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*On the* ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS *of the* ANDAMAN ISLANDS.  
(Part II.) By E. H. MAN, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c.

[WITH PLATES VIII AND IX.]

IN the paper which I had the honour of reading here a few weeks ago I endeavoured to give you as much information as my time allowed relative to the physical characteristics of the race, and then touched briefly upon certain points connected with their culture. I propose this evening to speak of their marital relations, and to tell you of certain of their customs, superstitions, traditions, and beliefs; but before doing so I wish to say a few words in reference to the dialects or languages spoken by the various tribes, more especially the language spoken by the *bō'jig-ngī'ji-*, or South Andaman tribe. As I shall presently show, the people themselves have a legend<sup>1</sup> to account for the linguistical distinctions existing in their midst, but, on a subject of such importance as the origin of an unwritten language, the traditions current among the savages who speak it have rarely, if ever, I believe, been known to throw any light.

**Language.**—1. A few short lists of Andamanese words have been prepared from time to time, commencing, I think, with Colebrooke, who visited the islands nearly a century ago; but

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 14 and 22.

owing to a variety of circumstances, not the least of which was the absence of any system of representing the sounds in the language—each author having chosen to employ a phonetic code best understood by himself and capable of varying interpretation by others—the result has been, to say the least, unsatisfactory, and the words for the most part are, in their printed form, either wholly unrecognisable by the people themselves, or possess a meaning differing very much from that given.

2. I do not make these remarks with a view of depreciating the efforts of others, for I fully recognise the difficulties with which they had to contend, and am aware that these exceeded any I have had to overcome, consequent on the improved relations which have subsisted between ourselves and the aborigines in recent years.

3. It must also be borne in mind that time necessarily works vast changes in all savage languages, which depend so entirely upon the oral correctness of the whole population for their accurate transmission.

4. As my knowledge of the other dialects is not as yet sufficient for me to be able to describe them comparatively at any length—leisure having failed me to obtain more than a few hundred words of five of the seven remaining tribes of Great Andaman—I wish it to be understood that, except where otherwise stated, my remarks refer to the *bō'jig-ngī'ji-*, or South Andaman dialect.

5. The Andamanese are, as a rule, very conservative, and prefer to coin from their own resources rather than to borrow from aliens, words expressing ideas or objects which are new to them. To give only one of many examples:—having themselves no forms of worship, they had no word for “prayer,” but since seeing the Mohammedans at their daily devotions, and learning that they are addressing an Invisible Being, they express the act by a compound word, *ā'rlalik-yā'b-*, signifying “daily repetition” (viz.: *ā'rla* daily, and *ik-yā'b-* repetition).

6. They have also a distinct poetical dialect, and in their songs subordinate everything to rhythm, the greatest liberties being thereby taken not only with the forms of their words, but even with the grammatical construction of the sentences. For instance the chorus of one of their songs runs thus:—

*chēklū yā lak'u mēj'rà ?*

which means “who missed the hard (backed) turtle?” the prose construction of the sentence being *mīja yā'dī chēbalen lá kàchē're ?* It will be at once noticed how great is the difference between the two versions, for in this, as in most of their songs,

the words in their poetic form are so mutilated to suit the metre as to be scarcely recognisable; indeed, it not unfrequently happens that the composer of a new song has to explain its meaning in the ordinary vernacular to his chorus<sup>1</sup> as well as to the audience in general.

7. It may perhaps interest some of my readers to see a comparative table which I have prepared of the various forms of the possessive pronominal adjectives in most frequent use among five of the eight tribes of Great Andaman.

	<i>.bō'jig-ngī'ji-</i>	<i>.bō'jig-yá'b-</i>	<i>.á'ká-kó'l-</i>	<i>.óko-jū'wai-</i>	<i>.bal'awa-</i>
my ..	<i>dī'a-</i> ..	<i>tī'ya-</i> ..	<i>tī'ya</i> ..	<i>tī'ya</i> ..	<i>de'ge.</i>
thy ..	<i>ngī'a-</i> ..	<i>ngī'ya-</i> ..	<i>ngī'ya</i> ..	<i>ngī'ya</i> ..	<i>nge'ge.</i>
his ..	<i>ī'a-</i> ..	<i>ī'ya-</i> ..	<i>ī'ya</i> ..	<i>ā'ī'ya</i> ..	<i>eg'e.</i>
our ..	<i>mē'ta-</i> ..	<i>mī'ya-</i> ..	<i>mī'ya</i> ..	<i>mī'ya</i> ..	<i>mā'tat.</i>
your ..	<i>ē'ta-</i> ..	<i>ngārdī'ra-</i> <i>lī'ya-</i> ..	<i>ngārdī'ra-</i> <i>tē'ya</i> ..	<i>ngachá'par-</i> <i>lī'ya</i> ..	<i>ngā'tat.</i>
their..	<i>ó'nta-</i> ..	<i>nó'ngtá'le-</i> <i>lī'ya-</i> ..	<i>ó'ntá'le-</i> <i>eka-tē'ya</i> ..	<i>nará'ngóich-</i> <i>lī'ya</i> ..	<i>á'tat.</i>

8. There are in each dialect several other forms of possessive pronominal adjectives, each of which must be used with its own class of nouns, but time will not permit me to enter into particulars regarding these. The form which, roughly speaking, is of general application among the *.bō'jig-ngī'ji-* is, as I have just shown, that of *dī'a-*, *ngī'a-*, &c. Ex. :—*dī'a ká-rama-*, my bow; *mē'ta yá'dī-*, our turtle; the exceptions to its use being, (a) those nouns denoting human objects, (b) those indicating the various parts of the body,<sup>2</sup> and (c) certain other nouns denoting degrees of relationship. To be as brief as possible, I will give but one or two examples of each.

(a)

<i>dī'a-</i> , my..	..	..	<i>mē'tat</i> , our	..	..	Ex. : <i>dī'a abū'la-</i> ,
<i>ngī'a-</i> , thy	..	..	<i>ē'tat</i> , your	..	..	my man.
<i>ī'a-</i> , his	..	..	<i>ó'ntat</i> , their	..	..	<i>mē'tat at-pail-</i> ,
<i>lī'a-</i> , ——'s	..	..	<i>l'ó'ntat</i> , ——'s	..	..	our women.

<sup>1</sup> I cannot here enter into particulars regarding their songs and choruses, an account of which will be hereafter given under "Games and Amusements."

<sup>2</sup> For a complete list of these *vide* Appendix G.

## (b)

I. Used with words indicating the head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lung, heart, &c.

<i>dōt</i> , my .. ..	<i>mō'tot</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>dōt chē'ta</i> -, my head. <i>ō'tot lō'ngota</i> -, their necks.
<i>ngōt</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngō'tot</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ōt</i> , his .. ..	<i>ō'tot</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ōt</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'ō'tot</i> , —s' .. ..	

II. Used with words indicating the hand, finger, wrist, knuckle, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, &c.

<i>dōng</i> , my .. ..	<i>mōi'ot</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>ngōng tō'go</i> -, thy wrist. <i>ōi'ot pāg</i> -, their feet.
<i>ngōng</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngōi'ot</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ōng</i> , his .. ..	<i>ōi'ot</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ōng</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'ōi'ot</i> , —s' .. ..	

III. Used with words indicating the shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, nose, ear, eye, gum, tear, tooth, &c.

<i>dig</i> , my .. ..	<i>mit'ig</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>ngig tō'go</i> -, thy shoulder. <i>mit'ig tūg</i> -, our teeth.
<i>ngig</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngit'ig</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ig</i> , his .. ..	<i>it'ig</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ig</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'it'ig</i> , —s' .. ..	

(N.B.—The words for eye, eye-lid, and eye-lash, generally take the abbreviated form, *dī*, *ngī*, *ī*, *mit'ī*, *ngit'ī*, *it'ī*.)

IV. Used with words indicating the body, back, spine, thigh, calf of leg, elbow, knee, rib, stomach, spleen, liver, shoulder-blade, &c.

<i>dab</i> , my .. ..	<i>mat</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>dab chāu</i> -, my body. <i>at pā'retā</i> -, their ribs.
<i>ngab</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngat</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ab</i> , his .. ..	<i>at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ab</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'at</i> , —s' .. ..	

V. Used with the words indicating leg, hip, loin, bladder, &c.

<i>dar</i> , my .. ..	<i>mar'at</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>dar chāg</i> -, my leg. <i>ar'at chō'rog</i> -, their hips.
<i>ngar</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngar'at</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ar</i> , his .. ..	<i>ar'at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ar</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'ar'at</i> , —s' .. ..	

VI. Used with words indicating mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jaw-bone, collar-bone, breath, &c.

<i>dá·kà</i> , my .. ..	<i>mak'at</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>ngá·kà bang</i> , thy mouth. <i>ak'at ē·kib</i> , their jaw-bones.
<i>ngá·kà</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngak'at</i> , your .. ..	
<i>á·kà</i> , his .. ..	<i>ak'at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'á·kà</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ak'at</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

VII. Used apparently only with the word indicating waist.

<i>dó·to</i> , my .. ..	<i>mó·to</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>dó·to kī·nab</i> , my waist. <i>mó·to kī·nab</i> , our waists.
<i>ngó·to</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngó·to</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ó·to</i> , his .. ..	<i>ó·to</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ó·to</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ó·to</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

I. (c)

<i>dab</i> , my .. ..	<i>mat</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>dab mai·ola</i> , my father. <i>dab ē·tinga</i> , my mother.
<i>ngab</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngat</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ab</i> , his .. ..	<i>at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ab</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'at</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

II.

<i>dá·kà</i> , my .. ..	<i>mak'at</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>dá·kà kám</i> , my younger brother.
<i>ngá·kà</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngak'at</i> , your .. ..	
<i>á·kà</i> , his .. ..	<i>ak'at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'á·kà</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ak'at</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

III.

<i>dar</i> or <i>dár</i> , my .. ..	<i>mar'at</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>dar ē·dire</i> , my son.
<i>ngar</i> or <i>ngár</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngar'at</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ar</i> or <i>ár</i> , his .. ..	<i>ar'at</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ar</i> or <i>l'ár</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ar'at</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

IV.

<i>dai</i> , my .. ..	<i>mē·tat</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>dai ik·yá·te</i> , my wife. <i>ó·ntat pail</i> , their wives.
<i>ngai</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ē·tat</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ai</i> , his .. ..	<i>ó·ntat</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ai</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ó·ntat</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

V.

<i>ad</i> , my .. ..	<i>mē·tat</i> , our .. ..	Ex. : <i>ad ik·yá·te</i> , my husband. <i>ē·tat bū·la</i> , your husbands.
<i>ang</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ē·tat</i> , your .. ..	
<i>á</i> , his .. ..	<i>ó·ntat</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'á</i> , ——'s .. ..	<i>l'ó·ntat</i> , ——'s' .. ..	

## VI.

<i>ad-en</i> , my .. ..	<i>am-et</i> , my .. ..	Ex.: <i>ad-en</i> <i>tô-bare</i> , my elder brother. <i>ang-et</i> <i>tô-bare-pail</i> , your elder sisters.
<i>ang-en</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ang-et</i> , your .. ..	
<i>â-en</i> , his .. ..	<i>â-et</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'â-en</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'â-et</i> , —'s' .. ..	

## VII.

<i>dôt</i> , my .. ..	<i>mô-tot</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>dôt</i> <i>chá-tnga</i> , my adopted son.
<i>ngôt</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngô-tot</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ôt</i> , his .. ..	<i>ô-tot</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ôt</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'ô-tot</i> , —'s' .. ..	

## VIII.

<i>deb</i> , my .. ..	<i>mēb-et</i> , our .. ..	Ex.: <i>deb</i> <i>aden-ire</i> , my step-son.
<i>ngēb</i> , thy .. ..	<i>ngēb-et</i> , your .. ..	
<i>ēb</i> , his .. ..	<i>ēb-et</i> , their .. ..	
<i>l'ēb</i> , —'s .. ..	<i>l'ēb-et</i> , —'s' .. ..	

9. Lieutenant R. C. Temple, in his Notes on my translation of the Lord's Prayer into *bō-jig-ngi-ji-* quotes some of the remarks made by Dr. Caldwell on the Australian languages, which he considers can with perfect truth be applied to the Andamanese dialects. The grammatical structure exhibits a general agreement with the languages of the Scythian group; in both we find the use of post positions instead of prepositions; they also agree in the formation of inceptive, causative, and reflective verbs by the addition of certain particles to the root, as well as generally in the agglutinative structure of words and their position in a sentence.

10. In the same work, six sentences in *bō-jig-ngi-ji-* and *bō-jig-yā-b<sup>1</sup>*, such as would occur in daily conversation, are given as examples to illustrate the diversity of speech in two adjacent tribes. Only three out of some thirty words are there

<sup>1</sup> Or, in the language of that district, *pū-chik-wār-*. Both *yāb-* in South Andaman, and *wār-* in South of Middle Andaman, signify "language." As will shortly be explained under "Mythology," the belief held by all, or the majority of the tribes of Great Andaman, is that the *bō-jig-yā-b-* is the original language spoken by their remote ancestors, and from which the various other existing dialects have sprung. The word *bō-jig* is used in a special sense to denote "our," or "our style of." Ex.: *bō-jig-ngi-ji-* (the South Andaman tribe's name for itself), literally, *our* friends; *bō-jig-yā-b-*, (their name for the tribe on their northern border), literally, *our* language; *mij'a ngen ká-to bō-jig ká-ráma má-nre?* Who gave you that *bō-jig* (i.e., our style of) bow? [As shown in Appendix B, item 1, this term is used to distinguish the description used by the five tribes occupying Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, from the bows of the *yē-rewa-* (i.e., the three North Andaman tribes), and the *jār-awa-*.]

shown to be the same in both languages, while they differ in *every inflection*, from which fact it will readily be understood that, apart from the great difficulties of inter-communication, the task of acquiring a knowledge of the dialects of the remaining eight tribes must be one involving considerable sacrifice of time and labour, such as, I fear, it is hopeless to expect any government officer unless specially deputed for the work will be able to accomplish during his term of service.

11. Before concluding this part of my subject I will read an extract from a letter received last August from my friend and fellow-worker in this branch of my studies, Lieutenant R. C. Temple (cantonment magistrate at Ambála), which he authorises me to publish as embodying his opinion after a careful study of the vocabularies and other data which I have collected and forwarded to him: "The Andaman languages are one group; they are like (*i.e.*, connected with) no other group; they have no affinities by which we might infer their connection with any other known group. The word-construction (the etymology of the old grammarians) is two-fold, *i.e.*, they have affixes and prefixes to the root of a *grammatical* nature. The general principle of word-construction is agglutination pure and simple. In adding their affixes they follow the principles of the ordinary agglutinative tongues; in adding their prefixes they follow the well defined principles of the South African tongues. Hitherto, as far as I know, the two principles in full play have never been found together in any other language. Languages which are found to follow the one have the other in only a rudimentary form present in them. In Andamanese both are fully developed, so much so as to interfere with each other's grammatical functions. The collocation of the words<sup>1</sup> (or 'syntax,' to follow the old nomenclature) is that of the agglutinative languages purely. The presence of the peculiar prefixes does not interfere with this; the only way in which they affect the syntax is to render the frequent use possible of long compounds almost polysynthetic in their nature, or, to put it another way, of long compounds which are sentences in themselves, but the construction of these words is not synthetic but agglutinative, and they are *as words* either compound nouns or verbs taking their place in the sentence, and having the same relation to the other words in it as they would were they to be introduced into a sentence in any other agglutinative language. There are of course many peculiarities of grammar in the Andamanese group, and even in each member of the group, but these are only

<sup>1</sup> For an example of this the reader is referred to "*Wō'z's statement*," which will be found in Appendix F.



such as are incidental to the grammar of the other languages, and do not affect its general tenor. I consider, therefore, that the Andamanese languages belong to the agglutinative stage of development, and are distinguished from other groups by the presence in full development of the principle of prefixed and affixed grammatical additions to the roots of words."

12. With so wide a range of subjects as I propose including in my present paper, I must not detain you with any further remarks on the Andamanese dialects, however interesting they may be to many here present. I have the less scruple in dealing thus cursorily with this important point in the study of this race, as I trust we may hope shortly to see a paper from the able pen of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S.,<sup>1</sup> whom I have been so fortunate as to interest, and who has kindly consented to examine my dictionary, containing probably about 6,000 words<sup>2</sup> with examples of their use, together with a copious treatise on the Grammar prepared by Lieutenant Temple from my notes.<sup>3</sup>

**Adoption.**—1. I have already pointed out to you several instances in which we find, on closer acquaintance with the race, that mistaken views have been entertained, and that both astonishment and merriment were evoked from the aborigines by the narration of certain of the habits and customs attributed to them, especially in connection with their social and marital relations.

2. It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women meet with at his hands; judged by this standard these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as "an anomalous race of the most degraded description."

3. I have already mentioned that self-respect and modesty characterise their intercourse with one another, and that the

<sup>1</sup> I am happy to be able to add before going to press that a valuable paper on the South Andamanese language was incorporated by Mr. Ellis in his annual presidential address, which was delivered before the Philological Society on the 19th May, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> And yet we find it stated by Figuier that "language is extremely limited among them;" and by Surgeon-Major Hodder that it "consists of a few words, and these sound harsh and explosive, and are principally monosyllables;" but it will be sufficient to refer to Mr. Ellis's interesting digest of the Andaman MSS. above mentioned, and to *Wö's* statement (Appendix F), to disprove the assertions of these writers.

<sup>3</sup> I would take this opportunity to express my acknowledgments of the great assistance afforded me by Mr. Temple in my philological researches. The result of his study of my vocabulary and notes on the Andamanese languages during a little over two years, is comprised in a large number of MSS. on the Grammar (above referred to) which, from lack of leisure, he has been compelled reluctantly to return to me for completion.

young are early instructed in the duties of hospitality, while the aged, the suffering, and the helpless are objects of special attention; that their moral code is not confined within these limits will be seen as I proceed.

4. The curious, but by no means uncommon,<sup>1</sup> savage custom of adoption prevails among them, from which, however, it must not be inferred that love of offspring is a characteristic in which they are at all deficient, for this is far from being the case.

5. It is said to be of rare occurrence to find any child above six or seven years of age residing with its parents, and this because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship<sup>2</sup> for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children. The request is usually complied with, and thenceforth the child's home is with his (or her) foster-father (*mai-ōt-châtnga*): though the parents in their turn adopt the children of other friends, they nevertheless pay continual visits to their own child, and occasionally ask permission (!) to take him (or her) away with them for a few days.

6. A man is entirely at liberty to please himself in the number of children he adopts, but he must treat them with kindness and consideration, and in every respect as his own sons and daughters, and they, on their part, render him filial affection and obedience.

7. It not unfrequently happens that in course of time permission to adopt a foster-child is sought by a friend of the *soi-disant* father, and is at once granted (unless any exceptional circumstance should render it personally inconvenient), without even the formality of a reference to the actual parents, who are merely informed of the change in order that they may be enabled to pay their periodical visits.

8. Foster-parents constantly manifest much opposition to any desire they may observe on the part of the lads they have brought up, to make a home for themselves, for the selfish reason that they are useful in a variety of ways, above all, when they have acquired skill in hunting, turtling, &c.; over the maidens little or no restraint is imposed, as their marriage entails but a trifling loss in a material sense on those who have reared them.

9. Human nature, however, is the same all the world over, and boys will be boys even in the Andaman jungles, so it is not surprising that, in spite of all the precautions taken by their

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Lubbock "On the Origin of Civilization," &c., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Whether this be the true explanation of its object and origin or not, there can be little doubt that it has the effect of greatly extending the intercourse between the members of the various encampments.

seniors, a good deal of flirtation, and often something more, is carried on by the young people without arousing any suspicions as to their sentiments for one another, until the affair has become too serious to be broken off, and has to end, sooner or later, in their marriage and start in life on their own account. In some cases, when the guardians have reason to believe that a lad has, notwithstanding his assurances to the contrary, a *sub silentio* attachment, they adopt the following method for testing the truth of his asseveration; on a given day it is arranged by the friends of the suspected couple that they shall (without the knowledge of either) be painted respectively with the red oxide of iron unguent, *kòì-ob-*, and the white clay *tá-la-òg-*, for, as they would not meet till night-fall, the risk of their discovering the trap laid for them is reduced to a minimum, while a glance on the following morning would suffice to betray them if guilty, and the guardians' object would be attained, for, from shame at his secret being known, and his falsehood exposed, the youth feels in honour bound to break off his connection with the girl, at least for some time.

**Relationships.**—1. In all the relations of life the question of propinquity is, in their eyes, of paramount importance, and marriage is only permissible between those who are known to be not even distantly connected, except by wedlock, with each other; so inexorable, indeed, is this rule, that it extends, and applies equally, to such as are related merely by the custom of adoption to which I have just referred.

2. A first cousin, actual or by adoption, is regarded as a half-brother or half-sister, as the case may be, and nephews and nieces almost as sons and daughters, while the terms used to denote a grandfather, grandmother, grandson, and grand-daughter are equally applied to indicate respectively a grand-uncle, grand-aunt, grand-nephew, and grand-niece.

3. Parents, when addressing, or referring to their children and not using their names, employ distinct terms, the father calling his son *dar ò'dire*, i.e., he that has been begotten by me, and his daughter *dar ò'dire-pail-*; while the mother makes use of the word *dab ē'tire*, i.e., he whom I have borne, for the former, and *dab ē'tire-pail-* for the latter; similarly, friends in speaking of children to their parents say respectively, *ngar ò'dire* or *ngab ē'tire* (your son), *ngar ò'dire-pail-*, or *ngab ē'tire-pail-* (your daughter).<sup>1</sup>

4. Uncles and aunts on the father's are not distinguished from those on the mother's side; relationships are traced in both lines, and the system with reference to either sex is identical.

<sup>1</sup> Foster-parents employ the terms *dòl chá'tnga-* and *dòl chá'tnga-pail-* in referring to their adopted son and daughter respectively.

5. In consequence of the shortness of their lives, their ignorance of any method of maintaining accurate records, and last, not least, the unavoidable complications arising from their system of adoption, it naturally follows that they fail in tracing, and therefore in recognising, relationships beyond the third generation.

6. In addressing a senior male relative, the term *mai'a* or *mai'ola* is employed; if of equal standing, and a father, the same; but if not a parent, the term *mar* is prefixed to his name; if junior, he would be addressed by his name only. The same system applies to the females, with whom *chän'a*<sup>1</sup> or *chän'ola* takes the place of *mai'a* and *mai'ola*, and the "flower" name, to which I can now make but a brief allusion,<sup>2</sup> the place of *mar*; these terms, *mai'a*, *chän'a*, &c., are equivalent to Mr., Sir, Mrs., Madam, &c.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Lubbock, in his well known work "On the Origin of Civilization,"<sup>4</sup> points out the existence of a similar custom among the *Telugus* and *Tamils*.

7. In a table I have prepared,<sup>5</sup> and which I believe to be fairly complete, there are about sixty terms, exclusive of equivalents, employed to denote the various degrees of relationship recognised by this race. It will there be seen that, as among the Australians near Sydney, mentioned by the Rev. W. Ridley,<sup>6</sup> brothers and sisters speak of one another by titles that indicate relative age; that is, their words for brother and sister involve the distinction of elder or younger, and that a like system is adopted in respect to half-brothers, half-sisters, cousins, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

8. In addressing the relatives of a wife or husband, or a brother's wife, or sister's husband—provided such be senior to the speaker—the term *mâm* is used.

9. A man or woman may not marry into the family of their brothers- or sisters-in-law, but there is no rule against a man marrying a girl bearing the same name as himself, either in another tribe or in his own community, the *only* bar being that of consanguinity or adoption.

10. The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are, (1) the grown-up children, (2) the parents, and (3) the brothers and sisters.

**Proper Names.**—1. One of the alleged<sup>7</sup> peculiarities of the

<sup>1</sup> Not "*Chamah*," as given by Dr. Day.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* next section, paragraph 3.

<sup>3</sup> "According to Williams ('Fiji and the Fijians') their (*i.e.*, the Fijian) languages contain expressions which exactly correspond to the French *Monsieur* and *Madame*." (Peschel, p. 346.)

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* 4th edition, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Appendix I.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* "Journ. Anthropol. Inst." vol. ii, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* Tickell.

Andamanese is that they have no proper names, whereas their system of naming is, on the contrary, somewhat elaborate, and commences even prior to the child's birth.

2. When there is reason to expect an increase to the family,<sup>1</sup> the parents decide what name the child shall bear; as a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief; and, since all their proper names<sup>2</sup> are common to both sexes,<sup>3</sup> no difficulty arises on this score.

3. In illustration of this let us suppose the name chosen in advance to be *.dô-ra*; should the infant prove to be a boy he is called *.dô-ra-ô-ta-*, or, if a girl, *.dô-ra-kâ-ta-*. These terms (*ô-ta-* and *kâ-ta-*) are used only during the first two or three years, after which, until the period of puberty, the lad would be addressed as *.dô-ra-dâ-la-*, and the girl as *.dô-ra-pô-ilola* until she arrived at womanhood, when she is said to be *ûn-lâ-wi-* or *â-kâ-lâ-wi-*, and receives a "flower" name<sup>4</sup> as a prefix to her proper or birth name. By this method they are apparently able to determine when their young women become marriageable. There are eighteen prescribed trees<sup>5</sup> which blossom in succession, and the "flower" name bestowed in each case is taken from the one which is in season when the girl attains maturity; if, for example, this should be about the end of August, when the *châ-langa-* (*Pterocarpus dalbergioides*) is in flower, *.dô-ra-pô-ilola* would become *.châ-gara'* *.dô-ra*, and this double name would cling

<sup>1</sup> When near her delivery a woman will sometimes be heard saying (assuming the name chosen for the yet unborn child to be *.wô-loga*): *.wô-loga dab-ô-jolike*, *Wô-loga* is fidgetting me, or *.wô-loga dab-ngô-towake*, *Wô-loga* is clawing me, or, *.wô-loga ô-to-yârke*, *Wô-loga* is ready. [During the period of pregnancy, both the woman and her husband are spoken of as *pÿ-jâ-bag-*, which signifies "bad hair"; the only explanation offered for the adoption of such a term is that it is in allusion to the foetus.]

<sup>2</sup> These number forty. (*Vide* Appendix H.)

<sup>3</sup> A man calls a male namesake { if his senior, *mai a ting'la*.  
if his equal } *mar ting'la*.  
or junior }  
" " female " *chân ting'la*.

A man (or woman) calls a child of either sex bearing the same name { *âd-ôting'ati-yâ-te*  
(my).

A woman calls a male namesake { if her senior, *mai a* (his name) *ting'la*.  
if her equal } *mar* (his name) *ting'la*.  
or junior }  
" " female " if her senior, *chân ting'la*.  
" " " " if her equal } (her name) *ting'la*.  
or junior }

<sup>4</sup> Signifying respectively the genitals of the male and female.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Day writes: "Girls arriving at a marriageable age wear certain flowers to distinguish themselves by"; but, as a fact, the flower is neither worn nor gathered.

<sup>6</sup> Names of these will be found in Appendix H.

<sup>7</sup> Euphonic corruption of *.châ-langa-*.

to the girl until she married and was a mother,<sup>1</sup> then the "flower" name would give way to the more dignified term *chän'a* (madam or mother) *dô'ra*; if childless, a woman has generally to pass a few years of married life before she is called *chän'a*,<sup>2</sup> after which no further change is made in her name.

4. In consequence of this system, as it rarely happens that in one community two women are found bearing the same "flower" and birth names, there is little chance of confusion arising.

5. Since no equivalent custom exists with regard to men,<sup>3</sup> nicknames are given which generally indicate some personal peculiarity, as, for instance, *bī'a-pāg-* (*Bī'a-*, foot, he having large feet), *bal'a-jō'bo-* (*Bal'a-*, snake, he having lost a hand from a snake-bite), *pū'nga-dā'la* (*Pungu-*, good-looking), and so on. All these names cling to the bearer for life, especially if they refer to some physical deformity.

6. Seniors often address young married persons in a (to us) strange fashion, *i.e.*, calling the husband by the wife's name and prospective designation; for example, in speaking to a man whose name is *ī'ra*, and who had married a woman called *tū'ra*, they would say *chän'a tū'ra*; if the wife were *enceinte* the child's name would be used beforehand to denote its parents; thus, assuming *wō'loga* to be the name of the yet unborn child, the father would be called by that name, and the expectant mother *wō'loga-būd-*<sup>4</sup> until after the birth of the infant, when, for several months, the former would still bear the same appellation among his seniors, but would receive from his juniors the more dignified title of *mai'a wō'loga*; while the latter would be addressed by her seniors as *wō'loga-ō'ta-* (or *kā'ta-* in the case of her child being a girl), and by her juniors as *chän'a wō'loga-ō'ta-* (or *kā'ta-*).<sup>5</sup>

**Initiatory Ceremonies.**—1. On or soon after reaching puberty, the fast<sup>6</sup> which has been kept during the few previous years (or in some cases, months) is broken; and instead of the affix *dā'la*, the prefix *gū'ma'* (denoting in this connection a neophyte or

<sup>1</sup> From the account given under "Marriage," paragraph 4, it will be inferred that in many cases she has not long to wait.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

<sup>3</sup> In a few cases nicknames are bestowed on women.

<sup>4</sup> *būd* signifies house, habitation.

<sup>5</sup> For further information on the subject of proper names and terms applied to men and women, *vide* sections on "Relationships" and "Initiatory Ceremonies," and Appendices I and K.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* section on "Tabu."

<sup>7</sup> In Dr. Day's paper the following passage occurs:—"The youthful swain eats a peculiar kind of ray-fish termed *goom-dah*, which gives him the title to the appellation of *goo-mo*, signifying, 'a bachelor desirous of marrying.' Girls arriving at a marriageable age . . . (*vide* footnote 5 on previous page). Before marrying, young men take a species of oath, after which they sit very still for several days, scarcely taking any food." Plausible as this explanation



novice) is attached to the boy's birth-name; he is also addressed as *mar*<sup>1</sup> *gū'ma* (master novice) if senior to, and alone with the speaker: this term *gū'ma* is retained until the lad is married and is a father, after which *mai'a*<sup>2</sup> (Mr.)—or, if a chief, *mai'ola*—is adopted in its place, and by this title he would be known for the rest of his life. A young chief, however, attains the honorary designation of *mai'a* as soon as the novitiate terminates.<sup>3</sup>

2. The *ā'kà-yā'ba*-, or fasting period (during which turtle, honey, pork, fish, and a few other favourite articles of food<sup>4</sup> are *choses défendues*), commences between the 11th and 13th year, and varies in length from one to five years; it is observed by both sexes, but lasts longer in the case of girls, with whom, indeed, it is not terminable till some time after matrimony. As an *ā'kà-yā'b*-makes up for these restrictions by eating a larger quantity of other food, he (or she) does not ordinarily suffer in physique during the probationary period. It does not rest with the youth or maiden to determine when he, or she, will resume eating the various articles above mentioned, but with the chief, who decides when each individual's powers of endurance and self-denial have been sufficiently tested. Exceptional cases are cited in which the probationer has expressed a desire to prolong the time of abstinence, it being a cause for boasting when the average period has been exceeded.

3. As at present understood, the *ā'kà-yā'ba*- is regarded as a test of the endurance, or, more properly speaking, of the self-denial of young persons, and as affording evidence of their fitness and ability to support a family. It is divided into three periods: 1st, the *yā'di*- (turtle) *gū'mul*-; 2nd, the *ā'ja*- (honey) *gū'mul*-; and 3rd, the *reg-jū'ri*- (kidney-fat of pig) *gū'mul*-.<sup>5</sup>

4. When the youth is permitted, and agrees, to break his turtle fast, a feast is arranged by his friends, consisting entirely of that delicacy. The chief, or headman present, first boils in a pot (*būj*-<sup>6</sup>) a large piece of turtle-fat, which, when sufficiently cool, he

may appear, there is no connection between *gūm*-, a ray-fish, and *gū'ma* (a youth who has undergone his probationary fast); moreover, as mentioned in a foregoing section (*vide* "Proper Names"), marriageable young women do not derive their "flower" names in the manner here described; in point of fact, no such custom as "wearing flowers" is practised by any class.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* section on "Relationships," paragraph 6.

<sup>2</sup> As with the term *chān'a* among women, the title is not bestowed for several years if there be no child.

<sup>3</sup> Both before and after the *ā'kà-yā'ba*- the individual is said to be *bó'tiga*-.

<sup>4</sup> These comprise the flesh of the iguana and *paradoxurus*, the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ōi'yum*-), and a smaller insect called *bū'tu*-.

<sup>5</sup> It will thus be seen that the *gū'mul*- answers very much to the Australian "bora," or ceremony of initiation into the privileges of manhood, spoken of by the Rev. W. Ridley in his Report on Australian Languages and Traditions (*vide* "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. ii, p. 269, 18° 3').

<sup>6</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 18.

pours over the head of the lad, who remains seated and perfectly still in the midst of his friends while the oil streams over his body. The men present remove any ornaments that he may be wearing, and rub the grease into his person; the women and children meantime occupy themselves with crying, the idea being that, after abstaining from turtle for a long time, madness, illness, or even death, may result from partaking of it again.<sup>1</sup> After this the novice, who may not wash off the oil with which he has been anointed at least until late on the following day, is fed with the flesh of the turtle,<sup>2</sup> of which a certain quantity is reserved for his consumption on the ensuing two or three days, and the remainder is distributed among those assembled. He is then led to his hut and directed to sit cross-legged on a spot covered with leaves of the *Myristica longifolia*, with a support behind him against which he may lean. The turtle flesh, previously cooked and set apart for him, is deposited at his side, and one or more of his friends take it by turns to sit with him, it being their duty to enjoin silence, to supply his wants, and to prevent him from falling asleep by singing from time to time as the night wears away. The following morning his mother, sister and other female relatives, come and weep<sup>3</sup> over him, and paint, first, his ears and the adjoining parts with *yá-dī-kò'ob-*, and afterwards his entire person with alternate stripes of this compound and *tá-la-ōg-*. Some large leaves<sup>4</sup> made into two broom-like bundles are placed in his hands, and other leaves are placed in his waistbelt. Thus provided he rises and dances frantically,<sup>5</sup> swinging his arms at the same time, for an hour or more, while the women, who are seated with legs outstretched, keep time for him by slapping the hollow between their thighs with the palm of the right hand, which is held at the wrist by the other hand; the males look on, or, if they have gone through the ceremony themselves, accompany him in his performance.

5. After an hour or so, when, fatigued with his exertions, the youth stops dancing, the *yá-dī-gū-mul-* is considered at an end, and the new *gū-ma* mingles with his friends, who, nevertheless,

<sup>1</sup> The same reason is given for the silence which the neophyte has to observe during this ceremony, as well as at the *á'ja-gū-mul-* and *reg-jī'ri-gū-mul-*.

<sup>2</sup> He is then said to *gū-mul māg'ke* (or *gū-mul lē'ke*), i.e., to eat, or devour, the *gū-mul-*.

<sup>3</sup> The reason given for this demonstration of grief is that the youth has now entered upon an important epoch in his life, and is about to experience the trials and vicissitudes incidental thereto.

<sup>4</sup> The leaves of the *Myristica longifolia* (*bō-rowa-*) are usually selected on these occasions, apparently because this tree is associated with turtle-hunting, paddles being made of the wood.

<sup>5</sup> The step is a peculiar one, and is only seen on these occasions: the performer keeps his heels together and stamps on the ground, at the same time he swings his arms violently, holding in his hands the two leaf brooms.



continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yá-dī-gūmul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her *bōd'-s* (waistbelts<sup>2</sup>), and her *ō-bunga-* (leaf apron<sup>3</sup>), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō-bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gūmul-tē-ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy monsoon devour-does," and though the *yá-dī-gūmul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō-jig-ngī-jī-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gūmar-*), or rain-like (*yūm-*), appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

9. On the conclusion of the *yá-dī-gūmul-*, the youth is said to be an *á-kà-gūmul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gūma*; but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

this period of her life, receives a "flower" name,<sup>1</sup> and does not, therefore, require any additional designation to denote that she has attained maturity. If more than one become *gūma* on the same day they call each other *gūma l'ārjo pingā*-.<sup>2</sup> After the *yā-dī-gūmul*- turtles' eggs and the kidney-fat of the ray-fish and turtle may, at the bidding of the chief, be again eaten by the novice, and in the first ensuing dry season edible roots, and the heart of the *Caryota sobolifera*, may be added to the bill of fare without further ceremony than the observance of strict silence on the first occasion of partaking of them.

10. Between the *yā-dī-gūmul*- and the *ā-ja-gūmul*- no fruit may be eaten by the novices, who have, moreover, to abstain till after the *reg-jī-ri-gūmul*- from pig's flesh of any kind.

11. When the honey fast is to be broken a quantity of honeycombs, according to the number assembled, are on the appointed day procured: the *ā-kā-yāb*- being placed in the midst of the group, the chief or other elder goes to him with a large honeycomb wrapped in leaves; after helping the novice to a large mouthful, which he does by means of a bamboo or iron knife, he presents the remainder to him, and then leaves him to devour it in silence: this he does, not, however, by the ordinary method, for it is an essential part of the ceremony that he should not use his fingers to break off pieces, but eat it bear-fashion, by holding the comb up to his mouth and attacking it with his teeth and lips.<sup>3</sup> After satisfying his present requirements, he wraps what is left of the comb in leaves for later consumption.

12. The chief then takes another comb and anoints the youth by squeezing it over his head, rubbing the honey well into his body as it trickles down. The proceedings at this stage are interrupted by a bath, in order to remove all traces of the honey, which would otherwise be a source of considerable inconvenience by attracting ants. Beyond the observance of silence, and continued abstention from *reg-jī-ri*-, the youth is under no special restrictions, being able to eat, drink, and sleep as much as he pleases.

13. Early the following morning the lad decorates himself with leaves of a species of *Alpinia*, called *jī-ni*-,<sup>4</sup> and then, in the presence of his friends, goes into the sea (or, if he be an *ērem-tā-ga*-, into a creek) up to his waist, where, locking his thumbs

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 3.

<sup>2</sup> *arjō pike*, to share, or to be a partner with another.

<sup>3</sup> This mode of eating is termed *pa'ke* (to use the lips), from *pa-i*-, the lip.

<sup>4</sup> This plant is selected because it is associated with honey-gathering; its bitter sap, being extremely obnoxious to bees, is smeared over their persons when taking a comb, and enables them to escape scot free with their prize (*vide post* "Food," paragraph 35).

together, with open hands he splashes as much water as possible over himself and the bystanders, occasionally ducking his head under the surface as well. This is considered a safeguard or charm against *snakes*, and the on-lookers cry “*ô-to-ped’ike, kî’nig wá-ra-jô’bo lô’tike* (Go and splash yourself, or *Wá-ra-jô’bo*<sup>1</sup> will get inside you), for they imagine that unless they go through this splashing performance, this snake will by some means enter their stomachs and so cause death.

14. The only difference between the sexes with respect to the *â-ja-gũmul-* is that with females it cannot take place until after the birth of the first child; they are also required to abstain from honey during each subsequent pregnancy; in their case, too, a chief or elder (preferably a relative) officiates, and not a woman.

15. A year is generally allowed to elapse between the *yâ’â-gũmul-* and the *reg-jî’ri-gũmul-*. When this final step is determined on, the friends and relatives of the *â-kâ-yâ’b-* start on a pig hunt, and, if unsuccessful, the *gũmul-* has to be postponed, for, in the case of a young man, it is necessary that the ceremony be performed with a boar, while for females a sow must be procured.

16. When all is ready, and the party assembled, the chief presses the carcass of the boar heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the young man as he sits on the ground,<sup>2</sup> silent and motionless, this is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong. The animal is then cut up, and when the fat has been melted, as in the previous cases, it is poured over the novice, and rubbed into his person; he is then fed with *reg-jî’ri-*, and if he makes signs for water it is given him, but, until the following day, he may not utter a word, rise, or even sleep. Two or three friends generally remain with him to attend to his requirements, which he makes known to them by gestures.

17. In the morning fresh leaves of a tree called *reg lá’kâ châl-*—the fruit of which is much eaten by the *Sus And.*—are brought, and a quantity of them are placed in the hands of the youth, and some more in his waistbelt; he then rises and, as at the turtle feast, dances until fairly exhausted. During the month following the *reg-jî’ri-gũmul-*, the young persons are called *â-kâ-gô’i-*.

18. It should be added that, whatever may have been the intention and practice in former years, it is not necessary at the present day for a youth to undergo these several ordeals before

<sup>1</sup> This is believed to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of the woman, the carcass of the sow is not pressed in this manner on her limbs or body.

he is permitted to marry:<sup>1</sup> although many remain single until they have undergone these various rites, it is considered almost as binding on those who marry, before doing so, to comply with these time-honoured usages at some early opportunity.

**Marriage.**—1. It has been asserted that the “communal marriage,”<sup>2</sup> system prevails among them, and that “marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave,”<sup>3</sup> but so far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and, while bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule, and matrimonial differences, which, however, occur but rarely, are easily settled with or without the intervention of friends.

2. It is undoubtedly true that breaches of morality have occasionally taken place among a few of the married persons who have resided for any length of time at Port Blair, but this is only what might be expected from constant association with the Indian convict attendants at the various homes; justice, however, demands that in judging of their moral characteristics we should consider those only who have been uninfluenced by the vices or virtues of alien races.

3. As in various other savage tribes, unchastity<sup>4</sup> is apparently universal among the unmarried of both sexes, and is indeed so entirely disregarded that no reproof is administered, even by the nearest relatives, to those who offend in this manner; notwithstanding this laxity, the girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanour, and when married are good wives and models of constancy, while their husbands do not fall far short of them in this respect. It should, however, be mentioned that the freedom which exists between the sexes prior to wedlock, is confined to those who are not within the prescribed limits of affinity, as their customs do not permit of the union of any who are known to be even distantly related;<sup>5</sup> the fact of our allowing first cousins to marry seems to them highly objection-

<sup>1</sup> They think highly of a man who defers marriage until he is of full age, and the reverse of a youngster who rushes into matrimony before attaining the mature (!) age of eighteen.

<sup>2</sup> “So absolutely closely allied are the Andaman Islanders in their moral as well as physical life to the lower animals, that it is said by an eminent scientific voyager (Sir Edward Belcher) that the man and woman remain together until the mother ceases to suckle the child, after which they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner” (Brown).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Wood.

<sup>4</sup> “A great many races of mankind are quite indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on their women after marriage” (Peschel).

<sup>5</sup> “It is precisely nations in the most primitive stage which have the greatest abhorrence of incestuous marriages” (Peschel).

able and immoral, which is turning the tables on us with a vengeance.<sup>1</sup>

4. In consequence of the lax code of morality prevailing among the unmarried, it not unfrequently happens that a marriage is brought about by the circumstance of the young woman being found *enceinte*. When this is the case, the guardians ascertain from her companions or herself who is the cause of her being in such a condition, and, whether it is an easy matter or not to decide this question with certainty, there never appears to be any difficulty in persuading the youth whom she names as her lover to become her husband. It thus happens that children are very rarely born out of wedlock.

5. Parents and foster-parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and though subsequently, during childhood, they may be parted, the contract must be fulfilled soon after they attain a marriageable age; it is even alleged that, like the Yorubas,<sup>2</sup> the Andamanese look upon a girl betrothed by her parents as so far a wife that with her pre-matrimonial unfaithfulness is accounted a crime.

6. As soon as the betrothal has been agreed upon, the girl is taken to the hut of her future father-in-law, or foster father-in-law, and the children remain together for several months, in order that the fact of their engagement may become generally known; after this the girl returns to her old home, or is adopted by one of her father's friends. Should either of the betrothed pair die young, the survivor is not called upon to take any part at the obsequies, and is at liberty to form another alliance.

7. Until a man attains middle age he evinces great shyness in the presence of the wife of a *younger* brother or cousin, and the feeling is invariably reciprocated; it is, however, otherwise in the case of the elder brother's (or cousin's) wife, who, moreover, should she be many years his senior, receives from him much of the respect accorded to a mother. In the first of the above cases all communications are made through a third person, though under no circumstances would marriage be permissible between them; while in the latter it is almost obligatory, unless the disparity between the ages be very great.

8. It is not customary for lovers to intimate their desire of being married, but it is the duty of the guardian, or, in the case of widows and widowers, of the chief of the community, to

<sup>1</sup> On reference to Appendix I, it will be found that the terms which are used to denote *half-brother* and *half-sister*, are also employed to denote *male* and *female cousins*, showing how close they regard the relationship.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer's "Primitive Manners and Customs," p. 201.

arrange matters for those between whom he observes there is something more than a passing attachment.

9. Although nearly all marriages are brought about by one or other of the above-mentioned modes, it remains to be added that an individual is now and then met with who is regarded as married though he (or she) has not conformed with the prescribed ceremony; this occurs when a bachelor or widower is found asleep in one of the huts occupied by unmarried females; he and the woman beside whom he was seen are then said to be *tigwā'nga*-, which means that their union has been contracted irregularly. In such cases no ceremony or entertainment takes place, for a certain amount of discredit attaches to a couple thus united; but if their after conduct towards each other be considered satisfactory no unpleasant allusions are made to the past.

10. As they have no idea of invoking the aid or blessing of a Supreme Being, nothing of a religious character attaches itself to the marriage ceremony, which may be briefly described as follows:—On the evening of the eventful day<sup>1</sup> the bridal party assemble at the chief's hut or in one of those occupied by unmarried women. The bride (whether spinster or widow) sits apart, attended by one or two matrons, and the bridegroom takes his place among the bachelors until the chief or elder approaches him, whereupon he at once assumes a modest demeanour and simulates reluctance to move; however, after a few encouraging and re-assuring remarks he allows himself to be led slowly, sometimes almost dragged, towards his *fiancée*, who, if she be young, generally indulges in a great display of modesty, weeping and hiding her face, while her female attendants prepare her by straightening her legs; the bridegroom is then made to sit on her thighs, and torches are lighted and brought close to the pair that all present may bear witness to the ceremony having been carried out in the orthodox manner, after which the chief pronounces them duly married, and they are then at liberty to retire to the hut which has been previously prepared for their occupation.

11. Unless they have made arrangements to settle<sup>2</sup> elsewhere,

<sup>1</sup> I can find nothing to account for the statement, which appeared in Dr. Day's paper, to the effect that they "pass their marriage day staring at one another."

<sup>2</sup> From the fact that, sometimes from choice, and sometimes in compliance with the wishes of the bride—should she belong to another tribe—they settle down in another community, it has been inferred in Dr. Day's account that it is customary to spend the honeymoon away from their friends, but such is not the case. The same writer further states that "on the bridegroom's return to the tribe with his bride, *Jeedgo*, crying and dancing are kept up with great spirit." The word here intended is evidently *abjad-i-jū'g*-, but it means *spinster*, the word for *bride* being *abdē-rebil-pail*-.



the newly married couple do not leave the encampment in order to get food, or anything else that they may require, as the friends consider it a duty or privilege to supply all their needs until the shyness, consequent on the marriage, has worn off.

12. Wedding presents being as much *de rigueur* among these savages as in Mayfair, the happy pair invariably find themselves enriched by their relatives and acquaintances with the various articles of ordinary use, such as nets, buckets, bows, arrows, &c., in honour of the event.

13. On the morning following the marriage the bridegroom's mother, or other near female relative, decorates his person by painting him with *tá-la-ōg*-, while the bride is similarly ornamented by her friends. It often happens that a young couple will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word, and to such an extent do they carry their bashfulness that they even avoid looking at each other: in fact their conduct would lead a stranger to suppose that some serious quarrel had caused an estrangement.

14. When a few days have elapsed, and they are in some measure accustomed to the novelty of their position, they enter upon the duties of life, and conduct themselves like their neighbours: the marriage is then celebrated by a dance, in which all, save the bride and bridegroom, take part.

15. A certain amount of jealousy usually exists between young people during the first year of their married life<sup>1</sup>; indeed, complete confidence and genuine affection are never entirely established until they become parents or, at least, till the wife is found to be *enceinte*, and even their relationship to each other is not regarded as being so close *prior* to the birth of a child as it is *after* that event. Confirmatory evidence on this point will be given when describing the funeral rites,<sup>2</sup> where it will be noticed that the survivor of a childless couple is not looked upon as chief mourner.

16. There is no prohibition against second marriages, but greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading chaste lives (*ō-yūn-tē-mar-bar-minga*-). It is by no means unusual for a man, even though he be young at the time of his wife's death, to remain a widower<sup>3</sup> for her sake for many years, or even till death;

<sup>1</sup> It often happens that a man will not at first allow his wife to leave their hut at night for any purpose unless he accompanies her, professedly to protect her from dangers, spiritual and temporal, but in reality to satisfy himself that she has not made an assignation.

<sup>2</sup> Vide "Death and Burial," paragraph 20.

<sup>3</sup> It must, however, be admitted that as their customs allow of a widow or widower consorting with the unmarried of the opposite sex, a single life is not of necessity a virtuous one, or evidence of constancy and devotion to the memory of the dear departed.

but widows generally marry again when the prescribed term has passed : this is not altogether due to inconstancy on the part of the fair (!) sex, but to the custom, to which allusion has before been made, which all but compels a bachelor or widower to propose to the childless widow of his elder brother or cousin (if she be not past her prime),<sup>1</sup> while she has no choice beyond remaining single or accepting him ; should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will.<sup>2</sup>

17. A young widow who is childless usually returns to the home of her girlhood, but, if elderly, she lives in one of the huts set apart for spinsters, and those who, situated like herself, are eligible for matrimony ; during the period of her widowhood it devolves on one of her senior male relatives to act as her guardian ; it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year has elapsed from the date of bereavement.

18. In the case of a widow who has children, it is customary for her to remain in the same community and keep house for her family ; during widowhood—if her husband had been a chief or elder—she continues to enjoy the privileges accorded her in his lifetime. Should she re-marry and her husband happen to be a bachelor, or widower “without encumbrances,” it is usual for him to join her community, and live in her hut, but if they both have families it becomes a matter of arrangement between them which establishment shall be given up.

19. Some idea of the erroneous views formerly held respecting their marital relations will be gathered from the following extracts :—(a) “There is promiscuous intercourse save with the parent which only ceases in regard to the woman when she is allotted as wife to a man, but is retained as the prerogative of the male sex.”<sup>3</sup> (b) “Marriage, as we understand the word, is unknown to them, and there seem to be few restrictions of consanguinity, a mother and her daughter being sometimes the wives of the same husband.”<sup>4</sup> A similar statement appears in Dr. Brown’s work, and the source of both is probably to be found in the following passage in Dr. Mouat’s book, in which he publishes several extraordinary stories told by an escaped

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that marriage with a deceased wife’s younger sister is equally a matter of necessity on the part of a *childless* widower.

<sup>2</sup> A case of this kind came under my notice where a young man living at one of the homes was reluctantly married to the widow of an elder brother, or cousin, who was considerably his senior, and innocent of any attractions. This *mariage de convenance* proved by no means a happy one, though, so far as could be judged, neither had any just cause of complaint against the other.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* Mouat.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Wood.



convict Sepoy, named *Dudhnáth*,<sup>1</sup> who had apparently spent about thirteen months with the aborigines, during the first two years of our settlement at Port Blair (1858-59):—"A man named *Pooteeah*, who doubtless considered him (*Dudhnáth*) a desirable match, offered to bestow upon him, in what they called wedlock, his daughter *Hessa*, a young woman of twenty years of age, whose attractions were doubtless regarded as considerable among her native tribe, and a mere girl named *Zigah*, a daughter of *Hessa*, who, in that eastern part of the world, was considered quite old enough<sup>2</sup> for the state of marriage. As they were by no means troubled with an uneasy amount of virtue they made no objection to being assigned to the Brahmin soldier in the most unceremonious manner. The two, mother and daughter, at once recognised him as their husband."

20. The main feature of interest in this story is, however, somewhat marred when it is discovered that the woman (*lī'pa*<sup>3</sup>), who was well known to us for many years subsequent to the establishment of the homes, was a girl of not more than seventeen at the time of *Dudhnáth*'s escape, and that she had never been a mother prior to her marriage with him.<sup>4</sup> The child (*yē'ga*, not *Zigah*) was merely living under *Lī'pa*'s protection, and was employed, like all children, in helping to supply the wants of her guardians. The fact of child marriages—not to mention bigamy and concubinage—being quite unknown among them, affords additional support to this statement, which is the result of careful inquiry.

21. *Dudhnáth* being of course aware of the ignorance which prevailed at the time regarding the habits and customs of the Andamanese, appears to have availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of drawing largely on his imagination, probably with the object of exciting as much interest as possible in his adventures, and perhaps also of amusing himself with the wonder created by his narrative. Some of his unrecorded<sup>5</sup> stories seem, however, to have been still more

<sup>1</sup> Of all who absconded on this occasion it appears that he was so fortunate as to be the only one who was spared by the aborigines, his companions being shot down as soon as they were discovered.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante*, "Development and Decay," paragraph 3, and "Reproduction," paragraph 1.

<sup>3</sup> This was her name. There is no name at all resembling *Hessa* in the language (*vide* Appendix H).

<sup>4</sup> In his report for the month of December, 1866, the officer in charge of the Andaman homes stated that on *Dudhnáth*'s desertion of her "she was called *Modo*, which signifies a deserted bride, or a woman that has lost her husband while young, and before becoming a mother." [N.B.—*mō'da* (not *Modo*) is one of the twelve "flower" names borne by all young women (married and single) until they become mothers (*vide* "Proper Names," paragraph 3, and Appendix H.)]

<sup>5</sup> "Our friend the Sepoy tells some remarkable exploits of the Mincopie in

highly coloured, and failed, therefore, in imposing on the almost excusable credulity which existed at a time when next to nothing of a trustworthy nature was known concerning these savages.

22. With regard to a deceased husband's property, the widow disposes of everything, which she does not require for her personal use, among his male relatives.

23. It seems superfluous to add that no such custom as *suttee* prevails or has ever been known to exist among them.

**Death and Burial.**—1. Amongst other erroneous opinions held regarding these tribes is that which declares that “no lamentation is publicly made at death,” whereas, in point of fact, the demonstrations of grief on such occasions are generally excessive, and are shared, in a greater or less degree, by every member of the community in which the melancholy event occurs.

2. In the case of an infant, the parents and relatives remain weeping for hours beside the corpse; afterwards they smear their persons with a wash composed of *ōg-* (the common olive-coloured clay) and water, and, after shaving their heads, place a lump of the same, called *del'a-*, just above their foreheads<sup>1</sup> where it hardens and is left, much to the individual's discomfort, until the expiration of the days of mourning<sup>2</sup>; should it fall off in the meantime it is renewed.

3. The burial usually takes place within 18 hours of the decease, which time is spent by the mother in painting the head, neck, wrists, and knees of her dead child with *kōi'ob-* and *tā'la-ōg-*; she also shaves off the hair, and folds the little limbs so as to occupy the least possible space,<sup>3</sup> the knees being brought up to the chin and the fists close to the shoulders; the body is then enveloped in large leaves, called *kā'pa-*<sup>4</sup>, which are secured with cords or strips of cane. The father meantime employs himself in digging a grave with an adze (*wō'lo-*<sup>5</sup>), in the place where his hut fire usually burns; when all is prepared the little head is uncovered, and the parents gently blow upon the face

fishing, which, as they seem to indicate a Munchausen-like facility of exaggeration in the narrator we decline to repeat” (Mouat).

<sup>1</sup> This applies to men, for women usually place the *del'a-* on the top of the head. It is worn by neither sex until after they have attained maturity, and only for a father, mother, husband, wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter, the *ōg-* wash alone being deemed sufficient “mourning” in the case of other relatives or friends.

<sup>2</sup> The term *ā'kà-ōg-* is therefore applied to mourners, since they are prohibited from the use of *kōi'ob-*.

<sup>3</sup> “If we knew no further details as to the opinions of the intellectually gifted Hottentots, formerly so greatly underrated, it would be enough that, previous to burial, they place the body of the deceased in the same position which it once occupied as an embryo in the mother's womb” (Peschel).

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 15.

two or three times in token of farewell;<sup>1</sup> then, replacing the leaves, they put the corpse into the grave in a sitting posture, and fill in and level the earth; next, having procured a quantity of the young leaves of the common jungle cane, they split them and make long fringe-like wreaths, called *á-ra*-,<sup>2</sup> which they fasten to the trees surrounding the hut, or encircling the entire camping ground, the object being to apprise any stranger or friend who might chance to visit the spot, that a death has recently occurred, and that they would therefore do well to keep away.

4. After suspending the *á-ra*- the fire is rekindled and the mother places a shell containing some of her own milk beside the grave, obviously in order that the child's spirit, which is believed to haunt its late home for a few days, may not lack nourishment. All in the encampment then pack up those things which are mostly needed and depart to some other camping ground,<sup>3</sup> generally not less than two or three miles distant, where they at once construct huts, usually of the description called *chàng-tó-rnga*-,<sup>4</sup> to serve as shelter during the mourning period, which as a rule lasts about three months; and during which the parents and relatives, naturally enough, refrain from taking any part in the festivities occurring among their neighbours. While mourning it is customary for the *ē-rem-tá-ga*- to abstain from pork, and for the *àryó-to*- to deny themselves turtle as well as other luxuries, in token of the sincerity of their grief, but they never mutilate themselves by cutting off joints of their fingers, &c., as do the Hottentots and the Papuans of the Fiji Islands, nor have they, as has been erroneously asserted in Dr. Day's paper, daily, during periods of deep sorrow, to throw honey-comb, if obtainable, into the fire.<sup>5</sup>

5. At the expiration of the time mutually agreed upon, they all return to the deserted encampment and remove and destroy the *á-ra*-. The parents then exhume the remains, which are taken by the father to the sea-shore, or the nearest creek, there to be cleansed<sup>6</sup> from all putrefying matter: this done, he brings

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* ceremony at parting (*post* "Meeting and Parting," paragraph 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 73.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly do the Koi-Koin (Hottentots) "break up their kraals after every case of death, to avoid the proximity of the grave" (Peschel).

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 283, and *ante* "Habitations," paragraph 3.

<sup>5</sup> The practice here referred to is evidently that of burning beeswax (not honey-comb), the object of which will shortly be explained under "Superstitions," paragraph 13, and is not that here stated.

<sup>6</sup> This repulsive duty is always performed by one of the near male relatives of a deceased person. Dr. Day was led to believe that "the extraction of the skull and bones, it is considered, requires great skill and courage," but experience and the statements of all those aborigines who have been questioned on the subject, do not bear out this view.

the skull and bones back to his hut and breaks up the latter into small pieces suitable for necklaces.<sup>1</sup> The mother, after painting the skull with *kòì'ob-*, and decorating it with small shells attached to pieces of string, hangs it round her neck with a netted chain, called *ráb-*.<sup>2</sup> After the first few days her husband often relieves her by wearing it himself. Infants' skulls, being fragile, are generally preserved carefully from risk of injury by being entirely covered with string, but (except temporarily as when travelling, fishing, &c.) these souvenirs are not carried about in a basket. The next few days are spent by the mother in converting the bones into necklaces, called *chàw-ga-tâ-*, and when several have been made, she and her husband pay visits to their friends, among whom they distribute these mementoes, together with any of the pieces that may remain over, in order that they may make additional necklets for themselves.

6. Before this distribution takes place, it should be mentioned that the mourners remove from their heads the lump of clay placed there on the day of the child's death; the wife also paints her husband's neck, waist, wrists, and knees with *kòì'ob-* and further adorns him with a stripe of the same compound from his throat to his navel, and afterwards decorates herself in a similar manner.

7. All due preparations having thus been made, the friends assemble round the hut to pay their final visit of condolence; whereupon the bereaved father sings some old song of his, which he last sang, perchance, with his little one alive and well in his arms, on which all except himself express their grief and sympathy by breaking out into loud lamentations. The chorus of the song is chanted by the women while the parents perform a dance which goes by the name of *t'î-tô'latnga-* (*lit.*, the shedding of tears); when wearied with their exertions they retire to their hut, and cease from any further display of sorrow, whereupon their friends generally take up and continue the melancholy dance and song for many hours, the women being then joined by the men, who, till this stage of the proceedings, have merely acted the part of spectators. It should be explained that the character of this dance does not differ from that which is customary at a wedding or other occasion of rejoicing, except in the doleful appearance of the performers.

8. On the death of an adult and others, the relatives (as in the case of an infant) smear themselves with *ôg-* and place a lump of the clay on their heads, where it must remain until the *t'î-tô'latnga-*; any necklaces, waistbelts, &c., which the deceased was wearing are removed; women then paint the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 42.

corpse, whose limbs are folded and enwrapped in the manner above described.

9. What the true significance of this practice may be is not quite clear, as such of the aborigines as have been questioned assert that it is merely for convenience in removal; but since the custom is also observed in infant burials which, as I have mentioned, take place in the very hut wherein the death occurred, it seems probable that a deeper meaning underlies the act; and the real reason may be that which Peschel supplies in his reference to the Hottentots who observe the same custom, *i.e.* "that the dead will mature in the darkness of the earth in preparation for a new birth."<sup>1</sup>

10. As it is not customary for females to attend the funeral, when *their* part is done, they gently blow upon the face, and take their last farewell look.

11. None save infants are buried within the encampment, all others being carried to some distant and secluded spot in the jungle, and there interred or placed upon a "*machán*," or platform; it is generally arranged beforehand whether of these two methods shall be employed, but the latter is considered the more complimentary, apparently because it involves a little more labour.<sup>2</sup>

12. Arrived at their destination, the corpse, which has been carried by one of the men on his back, is put down, while the final preparations are being made. A spot is selected where there is a boulder or large tree,<sup>3</sup> to mark it, and there, if a grave has been decided on, they dig a hole about 4 or 5 feet deep, with an adze (*wō'lo-*), into which the body is lowered in a sitting posture, facing the east; all present then raise the leaf covering the head, and take leave of their friend by blowing upon his face. Before the grave is filled in the cords or canes are cut, the object being to hasten the process of decomposition by loosening the leaves; a fire is lighted over the spot and a *gōb-*,<sup>4</sup> or nautilus shell, filled with water, as well as some article which belonged to the deceased, is placed beside it: then the surrounding brushwood for some little distance is cleared away, and *á-ra-* are suspended between the trees in the manner and for the purpose before stated.

13. Should it, however, have been determined to dispose of the corpse by the alternative method, a small stage is constructed

<sup>1</sup> This singular practice also prevailed amongst the ancient Peruvians (*vide* "Anthropology of Prehistoric Peru," by T. J. Hutchinson, "Journ. Anthropol. Inst." vol. iv, p. 447, 1875).

<sup>2</sup> Old persons are generally buried.

<sup>3</sup> They never wittingly use the same tree or spot a second time, and are careful to remember those which served on a former occasion.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, 'tem 82, and "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 269.

of sticks and boughs, about 8 to 12 feet above the ground, generally between the forked branches of some large tree,<sup>1</sup> and to it the body is lashed. The head is raised slightly, looking eastward, and, though the position of the arms is not altered, the cords are loosened to allow of the legs being straightened, after which the leaves are re-adjusted, so as to cover the entire form, in order to protect it from the attacks of hawks, crows, and vermin.

14. Two reasons are given for the practice of placing the corpse with the face towards the rising sun: one being that dissolution may thereby be hastened, the other that *jer-eg-* or Hades, whither the souls of the departed flee, is situated in the east.

15. The mourners take a last farewell in the manner before described, and fulfil the remaining duties, as related in the former case. The spirit of the deceased being supposed to haunt not only the spot where he has been buried, but also the encampment where the death occurred, the community migrate temporarily to another camping ground immediately after the return of the funeral party, leaving the *â-ra-* to witness to casual visitors of the cause of their absence.

16. When the period of mourning has expired the men who assisted in the funeral rites return to the place of burial, destroy the *â-ra-*, and remove the remains of the deceased to the sea-shore, or to a creek, where the bones are cleaned and afterwards conveyed to the old encampment, whither they all return and restore their camp to its normal condition.

17. As all that has been related regarding the distribution of the bones of a child and the subsequent dance applies equally to all cases, further account of these ceremonies here is unnecessary; for fuller information anent the manufacture of the necklaces, &c., I would refer you to the interesting paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., read before this Institute by the author in May last.<sup>2</sup>

18. Although in the majority of cases the display of grief is thoroughly sincere, there is no doubt that they hope, by testifying to their sorrow in the various ways mentioned, to conciliate the spirits of the departed, and to be by them preserved from many misfortunes which might otherwise befall them.<sup>3</sup>

19. In the case of a young married couple who are childless, if either die, the survivor is not the chief mourner, and does not even assist at the obsequies, which are performed solely by

<sup>1</sup> They are careful not to select a fruit-tree, or one used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows, and other implements.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* vol. xi, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 24.



the relatives of the deceased, one of whom subsequently takes possession of the skull, and wears it until he (or she) chooses to part with it, or is asked to do so by another member of the family. It should here be stated that it is by no means obligatory upon the survivor of an elderly couple, or any relative, to carry the bones or skull of the deceased for a lengthened period:<sup>1</sup> except in the event of marrying a brother, sister, or cousin of the deceased, these relics can be given at any time to a friend who may ask for them; thus it not unfrequently happens that the remains of one who was a chief or a favourite in his day, are scattered far and wide among his admirers, but when in course of time they get mislaid or broken, the owner is often easily reconciled to his loss, or makes it good by procuring similar mementoes of another and more recently departed friend.

20. It may be said that as a rule no adult is without at least one *chàwga-tá-* (i.e., a human bone necklace), and the skulls, which are generally to be found in every encampment, are worn by each in turn, if only for a few hours.

21. The only difference made on the occasion of the death of a chief, his wife, or one of his near relatives, is that *all* the men and lads of the encampment smear themselves with *ōg-*, and attend the funeral; the relations alone, however, are the mourners during the succeeding weeks or months which intervene before the *t'i-tō'latnga-*, though, as a token of respect for the deceased, and of sympathy with the mourners, other members of the tribe often abstain from some favourite article of food, and take no part in festivities during the same period.

22. If a member of another tribe happen to die while on a visit, the body would be disposed of in one of the modes I have endeavoured to describe, after which intimation would be sent to the friends of the deceased, so that they might know where to seek for the skeleton when the time for disinterment should arrive.

23. The body of an enemy, stranger, or captive child would be thrown into the sea, or buried *sans cérémonie*, as the bones would never be in request.

24. A sudden death is at once attributed to the malign influence of *ērem-chàw'gala*, if the deceased had been recently in the jungles, or to *jū'ru-win-*, if he had been on the sea; in either case one of the male relatives of the victim, representing the feelings of the community, approaches the spot where the body

<sup>1</sup> I mention this more especially as the erroneous statement made by some early writer, that "a widow wears her husband's skull suspended round her neck for the rest of her life," has been repeated in more recent accounts, and hitherto remains uncontradicted.

is lying, and shoots several arrows in rapid succession into the surrounding jungle, only taking care to avoid injury to the bystanders, and then, seizing a pig-spear, *ēr-dūtnga*,<sup>1</sup> if *ērem-chàw'gala* be the demon suspected, or a turtle-spear, *kowai'a l'óko dūtnga*,<sup>2</sup> if it be *jūru-win*- who is accounted guilty, he pierces the ground all round the corpse, hoping thereby to inflict a mortal injury upon the unseen enemy; while so engaged he vents his grief and indignation in no measured terms of imprecation.

25. When a death which is attributed to *ērem-chàw'gala*'s malignity occurs so late in the day that the burial has to be deferred till the following morning, those who are not mourners sing in turns throughout the night, in the belief that this demon will thus be deterred from doing any further harm in the encampment.

26. At death they say that *ērem-chàw'gala* and his sons feast upon the blood and soft tissues of all who die on land, and that their leavings, excepting of course the bones, are disposed of by worms, *wēn*-, but *jūru-win*- is supposed to consume every portion of those who fall into his clutches.

**Meeting and Parting.**—1. Contrary to the customs of most races, no salutations<sup>3</sup> pass between friends, even after a more or less lengthened separation, such as rubbing noses, kissing,<sup>4</sup> shaking hands, &c.; but on meeting they remain silently gazing at each other for, in our eyes, an absurdly long time—unless of course one or both be hurried; the younger then makes some commonplace remark which apparently has the effect of loosening their tongues, for they at once commence hearing and telling the news.<sup>5</sup>

2. Relatives, after an absence of a few weeks or months, testify their joy at meeting by sitting with their arms round each other's necks,<sup>6</sup> and weeping and howling<sup>7</sup> in a manner which would lead a stranger to suppose that some great sorrow had befallen them; and, in point of fact, there is no difference observable between their demonstrations of joy on these occasions and those of grief at the death of one of their

<sup>1</sup> Vide Appendix B, item 9.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Appendix B, item 10.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Colebrooke and Anderson.

<sup>4</sup> Kisses are considered indicative of affection, but are only bestowed on infants.

<sup>5</sup> One might imagine that the writer of the article entitled "Chippers of Flint," which appeared in "Cornhill" (vol. xli, p. 200), had heard of or witnessed a rencontre of this description, but had not watched its progress, or he would not have spoken of this race as "all but speechless."

<sup>6</sup> Vide Plate IX, fig. 2.

<sup>7</sup> This custom resembles that which exists among New Zealanders under the name of the *Tangi*.



number. The crying chorus is started by women, but the men speedily chime in, and groups of three or four may thus be seen weeping in concert until, from sheer exhaustion, they are compelled to desist; then, if neither of the parties are in mourning, a dance is got up, in which the females not unfrequently take part, but the style of their performance differs from that of the males.<sup>1</sup>

3. A husband who is *childless*, and has been absent from his home for some time, on his return to the encampment visits first a blood relation (if any), and when *they* have wept together he goes to his own hut, not in order to shed more tears, but to see and talk to his spouse. The same remark applies to a wife similarly circumstanced. But in the case of married couples who are *parents*, the meeting takes place first between them; the wife hangs round her husband's neck sobbing as if her heart would break with joy at their re-union; when she is exhausted with weeping, he leaves her, and, going to one of his relations, gives vent to his pent-up feelings of happiness by bursting into tears.

4. It is usual for friends at meeting to give each other something which may happen to be in their hands at the time, and these gifts are regarded as tokens of affection.

5. Strangers introduced by mutual friends are always warmly welcomed by the whole community: they, in common with all guests, are the first attended on, the best food in the encampment is set before them, and in every way they are well treated; presents also are often given them, especially when about to take their leave.

6. "Speed the parting guest" is an axiom upon which these people invariably act: the departing visitor is accompanied by his host to the landing-place, or, at all events, some distance on his way; when bidding each other farewell the guest takes the hand of his host and blows upon it; when the compliment has been returned, the following dialogue ensues:—

Departing visitor: *kam wai dōl*. I am off (*lit.*, Here indeed I).

Host: *ō, ūchik wai dñ; tain tā'lik kach dñ yā'te?* Very well, go; when will you come again?

Departing visitor: *ngā'tek dō ngat mñ ū'kke*. I will bring away something for you one of these days.

Host: *jō'bo la ngōng chā'pikok!* May no snake bite you!

Departing visitor: *wai dō ēr-gē'lepke*. I will take good care of that (*lit.*, I will be watchful).

Afterwards they again blow upon each other's hands, and part,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 27 and 30.

shouting invitations and promises for a future date until beyond earshot.

7. When nearing home, after an unusually successful hunting or fishing expedition, the men raise a shout<sup>1</sup> of triumph in order to apprise their friends of their good fortune, and the women take up the cry and express their delight by yelling<sup>2</sup> and slapping their thighs; but when the encampment is entered, these sounds of rejoicing almost invariably cease for a while, and, after depositing their spoils, the hunters remain speechless for some time ere recounting their adventures and exploits: for this strange practice they appear unable to account.

8. No matutinal greetings pass between friends or between husband and wife, and inquiries relating to health are unusual unless addressed to an invalid.

9. When a man is thirsty and wishes also to wash his hands, he first, if alone, stoops down and drinks from the stream, or raises the water to his lips in a leaf or vessel; then, filling his mouth with water, he squirts it over his hands, using his unkempt locks as a towel. Should any one else be present, he would pour the water over his friend's hands as well, not from his mouth, but from a leaf.

10. They do not bathe daily, but at irregular intervals, when oppressed with the heat, or when, from some cause, as, for instance, in gathering honey,<sup>3</sup> their persons become sticky and unpleasant, and ablutions, consistently with comfort at least, cannot be dispensed with. It will be understood that these remarks apply to the *ēremtāga*-, rather than the *āryōto*-, who, from the nature of their pursuits, are on the whole fairly clean.<sup>4</sup>

11. During the hot weather they smear their bodies with common white clay, called *ōg*-,<sup>5</sup> dissolved in water, and avoid, as far as they are able, any lengthened exposure to the direct rays of the sun. If compelled to leave the shelter of the jungle, they are in the habit of holding a large leaf screen, *kāpa-jā'tnga*-,<sup>6</sup> over their heads as a protection (this is also done during a shower); should they be travelling by boat they lessen the discomfort caused by excessive heat by pouring water over themselves, or by plunging overboard and swimming alongside the canoe for some part of the way.

<sup>1</sup> There is a specific term for this description of shouting, viz.: *tē'reblake*, while that of the women in answer thereto is called —

<sup>2</sup> *rō'moke*.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Appendix H (*lad'a chāu*, lit., dirty body).

<sup>4</sup> They never allow vermin to breed on their persons—in fact, such a thing could not possibly occur, owing to the constant shaving of the head, painting of the person, and, in the case of the *āryōto*-, immersion in the sea while fishing and turtling.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Appendix B, item 59.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Appendix B, item 74.

**Fire.**—1. It would seem that the Andamanese, like the quondam aborigines of Tasmania, have always been ignorant of the art of producing fire.

2. The assertion<sup>1</sup> that these tribes when first discovered, assuming that this refers to either the second or ninth century,<sup>2</sup> were ignorant of the use of fire may or may not be correct; but if any faith can be placed in the traditions held by them on the subject, their acquaintance with it dates from no later period than the Creation!<sup>3</sup>

3. The most satisfactory conjecture as to the source whence they first obtained fire appears to me to be based on the fact of there being two islands attached to the group, one of which (Barren Island) contains an active volcano, and the other (Narcondam Island<sup>4</sup>) a now extinct one.

4. Being strangers to any method of producing a flame, they naturally display much care and skill in the measures they adopt for avoiding such inconvenience as might be caused by the extinction of their fires.

5. Both when encamped and while journeying, the means employed are at once simple and effective. When they all leave an encampment with the intention of returning in a few days, besides taking with them one or more smouldering logs, wrapped in leaves if the weather be wet, they place a large burning log or faggot in some sheltered spot, where, owing to the character and condition of the wood invariably selected on these occasions, it smoulders for several days, and can be easily rekindled when required. Decayed pieces of the *Croton argyratus*, and two species of *Diospyros*,<sup>5</sup> and a fourth, called by them *chôr-*, but not yet identified, are chiefly used as fuel. As may be inferred, all labour of splitting and chopping is saved, as it is only necessary

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Brown.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Part I (commencement).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding this island, which is sometimes shown as Narkandam, Colonel Yule, in his "Marco Polo," writes as follows:—

"Abraham Roger tells us that the Coromandel Brahmins used to say that the *Rakshasas*, or Demons had their abode 'on the Island of Andaman, lying on the route from Pulicat to Pegu,' and also that they were man-eaters. This would be very curious if it were a genuine old Brahminical *Saga*; but I fear it may have been gathered from the Arab seamen. Still it is remarkable that a strange weird-looking island, which rises, covered with forest, a steep and regular volcanic cone, straight out of the deep sea to the eastward of the Andaman group, bears the

name of *Narkandam* in which one cannot but recognise नरक, (*Narak*), 'Hell.'

Can it be that in old times, but still contemporary with Hindu navigation, this volcano was active, and that some Brahmin St. Brandon recognised in it the mouth of Hell, congenial to the *Rakshasas* of the adjacent group?"

Colonel Yule adds: "I cannot trace any probable meaning of Andam, yet it looks as if *Narak-andám* and *Andám-án* were akin."

<sup>5</sup> Bastard ebony or marble wood.

to beat a log of this description on a stone or other hard substance a few times before it breaks up into as small pieces as are needed.

6. In each hut that is occupied there is invariably a fire, the object of which is to keep the owner warm, to drive away insects, and to cook food, while the smoke is useful in preserving the store of provisions, which are placed about two feet above it for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

7. Council fires, or fires burnt on special occasions, are not among their institutions; even the household fire is not held sacred, or regarded as symbolical of family ties, and no rites are connected with it; there are no superstitious beliefs in reference to its extinction or pollution, and it is never employed literally or figuratively as a means of purification from uncleanness, blood, death, or moral guilt.

8. Fires are generally kindled by fanning the embers with a frond of the *Asplenium nidus* (*pā'tla*-), and they are extinguished by pressing the burning logs against some such object as a tree, canoe, or stone.

9. Reference must here be made to the mis-statement which has found its way into several papers concerning the existence of so-called "oven-trees" among the Andamanese. The belief appears to have originated in the practice which prevails among them of taking advantage, during brief halts, of the natural shelter afforded by the peculiar formation of the roots of the *Pterocarpus dalbergioides*, and trees of the *Ficus* genus, so common in these islands, and which, extending like buttresses on all sides of the trunk, are, especially when roofed over with a light thatch such as these people are accustomed to make in a few minutes, capable of accommodating small parties suddenly overtaken by a storm, or needing a temporary resting-place: the traces of fires lighted by successive parties against these trees, and the hollows thus caused, having been noticed, the opinion was formed, and, without sufficient corroborative evidence, promulgated, that they were "purposely charred," and that "great pains is taken in their preservation."<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, the Andamanese no more employ oven-trees than do the gypsies in Bulgaria, alluded to by General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.,<sup>3</sup> who, using constantly the same trees, have formed a semi-cylindrical chimney, which might reasonably be regarded, by one unacquainted with their habits, as an attempt to form an oven.

10. While it is the women's business to collect the wood, the duty of maintaining the fires, whether at home or while travelling

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Mouat, pp. 308-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 273 and 290 (Appendix I).

by land or sea, is not confined to them, but is undertaken by those of either sex who have most leisure or are least burdened.

11. Probably nothing introduced by us so impressed them with the extent of our power and resources as *matches*; that we should be able to produce fire with such ease and by such means was not unnaturally regarded as evidence of our being superhumanly gifted.

**Superstitions.**—1. Fire is supposed to possess the power of driving away evil spirits: when, therefore, at night they hear in imagination the approach of the dreaded *ērem-chàw-gala*,<sup>1</sup> they throw burning logs into the jungle surrounding the encampment. Again, should any of the community have occasion to leave their huts at night, no matter how short the distance, he (or she) invariably takes some fire as a protection against any demons that may be in the vicinity; a torch is also taken if it be very dark at the time.

2. Of darkness they assert that it was instituted on account of the misconduct of two of their ancestors, as will shortly be mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

3. From fear of displeasing *mai'a .ōgar*-<sup>3</sup> (Mr. Moon), during the first few evenings of the third quarter, when he rises after sundown, they preserve silence, cease from any work on which they may be engaged—even halting should they be travelling—and almost extinguish any light or fire which they may be burning. This is owing to the belief that he is jealous of attention being distracted to other objects than himself at such a time, or of any other light being employed than that which he has been graciously pleased to afford so abundantly. By the time the moon has ascended a few degrees, however, they restore their fires and resume their former occupations, as they consider they have then sufficiently complied with *mai'a .ōgar*-s wishes and requirements. The glowing aspect of the full moon on its first appearance above the horizon is supposed to indicate that *mai'a .ōgar*- is enraged at finding some persons neglecting to observe these conciliatory measures; there is also an idea that, if he be greatly annoyed, he will punish them by withdrawing or diminishing the light of his countenance.

4. Regarding meteorolites they appear to possess no superstition. Shooting stars and meteors they view with apprehension, believing them to be lighted faggots hurled into the air by *ērem-chàw-gala* in order to ascertain the whereabouts of any unhappy wight in his vicinity; if, therefore, they happen to be away from

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 31.

<sup>3</sup> Singing, dancing, and thumping on the sounding board at that hour are, however, not displeasing to him.

their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment.

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects.

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach.

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al'aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> this is an act so abhorrent to *mai'a .ōgar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment.

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Minusops indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū'luga's* fury and causing the weather to moderate.

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū'luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*.wā'ra-jō'bo kō'pke, kō'pke, kō'pke*" [*Wā'ra-jōbo*<sup>2</sup> will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū'luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū'luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū'luga's* anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū'luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursaëtha*, or gather yams or other edible

<sup>1</sup> Vide post "Mythology," paragraph 32.

<sup>2</sup> This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.



roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū-luga-* is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursaetha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū-luga-* with storms is the burning of beeswax,<sup>1</sup> the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē-rem-chāu-gala's* dancing or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.<sup>2</sup>

15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c., which, as stated in my last paper,<sup>3</sup> *Pū-luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.<sup>4</sup>

16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mischievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge<sup>5</sup> which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

<sup>1</sup> *ā-ja-pi-d-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, foot-note).

<sup>2</sup> The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraph 25.

prior existence, but only as an infant. If a woman who has lost a baby is again about to become a mother, the name borne by the deceased is bestowed on the foetus, in the expectation that it will prove to be the same child born again. Should it be found at birth that the babe is of the same sex as the one who died, the identity is considered to be sufficiently established, but if otherwise the deceased one is said to be under the *râu-* (*Ficus laccifera*) in *.châ'itâ'n-* (Hades).<sup>1</sup>

18. They have no peculiar ideas in reference to yawning, hiccupping, spitting, or eructating, and hissing<sup>2</sup> is unknown.

19. To sneeze is auspicious, and therefore regarded with favour. When any one sneezes the bystanders ask, "Who is thinking of you?" to which the person replies by naming some absent friend, or, should he be alone when he sneezes, he says, "Here I am at ——" (naming the place).

20. If they have a dream which they regard as bad, as, for instance, that a canoe was dashed on a reef, or that an accident occurred while pig-hunting, or even if, when awake, they hear two canoes bumping against each other while at anchor, they consider it essential to accept such as a warning, and act accordingly, viz., by taking steps to incur no risk of a misadventure: this is generally accomplished by remaining at home for two or three days.

21. A small striped snake called *lâ'raba-* is supposed to produce the streams of the red oxide of iron, *kô'ob-chû'lnga-*, and olive-coloured clay, *chû'lnga-*, so much employed by them; the ground for the belief is the alleged fact that this snake, when disturbed, ejects from its tail a whitish fluid, which is of a deadly nature. They declare that the poison is such that it cannot be removed by washing or other means, and that it causes intense pain to the victim, who invariably dies within a few hours.

22. There is a small bird, not yet identified, called by them *pî'chrô'l-*, the meeting with which is looked upon as ominous of an approaching death in their midst. When a woodpecker is heard tapping on a tree he is said to be giving warning of the approach of *û'chu-*,<sup>3</sup> so they proceed in fear and trembling until the danger is supposed to be past. The notes of the *pai-* and *râ'tegî-* (two birds not yet identified) are regarded as a sign that there are enemies in the vicinity. When, therefore, either of these are heard, they at once retrace their steps, if they happen to be on the move, or, should they be in an encampment, they

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Proper Names," paragraph 1, and *post* "Religious Beliefs," &c., paragraphs 22 and 23.

<sup>2</sup> This is accounted for by the absence of sibilants in their language (*vide* Appendix A).

<sup>3</sup> A legendary elephant, to be spoken of under "Mythology," paragraph 30.



temporarily vacate their huts and remain on the alert with their weapons ready for immediate use. The cry of another bird, called *chē-ra-*, informs them of the approaching visit of a friend. Finally, if while travelling they hear the cawing of a crow, they say they must be near some occupied, or recently abandoned encampment. This belief is doubtless traceable to the fact that these birds are among the principal scavengers of their camping grounds.

23. It has been noticed that they will never whistle between sunset and sunrise, and the reason they give is that this sound, more than any other, attracts *ē-rem-chāw-gala* during those hours. When animals behave in an unaccountable manner, especially at night, it is said to be because they see this demon.

**Religious Beliefs and Demonology.**—1. I have several times mentioned the Supernatural Beings, *Pū-luga-* and *ē-rem-chāw-gala*, and must now enter more into detail regarding the beliefs held by the Andamanese concerning these and other spirits.

2. Though no forms of worship or religious rites are to be found among them, yet are there certain beliefs regarding powers of good and evil, the Creation, and of a world beyond the grave, which show that even these savages have traditions more or less approximating the truth, but whence derived will ever remain a mystery.

3. It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries or others who might be supposed to have landed on their shores in by-gone years; for not only have they no tradition of any foreigners having settled in their midst and intermarried with their ancestors, or even of having so far established amicable intercourse as to be able to acquire a knowledge of any one of their languages, but our own records, so far from differing from theirs on these points, tend clearly to show that, from the earliest times till so recently as 1858, these islanders have been more or less universally regarded as cannibals, in consequence of which they were much dreaded by all navigating the adjacent seas. The persistency with which they resisted with showers of arrows all attempts to land on their shores,<sup>1</sup> precludes the belief that any one, prior to our settlement,<sup>2</sup> would from choice have visited these islanders in the vain hope of reclaiming them from their savage state, and in order to teach them the Biblical, Mohammedan, or other versions of the Creation, Fall, Deluge, &c.; while it may surely be

<sup>1</sup> The probable cause of their hostility will be explained in a later section (*vide post* "Trade," &c., paragraph 1).

<sup>2</sup> In 1870 an orphanage was established at Ross Island (Port Blair) for children of the aborigines, but it is very doubtful whether even the more intelligent of the inmates have obtained, much less retained, more than an elementary knowledge of the outline of the truths of Christianity.

assumed that if any shipwrecked persons had ever been cast on their coast, they would, in the improbable event of their lives being spared, have left some traces of the fact, such as might be looked for among the customs, in the culture, or physical characteristics of these savages, but these are vainly to be sought in any section of the race.

4. Moreover, to regard with suspicion, as some have done, the genuineness of such legends as those in question argues ignorance of the fact that numerous other tribes,<sup>1</sup> in equally remote or isolated localities have, when first discovered, been found to possess similar traditions on the subjects under consideration.

5. Further, on this subject as well as on all others in which there appeared any risk of falling into error, I have taken special care not only to obtain my information on each point from those who are considered by their fellow-tribesmen as authorities, but who, from having had little or no intercourse with other races, were in entire ignorance regarding any save their own legends: I have, besides, in every case, by subsequent inquiry, endeavoured to test their statements, with the trustworthiness of which I am thoroughly satisfied. I may also add that they all agree in stating that their accounts of the Creation, &c., were handed down to them by their first parent *Tô-mo-* (Adam), and his immediate descendants, while they trace all their superstitions and practices to the "days before the Flood"!

6. I shall presently speak of the legends current anent the Creation, and also the Fall and Deluge: the latter will there be seen to have been, *selon eux*, consequent on the former.

7. In spite of their knowledge of, or belief in, a Supreme Being,<sup>2</sup> whom they call *Pū-luga-*, they live in constant fear of certain evil spirits, whom they apprehend to be ever present, and on the watch to do them some bodily injury.

8. Of *Pū-luga-* they say that—

I. Though His appearance is like fire, yet He is (now-a-days) invisible.

II. He was never born and is immortal.

III. By him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate, were created, excepting only the powers of evil.

IV. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of their hearts.

V. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,<sup>3</sup> while to

<sup>1</sup> A story of the Fall occurs in the myths of the Eskimo, the South Sea Islanders, the Zulus, the Australians and the New Zealanders (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths."—*St. James' Gazette*, July 14th, 1881.)

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Mouat, pp. 303-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* "Crimes," paragraph 2.

those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief.

- VI. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death, and, to *some* extent, the hope of escape from the torments of *jer-eg-làr-mū-gu-* (regarding which anon) is said to affect their course of action in the present life.<sup>1</sup>

9. *Pū-luga-* is believed to live in a large stone house in the sky, with a wife whom he created for himself; she is green in appearance, and has two names, *chān'a .àw'lola* (Mother Fresh-water Shrimp), and *chān'a .pā-lak-* (Mother Eel); by her he has a large family, all, except the eldest, being girls; these last, known as *mō-ro-win-* (sky spirits or angels), are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fish and prawns into the streams and sea for the use of the inhabitants of the world. *Pū-luga-*'s son is called *pīj-chō-r-*: he is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *mō-ro-win-*.

10. *Pū-luga-* is said to eat and drink, and, during the dry months of the year, to pass much of his time in sleep, as is proved by his voice (thunder) being rarely heard at that season; he is the source whence they receive all their supplies of animals, birds, and turtles; when they anger him he comes out of his house and blows, and growls, and hurls burning faggots at them—in other words, visits their offences with violent thunderstorms and heavy squalls; except for this purpose he seldom leaves home, unless it be during the rains, when he descends to earth to provide himself with certain kinds of food; how often this happens they do not know since, now-a-days, he is invisible.

11. *Pū-luga-* never himself puts any one to death, but he objects so strongly to seeing a pig badly quartered and carved that he invariably points out those who offend him in this respect to a class of malevolent spirits called *chōl-*, one of whom forthwith despatches the unfortunate individual.

12. *Pū-luga-* has no *authority* over the evil spirits, the most dreaded of which are *ē-rem-chāu-gala*, *jū-ru-win-*, and *nī-la-*; they are self-created, and have existed from time immemorial. The first of these, the evil spirit of the woods, has a numerous progeny by his wife *chān'a .bād-gilola*, who remains at home with her daughters and younger children, while her husband and grown-up sons roam about the jungles with a lighted torch

<sup>1</sup> It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to the true faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital.

attached to their left legs, in order that the former may injure any unhappy wights who may meet them unprotected,<sup>1</sup> and in the dark ; he generally makes his victims ill, or kills them by wounding them internally with invisible arrows,<sup>2</sup> and, if he is successful in causing death, it is supposed that they feast upon the raw flesh<sup>3</sup> ; *ērem-chàw-gala*, indeed, appears to be to the Andamanese much what "*Arlak*"<sup>4</sup> is to the aboriginal Australian : in both cases these evil spirits are represented as afraid of light ; *ērem-chàw-gala* is said to be also afraid of, or to avoid, the demon *nī-la*-.

13. This spirit, *nī-la*-,<sup>5</sup> is supposed to live in ant-hills, and to have neither wife nor child ; he is not regarded as such a malevolent personage as *ērem-chàw-gala*, and, though he is always armed with a knife, he rarely injures human beings with it, or, when he does do so, it is not in order to feed upon their bodies, for he is said to eat earth only.

14. As regards *jū-ru-win*-, the evil spirit of the sea, they say that he too is invisible, and lives in the sea with his wife and children, who help him to devour the bodies of those who are drowned or buried at sea ; fish constitute the staple of his food, but he also occasionally, by way of variety, attacks the aborigines he finds fishing on the shores or by the creeks. The weapon he uses is a spear, and persons who are seized with cramp or any sudden illness, on returning from, or while on the water are said to have been "speared" by *jū-ru-win*-. He has various submarine residences, and boats for travelling under the surface of the sea, while he carries with him a net, in which he places all the victims, human or piscine, he may succeed in capturing.

15. Besides these three chief demons, there is a company of evil spirits who are called *chól*-, and who are much dreaded. They are believed to be descendants of *mai'a chól*-,<sup>6</sup> who lived in antediluvian times. They generally punish those who offend them by baking or roasting pig's flesh, the smell of which is particularly obnoxious to them, as it is also to *Pū-luga*-, who, therefore, often assists them in discovering the delinquent ; the same risk does not attend *boiling* pork,<sup>7</sup> which the olfactory nerves of the fastidious *chól*- are not keen enough to detect.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 1 (foot-note), and "Death and Burial," paragraph 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Wood, "Natural History of Man," p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Cases have been cited of persons who have been found stabbed, whose deaths are attributed to *Nīla* : the possibility of the individuals in question having been murdered is scouted.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 33.

<sup>7</sup> *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 27.

16. While the Andamanese say that they are liable to be struck by *.ērem-chāu-gala* or *jūru-win-* at any time or in any place, the *.chól-* strike those only who offend them, and that during the day while they are stationary, this being necessitated by the distance from the earth of their abode, whence they hurl their darts: an invisible spear is the weapon they always use, and this is thrown with unerring aim at the head of their victims, and is invariably fatal. As these demons are considered especially dangerous on the hottest days, they are apparently held accountable for the deaths from sunstroke which happen from time to time.

17. The sun, *chān'a .bō-do-*, is the wife of the moon, *mai'a .ō-gar-*, and the stars, *.chā-to-*, which are of both sexes, are their children: the latter go to sleep during the day; the whole family have their meals near *Pū-luga-*'s house, but never enter it. *.chān'a .bō-do-* is like fire and covered with thorns, but *mai'a .ō-gar-* is white skinned, and has two long tusks<sup>1</sup> and a big beard; their home is situated somewhere below the eastern horizon, and while the former, after setting, rests till dawn, the latter, probably in consequence of the cares of his numerous family, is obliged to keep very irregular hours. During their passage under the earth to their home, they are believed to afford the blessing of light to the unfortunate spirits in Hades, and also, while sleeping, to shed a "dim religious light" over that region: it is by *Pū-luga-*'s command that the celestial bodies, while crossing the sky, bestow their light.

18. The phenomena of the waning and waxing of the moon is explained by saying that they are occasioned by "his" applying a coating of cloud to his person by degrees, after the manner of their own use of *kōi'ob-* and *tā-la-ōg-*,<sup>2</sup> and then gradually wiping it off.<sup>3</sup>

19. Reference has already been made to their superstition regarding the cause of a lunar eclipse, but in case *mai'a .ō-gar-* should be so ill-advised as permanently to withhold his light or render himself in other ways still more disagreeable, whenever the moon is eclipsed some persons at once seize their bows and twang them as rapidly as possible, thereby producing a rattling sound as if discharging a large number of arrows, while others commence at once sharpening their *rā-ta*.<sup>4</sup> Of course this hostile demonstration is never lost upon the moon, who does not venture to hurt those who show themselves ready

<sup>1</sup> The horns of the crescent moon.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

<sup>3</sup> "The Eskimo say that the sun, which they regard as feminine, smears the face of her brother, the moon, with soot, when he presses his love upon her" (vide Peschel, p. 256).

<sup>4</sup> Vide Appendix B, item 2.

to give him so uncomfortable a reception. Their immunity from harm on these occasions has given rise to some joking at the expense of the luminary in question, for, during the continuance of the eclipse, they shout in inviting tones to the hidden orb as follows:—*ō'gar-*, *la den bal'ak ban lē'be ng'ūdō'ati! dō'ati! dō'ati!*<sup>1</sup> (O moon, I will give you the seed of the *balak*! show yourself! appear! appear!)

20. This seems to explain the custom which Colonel Symes describes as adoration to the sun and moon, for, as has been stated, no traces of worship or forms of religion, in the common acceptance of the term, exist among these tribes.

21. A solar eclipse alarms them too much to allow of their indulging in jests or threats, &c. : during the time it lasts they all remain silent and motionless, as if in momentary expectation of some calamity.

22. The world, exclusive of the sea, is declared to be flat and to rest on an immense palm-tree (*Caryota sobolifera*) called *bā'rata-*, which stands in the midst of a jungle comprising the whole area under the earth. This jungle, *chā'itā'n-* (Hades), is a gloomy place, for, though visited in turn by the sun and moon, it can, in consequence of its situation, be only partially lighted : it is hither the *spirits* (*chāu'ga-*) of the departed are sent by *Pū'luga-* to await the Resurrection.

23. No change takes place in *chā'itā'n-* in respect to growth or age ; all remain as they were at the time of their departure from the earth, and the adults are represented as engaged in hunting, after a manner peculiar to disembodied spirits. In order to furnish them with sport the spirits of animals and birds are also sent to *chā'itā'n-*, but as there is no sea there, the *chāu'ga-* of fish and turtle remain in their native element and are preyed upon by *jū'ru-win-*. The spirits (*chāu'ga-*) and souls (*ōt-yō'lo-*) of all children who die before they cease to be entirely dependent on their parents (*i.e.*, under six years of age) go to *chā'itā'n-*, and are placed under a *rāu*-tree<sup>2</sup> (*Ficus laccifera*) on the fruit of which they subsist. As none can quit *chā'itā'n-* who have once entered, they support their stories regarding it by a tradition that in ages long past an *ōko-pai'ad-*<sup>3</sup> was favoured in a dream with a vision of the regions and of the pursuits of the disembodied spirits.

24. Some of their legends, as will be seen elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> appear to bear out the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as

<sup>1</sup> This is said derisively, for, although these seeds are largely consumed by the pigs, the aborigines themselves do not consider them fit for food.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraphs 15, 16, 29.



certain of their ancestors (*tô-mola*) are stated to have vanished from earth in the form of various kinds of animals and fish. The spirits of those not thus transformed, although in Hades are believed occasionally to assist them in performing tasks of unusual difficulty; and it is thought that all the departed are to some extent conscious of what transpires in the world they once inhabited, and are able to promote the welfare of those who bear them in mind.<sup>1</sup>

25. Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane bridge (*pîdga-lâr-châu-ga-*) which steadies the former and connects it with *jêreg-* (paradise); over this bridge the *souls* (*ôt-yô-lo-*) of the departed<sup>2</sup> pass into paradise, or to *jêreg-lâr-mû-gu-*, which is situated below it: this latter place might be described as purgatory, for it is a place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder. Like Dante, they depict it as very cold, and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit. From all this it will be gathered that these despised savages believe in a future state, in the resurrection, and in the three-fold constitution of man.

26. In serious illness the sufferer's spirit (*châu-ga-*) is said to be hovering between this world and Hades,<sup>3</sup> but does not remain permanently in the latter place until some time after death, during which interval it haunts the abode of the deceased and the spot where the remains have been deposited.<sup>4</sup> In dreams it is the soul which, having taken its departure through the nostrils, sees or is engaged in the manner represented to the sleeper.

27. The Andamanese do not regard their shadows<sup>5</sup> but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls. The colour of the soul is said to be red, and that of the spirit black, and, though invisible to human eyes,<sup>6</sup> they partake of the form of the person to whom they belong. Evil emanates from the soul, and all good from the spirit; at the resurrection they will be re-united and live permanently on the new earth, for the souls of the wicked will then have been reformed by the punishments inflicted on them during their residence in *jêreg-lâr-mû-gu-*.

28. The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying or giving in

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Medicine," paragraph 8, and "Death and Burial," paragraph 18.

<sup>2</sup> Their *spirits* (*châu-ga-*) pass to *châ-itân-* (*vide* paragraphs 22 and 23).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* "Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 289.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraphs 4 and 15.

<sup>5</sup> As is believed to be the case among certain races, *e.g.*, the Benin negroes.

<sup>6</sup> *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 7.



marriage. The animals, birds, and fish will also re-appear in the new world in their present form.

29. This blissful state will be inaugurated by a great earthquake,<sup>1</sup> which, occurring by *Pūluga*-s command, will break the *pīdga-lār-chāwga*- and cause the earth to turn over: all alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

30. There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose<sup>3</sup> that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies. There is no salutation, dance, or festival of any kind held in honour of the new moon: its appearance does not evoke anything more than an exclamation such as *yēlo! .ōgar l'āidō'atire*. (Hurrah! there's the moon.)

**Mythology.**—1. In other sections mention has been made of *Pūluga*-, the Creator of all, and it has also been stated that no reason is given for the formation of the earth's surface, except that it was according to His will, and the same hypothesis is held to account for the varying seasons.

2. Until recent years it was supposed<sup>4</sup> that the Andamanese were without traditions, and had no idea of their own origin, but since we have been enabled to become better acquainted with them it has been ascertained that such is not the case. While I have been extremely careful as to the source whence I obtained my information, I would at the same time mention that much that is found under these last headings has been obtained from the older and more intelligent members of distant communities, and is probably little, if at all, known to many of the rising generation in our immediate vicinity.

3. Certain mythic legends are related to the young by *ōko-pai'ad*-s<sup>5</sup> parents and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious. The personages figuring in these tales are believed to be real and historical, but, beyond the fact of a very general acceptance and agreement of the traditions respecting them, no satisfactory traces are to be found of their existence except in the lively imaginations of their descendants.

4. There are a few discrepancies in their accounts of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 16.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the fate of the former is irrevocably fixed is not explained, but with these, as with other savages, it is in vain to expect them to understand the logical conclusions to which their beliefs tend.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* statements of Symes, Brown, Grant, and Anderson; *vide also ante* "Superstitions," paragraphs 9 and 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Mouat, p. 343.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide ante* "Magic and Witchcraft," paragraph 1.

creation and origin of the human species, but in the main features all are agreed. The following tradition appears to be the most generally received, and, as far as possible, it is given in the words in which it was first taken down:—

5. In the beginning, after the world had been made, *Pū'luga-* created a man whose name was *tō'mo*<sup>1</sup>; he was black, like the present inhabitants, but much taller and bearded. *Pū'luga-* showed him the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *wōtōdem-i*<sup>2</sup> (the "Garden of Eden"), and, in doing so, told him not to partake of certain of them during the rains: he then taught him how to obtain and use fire; this he did by first stacking in alternate layers two varieties of wood known as *chōr-* and *bēr-*, and then bidding *chān'a .bō'do-* (Mother Sun) to come and sit on or near the pile until she had ignited it, after which she returned to her place in the sky. *tō'mo-* was then taught how to cook pigs, which were easily caught, as they had in those days neither ears nor noses.

6. Another version relates that *Pū'luga-* came with a spirit or angel called *lach'i*<sup>3</sup> *pū'nga .ā'blola* to instruct *tō'mo-*, who, at his direction, prepared a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled, and *pū'nga .ā'blola* proceeded to teach him how to cook food.

7. About the origin of the first woman, whose name was *chān'a .ē'lewadi*, there is a diversity of belief: according to some, *Pū'luga-* created her after he had taught *tō'mo-* how to sustain life; others say that *tō'mo-* saw her swimming near his home and called to her, whereupon she landed and lived with him; while a third story represents her as coming pregnant to Kyd Island, where she gave birth to several male and female children, who subsequently became the progenitors of the present race.

8. These legends ascribe the name *tō'mola* to all the descendants of their first parents until the period of the Deluge. *tō'mo-* had two sons and two daughters by *chān'a .ē'lewadi*; the names of the former were *bī'rola* and *bō'rola*, and of the latter *rī'ela* and *chō'rmla*.

9. As time went on, the pigs multiplied to such an extent that they became a nuisance, so, with woman's ready wit, *chān'a .ē'lewadi* drilled holes in their heads and snouts, thereby giving them the powers of hearing and smelling, and enabling them to avoid danger and procure food for themselves. *Pū'luga-* then covered the whole land with jungle, into which the pigs

<sup>1</sup> The name of the first man among the Brazilians was *Tamoi* (vide Tylor's "Anthropology").

<sup>2</sup> Situated about long. 92° 52', and lat. 12° 18'. Some assert that this event occurred at *tō'lo-kōt'imi-*, which is in the same district.

<sup>3</sup> *lach'i* is applied to deceased persons, and answers to "the late."

wandered in various directions.<sup>1</sup> But this change was found to have its disadvantages, as it became next to impossible to catch the now wily *sus*. *Pū'luga-*, however, again came to the rescue, and taught *.tō'mo-* how to construct bows and arrows, and to hunt, after which he taught him to manufacture canoes and harpoons, and to fish. On a subsequent visit<sup>2</sup> he instructed *chā'n'a .ēlewadi* in the art of basket and net-making, and in the use of red-ochre (*kōi'ob-*) and white clay<sup>3</sup> (*tā'la-ōg-*), and thus by degrees he imparted to their first parents a knowledge of the various arts which have ever since been practised among them.

10. *.tō'mo* and *.ēlewadi* were also told that, though they were to work in the wet months, they must not do so after sundown, because by doing so they would worry the *bū'tu-*,<sup>4</sup> which are under *Pū'luga-*'s special protection. Any noise, such as working (*kō'pke*) with an adze, would cause the *bū'tu-*'s heads to ache, and that would be a serious matter. During the cold and dry seasons work may be carried on day and night, as the *bū'tu-* is then seldom seen, and cannot be disturbed.

11. As soon as the first couple were united *Pū'luga-* gave them the *.bō'jig-yā'b-* dialect, which is the language spoken to this day, according to their belief, by the tribe inhabiting the south and south-eastern portion of middle Andaman, in which district *.wōtāem'i-* is situated. It is, therefore, regarded as the mother tongue, from which the dialects of the various other tribes have sprung.

12. The canoes used in those days are said to have had no outriggers, and were made by scooping out the trunk of the *Pandanus*, which is believed to have been much larger than it is now-a-days, and well adapted for the purpose.

13. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident: it happened that one day *.tō'mo-* harpooned a large fish, called *kō'ro-ngid'i-chāu-*, which had a projecting snout where-with it lashed the shore in its frantic efforts to escape; so violent were the blows that the land was broken each time they fell, a result which proved of great benefit and service to the redoubtable harpooner and his descendants.

14. *.tō'mo-* lived to a great age, but even before his death his offspring became so numerous that their home could no longer accommodate them. At *Pū'luga-*'s bidding they were furnished with all necessary weapons, implements, and fire, and then

<sup>1</sup> Another version states that *.tō'mo-* caused the jungle to spring up beyond *.wōtāem'i-* by stringing flies on a number of arrows, and shooting them off, whereupon they turned into trees, and soon spread over the country.

<sup>2</sup> In those days *Pū'luga-* lived at Saddle Peak (*vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 2), and being so near, used often to pay them a visit.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide post* paragraph 27, and Appendix B, items 58 and 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 18.

scattered in pairs all over the country. When this exodus occurred *Pūluga-* provided each party with a distinct dialect.<sup>1</sup>

15. After the dispersion of the surplus members of his family, *tō-mo*, one day while hunting, fell into a creek called *yà-ra-tig-jig-*, and was drowned. He was at once transformed into a cachalot (*ká-ra-dū-ku-*), and from him have sprung all the cetaceans of this class.<sup>2</sup> *chān'a ēlewadi*, ignorant of the accident that had befallen her husband, went in a canoe with some of her grandchildren to ascertain the cause of his continued absence; on seeing them, *ká-ra-dū-ku-* upset their skiff, and drowned his wife and most of her companions. She became a small crab, of a description still named after her, *ēlewadi-*, and the others were transformed into iguanas.<sup>3</sup>

16. Consequent on the disappearance of *tō-mo-* and his wife, the duties of headship over the community at *wòtāem-i-* devolved upon one of their grandchildren, named *kō'lwōt-*, who was distinguished by being the first to spear and catch turtles. The *tōmola* remained on the islands long after *tō-mo's* transformation, but after *kō'lwōt's* death, according to one legend, they grew disobedient, and as *Pūluga-* ceased to visit them, became more and more remiss in their observance of the commands given at the Creation. At last *Pūluga's* anger burst forth, and, without any warning, he sent a great flood which covered the whole land,<sup>4</sup> and destroyed all living. Four persons (two men, *lō'ralola* and *pō'ilola*, and two women, *kā'lola* and *rī'malola*), who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *wòtāem-i-*, where they landed and discovered that every living thing on earth had perished; but *Pūluga-* re-created the animals, birds, &c. In spite of this, however, they suffered severely, in consequence of all their fires having been extinguished, and they could devise

<sup>1</sup> It would almost seem that, without straining the legend to suit facts, we might discern in this a faint echo of the Biblical account of the confusion of tongues and dispersion at Babel.

<sup>2</sup> They consider that the whale is evil disposed towards them, and attribute their occasional non-success in catching turtles to his influence. *ká-ra-dū-ku-* is also accused of inciting sharks and other large fish to attack them.

<sup>3</sup> Another version of this story is, that wearied with an unsuccessful day's hunting, *Tō-mo* went to the shore where he found a *chī-di-* (*Pinna*) shell-fish; while playing with it, it fastened on him, and he was unable to free himself until a *ba'i'an-* (*Paradoxurus*) seized the *chī-di-* and liberated him at the expense of one of his members. Shortly after he saw his wife and some of their children coming after him in a canoe; unwilling that they should become aware of the misfortune which had befallen him, he upset the canoe, drowning its occupants and himself. He then became *ká-ra-dū-ku-*, and the others *dū-ku-*, which are now very plentiful in the jungles.

<sup>4</sup> Some modify this statement by saying that Saddle Peak, where *Pūluga-* then dwelt, was not submerged.

no means of repairing their loss. At this juncture one of their recently deceased friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *.lūratūt-*.<sup>1</sup> Seeing their distress he flew up to *mō-ro-*, the sky, where he discovered *Pū-luga-* seated beside his fire; he thereupon seized<sup>2</sup> and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the heat or weight, or both, rendered the task impossible, and the blazing brand fell on *Pū-luga-*, who, incensed with pain, hurled it at the intruder; happily for those concerned, the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the four survivors were deploring their condition. As *.lūratūt-* alighted in their midst at the same moment, he gained the full credit of having removed the chief cause of their distress.<sup>3</sup>

17. Being relieved from anxiety as to their means of subsistence, *lō-rola* and his companions began to entertain sentiments of anger and resentment against *Pū-luga-* for his wholesale destruction of their friends, and, accordingly, when they met him one day at *.tō-lo-kòt'imì-*, they determined to kill him, but were deterred from their purpose by *Pū-luga-* himself, for he assured them that, whereas he was as hard as wood and could not be injured by their arrows, any attempt they might venture to make on his life would cause him to destroy them all. Having reduced them to submission by these assurances, *Pū-luga-* explained that they had brought the Deluge upon themselves through their wilful disobedience of the strict injunctions he had laid down, and which had always been observed by their forefathers, and he intimated that a repetition of their transgressions would inevitably lead to their utter destruction.

18. This is said to be the last occasion on which *Pū-luga-* rendered himself visible, or held any communication with them, but the warning he then gave them has not been forgotten, and the islanders are to this day strict in their observance of his commands.

19. Another legend regarding the origin of the Deluge states that one day, at the commencement of the rainy season, a *.tō-mola* named *.bē-rebì-* came to visit *.kō'lwōt-t-'s* mother, *chān'a ē-rep-*, with the express intention of seeing her son, of whom he

<sup>1</sup> A small variety of kingfisher.

<sup>2</sup> The myth of Prometheus will recur to the reader.

<sup>3</sup> Since that day till the present time, they say they have never been without fire, thanks to the precautions they employ to guard against its extinction. I would add that when first making my investigations on this subject some six years ago, I was led to believe that this kingfisher is regarded by the present inhabitants with a certain amount of veneration (*vide* "The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman dialect," p. 49), but I have since been assured that such is not the case.

was extremely jealous. When he appeared, *bē-rebi-* treacherously bit him in the arm, but his teeth became fixed in the flesh and he was therefore unable to detach himself from his victim, whose friends promptly avenged his murder, and disposed of the corpses by throwing them into the sea.<sup>1</sup> The bereaved mother, in her rage, grief, and despair, committed various acts, against which *tō-mo-* had been warned by *Pū-luga-*, and while so doing incited others to follow her example by the following words:—

*ē,ē,ē, dī'a rā-gūmul lab dā'la,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngūl ká'ja pīj pū'gatken,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngūl chō'akan tō'aiken,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngūl boá'rato á'ká-kolá'ken,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngūl gō'no bō'angken,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngūl tōng choá'ra bō'angken,*  
*ē,ē,ē, ngig á'rlōt pū'laijoken.*

The translation of which is:—

“*ē, ē, ē,*<sup>2</sup> (sobbing)—My grown-up handsome son,  
 Burn the wax,<sup>3</sup>  
 Grind the seed of the *chá-kan-*,<sup>4</sup>  
 Destroy the *bá'rata-*,<sup>5</sup>  
 Dig up the *gō'no*,<sup>6</sup>  
 Dig up the *chá-ti-*,<sup>6</sup>  
 Destroy everything.”

Thereupon *Pū-luga-* was exceeding wroth, and sent the flood which destroyed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

20. This tradition is preserved in the following lines:—

*Kēledōat ībá'ji lār chō'ra,*  
*Rā-gūmul abgór'ka en igboá'di,*  
*Rā-gūmul lē lig'a kō'arnga,*  
*Rā-gūmul abgór'ka.*  
*Toá'lo á'rbo ēb dā'kan choar'po.*

The meaning of which is:—

“Bring the boat to the beach  
 I will see your fine grown-up son,

<sup>1</sup> *ḱó'lwó't-*, after death, was transformed into a species of tree lizard, which is still named after him, and *bē-rebi-* became a fish called *ḱōngo-*, which is armed with a row of poisonous barbs on its back.

<sup>2</sup> Exclamation indicative of grief.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* “Superstitions,” paragraph 13.

<sup>4</sup> The *Entada pursattha*.

<sup>5</sup> The *Caryota sobolifera*.

<sup>6</sup> Two varieties of edible roots much relished by them after the rains.

The grown-up son who threw the youths (into the sea),<sup>1</sup>  
The fine grown-up son,  
My adze is rusty, I will stain my lips with his blood."

21. In this, as in all their songs and chants, a good deal is left to the imagination, but from the explanations which have been given by the aborigines, the following appears to afford some light on the subject:—*bē'rebi*, being jealous of the renown *kó'lwót-* had won for himself by his numerous accomplishments and great strength, took advantage of meeting him and his mother one day on the water to ask them to let him enter their boat. On their complying with his request, he provided himself with a rusty adze and a hone, and joined them; approaching near to *kó'lwót-*, he put down the adze and hone, remarking on the rusty condition of the former; then taking *kó'lwót-* by the arm he sniffed it from the wrist to the shoulder, as if admiring the development of the muscles; while doing so he muttered the threat of staining his lips with blood, which he shortly after fulfilled in the manner already described.

22. *lach'i*<sup>2</sup> *lō'ralola*, the chief of the survivors from the Deluge, gavé, at his death, the name of *chàw-ga-tā'bangā*<sup>3</sup> to their descendants. When, for the second time in their history, their numbers had increased to so great an extent that it became impossible for them to remain together in one spot, an exodus, similar to the first, took place; each party, being furnished with fire and every other essential, started in a different direction, and on settling down adopted a new and distinct dialect. They each received a tribal name, and from them have sprung the various tribes still existing on the islands.

23. The *chàw-ga-tā'bangā*- are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long-lived,<sup>4</sup> but, in other respects and in their mode of living they did not differ from the present inhabitants. The name seems to have been borne till comparatively recent times, as a few still living are said to remember having seen the last of the so-called *chàw-ga-tā'bangā*-.

24. After the Flood the *Pandanus* was found to have deteriorated so greatly as to be unfit for its former uses; their canoes were consequently thenceforth made by scooping the trunks of the *Sterculia villosa*, and other trees of a similar description.<sup>5</sup>

25. The story regarding certain *tō'mola*, who failed to

<sup>1</sup> Literally, *caused them to flee into the sea* (vide post paragraph 29).

<sup>2</sup> Signifying "the late," or "deceased."

<sup>3</sup> i.e., the big-bodied.

<sup>4</sup> The Andamanese attribute the present increased rate of mortality to the jungle clearances we have made.

<sup>5</sup> The native names of which are *bá'ja*; *mai*; *yē're*; and *kó'kon*.



observe the rules laid down for neophytes, states that, on the day after they broke their fast of *reg-jū-ri*<sup>1</sup> (kidney fat of pig), they left the encampment without giving notice of their intention to their friends, and the result was that, when they were missed and searched for, it was found they had gone to the shore to fish, and had there met a sad fate; the body of one was discovered adhering to a large boulder, and turned into stone, while the other, likewise in a state of petrification, was standing erect beside it.

26. *mai'a .dū'ku-*, who appears to be identical with *.tō'mo-*,<sup>2</sup> is said to have been the first to tattoo himself. One day, while out on a fishing expedition, he shot an arrow; missing its object it struck a hard substance which proved to be a piece of iron, the first ever found. With it *.dū'ku-* made an arrow-head and tattooed himself, after which he sang this ditty:—

“*Tōng mā līr pī-renga? tōng yī'tiken! tōng yī'tiken!*  
*tōng mā līr pī-renga? tōng yī'tiken!*”

the interpretation of which is “What can now strike me? I am tattooed! I am tattooed!” &c. (*Da capo*).

27. It would seem that after the Deluge they had to feel their way again to the necessary arts and manufactures in which *Pū'luga-* had vouchsafed to instruct their first parents:<sup>3</sup> especially is this declared to be the case with the pigments used in painting their bodies, one of which, viz.: *tā'la-ōg-*,<sup>4</sup> is said to have been accidentally re-discovered by a *.tō'mola* female, named *chān'a .chā'riā-*, while she was engaged in searching for the much-relished edible root known as *gō'no-*; another woman, *chān'a .tē'liu*, is credited with finding, about the same time, *kōi'ob-chū'nga-*.<sup>5</sup> Like true daughters of Eve they were not long at a loss in turning their knowledge to some (?) profitable account.

28. Another of their antediluvian ancestors was famous for propagating yams. This was *mai'a .bū'mroāg-*, who, in shooting an arrow, struck the creeper belonging to the favourite variety called *gō'no-*; his curiosity being excited he dug up the root, and tasted it: the result being satisfactory, he informed his friends of his discovery, and they all feasted upon it; when they had had sufficient, he scattered the remains in different directions; this

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante* “Initiatory Ceremonies,” paragraph 5.

<sup>2</sup> *.dū'ku* is also credited with having, like Pygmalion, created a woman! The Andamanese Galatea (*chān'a .tōt'kalat-chā'pa-* or *chān'a .ba'i'an-*) was made out of *chā'pa-* firewood, and in due course became her creator's wife. The legend does not explain how she was endued with life, but relates that at death she became a Paradoxurus.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide ante* “Mythology,” paragraph 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 63.

apparent waste so angered his mother that, on pretence of shaving him, she split his head open with a flint. After his death it was found that the act for which he suffered had tended to the spread of the plant which is now plentiful.

29. To explain the origin of certain fish, they say that one day before the Deluge, *mai'a .kó'lwót-* went to visit an encampment of the *tó'mola* situated in the Archipelago. While engaged in his song,<sup>1</sup> the women, through inattention to his instructions, marred the effect of the chorus, so, to punish them, he seized his bow, whereupon the whole party in terror fled in all directions; some escaping into the sea were changed into dugongs, porpoises, sharks, and various other fish which till then had not been seen.<sup>2</sup>

30. Only two geological legends have hitherto been discovered: the one refers to a large block of sandstone lying at *.wòtdèm'i-*, and the other relates to two boulders of elephantine proportions, situated within a mile of the same place, which convey the idea that they once formed part of a narrow neck of land which jutted out into the sea, but which has been gradually demolished by storms and by the action of the waves. The belief current regarding the first is that the deep incisions visible on its surface are hieroglyphics inscribed by *.tó'mo-*, the first man, giving a history of the Creation, which event, as already mentioned, is believed by all the tribes of our acquaintance to have occurred at this very spot *.wòtdèm'i-*. The art of deciphering the supposed record has, it is said, been lost for many ages, and no attempt is made to assign a specific meaning to any of the marks which form the mythical inscription. Many of the legends regarding their ancestors picture the scene of their exploits at *.wòtdèm'i-*; hence the special interest of the spot to all the tribes of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago. In regard to the two boulders, tradition declares that one day, in the years before the Deluge, *mai'a .dū'ku-* and some of his friends, seeing two animals swimming near the shore, shouted to them, whereupon they came out of the water and showed themselves to be two enormous creatures such as had never before been seen or dreamt of by

<sup>1</sup> *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraph 22.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a list of *tó'mola* who were transformed into animals, birds, or fish:—

<i>.ká'ra-dū'ku-</i> (whale),	<i>.mū'rud-</i> (pigeon),
<i>.dū'ku-</i> (iguana),	<i>.ē'ep-</i> (parrot),
<i>.ē'lewadi-</i> (small species of crab),	<i>.tē'liu-</i> (jungle fowl),
<i>.tegbū'l-</i> (dugong),	<i>.bá'tka-</i> (crow),
<i>.kó'lwót-</i> } (tree lizards),	<i>.chó'kab-</i> (heron),
<i>.á'ga-</i> }	<i>.bađ'gi-</i> (fish eagle),
<i>.bai'an-</i> (paradoxurus),	<i>.chō'ag-</i> (porpoise),
<i>.ī'd-</i> (rat),	and various other fish.
<i>.lū'ratūt-</i> (a variety of kingfisher),	

the *tô-mola*, who were so terrified that they fled precipitately; *.dû-ku-* with difficulty escaped, but a few of his companions were less fortunate, being captured and devoured by these monsters, who are known by the name of *û-chu-*. Consternation filled the minds of the scanty population then inhabiting the "world," when their deliverance was unexpectedly and speedily effected by the *û-chu-*, who, in attempting to ford the shallow water near *.wòtâem-i-*, stuck fast in the deep mud, and, being unable to extricate themselves, met a lingering death.<sup>1</sup>

31. The manner in which the world was illuminated at the beginning is not clearly to be ascertained from their legends, for one story states that the sun and moon were subsequently created at *.tô-mo-'s* request, as he found that, under the then existing circumstances, it was impossible to catch fish by night or to hunt by day; while, in direct disagreement with this, another story tells us that night was a punishment brought upon mankind by certain individuals who angered *Pû-luga-* by killing a caterpillar. The tale informs us that the sun, one day, burned so fiercely as to cause great distress. Two women named *chân'a .lî-mi-* and *chân'a jâ-ra-ngûd-*, became exceedingly irritable, and while in this unhappy frame of mind they discovered a caterpillar (*gû-rug-*), and a certain plant called *û-tura-*. By way of venting their spleen, one crushed the hapless grub, and the other destroyed the plant. These wanton acts so displeased *Pû-luga-* that he determined to punish them, and to teach them to appreciate the privilege of daylight, which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. He accordingly visited the earth with a long-continued darkness, which caused every one much inconvenience and distress. At last their chief, *mai'a .kô'lwô't-*, to whom reference has already been made, hit upon a happy expedient of inducing *Pû-luga-* to restore the former state of things by trying to assure him that they were quite unconcerned, and could enjoy themselves in spite of light being withheld from them. To accomplish this, he invented the custom of dancing and singing, the result of which was that *Pû-luga-*, finding that they had frustrated his intention, granted, as a first concession, alternate periods of day and night, and subsequently, moved by the difficulties often occasioned by the latter, created the moon to mitigate their troubles. It is in this way that they account for the fact of the same word being used to denote a *caterpillar* and *night*.

32. With regard to the *al'aba-*, which tree they value greatly, in consequence of the fibre produced from its bark being

<sup>1</sup> The name *û-chu* has accordingly been given to the two boulders. On first seeing the elephants which have been introduced by Government at Port Blair, the aborigines at once called them *û-chu*, in allusion to this legend, and it is the name ever since adopted by them in speaking of these animals.

used in the manufacture of their turtle-harpoon lines, nets, &c., it is said that *Pūluga-* commanded *tōmo* never to make use of it as fuel when cooking a turtle, though he might burn it when pigs or other animals were being prepared for food; a warning was also given him that a severe punishment would follow disobedience in this particular, for the males found transgressing would have their throats cut, while the females would be deprived of their breasts; if the offence were committed by day, the carrying out of the sentence rested with *chān'a bō-do-*, or, if by night, with *mai'a ōgar-*. On one occasion, at night, shortly before the Deluge (when the *tōmola* appear to have been a very depraved set), they were guilty, among other enormities, of disregarding this injunction, whereupon *mai'a ōgar-* descended and inflicted the threatened penalty.

33. The legend regarding the origin of the evil spirits known as *chōl-* is as follows:—Their ancestor, *mai'a chōl-*, one day stole a pig which had just been captured by *mai'a kōl'wōt-*, and climbed up into a gurjon-tree with his prize. Now *mai'a kōl'wōt-* was remarkable for his great strength, and being enraged, determined to revenge himself; he thereupon planted a number of spikes all round the tree in which the thief had taken refuge, and then proceeded to force it into the ground. On finding that, if he remained where he was, he must inevitably be buried alive, *mai'a chōl-* sprang off the tree, and thereby met a more terrible fate, for he was impaled on the spikes, and perished miserably. His disembodied spirit did not pass to *chā'itān-* (Hades), but took up its abode on the invisible bridge, where, by *Pūluga's* orders, numbers of his descendants were afterwards sent to join him, in the form of black birds with long tails.

34. Another curious fable is told to account for a drought from which their early ancestors suffered: it relates that once upon a time, in the dry season, a woodpecker discovered a black honeycomb in the hollow of a tree; while regaling himself on this dainty he observed a toad eyeing him wistfully from below, so he invited him to join the feast; the toad gladly accepted, whereupon the woodpecker lowered a creeper, giving instructions to his guest to fasten his bucket (*dā'kar*<sup>1</sup>) thereto, and then to seat himself in it, so that he might be drawn up. The toad complied with the directions, and the woodpecker proceeded to haul him up; but just when he had brought him near the comb he mischievously let go the creeper, and his confiding and expectant guest experienced an unpleasant fall. The trick so exasperated him

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix B, item 13.

that he at once repaired to the streams far and near in the island and drained them, the result of which was that great distress was occasioned to all the birds, as well as to the rest of the animate creation. The success of his revenge so delighted the toad that, to show his satisfaction, and to add to the annoyance of his enemies, he thoughtlessly began to dance, whereupon all the water flowed from him, and the drought soon terminated.<sup>1</sup>

### *Explanation of Plates VIII and IX.*

#### PLATE VIII.

Fig. 1.—Male and female adults, showing profiles, together with the mode of wearing the bone, wooden, and other necklaces, &c., and the character of the ordinary tattooing marks on trunk and limbs.

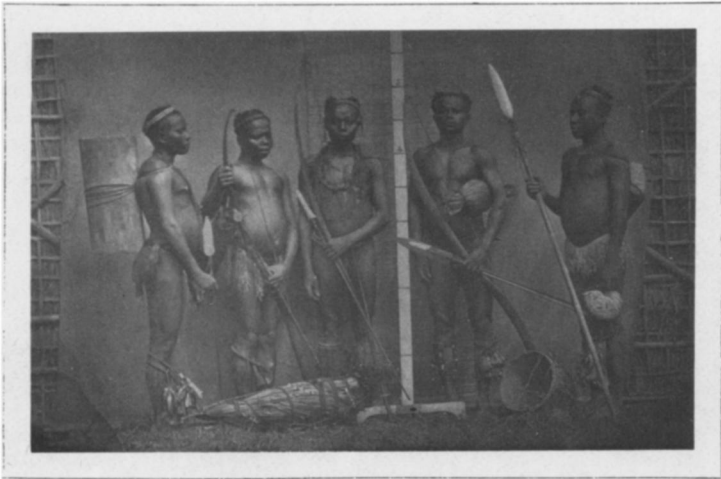
Fig. 2.—The late Chief of Rutland Island (*mai'a*, alias "*mūnshī*," *bī'ela*), who died in April, 1877. To the very last he proved most useful to us in recapturing runaway convicts, and in exerting his influence on our behalf with his countrymen, whenever called upon to do so.

#### PLATE IX.

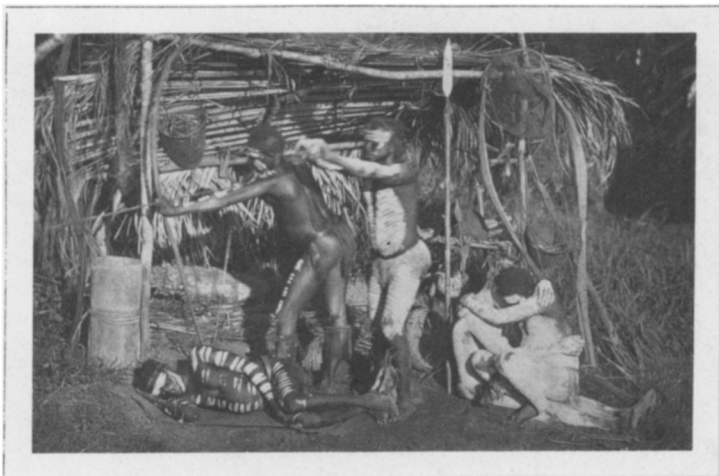
Fig. 1.—Five youths equipped for a journey: commencing at the left; No. 1 is carrying a bucket (*dā'kar-*), holding a pig-arrow (*ē'la lā'kà lū'pa-*) and wearing a garter (*tā'chō'nga-*), *Dentalium octogonum* waistbelt (*garen-pē'ta-*), and *Pandanus* leaf head-dress or chaplet (*ij'i-gō'nga-*). Near his feet is lying a bundle consisting of food, wrapped in large leaves; near No. 5, who is holding a pig-spear (*ēr-dū'tnga-*), and carrying a nautilus-shell cup (ornamentally painted) in his hand, and a bundle on his back, is a cooking pot (*būj-*) in its wicker-work cover (*rā'mata-*). A sleeping mat (*pā'repa-*) is suspended behind the two central figures who, with No. 2, are holding bows (*kā'rama-*) and pig-arrows (*ē'la-*). No. 1 is a member of the *ōko-jū'wai-* tribe, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 belong to the *ā'kà-bō'jig-yā'b-*, and No. 5 to the *bal'awa-* tribe. (*Vide* Plate VI).

Fig. 2.—The same five individuals in front of a *chāng-tō'rnga-* (hut). The recumbent figure shows the ordinary posture

<sup>1</sup> "The story of a flood or deluge is, it may almost be said, universal in savage mythology . . . . The Australians make a big frog the cause of the Deluge; he contained all the waters in the world, an eel made him laugh; thus the flood gushed out and drowned the majority of living things" (*vide* "Biblical Traditions and Savage Myths," reviewed in "St. James's Gazette," July, 1881).



**FIG. 1.—ANDAMANESE EQUIPPED FOR JOURNEY.**



**FIG. 2.—ANDAMANESE SHOOTING, DANCING, SLEEPING,  
AND GREETING.**



in sleep. Those above him are shooting and dancing respectively, and the two on the right who are in mourning attire, represent the attitude of relatives on meeting and weeping together after a more or less lengthened separation. The first three mentioned are ornamentally painted. Just above the heads of the two figures on the right is the small grating called *cháp'a lī tá-ga-* (or *yát leb tá-ga-*), on which spare food is preserved above the fire. The various implements and utensils in ordinary use are also shown, *e.g.*, bows, arrows, pig-spear, bucket, basket cooking-pot, hand-net, sleeping-mat, &c.

MARCH 21ST, 1882.

Major-General PITT-RIVERS, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following presents were announced, and thanks voted to the respective donors:—

FOR THE LIBRARY.

- From W. WHITAKER, Esq., B.A., F.G.S.—A Handbook to the Courts of Natural History at the Crystal Palace. By Dr. R. G. Latham and Prof. Edward Forbes.
- From the AUTHOR.—Social History of the Races of Mankind. By A. Featherman.
- Permanence and Evolution. By S. E. B. Bouverie-Pusey.
- Die Arier. By Dr. Theodor Poesche.
- From the MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADEMIA.—Gazette de Hongrie. Nos. 34–82.
- From the ACADEMY.—Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Vol. VI, Fas. 7.
- From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscou, 1881. No. 2.
- Journal of the Society of Arts. Nos. 1529, 1530.
- Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. 218.
- Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. Vol. XI, Part 3.
- From the EDITOR.—“Nature.” Nos. 645, 646.
- Revue Scientifique. Tom. XXIX, Nos. 10, 11.
- Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana. Vols. I–IV.