cloths, etc., to Manipur, taking salt in exchange, and at p. 53, he tells us that the trade of the Khongjáis is limited to the occasional barter of cloth for iron and salt, while some of the entering among them get so far as to take iron from the Manipur Valley or barter it for pebbles, guns and cloth with the Lushai or Khamhó Tribe." Similarly in Soppitt’s *Account of the Kachari Tribes*, p. 20, we find slaves valued in conch shells, salt and dogs. And lastly in Woodthorpe’s *Lushai Expedition*, p. 319, we have capital illustration of salt currency and the use made of it by civilised man to the apparent detriment of the savage. "A large number of Lushais had accompanied us as far as Tipai Mukh and were busily employed in driving a few last bargains. They brought down large quantities of India-rubber, which they eagerly exchanged for salt, equal weights, and as the value of the rubber was more than four times that of the salt, any individuals who could command a large supply of the latter had an excellent opportunity of a little profitable business." The profit, however, was not altogether that of the civilised man on this occasion, if the matter be looked at from the savage’s point of view. For Mr. Burland has a note on the Lushais at this very period, which puts the matter in quite a different light. He writes (Papier. Papers, Cachar, 1872, p. 132): — "In former times these tribes made all the salt they

\textsuperscript{54} One-sixth of Venetian gold, and meant probably for the old *rang* or Chinese *oz.* of the period, which = 4 oz. Chinese (Kim) of the present day. See also Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 29.

\textsuperscript{55} Burm. Govt. Reports, No. 1229, 1890: Notes on a Visit to the Upper Irawaddy from the 1st to the 12th June, 1896, p. 2.
required for their own consumption from salt springs, and they say that to make enough salt for the requirements of an ordinary family, a man's labour was required for three months. A man can now collect sufficient India-rubber in one month to exchange with Bengalee traders for more than enough salt to last him and his family for a year. So that a man who chooses to occupy himself three months in collecting India-rubber will, by bartering the same for salt, have a large surplus of that article, with which to trade with the Southern Tribes, who, they say, are willing to give one maund of rubber for a quarter maund of salt.

Writing in 1826, Ovington, *Voyage to Surat*, p. 563, says of the "Island of Sundiva" (Sarandip) that "it affords such vast quantities of Salt, that it needs no other Commodities to give in Exchange for any of those of the Neighbouring Countrie, being able with it alone to lade two Hundred Vessels every Year." This shows that barter with salt as a medium is a widespread and long-established custom in the parts about Burma.

(3) Cotton. — The interest in the curiosities of currency by no means diminishes in examining so unromantic an instance as that afforded by this product. In the IXth Century A. D. the Chinese reported that the people of Fiao (obviously the Burmese) used among other things cotton for barter with the neighbouring States, and in turning to the *British Burma Gazetteer* (Vol. I. p. 473) we have an account of barter in cotton up to and after 1824, which was apparently a survival of a very old practice. "In the Burmese times the only article of export from Arakan into Burma was *ugape* or fish paste, which was bartered for cotton, the usual rate of exchange being two viss of cotton for every viss of *ugape*; from twenty to twenty-five men started together from Arakan, each man taking with him the *ugape* which he intended to barter, and the cotton was brought back in the same way." After the First Burmese War trade generally began to increase and by 1830 it was considerable, and "other goods were soon added to *ugape* and cotton." During the War itself it was noticed that the Kukiis were in the habit of bartering raw cotton for their wants, while from Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*, p. 51, we find that though in Zimme rough iron in various forms was evidently the staple currency, "where iron is not worked in the other villages in the province of Zimme, each household pays annually to Government a tax of ten viss of cotton, the same weight of chillies and five of safflower."

(4) Mulberries. — These are not, of course, a Burmese or further Indian product, but I give a valuable quotation showing that in Turkestan at the present day this fruit is used as currency, because of the light it throws on the use of natural products for that purpose. "The inhabitants of Darwiz (Bokhara) plant mulberry trees, and the mulberry is almost their sole means of subsistence. In summer they eat it raw, and in winter in a dried state, in the form of flour, out of which they make a kind of *chupacts*. Their dress they obtain by bartering the mulberry for rough matting and sheepskins, and even their taxes are paid with the mulberry. In fact the mulberry is the measure *tubetika*, — the currency of Darwiz, and many Darwizis never know the taste of bread all their lives long ... The grain measure is the *batman = 45 tubetikas*."

(5) Cocoa-nuts. — There is a neat reference (p. ix.) in Hunter's *Account of Pegu*, 1785, to a barter trade in cocoa-nuts between Burma and the Nicobars in the last Century. "Any man, who could find money enough to purchase a small vessel on the coast of Coromandel might, by carrying a little tobacco, some blue cloth and a few iron nails to the Island of Carnicobar, get, in exchange for those articles, which had cost him almost nothing, a ship-load of cocoa-nuts."

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61 Soppett, *Account of the Kuki-Lushais*, p. 23, tells us the same thing, the barter for salt being, however, in "wax, gathered in the jungle and a maund of cotton."


63 Wilson, *Documenta*, p. xix.

64 With these may be compared Tavernier's almonds, which were used as currency, apparently because they were so bitter that they were not likely to be used as food! Almonds were 60 to a piece in Surat in 1693; Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 219. *Cf. Voyages of Dutch E. I. Coy.* 1708, p. 240. They ran 32 to a piece in 1739; A. Hamilton, *East Indies*, Vol. II. Appx. p. 5.

For these, he could procure at Pegu a cargo of wood, which he afterwards sold to great advantage, either on the coast or in Bengal. Here we learn two things: the Nicobar trade currency was in coconuts and it was necessary in bartering to exchange for the coconuts certain fixed articles of a specified kind; and as to the apparent unfairness of the bargain, coconuts in the Nicobars have no marketable value at all as regards internal trade.

In 1896 the Government Agent at Muns in Car Nicobar gave me the following table of exchange values in terms of coconuts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soup ladle, nickel silver</td>
<td>nuts 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long spoon, nickel silver</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessert spoon and fork, nickel silver</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table spoon and fork, nickel silver</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea spoon and small fork, nickel silver</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustard spoon, nickel silver</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumbers</td>
<td>20 to 40 as per size.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decanters</td>
<td>60 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates and soup plates, white</td>
<td>40 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowls, white</td>
<td>40 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enamelled plates, white</td>
<td>40 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enamelled cups, white</td>
<td>40 to 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matches, a bundle of 12 boxes</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needles, a dozen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balls, thread, a dozen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China tobacco, one packet</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco, one bundle</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red cloth, sālū, one piece</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red cloth, Turkey, one piece</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calico, white, one piece</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calico, black, one piece</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras handkerchiefs, one piece</td>
<td>800 to 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy coloured chintz and sāris</td>
<td>as per bargain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy Bombay handkerchiefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, Calcutta, 2 mds. in bag</td>
<td>nuts 300 to 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, Burma, 3 mds. in bag</td>
<td>500 to 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattis and pots</td>
<td>10 to 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American knives</td>
<td>80 to 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American knives, folding</td>
<td>20 to 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese dās</td>
<td>40 to 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table knives...</td>
<td>as per bargain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden clothes-box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin clothes-box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking-glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epsom salts...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eno's Fruit Salt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turpentine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castor-oil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabin biscuits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing nets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-anna pieces, coin</td>
<td>nuts 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupees, coin</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(8) Livestock. — Livestock of all sorts have been used for barter and to express wealth all the world over and from the earliest times, so much so that Prof. Ridgeway in his *Origin of Currency* makes this fact the basis of his argument as to how the names and forms for words expressing currency arose. It will not be necessary here, therefore, to give more than one or two typical cases of their use in the East and Far East.

An interesting instance is recorded from the Maldives by Ibn Batuta in the XIVth Century. "The natives buy with *chickens* any pottery which may be brought. A pot fetches five or six chickens." Another important instance is quoted by Yule in his notes to Marco Polo's text (Vol. II, p. 37): "M. Desgodins, a missionary in this part of Tibet, gives some curious details of the way in which the civilized traders still prey upon the simple hill-tribes of that quarter, exactly as the Hindu Banyas prey upon the simple forest tribes of India. He states one case in which the account for a *pig* lad with interest run up to 2,127 bushels of corn!" Again we find from Max Müller, *Chips*, Vol. I, p. 193, that "a copy of the *Kanjur* was bartered for 7,000 oxen by the Buriats, and the same tribe paid 1,200 silver roubles for a complete copy of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* together." Now the *Kanjur* is about half the *Tanjur*, so we can now get a curious expression of oxen in terms of silver. The 7,000 oxen would be thus worth about one-third of the 1,200 roubles, or 400 roubles, or, roughly, an ox was then only worth half a rouble, which gives a very low value in cash for such animals when used as currency.

Mr. C. A. Soppitt, *Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, p. 23, gives an instance of direct valuation in terms of *cattle*: "The price of a fully-grown 'mithun' (bos frontalis) varies from 40 to 80 rupees. Among the people the value of property is often spoken of as so many *mithuns*; in this case a *mithun* being equivalent to 40 rupees. A Raja, for example, will say he gave so many *mithuns* for his wife, meaning so many 40 rupees.”

Compare with the above the following extract from Macpherson's *Memorials*, p. 64:—

The use of money with the exception of cowries was until recently (1855) nearly unknown to the Mahal Khonds, and the value of all property is estimated by them in "lives," a measure which requires some adjustment every time it is applied: a bullock, a buffalo, a goat, a pig or a fowl, a bag of grain, or a set of brass pots, being each, with anything that may be agreed upon, a "life." A hundred lives on an average may be taken to consist of 10 bullocks, 10 buffaloes, 10 sacks of corn, 10 sets of brass pots, 20 sheep, 10 pigs and 30 fowls.”

III.

Manufactured articles. — From the use of raw or rough produce as currency to that of articles manufactured for the purpose is no doubt a distinct ascent, but the earlier steps in it are hardly to be distinguished from the use of the raw produce itself. It has been seen that salt in currency has been artificially made for such a use into cakes and rolls, and that mulberries have been caked into measures. Tea, though distinctly a manufactured article, has long been and is still used in precisely the same way all about the borders of Burma. Some sorts of tea, e. g., Puerh tea, are very valuable still now, and tea generally, if we are to credit the earlier European travellers who mention it, seems to have been an exceedingly valuable article only a few centuries ago, and in the form of cakes may well have passed into a kind of currency.

(1) Tea. — Terrien de la Cuperie, *Chippes Coins*, p. xx., mentions "tea in bricks," on the borders of Tibet as a form of non-metallic currency, and, in his *Across Chryse*, Colquhoun, who seems to have been considerably troubled by the presents made him in consequence of the

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68 See Yule, *Chips*, p. xxxvi, where he quotes Ramusio, c. 1550. Sago in cakes was currency at Ternate in 1599: Dutch *Voyages*, 1703, p. 235.  
69 Macmahon, *Far Cathay*, p. 337, alludes to these tea-bricks, quoting an unacknowledged passage from Baber, which again seems to have been copied from *Hu*, III Nat. Lib. Ed., Vol. I, p. 146, *verbatim.*
returns expected, mentions that he was constantly plying with tea in cakes, and, e. g., sometimes to his great discomfort. But the best and most instructive instance of tea currency, which has come under my observation, is from Scott's Report on the Northern Shan States for 1893, which describes an interchange of rice and tea, much on the principle of that of cotton and fish condiments already noticed between Burms and Arakan. It seems that the Sawbwa of Tawng Peng, a State next to the Ruby Mines District of Burma, got into heavy arrears of tribute in 1892 as estimated in cash, and this is how Mr. Scott describes the situation (p. 11) — "The balance he pleaded to be allowed to pay into the treasury at Mandalay on the ground that there is very little ready money available in Tawng Peng itself, where barter is much commoner than payment in rupees. The State does not grow anything approaching the quantity of rice which the people require for food. There is, therefore, an ancient rule that no caravan is allowed to enter the country for purposes of trade, which does not bring with it an amount of rice proportioned to the number of pack-animals brought up. This is exchanged for tea. Piece goods and betel come on the same terms, and the Sawbwa himself receives the great bulk of his revenue in produce."  

Clement Williams, Through Burma to Western China, 1884, p. 34, has a note on tea which seems to refer to a currency in cakes of tea: — "The only kinds apparently known in the market at Bam are the flat discs of China tea and the balls of Shan tea. The discs weigh 20 tickets each; six piled together make a packet which used to sell at 1½ ticket and 2 tickets (etc)."

(3) Skins, in some stage or other of manufacture, are mentioned by de la Cour (op. cit., loc. cit.) as used for currency in North America and Ancient Russia, probably alluding to the same evidence as that adduced by Ridgway, Origin of Currency, p. 13 f. Parker, in quoting the Tang History of China, thinks that the note by the Chinese writer of the "porpoise," as a barter currency of the Burmese a thousand years ago, probably meant porpoise skins.

This skin currency is quite a different thing to the leather money introduced in 1241 at Faenza by the Emperor Frederic II. His leather pieces were tokens pure and simple, and their currency was based on credit, which argues a state of civilisation far beyond the ideas of savages and semi-civilised beings using a natural non-metallic medium of exchange.

(3) Cloth. — We have already seen that cloth of various kinds is used in barter by the wild Hill Tribes between Assam and Burmah. Now, in 1775, Mr. John Jesse wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, dated July 20th, from "Borneo Proper," passages in which give us a clear and definite reference to a currency stated in cloth. "I was informed the quantity of pepper that year (1774) was 4,000 pecks, cultivated solely by a Colony of Chinese settled here, and sold to the junks at the rate of 17-2 Spanish dollars per peck, in China cloth called jughows, which, for want of any other specie, are become the standard for regulating the price of all commercial commodities at this Port." A little farther on he hopes to induce the hill

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11 See Vol. II. p. 37, etc. In Stevenson's Bur. Dict. p. 994, there is an entry which is a curious commentary on Colquhoun's experience. "Lo'st-ya'h, a small package of pickled tea, such as accompanies an invitation to an entertainment. (The receipt of such a package is nowadays considered equivalent to a polite demand from the giver of a feast for a subscription.)" Colquhoun would also have appreciated the quaint remark made in a Report on the Trade of Siam in 1778, quoted in Anderson's Siam, p. 436: — "Copps of them whose occasions necessitate an immediate sale to negotiate their Returns, may at first arrival be bought for: 6: Taiwll : 1: Tocall p. Poc: for Cash, but at ye same time tis curr: for: 8: Taiwll in Barter."  

I would here note for the benefit of etymologists that Lane, Eng. Bur. Dict., 1841, spells the word for tea betch, and not Lo'st-ya'h, like his successors. The tea used was "coarse tea . . . . . . under the name of lapeh [špe]."

12 There is an enormous amount of information on the subject of tea in Watt's Dict. of Economic Products under "Camellia" and "Tea." A good note on the origin of brick-tea will be found in Vol. II. p. 75. Perhaps after all the best evidence of the use of tea-bricks as money is in Baber's Report (1879) on the Chinese Tea Trade with Tibet in J. R. G. S. Soppitt. Papers, 182, p. 192: — "A brick of ordinary tea is not merely worth a rupee, but, in a certain sense, is a rupee."  

13 Burmese Relations with China, p. 13.  


15 See also Soppitt, Account of the Kachhari Tribes, p. 12.

people to plant pepper, if they receive "cloth as the price of the industry," and then he proceeds to relate how, with the help of two "nauvedaks (nakhir) and the Captain of the Chinese," he succeeded in building and launching a junk. "The entire cost and outfit amounted, as I have been informed by the contracting parties, to no more than 8,500 Spanish dollars; which, after allowing for a profit on their congongs, is not more than 4,500 Spanish dollars." This seems to show that "they" had been up to a little sharp practise with "their congongs."

It is a far cry from the Burmese border and Borneo to Angola, but a little bit of evidence from Pyrard de Laval (Vol. II. p. 219) is well worth recording here. "As for the small money of Angola, it consists only of little shells, somewhat like those of the Maldives (i.e. cowries), and little pieces of cloth made of a certain herb. These pieces are an ell in length, and more or less, according to the price. And when they go to market to buy their goods they carry no other money."

Here we have as perfect a specimen of a conventional cloth currency as we could wish for.

(4) Drums.—Of a most interesting value put upon an article of peculiar manufacture and of its possession as an indication of wealth, we have an instance amongst the Karens or Red Karens. It is not quite unique, however, as a reference to Cap Morgan will shew later on.

Macmahon, in his eloquent and discursive Karens of the Golden Chersonese, p. 279 ff., says:—"Among the most valued possessions of the Hill Karens is the kyee-zee, consisting of a copper or spelter cylinder of about a quarter of an inch in thickness, averaging about two feet in length and of somewhat greater diameter at one end, which is closed with the same kind of metal, the smaller end being left open. They are ornamented in a rude style with figures of animals, birds and fish, and according to size and volume of sound, are valued at from £5 to £50 (50 to 500 tickals). The outer circle are four frogs. They have distinctive names for ten different kinds, which they pretend to distinguish by the sound. In the settlement of their quarrels, and in the redemption of their captives, the indemnification always takes the shape of a kyee-zee, or more, with, perhaps, a few buffaloes or pigs as make-weights. To such an extent does the passion for the possession of these instruments predominate among the more secluded tribes, that it is said instances are by no means rare of their having bartered their children and relations for them. The possession of kyee-zee is what constitutes a rich Karen. No one is considered rich without them, whatever may be his other possessions. Every one who has money endeavours to turn it into kyee-zee, and a village that has many of them is the envy of other villages, and is often the cause of wars to obtain their possession."

Now, de Morgan gives us something of a parallel to this instructive information from the Philippine Islanders of the XVIth Century. After explaining that the usual way of trade was in general barter, he says (Hak. Soc. Ed., p. 303) "sometimes a price intervened, which was paid in gold, according to the agreement made; also in metal bells brought from China, which they value as precious ornaments. They are like large pans and are very sonorous, and they strike upon them at their feasts and carry them in the vessels to the wars instead of drums or other instruments."

(5) Glass Jars and Bottles.—Some equally interesting facts are forthcoming regarding glass jars and bottles, which the Chinese noticed a thousand years ago as used by the Burmese.

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11 The authorities for a good deal of this are Mason, J. A. 8, B, Vol. XXXVII, Pt. II. p. 128 ff., and O'Reilly, J. Ind. Arch. Vol. II. No. 4, note 57. I would like to remark that kyeth, spelt in Chinese, is a Burmese word, the Karen word being probably quite different, and means a flat goon, whether circular or triangular. The components, according to the orthodox spelling, would be kyath, copper, and at, a drum or cask; but the pronunciation is peculiar, and I observe that there is a word kyath (kath), with the meaning of a tube closed at one end, and it seems to me possible that kyath is really composed of two words spoken together and having the same meaning. Such duplications are common in Burmese and in Oriental languages generally. If this is right, the conventional form kyath is a case of false etymology of the clerical sort. See Stevenson, Bur. Dict., pp. 218, 245, 309. In his For Cathay and Further India, a work irritating in its slovenliness, p. 237, Macmahon repeats some of the above information, with the addition that the kyath of the Karens is similar to the drum of the "Miantis of China."
“in trading with the neighbouring States of their class.” A propos of this, Strettell, Ficus Elastica, p. 155, tells us that on the 18th January, 1874, he met some Palangans on the Nansha Chuang, a branch of the Mogaung River, who had come from some distance further South, and of them he remarks as follows:—“What money could not secure, empty pint hock bottles did. For four of these I got eleven eggs and a brood of jungle-fowl chickens.” A short time before this, Talboys Wheeler, in Mandalay to Bhamo; p. 641, went up the Irrawaddy, and in his Journal, under date 28th November, 1870, we find that at Malé the people, seemingly, but certainly not from the contest, Sháns, placed, so Wheeler was informed, “an inordinate value upon empty bottles. Those which had contained any kind of liquor were highly appreciated, but the passion for soda-water bottles is still stronger, whilst there is, if possible, a deeper yearning for the dark red bottles, which have contained hock. As we had a considerable number of empty bottles on board, due perhaps to the generality of our party since leaving Mandalay, a few were thrown into the water as an experiment, and then commenced one of the most amusing scrambles that can possibly be imagined. Boys and girls threw off their garments and dived or swam impetuously after the bottles; not throwing out their arms leisurely, like European swimmers, but paddling like dogs, only much more noisily. Meanwhile mothers, wives, and sweethearts were urging on the competition for the bottles, and carrying them away in triumph immediately they were brought on shore, or safely landed in one or other of the numerous canoes that were plying about the steamer. Mr. Marks gave away some religious books and tracts, but they were regarded as things of small value in comparison with the bottles.”

Talboys Wheeler evidently looked on the whole thing as a joke, but a tribal or national passion for the possession of a particular article is never due to insanity or eccentricity, and the sober explanation of the scene is that the bottles were currency, or of value for purposes connected with worship or superstition. The other evidence available points to the former.

(6) Earthenware. — It is possible that the great trade, once world-famous, in the Martaban, or Pegu Jars, which I have elsewhere traced to the 19th Century A. D., caused these valuable articles to be used as currency or standard of barter, but I have no proof of it. However, at the Maldives, where the Madabáns have been known for centuries, we have a parallel from Abdurrazák in the XVth Century, who tells us that the Moors of India frequented these islands in his day, “bartering the salt and earthenware, which are not made at the islands.”

(7) Ingot Iron and Articles of Iron. — Colquhoun, Amongst the Sháns, p. 51, tells us that “the Lawas we saw at Baw were not agriculturists, but iron-workers and manufacturers. The metal is found in a hill lying about half a day’s journey to the North-West of the village, is a red oxide of iron, and is worked solely by the women. It is brought to the village on elephants and is smelted in such a rough way that it yields only 50 per cent of metal. The principal tax paid by the villagers to the Zimmé Chief consists of elephant chains, spears, cooking pots and other iron-ware. At p. 315, there is an illustration of currencies amongst the Sháns, but apparently no description beyond the note to the Plate. Of the illustrations, No. 1 is “iron money, made by the Kys or Khmerdom, in use at Stung Treng on the Mékong River.” The illustration shows a diamond shaped ingot of iron, I presume it to be small in size, but there is no scale.

I should record that Mr. W. Boxall, the orchid-hunter, has at my suggestion enquired everywhere in his travels in the Sháns States as to this iron currency, and could get no trace

97 The Tung History in Parker, Burma, p. 13.
98 Bowring says, Siams, Vol. I. p. 262, that stamped glass and enamel were used for money, but I think he really refers to the porcelain gambling tokens common in Siam, about which I will discourse at length under the head of jettons later on. The Dutch found glass bottles of use as currency at Amboyana and Terra B in 1606; Dutch Voyages, 1788, pp. 293-296; C. J. L. Roth, Siam, Vol. II. p. 227, n. 3, where curiously enough all reference to Pegu and Martaban as a possible origin for Borneo Jars is omitted; see also Vol. I. p. 419. C. J. Ridgeway, Origin of Currency, p. 193: Aymenier, Voyage dans le Laos, Vol. I. pp. 194, 215.
99 See ante, Vol. XXII., p. 344.
of it. But it is quite possible that its issue is strictly local and unless he happened to visit the actual locality of use, he might easily be unable to procure any information about it.\(^{82}\)

The use of rough iron for barter currency among the wild tribes about Burma is confirmed by a note of Dr. Brown, Manipur, p. 58, who says that “the trade of the Khongjai Tribe is very limited, and only occasionally cloth is brought to the Manipur Valley and exchanged for iron, salt, etc.”

Hatchets, knives, hoes, etc., are of course, well known as articles of standard value in many parts of the world, and it is hardly necessary here to do more than merely notice one or two instances of their use in such as Further India. Wilcox in Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVIII. p. 314 ff., notices that “the Khanti and Sing-Pho (Kachins) were supplied by the Kha-Nung with salt and thin iron dhas, the latter forming the currency of the district.”\(^{83}\) John Crisp, in his Account of the Poggy or Nassau Islands, found, in 1792, that there “a sort of iron hatchet or handbill, called parang, is in much esteem with them, and serves as a standard of the value of various commodities, such as cocoanuts, coolit coyas, poultry, etc.”\(^{84}\)

(8) Gold and Silver Trees.—Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 146, has a curious reference to this point: — “Each of the six Lao States is called upon to pay tribute to Siam. This is paid triennially, and takes the form of gold and silver betel-boxes, vases and necklaces, each enriched with four rubies of the size of a lotus-seed, and a hundred of the size of a grain of Indian corn. Besides these are curious representations of trees in gold and silver, about eight feet high, each with four branches, from which again four twigs, with a single leaf at the end of each, depend. The gold trees are valued at 1,680 ticals each, and the silver ones at 120 ticals each.”

I have further noted a traveller’s remark, the exact reference to which I have unfortunately mislaid, that similar trees were paid as revenue or tribute to the Malay States below Mergui, and that they had become a standard of value.\(^{85}\)

A complete parallel to the Lao State tribute is to be found in Browne’s Thayetmyo, p. 95, who tells us that it is recorded that about 1819, in addition to the taxes on that district, the greater officials sent annual presents to the Court at Ava of a silver bowl each and some broad cotton cloth and the lesser officials smaller bowls and less cloth, “which, of course, came out of the pockets of the tax-payers.”

The old travellers to China found out that the “tribute” or gift for the European was a fixed amount in kind, and hence was started a kind of standard of tribute much on the lines of that just quoted.\(^{86}\) In China the custom led to a curious series of false embassies made by mercantile adventurers under forged credentials. “Their presents to the European always consisted of 1,000 arrobas, or 1,333 Italian pounds, of jade, 300 being of the very finest quality; 340 horses; 300 very small diamonds; about 100 pounds of fine ultramarine; 600 knives; 600 files. This was the old prescriptive detail, which none might change. The cost price of the whole might be some 7,000 crowns, but the Emperor’s return present was worth 50,000. These sham embassies, disguising trading expeditions, were of old standing in China, going back at least to the days of the Sung Emperors.” No wonder that Geó (1595-1603) remarked that no one paid more for his “marble” than the Emperor!

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\(^{82}\) I have quite lately found in M. Aymonier’s new book (1890) Voyage dans le Laos, Vol. I. pp. 22, 27, 146, a complete and good account of the “lingots de fer,” which I regret I cannot further notice for want of space.

\(^{83}\) Citing this quotation, Terrien de la Coupérie, Old Numerals and the Siampan in China, p. 14, remarks that the dha is “obviously connected with the Chinese fao, the name of the knife-money.” On this I would note that in Burmese dha is spelled t’ga. See Stevenson, Bur. Dict. p. 558, and other similar works. I may note also that at Khamb in Eastern Bengal I procured a curious knife in the bazar there, called dha, in 1890.

\(^{84}\) This word is Malay, halu-kay, and is a material used by Europeans for matting houses and as dammage for pepper cargoes. See Yule, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. cooligoy; to the quotations given there under that word this one is a valuable addition as indicating the history thereof.

\(^{85}\) India-China, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 71 f.


\(^{87}\) Yule, Far Cathay, Vol. II. pp. 554, 555 f.
IV.

Conventional Currency.

(1) Cowries. — The last main point for consideration is that of a true conventional currency, non-metallic in its nature. The most primitive and perhaps most typical article that is not of metal and that has been widely used for money is the cowrie shell. It has for ages been used all round Burma; but it is not now, and all writers seem to be agreed that it has never been, used among the Burmese, which is rather a curious fact in the circumstances. 69 It is, indeed, almost inexplicable that the currency of cowries should never have spread into Burma.

Centuries ago it was common in Yunnan, 69 Siam, 69 Shan States, 69 and Kachūr, doubtfully among the Kachins and Lolas, 69 in Java, 69 the Maldives, 69 which are the chief Cowry source, and the Philippines; 69 while Bengal 69 Proper is, and always has been for centuries, the great home of the Cowry Currency. Again Cowries still are, or were until quite lately, common in the Shan States, 69 Siam 69 and Manipūr. 109

There is in Manipūr one of the most interesting of survivals of the former universal use of cowries, in the denominations of the existing bell-metal small change or stil of that country. In Primrose's Manipuri Grammar, 1888, p. 30, is recorded the "system of calculating the stil or cowrie." The author tells us that "all fractions of a rupee are expressed in stil, the only national coin in use. Pice are not current in the bazar. The stil is a small round coin made of bell-metal."

Now the word for stil is chandu, which means literally "100." So 16 stil are called chanti, literally "200"; 24 stil are called chashūm, literally "300"; 80 stil are called lising-awā, literally "1,000." Five lisingas, or 400 stil, go to a rupee, the word being lising-mangā, or "5,000." One to seven stil are expressed by words representing the appropriate fractions of 100; thus 4 stil are called yakhari, literally "50." And so on.

The interesting part of this nomenclature is that 5,000 cowries to the rupee was the approximate ruling rate of exchange in Manipur and the adjoining parts of Bengal between rupees and cowries, when the latter formed practically the sole currency of that part of India. 1 The authoritative evidence on the point is in the Lives of the Lindsay, Vol. III. p. 169 ff. When the Hon. Robert Lindsay was Resident and Collector of Sillah in 1778, cowries constituted nearly the whole currency of the country. The yearly revenue amounted to Rs. 2,50,000, and this was entirely paid in cowries at the rate of 5,120 to the rupee. 3

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69 Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 44 ff.
69 Colquhoun, Amongst the Shan, p. 220.
69 Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 44: Soppitt, Account of the Kachuri Tribes, p. 20.
69 Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 45; read with pp. 50, 55. 69 Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 220.
69 De Morga, p. 252: —"In some of these islands, the coasts, a quantity of small white snails are found, which they call signey; the natives collect them and sell them by measure to the Siamese, Cambodians, Fuchist men and other nations of the mainland, where they serve as coin." Bowring, Siam, Vol. II. p. 135, mentions these signey in 1778, quoting from Historia General de las Filipinas, Vol. XIV., without knowing what they were. La Loubère, Siam, 72, Ed. 1699, knew, however, that "coris" were the same as "signeyas."
69 Holt-Hallett, Thousand Miles on an Elephant, p. 164.
69 Brown, Manipūr, p. 41.
1 After the manner of all savages or semisavages, the Manipūrīs have devised an exceedingly complicated method of expressing their fractions: a detail of which is given by Mr. Primrose, loc. cit.
3 See Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 44. The whole question will be found elaborately discussed later on in Chapter II., Section on Manipūrī Weights.
In Siam, where cowries have been largely used for centuries, the exchange was about 5,000 to the rupee up to the middle of this Century. The evidence is as follows:—

1636. — Van Schouten, quoted by Bowring, Siam, Vol. I. p. 244: 6,400 to 7,200 to the tickal, = 4,800 to 5,400 to the rupee.

1688. — La Loubère, Siam, p. 73: same rate as above.

1823. — Crawfurd, Siam, p. 133; same rate.

1855. — Bowring, Siam, p. 257: 9,600 to the tickal, = 7,200 to the rupee.


Cowries have of course varied enormously in value in different places at different times. E.g., we learn from Gray’s notes to Pyrard de Laval, Vol. I. p. 239, that in Bengal Proper, c. 1800, they ran 3,840 to the rupee; and in 1820, as much as 6,000 to the rupee: while at the Maldives, their great source, they were, c. 1800, 12,000 to the rupee. However, to such a people as the Maipuri’s 5,000 cowries to the rupee must have long been the established rate. 25 We thus have the curious spectacle of a people, who have exchanged the actual use of the cowry for a bell-metal piece of 12½ times its value, still calculating the new currency in terms of the old.

(2) Paper. — Paper currency, being based on national credit, and arguing a high state of civilisation, has no connexion with those above described except in being non-metallic. Despite the misuse to which it has been put in the Far East, the principles upon which it should be based have long been understood, in China at any rate.

Ma Twan-lin, whose work was published in 1319, 26 is quoted by Yule to the following effect:—

“Paper should never be money. It should be only employed as a representative of value existing in metals or produce, which can be thus readily exchanged for paper, and the cost of its transport avoided. At first this was the mode in which paper currency was actually used among merchants. The Government, borrowing the invention from private individuals, wished to make real money of paper, and thus the original contrivance was perverted.”

How exactly the situation was grasped by these medieval merchants of China may be seen by a reference to the Indian Paper Currency Act (XX. of 1882). Sections 19, 20, 21, and 22 run to the following effect:—

“(19) The whole amount of the coin and bullion received under this Act, . . . . for currency notes, shall be retained and secured as a reserve to pay these notes, with the exception of . . . . an amount not exceeding sixty millions of rupees . . . .

(20) The amount (so excepted) shall be invested in securities of the Government of India. (21) The said coin, bullion and securities shall be appropriated and set aside to provide for the satisfaction and discharge of the said notes, and the said notes shall be deemed to have been issued on the security of the said coin, bullion and securities, as well as on the general credit of the Government of India . . . .

(22) The securities purchased . . . . shall be held by the Head Commissioner and the Master of the Mint at Calcutta, in trust for the Secretary of State for India in Council.”

Paper currency prevailed in China for a long while, apparently in every part of the Empire, and at least from the IXth to the XVth Centuries, A. D. At any rate we can gather as much from Marco Polo, Hayton the Armenian, Friar Odoric and other Missionary Friars, Pegolotti, Ibn Batuta, Toscanelli, Barbaro, and Shāh Rukh’s Ambassadors. 4 But, excepting in two doubtful reports in Beck and Bowring from Siam, I have never heard of the Chinese paper currency spreading South, though it spread East into Japan. The kings and rulers of the Southern Kingdoms must, however, in any case have long been familiar with it, for, from the History of

25 In 1873 in Maipuri cowries ran in account 5,500 to the Ru., in cash 5,250 to 6,000. In 1783 in Sihli they ran 5,129. In Northern India they ran in 1740, 2,400; in 1756, 2,600; in 1889, 6,400. See Brown, Manipur, p. 89; Lives of the Lendas, Vol. III. p. 100; Beames’ Elliot’s Glossary, Vol. II. p. 318.


4 The places actually mentioned by these and Asiatic travellers as those in which they found a paper currency are:—XIIIth Cent, all over the Empire; XIVth Cent., Hangchou to Pekin, Canton, and Chin-chau; XVth Cent., Pekin, Ching-tung-fu. See Yule, Cathay, Vol. I. pp. evxii., exic., exvii., 115, 243; Vol. II. pp. 297, 420; Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 380.
the Ming Dynasty, Bk. 325, we find that "King Maraja Kala of Puni" (West Coast of Borneo) went to Fukien in 1408, and seems to have died there. He was succeeded by his son Hia-Wang (Chinese title), and to him on his departure was given paper money amongst other things. Again in 1411 the King of Malacca, "situated at the South of Champa (Cambodia)," visited the Emperor, and "on the moment of starting" back again, he received, among other things, "400,000 kwan of paper money."

The above and other similar quotations, which might be extracted from the Chinese annals, may explain an otherwise inexplicable statement in Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 399, who there tells us, in his description of the Siamese Exhibition held at Bangkok in 1882, that there was a "show of ancient coins, some flat and some spherical, solid bars of silver and gold with a stamp at one end, side by side with old paper currency, lead, crockery and porcelain tokens, and cowries."

It may, however, be possible that a paper currency has been long established in Siam, for we read in Bowring, Siam, Vol. I. p. 257: "The Government issues (in 1855) promissory notes of various amounts, even to one-eighth of a tical. They do not seem to be extensively current, and, I believe, have not experienced any depreciation."

I must conclude this long disquisition on barter and the like by a quotation from Nicolò Conti, who travelled in the East between 1419 and 1444. In answer to Foggio's questions, as recorded in the Historia de Variis Fastuosi, he gave, among other things, a remarkable account of the currencies he encountered "in India"; but in reality he must have spoken also from what he had heard or seen in China and Indo-China, for he had, in the course of his many peregrinations, "arrived at a river larger than the Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants Dava" and "at a city more noble than all the others, called Ava, the circumference of which is fifteen miles." In his account he wanders over the whole range of civilised currency, as he found it in the East, in a confused and discursive, but withal most quaint and instructive manner. Some regions have no money, but use instead stones which we call cats' eyes. In other parts their money consists of pieces of iron, worked into the form of large needles. In others the medium of exchange consists of cards inscribed with the name of the king. In some parts again of interior India, Venetian ducats are in circulation. Some have golden coins, weighing more than double of our (Italian) florin, and also less, and, moreover, silver and brass money." To shew, however, that he mixed up India, China and Indo-China in this account, he follows it up in the same paragraph by saying: "They do not write as we or the Jews do, from left to right or right to left, but perpendicularly, carrying the line from the top to the bottom of the page (Chinese). There are many languages and dialects in use among the Indians. They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor (Siam)."

(To be continued.)

* India in XVII Century, Vol. II. p. 11. For the River Dava read d'Ava.
* There are two exceedingly interesting cases of paper money introduced, one temporarily by a British official, and one by a private Englishman, in modern times among the Oriental Islands.

In 1861 there was introduced into the Andaman Islands a token currency in copper, which lasted till 1870, being abandoned as a failure, chiefly on the Inspection Report of Nelson Davies of 1867; idem Vol. I. pp. 15, 38, 62: Vol. II. pp. 49, 244. The communications between the Andamans and India was then intermittent and infrequent, and in 1875, there was introduced temporarily on 5 July, 1867, a paper card token by Col. Ford, the Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, owing to the supply of copper tokens running short, while waiting for the fresh supply ordered from Calcutta. These card tokens ran till the 29th October, 1867. They were printed on both sides as follows: - Obv. 'Superintendent's Office. 1 Royal Arms, as then used in the Settlement, crossed diagonally by signature in facsimile 'B. Ford,' 1 Port Blair.' Rev. 'Value one rupee in the Port Blair Treasury.' Number in blue ink.')

In the Cocos-Keeling Islands, the property of the Boss family, the currency "is a parchment currency, convertible at a fixed ratio into rupees or dollars, when an Islander makes a rare visit to Batavia or Singapore, or when a Banianese cooly leaves the Islands to return home," Sat. Review, 29th May, 1877, p. 599, quoting a blue-book Papers Relating to the Cocos-Keeling and Christmas Islands.
NOTES ON THE SPIRIT BASIS OF BELIEF AND CUSTOM.

BY SIR J. M. CAMPBELL, E.C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 279.)

Zoting is the ghost of a man who dies unmarried, leaving no relation. He seizes and annoys people without provocation. He lives in an old empty house, or in some burning or burial ground. He is the most obstinate and faithless of spirits. His promises and oaths have to be received with caution. He extorts offerings of kids, chickens, cooked rice and clothes which he demands at most inconvenient times, and even after getting what he asks he will come again and demand a fresh offering. Many are the pranks and tricks played by Zoting.

Water-Spirits.—The most important and widely known of Kokoan water-spirits are Asras, Bapdev, Girâ, and Hadal or Hedall. Asras are the ghosts of young women, who, after giving birth to one or more children, commit suicide by drowning. They live in water, and attack any one who comes near them, especially at noon, in the evening, and at midnight. When Asras make their rounds they generally go in groups of three to seven. Their chief objects of attack are young women. When a woman is attacked by the Asras a female exorcist is called to get rid of them. Their favourite offerings are cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and green-bodice cloths. Bapdev is the ghost of a drowned sailor. He is much feared by mariners, who please him with offerings of fruit and cocoanuts. Girâ is the spectre of a man who has either been drowned in a well, tank, channel, or river, or in the sea. His feet are turned backwards. Whosever Girâ attacks, the feet of that person become crooked. He is said to allure travellers by calling them by their names. He sometimes offers to guide lonely travellers, and taking them into deep water drowns them, thus making them members of his clan. The Girâ is supposed to fear the sight of knives and scissors. Should any person happen to cut the sheduli or top-knot of the Girâ he will come to him at night to ask for the top-knot, and in return will do any work the person may require of him. Hadal or Hedall is supposed to be the spectre of a married woman who has been drowned in a well, tank, or river. She wears a yellow robe and bodice and green bangles, and lets her hair fall loose down her back. She is said to be plump in front, and a skeleton behind. She generally attacks women. A woman who is attacked by a Hedall lets her hair fall loose, shakes all over, and shrieks. The Hedall is said to be much afraid of the Brahmaical thread.

84 Compare : — The Romans worshipped water nymphs (Smith’s Classical Dictionary). The Greeks believed that water-nymphs inspired men. The Swedes believe that drowned men, whose bodies are not found, have been drawn into the dwelling of the water-spirits (Grimm’s Teutonic Mythology, Vol. II. p. 487). The Germans had water-spirits called Nixus and Nix (op. cit. Vol. II. p. 489). Scott (Border Minstrelsy, p. 444) mentions a class of water-spirits, called Dæmon who tempted women and children under water by showing them floating gold. The water-spirit was greatly feared in Mexico (Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 422). The Nix or water-man was also greatly feared in Middle-Age Europe (Tylor’s Primitive Culture, Vol. I. pp. 108, 109, 123; Vol. II. p. 260). Heywood quoted in Scott’s Border Minstrelsy, (Vol. II. p. 122, Edn. 1516), says : —

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   "   ........................................
   another sort
   Ready to cram their joints who swim for sport,
   One kind of these the Italians hate named,
   See the French, we Sibyls, and the same
   Others white nymphs, and those that have them seen,
   Night ladies some, of which Habundin queen."
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The water-spirit was also known as the Kelpi. It appeared in the form of a horse, a bull, or a man, and deceived people by sending dancing lights or will-o’-the-wisp (Leslie’s Early Races of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 427; Scott’s Border Minstrelsy, p. 540). Some Kelpies live in the sea, where they cause whirlpools and shipwrecks (Burtton’s Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 124; Scott’s Border Minstrelsy, pp. 507, 508). In China, the great flood-land, Confucius (B. C. 500) found water-spirits overflowing and surrounding worshippers. Though unseen and unheard the water-spirits entered into all things, nothing was without them. Doctrine of the Mean, Vol. XVI. p. 3.

85 Compare : — In Denmark, the popular belief pictures the Ellekone as captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading trough (Grimm’s Teutonic Mythology, Vol. II. p. 440).
Underground Spirits.—In the Konkan, it is believed "that all buried treasure, all mines of gold, silver and precious stones, all caves, and all ruined fortresses are guarded by underground spirits in the shape of hairy serpents or frogs. These spirits never leave their place, and they attack or injure those only who come to remove the things they are guarding.

Fear of spirits and belief in their doings are not peculiar to the Konkan. The Bijapur Gaolls of Marathi origin, perhaps because their lives are spent with cows, are said not to believe in witchcraft, because no Gaoll ever becomes a ghost. It has been held that, as they leave their dead behind them, wanderers are not troubled by the thought of spirits. It has been specially alleged that the Scythians were so stout and warlike that they saw neither sights nor spirits. The correctness of this view, especially in the case of the Tartars, is doubtful. Details of the doings and position of the šaman or spirit-mediums show a general and extreme fear of spirits among the peoples of Central Asia. Similarly, the Arabs, the other great nomads, are rich in spirits of special fierceness and cruelty. From very early times (B.C. 4000) the Chaldeans have had hosts of spirits or angels in heaven, on the earth, and in the underworld, and other spirits, partly evil, partly good. Gujarati Musalmans, besides the great army of fire-sprung Jins, dread Bhënasüris, Churails, and Jhâmpdâ, the ghosts of the damned, of the unclean, and of the murdered. In Kumaon in the Himalayas, in 1823, the mountaineers believed in the existence of various tribes of ghosts, evil spirits, demons, goblins, fairies and elves. The wild Opions of East Bengal fear Charail, the spirit of a woman who has died in child-bed. She lives among tombs, is fair in front and black behind, and has her feet turned backwards. She catches passers-by. If the passer has his wits about him, Charnel can do him no harm; if he has been drinking, she will make him senseless. The Gonds people hills, valleys and trees with Gond spirits; the Bhutins of Bhutan believe in a countless host of spirits; and the Karens have a spirit in every object. In the Karatâk and Mysore, the spirits called Munis are worshipped, and are considered demons of the first magnitude. The local Brâhmanas do not worship them openly, but send offerings secretly. The Baydaron of Mysore pray to Marimâ, the goddess of small-pox, and offer her flesh. In Mysore, during an epidemic, the head-man and leading villagers collect pigs, fowls, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, and start from the village to the village boundary with a basket in their hand. As the party passes each house the family throw a handful of rice into the basket, in the hope that the evil spirit of the epidemic may go in the rice. The basket is carried to the boundary and left there. In rural Mysore, the object of universal worship is Amma, the Mother. She corresponds to Durga, Kali, or Châmpudâ, and like them sends small-pox and measles. Human victims were formerly offered to Amma: now she is satisfied with a yearly buffalo. Munis or destructive male spirits are much worshipped in Coimbatore. Unless a Brâhman reads texts, the dying Koimbor warrior believes that he is likely to become a Muni. Even a Brâhman becomes a Muni if he meets with a violent death. The Tuwis, and also the Karens of Burma, consider the Rainbow a spirit. The Karga stand in special dread of evil spirits called Kntilô. 

Footnotes:
54 Compare the European Middle-Age belief in the spirits 'detali and Cobali, who guarded mines and caused earthquakes (Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 126).
55 From MS. Note.
56 Compare the shaman among the Tangus of Central Siberia (Baring Gould's Strange Survivals, pp. 153, 154).
57 Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 8. Coleridge's classification of spirits (Note on Ancient Mariner) into human, angelic and a third root found in every climate and element probably goes as far back as the Chaldeans.
58 Information from Mr. Faital Latifullah. In Kashmir, in 1840, the traveller Vigne recorded Jins, Dyuos (cannibal giants), Yech (astro), Dyut (house-spirits), Brum-bam-chuk (Will o' the wisp), Whop (cat-shaped), Noshran (old men), Gbor (the same as yeh, a feeder on dead bodies), Rantis (trails), and Riha (non-descript female fairies). (Tresse, Vol. I, p. 328-329.)
60 Hislop's Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, p. 4.
61 Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 97.
64 Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 262.
68 Black's Folk-Lore Medicine, p. 11.
to please whom dances or masks are held. Bhairav Dévarn, the god of the Kurubars, is an unfriendly male spirit. The Parsis of Malabar believe that, after death, good men become gods and bad men evil spirits. The Telugu Baydaras or Bedars, who, according to Buchanan, are the true husbandmen of Telangana, believe that, after death, wicked men become devils and good men are reborn as men. The Kad Kumbaras, a wild Mysore tribe, believe that the spirits of the dead come to the aged, and tell them to make offerings to the hill goddess. The following male spirits — Fisháchás, Gudghakás, Siddhás, Bhnás, and Cháranas — live with the gods, especially with Shiv, as servants; and the following female spirits — Yogins, Dákini, Kakinás, Snáhinás, Bhnínás, and Pretínás — attend on Durgá, the wife of Shiv. According to the Chinese traveller Huen Tsiang (A. D. 620), the reason for abandoning the convent at Dharmikat near the mouth of the Kshána, was that the spirit of the hill changed itself. It became a wolf or an ape and frightened travellers.

In Ceylon, in 1829, the people were slaves to the belief in the influence of evil spirits. The people sang and danced all night, made offerings, and carried away charms, to keep off disease and evil. The evil spirits belonged to two main divisions — those approaching to the nature of gods, wise, powerful, and not merciless, living in the upper regions of the sky, in magnificent palaces decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, enjoying an amount of happiness little inferior to that of the gods themselves, and sometimes called dewávatas; and those who with wild, savage, gross, beast-like natures pass their time near the surface of the earth, revelling in scenes of blood and misery, bringing disease and death on men, and in return receiving offerings of rice, meat, and blood.

To the second division belonged four classes: — Ballí-caama, lovers of bali, or cooked rice offerings; Billí-caama, lovers of live offerings; Ratti-caama, lovers of music, dancing, and other such pleasures; Hantu-caama, lovers of death. The names of the leading spirits were Roeri Yakseya (demon of blood), Calloé Yakseya (black demon), Sanny Yakseya (the great demon of fatal diseases), Maha Sohen Yakseya (great graveyard demon), Calloé Cumare Dewatama (the black prince), and Hooniyán Yakseya (sorcery demon). The other spirits were Athemana Yakseya, Tota Yakseya, Bahirawa Yakseya, Madana Yakseynio (female demons of lust), Morottoo Yaka (demon of Morottoo or Rata Yaka, that is, foreign demon), Gopola Yakseya (demon of cattle), Anjenam Dewi, Badaracali, Riddhi Yakseynio, Uda Yakseya, Curumbera Yakseya, Hanums, Garo Yaka, Gewal Yakseya, Bodrima, and Pretayo. The chief of all Ceylon demons was Wahala Bandara Dewiyo. The usual haunts of these demons were trees, roads, wells, woods, old deserted houses, temples of gods, and graves and graveyards. They frightened people not by actually seizing them but by other means quite as effectual — by throwing sand or stones handful after handful, by appearing as a dark-featured man or like the passing shadow of a man, followed immediately by a loud crashing noise as if a number of elephants were forcing their way through the jungle, and sometimes appearing in the guise of an old man or of a young woman with a child in her arms.

The Parsis had a half-man, half-spirit class, who were incarnate devils. And among the Persian spirits were Yatus, Pairkas, Cathras, Koyas and Karahns. Chengiz Khán (1162)

When the Turk finishes his prayers he bows to the right and left, saluting the spirits of good and evil. Arab tradition mentions forty troops

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7 Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society, 1835, p. 10.
11 Bleck's Feudiddles, p. 91.
12 Lelmont's Chaldean Magic, p. 144.
of jīnas, each troop 6,00,000 strong. Some are land-spirits, some sea-spirits, some air-spirits; some fly, some lodge in animals, some lodge in men. 19

Arabs believe that bad smells are caused by spirits, who they think get into the body through the nose, and affect the health. The Bedouins seldom go into a town because of the smells. If they do, they stop their noses with a cloth. 20 “The Arabian desert,” says Mr. H. Spencer, “is so thick with spirits that no one can throw anything without striking a spirit.” 21 The prophet mentions five classes of Arab spirits: Jīns, Junus Efrits, Mādís, and Shaitāns. 22 Other accounts add: Dulhān, an ostrich-riding sea-spirit; Gaḥḍār, a Yemen man-torturer; Ghūl, a female cannibal; Nnās, a half man cut lengthwise; Saalāh, a man-eating forest spirit; Shikke, a man cut lengthwise. 23 The Arab Ghūl (a female man-eater) belongs to the order of Shaitāns or Evil-Jins. Some authors describe the Ghūl as an enchanter that appears in human or in animal form or in some monstrous guise. The Ghūl haunts burial-grounds, lonely places, deserts, and wastes, and allures and eats travellers. Another opinion is that when the devils (Shaitāns) attempt to overhear some of the heavenly power on the power on the skirts of the lowest heaven they are driven out by falling stars. Of the fugitives some are burnt, some fall into the sea as crocodiles, others fall on land and become Ghūls. The male of the Ghūl class of spirits is by most writers called Kxtrab. 24 Mas’ūdī 25 (A. D. 930) says:— “The Arabs have many accounts of Ghūls assuming different shapes. They believe that Ghūls appear in lonely places, and Arabs say they have often entertained Ghūls as guests.” Arab poetry is rich in allusions to Ghūls. The Arab poet, known as Ta-ābba Sharrān (the carrier of evil under his arm), says:—

“The black one whose pavilion I entered as readily
As the high-bosomed maiden enters her corset
Her at morn when I awoke I found to be a Ghūl.
Alas! for one whose companion is so hideous.
I asked her for my dole. She discovered herself
In a monstrous face and changing form.
‘Tell him who wishes to ask for my fair comrade,
She pitches her tent at the edge of a winding desert.’”

The Arabs believe that the Ghūl is cloven-footed. When they meet in the desert a person whom they suspect of being a Ghūl they say:—

“Oh cloven-foot, beat me news
Whether thou hast come along a way or path.”

If the form is a Ghūl it will disappear; otherwise in the dusk the traveller might take the form for a woman and follow her to destruction, for Ghūls lure men with songs and bonfires. Some of the companions of the Prophet (on whom be peace) have related stories of Ghūls. The Khallīfa Umr (A. D. 630) tells how, on a journey to Syria, he struck a Ghūl with his sword, and she disappeared.

Two classes of female spirits, the Kīrāb and the Kdār, roughly correspond to Succubus, the female, and Incubus, the male, nightmare, not mentioned by Lane-Poole, are described by Mas’ūdī. Mas’ūdī says:— “The Kīrāb and the Kdār have connection with men and women with a result generally fatal to the human lover. The Kīrāb hides itself and frightens people

19 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 34.
20 Burkhardt’s Arabia, Vol. II. p. 85. Compare the merchant in the Thousand and One Nights who killed a jīn by throwing away a date stone (Lane’s Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 228).
22 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 21. All of these are Jīnas. The Persians call good Jīnas Pahrs, and evil Jīnas Narah, literally male.
24 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 34.
25 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 21. All of these are Jīnas. The Persians call good Jīnas Pahrs, and evil Jīnas Narah, literally male.
26 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, pp. 42, 43.
shouting — ‘Art thou one who was married or frightened? ‘If the answer is, ‘Married,’ the friends despair of curing the person affected. If the reply is, ‘Frightened,’ they console him and assuage his fear, and he often recovers.” As regards the Jins, Wâhhab, son of Munabbih, the son of Isâhâk, has written that God created the Jin out of smokeless fire, and made him a wife out of the Jin’s own body, as God created Hawwa (Eve) out of Adam’s rib. His wife bore Jin thirty-one eggs. The first lodger to crack his shell was Kutrub the male Ghûl as well as the kitten-shaped female Ghûl or Kutrubah. One of the next eggs to crack shewed Iblis, whose home is Mesopotamia. Other eggs gave forth other classes of spirits, the Saâdâts who live in baths and dunghills. The Hwâms or Hamânis in shape like winged serpents, and the Hwâthîf a wandering formless voice, airy tongues that syllable men’s names in sands and wastes and desert wildernesses. Indian Musalâms believe that a hundred-years old cobra develops a tufted knot; at its tail and every century adds a knot. A cobra with six knots becomes a Nas-nâs and gains the power of assuming any shape. A prince married a Nas-nâs whom he met on his way from hunting in the form of a beautiful woman in deep distress. His married life weakened the prince till at last he could hardly walk. One night he awoke and saw the lamp at the end of the room flaring. As he could hardly walk he asked his bride to trim the lamp. She stretched an arm that lengthened down the room and put right the lamp. The prince told his father that his bride was a witch. The father called his soothsayers, and the Nas-nâs was burned alive, abusing the idiocy and the ingratitude of mankind. The Muslims of Egypt hold that the Afrîf and the Mîrîd are the most powerful and malicious of spirits.25

The Burmans have good spirits and bad spirits, as the butterfly soul and the true soul. They have guardian nûds or house-spirits, twelve in number, six male and six female.26 The Burmans believe that some of them have regular houses or abodes; and that others live away from houses and villages.27 Some spirits live in tree-tops, as the Aakkasah; some in tree-trunks, as the Shahkasah; some in roots, as the Beamosahs. The presence of spirits in trees can be known by the quivering and trembling of the leaves when other leaves are still.28 The ranks of Burman spirits are recruited from men who die a violent death, or who have been executed for bad deeds.29 Burmah is supposed to be plagued with bûde, creatures in human guise who devour men.30 The Burmans wash the dead once a month. The Pegu people believe that frequent washing destroys and irritates the genius who dwells in the head, and protects man.31 For the comfort of the house-spirits the tops of all the posts in the house are covered with a hood of cotton cloth wherein the spirits live.32 The house-spirit Eling-Soung Nât lives in a cotton night-cap or hood on the top of a pillar.33 The spirit Moung Inn Gyee was feared all round Rangoon as far as Pegu. He is said to live in water and to cause death. A yearly festival is held in his honour.34 At the boat races the Burmans offer plantains to the water-spirits.35 The Burmans have so great a fear of water-spirits that they dare not rescue a victim from drowning. The Buddhist Burmans, who never kill even an insect, will stand by and see a man drown without helping him.36 The Chinese have an extreme fear of spirits.37 The Chinese refrain from saving a drowning man, because it is a spirit that drags him down. A similar idea used to be prevalent in England and Scotland.38 The Chinese believe that their waters are full of angry spirits anxious to drown men. To prevent this they put up pillars on the bank to Pât-Pee, the coming Buddha; and offer white horses.39 In China, women who commit suicide, children who die in infancy, unmarried women, and beggars who die at street corners become spirits.40

25 Arabian Life in the Middle Ages, p. 224.
31 Mrs. Gray’s Fourteen Months in Canton, p. 442.
38 Gray’s China, Vol. II. p. 84.
The Australians suppose that thickets, pools and rocks swarm with spirits. They believe that white men are the ghosts of dead Australians, and that the Kiniir-Kiniir or spirits of the departed wander over the earth. The Australians have crowds of spirits called Ingranis, who worry and trouble men. They throw heated stones and sit upon men as nightmares. The Australians believed in innumerable evil spirits. The ghosts of hostile or unburied dead filled heaven and earth and caused evil. Australians hated to name the dead, to go near a grave, or to dream. They did not attempt to propitiate with charms the spirits. The object of their rites was to counteract the power of the unfriendly spirits.

The Dayaks of Borneo and the Papuans of New Guinea believe in evil spirits of the clouds, the sea, the rocks, and the forests. Before cutting down a tree the Dayaks are careful to please Pulang Gama, the place-spirit. The Philippine Islanders see phantoms, called tibalong, on the tree-tops. Children are carried off by their dead mothers who are vastly tall, with long hair, little feet, long wings, painted bodies and a peculiar smell. The Islanders show the ghost-mothers to the Spaniards, but the Spaniards cannot see them. The Motus of New Guinea believe that the departed sometimes appear on earth. Children will run into the house and tell their widowed mother that their father has come back to see them; she goes to the door, and true enough sees her husband standing with his feet in the ground, as if he had risen out of it. She tries to catch hold of him, but he sinks back into the earth. The people do not cite these experiences as nursery tales. They firmly believe them, and in confirmation of these appearances appeal to the evidence of their own eyes. They also believe that when a person dies, the spirit of some departed friend comes to carry the spirit away. The health and lives of the Shoas and Gallas of North-East Africa are in the hands of a class of demons called Zar to whom tobacco smoke is as incense.

In Madagascar, the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell on lofty mountains. In the Lovale country, in the west of South Central Africa, inland from the Kongo River, men dress as sham devils and clear the wood of real spirits. In South Central Africa, one of the natives came close to Captain Cameron, and after a good look covered his face with his hands, and yelled. He had never seen a white man, and took Cameron for a devil. The Bongos of the White Nile and other negroes hold that no good ever came from a spirit. The only thing they know about spirits is that they do harm. In Kuingo, near the White Nile, a great cavern is supposed to be full of spirits. Really it is full of bats and porcupines. Kaffirs refuse to save a drowning man. They think the water-spirit has dragged him in.

In Mexico, women who die in child-bed are feared and honoured. After death they become spirits, and act as guardians or attendants of the sun. Formerly young men tried to cut off the hair of such women, and wizards to cut off the left arm. The Mexicans deified all women who died in child-birth. Shrines decked with paper images were raised to their honour in every ward that had two streets. Once a year all persons sentenced to death were slain in honour of the goddess, that is, of the spirits of dead women. The spirits of these women moved through the air, and entered into people. They made children sick, sending paralysis and other sudden diseases. Their favourite haunt on earth was cross-roads, and on certain days of the year people would not go out of the house for fear of them. They were propitiated by offerings of bread and roasted maize. The wild tribes of Brazil live in constant fear of spirits. However brave in

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44 Description Sociologie, 3 Table 4.
45 Storia Journals, June 1881, p. 187.
47 Sibree's Madagascar, p. 312.
51 Wallace's Australiania, p. 100.
57 Cunningham's South Africa, p. 325.
war, a Brazilian rarely goes out alone at night. They have numbers of spirits unconnected with material objects. The chief of these are Gouronperas (ill-natured spirits), who come under many forms and stir disputes among men; Yanches like dwarfs or big dogs whose barking is heard in the storm, like the German and French wild chase, and Sponias (sea spirits), who entice sailors on to the rocks. Several American tribes believe that as in life the mass counts little the mass of spirits do little good and little harm. They shew their presence only by a slight whizzing. Robust spirits make the ears to tingle with their demands for food. The still sturdier take their abode in some human body. The sturdiest, who when alive have been sorcerers, suicides or murderers, enter into bodies and so affect the owner of the body as to drive him mad or witless. The Zaparo Indians of South America fear that a woman who dies in child-bed comes back longing for her child; they, therefore, bury the live child with the dead mother. The Americans thought Will-o-the Wisp a very dangerous spirit. In British Guiana, the Kenaima spirits, who cause sickness, are much feared. They are driven out by healers or pecan, who in proof take a caterpillar out of the patient.

Among the ancients the Accadians or early Chaldeans (B.C. 4000-2000) had five classes of ill-wishing spirits: stugay second class spirits, utesay destroyers, geyoms (?) unknown, telesis warriors, and maskin snackers. The Assyrians (B.C. 1200-800) and the Babylonians (B.C. 800-580) believed that the world was swarming with bad little spirits who might be swallowed and cause disease. The Persians (B.C. 580-330) developed a system of guardian angels as elaborate as to give rise to the saying — "An Angel falls in every raindrop." This theory of spirit-rule was adopted both for men and for countries by the Jews and to some extent by the New Testament. The Christian elaborated the idea. The poet Spencer (A.D. 1600) saw bright squadrons of golden-pinioned angels planted round men to guard them against foul fiends; and in later times (d. 1711) Bishop Ken has passed on the doctrine of the individual guardian.

Among the Greeks, the Stoics believed in countless immortal spirits that abounded in the air. The Romans had chimney spirits. The Roman Lar, or nobles in the original Etruscan, were supposed to guard crossways and to watch houses. They were of two classes, public and private. The Roman Lemures were spirits, either of all dead or of bad dead, generally of bad dead. Among the Middle-Age Europe (1493-1541) spirits were Dases, spirits of wood; Eaur, spirits of stones; Gnomes, under-ground spirits; Lemures, water-spirits; Penates, fire-spirits; Sylphs, dwarfs; and Travanes, ghosts. The Germans believed in dwarf spirits called Kobold, Goblin and Bogie, also in Pottergeist, the knocking or death-watch spirits. According to one account (Conway’s, Demonology and Devil-lore, Vol. II. p. 318) the Pottergeist are unwashed children whom Eve kept out of

69 Black’s Folklore Medicine, p. 8.
71 Pinay’s Natural History, Book xxi. Chap. 27.
72 Riley’s Trans. of Ovid’s Fasti, p. 74. According to Ducre (Dance of Death, p. 5) the Larve or Larus, unless cared for, were apt to become unfriendly.
73 Festivals in honour of the Lemures, or evil dead, were held in Rome on the 9th, 11th and 13th May. The details illustrate the fear of spirits. The temples of the gods were shut to keep out the spirits; no marriage took place for fear of their unfriendly influence. In the festival the people walked barefoot, because spirits would be enraged by leather, washed hands three times, and threw black beans, which spirits disliked.
74 Cunningham’s Classical Dictionary.
God's sight. The Skandinavians believed in spirits called Dnargor who lived in hills. Among the Fins and among the Samoiedes of North-West Siberia every object is full of small spirits called Maahinen, that is, earth-spirits. These spirits have power over everything. Under their influence crops grow, cows yield milk, and milk yields butter. In return milk and other good things are set apart for the Maahinen. Dolls also are made for them, because when the Maahinen go into any object and feel at home in it, they are kindly, and act as guardians.

In Russia, the worship of the great spirit of cold, of which trace remains in the English Jack Frost, continues. The Croats believe in spirits called Vilas, who float about and make storm and flood. In North and North-East Europe, the belief in the forest spirit Rusiakli, the wicked souls of unbaptised girls, is general. The Slavs pray:— "Oh Rusiakli, touch not our crowns." But the terror of Rusiakli pales before the Vampire, which is believed to be the spirit of a wizard or heretic, who, from his lodging in some corpse, steals in at night and sucks the blood of the living. The corpse in which the Vampire lodges should be taken out of the grave, a white thorn stake driven through the corpse at a single stroke, and the corpse burnt. Another leading Russian spirit is Domovoi, the house-spirit, who, though he bears the blame of any domestic mishap, is of the guardian or helpful class like the English Brownie or Robin Goodfellow. In Brittany, in West France, in 1825, a class of tiny spirits called Gavrics danced and made passers dance among the standing stones, which were known as the Giant’s Dance.

The fairy spirits of the Irish were Shefro, Chericanne, Banshee, Phooks, Merrow, Dullahan, and Fir-darrig. The name Shefro was a generic name for the elves who lived in troops or communities, and were popularly supposed to own castles or mansions. The Chericanne was distinguished by his solitary habits. The Banshee, an attendant fairy or spirit, mourned the death of any member of a family to which she attached herself. The Phooks appears to be a modification of Robyn Goodfellow or Puck. The Merrow was a mermaid. The Dullahan was a malicious sullen spirit or goblin, and the Fir-darrig a little merry red man.

Old England (1000-1400) was full of fairies. Among them were Lada, Radiant Boys, Silky, Pick-tree Brag, Padfoot, Barguest, and Powries and Dunkers who inhabit forts. In the twelfth century, Gerwase of Tilbury found in England, Portani, goblins who leaped on horses and set the riders astray. Follets who were harmless, and Incibus which was the Roman Fawn. In 1290, a cave in a castle of Lord Gifford was called Both, that is, Hobgoblin, Hall. The English catechism of the fifteenth century states that some of the angels who

76 Scott's Demonology and Witchcraft, p. 131. Tylor (Primitives Cultures, Vol. I., p. 144) gives six classes, in Middle-Age Europe—fire, air, earth, water, under-earth, light-flyers.

77 Scott's Border Minstrelies, p. 441.

78 Compare Coleridge on the functions of the higher nature-spirits:

"Some nurse the infant diamond in the mine,
Some roll the genial juices through the oak;
Some drive the mutinous clouds to clash in air,
And rushing on the storm with whirlwind speed,
Yoke the red lightnings to their volcanic car."

79 Reville's Les Religions des Peuples Non-Civilisés, Vol. II., p. 214. These are notable instances of the two laws: (a) a doll is an idol; (b) a guardian is a squared or housed flend.

80 Ralston's Russian Folklore, p. 214.


82 Folklore Record, Vol. IV., p. 56.

83 Student's Essay, 'Vampire.' The union of two experiences compels the belief in the Vampire. (1st) The common grief for a young man or woman wasting in consumption as if the blood which is the life was sucked out of them. (2nd) The occasional unearthing of a long dead corpse from which when cut fresh blood flows. The sense seems to be: the guardian white-thorn stake pricks the Vampire, and with the corpse the Vampire's power is consumed. In Bulgaria, it is believed that any one may become a 'Vampire over whom a cat or a boy jumps or a bird flies: that is, when they are above him an evil spirit may pass from the boy or the cat or the bird into the person overleapt, and so the spirit may become a Vampire.

84 Ralston's Russian Songs, p. 129; Englishwomen in Russia, p. 161.


86 Henderson's Folk-Lore, pp. 256, 267-274.

87 Tyrwhitt's Charmer, p. 189.
were cast out of heaven were sent into hell, some reigned in the sky, some in the earth, some in the waters, and some in the woods. The Rosicrucians (A. D. 160.)? people the air with Sylphs, the earth with Gnomes, the fire with Salamanders, and the water with Nymphs. Boh or Hobgoblin was afterwards, or at least was better, known as Puck or as Robin Good-fellow. Shakespeare (1600) describes Robin as a shrewd and a knavish sprite, who frights the maidens of the villagers and skins milk. He sometimes labours with the queen or hand-mill, makes the churning of the breathless housewife useless, works the drink so that it bears no harm, and misleads night wanderers, laughing at the harm. In England, about 1620, the leading spirits were genii, fauns, satyrs, wood nymphs, foliots, fairies, robin good-fellows, and trolls. The bigger kind of spirits were hob-goblins, who ground corn, cut wood and meaded iron. In Welsh mines, in 1750, fairies were often heard at work. They were friendly and guided the human miners to rich veins. In 1800, a demon called Barguest, haunted Yorkshire lanes and forbode death. In 1830, boggles (bug a scare crow) drove all traffic from the Gallows Lane at Lincoln. During the last three hundred years English poets have maintained the belief in countless spirits. According to Milton (1650): — "Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep." And two hundred and fifty years later, in spite of the desolation of progress, the poet eye of Coleridge had the same vision as Milton: — "Oh ye numberless and rapid travellers, what ear unstunned, what sense unmingled, might bear up against the rushing of your congregated wings?"

So many forms of the devil do the seventeenth century witch-trials show that it seems the devil might alone people the earth. Man in many forms, beautiful women, youths, priests, and black men: of animals the cat, toad, rabbit, pig, rat, dog, deer, ass, and snake: of birds the crow, kite, chicken, magpie, goose, and duck: of insects the bee, fly, and flea: of other shapes a winged child, a ball, a hay-stack, a tree-trunk, and a coach wheel. These seem the leading objects which in former times were believed to be spirit-homes. In seventeenth century Scotland, among the noble army of spirits held in respect and constantly seen were devils, bull-beggars, witches, elves, hags, fairies, Satyrs, Fauns, Nymphs, Syrens, Kit with the Canisie, Tritons, centaurs, dwarfs, giants, imps, calcears (?), conjurers, nymphs, changlings Incubus, Robin Good-fellow, the man in the oak, the hell wainie, the fire-drake, the pickle, Tom Thumb, Hob-Goblin, Tom Tumbler, Boneless, and others. In Scotland, in 1670, the common people called familiars white Devils. They were the same as the useful spirits formerly known as Brownie and Robin Good-fellow. They passed as human beings. Sharpe tells of a lady who had a little old serving man, Ethbert, who was really a familiar. Beaumont, about the same time, had two familiars to wait on him, brown women three feet high in black net-work gowns and white caps with lace. In Europe, at this time (1650), were seven good and seven bad familiars or evil genii. The good genii adapted themselves to the character of each person's soul. They suggested good, but if the soul preferred evil the seven good genii gave place to their seven evil companions. In Scotland, in the county of Kircudbright, in 1730, people firmly believed in ghosts, hob-goblins, fairies, elves, witches, and wizards. The ghosts and spirits often appeared at night. The people used many charms and incantations to preserve themselves, their cattle and horses from the malevolence of witches, wizards and evil spirits, and believed in the beneficial effects of these charms. They frequently saw the devil, who made wicked attacks upon them when they were engaged in their religious exercises. They believed in benevolent

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85 Burton’s Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 121.  86 Burton’s Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 121.
88 Gentleman’s Magazine Library, “Manners and Customs,” p. 32.
89 Paradise Lost, Book iv, line 677.  90 Tragedy of Heroe, Act I, Scene 2.
92 Reginald Scott’s Discovery of Witchcraft, p. 122.
93 Sharp’s Witchcraft in Scotland, p. 122.
spirits, whom they termed Brownies, who went about at night and performed for them some part of their domestic labour, such as threshing and winnowing; their corn, spinning, and charming. They fixed branches of the mountain ash or the narrow-leaved service tree above the stalls of their cattle to preserve them from the evil effects of elves and witches. In the Highlands of Scotland, there was a lake called Loch-an-Spoiradan, the Loch of Spirits. In the lake two spirits frequently made their appearance — the horse and the water-bull. The mermaid was another spirit. Before the rivers were swollen by heavy rains she was often seen, and was considered a fore-sight of drowning. Celtic mythology added a fourth spirit. When water is agitated by violent currents of wind, and spray is swept from its surface and driven before the blast, or whirled in circling eddies high in the air, the people consider the spin-drift the child of the angry blast and call it Mariach Shine, the Rider of the Storm. Suffolk people believe in mermaids who live in ponds, and mothers use the name mermaid to frighten their children. Waldron heard the following mermaid story from an Isle of Man fisherman: — "During the time that Oliver Cromwell usurped the government of England few ships resorted to this island, which gave the mermen and mermaids frequent opportunities of visiting the shore. On moonlight nights they have been seen combing their hair, but as soon as any one came near they jumped into the water. Some people, who lived near the shore, spread nets and watched for their approach, only one was taken, who proved to be a female. She was very lovely; above the waist she resembled a fine young woman, and below all was fish with fins and a spreading tail. She was carried to a house and used tenderly; but, although they set before her the best of provisions, she could not be prevailed on to eat or drink, neither could they get a word from her. They kept her three days; but, perceiving that she began to look very ill and fearing that some calamity would befall the island if they kept her till she died, they opened the door, when she raised herself on her tail and glided with incredible swiftness to the sea-side. Her keeper followed her at a distance, and saw her plunge into the water." It is customary in Yorkshire for people to sit and watch in the church porch on St. Mark's Eve, April 25th, from eleven o'clock at night till one in the morning. The third year (for this watch must be kept thrice) the watchers are supposed to see the ghosts of all who are to die the next year pass into the church, infants and young children not able to walk roll along the pavement. In 1800, Sir Walter Scott noticed that the belief in spirits who inhabited the air and the water was still general in Scotland. In England, the Gypsies keep alive the belief in spirit swarms. Gipsy boys at dawn see little men and carriages sitting in oak branches, beautifully dressed in green, white and other colours.

In connection with the numbers and swarms of spirits it is to be noted that instead of the six or seven spirits which in modern Europe are supposed to lodge in the human body, namely, life, wind, soul, spirit, conscience, genius, and heredity, according to earlier ideas, spirits or at least the greater spirits include swarms of distinct beings. The experience of conscience, or the voice of conscience, has been accepted as one of the strongest grounds for believing in more than one indwelling spirit. The Christian poet, Herrick (1660, Poems, Ed.1869, Vol. I. p.159), makes conscience a God in man, agreeing with the saying in the Emperor Akbar's (A.D.1600) religion: — "Deep in our soul lives the true agent God without equal who raises a stormy strife to stir us to the search of truth." The Arab who has heard the voice describes it as the voice of Háif the crier, a species of jinn. The Hindu has a strong sense of the divisibility of spirit.

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8 Brand's Popular Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 413.  
10 Note M to Lay of the Last Minstrel.  
11 Groomes's In Gipsy Teata, p. 296.  
12 Dabistan, Vol. III. p. 120.  
13 Arallan Life in the Middle Ages, p. 43.  
14 This law is not so clear to the fishers of Nairn in Scotland, who (Gathrie's Old Scotch Customs, p. 29) object to more than one couple being married at the same time, as there would be a struggle who would be first to leave the church, because the first to leave would carry away the blessing.
In a Hindu temple some of the spirits, or some of the spirit of the object worshipped, passes into every portion of the sweetmeats which are handed to the worshippers. So an epidemic is a spirit which can divide itself endlessly and pass into the bodies of the whole population of a city or country. Compare, among the Jews, in the Old Testament (Numbers, xiv. 25): — "The Lord took the spirit that was on Moses, and put it upon the seventy elders and they prophesied." And in the New Testament (St. Luke, viii. 27; St. Mark, v. 9): two thousand devils pass out of a man who is described as having only one devil. The experience of the spirit that suddenly aways a gathering of men, of cattle, or of other animals, makes easy the belief in the divisibility of spirit. A large gathering may be possessed by the guardian spirit, and yet the spirit in the guardian be unaltered. Part of a witch's familiar or house-spirit may go and worry some one and still not forsake its black cat or other everyday home. A similar experience explains such phrases as "the Spirit or Genius of the Age," which seems a trace of the belief that like every planet each age is under the influence of some special spirit. Another case of spirit divided and yet unaltered is Glamour. "Glamour," says Napier, "is a witch-power which makes the people see whatever the witch wishes them to see." The spirit of the witch passes into each of the crowd, and looking through their eyes makes them see as the witch wishes, the witch's spirit being all the time unaltered in the witch's body.

Again, among the Hindus, swarms of spirits constantly pass into the great Gods or Guardians. The Almighty is the home of spirits; Gaṇapati, the leader of the hosts, has a host in himself; Mahidev has his 1,000 names. His worshippers welcome Khandoba with the shout "yelkot, seven crores." The experience in the death of a man — the fading of the warmth, the ceasing of the pulse, the failure of breath, the disappearance of the image from the eyeball, seem to imply the departure of a set of distinct spirits.

Two other classes — strangers and enemies — have added to the hosts of evil spirits. In most countries and at most times, as in Germany, where fiend means foe, enemies have been considered either devils or devil-possessed. The Chinese call all strangers devils; the Tartar writers by speaking of the Chinaman as a děj or magician. Mr. Conway finds in the demons, in which men have believed, a catalogue of the obstacles in the fight of life. He holds that the number of survivals or custom traces of a demon pretty faithfully show the degree to which the special evil the devil represents affected the early man. Conway arranges his demons or early unfriendly forces under twelve heads: — hunger, heat, cold, physical convulsions, destructive animals, human enemies, barrenness, obstacles, river or hill, illusion, darkness, disease, death. This grouping of early spirits seems artificial. The early man dreads not the head of a class of spirits: he dreads the attacks of individual spirits, generally ancestral. The un-moral demon who rules a class of facts corresponds to the un-moral guardians, the gods of the Vēdas or of Greece and Rome. So the immoral devil belongs to the same later stage as the moral God or guardian of the Jew and Christian. With the teaching of universal experience the whole world became spirit-rulled and spirit-explained. Again, as knowledge and power grow spirits retire. In one branch after another spirit is replaced by law. Spirit fades from plant and animal: it stays in man because man's consciousness seems to imply at least a two-fold nature — body and mind. Even in the thought of man the domain of spirit keeps shrinking. Disease, even madness, is physical, dreams are children of the body, passions are not prompted from without, sin is not spirit-possessed, desire is not a fiend's hint, humour is not a demon's chuckle, neither freshness nor skill is genius-caused. In spite of this steady drawing in of the borders of

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17 Henry Vaughan (1660), Poems, Ed. 1883, p. 7.
18 Napier's Folk-Lore, p. 182.
19 Hindu doctors (Vine's Hindu Medicine, p. 209) consider the pulse a spirit, because it is a test of life. Fuller reference to this subject comes more suitably under "Funeral Rites."
20 Shea's Early Kings of Persia, p. 53, note 1. The idea that the stranger is a spirit appears in the wide-spread belief that, at the skirts of traffic, far-travelled traders deal with spirits. Compare DeGuignes Huns, Vol. I. p. 139.
spirit-land the belief remains that, unlike other animals, man has a two-fold nature—body and mind.

The earliness of the belief, that there is one or many spirits in man, suggests that this experience is the base of all belief in spirit. Before you have the idea of a disembodied spirit you must have the idea of an embodied spirit. But the early man's idea of himself is probably a spirit haunt. He knows the spirits in life pushing him to pleasure, to sin, to passion, haunting him with strange ideas. He sees them in life, the image in the eye, the warmth, the breath, the pulse in the breast, wrist and heel. He sees proofs of them at death when the eye grows glassy, the warmth cools, the pulse flutters and ceases. The conclusion seems to be: the idea of an embodied spirit starts earlier and will last longer than the idea of a disembodied spirit. In the development of spirit ideas the relation between the spirit in a man and the spirit in an animal has undergone one important change. The spirit in man is now supposed to be distinct from the spirit in animals. Among Hindus an old-fashioned groom keeps talking to his horse, apparently never doubting that the horse understands. So the Bakhtiyari or South Persian highlander talks to a lion as he would talk to a human foe: "O cat of Ali, I am the servant of Ali, pass by my house by the head of Ali." 22

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE TELUGUS.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(Continued from p. 222.)

XL.

By far the best of monarchs that wielded sway over the Nishāna country was King Śibi, who was the type of virtue, a well-wisher of his subjects. He would even forego his life to protect the refugee. Once upon a time the Ganderwas began praising his talents and virtuous qualities at the Court of their king Dēvendra, who heard them, and, coming to a resolve to put them to test, assumed the form of a hawk and called upon his friend Agha to take the form of a dove. The hawk, then, pursuing the dove, reached the earth. The dove came to King Śibi and said: "O King! there comes a hawk to put an end to me, and make me its prey. Shield me." So saying, he took refuge. Not long after, the hawk approached the king and said: "It is unfair of you to protect my prey, for that will lead to my certain death. Refrain, therefore, from protecting the dove." To which the king replied that he would give the dove's weight of flesh from his body, instead of the dove itself. The hawk consented to the proposal. The king thereupon brought scales, put the dove on one pan and his flesh on the other, and seeing that even a great quantity of his flesh did not equally balance the dove's,

the king himself sat in one of the pans, when the scales were rendered equal. Whereupon the hawk and the dove thought very highly of the king, assumed their own forms, stood before the king, praised him, conferred certain boons on him and went to their respective worlds.

Moral:—Good men will even forego their lives in order to protect those who trust in them.

XLI.

Nārada, the greatest of Rishis, was once upon a time, while on a visit to Nandikēvara, requested by him to narrate any important news he had of the loka (worlds), whereupon he informed him of the stories told by the two and thirty images on the throne of Vikramarka.

In Vēdanārāyanapura Agrāhāra there lived a Brāhman, Vishnusarma by name, who had four sons, Yajñanārāyaṇa, Vēdanārāyaṇa, Vinanārāyaṇa, and Chandrasarma. The first three were thoroughly conversant with Vedic literature and all the śāstras, and displayed their learning at the courts of various kings, receiving very valuable presents; while the fourth, as he was not instructed in any of the sciences, acted as their servant. Matters went on thus for some time, till the fourth son became disgusted with his lot and resolving to visit foreign parts for the purpose of becoming educated, left his home at dead of night without telling anyone. The next evening he reached the bank of

22 Layard's Early Adventures, p. 445.
1 [It may be taken as certain that this is a translation from a local Mahādyasa or some such MS.—Ed.]
a river near an agrāhāra, performed his daily ablutions in it, and came out to perform the japa alone.

A Brahmarākhasa, dwelling in an adjacent pipal-tree, assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa, descended from the tree and stood before Chandrasarma, and enquired who he was; whereupon Chandrasarma, thinking him to be a Brāhmaṇa of the adjacent agrāhāra, told him his errand and his story. The Brahmarākhasa then said: "Well then, you are intent upon learning." Chandrasarma, right glad of the turn events had taken, consented to receive instruction from the supposed Brāhmaṇa, who thereupon appeared to him in his true colours and asked him not to be afraid of him. But for all that Sarma* shook with fear, and shut his eyes, and so the Brahmarākhasa immediately resumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa, consoled Chandrasarma, took him up to the top of the pipal-tree, taught him without a moment's stop,—without sleep or food for six months,—and then informed him that he was rid of his curse. He himself would now go on a visit to Banāras, but Sarma was at perfect liberty to go home, being completely trained in all the sciences, and ere long would rise to a very prominent position, and he further blessed him with four very intelligent sons. Chandrasarma thereupon enquired of his preceptor the circumstances under which he became a Brahmarākhasa, and why he had to go on a visit to Banāras. To which the latter replied: "I was living sometime ago at Sarasvatipura, on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, and learnt the various sciences. While there, a Brāhmaṇa pupil visited the place and requested me to instruct him in some of the sciences, which I refused to do, feeling very proud of my learning, and so my would-be pupil became very much infuriated and said:—Reserve your learning to yourself; you need not teach me at all: I shall learn from some other person," and cursed me to become a Brahmarākhasa. Quaking with fear, I requested him to inform me how best I could be relieved of the curse. And he replied:—

'After some time, Chandrasarma, a Brāhmaṇa, intent upon learning, will visit foreign parts. You will accidentally meet him on the bank of a river. He will learn the various sciences from you, and if you will then visit Banāras and bathe in the sacred waters of the Ganges, you will be relieved of your curse and become a Brāhmaṇa once more.' I therefore became a Brahmarākhasa and took up my abode in yonder pipal-tree, eagerly awaiting your arrival. As I have instructed you in all the sciences, I shall now go on a visit to Banāras to rid myself of the curse. Chandrasarma then took a different route, as he had forgotten the way by which he came to the pipal-tree, and while going through the palace street of Ujāyini, saw the house of a public woman and mistook it for a Brāhmaṇa's quarters, and as he was very tired, having had neither sleep nor food for six months past, went in, spread his upper garment on the verādah and quietly went to sleep. Not long after the house-owner's daughter came out, perceived the sleeping person, and thinking that he would be a fit husband for herself went in and informed her mother of the fact with great glee.

The mother, intent upon appropriating the new-comer's money, came out to see if he were a wealthy man, and perceiving him to be a poor Brāhmaṇa, became enraged at her daughter. But the daughter gave a deaf ear to her mother's words, and insisted on possessing the Brāhmaṇa. The mother consented, as she was unable to win her daughter over to her arguments. The Brāhmaṇa did not rise the next morning, nor did he move a muscle. This made the mother inform the king of what had transpired, who immediately sent the palace doctors to the spot. They felt the pulse of the sleeping person, and went and informed the king that, for some reason or other, he had had neither food nor sleep for six months past, his body should be smeared all over with boiled rice for some time, and if this were repeated for a time, he would enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber and would rise. After six months' tending, according to the doctors' advice, Chandrasarma rose one fine morning just as an ordinary person would, who had enjoyed a very refreshing sleep. Then he began to think:—"Whose house is this? Who is this girl? What brought me here? But what care I for all this?" He was preparing to go his own way, when the girl taking hold of the hem of his garment asked him:—"Are you going to quit me? I have been eagerly waiting for you and tending you for these six months. You are my husband: I am your wife." On hearing this, the Brāhmaṇa replied:—"I am a Brāhmaṇa and you a Śūdra, this sort of talk is, therefore, unfair of you. What have I to do with you?" So saying, he rose, but the girl accompanied him closely wheresoever he went. The matter was reported by the townsfolk to the king, who summoned the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra girl before him, and as he was not able to effect a compromise between them, he invited a certain number of the best pandits and requested them

*I.e., Chandrasarma.*
to judge of the affair, who pacified Chandrasarma by saying that a Bráhman is at liberty to marry from among all the four castes.

The king then married Chandrasarma first to his puñohit's daughter, then to his own daughter, thirdly to the daughter of the wealthiest merchant of the locality, and lastly to the girl in question. As the king had no male issue, he transferred one-half of his kingdom with the necessary army to Chandrasarma, retained him at his own place and lived happily. Chandrasarma had four lodgings prepared for his four wives, kept each of them in a separate house, performed his daily ablutions in the house of his Bráhman wife, and lived happily, not swerving from the injunctions laid down in the Básatra. Sometime after the king died and as he had left no sons, Chandrasarma was installed king of the whole realm by the ministers, puñohita, and the people. He had by his Bráhman wife a son named Varuruchi; by the second, Vikramarka; by the third, Bhatti; and by the fourth, Hari. All the four sons were well educated. Chandrasarma being very much pleased with the noble qualities of Vikramarka, and as he was moreover the collateral grandson of the late monarch, installed him king and made Bhatti his premier. Vikramarka then prayed to the goddess, Káli, who, being greatly pleased with his severe austerities, appeared before him and granted him a boon, that he would rule for one thousand years, that neither gods, spirits, demons nor giants should be able to vanquish him, and that he would meet his death by the hand of a child, born to a girl thirteen months old. Vikramarka then came home and informed Bhatti of what had transpired, when the latter said that he would extend the period of the life of Vikramarka by an additional one thousand years. On his questioning the former how he was able to grant the boon, Bhatti replied:—"The goddess Káli has blessed you that you should rule for one thousand years. Rule over the kingdom for six months and travel over the world for the other six months, so that by the time you have ruled for one thousand years, you will practically live for two thousand years." Vikramarka was greatly pleased with the tactics of Bhatti and did as directed. He became afterwards one of the world's best rulers.

Once upon a time a sañayadén came to Vikramarka, blessed him and gave him a fruit. The same thing was repeated day after day and the king used to give it over to his steward. On a certain day the fruit was given by the king to a monkey standing near, and when the latter bit a portion of it, a large number of diamonds fell out of the fruit. The king was wonderstruck and called upon the steward to produce the fruit entrusted to him. On their being produced and broken open, the king found to his utter amazement an additional number of diamonds. The king, feeling very pleased with the sañayadén, enquired of his errand, when the latter informed him that he was intent upon performing a great tapas, that he needed therefore the king's help and that he would tell him the business, should he (the king) come to his abode on the fifteenth day from that date at dead of night. He would then help him, for his tapas would be fulfilled. The king consented and dressed himself like a warrior, and, with sword in hand, went to the spot, appeared respectfully before the sañayadén and asked him what he wanted him to do. The sañayadén said:—"O king! you do not fail to abide by your promise. I am very glad you have come here. Whenever I intend to perform a tapas, one Bétrála throws as many obstacles as he can in the way, and never allows it to reach completion. As you are the strongest and bravest of men, if you will bring Bétrála here, tied hand and foot, there will be no one to throw obstacles in the way of my tapas. If you talk to Bétrála while bringing him here, he will assuredly run away. You should therefore not talk to him at all." Vikramarka then enquired the whereabouts of Bétrála, went and tied him up and carried him on his back. Bétrála said to him that he would put him a question which if he knowingly failed to answer, would break his head into a thousand pieces:

"O king! In days long gone by there lived a king named Yasañêthu, who held sway over Sôbhávatipura according to the dharmas laid down in the Básatra. Close to the town was a temple of the goddess Káli, to whom the townsfolk were in the habit of performing idáras year after year. Once, while the women of the town were bathing in the temple tank, Òhála, a washerman of another town, while going to Sôbhávatipura on business, passed through the temple and saw the women bathing. He fell in love with one of them, and hid himself in a certain quarter, and not being able to bear the fine-striped darts of Cupid, followed her to a little distance from her home, promising, meanwhile, to offer the goddess Káli his head a few days after the accomplishment of his cherished object. He was terribly love-sick, and did not go to Sôbhávatipura at all, but went home and became more and more eneviously day by day. His parents, who learnt the whole affair, enquired of their son of
the whereabouts of the girl, went and negotiated with her parents and effected a marriage between the two. A few days after this the girl's parents sent her to her mother-in-law. Sometimes afterwards, they sent their son to inform the boy's parents and bring his brother-in-law and sister to their house. Dvāra's parents were very glad, and sent their son and daughter-in-law with the new-come. They set out, and while resting themselves on the way near the temple of the goddess Kālli, Dvāra went in and offered his head as a sacrifice to the goddess, as he had promised, and died. The newcomer, who was eagerly awaiting the arrival of his brother-in-law, not seeing him come out, went into the temple, and to his utter disappointment and sorrow saw his brother-in-law lying there dead, and died himself. The girl, amazed at both her husband and her brother not coming out for so long a time, went into the temple, and was wholly immersed in sorrow and was about to slay herself, when the goddess Kālli appeared before her and said that she was pleased with her chastity, and that it was unfair of her to venture on suicide; and said further that if the two heads of the slain be brought and attached to the other parts of the bodies, they would once more come to life. In her haste she brought the head of her husband and attached it to the body of her brother and rice vered, and they both rose up. She was now on the horns of a dilemma, and did not know what to do. Bēθālā then asked Viṅkamarka, who should be taken to husband by the girl. Viṅkamarka replied that, as the head is the most essential part of the whole body, to whatsoever body the head of her husband was attached, that man should become her husband. Bēθālā upon this immediately disappeared.

Bēθālā, however, was once more fetched, and he again began to tell a story. "There remained with Sakataśinga, king of Mallaikāpura, without a moment's sereniss, his attendant, Kārpataka by name. Once upon a time, the king set out on a hunting excursion with his large army to a wood, mounted a horse, went with Kārpataka to an uninhabited place a great distance off, and being very much fatigued, rested under the leafy spreading branches of a huge boy tree, when Kārpataka brought and gave him two fruits of the emblé myrobalan (anālaka). The king then went home, and sometime after informed Kārpataka that he had conceived a passion for the daughter of the king of Sinhaladvipa (Ceylon), and wanted him to arrange for a marriage between them. Kārpataka set sail in a merchant vessel, which unfortunately was wrecked and all the people perished. Kārpataka alone, while swimming with the greatest difficulty, caught hold of a twig which carried him to Nāgalokā, where he saw a temple to Durgā, at which he rested. He there saw a number of Nāga girls visiting the temple, worshipping the goddess, and dancing and singing. He conceived a passion for one among the number, and communicated it to her maid-servants, who in turn informed the lady. The lady seemed to agree to the proposal and wanted Kārpataka to bathe in a tank near by. No sooner was that done than he found himself, to his utter amazement, floating in the tank of Mallaikāpura. He then informed the king of what had transpired. The king thereupon wanted Kārpataka to show him the woman. The whole route was retraversed and the woman in the temple to Durgā was shewn. The girl with whom Kārpataka had fallen in love fell in love with the king, and told him that she would supply him with everything, if he should fulfil her cherished object. The king thereupon told her that Kārpataka was his son, a fair-looking, intelligent young man, a person who would act up to his promise, cost whatever it might, and that she should marry and live comfortably with him, to which she consented. The king took hold of Kārpataka's hand, and saying that the union effected between the latter and the Nāga girl was equal to one of the anālakas given him, and that he should do some service for the other fruit, went and immersed himself in the waters of the tank, and reached his capital safe. Kārpataka then lived happily with the girl." Bēθālā then asked Viṅkamarka: — "Which of them did the greatest good?" To which Viṅkamarka replied that it is but natural for a servant to do good to his master, but the master repaid him the good, thinking very highly of the servant's services — that must be considered the greatest. Bēθālā, on hearing this, once more disappeared.

Bēθālā was again brought, and again began to narrate a story. "In days long gone by there lived at Vijayanagara a king named Danduvakāsa, who married Satyavrata, and was so wholly immersed in the luxuries of her charms that he was practically dead to the outer world. Tiṅthadarsi, his minister, was then guiding the helm of the State. It was rumoured abroad, however, that the minister had appropriated the State to himself, and he, not being able to endure the calumny, went away to a foreign place. The king then entrusted his government to another minister of his, and pursued his old habits. After wandering through various countries, Tiṅthadarsi reached a port, contracted friendship with a merchant there, and remained always..."
with him. One day the merchant informed him that he was about to set sail to an island afar off, and asked him to look after his affairs till he returned. The minister thereupon said that he would accompany the merchant, as he could not endure the pangs of separation. They both went on board the vessel, and saw a very beautiful woman on an island. On being questioned by the minister who she was, the merchant replied that he did not know, but that he saw her every time he crossed that way. As soon as their business was finished, both of them reached home safely. Sometime afterwards the minister took leave of the merchant, went to his own place, was received very cordially by the king, who enquired of him why he had left him. To which the minister replied: "You were wholly immersed in female charms, and as I guided the State, numerous scandals were spread abroad that I had misused my authority, and so I went away to a foreign place. I then made friendship with a merchant, and went on board his vessel to a far off island and there saw near the temple of the goddess Kali a large bay leaf tree, underneath whose umbrageous branches was a woman, the very type of perfect womanhood." On hearing this the king was very much astonished, and wanted to see the girl, and having received instructions from the minister, reached the island, saw the girl and thought that the minister was an unusually self-controlled man, for every man who had seen her had conceived a passion for her. Thus he praised the minister, and went and prostrated himself before the goddess Kali, and then approached the girl, who turned her back on him. The king then took hold of the hem of her garment and asked her not to treat him with contempt. The girl, understanding that he was the greatest of kings, did according to his wishes. Sometime after, the girl went to bathe in the waters of a tank for the observance of a vrat, when she was unfortunately devoured by a rakshasa. The king, on seeing this, immediately drew his sword and slew the rakshasa and drew the girl out of his body. The girl then informed the minister that she was devoured by the rakshasa, and lived happily with the king as usual. The king then took her to his capital and remained there more than ever addicted to female allurements. The minister then poisoned himself and died." Vikramarks was then questioned by Běthála: "Why did the minister die? For the king's return? For the king's marrying the girl whom he (the minister) had fallen in love with?" To which Vikramarks replied that the minister poisoned himself because he foolishly communicated to the king the excellence of the girl in question, being fully aware of the king's previous conduct. Běthála once more disappeared. Thus did Běthála ascend twenty-four times, and thus was he fetched again and again by Vikramarks.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DAYS OF REST.

To-day (29th November 1883) in passing through the Ját and Ahir villages in Rohtak, I noticed that no work was being done at the wells or in the fields, and that the peasants, usually so hard at work, were idling in the village homestead. On enquiring the reason, I was told that to-day was the amavas, the last day of the moon, and that on this day of the month the bullocks are always given a rest. The men themselves do any work that is to be done without using the cattle, but no one yokes his bullocks in the plough or at the well, or, if he can help it, in the cart. I noticed that some of the peasants were busy making thorn-fences, or doing other light work, but no bullocks were at work anywhere, and as there is little to be done at this season without their help, the custom practically gave the men a rest also, and the unusual idleness gave the villages a sort of Sunday look. The bullocks are given this rest once a month, on the last day of the moon, and also on the Makar kā Sankrānt, which comes about January, when the sun enters into the sign of Capricorn (Makar), and on the Diwalt and Górdhan (the day after the Diwāl) in the middle of Kārtik (October). Except on these fifteen days it is lawful for a man to yoke his cattle on all other days of the year, but these particular days are strictly a Sabbath for the cattle, and no one thinks of yoking them on these days. If any one did it would be a sin (pāj), and his fellows would at once stop him. There is no such Sabbath for man, and it is not thought wrong (pāj) for a man to work on any day of the year, though, of course, there are many holidays (tōkār) on which very little work of any kind is done. On the Makar kā Sankrānt the cows are not milked, and the calves are allowed to suck the whole of the milk, and on the amavas of every month the milk is not allowed to curdle, but is consumed while still sweet.

J. Wilson in P. N. and Q., 1883.
CURRENCY AND COINAGE AMONG THE BURMESE.

BY R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 262.)


Exchange between the metals used for currency has always varied greatly in the Far East from time to time and from place to place, being governed by local supply and the facilities for transport: while a third highly disturbing element occurs in the statements of travellers and writers, viz., the quality of the metals mentioned by them. This last consideration renders the subject a specially difficult one to discuss with any degree of certainty. Yule, however, in his invaluable works, never misses an opportunity of going into this point, and in his researches we are indebted for much of the available information upon it.

From his Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 59, we learn that in Yunnan, the great traveller found, in the XIIth Century, that, as one travelled Westwards, gold was to silver at first as 8 to 1, then as 6 to 1, then as 3 to 1 on approaching the Burmese borders. Here the silver mines of the Shan States, and the gold washing of Yunnan, coupled with the difficulties of transport, must have come into play. It has done so elsewhere; for in, the then isolated, Japan gold was to silver as 3 to 1, when the country was first opened up. In Orissa, Babu M. M. Chakravarti (J. A. S. B., for 1893, Part I. p. 43) shows that, at the latter part of the XIth Century A. D., gold was to silver as 5 to 1, a fact which seems to have prevented the use of silver for coinage. Orissa was then, as it is to a certain extent now, a gold producing land, whereas communications with North India, where silver has always been plentiful, were difficult and precarious. Then there is the well-known case of the gold treasure-find made in the Dakhan by 'Alaueddin Khalji and Malik Kafur in the early part of the XIVth Century, which reduced the ratio of gold to silver in North India from 10 to 1 to 8 to 1, and then to 7 to 1.9

As one instance, of many others that I might quote, of the extreme difficulty of ascertaining precisely what writers mean by their statements of values, the following may be cited. Browne, in his, to local officers, invaluable work on the Thayetmyo District, gives a series of tables shewing local revenues reduced to rupees. I have taken the trouble to work out the value of the tickal of silver as shewn in several of these tables, and the following is the startling result, especially considering the dates given:—

1783 : value Rs. 1 as. 7 1/2; pp. 94, 101, 107.
1825 : value Rs. 1 as. 7 3/4; p. 111.
1840: value Rs. 0 as. 8; p. 96.

If most other writers, where they do not mix up the rupee with the tickal,10 value the tickal of this period between Re. 1 as. 3, and Re. 1 as. 4. Symes, A. A. C., p. 317, puts the confusion of ratios very neatly for us:—"300 tickal in gold, about £40 or £45." If £40, then the "tickal?" = Re. 1 as. 3; if £45, then it = Re. 1 as. 5. It was of no consequence! In the above value of the tickal at as. 8, in 1825, I rather gather, but am not sure, that Browne means to infer that the silver was bad.

Of the general rate of exchange between silver and gold all over civilised Asia, Yule has much to tell us, and arrives at the conclusion that in the Middle Ages down to the XVIIth Century it stood in China and in Central Asia at 10 to 1, while in Europe at that time it stood at 12 to 1.11 The relatively higher European rate seems, however, afterwards to have become reversed, and the rate in the Far East to have relatively risen; e.g., Yule shows that while the European

9 Chakravarti, op. cit. p. 65; Thomas, Chronicles, p. 285; and several other works. In 1556, under Akbar it was 2 to 1. Prime, Useful Tables, pp. 5, 72. See also note, Vol. XI. p. 318.
10 It is a very old mistake: "Siam weights; 1 Tekull, is 12 or 13 Fanams Maddr, or 1 Rupee." Stevens, Guide to the E. I. Trade, 1775, p. 88. Finlayson, Siam, 1826, puts the tickal at nearly Re. 1 1/4, p. 157.
rates varied between 15 and 16 to 1 in the early half of this Century the Chinese rates stood as high as 17 and 18 to 1, and I myself found in the Mandalay bazaars in 1889 that, when in British India rupees were exchangeable at 17 to the sovereign, the exchange there was at 20 to the sovereign.

Turning to such references as I have been able to ask as to definite relations between gold and silver at definite dates in Burma and its neighbourhood, the following statements are elicited.

c. 1786. — 25 up to 28 to 1 at Rangoon: Flouest in Young Fao, Vol. II. p. 41: — “L’or se pesa aussi et vante 25 a 28 Ticals d’argent selon la rareté.”

c. 1524. — 13 and 3½ to 1 at Rangoon: Trant, Two Years in Ava, p. 90: — “Eight rupees = £1; sixteen rupees = £2;” again, p. 201, “150 Ticals = nearly £20.”

c. 1829. — 17 to 1 at Ava : Crawford, Ava, p. 433: — “Gold is generally held to be about 17 times more valuable than silver.”

c. 1835. — 18 to 1: Malcom, Travels, Vol. II. p. 270: — “By Burman estimate, gold is eighteen times the value of silver. It often rises to 20 or more, when the people are compelled to obtain it at any price, to pay their tax toward the gilding of some pagoda.”

c. 1852. — 17 to 1: Phayre, Int. Num. Or. Vol. III, Pt. 1, p. 38: — “Gold is generally held to be 17 times more valuable than silver.”

c. 1855. — 19 and 20 to 1 at Ava: Yule, Ava, p. 259: — “The best gold commonly fetches nearly 20 times its weight in silver.” Again, p. 344: — “The gold as imported (from China) is remarkably pure. Its price, in 1855, was 19 times in weight of yautni silver.”

c. 1884. — 20 to 1 at Mandalay : vide the Burmese will quoted ante, p. 208.

In the Chinese Shan States we find that in 1888 the ratio was 13 to 1: Bower’s Commercial Report on Siam’s Mission, p. 123, which is quoted by Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 59.

For Siam we have the following evidence:

c. 1857. — 13 to 1: Anderson, Siam, p. 326: — “On acc. of above 65,000£ Sterl. w: is upwards of rap: 500,000.”

c. 1858. — 12 to 1: La Louhiere, Siam, E.T., p. 72: — “Gold is a Merchandise amongst them, and is twelve times the value of Silver, the purity being supposed equal in both metals.”

c. 1854. — 16 to 18 to 1: Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 141: — “Gold coins are rarely seen: the value of the few that exist is calculated at 16 times their weight in silver.” Again, p. 398: — “Gold of the first two grades realises in value from 16 to 18 times its weight in silver.”

Lastly for Cochinchina we have the evidence of Crawford, Siam, in 1822, when the ratio was 17 to 1. 12

It has always been important in Burma, owing to the common use of a lead currency, to note the ratio of silver to lead. On this point I have the following evidence to offer:

c. 1783. — 1,000 to 1: Browne, Thayetmyo, p. 102: — “(1783) One tickal of silver was considered to be equal to ten viss of lead.”

c. 1619. — 1,000 to 1: Sangermano, p. 167: — “Sometimes a ticale of silver . . . is equal to . . . a thousand (ticale of lead) and even more.”

c. 1829. — 500 to 1: Crawford, Ava, p. 433: — “Lead . . . in reference to silver may be commonly estimated in the proportion of 500 to 1.”

11 This reads like a quotation from Crawford.
12 This might be read to increase the ratio by 10 %, i.e., to make it about 21 to 1.
13 By indirect evidence at p. 100 ff. of Ridgeley’s Origin of Currency we get 12 16, 16 to 1 as the modern ratio of gold to silver in Cambodia, and the curious modern rate of 4 to 1 in parts of the Eastern Shan States. This is confirmed by Aymonier, Voyages dans le Laos, Vol. I. pp. 155 and 201 f., where the exchange is given as 12 to 16 to 1.
c. 1850. — 2,000 to 1 : Yule, *Aea*, p. 346 : — "Previously to the last war, it (lead) was not allowed to be exported, and the price then was five tikals per hundred viss, a price little more than sufficient to pay the carriage from the mines."


C. 1855. — 1,850 to 1 : Yule, *Aea*, p. 259 : — "The price when we were at Amarapura, was 100 viss of lead for six and a half tikals of the best silver." Again, at p. 346 : — "The price now (1855) is eight tikals." It is to be noted that this last statement yields a ratio of 1,850 to 1.

The above quotations point to impossible variations in exchange value, and are explicable only upon the supposition that the various writers referred to silver of greatly changeable quality, and this is the fact. They are all careful to state "the best silver," "yu war 23 silver," and so on, while Sangermano expressly states that the quality of the silver entered into the calculation, for the full quotation from him should run as follows, p. 167 : — "The inferior money of Amarapura and Rangoon is lead. Its value is not by any means fixed, but varies according to its abundance or scarcity. Sometimes a tical of silver with a portion of alloy is equal to 200 ticals of lead, sometimes to 1,000 or even more." Yule, however, with his usual perspicacity gets to the bottom of the question, and shews us that the old trouble of royal monopolies had something to say to valuations, and in this case the action of these monopolies accounts for the violent fluctuations above quoted. Thus, he says (Aea, p. 346) : — "The price now (1855) is eight tikals, for lead to be used in the capital and neighbourhood (1,250 to 1), but, if required for exportation, it can only be purchased from the King who has monopolised the trade and at the rate of 20 tikals yu war 23 silver (500 to 1)."

That very observant writer Malcom, however, as usual settles the point. Vol. II, p. 70, he writes : — "Small payments are made in lead. Each vendor in the bazaar has a basket full of this lead. Its general reference to silver is about 500 to 1. It varies exceedingly, however, in its proportion. Sometimes 15 viss of lead is given for a tical (500 to 1), and sometimes only seven or eight at Ava (700 and 800 to 1). In distant parts of the country, where the silver is most alloyed, three or four viss are given for a tical (300 and 400 to 1)."

Tin, in various forms, has been used for currency in Southern Burma for centuries, and as to its ratio to silver there are two interesting statements.

c. 1530. — 480 to 1: "In trading they (of Malaca) use tin as their currency. Three caties of this metal are about equal to one mace of silver." — Groenveldt's *Researches into Chinese Geographical Literature, in Indo-China*, 2nd Series, Vol. I, p. 246.


Of ancient, or supposed ancient, ratios between gold and silver and silver and lead, there is an indication in Sangermano's book (p. 221), where he gives some extracts from the "Dawhat," *i.e.*, the Burmese version of the Dhammapad. — "A rupee of gold is equal to twenty-five of silver; and a rupee of silver to fifty of lead."

II.

Additional Notes on Barter.

The subject of barter is naturally one that could fill many volumes, and notes on it regarding Burma and the Far East could be added to what has been already written in this Chapter to an indefinite extent. The temptation to add as one reads further and further

13 Here again Phayre seems to have followed Crawford's version.
among records and travellers' tales is one that has to be resisted, but the following notes are of such interest and value in the present connection that there is some excuse for inserting them here.

Alexander Hamilton, writing about 1710 of Borneo, Travels,¹⁴a Vol. II. p. 149, says: —

"Sambas is the next Country of Commerce to the Northward of Succadsana. It produces but very little Pepper, but some Gold, Pearls, and Bees-wax, which makes it well frequented by the Chinese, who carry Surat Piece-goods from Malacca and J ahore, and barter to very good Purpose for the aforesaid Commodities. Bees-wax is the current Cash in that Country. It is melted but not refined, and cast in moulds of an oblong Square, the Breadth about two-Thirds of the Length, and the Thickness Half of the Breadth, and a Rattan Withy to lift them by, cast in the Wax. A Piece weighs a Quarter of a Pecul which comes to in English Weight, 34 Pound, and a Pecul is valued in Payments at 10 Masscies, or 40 Shillings Sterling. They have also for smaller Payments Pieces of Eight to a Pecul and Sixteenths, and for smaller Money they have Couries.""}

On the 5th of April 1806 the people of Māp in Car Nicobar had occasion to buy a large canoe from the people of Chowra Island, which was valued at 35,000 cocoanuts, but after valuing it in cocoanuts they paid for it in other articles.

This shows the use of coccoanuts as money of account, payment in kind being accepted in lieu. The following things were paid in exchange for the canoe:

- Red cloth ... ... 5 pieces.
- Big spoons ... ... 2 pairs.
- Two-anana bits ... ... 20 No.
- Silver wire ... ... 3 strands.
- Silver rings ... ... 10 No.
- White long-cloth ... ... 5 pieces.
- Spoons and forks ... ... 10 pairs.
- Beads ... ... ... a quantity.
- Fishing hooks ... ... 12 No.
- Fishing lines ... ... 3 .
- Carpenters' axes ... ... 6 .
- Small iron spikes ... ... 6 .
- Knives ... ... ... 6 No.
- Baskets ... ... ... 6 .
- Pigs ... ... ... 10 .
- Fowls ... ... ... 3 .
- Chisels ... ... ... 10 .
- Big chisels ... ... ... 6 .
- Big dds (knives) ... ... ... 6 .
- Small dds ... ... ... 6 .
- Rupees ... ... ... 12 .
- Axes ... ... ... 6 .
- Big iron spikes ... ... ... 6 .
- Miscellanee ... ... ... ad lib.

In addition to the evidence given ante, p. 264, as to the fixing by savages and semi-savages without a cash currency of a definite money value on articles of barter, there is a valuable note at p. 4 of Maang Tet Pyo's Customary Law of the Chins, 1884, on the point: —

"Hitherto there has been no scale of valuation of articles given as fine or compensation by the Chins. Consequently much confusion used to be caused when matters of this description were brought into Court. The Chin pasans, or learned men, have been consulted on this point and the following scale of valuation has been laid down: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) For presents: —</td>
<td>Rs. a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 calabash holding kaung (liquor)</td>
<td>2 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 full-grown hog</td>
<td>10 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cowrie-embroidered bag</td>
<td>2 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 chwèbýa</td>
<td>0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 small dd</td>
<td>0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 forked dd</td>
<td>0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bullock</td>
<td>30 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chin spear</td>
<td>5 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴a Cf. Stevens, Guide, p. 108, as to barter with Madagascar in 1775 and previously.
(b) For compensation and fines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 gang a cubit in diameter</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair cymbals</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 silk sash</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 male silk jacket</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 male head-dress</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mantle</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 slave</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 female jacket</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 female head-dress</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 female petticoat</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAP. II.**

**BULLION WEIGHTS.**

**Preliminary Remarks.**

Before proceeding further with these enquiries, it is necessary to go into the vast and vexed question of Indo-Oriental bullion weights, so far as it affects Burmese Currency.

I have found my notes to be much more extensive than I had at first apprehended, but as they contain matter that is, I think, new to most Western students and illustrate several subjects of interest to searchers into things Eastern and Far-Eastern generally, perhaps the length of my remarks is not to be regretted.

I commence at the very beginning of the subject with a short enquiry into the practical uses to which the seeds of the Abrus precatorius and the Adenanthera pavonina have been put as the lower standard of weight. I then pass on to a consideration of the Burmese Troy weight system, discussing the points at which it can be connected with the Indian and Far-Eastern systems. The consideration of these points leads to an enquiry into the far larger and more difficult subject of the Siamese and Shan system of weights and its fundamental identity with that of the Burmese. I next give such consideration as is possible, from the information at my command, regarding the Chinese ponderary system, both ancient and modern, and its bearings on, and in my view its identity with, that of the whole Far-Eastern Continental Countries. This discussion carries one necessarily on to the weight system of the Malayan Islands and its descendant, the existing Far-Eastern General Commercial System, — an enquiry that has led me to the opinion that it is virtually that of India and the Far East generally. I then discuss the weights of Southern India, and their connection with those of Northern India, — a most complicated question, — shewing the points as to which they differ and coincide with each other and with the weights further East.

Passing from the general subject, I next discuss what I have gathered as to the Pali and old Burmese weights and the official Burmese standards. And, because of the manner in which they illustrate the details of the general subject, I have paid much attention to the ponderary notions of the peoples speaking the Minor Tongues current in Burma and the neighbourhood. This has obliged me to make notes and remarks on these languages that may be of interest to others than students of Oriental numismatics. The languages thus illustrated, frequently from notes made directly by myself, are the Karen, the Taing and the Maipuri, and those of the Kachin-Naga and the Chin-Lushai Groups of Languages. As illustrating the language of the Kachins of Burma proper, I have made enquiries, — sometimes at first hand, — into those of the Singphos and of the Lhua, Ao, Angami, Miri-Ahor and other Nagas. As regards the Chin dialects, the notes extend also to those of the Kuki Lushais.

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14 An essentially Naga language.
the Kachocha Nāgas, the Hill-Tipperas, the Kacharis (Bodo) and the Gāros, frequently in extension, from my own cited notes, of the information I have found in books.

Lastly with a view to assisting future students in the study of the older writers and the pranks they have played with terms and names, I have introduced a section on terminology.

1.

Seeds of the Abrus and the Adenanthera.

There are to be found used in Burma and in Burmese documents two sets of denominations for weights and measures: — the Pāli and what may be termed the Vernacular. It is with this last that we are in these pages principally concerned.15

As so much depends on the seeds of the Abrus Precatorius and of the Adenanthera Pavonina in Oriental weight systems, I will make first an inquiry into the point, merely pausing to regret that these long and not very intelligible Latin names are probably too well established now to be superseded by the more practicable English ones of Crab’s-eye16 and Indian Liquorice seed for the former, and of Bedwood seed and Red Sandalwood seed17 for the latter.

Both are known in Burma as ywe,18 and they are constantly mixed up in consequence, though more precisely to be differentiated by the terms ywəgwə and chinyə for the Abrus seed and ywəji or great ywe for the Adenanthera seed. Popularly, however, two Abrus seeds equal one Adenanthera seed. Both will also, I think, be found on examination to be mixed up, in native Indian writings, under the names of rati, rakičį, guņja, krişhna, and so on, a fact which, if correct, goes far to explain the confusion of rati and “double rati” in discussions on this subject.

To enquire first what these plants are and where they grow I turn to the chief original authority on such matters, Wait’s Dictionary of the Economic Products of India, s.v., Abrus and Adenanthera. Of the Abrus creeper there are three closely allied varieties now known as precatorius, pulchellus, fructiculosis. It is the precatorius which is so celebrated. Its roots, seeds and leaves are very widely used as medicinal specifics for a great variety of common disorders and physical troubles: its seeds as a food when boiled and as a poisonous injection when raw by criminals; and also as personal and household ornaments, and for rosaries, whence its name.

The seeds have several varieties of colour: the ordinary varieties being red with black eye, black with white eye, and white. They are at times also black, yellow and rosy. It is the red and black variety that is used usually as the type of a weight.19

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15 In putting forward my ideas on this subject, I cannot help feeling strongly the limits of the Library I am able to consult in the circumstances in which I have to write. It may be that I am merely flogging a dead horse, but it is necessary for the present purpose to be as clear as possible on the matter now under discussion, and my remarks may in that sense be of real use in any case. They are made at great length, because, if, as I apprehend, I am here breaking new ground, it is better to let the argument work itself out for others, as it has for myself, than to present it for the first time as succinctly as one would an argument which is finally settled.

16 The plant is growing freely in my own garden as I write, and is visited by the European and Eurasian children of the place, who know the bright scarlet and black seeds well as King Charles’s Tears, just as their little brothers and sisters in Burma know the hard, bright seeds of the wild Coleus scutatus, so much used by the Karens as dress ornaments, as John’s Tears. See Wait, Dict. of Economic Products, s.v.; Theobald’s Ed. of Mason’s Products, Vol. II. p. 107; Edgeworth’s Origin of Civilisation, p. 186 n.

17 It is not the Red Sandalwood, Red Sanderswood, Red Sappanwood, of Commerce, which is Pterocarpus santalinus, allied to the padauk, or Andaman Bedwood, of Burma and the Andamanas.

18 One specimen of the Adenanthera pavonina seed was given to me as the seed of the māhāyā or pīn-mahāyā is the Colocasia edulis, a medicinal plant: Theobald’s Ed. of Mason’s Burma, Vol. II. p. 131. The seed, in question, besides being a weight, was said to cure snake-bite.

The Adenanthera pavonina, unlike the beautiful creeper abrus, is a large deciduous tree; but, like the abrus, it is extremely well known for its many uses. It yields a gum, a dye and an oil. Its leaves, seeds and wood yield remedies for many common disorders. Its wood is also well known in the building and furniture trades. The bright scarlet seeds again are used as personal ornaments and as a domestic cement. And finally out of its wood is made the paste for the universal tilak marks of India.

It is the seeds, when black with age, that are the typical weights, stated to be equal to 4 grs. or 2 of the Abrus.

The Abrus precatorius is found in the Himalayas up to 3,000 ft. and all over India, Ceylon and Siam. The Adenanthera pavonina is found in South India, Bengal and Burma. Both are, in their various forms, universal in the Asiatic tropics, but the Adenanthera appears to be more strictly confined to the actual tropics than the Abrus, which may account for translators of Sanskrit works referring the sense of such words as raktila to the seeds of the Abrus precatorius alone, to their own consequent confusion, when they come to find the weight thereof to be technically double of the reality.

As a weight, the weight of the Abrus precatorius seed, the ruti of the races of Hindustan, is taken at 1.75 grs., based on the calculation of Edward Thomas in the Numismatic Chronicle, N. S., Vol. IV. p. 131. According to Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 97 n., it is 1.875 grs., or 122 grammes, and to Edward Thomas’ note to Prinsep’s Tables, in his Edition thereof, p. 22, 1.03 grs. Colebrooke, Essays, Vol. II. p. 529, says it is 1 5/16 grs. = 1.3125 grs., based on weighments of the seed by Sir William Jones.

All these variations are merely such as may be expected in the circumstances, when basing a scale on a natural production, and Thomas has pertinently remarked, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pt. II. p. 6, that erratic as a test the growth of the seed of the guaja-creeper under the varied incidents of soil and climate may be, it has nevertheless had “the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India.”

Going further afield into regions beyond the Indian borders, it will be seen from what follows in this Chapter, that equivalents of the ruti are still the basis of weight denominations, and that Thomas’ remark in the main applies for practical purposes, assuming, as he also should have done apparently, that the term ruti itself denotes a conventional weight. Mason, an original observer, in his Natural Productions of Burma, Ed. 1850, p. 196, states that “the jewelers use the seed of a species of Abrus (precatorius), red with a black eye or black with a white eye, for small weights. It is a popular belief that they uniformly weigh exactly one grain Troy, but I have weighed many and found them to vary from one to two grains. The Burmese use them within a fraction for two-grain weights.” Then under Adenanthera (pavonina) he says “another seed which the books represent as usually four grains, is in common use by the Burmese, as equivalent to two of the preceding, which is about two grains. The seeds, however, have to be selected for the purpose: many of them not weighing more than two or three grains each.” Just so: we should probably assume that this was always done as to both classes of seeds at all times, ancient and modern.

The view that we cannot accept the ruti, whether as the name of the Abrus seed alone, or jointly as the seed of the Abrus or Adenanthera, as anything but a conventional weight is confirmed by a remark in Theobald’s huge edition of Mason’s work, 1882-3, Vol. II. p. 540, under Adenanthera. He tells us of variant names, viz., Entada Arboroa, Griff., and Adenanthera Gericini, Scheff., and then says: — “Var. a grandis: seeds half inch in diam. Var. b microsperma: seeds half the size. Var. a in Tropical forests all over Burma and the adjacent islands up to 3,000 ft. Great Nicobar.” It would be impossible in such conditions to do anything but use selected seeds as standard weights, and I take it that the case with the Abrus.
seed is much the same. But selection involves a convention, whether applied to a natural product or to its manufactured equivalent.

In support of the above conclusions there is the evidence of Marsden from Sumatra:—

"Various seeds are used as gold weights, but more especially these two: the one called rakat or sago-timbang (Glycine abrus, L., or Abrus maculatus of the Batavian Transactions), being the well known scarlet pea, with a black spot. The other called sago-puku and kondori-batang (Adenanthera pavonina, L.), a scarlet, or rather coral, bean, much larger than the former and without the black spot. It is the candarin weight of the Chinese, of which 100 make a tail, and equal, according to the tables published by Stevens, to 5-7984 grns. T. — but the average weight of those in my possession is 10-50 Troy grains." 22

I quote now the remarks of Rumphius, Herbarium Amboinensis, Vol. V. p. 58 ff. folio ed., 1741, in the original Latin and in the Dutch where necessary, for the sake of the valuable light they throw on the history and meaning of the terms, as we can now understand them, used in connection with the rati.


In the Dutch text, which is given in parallel columns, the essential words are: — "By andere Condorin of Condoris, het Kleene, want de regt Condorin syn zaden van de Corallaria parvifolia. Int Duitsch Coraal-kruyd. Ternataans Ide Ide Malacce, dat is Specieunven ogen, van de gedaante des Korls. Amboinseh Aylara Pidjar, dat is Soldier Korls." 27

In describing the many uses to which the plant is put, Rumphius says (p. 59) what is rather important for us: — "Defecta verorum Condoriorum, quae semina sunt Corallariae parvifoliae, atque in pausi crescent regionibus, hic: Zaga ossicula in usum vocari possunt, que hino quoque Condorin parva vacantes, non antem adeo equales habent pondus quam Condoria genuine, quorum decem unicum Maas constituant, ac decem Maas unum Tay 28 sen decem cirtiter Drachmas Hollandicums continent, contra viginti quatuor, sique majora sunt, viginti & unum Zaga ossicula unum Maas ponderant, quod pondus cirtiter est nummi aurei Hollandici ducat dicti." 29

21 History of Sumatra, 1811, p. 171, in Ridgway, op. cit. p. 187.
22 Bidji, pavonina.
23 This is a mistaken reference, because Stevens, Guide, pp. 105 ff., especially refers to Canton weight of money, in which candareens are merely collections of 12 cash. The whole of Stevens' elaborate tables are based on an assumption that 100 'tales Canton weight' equal 120 oz. 16 drachms. His calculations are purely matters of account, and are not meant, nor could they be used, for actual weights.
24 In his Index Unicoalis, Vol. VI., Rumphius gives the synonym Glycine abrus, L.
25 L. e., the Malay word say, which properly uncompounded means rice: but is also used commercially for the seed of the Abras precatorius.
26 Bidji is for Malay biji, l. e., common Indian biji, a seed.
27 Starling's eyes. The Persian form is Chakhu-i-khore, Cook's eyes; Blochmann, Ain Akbari, p. 18 n.
28 Soldier seeds.
29 This form of calculation is Chinese: 10 candareens are 1 mace; 10 mace are 1 tael. Cf. A. Hamilton, East Indies, 1739, Vol. II. Appx. p. 16: "10 Candareens to a Mace and 10 Maces to a Tael."
30 Later on the same page, Rumphius tells us that about 1625 these seeds were in great request as female dress ornaments in Europe, and also as necklaces and bracelets, alone or mixed with pearls: just as children in India wear them nowadays for their beauty and hardness. Cf. also Rumphius, Vol. III. p. 274: cf. Blochmann, Ain Akbari, p. 15 n.
That Ramphius meant in the above extracts the plant now known chiefly as *Abrus precatorius* is beyond doubt from the description and from the Plate (XXXII.) attached to p. 60, on which some former owner of my copy has written in faded ink, "*Abrus precatorius*"; also because in the Index (in Vol. VI.) Ramphius gives as a synonym for the "Corallaria parvifolia," which he has described as affording the genuine "Condorium or Condoryn," the name *Adenanthara pacifica*, L.21

At Vol. III. p. 171, after telling us that the *Corallaria parvifolia* is the Malay *Zaga-pohon* and the Dutch *Kleinbladige Coraal-Boom*, and that young women (or daughters of the people, *muliercula*) bore the seeds and wear them in amulets, and that boys wear them round their necks in place of coral, Ramphius goes on to say:22—"Chinensis Condorius seu Tschonsidji in Australibus partibus Chimchia, Hayting, & insula Aymyu crescentia ossicula gerit rotundiora, duriora, solidiora & graviora Amboinensi, quae proprio argenti ponderi inservunt, in quoque regione habent gravitatem. Colliguntur ibi quaque ex alitis arboribus, quae siliquas gerent breviores Amboinensis, non ultra digitum longas, sed semper incurvas instar acinis. Deccem tali Condorii ossicula liberae momentum23 constitunt decemque semina unum Tayl seu sextcentum forte, quae apud nos decem sunt drachmae, nostrorum vero Amboinensi ossiculorun quindecim unum Maas seu momentum constitunt, & centum & quinquaginta unum Tayl seu decem drachmarum, ita ut in alitis regionibus sint graviora & majora forte. In Malabar alissique Indostane regionibus quoque crescent, atque Portugallice ibi vocantur Gondjo seu Gonzo Chapete, h. e. plana grana, ad distinctionem Zage ossiculorum, quae *Genbo Cabeça Pote* vocant. In Java tam hae quam Zage ossicula ad pecuniae librationem adhibentur atque utraque vocantur Zaga seu Zoga."

This edition of Ramphius is that of Burmannus, who states that Ramphius by way of appendix added:— Malabarice vocantur *Mantajadi*, Portugallice *Mangelin*, Belgice *Weekbomen*35. . . . Javan hujus ossicula iidem Zaga vocant, a quibus etiam adhibentur ad auris & argenti librationem." As to the names for the tree Ramphius says:— "Latinum Corallaria parvifolia, h. e. Corallokondrump ab ossiculorum colore. Maleise Zaga-pohon, Amboinice Aylaru & Aylalu, atque nomina a similitudine parvae Zagw & Allara,36 qui sarmentosum est frutex. Veri Malayenses hae ossicula vocant Condorii seu Condorin, de Chinenses Tschongsidji."

Part of the Dutch text is here remarkable:— Van zulke Condorins 10 maken een Maas, en 10 Maas een Tayl,37 't welk by ons 10 Drachmen zyn, doch van onze Ambonische koren gaen 5 in een Maas, en 161 op een Tayl, zo dat ze in andere landen wat groter van waardeu moeten zyn.

Now if there are three points more prominent than any others to be observed in the elaborate descriptions by Ramphius of these two plants, *Abrus* and *Adenanthara*, they are that the names for the seeds are popularly mixed up, that the seeds themselves are uncertainly used by the populace as weight standards, and that the only way of getting practical standards from either is by assuming the selection of the seeds used, and therefore their conventionalisation.40

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21 As I write, two pretty samples of this tree are visible from the windows.
22 They are still held to be drachmae stings in Upper Burma.
23 In the Dutch text Condorius, a misprint for Condorins.
24 Maas in the Dutch text.
25 Dutch text has Weekbomen.
26 Dutch text, Coraal-boom.
27 Dutch, Aybram.
28 On Plate 169, attached to p. 174, the hand above noted has written in faded ink, "Adenanthara pacifica."
29 Chinese calculation again.
30 There is a correct description of the *Adenanthara* seed and of its use for weighing gold and silver in the Diary of the First Dutch Voyage, 1595-7, at p. 221 of Collection of Dutch Voyages, 1703; but at p. 199 it is mixed up with the *Abrus* seed. It is in both places called *Cshuri* and "Zoga in Java." Its use is noted in the Malay Archipelago and China.
Colebrooke remarks (Essays, Vol. II. p. 529) that "factitious ratis in common use should be double of the guñja-seed; however they weigh less than two grains and a quarter," or, as he says on the same page, 2 3/16 = 2.1875 gms. Again, p. 532, he quotes the tables in Gladwin's Ayeen Akbari, Vol. III. p. 94, where "six jeweller's ratis are equal to eight double ratis as used by the goldsmiths." It seems to me to be a fair inference to make, that here, too, there is a reference to a double sense of the word rati, according as it originally referred to a natural weight based on the Abruus or the Adenanthera seed.

Princep and Thomas, Useful Tables, Vol. II. p. 110, were able to discard all reference to ancient Indian weights, merely referring the reader to Colebrooke; but as the Indian standards probably spread Eastward at a period reaching centuries back, I cannot afford to do so in the present pages.

Colebrooke remarks on his tables of bullion weights, that not only did the commentators on Sanskrit works differ as to the application of the several terms, but that they were also used to describe other weights. He points out that the masha was made to consist of 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, and 16 raktikás, and the jeweller's masha of 6 and 8 double ratis. One is therefore forced to make a selection of some kind for the present purpose, and with reference to what follows I select here the tables given by Colebrooke as being "on the authority of Manu, Yajñavalkya and Nārada."

Weights of Gold. 41

5 raktikás (krishpalas) are 1 masha (mashaka, mashika)
16 mashas ,, 1 karsha (aksha, tōlaka, suvarṇa)
4 karshas ,, 1 pala (nishka)
10 palas ,, 1 dharana

Weights of Silver.

2 raktikás are 1 mashaka
16 mashakas ,, 1 dharana (purāna)
10 dharangas ,, 1 pala (satamāna)

Weights of Copper.

80 raktikás are 1 paga (kārshipagā)

In the gold and silver weights, the tables both work out to the fact that 320 raktikás are 1 pala, of capital importance in tracing the connection of the weight tables of the Far East with those of India.

Bhāskarāchārya's Līlāvatī (Colebrooke's T., ed. by Banerji, p. 2) gives a table of precisely similar import for general use : —

5 guñjas are 1 masha
16 mashas ,, 1 karsha (suvarṇa)
4 karshas ,, 1 pala

That is 320 raktikās = 1 pala for ordinary purposes.

2.

Burmese Weights.

Having thus considered what the rati (raktikā, krishpalā, and what not) actually is, or rather, to speak more cautiously and safely, what it is likely to be in reality; having also

41 See Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. p. 33 f., where the spelling of the Indian words is far more picturesque, if not so accurate, as the above.
seen that whatever was meant by that Indian term is also meant by the corresponding Burmese term yuè; and having selected a standard of Indian weights, to compare with Burmese and Further Indian weights, I will pass at once to the consideration of the Burmese weights themselves.

As is the case all the world over, where no arbitrary legal standards exist, current bullion weights in Burma have always differed with time and place; a fact that must ever be borne in mind, when talking of a Burmese weight being equivalent to such and such a known English or European weight. It also accounts for the variations to be found in the statements of authorities on the subject.

The writers that I am able to consult here as to Burmese weights are those whose statements I compare below, and whose spellings or representations of the vernacular terms they have used I have collected at the end of this Chapter. For one of the difficulties of the subject to the enquirer is the wildness of the guesses of travellers and authors at the sounds and forms of the words they have been obliged to reduce to writing in Roman characters. In the following comparative statements I have adopted the system of verbal representation followed by myself throughout these pages, without reference to the forms employed by the writers quoted.

An examination of the authorities will show the enquirer that the source of most of the modern writings on this point is to be found in the elaborate statements of Lātter in his Burmese Grammar of 1845, and I will here give them for that reason, but in mine, and not in his, transcription, on the grounds just explained.

At pp. 169 ff. of his great work. Lātter's list of Burmese weights runs thus:—

**Measures of Weight.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) 36 paramaṇaṃyū</th>
<th>ara 1 aṇumyū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) 36 aṇumyū</td>
<td>1 myū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) 36 'mū (? myū)</td>
<td>1 a'mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) 36 'mū</td>
<td>1 kaṇitchēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) 7 kaṇitchēs</td>
<td>1 bānokk'auŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) 7 bānokk'auŋ</td>
<td>1 moñā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) 3 moñā</td>
<td>1 'mān̄ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) 4 'mān̄ā</td>
<td>1 sān̄ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) 4 sān̄ā</td>
<td>1 chinwyē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) 2 chinwyē</td>
<td>1 ywōji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) 4 ywōjī</td>
<td>1 pō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) 2 pō</td>
<td>1 mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) 2 mū</td>
<td>1 māt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) 4 māt</td>
<td>1 kyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) 5 kyāt</td>
<td>1 bō(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16) 20 bō(l), or 100 kyāt</td>
<td>1 pēkka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above sixteen denominations, the enquirer does not reach to practical matters until he gets to the niath on the list, the chinwyē, which is, as will have been seen already, the familiar Indian rati or seed of the Abrus precatorius.

Those which precede it are only useful to note for the purpose of clinching the derivation of the Burmese denominations of weight from an Indian source. For they are merely the

usual infinitesimal subdivisions, generally without meaning or are, so dear to the Indian mind. Therefore, for the present purpose we need only consider from the chinywê onwards.

We thus get, from Latter be it assumed, a set of weights:—

2 chiywê (rati: seed of Abrus precatorius) or small ywê are 1 ywêjî (seed of Adenanthera pavonina) or great ywê.

4 ywêjî are 1 pê
2 pê " 1 mû
2 mû " 1 mât
4 mât " 1 kyêt or tickal
100 kyêt " 1 pêkbâ or viss

We are now in a position to follow up the question in a manner that can produce some practical results. Thus, Latter tells us, following Col. James Low, c. 1833, that the tickal is 252-75 grs. Troy exactly, and goes on to tell us how the indigenous weight denominations had come to be applied to the Anglo-Indian money introduced by the British Government after the War of 1824-5. "The Burmese in the English dominions also use the term ywê to express pice; and pê to express anna; ... mât to express two annas; ndî to express a four-anna-piece."

He further makes a statement of great consequence to the present enquiry, as explanatory of many apparent discrepancies in statements relating to Burmese currency:— "The mû and pê in the above table severally equal 1/8th and 1/16th of a Tickal. But another denomination of these weights, called the smaller or lesser mû and pê severally are the 1/10th and 1/20th of a Tickal. " Practically both are in equally common use, and so much is this the case, that ngâms, i.e., 5 mû (not 4 mû) is the general expression for "half a pice" or eight annas. In ordinary parlance also no signs of differentiation exist between the greater (i.e., on the quaternary scale) and the lesser (i.e., on the decimal scale) mû and pê, either in speech, calculations or documents. For clearness I here give a comparative table of these concurrent systems of reckoning, which must be always borne in mind for the proper comprehension of these pages:—

### Comparative Tables of the Concurrent Ordinary Weight Denominations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quaternary Scale of Mû.</th>
<th>Decimal Scale of Mû.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 ywê are 1 pê</td>
<td>6 ywê are 1 pê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pê</td>
<td>2 pê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mû</td>
<td>2 1/2 mû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mât</td>
<td>4 mât</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 kyêt</td>
<td>100 kyêt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 This is merely the current pronunciation of a word written properly viss, and concurrently bisel or pizzel.
45 The intermediate ñâ (i.e., 5 tickals or 1/20th of a viss, given by Latter, is not, I think, in practical use. It is most important, however, to get at a relative value for it with the Indian pisa or phisa. See later on in the text.
46 Mason, Nat. Prod. of Burma, Ed. 1859, p. 196, says on the same authority, 233-75 grs. Troy.
47 Of the practice in this respect nowadays, see later on: the modern terms are pyâ, piece, for pice, and mât pyâ for pie.
48 On the quaternary scale 128 ywê = 1 kyêt; on the decimal scale 128 ywê = 1 kyêt. See Mason, Nat. Prod. of Burma, Ed. 1859, p. 196.
49 I.e., ywêjî. In this scale it is common also to state 12 ywê, small ywê = 1 pê.
The following Table will show precisely how the ideas of the two systems are mixed up in every day parlance and dealings of the people in British-Indian money:—

Table of ordinary Bazar Expressions for Parts of the Kyat or Rupee.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Terminology</th>
<th>Burmese Terminology</th>
<th>Transcribed</th>
<th>Transliterated</th>
<th>Sense of the Burmese Terms</th>
<th>Scale of which the Burmese denominations belong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 anna</td>
<td>Tabê</td>
<td>Tapê</td>
<td>1 pê</td>
<td>quarternary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 annas</td>
<td>Tamû</td>
<td>Tamû</td>
<td>1 mû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Dôngbê</td>
<td>Sunûpê</td>
<td>3 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Tamatpêdin</td>
<td>Tamatpêtânt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
<td>'Na'mû</td>
<td>'Namû</td>
<td>2 mû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Tamat</td>
<td>Tamat</td>
<td>1 mût</td>
<td>properly quat. but</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in practice mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>quart. and dec.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 &quot;</td>
<td>Tamâtldêwê</td>
<td>Tamâtldêwê</td>
<td>1 mût 4 ywê</td>
<td>quarternary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngê</td>
<td>Nêpê</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Dôngmû</td>
<td>Sunûmû</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 mû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Chau'nê</td>
<td>Kyôkê</td>
<td>6 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &quot;</td>
<td>Dôngmûtêbê</td>
<td>Sunûmûtêpêê</td>
<td>3 mû 1 pê</td>
<td>decimal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) K'ûntîpê</td>
<td>Kwan'nachê</td>
<td>7 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Ngâmûpêdin</td>
<td>Nâmûpêtênê</td>
<td>5 mû less a pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 &quot;</td>
<td>Ngâmû</td>
<td>Nâmû</td>
<td>5 mû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Kôkê</td>
<td>Kôkê</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 pê</td>
<td>quarternary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Ngâmûtêbê</td>
<td>Nâmûtêpêê</td>
<td>5 mû 1 pê</td>
<td>mixed quart. and</td>
<td>mixed quart. and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dec. see next</td>
<td>dec. : lit, 1 mût</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>Chaukmû</td>
<td>Kyôkênû</td>
<td>6 mû</td>
<td>more than 5 mû dec.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Chaukmûtêbê</td>
<td>Kyôkênûtêpêê</td>
<td>6 mû 1 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) S'êtêbê</td>
<td>Chêtêpêê</td>
<td>11 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Dôngmûtêpêdin</td>
<td>Sunûmûtêtênê</td>
<td>3 mût less a pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 &quot;</td>
<td>Dôngmû</td>
<td>Sunûmû</td>
<td>3 mût</td>
<td>See next.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Tajâ'mâtìn</td>
<td>Takypâtênê</td>
<td>1 kyât less a mût</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 &quot;</td>
<td>Dôngmûtêbê</td>
<td>Sunûmattêpê</td>
<td>3 mût 1 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) S'êbôngbê</td>
<td>Ch'ânûnêpêê</td>
<td>13 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 &quot;</td>
<td>Tajâ'màdìn</td>
<td>Takypâmâtênê</td>
<td>1 kyât less a mû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 &quot;</td>
<td>S'êngê</td>
<td>Ch'ânûnêpêê</td>
<td>15 pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Tajâ'pêdin</td>
<td>Takypâmûtênê</td>
<td>1 kyât less a pê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the readers of these pages will be aware that it is impracticable to render Burmese words by transliteration, as that nation has adapted an Indian form of Alphabet to express its alien language, and has forced that Alphabet to its purpose by the ingenious, but by no means unique, device of writing in syllables and making the final consonant govern the sound of the vowel in the syllable: e.g., in India they write k + ng = kṣaṅga (कङ्ग), but in Burma k + ng = kûng, final ng being pronounced in always. So k + k (कङ्ग) is in India kâk, in Burma kêt.

50 The only work I have seen giving anything like this table is Gordon's Companion to Handbook of Colloquial Burmese, 1886, p. 104, which confuses six and ten annas and calls both chaukmû, and wrongly gives Dôngbê for seven annas.

51 In common use in Maulmain, to express the British-Indian half anna piece, or two pice. L'yêvô, or 4 yêvô = ½ pê, quarternary scale, is the ordinary expression for half an anna; thus, tamâtldêwê = 2½ annas.
So kō + k (ک) is in India bōk, in Burma kaik, and so on through the Alphabet. Then again, ligatures are given arbitrary sounds, e.g., ʊr is sh; thus hrict is shiōd (gold), so also ḥlī is often sh. Again r is usually y; thus ned is yed; prang by the rules just explained is pronounced pyin. So again ch (č) is s and j (ʃ) is z.

Another point worth bearing in mind is that a kind of external sandhi exists in spoken, though not in written, Burmese, by which an initial srd in the syllables of a compound expression or word is softened by a preceding final sonant or open vowel, and vice versa: e.g., ṭat + ū is ltūt; ṭu + ū is yāngū; ta + ū in tāt; kaṭuk + ū is chaupē. The Burmese heavy accent ? and light accent (staccato) , though of great consequence to the reader of the vernacular, can safely be disregarded in renderings into foreign characters. In the system of writing Burmese words adopted in this work h is rendered by ḭ, and the surd and sonant sounds of the Burmese s (ς), as in the English thing and this by b and ñ. I also write the unusual Oriental, but common Burmese, sounds of aw in awful as ô, and of ai as in pair as ê.

Under the conditions above explained, the Burmese script is practically phonetic: i.e., final ng is always in; final ch (č) is always ḍ; ṭ + ū is aih; ʊ + ch is čh. But to be intelligible the script requires to be transcribed when expressed in Roman characters, and cannot be usefully transliterated. Still for the history of the words it is often desirable to know what they are as written, and for this reason a column has been added to the above table showing the spelling as well as the spoken forms of the Burmese terms, and similarly the correct spelling of the terms, used in the text is often given in footnotes or text.

The adaptation of Burmese terms to the British-Indian copper coinage is quite as instructive as that to the silver. When speaking at length, the term used for the copper coin known to the English as a pice (pāšia in the Indian vernacular) is pat'sā-tabyà, i.e., "penāy, one piece." Shortly, in the bazar the pice is known pyā, piece, and is treated as the eighth part of a mā (two annas), not as the fourth part of a pyā (one anna). Thus:

1 pice = tabyà or 1 piece
2 " = ūra'pyā " 2 pieces
3 " = ḍōngbyà " 3 "
4 " = ḍhībyà " 4 "
5 " = ngābyà " 5 "
6 " = chau'pyā " 6 "
7 " = kōni'pyā " 7 "
8 " = tamū " 1 mn

Now the recognised British-Indian copper denominations go down to the pie, or 1/8 pice, or 12 to the anna. But the Burman has been no more at a loss to adapt his own phraseology here, when in a real difficulty, than he has proved himself to have been in numberless other instances. Witness his mī-ye'ā (fire-chariot) for a railway train, and his use of bimē (ship) as

---

53 There are in Burmese, as in all tongues, sporadic eccentricities of pronunciation: e.g., ñičęng is Yetzung: rāt (Skr. and Pali, rāt) is gēt; sūkē in Busti: morū in mūn: and so on. An initial syllable is often s, as tan'wān is tagwān, etc. Māmā or Māmmā (a Burman) is Bāmā.
55 There is a very good note for the period, 1827, on the Burmese Alphabet in Crawford's I. Rev., Appx., p. 77: though he sometimes makes muddles of his words, as Bortasung, p. 444, for Bōtaung, where he half transcribes and half transliterates the word.
56 Spelt pōkch'ā (price).
57 It must be noted, however, that bazar hucksters in India often calculate up to 8 pice, precisely as do the Burmanes.
a prefix denoting "sea borne." So he has taken his indigenous term for one-fourth and used it for one-third in this instance from motives of obvious convenience. And thus he has called the pie mat-pyä, or quarter-piece, which it is not in reality. Having done this, he uses the term mat-pyä to differentiate the pie and the pice (pyä) : thus :- Toäyä is one-pice, but mat-pyä toäyä is one-pie. Pies are enumerated, as in India, up to twelve to the anna, i. e., up to 11 pie.

As might be expected, there are, however, variant ways of expressing British-Indian copper money. Thus, Gordon, Companion to Hand-book of Colloquial Burmese, 1886, p. 104, gives us, "one pie, tabaiyä," and a table :-

| 3 baing | 1 païśän | 4 païśän | 1 pë | 16 pë | 1 kyät |

Again, Slack, Manual of Burmese, 1888, gives, p. 10 :-

| 1 pie | tabaik | 1 anna | tabä | 3 pie | bong'baik | 12 pie | s'ëma'païc | 16 annas | s'ëchaüz'pë |

I may here note an interesting and in every way valuable fact for our present purpose from the copper coinage of King Min dön. He adapted his coinage to that of British-India, and made his copper pieces, or pice, one-fourth of a pë, treating the pë as an anna, which as a coin it was not in reality, being the 20th and not the 16th part of his diäyä or rupee. As he used the decimal system of mi in his coinage, (6 yëjï or) 12 yëj want to the pë, and thus he managed to make his yëj correspond to the Indian pice. This is proved by the inscription on Min dön's "peacock" copper coins:— "1 pë bong diäyä 1 â bôn taböö, coin current as one-fourth part of 1 pë:" and confirmed by the "lion" copper coins of his successor King Thibö, who inscribed them thus:— "1 mi bong diäyä 8 pës taböö, coin current as one-eighth part of 1 mi," equal to one-fourth part of 1 pë.

The chief authorities, after Latter on this subject are Judson's Grammar, 1852, and Ed. 1888; Spearman's British Burma Gazetteer, 1870; Browne's Thayetmyo District, 1872; and Cooke's British Burma Manual, 1879: the last three being official publications.  

Judson (p. xxxiv. of the 1832 Ed. and pp. 60-61 of the 1888 Ed.) produces for us the following table :

| 2 chinywè | 1 yëjï | 3 yëjï | 1 pë | 4 | 1 pëjï | 4 pëjï | 1 mat | 5 pë | 1 | 4 mat | 1 kyät | 100 kyät | 1 pekba |

10 (or more tens) pekba are counted as so many (a)k'wot.

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58 To be described at length later on.

59 The edition of 1850 omits all reference to weights, measures and money. It is to be regretted that missionary books so often do this. Deductions will show, that however far removed from their avowed work in life, money matters must occupy the attention of all honest men, in so far, at any rate, as the necessary daily buying and selling is concerned, and are therefore worthy of a place in all books on language.

60 Yule, Ama, only incidentally mentions billion weights and measures at p. 239, and says 100 yëjës = 1 tickal; 10 miës = 1 tickal; calling yëjë the seed of the Atias prematüris. He thus mixes up the scales, probably through a misunderstanding.
Judson also gives us:

2 ścił are 1 mőj
8 mőj 1 kyät
2 pā 1 mū
10 mū 1 kyät

Spearman, Vol. I. p. 406, gives us a table on the same lines as Judson, but adds that the viss is 3.652 lbs. av., and goes on to say that the "names given to fractions of a rupee are derived from the measures of weight":

pā is 1 anna
māt 4 annas
bungmāt 12
kyät 1 rupee
mū is 2 annas
ngāmā 8
kyātmūdā 14

Colonel Spearman then goes on, under measures of capacity, to make a statement of some value in the present connection:—"An endeavour has been made to introduce a standard "basket" (tin) containing 3,218:19 cub. in., but it has not been very successful for want of legislative authority, and the disturbance to trade that would be caused by any enforced alteration in the customary uses has prevented any application to the Legislature. The differences in the various local uses seriously interfere with statistical enquiries, except to those conversant with these differences. The Akyab basket contains about 23 lbs. of rice in the husk, the Maulmain basket 48 lbs., the Bassein about 51 lbs., and the Rangoon basket from 48 lbs. to about 50 lbs. A glance at App. xc. to Vol. II., Madras Manual of Administration, pp. 505-520, on "local varieties of weights and measures," would further illustrate the hopelessness of attaining uniformity in the East in such matters.

Brown, who may be looked upon as an independent investigator, in his Historical Account of the Thayetmyo District, 1872, gives us the same general information, but in a footnote to p. 60 says, and wrongly, that the yuwpī is the "red and black seed of the Abrus precatorius," affording a fine example of the mixing up the rati and the double rati.

Cook, Vol. I. p. 735, says "the basis of the Burmese weight is the tickal (kyät), which equals 252 grs. Troy, and exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 60°. One hundred tickals make a viss: one viss equals 3.65 lbs. av. or 140 British-Indian tolas exactly." In a footnote, giving the fractions of the kyät, he follows Browne in the mistake of making the yuwpī equal the seed of the Abrus precatorius.

The above writers are those who may be looked on as the authorities par excellence on the subject, but there is a popular book, which to the public generally is of the authority on most things Burmese, viz., "The Burman, his Life and Notions," by Shway Yoe (J. G. Scott) 1852, and as at Vol. II. p. 298 ff., this book goes into weights and measures, I will briefly notice Mr. Scott’s remarks here. In this work Mr. Scott does what is natural enough in a popular book, though annoying to investigators, i.e., he follows, or rather takes his ideas bodily from, all the authorities in this as in many other similar matters, and tells us nothing in addition to what they can tell us, except that

4 pēkā are 1 tula
4,000 tula 1 tapdn or tasū

---

B. J. spell bril, means great. Gordon, Companion, p. 66, gives the concurrent tables clearly and correctly, but without recognising their nature.

23 At p. 34, he says, however, that 100 viss are exactly 369 lbs. Other writers are more careful, for Trompenhove, in his Reports on the tin of Mergui about 1842, says (India-Chins, Vol. I. p. 261), that the viss is 3.65 lbs., and at p. 269, 3.75 lbs.

24 L. c., 5 mās.
25 L. c., 3 mās.
26 I. e., a rupee less a mū (two annas).

See also Browne, Thayetmyo, p. 69: Yule, Anti. p. 224: Scott, The Burman, Vol. II. p. 298, who seem to have followed the Gazetteer.

and that the *ngāmā or half kyāt is also called k'wē, and a piece of money tabyā. What he precisely means by "1 tulā," or "1 tooleah" as he writes it, and "1 tapōn" and "1 tasū" I have not discovered, unless he means by *tulδ the Pali and Sanskrit *tul, the weight denomination equal to 100 pālas or phalas. As Mr. Scott's *tulδ is equal to 80 of Litter's *bō(l), it may be the same thing. But his tapōn and tasū are a puzzle:—combined or singly they might mean simply "a hoard." 68

It will have been seen that in all the tables for Indian gold and silver weights, selected for comparison, the scales worked out to 320 jeweller's raktikās, i.e., twice that number of seeds of the Abrus procatorius, or 640 seeds, to the pala. In Burma of course it is the quaternary scale that we must use for the purpose of comparison, and we find that it runs thus, according to the chief authority, Litter:—

\[
\begin{align*}
8 \text{ ywē} & = 1 \text{ pē} \\
2 \text{ pē} & = 1 \text{ mū} \\
2 \text{ mū} & = 1 \text{ māt} \\
4 \text{ māt} & = 1 \text{ kyāt} \\
5 \text{ kyāt} & = 1 \text{ bō(l)}
\end{align*}
\]

Therefore there are 640 ywē, or seeds of the Abrus procatorius to the bō(l), which consequently represents the pala in practice, and I propose now to show that bō(l) equals pala by etymology. Therefore also the Burmese scale can be stated in terms of the ordinary Indian scale on the assumption of a common origin.

Bo(l) may be stated to be merely a modern pronunciation of the Sanskrit pala, Pali phala, on the following grounds. The Burmese, in adopting Sanskrit and Pali words into their language for every day use, clip them sufficiently to make them fit in with their ideas of phonetics, and during this process the long Sanskrit and Pali forms nearly always lose all or some part of their final syllables. Thus, the first step towards adopting pala into Burmese would be the docking of the final a and leaving a monosyllable pal. The final l is silent in Burmese pronunciation, though in such a case it would be retained in the script. The matter, therefore, to concern us is the change of a into l.

In Vols. XXI., XXII., and XXIII. of the *Indian Antiquary, 61 there took place a controversy on Sanskrit words in Burmese, in which the present writer took a small part. In the course of that controversy the following facts were disclosed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grōh</td>
<td>Graha</td>
<td>Gaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikkasō</td>
<td>Mrigāsiras</td>
<td>Migasira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangroh</td>
<td>Saugraha</td>
<td>Saṅgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visakrōm</td>
<td>Visvakarma</td>
<td>Vissakamma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgh</td>
<td>Mēgha</td>
<td>Mēgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōr</td>
<td>Mēru</td>
<td>Mēru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājagrō</td>
<td>Rājagriha</td>
<td>Rājaghara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 Properly "a half more," like the Indian śknī: e.g., "ma'c'k'wēl, 2 kyāt and a half. On applying to Mr. Scott, he courteously informed me that he could not, in 1897, remember where he got the information he recorded in 1891.
69 If, however, Mr. Scott's informant should have told him "4 kyāt = 1 tulā and 4,000 kyāt = 1 tapōn," then the *tulδ becomes the catty and the *tapōn the picul (Siamese), and the expressions become intelligible, because in that case the *tulδ would equal the chong, and both words mean "a balance." Also the weights thus arrived at would take their proper place in the general scale for the Far East. See next section on "Siamese Weights."
70 Browne, *Thayetmyo*, p. 60, already quoted, is very distinct on this point: for he says "two mu-k'yees make one moo-k'yee, and four ru-k'yees make one muo-k'yee." Using thus the "double" scale throughout.
If then we find graha and gaha becoming grāhā: īra and īra becoming īrā: karmā and kamma becoming kṛmā: māyā becoming māyā: māna becoming mānā: ēkā and ēkā becoming ēkā: — and the final consonants h, r, m, gh, dropped altogether in pronunciation: — it is fair to say that pāla is bōl, pronounced bo,72 especially as I may quote the Burmese Sīhō, pronounced bīhō, for Sinhala, Ceylon. Pīkō, for Singhal, is also common in Burmese.

As to the initial b for p, that presents no difficulty, the following instances from Stevenson’s Dictionary72 being sufficient to settle the point:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pāt'ān</td>
<td>bāt'ān</td>
<td>pran</td>
<td>byān74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāndukamālā</td>
<td>bāndukamālā72</td>
<td>pāt'ākkagach</td>
<td>bātanbāyit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāttamālā</td>
<td>bāttamālā73</td>
<td>pārnikālā</td>
<td>bāyānāgīyānāgī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārnikāparāl</td>
<td>bārnikāparāl</td>
<td>pālā77</td>
<td>bālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pālē-pātān</td>
<td>bālē-bātān</td>
<td>pālās78</td>
<td>bāshā78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pālē-pātān</td>
<td>bālē-bātān</td>
<td>pāhan</td>
<td>bāhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pālē-pātān</td>
<td>bālē-bātān</td>
<td>pīchāt</td>
<td>bīchāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīnānā</td>
<td>bīnīyanā</td>
<td>plīūn</td>
<td>bīlōngī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plīsānz</td>
<td>plīsānā</td>
<td>plīūn</td>
<td>bīlōngī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūnōlā</td>
<td>būnālō</td>
<td>pōk</td>
<td>bāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pātōlā</td>
<td>bātōlā</td>
<td>pōk</td>
<td>bāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōtōlā</td>
<td>bātōlā</td>
<td>pōk</td>
<td>bāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prīchāh</td>
<td>byē'ēh79</td>
<td>prīnārāt</td>
<td>bīangsīyānt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruk</td>
<td>byēk</td>
<td>prīnāpān</td>
<td>bīlangsīyānt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prukpruk-prukpruk</td>
<td>byēkhyet-byēkhyat</td>
<td>prōkpruk</td>
<td>byōngbāyānt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prōkpruk</td>
<td>byēkhyet-byēkhyat</td>
<td>prōkpruk</td>
<td>byōngbāyānt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will thus be seen that there is some justification etymologically for using the Burmese bōl for purposes of comparison in these pages as equivalent to the Sanskrit pāla.

We may now pass on to the perhaps more interesting subject of the ideas of the older writers, with something like a proper equipment for an examination of them.

Crawfurd, Asia, 1829, p. 383 ff, anticipates generally with his usual accuracy and perspicacity the conclusions drawn from the present enquiry. His table is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pō</td>
<td>1 small ywō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mū</td>
<td>1 large ywō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pō</td>
<td>1 pō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mū</td>
<td>4 mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>māt</td>
<td>2 mū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>kyāt</td>
<td>1 māt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>kyāt</td>
<td>1 kyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>kyāt</td>
<td>1 kyāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 It is once more to be observed that the Sanskrit and not the Pali form is that adopted into the language. Of the same nature as those in the text are the Burmese omāt (omānī) for omāt, and Sānākārī (sānākārī) for Sanskrit: though according to Stevenson the last word is also written Sānākārī and also pronounced sānākārī.
73 This author can be accepted on all points connected with the sounds of Burmese words, for a greater master of colloquial Burmese it would be difficult to find.
74 The Pātimāyān was the “honor” examination in Upper Burma in Buddhist Literature. Pātimāyān was also the “dignity” for passing it. King Thibb (as a monk) was accounted a Pātimāyān. For a note on the revival of these examinations under the British Government see Bird, Wanderings in Burma, p. 284 ff.
75 The throne of bājā = Saṅkā = Indra = the Angel of Life in modern Burmese belief.
76 The ruby.
77 This word means naked.
78 Scorpio in the Zodiac.
79 A Male: Stevenson writes the pron. in Burmese characters yāhā.
This table he follows up with remarks so much to the present point that I here give them in full in his spelling of the vernacular words:— "The small ruwâ (ruwâ) here is named the _Arbrus (sic) precatorium_, and the larger bean that of the _Adenanthera pavonina_. The kyât is the weight which we have called the tical, and the paikha is our vis. I believe both words are corruptions borrowed from the Mohammedan merchants of India, sojourning in the Burman country. The origin of the word tical I have not been able to ascertain. That of the other is sufficiently curious. The _p_ and _v_ are commutable consonants. The Mohammedan sojourners cannot pronounce the _th_ of the Burmese, and always substitute an _s_ for it. The _k_ is mute even in the Burman pronunciation, and the final _a_ is omitted by Europeans only. Thus we have the word paikha (_pēkba_) commuted into vis. This measure is equal to 3-65 lbs. Avoidedpois. Except that vis (viss) is the origin of _pēkba_ and not _vice versa_, Crawfurd has exactly hit upon the mutual connection of the two words.

From the American Missionary, _Malcolm's Travels_, Vol. I. p. 275, 1839, we find that he was a precursor of Latter, and I think that Latter has read his book. He gives us the following useful little table:—

| 2 ywâ   | 1 ywâî | or 1 pice |
| 4 ywâî  | 1 pî or ywâî | 1 anna |
| 2 pî    | 1 mû    | 2 annas  |
| 2 mû    | 1 mât   | 4 annas  |
| 4 mât   | 1 kyât  | 1 tickal |
| 100 kyât | 1 pēkba | 1 viss   |

He also tells us that the "small ywâ" is the seed of the _Arbrus precatorium_, "called in America, crab's eye," and the ywâî the seed of the _Adenanthera pavonina_; and that the mât is 6½ grs. Troy, and the viss 3-65 lbs. Av. Further he says that "the late experiments at the Calcutta Mint" determined the tickal to be 2½2 grs. Troy and "to weigh exactly one cubic inch of distilled water at the temperature of 90°."

This last remark takes us to _Prinsep and the famous assay of the Ava bullion_ of 1826. Prinsep's table, given by Burney from Ava, is on the decimal scale:

| 2 pî | 1 mû |
| 2½ mû | 1 mât |
| 2 mât | a ½ k'wê |
| 2 k'wê | 1 kyât or tickal |
| 100 kyât | 1 pēkba or viss, or precisely 140 tîlsăr. |

At p. 98 of his _Useful Tables_, Prinsep quotes Kelly's _Cambriel_, p. 222, that the "Pegu tickal" equals 1-138 tîlsăr, which hardly agrees with the statement just given, as it would make the viss equal 113 4/5 tîlsăr.

As to times before accurate knowledge was possible we find in _Alexander Hamilton's "Table of Weights, etc.,"_ attached to his _East Indies_, Vol. II. Appx., p. 8, the following information regarding "Pegu Weight":—

| 1 Viece is 39 Oz. Troy, or |
| 1 Viece | 106 Teculs |
| 140 Viece | a Bahaar |
| The Bahaar, 3 Peculs China |

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81 Here is again confusion in the use of the term ywâ?: see Latter's statement, ante, p. 320.
82 H. H. Wilson's. See Prinsep's _Useful Tables_, p. 36.
83 Cooke says 9½, side p. 324, supra.
84 Page 34, _Useful Tables_, Thomas' Ed.
85 See ante, p. 325, used really for "a half more," but not as "a half" in this sense, though k'wê is used for "half a tis (basket)."
86 This is not a correct statement idiomatically.
The above practically accurate statement was put forward about 35 years before Stevens' formal Guide to the East India Trade was published in 1775, and gives us, as will be seen, a much better and more intelligible idea of the currency of those days in Pegu. Stevens' table for Pegu is as follows:

- 100 moo are 1 tual
- 100 tual = 1 vis or 3 lbs. 5 ozs. 5 drs. Av.
- 150 vis = 1 candy or 500 lbs.

There is a considerable mixing up of matters here. In the first place tual is obviously a misprint for "tical," and I fancy "100 µ = 1 tual" should be read, therefore, 10 µ.

There can be no doubt as to the misprint of tual for tical, because lower down on the same page Stevens has, with other misprints or misreadings, for Siamese weights "80 tual are 1 catty, 50 catties 1 peculi," and later on in this Chapter it will be shewn that the Siamese and Burmese tickals are the same thing, 50 Siamese tickals going to the Siamese catty and 50 Burmese catties to the peculi.

At p. 88 of the same work, we find "1 Rix dollar is 480 Copper Pegue Pettys," a statement which is at first sight a great puzzle, because in Stevens' time there was no copper money or currency in Burma proper or in Pegu. But from p. 123 we can get an explanation. Here Stevens gives a general table of the "Sterling value of Asiatic Coins," and for "Siam, Pegu, Malacca, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, etc.", he gives a queer commercial mixture of Indo-European coined currency, Spanish, French, Dutch, Malay, and what not. In the course of this table, he says "a rial = 2 Ticals = 5½: a Total = 500 Pettees = 2s. 6d." As will be seen later on, Malay terms were constantly applied by travellers in describing Siamese commercial matters, and pettie and petty are no doubt meant for pitis or pickis, the small copper, brass or tin money of Java and the Malawas, when first seen by Europeans.

Cox, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI, p. 134, in an "Account of the Petroleum Wells of the Burmish Dominions," extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Ranghong (Rangoon) up the River Erail-Waddy (Irawaddy) to Amarapoorah, 1797," gives us in his own unique manner a new form for a Burmese weight. First, p. 133, he tells us that the price of the oil at the wells was "at the rate of one and a quarter tecals per hundred viss," and then, p. 134, that the four workmen's share at each well "will be 2,250 viss per month of thirty days, or in money at the above price, 23 tecals 50 avas, or 7 tecals 12 avas each man per month." One is nearly certain that by avas is meant yewa, as 120 to 128 yewas go to the tickal and no other denomination could go as far as 50 to the tickal, as in Cox's statement; but one cannot prove the fact by calculations, as the figures are too loosely stated. Thus, 7 t. 12 a are not a quarter of 28 t. 50 a, as Cox gives the figures, and the sum 2,250 viss at 1¾ t. per 100 viss results in 28 1/8 tickals; therefore, if 50 avas = 1/8 tickal, one tickal must equal 400 avas, which is impossible if avas are really yewas.

Symes, Avo, p. 326, gives us for the weight of the tickal or "khat" 10 dwts. 10¾ grs., and the now familiar quaternary scale of 16 pō and 8 mū to the tickal. But he comes to grief over the name of the pō, for he writes it "tubbes," i.e., tab or "one pō." But Wilson, Documents of the Burmese War, quoting in the Appx. p. lxii, the Government Gazette, March 2, 1826, comes to much farther grief in the same direction, though his quaternary scale is right enough. His table is worth giving here verbatim:

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11 L. c., khanil, see Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 115.
12 A misprint, one is almost certain, for "tical," as a tical was then always valued at 2s. 6d.
14 At Ranghaung, i.e., Yenychang.
15 At Alexander, Travels, speaking loosely of Rangoon, in 1826-6, calls the tickal, or 2½, nearly the weight of a Madras rupee.
SELECTED DATES FROM THE EPIGRAPHIA CARNATACA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Before I published my remarks on the dates of the Saka era, ante, Vol. XXV., p. 266 ff., I examined the dates of many inscriptions in Part I. of Mr. Rice’s Epigraphia Carnatica. Of some of the earlier dates in that collection I have already treated in the Epigraphia Indica. Here I give 19 other dates from my list, which, on account of the details mentioned in them, are perhaps of more general interest.

The dates Nos. 1-7 quote eclipses which were all visible in that part of India where the inscriptions come from. Nos. 8-13 are dates with Sainkrantis. Nos. 14 and 15 give instances of intercalary months, the month of No. 14 being described as prathama-Bhadrapada, and that of the quite modern date No. 15 as niya-Jyestha. No. 16 quotes a repeated tithi (prathama-kkada), and the tithi of No. 17 also is shown to be a repeated one. And Nos. 18 and 19, in addition to the weekdays, give the karugas, nakshatras and yugas of the dates.

In twelve of these dates the given Saka year was an expired year, and in four (Nos. 2, 11, 13 and 14, of S. 1118, 1390, 1396 and 1456) a current year. In No. 18 the year 1568 is wrongly

21 Practically all Burmese weight tables stop at the viss, and the capacity tables at the tin or basket. I have never come across anything like this statement of the “Ava pecul” except in Princep’s Useful Tables, c. 1833, p. 120, where we are told that the Pegu, Burma khandi (candy), 140 viss, is reckoned 400 lbs. av., and the “Bangcon khandi,” of 155 viss, is reckoned at 555 lbs. av. The standard Indian candy or khandi is a weight of 20 man or mls., i.e., about 1,600 lbs. av. But I find loc. cit. that it was c. 592 lbs. at Baroda, 530 c. 538 lbs. at Bombay, 456 lbs. at Goa, c. 450 lbs. at Madras and c. 500 lbs. at Travancor. See also Stevens, Guide, p. 86.


1 I have selected only regular dates. My private list contains many dates from the Epigraphia Carnatica, which are quite incorrect.
quoted instead of 1569 (expired); and in No. 8 the published text of the inscription gives, in words, the year 1062, while both the concurrent Jovian year and my calculation prove the year of the date to be 1082 (current). One date (No. 5) gives the Jovian year only, without the corresponding Saka year; and the other dates, in addition to the Saka years, quote the corresponding Jovian years, in every case in accordance with the southern luni-solar system. Special terms, to which I may draw attention here, are Yakha-tadige (? ) in No. 2, and Vaisahnava-tithi in No. 17.

The date No. 1 of S. 899 is from an inscription of the Western Gaṅga Satyavākya Kṛṅguṇivarman Permanādi; three dates (Nos. 8, 9, and 2) are from inscriptions of the Hoyasāla Narasīhāla I. and Vira-Ballāla; eleven from the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings Harīhara II. (No. 10), Vīrākṣa I. (Nos. 11 and 12), Narasa (No. 3), Kṛṣṇaraya (Nos. 16, 10, and 12), Achyutaraya (Nos. 5 and 13), Sadāsivaraya (No. 6), and Rāmadēva (No. 7); three (Nos. 17-19) from those of the rulers of Maṅgārī; and one, No. 15, is from a private inscription.


S. 899 expired = Isvara: Tuesday, 3rd July A.D. 977; a lunar eclipse, visible in India, 14 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.


S. 1118 current = Rākhasa: Thursday, 5th October A.D. 1195, the day of the new-moon tīthi of the month Āśina; a solar eclipse, visible in India, 5 h. 27 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — [S. 1420.] — Page 186, No. 16. — Date of the time of Narasa of Vijayanagara, in the Nāṭjangūıld plates of his son Kṛṣṇarāya: —

Vatsarā Kālayukty-ākhyā Mārgaśīrshaka-māsi cha ।
sārā-pajaranā-maṇeś puṇyoy darša-samanvīte ||

Kālayukta = S. 1420 expired: 13th December A.D. 1498; a solar eclipse, visible in India, 4 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — S. 1448. — Page 151, No. 49. Hemmige inscription of Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara. —

Śrī-jayābhyadaya-Sālivahana-śakavarusha 1448 sanda vartamānavāda Vyaya-saṁvatsarada Śrīvadha-śuddha-puṇṇamipucmā chandraparāga-puṇyakāladalli.

S. 1448 expired = Vyaya: 24th June A.D. 1526; a lunar eclipse, visible in India, from 11 h. 30 m. to 15 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise.


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1 The date of 'the last Gaṅga inscription' in Mr. Ricks's volume (p. 161, No. 78, of S. 946) is quite incorrect and is, in fact, an impossible date.

2 With Yakha-tadige, which I cannot explain, compare the Sanskrit Yakha-vārī, another name of the festival generally called Dēśṭadī (Divēli); see above, p. 184, Āśina-krishṇapakṣa XV.

3 See below, No. 16.
December, 1897.] Selected Dates from the Epigraphy Carnatic. 331


S 1452 expired = Viśrutu: Thursday, 6th October A. D. 1530, the day of full-moon of the month Āsvina; a lunar eclipse, visible in India, 21 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise.6

6. — S 1478. — Page 174, No. 108. Tumbala inscription of Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara:

Sri-jayābhundaya-Sālivahana-śakāvarsha sa 1478 sanda vartamānavāda . . . śaṁvatsaraṇa Kārtika-ba 30 Chandravāra stūryoparāga-śaṁyakālaṇalin.

S 1478 expired [ = Anala]: Monday, 2nd November A. D. 1556; a solar eclipse, visible in India, 6 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — S 1542. — Page 33, No. 36. Ānevāla inscription of Bāmadēva of Vijayanagara:

Sri-vijayarāhundaya-Sālivahana-śakāvarshaḥāgalu 1542ya Rāudri-saṁvatsaraṇa Mārgga-sira-śu 15 la . . . chandrāgrahana-śaṁyakālaṇalini.

S 1542 expired = Raudra: 29th November A. D. 1620; a lunar eclipse, visible in India, 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. — S 1062 (for 1082*). — Page 33, No. 60. Toṇḍanur inscription of the Hoysala Nārunaḥma I.:


Prahūthi = S 1082 (not 1062) current, and for that year the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, 27th September A. D. 1159. On this day the 13th ăṭhṇi of the bright half ended 3 h. 58 m., and the Tulā-śrīvaṇa-saṁkrānti took place 17 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise; and the nakṣatra was Uttarā Bhaḍrapada about the whole day.

9. — S 1102. — Page 173, No. 106. Tumbala inscription of the Hoysala Vira-Ballāla:

Saka-varauśa sāsiraṇa nūṣa-ĕraḍaṇeyya Sarvvarita-saṁvatsaraṇa Pushya-ṣuddha aṣṭamī Bṛihavaraṇa uttarāyāga-saṁkrāmandalini.

S 1102 expired = Sarvari: Thursday, 25th December A. D. 1180; the 8th ăṭhṇi of the bright half ended 6 h. 12 m. after, and the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti took place 6 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise (during the ăṭhṇi of the date).

10. — S 1319. — Page 160, No. 64. Naraśpura plates of the reign of Harihara II. of Vijayanagara, recording a grant which was made by Nārāyaṇadeva-Oḍeyar, the son of the Mahāmāndalēvara Mallapp-Odeyar (Mallinātha) who was a brother of Harihara II.:

Saka-varauśa 1319 . . . śāvra-saṁvatsaraṇa śrīvāṇa-ṣuddha 5 Āḍivāra Simhasaṁkrānti-paṇyakālaṇalini.

S 1319 expired = Śāvra: Sunday, 29th July A. D. 1397; the 5th ăṭhṇi of the bright half ended 15 h. 12 m., and the Simhasaṁkrānti took place 19 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

11. — S 1396. — Page 135, No. 121. Sujalārū plates of Virūpāksha I. of Vijayanagara:


* In S 1402 expired there was only one other lunar eclipse, which took place on Tuesday, 12th April A. D. 1530,
S. 1396 current = Vijaya: Tuesday, 28th December A.D. 1473; the 10th tithi of the bright half commenced 0 h. 51 m. after, and the Makara-(Uttarāyana)-samkrānti took place 4 h. 29 m. before, mean sunrise.

12. — S. 1450. — Page 14, No. 2. Seringapatam inscription of Krishnaraya of Vijayanagara:


S. 1450 expired = Sarvadhūrinī: Monday, 29th June A.D. 1528; the 12th tithi of the bright half ended 8 h. 9 m., and the Karkaṭaka-(Dakshināyana)-saṅkramanti took place 7 h. 49 m., after mean sunrise.

13. — S. 1456. — Page 95, No. 55. Huragalavādi plates of Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara:

Sak-ābdē Sālivahasya sahasrāṇa chaṭṭu-sātaiḥ 1 paṃchāsātā cha sāṅkhyēṭe shad-abhyadhikayā kramat || Vikramē(?) Vijayaḥ vatare śukla-pakṣē ’tka-vāsāre && dvāsāyām cha-siva Rōhiniyaḥ . . . bhaveti Makarasamkranti-punyakāle.

S. 1456 current = Vijaya (not Vikrama): Sunday, 28th December A.D. 1533; the 12th tithi of the bright half ended 9 h. 8 m., the Makara-(Uttarāyana)-samkrānti took place 8 h. 7 m. (during the tithi of the date), and the nakṣatra was Rōhini for about 8 hours, after mean sunrise.

14. — S. 1390*. — Page 77, No. 139. Sitāpurā inscription of Viṇḍapāksha I. of Vijayanagara:

Sālivahana-sākavarśaḥ 1390 tītāya Sarvajit- śaṅvatsara prathama-Bhadrapa[da]-ba 8 Sani Rōhini-nakshatrādalu.

In S. 1390 current = Sarvajit Bhādrapada was intercalary, and the 8th tithi of the dark half of the first Bhādrapada ended 20 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, 22nd August A.D. 1407, when the nakṣatra was Rōhini for 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.6

15. — S. 1769. — Page 100, No. 67. Maṇḍya inscription of Tirukudi Srīsvāna-Rāvu:


In S. 1769 expired = Plavāṅga Jyēṣṭha was intercalary, and the 15th tithi of the bright half of the niṣa (or second) Jyēṣṭha ended 13 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, 28th June A.D. 1847.


Sālivahana-nirūṭe sak-ābdē sa-achatūsātaiḥ 1 paṃchātṛīṣṭat-samāyuktāsī śaṅkhyēṭe daśabhīś-sātaiḥ || Vatare Śrīmukhā-śāhikhyē māsi cha-Āshādhā-nāmanī || śukla-pakṣē cha punyagāya prathama-saṅkādaṇt-tīṭha ||

In S. 1435 expired = Śrīmukha the 11th tithi of the bright half of Āshādha commenced about 30 m. before sunrise of the 13th June, and ended about 20 m. after sunrise of the 14th June, A.D. 1513. Accordingly, in a calendar both these days would be numbered ‘11,’ and

6 The same inscription contains an earlier date, of the year Pārthiva (= S. 1287 expired), the weekday of which is incorrect.
the 13th June A.D. 1513, the first of these two ekadasis, is the proper equivalent of the date. 7


Sri-Satavahanasakhe Saras-nyaagha-bhaapa-
stamuna-sammita-saraiva gatav-samushmin l
varshhe in Sobhakriti masi Suchau valakshe
pakhhe 'tha Vaishnava-tithav-Akritamah-svaro il

In S. 1585 expired = Sobhakrit (Sobhana) the Vaishnavi (i.e., here, 12th) tithi of the bright half of Sucha (Ashadha) commenced 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of Monday, the 6th July, and ended 26 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 7th July, A.D. 1663. Here, again, in a calendar both the Monday and the Tuesday would be numbered ‘12,’ and the day of the date, Monday, the 6th July A.D. 1663, would be properly described by the term prathamadvaadasi.


Naga-rtu-baama-vasudha-nyaati Satavahan-
akhyeh sakhe saradi Sarvajit-ahvayayam l
Vaisakha-masi Mrigadarsa-samahvaya-rakhe
punyeh tath-Akshaya-tritiya-dutya cha Bhaumul l
Vare Sukarma-yaati sat-karae cha bhadre (?)
san-mangale sakaladhamma-puyakale l

In Sarvajit = S. 1569 (not 1568) expired the Akshaya-tritiya or third tithi of the bright half of Vaishaka and the karana Gara ended 13 h. 6 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 27th April A.D. 1647, when the nakshatra was Mrigadarsa for 16 h. 25 m., and the yogapakshana for 12 h. 50 m., after mean sunrise.


Satavahan-nirjtele sak-abde daabhiis-sataile l
samavit-aikasaptayeh shat-satai-sapi vatsaraib l
Sukl-akhyeh vatsarab masi Vaisakh Bhauma-visarab l
dvadasayeh sukla-pakshayeh chandra-tarab-bal-anvite l
Hasta-rakhe Harshane yoge karae Balav-abhidhe l

S. 1671 expired = Sukla : Tuesday, 18th April A.D. 1749; the 12th tithi of the bright half and the karana Bala ended 9 h. 26 m., the nakshatra was Hasta from 2 h. 38 m., and the yega Harshana for 15 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

* In Ep. Gara, p. 16, No. 6, there is a similar date, which at the same time would furnish an instance of an Umayana Mahabodas (see ante, p. 173); but that date is quite incorrect.

* Compare Hemakri's Chaturanga-chidambarni, Vol. III. Part II. p. 865, l. 1: ddada i Chakrivasabha. — In other dates the 11th tithi is described as Hari-dina.

* As the text stands, the word bhadre would be taken as the name of a karana, but, so far as I know, Bhadra is not synonymous with Gara. According to the Rev. F. Kitiel's Kanaḍa-English Dictionary, bhadre in Kanaḍa denotes 'the seventh astrological division of the day' ( = vishn, which would be out of place here).
PADA, THE WRITER OF ASOKA'S SIDDAPUR EDICTS.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

In my article on Asoka's edicts from Siddapu r (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, p. 154 ff.) I have omitted to give an explanation of the name of the writer, which once occurred in all the three copies and in every case was accompanied by the official title lipikara in Kharoṣṭhī characters, the final sentence being, or having been, Padaṇa likhitam nārekopii.

As M. Sylvain Lévi of late has tried to do away with the mention of the writer and to put a very different construction on this passage, it is perhaps advisable to fill up the lacuna which I have left in my former paper, and to show that at all events pada is a word, suited for a proper name. The explanation, of course, cannot be categorical, as according to the orthography of Asoka's clerks pada may be meant to express three different words, which the more accurate spelling of the Pandits would carefully distinguish. It may be intended (1) for pada, or (2) as single consonants are used instead of double ones, for padā, or (3) on the analogy of majula for mahula and of similar forms, also for the pada.

Among these three forms the first will do only on the supposition, that, as sometimes happens in the Prakrit dialects, its ḍa is a substitute for ra, and that pada stands for para. For para occurs, either by itself or coupled with other words, as a royal name. In the Brāhmaṇas there is the king Para Atumāra and kings, simply called Para, in the Mahābhārata and the Harivāmanas.

Among the other two forms Paṇḍa is found in the slightly enlarged Paṇḍaṇa, the name of a son of the third Manu, and Paṇḍa, though not traceable as a N. Pr., is a Dēṣṭ term, equivalent to dhavala, which word is very commonly used even in the present day for the formation of proper names. In Sanskrit we have Dhavala or Dhavulaka, Dhavalacaktra and so forth, and in the modern Prakrits Dhālā, Dhawalchand and Dhālāchand, and Dhavalaṅgh or Dhālāṅgh. And it may be noted that all these names are used by members of the writer castes of modern India.

It thus appears that with all the three interpretations, which may be put on the syllables pada, a word will come out which is suitable for a proper name, and the choice becomes rather difficult. The least probable among the three possible explanations, it seems to me, is that which involves the assumption that pada is meant for Paṇḍa. More probable would be the explanation of pada by the royal name Parā, as the writer castes of historical India, the Kāyasthas, Brahmas in the Bhārata, and Prabhas claim kinship with the Kshatriya families and commonly adopt the names, borne by persons of princely or noble rank, notably those ending in sīgh (sīha). But then it is necessary to assume that da represents ra. As the third possibility presents absolutely no difficulties, and does not necessitate the assumption of any phonetic or graphic irregularity, I am inclined to fall back on that, and to take pada, or with the full spelling, Padaṇa, as an ancient popular, or Dēṣṭ, equivalent of the Sanskrit Dhavala and the modern Dhālā, with which the Vedic name Svēta and the Epic Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍu may be fitly compared.

In connection with this explanation, I will add a few remarks on the point, which seems to have been the chief cause of M. Lévi's unwillingness to accept for the concluding sentence of the Siddapu r inscriptions the translation, "Written by the scribe Pada," which undoubtedly at first sight appears to be the natural one, and state the reason, why I cannot agree to his translation. As regards the first point, M. Lévi remarks that writers' names do not occur in other early epigraphic documents, and hence he infers that it is not probable that an individual scribe should be mentioned in an Asoka edict. His statement of the facts is correct, as far as the third and second centuries are concerned. For, the earliest indisputable occurrences of writers'

1 Jour. Asiatique, 1896. 2 See the larger Petersburg Dictionary, sub voce Ṛ.

Hemacandra, Dēśikāmālā, vi. 1, padaṇa dhavala.
names are found on the Taxila copper-plate of Saũvat 78 of the great king Mōga, which belongs to the first century B. C. or A. D., and in the land grants of the Andhura king Gōtami-puța Sātakapi (Nāsk inscrs. Nos. 11 a-b) from the beginning of the second century A. D. But I doubt very much that the facts warrant the inference, which M. Lévi draws from them. The great majority of the epigraphic documents of the third and second centuries B. C., like those on the Sānceti and Bharahut Stūpas, in the Barābar, Nágārjun, and Kațak hill caves and on the various relic vessels, consists of short dedicatory or votive inscriptions, which in India never, not even in late times, bear the writer's name. If these are deducted, — as certainly must be done — there remain for the third century twenty-three Ašoka inscriptions, two of which, the Gīrnār and Mansāha versions of the Rock Edicts, are mutilated at the end and the Sānghāra copper-plate. For the second century B. C. there are only two documents, Kāravēla's Hathigumpha inscription and the Andhura inscription from the Nānghat, which latter again is mutilated at the end. It seems to me inadmissible to conclude that, because the twenty-three complete inscriptions of the third and second centuries do not shew writers' names, the sentences in three others, apparently containing such a name, must be interpreted differently in order to eliminate it. In my opinion the basis of facts is much too narrow for the inference. And its precariousness becomes still more apparent, if it is borne in mind that only one among the twenty-three inscriptions, Kāravēla's, belongs to the class of the Prāsastis, in which later the writer's name is mentioned very frequently, though by no means invariably. Later edicts, like those of Ašoka, have not yet been found, and it is impossible to say what the later practice may have been in such cases. I can, therefore, not see any necessity to demur to the translation, "Written by the scribe Paṇa," and it seems to me that in the early inscriptions the insertion of writers' names was irregular, just as the use of Maṅgalas, of which a trace is found only in the two separate Edicts of Jangada, and the use of signs of interpunctuation. The greater regularity in these and other respects begins only, when the Brahman schoolmen obtained a stronger influence in the royal offices.

With respect to M. Lévi's own interpretation, "Written in the pada-script by the writer," I must point out that the texts of both the versions, where the important word is preserved either fully or in part, read according to the impressions and the perfectly trustworthy facsimiles very distinctly pada, which cannot be an equivalent of pada. M. Lévi may have been misled by a remark of mine in my first notice of the Siddāpur edicts, where I stated that one of the versions reads [pada]. The error was caused by the indistinctness of the photograph according to which I worked, and it has been corrected in my edition in the Epigraphia Indica.

DOUBLE KEY.

A well-known Netherland-Indian coin turns up under this extraordinary perversion of the real word in Stevens, Guide to East Indian Trade. It is sufficient to say that it represents dubbeltje, through the established commercial corruption thereof, doubloey.

1711. — "Malacca. Skillings, Double-kees, and Stivers, are the current Money. Two Stivers, or Pence, are one Doublooney, three Doublekees one Skillling, and 8 Skilllings one Rix Dollar." — Lomker, Trade in India, p. 69.

1776. — "Malacca. A Tangee is 6 Stivers, or 3 double Keys, or 3 Cash." — Stevens, Guide, p. 87. The peculiar presentation of the expression "double Key," considering the use of capitals in English printing at the period, shews that Stevens' informant thought the word to be "key" of which the coin in question was the double.

1775. — "Batavia. 8 Doits make 1 Cas, or Doubloey." — Stevens, Guide, p. 124.

1805. — "The Memorandum of 1805 by Lieutenant-Governor Farquhar (J. Ind. Arch. Vol. V. p. 418) speaks of doubloëys, or copper, the doubloey being the Dutch coin of 2 stuyvers, or 10 doits." — Chalmers, Colonial Currency, 1860, p. 382 n.

1814. — "10 doits or 2 stivers and a half are 1 dubbeltje." — Raffles, Java, Vol. II. Appx., p. cxxxvii.
1825. — "As to Malacca . . . Kelly (Cambist) states . . . the principal current coins are rupees, Dutch schillings, Dubbeles, 2 stiver pieces, and doits." — Chalmers, Colonial Currency, p. 333.

R. C. Temple.

CAVES OF THE AMHERST DISTRICT, BURMA.

Ante, Vol. XXII. p. 337 ff., I gave a general account of the caves about Maulmain. I have since come across a list of them, which is worth publishing, in a Government publication entitled "Transliteration into Roman Characters of Names of Places in British Burma, 1874." The publication itself has no interest beyond the academic one of showing the history of the existing system of official transcription into Roman characters, for it is not a transliteration, of Burmese words. But at p. 59 ff. the booklet gives a list in the vernacular of the Caves of the Amherst District, which I here transcribe as supplementary to and corrective of my list above-mentioned. Premising that the Burmese add the suffix is, a cave, to all names of caves, which is here omitted, the list runs as follows.

My recollection is that General Horace Browne was the author of this official list, and he adds a note that the caves are "generally named after the nearest village or place of note in their immediate vicinity." This was also my experience.

List of Caves.

Pābaung. Ma'chitaung.

R. C. Temple.

BOOK-NOTICE.


Hitherto the only book on the history of Indian alphabets was the late Dr. Burnell's South-Indian Palaeography, the second edition of which appeared as far back as 1878, and which confined itself to the South-Indian alphabets. Professor Bühlner's new work is the first which embraces the whole subject of Indian Paleography. Coming as it does from such an eminent authority, I need hardly say that it contains a lucid and up-to-date exposition of its theme and that it teems with fresh discoveries. As regards one of the leading and most difficult questions — the derivation of the Indian Brāhmī alphabet, Professor Bühlner arrives at the conclusion that the latter is an adaptation of a Northern Semitic alphabet, imported about B.C. 800. This important result is so well supported with facts that it cannot fail to meet with general acceptance. There is only one subordinate link in the chain of arguments where I am unable to agree with the author unconditionally. He considers the Brāhmī coin, on which the letters run from right to left, as a proof that the Brāhmī was derived from a Semitic alphabet. But it is a known fact that Indian engravers often forget that the letters have to be reversed on the die in order to appear in their positive forms on the coin itself. A quite modern instance is a coin of the Hōkār of [Vikrama-Sañvat] 1943, where the words एक वार भागा । रेहरे are reversed.

The same mistake may have been committed by the author of the die of the Ėran coin.

Space does not permit to give an epitome of Professor Bühlner's work, and I would only direct attention to the chapter on the Khvāškhi, where this difficult alphabet is fully analysed for the first time; to the ingenious way in which the co-existence of Grantha with Tami and Vas'jelut' and the derivation of the two last are explained and to the chapter on numerical symbols, which supercedes the late Dr. Bhavvanil Indraj's paper in Vol. VI. of this Journal. Among the designations of alphabets I notice the erroneous form Kīnara, for which read Kannada or Karāneda, literally 'the black country.' This is the indigenous name of the 'black cotton soil' districts and of their language; see Hobson-Jobson, p. 117, and Kittel's Dictionary, articles Kannada and Karāneda. Two other transliterations which appear misleading are Cicaole for Chicaole (Srikkula) and Kocin for Cochín (the Portuguese form of Koekhi).

A most invaluable and indispensable addition are nine photographic Plates of letters (i. Khvāškhi; ii. and iii. Brāhmī; iv. to vi. Northern alphabets; vii. and viii. Southern alphabets; ix. numerical symbols), which were prepared with the assistance of Dr. Cartellieri. It will be good news to many that an English edition of the work is in preparation.

E. Hultzsch.
FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. F. D'PENHA.

No. 19. — The Story of Bharô.

THERE once lived an old woman with a daughter of a marriageable age. The girl was old enough to help her mother in earning a livelihood, but she was too lazy — indeed, so lazy as not even to rise a little early in the morning and look after the kitchen work. The old woman, therefore, would get up early, and do the cooking. At sunrise she would call out to her daughter, thus: — "Œ! go Bharô, pôl pâlîñ, dis gêlê maṇḍpâñ, Rise, Bharô, it is dawn, the sun has risen in the sky."

To this the daughter would reply: — "Dis maṇḍpâñ gêlê tê zâmûde, vin sîlā vin phaniñ vinû guntûñ anû dâmrûmañû rûs kârûñ. If the sun is risen in the sky, let him do so, without thread and without a comb I will dress my hair, and I will live on one dâmbrî."

After some hesitation she would rise, arrange her toilet, and eat and drink.

In this way some time past, till one day the king's son was going to school, and his way led past the old woman's hut. As he was just opposite the hut, these words fell upon his ears: — "Œ! go Bharô, pôl pâlîñ, dis gêlê maṇḍpâñ, Rise, Bharô, it is dawn, the sun has risen in the sky." And while he was still within hearing, Bharô replied: — "Dis gêlê maṇḍpâñ tê zâmûde, vin sîlā vin phaniñ vinû guntûñ anû dâmrûmañû rûs kârûñ. If the sun is risen in the sky, let him do so, without thread and without a comb I will dress my hair, and I will live on one dâmbrî."

Having heard this the prince went to school, but the last words of Bharô's reply — "dâmrûmañû rûs kârûñ, I will live on one dâmbrî" — made such an impression upon him, that he made up his mind to get married to Bharô with the view to test how she could live on such an insignificant sum of one-twenty-fourth of an anna. In the evening, when school was over, he began to think how to obtain her in marriage, and considering it rather difficult, because of their respective social positions, he went and threw himself down in his father's stables, through sheer grief, while all the palace was searching for him in all directions. Towards dusk the king's baṭkîns came into the stables, with bales of gram, to feed the horses. And what did they do? They threw the husks of the gram to the horses, eating the gram themselves. The prince, who saw this from his hiding place, could contain his anger no longer, and shouted out: — "Ahañ, chanî chanî tûmûñ khâñî anû sâlîn sâlîn gûrûmûnû gûlûntû sâhîñ? Tûmûñ tê tûmûñ dûnûn dûnûn matû chullûntû anû mûjî gûrû sikat chullûntû. Ah ha! you are eating the gram yourselves, throwing only the husks to the horses? No wonder you are growing fatter and fatter every day, while my horses are getting lean."

The baṭkîns, however, did not mind the prince's reproach, but only said: — "Râjî Sâhîñ, Râjî Sâhîñ, aṭhîlî ña kârtî? Tûmûñ sâthî sâthî gûrû sâthîñ, Râjî Sâhîñ, Râjî Sâhîñ, what are you doing here? The whole country is being searched on your account."

The prince, who saw that he was discovered by the baṭkîns, threatened them with a severe thrashing if they went and acquainted the king, his father, with his hiding-place. But the baṭkîns cared not for the prince's threats, but ran to the king in great haste and with joyful hearts, for they knew that their trouble would not go unrewarded, and addressed him thus: —

1 The literal meaning of this would be: — Get up, Bharô, it is dawn, day is gone to the maṇḍap. A maṇḍap may be taken to mean a chamanû.
2 Literally, if the day is gone to the maṇḍap, let it go, without thread, without comb I will entangle my hair, and on one dâmbrî I shall reign queen. A dâmbrî is half a pic, or one-twenty-fourth part of an anna.
3 Maid-servants.
4 Translated literally, it would mean: — Ah ha! the gram you are eating and the skins you are putting to the horses, no? Then only it is that you are fattening day after day and my horses are becoming dry.
5 Meaning the prince.
"Raja Sahib, Raja Sahib, ek saigun ka duna saigun. Raja Sahib, Raja Sahib, shall we tell you one or shall we tell you two?"

To which the king, who was sorrowing for his son's absence without his knowledge, frownedly retorted: — "Tumhain khatam ha and varitas ha, tukanal ka hai; mane pad gael to nahi. You are always eating and still you keep crying; what do you care? I am thinking of my son who is gone."

But the batik, nothing daunted, replied: — "Raja Sahib, Raja Sahib, akal te bari gost kai, Raja Sahib, Raja Sahib, if you will listen, it is good news."

Upon this the king said: — "Ek saigun ka duna saigun paia ked saigundehari ka te bain saigund, You may tell me one or you may tell me two, but say quickly whatever you may have to say."

The batik then told the king that, as they went to the stables, as was their wont, to feed the horses, they saw the prince lying there, apparently in great grief. The king, thereupon, went to the stables in great haste, and, having found the prince, thus spoke to him: — "Tum aathila kai? Ka shailam toli? Ka kousin heta toli? Sany malia: kousin heta tukialil tiaver, tiachha hai jhen; kousin paia tukialil tavar, tiachha paia jhen; kousin dolal kelaical tula, tiachha dolal jhen; kai ka khutsali toli, sany malia, min paiva karin? Why are you here? What is the matter with you? Has any one injured you? Tell me: has any one lifted his hand against you, I shall cut off his hand; has any one lifted his leg against you, I shall cut off his leg; has any one used his eyes against you, I shall remove his eye; or if you lack anything, say so, and I shall see that you get it."

To which the prince replied: — "Male kaiun shailam nahi; nahi kousin heta tukial, nahi kousin paia tukial, kai nahi kousin dolal kela maver, tari pen male kaiun khutsali nahi: male ek ghair parli — male fulan doderichhe srikan vardalai pasja. Nothing is the matter with me; nobody has lifted his hand, nobody has lifted his leg, neither has anybody made eyes at me, nor do I lack anything: one thought troubles me — I must get married to such and such an old woman's daughter."

"Oh, is that all you want? You shall have your desire fulfilled. In the meanwhile, cheer up, and come and take your meal."

At this the prince left the stables and followed his father, and was soon himself again. Before negotiating with the old woman for her daughter's hand, the king protested the best way he could with the son to change his mind, pointing out to him that he, the prince, was a king's son, who would some day himself become a king, and that, as such, it ill-became him to form an alliance with a girl who was next door to a beggar. But no remonstrances, however reasonable, would avail with the prince, who said he must marry that girl, or put an end to himself.

The king now saw that there was no chance of making the prince desist from his determination, and so, one morning, sent a simpaji to call the old woman to the palace. When the sepoy put in his appearance at the old woman's door, and delivered the king's order, she began to wonder at it. What had she done, she thought. Had she, or, perhaps, her daughter, offended the king in any way? She could remember nothing. Then, why did the king send for her? However, whether she had done anything or not, it was the king's order to her to come to the palace, and go she must. So, with fear in her heart, the old woman presented

6 Literally this would mean: — You are continually eating and continually crying, what is it to you? My son is gone, that is nothing.

7 The literal meaning of this would be: — Why are you here? What has come to you? What has any one done to you? Tell me: if any one has lifted his hand upon you, I shall take his hand; if any one has lifted his leg upon you, I shall take his leg; if any one has made an eye at you, I shall take his eye; or if anything is wanting to you, tell me, I shall produce it.

8 By the eye, the Evil Eye is evidently meant here.

9 Simpaji = a sipahi = sepoj.
herself before the king, and bowed down low at his feet. The king beckoned her to a chair, but the old woman modestly refused it, and was about to squat on the floor, saying that she was too poor to sit herself in a chair; — also that she had never sat on one. But the king kindly held her by the hand and seated her in a chair. Preliminaries over, the king said to the old woman:—

“Azchi khùi kàlet pò tàmunù raik kàrdì; tàmunù wëkì tàmulù ríchòlù diàrìì, It is our desire to form an alliance with you; you must give your daughter to our son.”

The old woman replied: — “Kòun, Ràjà Sàhib, múla diàtì tàmunù nàdjì masèkari kàrtì; tàmunù kòun, múl kòun, amì sàmun kàsimù kòìì. Why, Ràjà Sàhib, surely you are jesting; what is your position and what is mine? How can such a thing be?”

The king, however, soon persuaded her that he meant no joke, that the prince wished it so, and that, therefore, he was in earnest. The old woman could not reconcile the idea of a king’s son asking for the hand of a beggar’s daughter, and, without saying aye or nay, walked away home, and lying down on a cot, covered herself with a quilt. When her daughter, Bharò, saw that her mother had taken to her bed, which was an unusual thing with her, she came and inquired what was the matter, — if she was unwell. The old woman told her to go away and not to bother her head about her. In spite of this the girl insisted upon knowing what was the matter with her mother; so her mother told her that the king had sent for her and had asked for her daughter’s hand, and not knowing how to act in the matter, her mind was much troubled, and that was the reason why she had taken to her bed. Bharò was only too glad to learn that the king’s son had proposed for her, and told her mother not to fear on that account, but to go over to the palace and inform the king that his proposal was accepted. The old woman was again at her wit’s end about the affair, but at the entreaty of her daughter she went and told the king that she was willing to give Bharò in marriage to the prince, who was duly informed about it by the king his father. The prince received this news with the greatest gladness. They also then and there appointed an early day for the happy occasion.

The king now began preparations on a very large scale to celebrate the marriage with befitting pomp. The old woman, of course, was too poor to make any show, and so she did what little she could by way of a small entertainment for friends and relations of her social position. The day soon came, and the marriage was celebrated with great eclat by the bridegroom.

A month or two passed after the wedding, and the prince bethought of Bharò’s saying — “Dambrinamnuti ndà kàrin, I will live on a dambrì.” So he determined to put her to the test at once. He asked the king to build him a ship, as he wished to go to trade in foreign lands. The king told him there was no need for him to do any business, since he was getting old and he would have to give up the reins of government, which would naturally fall into the hands of the prince, for which he must prepare himself. The prince, however, said he must go for a few months at least, and therefore he must have a ship. So the king at once issued orders for the building of the ship. And what did he lack? Men and money were all at his service, and a job that would have taken months to finish he got completed in days, and the ship was soon placed at the disposal of the prince, completely manned with a kapton11 and jándel.12

The prince had now only to store in the ship provisions for the journey, but of these he took only a limited quantity. Finally he asked his wife, Bharò, whether she would not like to accompany him on his voyage. Little thinking of the real object of her husband’s wish to take her with him, she said nothing could give her greater pleasure than being in his company, whether for good or for bad.

Everything was now settled, and the ship set sail under a very favorable breeze. When after many days, they had reached an out-of-the-way country, the prince ordered the anchor to be cast. There they stopped for a day or two, and as soon as the provisions were quite

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10 Literally, Why, Ràjà Sàhib, it seems to me you are making fun of me; who are you? who am I? and how can such a thing be?
11 Kapton = captain.
12 Jándel = tindal or tindals, petty officers.
finished, the prince conceived the idea of leaving Bharô alone in the ship. He, therefore, told Bharô that she would have to stay in the ship alone for a few days, as he was going on land on some business, and taking the captain and all the crew the prince landed and was soon out of sight. He had, however, taken the precaution of tying to an end of Bharô's säfî one coin—a tiindambiri, without her knowledge.

Taking a land route, the prince went back with all the other men to his own country. A few hours after the prince's departure, Bharô felt hungry. So she went to where the provisions were stored, but what was her disappointment to find that there was nothing left! That day and night she went without food. The following day she was thinking over what to do to appease her hunger, when she felt something tied to her säfî. She unfastened the knot and found a tiindambiri; but what was she to do with the tiindambiri? As she was thus thinking, she caught sight of an old fisherman, who had come to fish. She called out to him, addressing him as kâkâ. The old fisherman was quite surprised to hear himself addressed thus there, and more surprised was he to find that it was a young woman, apparently alone, who called him out. He came to the ship, and Bharô threw the tiindambiri to the old man, and begged of him to fetch her chanâ kûrmûrî. The old man had not the heart to refuse her. So he went and brought tiindambiri worth of chanâ kûrmûrî, which he brought and handed over to Bharô, after which he went about his business. As soon as the old man was gone, Bharô took the chanâ kûrmûrî and was eating them eagerly, when, misfortune of misfortunes, all the chanâ kûrmûrî fell out of her hands into the water. She was about to burst out crying, when her eyes fell upon hundreds of magalmashî coming and swallowing all the chanâ kûrmûrî. The magalmashî, after eating up all the chanâ kûrmûrî, went up on dry ground and threw up heaps upon heaps of sostachia mûri. This was a cause of great surprise and no less joy to our heroine. She collected all the mûri's, which nearly filled the ship. Another day of starvation passed, and on the following day, when the fisherman came to fish, she called to him, and giving him one mûri, asked him to buy for her a number of different articles of food, and for his trouble she paid him one mûri. She then told him to come there on the next day too, and the fisherman, who was not over-rich, was only too glad to come, in the hope of getting, perhaps, another mûri. Bharô had now plenty of food, and she ate to her satisfaction. On the following day the old fisherman was commissioned to buy a plot of ground; on the day after that, to buy timber, stones, and other things necessary to build a very large house. Bharô next wished to supervise the building herself; so she got the old man to erect a hut near where the house was being erected. As she did not wish it to be known that she was a woman, she asked the old man to buy her a complete set of a man's clothes, and, thus disguised, she landed and went to the hut, having in the first instance ordered the removal of all the mûri's.

In this way passed a month or two. Bharô's husband, the prince, now remembered her, and wished to see how she was faring, or what had become of her. So he engaged another vessel and set sail early. He reached in due time, and, right enough, he saw the ship in which he had left his wife, but his wife gone, or, rather, as he thought, dead. He, therefore, wished to go back to his country, when his attention was drawn to a palatial building, fairly on its way to completion, and he wished to ascertain to whom it belonged. So he landed and went to the spot, and enquired who was building the house, and determined that, if any workman was required, he would offer his services. He was shown the mukkadam, the old fisherman, who in turn took him to Bharô, who was still in a man's disguise, which prevented the prince from recognising his wife. Bharô, however, knew who had come to her for work, but not wishing to discover herself so soon, pretended ignorance, and acted as she would towards a stranger, at the time.

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12. *Tiindambiri* = three dambs or half a pice, or one-eighth of an anna.
14. *Kâkâ* means paternal uncle, but all men, about the age of one's father, are thus addressed.
15. Parched gram and rice.
16. *Magalmashî* are large fish, supposed to be whales. The singular is *magalmâdi*.
18. Gold *mohara* are evidently meant.
The prince's services were engaged, but she had not the heart to make him do any hard work, and, therefore, he was asked to supervise the building. He was also allowed to live at his supposed master's house. At meal time Bharó would order her servant to serve the prince first at her own table. The prince would modestly refuse to eat before his master, but Bharó would insist upon his eating first, and then he would do so. In this way some time passed till the house was complete. Bharó then gave orders for furnishing the house completely, the old fisherman and the prince being commissioned to do the task. The prince had great taste in furniture, and so bought the best available, and when it was arranged in the house, also under the prince's supervision, the house looked simply beautiful.

Bharó now paid all the workmen their respective wages, and dismissed them. The prince also asked for his wages, saying he, too, wished to go away, but he was told to remain for a few days, after which he would get leave to go home. Now, when they were almost by themselves, Bharó one day asked the prince to enter her chamber, and, having thrown off her disguise, she donned herself in a rich sari and all her beautiful ornaments, and presented herself before the prince. The prince was simply struck dumb at seeing Bharó, his wife, standing before him, and could not for the world of him understand what it all meant. Was he, perhaps, dreaming, or was the man she saw really his wife? When he had recovered speech, he asked her to explain to him everything. Bharó then told him, how, after he had gone, she had, in the first place, to remain without food for a day or two; how, later on, she found the tinumbiri tied to her sari, for which she could not account, as she herself had never tied it there; how she gave the tinumbiri to the old fisherman, who had come to fish, and asked him to buy her chand kûmûri, which, when bought and given her, fell all in the water as she was about to eat them, how, when the chand kûmûri fell in the water, magalsûdâi came and swallowed them, after which the magalsûdâi, going on dry land, threw up heaps upon heaps of mûrâi, mûrî, which she collected, and which enabled her to live comfortably and to build that large house, in furnishing which he had displayed so much taste.

Here the prince interposed, and told Bharó what had led him to bring her and leave her alone in that land, and that he was now quite satisfied, that what she was wont to say to her mother before their marriage she had been enabled to carry out, namely, "vin and ithi phanin vinin guthri and dah rins rini sâr, without thread, without comb, I will dress my hair and live on one damâr."

After this they disposed of the building, and taking the proceeds as well as the heaps of mûrî, they returned to their native country, where they lived in happiness to an old age.
THE VARAKKAL TEMPLE AND ITS FESTIVAL.

An interesting Hindu ceremony is annually observed at Varakkal of the New Moon day in the Malayālama month of Tulaṁ (October-November). Varakkal is about two miles to the north of Calicut, and is within a short distance of the Easthill Barracks. The temple stands on a prominent position on a bit of high ground upon the shore of a very shallow backwater. Despite its hoary and desolate appearance, on close inspection it looks bright and beautiful enough when seen rising into sight against a clear blue sky on the summit of the eminence on which it stands. A turn from the main road, up a handsome flight of stone steps, takes the visitor directly to the doorway fronting the inner shrine. The promiscuous pile of huge globular rocks on which the ancient temple is built, the dreariness and solitude of the site, and the many romantic, dark, and solemn caves within its precincts, render it in some degree like the celebrated and much larger rock-cut cave-temples of Ellora or Elephanta. In the rainy season, it presents a strangely picturesque sight, for, surrounded with water on all sides owing to inundations from the sea, it forms a little sea-girt isle. There are two large tanks in front which are said to be connected with the sea by subterranean outlets.

The Varakkal Temple¹ is of ancient origin, and tradition ascribes its foundation toParaśurāma, the soldier, sage, and colonizer, of whom it is recorded:—“Three times did he clear the earth of the Kṣatriya caste.” It is dedicated to Durgā, and in her honor the Dasahara Festival is celebrated in great style annually.

The foundation legend is that the Kirala country was reclaimed from the ocean by Paraśurāma, who built temples therein and settled it with immigrants. His mother Reśvakā became a widow and fell from perfection, and thereupon his father, the holy Jamadagni, was exceeding wrath and commanded his sons to put her to death. None of them heeded this behest, however, until the youngest, Rāma, took his axe and slew her. Subsequently, Kārtavīrya, king of the Haikeyas, visited Jamadagni’s hermitage. This monarch, with his thousand arms and wonderful golden chariot, that flew in the air and sped wheresoever he bade it go, was, with due respect, entertained, in Jamadagni’s absence, by his wife. But the wicked Kārtavīrya, inflamed with the pride of valor, and in utter violation of the laws of hospitality, carried off the sage’s sacred cow, Rāma.

¹[There is a brief note on this temple in Logan’s Māebur, Vol. II., p. ccxi, where, however, it is stated dhēnu, and felled the tall trees that stood in the hermitage-garden. For this reason, and also because to one of this accursed race his mother owed her fall, Rāma forthwith attacked and overthrew the robber-king, and finally extirpated the whole race of Kṣatriyas. His mother’s death and the destruction of so many brave men, however, weighed heavily on his heart, and the slayer of hostile heroes was greatly distressed. To expiate these sins he determined to create a new land and to offer it to the Brahmans. Accordingly, Kirala (Malabar) was created, which, being apportioned into sixty-four lots or grāmas, was given away to as many Brahmans. Temples and dāsumalas (houses of worship) of all sorts soon sprang up in the new country. Only a few of them, however, were set up by Pāṇaprīma himself, and one of these was the temple at Varakkal.

Last year (1895), on the New Moon day (śiva) of Tulaṁ, I joined a multitude proceeding to this famous shrine. The great number of carriages that took pilgrims, the multifarious character of the people congregated, the utter confusion on all sides, the swimming, running, bathing, jumping, shouting populace made a profound impression on my mind. Numberless men, women, and children of every caste thronged the usual deserted temple; and from one end to another there was a long array of surging human beings, bathing and playing in the sea and tanks. It is supposed that on this day the sea, submissive to the deity, becomes calm, and that an underground tārtha near the temple spouts forth holy water. In honour of the occasion, oblations of karuṅa grass and boiled rice are thrown on the sea-waves to departed ancestors.

Another reason for the importance of the Varakkal śiva, given in the neighbourhood, refers to a quaint local custom, and has almost passed into a proverb. Marriage connections are held to be at an end and all relationship to have been terminated, if a haunā [kinsman] fails to put in his appearance in a taraṇa or family-house, on the śiva day. This odd social canon is still tenaciously clung to by all good folk at Varakkal.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

INITIAL L AND N.

LATELY, in a case before me, a native of Bengal, a convict in Port Blair, was indifferently named Nañhya Chand and Ladhia Chand. He is recorded in the list of convicts as Ladhia Chand.

R. C. TEMPLE.

to be dedicated to Bhāgavatī, Gnapāati, Ayyappan, and Dukshippamūrtī. — Enj.]
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