THE BOOK WAS DRENCHED

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_162541

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

THE PURUMS

AN OLD KUKI TRIBE OF MANIPUR

THE PURUMS

AN OLD KUKI TRIBE OF MANIPUR

BY

TARAKCHANDRA DAS, M.A.

Lecturer in Anthropology and Human Geography
Calcutta University

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1945

PRINTED IN INDIA

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY DINABANDHU GANGULI, B.A.,
SUPERINTENDENT, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS,
48, HAZRA ROAD, BALLYGUNGE, CALCUTTA.

SCUP—1565 B—December, 1945—500.

To

The Sacred Memory Of

MY PARENTS

PREFACE

The account of Purum life and culture which I have the privilege to present in the following pages is neither an exhaustive nor an intensive study of this little-known people of our eastern frontier. It is a mere recording of some interesting facts which I could glean in course of training the students of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta in their practical work. I cannot claim a sojourn of twelve years among this tribe to give my account the stamp of authenticity which it requires according to some anthropologists. But I tried to make it up by application of scientific methods. How far I have succeeded in this attempt remains to be seen. It may be regarded as a test of the different scientific methods introduced in Field Anthropology.

I have purposely pointed out the weak spots in my weft so that future workers may rectify my mistakes and improve the state of our knowledge. I had to work with the help of interpreters, which, I hope, my readers will take into consideration in evaluating my work.

Some of the chapters of this monograph have been dealt with in greater details for the benefit of the students of the University Classes. The same purpose is also responsible for the few cases of repetitions which appear in the book.

War has delayed the publication of this monograph by at least four years. I submitted the manuscripts to the University in 1941 but owing to acute shortage of paper it could not be printed during the war-period. The war has also certainly changed the life of the Purums if they have at all survived its ravages during the Japanese invasion of our eastern frontier. The four villages of the Purums were situated very near Palel which was the scene of severe fighting between the allies and the Japanese on several occasions. How the poor Purums fared in this struggle for domination I am unable to state at present. If they had not retired to some safe place in the interior of the hills before the appearance of the Japanese on this front they must have gone out of existence. A similar fate overtook the inhabitants of the Chinese village

Kaihsien-kung which Dr. Fei studied and described in his reputed work entitled *Peasant Life in China.*

In studying Purum culture my aim has never been merely to record a phase of their life for the future social archaeologists to base their theories about the evolution of society. I firmly believe that scientific ethnography has a nobler role to play : it may supply materials for the improvement of its subjects. I have been actuated by this motive alone in my work among the Purums and in pursuance to this idea I have taken the liberty of making some suggestions for the future improvement of this tribe, which, if successful, might be applied elsewhere.

It now remains for me to acknowledge gratefully my obligations to all those who have helped me in collecting the data, and in preparing and printing this monograph. It was at the suggestion of Mr. J. C. Higgins, I.C.S., Political Agent, Manipur State, that I took up the study of this tribe. He gave me all the facilities necessary for such a study and took a personal interest in the work. My debt to him is beyond words. I am also deeply indebted to the Manipur State Durbar which helped me with permission to occupy the Dak Bungalows and Rest Houses of the State and lent the services of the State interpreters.

I gratefully acknowledge my debt to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, President, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who considerably helped me by granting money and leave for conducting investigations among the Purums. I am also grateful to my young friend and pupil Mr. Sarabjit Singh, M.A., B.L., who often accompanied me to the field and offered his hospitality every time I visited Imphal. I remember with pleasure the pleasant evenings I passed with Mr. Monmohan Kundu, Registrar (Retd.), Office of the Political Agent, and I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to him for the help he rendered to me on every occasion I visited Manipur.

To Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, M.Sc. (Cantab), and Mr. N. K. Bose, M.Sc., of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, I owe a special debt. They went through the manuscripts and made valuable suggestions. I am also grateful to my pupil and colleague Mr. M. N. Basu, M.Sc., who

did a part of the statistical work involved in writing Chapter I of this book.

I take this opportunity to record my appreciation of the help I received from Mr. N. C. Sen, Officiating Superintendent, and Mr. Bhupendralal Banerjee, Officiating Asst. Superintendent. Calcutta University Press, in printing this book.

Lastly, to my Purum friends without whose willing co-operation my work would have been impossible, my obligation is too great for words and in this connection special mention must be made of Chauba, *maipa* of Changninglong, Kongthang, *luplakpa* of Khulen and Waipu, *khullakpa* of Tampak. I am also deeply indebted to my interpreters Messrs Nechak, Kampu and Khuman, who cheerfully worked with me, day and night, and showed great interest in my investigations.

To Mahesh and Ganapati, who ministered to my material comforts in the field, I owe much but they have gone to a land where words of praise cannot reach. Peace be to their souls.

Department of Anthropology,
The University of Calcutta, T. C. D.
1st. December, 1945.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Preface	... ...	v
Introduction	... ...	1
	Method of investigation. Previous accounts. Ethnic environment. Economic interdependence.	
Chapter I	The Purums and their habitat ...	15
	Geographical position. Place of the Purums among the Kukis. Distribution of the Kuki tribes in Assam and Bengal. Physical characters.	
Chapter II	Economic Life	40
	The home of the Purums. Means of food supply. Preparation of food and drink. Dress and ornaments. Industries. Daily life. Hospitality.	
Chapter III	Social Organisation	106
	Forms and functions of the social groups. Terms of relationship. Taboos, privileged familiarity, avoidance. Rank in society. Law and justice.	
Chapter IV	Political Organisation	172
Chapter V	Religion	186
Chapter VI	Festivals	220
Chapter VII	Life Cycle of an individual ...	226
	Birth and pregnancy. Name-giving ceremony. First hair-cutting ceremony.	

		PAGE
	Puberty rites. Education. Marriage. Death and funeral.	
Chapter VIII	SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE	259
	Measures of time. Measures of length. Measures of capacity. Numerals. Points of the compass. Eclipses.	
Chapter IX	MUSIC AND DANCING	266
	Music. Dancing.	
Chapter X	CONCLUSION	271
	Acculturation. The future.	
Appendix I	The Genealogical Tables	297
Appendix II	Terms of Relationship Collected from Chauba with the help of his Genealogical Table. ...	307
Appendix III	Glossary	315
Index	... ...	323

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(At the end of the volume)

PLATE I.

Fig. 1 Front } Waipu, *khullakpa* of Tampak.
Fig. 2 Profile. }

Fig. 3 Front } Loungir, *maipa* of Tampak.
Fig. 4 Profile. }

PLATE I (Cont.)

Fig. 5 Front } Chauba, *maipa* of Changninglong.
Fig. 6 Profile. }

PLATE II.

Fig. 7 An unmarried boy of Tampak.
Fig. 8 Tupi of Khulen.
Fig. 9 Ningthemchao of Khulen.

PLATE III.

Fig. 10 A dancing pose of the women of Changninglong.
Fig. 11 Men and women dancing at Changninglong.

PLATE IV.

Fig. 12 Unmarried girls of Tampak.
Fig. 13 Married women of Changninglong.

PLATE V.

Fig. 14 Front, } Kongthang, *luplakpa* of Khulen.
Fig. 15 Profile. }
Fig. 16 A view of Khulen.

PLATE VI.

Fig. 17 Woman carding cotton inside a basket.
Fig. 18 *Khullakpa* of Khulen standing on a big mat before his house.
Fig. 19 *Ruishang* of Tampak with village elders in front.
Fig. 20 Granary of the *khullakpa* of Tampak.
Fig. 21 *Khulpu* before *nungshuk* of Tampak.
Fig. 22 *Zu* vessels—Changninglong.

PLATE VII.

Fig. 23 A Purum loom.
Fig. 24 *To-lai* (palanquin) presented to the *khullakpa* of Tampak.
Fig. 25 *Kangpot*—wheelless trailer carrying paddy.

PLATE VIII.

Fig. 26 Waikhong Rest House.
Fig. 27 S m i t h y—showing double-cylinder vertical bellows, Changninglong.
Fig. 28 Purums with weapons.

PLATE IX.

Fig. 29 Brass pots and bell-metal plate.
Fig. 30 *Zu* pot and bottles.
Fig. 31 Husking paddy with mortar and pestle.
Fig. 32 Girl carrying water-pot in a basket.
Fig. 33 Unmarried girl of Chumbang wearing ornaments.

PLATE X.

Fig. 34 Unmarried girls of Chumbang in dancing dress.
Fig. 35 Dancing party from Tampak.

PLATE XI.

Fig. 36 Oupram and Hahil showing orthodox method of dressing hair.

Fig. 37 Dancing party from Chumbang.

PLATE XII.

Fig. 38 A view of Tampak from the south-east.
Fig. 39 Purum agricultural implements.
Fig. 40 Lamgangs from Pantha.
Fig. 41 Haokips from Aihang.

PLATE XIII.

Fig. 42 Plough.
Fig. 43 Yoke.
Fig. 44 Harrow.
Fig. 45 Leveller.
Fig. 46 Thresher (*cheirung*).
Fig. 47 Small hoe (*atu*).
Fig. 48 Hoe (with broad blade).

PLATE XIV.

Fig. 49 (A) Labster-pot (*rupi*) showing the mouth.
Fig. 49 (B) & (C) Lobster-pot showing the two parts.
Fig. 50 Automatic fish-trap (*kapouru*).
Fig. 51 Automatic fish-trap (*taichep*).

PLATE XV.

Fig. 52 Bird-snare.
Fig. 53 Bird-snare.
Fig. 54 Bow (*phal*).
Fig. 55 Quiver.
Fig. 56 Shield.
Fig. 57 (A) Spear-head, (B) Butt-end of spear.
Fig. 58 Harpoon.
Fig. 59 Chopper (*cham*).

PLATE XVI.

Fig. 60 Purum distillation plant.
Fig. 61 (A) Bamboo drinking vessel.

Fig. 61 (B) Gourd ladle.
Fig. 62 (A) Earthen water-pot.
Fig. 62 (B) Earthen rice-pot.
Fig. 62 (C) Earthen pot for keeping water or liquor.

PLATE XVII.

Fig. 63 (A) Double-mortar, (B) Single mortar.
Fig. 64 Wooden trough.
Fig. 65 Wooden vessel (*heng*).
Fig. 66 (A) Wooden seat or head-rest (*lak-hang*)—upper view.
Fig. 66 (B) Wooden seat or head-rest—lower view.

PLATE XVIII.

Fig. 67 Sieve.
Fig. 68 Tray.
Fig. 69 Carrying basket (open hexagonal).
Fig. 70 Carrying basket (twill).
Fig. 71 Haversack.
Fig. 72 Storing basket.
Fig. 73 Marring basket.

PLATE XIX.

Fig. 74 Ground-plan of house showing internal arrangements.
Fig. 75 Door-panels showing method of closing.
Fig. 76 (A), (B), (C) Three types of neck ornament.

PLATE XX.

Fig. 77 Drum.
Fig. 78 Stringed-instrument (*sarinda*).
Fig. 79 Mithun horn.
Fig. 80 Bag-pipe (*rotchem*).
Fig. 81 Gong.

INTRODUCTION

Sec. I.—Method of Investigation

The account of Purum manners and customs presented in the following pages requires a few words of introduction. The data on which it is based were collected in course of four excursions into the interior of Manipur Hills from 1931 to 1936. The period of our stay in this area did not altogether run beyond four or five months on four different occasions. Even this period we could not spread equally over the different seasons of the year. Generally we worked there during October, November and December and whatever we personally observed was noticed during this period. Though we are well aware that scientific ethnography requires the field investigator to remain at one place for a complete year so that he may personally observe the whole annual cycle of socio-economic life of the village without missing any of its details, yet we could not satisfy this primary demand owing to our duties in the University. We could possibly go there during the summer recess but considerations of health stood in the way. During the summer months water is scarce in the area; the hill streams and springs shrink practically out of existence and the pools often become polluted with the washings of the tribal population. As a result cholera often breaks out in an epidemic from and sometimes Smallpox also joins hands and goes on merrily through the hills. These facts make it unsafe for the field worker to traverse the area during the summer months. In fact, when in 1936 we expressed our intention to live at Nungsha, the *luplakpa* (Asst. Headman) of the village, Nimushin, an old trusted friend of the writer, did not show any enthusiasm over the matter, as he used to do on previous occasions. This raised suspicion in our mind and we closely questioned him on the matter and came to know that after our last visit to the village Smallpox broke out in a virulent manner and caused the death of a large number of its inhabitants. As a result a section of the people attributed it to our visit though Nimushin simultaneously pointed out that he

himself did not believe it at all. Side by side with the Purums we also carried on investigation among other cognate tribes such as the Chirus, Koms, Anals and Kolhens, who form branches of the Old Kuki group. This has been helpful in properly understanding some of the obscure customs of the Purums though it did put a severe strain on the limited period of time, we had, at our disposal.

The data on material culture were mostly collected by personal observation. Of the different agricultural operations, we did not see actual sowing and transplantation in the fields though the same operations were repeated before us with seeds and seedlings in a mock manner. Ordinary hunting we have seen but not the annual ceremonial one. Fishing of different kinds we have personally observed and sometimes even took part. Preparation of food and drinks of different kinds was constantly observed in the different villages. Construction of houses and manufacture of domestic utensils, implements of husbandry and cloths were carried on before our eyes and we could thoroughly investigate them. We have also been able to observe the different processes involved in the few industries.

The materials for the study of social organisation were collected according to the genealogical method of Dr. Rivers. We gathered a large number of genealogies from persons belonging to different sibs and inhabiting different villages. The sib of each individual male or female was noted by the side of the name. This showed the actual unions between different sibs and the statements of informants regarding inter-marrying sibs could be checked. Moreover, in the section devoted to village census marital unions between different sibs and sub-sibs were also noted. Terms of address used by male and female members of one sib in respect of the members of the remaining sibs also helped to form a correct idea about the ancient laws of Purum marriage which however are being abandoned now-a-days. The terms of relationship were collected in connection with genealogies as well as independent of them in order to find out how far the two types vary. Attempts were made to collect both terms of address and terms of relationship. Kinship usages, however, could not be elicited with direct questions and we had to collate the little information that we have been able to place before the readers, from incidental references to such facts in connection with other matters.

The laws of succession, descent and inheritance were also investigated with the help of genealogies. Division of property, both movable and immovable among sons was found out by first plotting out categorically the different types of property and how they have been inherited by my informants together with their brothers, on the death of their respective fathers. More intricate cases were presented to the informants in the form of problems which they were asked to solve with the help of their own genealogies on the supposition of the existence of such problems therein.

For information on the life-cycle of the individual we had to depend entirely on the interview-process. We did not witness a single case of marriage, funeral, name-giving, first-hair-cutting ceremony nor the *tolai-hong-ba* and *thien-hong-ba gennas*. Neither were we present on the occasion of the installation of a village official. But we tried to make up the deficiency following the instructions of Dr. Rivers. The accounts of these ceremonies were collected from persons who had witnessed them from beginning to end and that at a short interval prior to the enquiry. The informant was asked to narrate the ceremony chronologically from beginning to end and was especially required to point out the performances of different persons who appeared in the proceedings. As these narrations generally took place within the village, most of the persons mentioned in the ceremony were often present on the spot and they helped the narrator when his memory lacked a detail or vehemently opposed him if he tried to minimise the importance of a particular person. Thus the account was checked and verified on the spot. Generally we did not remain satisfied with one such account only but tried to get a few representing different villages and different sibs as far as practicable. The annual cycle of the village was also collected in the same manner as in this respect also we were unable to witness a single ceremony.

The religious rites were also investigated with the help of interview-method and the religious beliefs were mainly deduced from the practices. Village organisation was studied at Purum Khulen the oldest and the biggest village of the Purums. The other villages are offshoots of this original settlement.

The arts of pleasure such as music and dancing were personally observed and enjoyed by the writer on different occasions. Every time we visited a village after an interval the young folk

of both the sexes would invariably get up a show for the delectation of the guest. They would bathe early in the morning, decorate themselves in their best finery and flowers and wait till the end of the day when we could snatch an hour or so, to witness their performances.

During our investigation among the Purums we had our camps at Palel and Waikhong. It would have been certainly better if we could have stayed within the village or rather at the outskirts. This was not possible as we could not get suitable accommodation. Moreover it was not considered advisable to occupy tribal huts for a number of days on hygienic grounds. Our camp at Waikhong was not very far from the three more important villages of the Purums. Every morning we used to go to one of these villages and passed the whole day there coming back in the evening and sometimes even at night. Thus we had the opportunity to see their life running at its happy-go-lucky pace from dawn to dusk. The night life, however, remained a sealed mystery to us. We passed so many days in this manner at Tampak that it was not possible for its inhabitants to assume an artificial attitude, generally adopted by tribal folk on the appearance of a foreigner. Soon we were looked upon as one of them, at least in this village, and they settled down to the conviction that nothing need be secreted from us. This attitude was of great consequence to the investigator in his work among them.

Our informants were mostly middle-aged men. There were a few young and old men too. Most of them were village officials or had served in that capacity at an earlier period of their life. They were normally intelligent men, keenly conscious of their position and importance in the society of which they were the pillars as it were. They were always willing to help us and took great pains to understand the problems which we often placed before them and felt happy when they perceived that their answers had satisfied us. They were all along honest and willing workers and as far as our knowledge goes did not make any attempt to impose upon us.

Language formed the greatest stumbling block on our way. We could not find anybody who can teach us Purum dialect. So we had to employ interpreters but even they did not know this tongue. But fortunately most of the Purums know Meithei and in each village, moreover, there is an official called *meithei lumboo* who acts as interpreter to the tribal community. He is

appointed to this post for his knowledge of Meithei. In fact, Meithei forms the *lingua franca* of the Manipur Hills and all business with and among the different hill tribes, each speaking a different tongue, are conducted through this language. This solved our problem. Three interpreters worked with us in connection with this investigation at different times. Mr. Nechak, himself a Vaiphei Kuki of the Old Kuki group, was a State Lumboo and was the personal interpreter of Mr. J. C. Higgins, the then Political Agent of the State. Mr. Higgins very kindly lent the services of this man to us and we owe much to him. Mr. Nechak was a storehouse of information about his own tribe and others among whom he daily worked. Most of the *mantras* (prayers and incantations) were collected and interpreted with his help. Mr. Kampu, also a member of the Old Kuki group, was a young man of great perseverence and keen intellect. He passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University before we employed him to work with us. He himself took great interest in studying the manners and customs of the Purums and often gave valuable information about the identity or otherwise of customs prevalent among the Purums and other Kuki tribes. The third interpreter, Mr. Khuman, was a Kabui Naga from a village near Buribazar. He also had served as State interpreter and had retired on pension when we employed him. Being an old man he was well acquainted with the elders of all the neighbouring villages and wielded considerable influence among them owing to his long connection with the State. All the three interpreters were acquainted with Hindi and could fluently speak it. Mr. Kampu, however, was also able to speak and understand English and this was of immense help to us as he could more easily grasp the connotations of technical terms with the help of a dictionary.

Generally we used to communicate our question in Hindi to our interpreter which he would translate into Meithei for the informants. The informants then replied in Meithei which was translated into Hindi by the interpreter. Thus conversation was carried on for hours together. It cannot be denied that such a round about way of collecting information runs very great risk of misinterpretation. We took all possible precautions to avoid such misunderstanding but we cannot vouch for the fact that we have been successful on all occasions. No one is, perhaps, more conscious about this defect of the present work than our-

selves but we place it before our readers with this avowed limitation in the hope that they will assess it accordingly.

Sec II.—Previous Accounts

The Kukis were well known to the inhabitants of Tippera and Chittagong long before they attracted the attention of the Europeans. Muhammadan historians refer to the help rendered by them to the rulers of Tippera, in their struggle with the Muhammadan administrators during Moghul rule. The chronicles of the family of the Maharaja of Tippera also describe the depredations of the Kukis and their gradual subjugation and employment in military service. These facts show that the Kukis were not an unknown people to the inhabitants of South-east Bengal. It is not, however, known with certainty, which of the different Kuki tribes appeared in these struggles.

The Purums have been mentioned by Major W. McCulloch in his *Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes with a Comparative Vocabulary of the Munnipore and Other Languages* published in 1859. Major McCulloch, who was then the Political Agent of Manipur, gives a running account of the Meitheis and of the other hill tribes which occupied the mountain ranges around the Valley of Manipur. The hills around this valley, according to him, were inhabited by a large number of tribes, namely, Hau, Koupooee, Quoireng, Khongjai, Kamsol, Anal-Namfau, Aimole, Kom, Koireng, Cheeroo, Chote, Pooroom, Muntuck, Karum, Murring, Tangkool, Loohoopa, Mow, Muram, Myang-Khang, and Gnamei. "All these tribes were much more numerous than they are at present, and not further back than thirty years ago, some of them, who are now represented by but one or two small villages in positions far removed from their former ones, occupied large tracts; but though reduced in numbers they retain all their particular customs, speak their separate languages and are objects of much interst."[1] He further adds "Aimole, Kom, Koireng, Chote, Pooroom, Muntuk, Karum are all evidently only varieties of the Kookie stock. . . . Of the Aimole, Koireng, Chote, Pooroom, Muntuk and Karum tribes there are now but small

[1] McCulloch—*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., pp. 41-42.

remnants. In personal appearance they are all much alike, and in their customs, there is no striking difference." He also refers to the excellent cloths woven by the Chote, Pooroom, Aimole, Murring and Tangkool tribes.[2] This is all that we get from the pen of McCulloch about the Purums.

Mr. R. Brown, another Political Agent of Manipur, in his *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule*, published in 1873, refers to the Purums only once. According to him they are a sub-division of the Kom tribe along with the Kairup, Chiru, Aimol, Quoireng, Karam, Mundung and Laikot. He gives an account of the dress, ornaments, system of government, marriage and funeral rites, and religious beliefs of the Koms but does not mention anything in particular about the Purums.[3] Soppit,[4] who wrote about the Kuki-Lushai tribes of Cachar, Sylhet, Naga Hills, etc., and the North Cachar Hills, does not mention the Purums in his book published in 1887. Neither do they appear in the accounts of Lieut. R. Stewart [5] and Mr. John Macrae.[6]

Mr. T. C. Hodson mentions the well known custom of succession to village offices in his *Naga Tribes of Manipur* published in 1911. " As a variant upon the custom of primogeniture we find at Purum, the Old Kuki village in the S. W., a custom by which the occupants of the village offices move up in regular succession. This custom provides a succession of experienced persons and has been stated to be the custom regulating the succession to the throne of Manipur." [7]

[2] McCulloch—*Op. cit.*, pp. 64-65 and 74.

[3] R. Brown—*Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule*, pp. 53-55.

[4] C. A. Soppit—*A Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier (Districts Cachar, Sylhet, Naga Hills, etc., and the North Cachar Hills) with an outline Grammar of the Rangkhol-Lushai Language and a Comparison of Lushai with other Dialects.* 1887.

[5] Lieut. R. Stewart—Notes on Northern Cachar in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, 1855, pp. 582-701.

[6] John Macrae—Account of the Kookies or Lunctas in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII, 1803, pp. 183-198.

[7] The situation of the Purum village in the south-west (" S. W.") seems to be a mistake. The Purum villages are all now found in the south-east and had been so at the time of Hodson. There is a Chothe village in the south-west which Mr. Hodson knew. He does not mean by Purum this Chothe village (which he calls Chawte) though the Chothes are a branch of the Purums. T. C. Hodson—*The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, p. 102 and p. 75, Fn. 6.)

So long we have found mere references to the Purums without any attempt to give a systematic account of the tribe. Lieut.-Col. J. Shakespeare, however, has attempted to describe the different aspects of Purum life along with those of other Old Kuki tribes in his *Lushei-Kuki Clans* (1912). According to him, Purum tradition ascribes their origin from Tonring and Tonshu who emerged from the earth. " It is said that ' Pu rum ' means ' hide from tiger ' which connects them closely with the Lamgang legend."[8] The Purums along with many other Old Kuki tribes, according to Shakespeare, have given up their old domestic architecture and build houses in Manipuri fashion on raised earthen plinths.[9] Among the Purums grown up unmarried young men do not sleep under the paternal roof but pass their nights in the houses of persons who have grown-up unmarried daughters. They, however, deny all kinds of unlawful intercourse between these two groups.[10] The Purums are an endogamous body divided into a number of exogamous families.[11] A Purum bridegroom has to serve three years in the house of his bride's father where he lives like a son of the family. " During this period he has free access to the girl, . . . Should the girl become *enciente* the marriage ceremony must be performed, and the price paid." The price is at least a pig and a piece of iron, one cubit in length. The relatives of the bride try to squeeze as much as possible. Three feasts are also given by the groom to the bride's family.[12] Among the Purums " the sons of the deceased divide the property, but the youngest son takes the house and supports the widow. . . ." [13] In case of a birth the mother and the house are tabooed for three days.[14] " The *thempu* comes and mutters charms on the day of birth, and returns on the third day and makes a libation of *zu*. No sacrifices are allowed. The name is given on the second day by the midwife, and the ears are pierced on the seventh day, but in neither case is there any ceremony." [15] Among the

[8] Lieut.-Col. J. Shakespeare--*The Lushei-Kuki Clans*. 1912, p. 150.
[9] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*. p. 151.
[10] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 152.
[11] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 153.
[12] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.
[13] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, pp. 155 156.
[14] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 160.
[15] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 162.

Purums the dead are buried; the grave of a person who has died an unnatural death is dug by the son-in-law of the deceased. " They say that the spirit of the dead cries out at the place where he met his death until appeased by an offering of tobacco leaves and rice." [16] Shakespeare does not clearly describe the Purum festival in connection with the pulling of creeper. He gives the details of the festival as observed among the Kolhen and speaks of similar rites among the Anals and Lamgangs. " The Purums," according to him, " celebrate the festival in August, and the unmarried girls take a prominent part in the ceremony. A raised platform is made before the house of the eldest unmarried girl in the village. . . . On this platform the girls assemble, and the creeper after the usual ceremonies is tied to the platform, and there is a great feast with much dancing between the young folk." [17] " The Purum in September observe ' Chulkut ' for five days, making and exchanging rice cakes and drinking rice beer, but not sacrificing any animals." [18] In October, when the grains fill up in the ears, the Purums perform the Shanghong feast. Each householder presents to the village god a bundle of green paddy stalks and feasts and drinks for three days during which the village is ' sherh.' [19] In order to please the village god they perform ' Yarr ' for seven days in February. " Dancing begins each evening at sundown, and is kept up all night with feasting and drinking. In March they keep ' Kumyai ' for three days, the young men and maidens dancing and drinking together, but no animals are killed." [20] Col. Shakespeare also gives the Purum story of eclipse [21] and of earthquake.[22] The Purums believe that lightning is the glitter of the robes of the God.[23] This brings to an end the account of the Purums as given by Shakespeare. The Purums might have been referred to by other writers but we are not aware of it; at least we have not found it in the literature available here.

[16] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.
[17] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 168.
[18] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 169.
[19] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 169.
[20] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 172.
[21] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
[22] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 184.
[23] Shakespeare—*Op. cit.*, p. 184.

Sec. III.—Ethnic Environment

The Purum villages are situated on the westernmost eminence of the range of hills which separates the valley of Manipur from Burma. In fact, some of their villages are now situated in the valley itself, just at the foot of the hills. From the foot of these hills, which appear as a wall lying roughly north-south, a narrow strip of level country extends towards the west and north till it merges in the annually inundated area and finally reaches the waters of the Logtak Lake. This flat land extends in its breadth as we proceed towards the north but shrinks towards the south. This is the home of the Meitheis. Waikhong, Kakching, Palel and Shuganu are some of the more important Meithei settlements in the immediate vicinity of the Purums. Waikhong is roughly within three miles of the three Purum villages in which we worked. Kangpokpi and Thougnaojam (or Thounaojam) are within a mile of Purum Tampak. Palel is not more than two miles from Purum Chumbang. Kakching and Shuganu are within ten miles of Purum Khulen. Beyond this area, both towards the north and west there are other important Manipuri villages scattered through the valley. An unmetalled road connects Shuganu with Imphal and passes within a mile of Tampak and three miles of Khulen. Another unmetalled road connects Imphal with Palel and thence changes into a mule path and stretches up to Tamu in the Kabaw Valley. Military necessities have improved these lines of communication far beyond our imagination, in course of the war years. The furthest Purum village is, thus, not more than three miles away from one of these highways of communication. This shows that the Purums have lived in close contact with the Manipuris since their settlement at the present site, and in the following pages an attempt will be made to indicate the effect of this contact.

The daily markets at Waikhong and Kakching are visited by the Purums of all ages and sexes, in the afternoon, either to sell their *jhum* products or to purchase some articles of necessity, or, more probably, of luxury. These are important meeting places where the Purums come in contact with the Meitheis and members of other tribes and exchange goods as well as gossip. These two market places have permanent shops of luxury goods besides the itinerant vendors who come every day with their wares.

There are also godowns of stockists, who purchase in large quantity such articles as paddy, cotton, etc., and send them to the markets of Assam and Bengal. Thus the Purums always find ready purchasers of their *jhum* products and also sellers of luxury goods. They have no longer to travel up to the capital of the State for a few yards of mill-made cloth or a tailor-made shirt or an iron cooking pan or things like these.

The area towards the east of the Purum home is a series of unbroken hills (covered with deep forest) which extend up to the western border of the Kabaw Valley in the Upper Chindwin area of Burma, about 25 miles as the crow flies. Similarly the south is also blocked with a series of hills which pass beyond the boundary of Manipur and merges in the Chin Hills. Both these areas are now inhabited by branches of the Old and New Kuki tribes. On the east and north-east we meet with the settlements of the Aimols, Lamgangs, Chothes and Thadous. Further towards the north are the Naga tribes. On the south are found the numerous settlements of the Anal Kukis interspersed with the Lamgangs. Beyond this are the homes of the New Kuki tribes. Shakespeare found Kom villages in the immediate south of the Purums. Thus, situated on the border line between two cultures, the Purums could draw sustenance from both sides. For new thoughts and new ideas they looked to the Metheis on the west and north but when the impact of this dominant culture was too strong for them they could turn their eyes towards their nearest congeners, the Chothes, Aimols, Lamgangs, Anals and Koms who also belong to the same Old Kuki group, and also to the more virile New Kuki tribes further away. Supported by their example the Purums could maintain the pattern of their old culture inspite of the constant hammerings of the Meitheis.

In order to understand the present condition of the culture of the Purums a knowledge of these people who surround them is necessary. But owing to lack of space we are unable to give an adequate account of them in these pages. For an account of the Manipuris the reader may consult the standard works of Hodson, Brown and McCulloch. The New Kukis have been dealt with by Mr. William Shaw under the caption *The Thadou Kukis*. Shakespeare in his *Lushei-Kuki Clans* has given a short account of the Aimols, Anals, Chothes, Chirus, Kolhens, Koms, Lamgangs, Purums, Tikhups and Vaipheis in one chapter

In the domain of industrial products as well mutual dependence has sprung up to a considerable extent. The Purums now depend on the dealers of Imphal for the supply of pig iron and steel from which their blacksmiths manufacture implements of husbandry and weapons too. Sometimes even they purchase finished goods such as ploughshares, *daos* (chopper), etc. from the Meithei dealers.

The ordinary dress of the Purums is produced at home from yarns spun by the women folk of the family from cotton grown in their own *jhums*. But the finer fabrics which especially decorate their women on occasions of festivity are purchased from the Meitheis who either manufacture or import them from outside. All their metallic ornaments are also supplied by the Meitheis. In a word for all kinds of luxury articles they depend on their Meithei neighbours who, on the other hand, purchase a large quantity of the different products of the *jhums* such as cotton, sweet potatoes, plantains, paddy, etc. from the Purums. Thus cash money flows into the hands of the Purums who spend it in purchasing mainly luxury goods. Any one who has visited Purum homes will testify that isolation is no longer possible. Purum economic life has been interwoven with the economic life of the Meitheis.

CHAPTER I

THE PURUMS AND THEIR HABITAT

SEC. I.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

To the educated Indian Manipur is associated with romantic traditions. In his early years he reads of the epic accounts of this mysterious land where the *Mahabharata* hero, Arjuna, found a beautiful bride while roaming over different parts of the country in fulfilment of a penance.[1] Babhruvahana, the issue of this union, fought successfully against his reputed father and captured the sacrificial horse.[2] Even to-day Manipuris show with pride the place where the noble animal was captured and a part of the capital is known after this incident as Chhagalbandh.

Manipur is at present a small Native State on the eastern frontier of India. It lies between latitude 23′ 50″ and 25′ 41″ North and longitude 93′ 2″ and 94′ 47″ East. The whole State is roughly 8,000 square miles in area of which the level country is about 1,000 square miles in extent, the balance is comprised in the hill territory lying around the central valley. This central valley, known as Imphal Valley, is more than 70 miles in length and its axis lies approximately north-south. The valley practically begins near the source of the Imphal Turel, not far from Mayangkhang, about 34 miles north of Imphal, where it is not more than a few hundred feet in breadth. But it gradually widens till the maximum is attained between latitude 24′ 35″ and 24′ 40″ North, a few miles to the south of Imphal. At this part the valley is about twenty-three miles in breadth. Next it gradually narrows down and practically ends near about Shuganu which is forty miles south of Imphal by road. The Imphal Valley gradually lowers down in height towards the south till it reaches the Logtak lake with its annually inundated area all around. The average height of the valley is in round figures 2,500 feet above sea level. All around this valley we have the hill ranges inhabited by the different hill tribes. The eastern

[1] *Mahabharata*, Adiparva, Chap. 208.
[2] *Mahabharata*, Aswamedhaparva, Chap. 78.

boundary of Manipur lies along the eastern foot of the Hirok Range, wherefrom the Kabaw Valley extends towards the east. The four Purum villages we have studied, are situated at the eastern boundary of this Imphal Valley, just on the western fringe of the Hirok Range, not far from the path traversed by the Burmese army in course of its devastating incursions into the fertile plains of Manipur in the past. Their exact situation is between latitude 24′ 23″ and 24′ 27″ North and longitude 93′ 56″ and 94′ 2″ East.

The Imphal Valley is just like a trough in shape of which the Logtak Lake is the deepest part. The ground on all sides from this area gradually rises in height till we reach the foot of the hills surrounding the valley. As a result of this configuration, in the rainy season, these hills discharge their water into the lake through innumerable streams and channels which scour the country all around. In fact it has been suggested by some observers that at one time the whole valley was under water and Manipuri traditions also support this conjecture. But Mr. R. D. Oldham of the Geological Survey of India has rejected this theory on geological grounds. The silt carried with the rain-water every year from these hills is still filling up the lake and the extent of the valley is increasing year to year. Owing to this deposit of silt the alluvium is very deep and the soil extremely fertile. According to Mr. B. C. Allen [3] this lake "is the largest sheet of water in the Province of Assam and is said to be eight miles long and five miles wide at the broadest part." But this estimation does not hold good during all the seasons as its size varies during different parts of the year.

Of the four Purum villages the oldest and the biggest, Purum Khulen (Plate V, Fig. 18), is situated on the top of a ridge, about 4,500 ft. above sea level. The scenery of the surrounding country from this village is superb. Towards the east range after range of hills rise higher and higher in successive tiers till they lose themselves behind the clouds. The dense jungle which covers them assumes a blue colour under the midday sun and one finds it extremely difficult to take his eyes away from such a magnificent sight. Towards the west the paddy fields extend far into the annually flooded area which ultimately merges into the calm waters of the Logtak Lake, studded

3 B. C. Allen—*District Gazetteer, Manipur*, 1905, p. 5.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Waipu, *khullakpa* of Tampak. (See Chapter II. Tables XI, XII, and XIII. No. 2.)

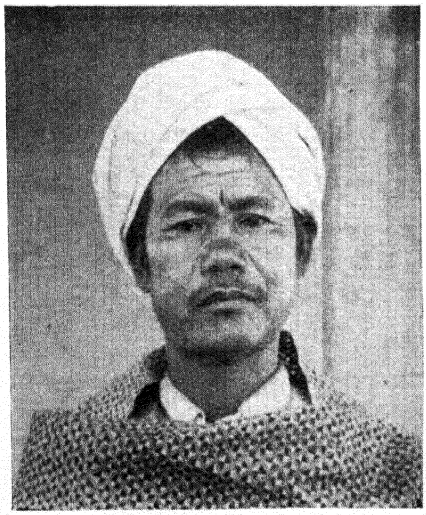


Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Loungir, *maipa* of Tampak. (See Chapter II Tables XI, XII and XIII. No 1.).

with small but precipitous hillocks, in some of which the fisher-folk have built their houses. Beyond the lake, towards the west, the Laimatol Range followed by six others, one after another, holds sway up to the border of the Cachar Plains. The north and the south are blocked by the two peaks which rise immediately beyond the village. In the south-west a few grass-covered straggling hillocks stumble here and there till we reach the more regular ranges which guard the southern boundary of the valley. Looking towards the direction of the capital of the State one may see the road which connects Imphal with Shuganu up to a great distance passing through villages hidden under the clumps of bamboos. This panoramic view is practically the monopoly of the Purums of Khulen, the three other villages do not enjoy this privilege owing to their situation at a lower level.

The Imphal valley is intersected by a number of rivers the chief of which are four. The easternmost of them is the Thoubal river. It rises in the hills towards the north-east of the State in the Ukhrul area and enters into the valley near Nongman Khunou and passing through Thoubal, discharges its water in the Imphal Turel near Irong Chesaba. The annual flood of this river which overflows banks near about Thoubal and spreads over a wide area accounts for the unusual fertility of the place which is rightly called the granary of Manipur. The next river towards the west is the Iril, which also has its source near about the same area, a little towards the north-west. This river also empties her burden into the Imphal Turel, higher up than Thoubal, near Lilong. The third in order towards the west is the Imphal Turel which is the biggest river of the valley. The central valley of Manipur is called Imphal Valley after the name of this river which courses through the entire length of the valley from north to south. The sources of this river lie between Kangpokpi and Mayangkhong. After passing through the capital of the State it is joined by Iril, Thoubal and Sengmijin Turel (a small tributary from the eastern hills), one after another, and then it enters into the Logtak Lake. Continuing its course through the lake and the hills of Manipur and Chin Hills it finally falls into the Chindwin River near Kalewa in Burma. The lower course of the Imphal Turel, from its junction with Sengmaijin Turel, is called Manipur River. The last of the four big rivers of the valley is Nambul Turel which rises near Kangchup-Khul about thirteen miles towards the north-west of Imphal. Being joined

by two other tributaries it enters into Imphal town and taking a south-westerly course from there, enters into the Logtak Lake and finally joins the Manipur River.

The hills around the Purum area are not rich in tree forests. Very large trees with good timber are not found in this part of the country. Fir trees grow in fairly large number. Bamboo occurs in the low-lying ground and teak is common on the slopes facing the Kabaw Valley. But the hills are covered with a dense undergrowth especially on their precipitous sides where *jhum* cultivation is not possible. There is also extensive areas of low marshy land covered with tall grass which it is dangerous for the unwary traveller to enter into without proper guide.

Among wild animals with which the Purums have to deal the most common are the different kinds of deer. The young shoots of paddy plants in the *jhums* attract them in large numbers and the Purums have to guard their fields during day and night at this season. Wild hogs still carry on their depredations and tigers appear here and there but their ravages on human life have undergone an appreciable diminution since McCulloch published his account in 1859. The valley does no longer require the careful protection of the *kei-roops* [4] (tiger-clubs) of which there were at one time a net-work throughout the country. Bears are often found in these hills but they rarely come down to the valley. Wild pigs occur in abundance. Wild cats, monkeys and rats are fairly common. Large flocks of parrots cause great damage to the ripening paddy crop unless carefully protected by constant watching. Different varieties of wild ducks and wild geese literally cover the surface of the Logtak in the winter. Huge flocks of them are observed in the evening and early morning passing through the sky. The wild fowl is quite common in these hills and the Purums have different kinds of traps for catching them.

[4] *Kei*=tiger; *roop*=club or association. Each Manipuri village possessed an organization of this name responsible for fighting against tigers and leopards. When the *huirais* (*hui*=dog; *rai*=*nai* to possess) or scouts brought information about the presence of a tiger or leopard the members of the *Kei-roop* of the neighbouring villages assembled near the haunt of the animal with nets and spears and surrounded the lair with nets. The animal was then forced to rush towards the net with rockets, etc. and killed on the spot.

There are thirteen kinds of river fish and twenty-two varieties live in lakes and *jhils* according to Brown.[5] The most important of the river fish according to him are *surreng* or *boal*, *bas machh*, *gna-ra*, the *rani machh*, *surrong khoibi*, *bag-machh*, *gna-rel*, and the *papia-gnatel*.

Sec. II.—Place of the Purums among the Kukis

Manipur is inhabited by a large number of Kuki tribes which have been conveniently divided into two broad divisions, namely, the Old Kukis and the New Kukis. The Old Kukis include such tribes as Aimol, Anal, Chothe or Chawte, Chiru, Kolhen, Kom, Lamgang, Purum, Tikhup, Vaiphei and Mhar of Manipur, and Hrankhol (or Rangkhol) and Biete (or Bete) of Cachar. The New Kukis are composed of a single tribe called the Thadous who are found in Cachar, Naga Hills and Manipur. Nearly allied to them, at least linguistically, are the Paite and Sokte of Manipur and Ralte of Manipur and Lushai Hills. The Changsen of Cachar also belongs to this group according to Lieut. R. Stewart.[6]

Sec. III.—Distribution of the Kuki tribes in Assam and Bengal

According to the Census of 1931 the Kukis of Assam and Bengal number together 1,08,282 of whom Assam claims 91,690 and Bengal 16,592. Out of the total Kuki population of these two provinces 80,598 or 74·4 per cent follow their ancestral tribal religion, 18,028 or 16·7 per cent claim themselves to be Hindus and 9,656 or 8·9 per cent practise Christianity.

Manipur is the greatest stronghold of the Kukis. We find there 78,346 Kukis out of 1,08,282 or 72·3 per cent. of the whole Kuki population of Bengal and Assam. Next in order comes Tripura with 14,109 or 13·02 per cent. Cachar occupies the third position having 8,767 Kukis or 8·09 per cent. Thus in Manipur, Tripura and Cachar we find 93·4 per cent of them

[5] R. Brown—*Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule*, 1873, pp. 8-9.

[6] Lieut. R. Stewart—Notes on Northern Cachār, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, 1855, p. 621.

concentrated. Hinduism is very strong among the Kukis of Tripura. In fact more than 95 per cent of the Tripura Kukis returned themselves as Hindus in the Census of 1931. On the other hand Manipur Kukis have preserved their ancestral tribal religion to the greatest extent. More than 91 per cent of them still follow the faith of their ancestors. The ratio of sexes among the Kukis differs in the two provinces. In Assam the women (46,685) preponderate over the men (45,005) while in Bengal the fair sex has a smaller number (7,694) than the stronger one (8,898).

The following two tables will show the detailed distribution of the Kukis in Assam and Bengal.

TABLE I

SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT KUKI TRIBES OF ASSAM

(Rearranged from Appendix I, Kuki (details), Census of India, 1931, Vol. III, Assam, Part II, Tables, p. 262)

Serial No.	Name of the Tribe.	Religion	Manipur State	Cachar	Sylhet	Naga Hills	Lushai Hills	Goal-para	Nowgong	Garo Hills	Darrang	Khasi and Jaintia Hills	Sibsagar	Total	Total (all religions)
1.	Kuki	*H	1	3966	13	9	165	1	6					4161	
	(Total)	T	71821	3509	232	2171			208	34	1	505		78481	91690
		C	6524	1292		161	4		183			881	3	9048	
2.	Kuki	H		472	13	9	117	1	6					618	
	(Unspecified)	T.	192	2254	232	100			208	34	1	505		3526	5244
		C		574		1	4		183			335	3	1100	
3.	Aimol	T	501											501	501
4.	Anal	T	2497											2497	3287
		C	790											790	
5.	Biete	H		410										410	
	(Bete)	T		19										19	1147
		C		190								528		718	

*H—Hinduism. T—Tribal religion. C—Christianity.

TABLE I (*Contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of the Tribe.	Religion	Manipur State	Cachar	Sylhet	Naga Hills	Lushai Hills	Goál-para	Nowgong	Garo Hills	Darrang	Khasi and Jaintia Hills	Sibsagar	Total	Total (all religions)
6.	Changsen	H		239										239	
		T		156										156	414
		C		19										19	
7.	Chiru	T	1272											1272	1272
8.	Chothe (Chawte)	T	268											268	268
9.	Gangte	T	2220											2220	2472
		C	242	10										252	
10.	Hrangkhol	H		1066			48							1114	1126
	(Rangkhol)	C		12										12	
11.	Kholhang	H		1302										1302	
	(Khotlhang)	T		64		7								71	1697
		C		324										324	

12.	Kom	T	2412						2412	2564
		C	152						152	
13.	Lamang	H		17					17	1223
	(Lamgang)	T	1206						1206	
14.	Mhar	T	3348						3348	5758
	(Hmar)	C	2410						2410	
15.	Paite	T	7408						7408	8063
		C	655						655	
16.	Purum	T	303						303	303
17.	Khelma	H		24					24	
	(Sakchip)	T		342	130				472	497
		C		1					1	
18.	Sokte	T	712						712	784
	(Suhte)	C	72						72	
19.	Thado	H	1	436					437	
		T	45302	662	1934				47898	50453
		C	1784	174	160				2118	
20.	Vaiphei	T	4180						4180	4617
		C	419					18	437	

TABLE II

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE KUKIS IN BENGAL

(Prepared from Census of India, 1931, Vol. V, Bengal and Sikkim, Part II, Tables, p. 234)

No.	Place	Hindu			Tribal			Christian			All religions *		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1.	Rangpur		104	104								104	104
2.	Noakhali	7		7							7		7
3.	Chittagong	3	1	4							3	1	4
4.	Chittagong Hill Tracts	117	100	217	1032	1085	2117	23	11	34	1172	1196	2363
5.	Tripura	7408	6127	13535				308	266	574	7716	6393	14109
6.	Bengal (Total)	7535	6332	13867	1032	1085	2117	331	277	608	8898	7694	16592

* Includes 12025 (male 6576 and female 5449) returned as Hallam

From an analysis of Tables I and II, it appears that the Purums constitute the smallest group among the Kuki tribes with the exception of the Chothes or Chawtes who form a branch of the Purums themselves. The Purums number 303 persons according to the Census of 1931, of whom 145 are men and 158 are women. All of them have been recorded as following their ancestral tribal religion.

Sec. IV.—Physical Characters

In 1936 the author took anthropometric measurements and made observations on sixty Purum Kukis from the four different villages inhabited by the tribe.[7] This number represents practically the whole adult male population of the tribe at that time. The measurements were mostly taken at the Waikhong Rest House which is situated within a short distance from three of the Purum villages. The following somatoscopic characters were observed :—

(1) Skin colour
(2) Hair
(3) Forehead
(4) Ear
(5) Eye
(6) Eye-brow
(7) Nose
(8) Zygomatic arch
(9) Lips
(10) Chin

The somatometric measurements taken were the following :—

(1) Height vertex
(2) Height tragus
(3) Maximum Bizygomatic breadth
(4) Bigonial breadth
(5) Maximum head-length
(6) Maximum head-breadth
(7) Maximum nasal height
(8) Maximum nasal breadth
(9) External orbital breadth
(10) Bi-orbito-nasal arc
(11) Horizontal circumference of the head

The auricular head-height has been obtained by indirect method, *i.e.*, by subtracting No. 2 from No. 1 above. From these measurements the following indices have been worked out :—

(1) Cephalic index
(2) Length-height index of head

7 In 1932 the senior students of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta measured and observed seventeen other persons of the same tribe. But these have not been included in the present analysis.

(3) Breadth-height index of head

(4) Orbito-nasal index

(5) Jugo-mandibular index

(6) Transversal cephalic index

(7) Nasal index [8]

PIGMENTATION

(See Table XI)

Skin colour was recorded in all the sixty cases at two different parts of the body, *viz.*, forehead and chest, with the help of Hautfarben Tafel of Prof. Dr. Felix von Luschan. It varies from No. 22 to No. 28 of this Scale. In 80 per cent. of the cases the forehead and chest show the same complexion, in 13·3 per cent. the difference is only of one grade, in 5 per cent. of two grades and in only 1·7 per cent. of four grades. This high proportion of the similarity of complexion between the two parts is mainly due to the nature of their dress, climate of the country and the outdoor life they lead. Except in winter or on occasions of ceremonial visits the Purums do not generally keep the upper part of the body covered with any type of clothing. No. 23 of the scale is the prevailing shade of complexion for both forehead and chest—in the former 56·7 per cent and in the latter 58·3 per cent. having this shade. Next in importance for the forehead is shade No. 24 which occurs in 16·7 per cent. of the cases though it is found only in 10 per cent. of the chests. Shade No. 22 is found in 13·3 per cent. of both foreheads and chests. No. 27 is found in 10 per cent. of the foreheads and 8·3 per cent. of the chests. The following Table III gives the details of distribution of this character :—

[8] The series suffers from a serious defect owing to the absence of measurements of the morphological total facial height and physiognomic total facial height. These measurements were taken but had to be given up owing to defective recording. This has necessitated the omission of at least one index especially important for this group of people.

Table III

Distribution of Skin-colour

(See Table XI)

Shade No. of Hautfarben Tafel of von Luschan	Forehead		Chest	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
22	8	13.3	8	13.3
23	34	56.7	35	58.3
24	10	16.7	6	10.0
25	2	3.3	3	5.0
26	*Nil*	*Nil*	1	1.7
27	6	10.0	5	8.3
28	*Nil*	*Nil*	2	3.3
Total	60	100	60	100

Hair

(See Table XI)

Colour of hair on the head was recorded with Haarfarben-Tafel of Fischer-Saller. Three shades of colour namely W, X and Y were found of which W had the highest number. Fifty per cent. of the Purums have W, 28·3 per cent. Y and 21·7 per cent. X shade of hair-colour. The texture of hair is almost uniformly coarse—95 per cent. having this type. Only 3·3 per cent. have medium and 1·7 per cent. fine texture of hair. Shallow waves predominate in the form of hair—69·5 per cent. having this type. Straight hair is found in 16·9 per cent. of the cases, narrow waves in 8·5 per cent. and wide waves in 5·1 per cent. The quantity of hair was observed on the head, face and body. On the head 95 per cent. of the Purums have thick hair, 3·3 per cent. medium, and 1·7 per cent. scanty. But on the face 30·0 per cent. have no hair, 66·7 per cent. scanty and 3·3 per cent. medium. On the body again hair is absent in 98·3 per cent. of the subjects examined and scanty in 1·7 per cent.

Forehead

(See Table XI)

The forehead is high in 13·8 per cent., medium in 82·8 per cent. and low in 3·4 per cent. of the cases. It is narrow in 25·9 per cent., medium in 39·6 per cent. and broad in 34·5 per cent. Straight foreheads have been found in 51·7 per cent., and medium in 48·3 per cent. of the subjects studied. No case of receding forehead was observed.

Ear-lobe

(See Table XI)

The size of the ear-lobe is small in 55·0 per cent. of the cases, medium in 35·0 per cent. and large in 10·0 per cent. only. The lobe is attached in 53·3 per cent., partly attached in 93·3 per cent. and free in 13·3 per cent. of our subjects.

Eyes

(See Table XI)

Colour of the iris was recorded with the help of Augenfarben-Tafel of Prof. Rud. Martin. It varies from No. 1 to No. 5. Nos. 3 and 4 together occur among the largest number of our subjects—each having 31·7 per cent. of the cases. No. 2 is found among 20·0 per cent. and No. 1 among 15·0 per cent. No. 5 seems to be an accidental occurrence, having been found in one case (1·6 per cent.) only.

The position of the eye-slit was carefully noted and we found that straight eyes (Plate I, Figs. 1-6) are predominant (92·0 per cent.). Oblique eyes (Plate V, Figs. 14-15) were found only in 8·0 per cent. of the cases.

The form of the eye-slit again shows a predominance of the medium type (69·6 per cent.). Wide eye-slit (Plate I, Figs. 1, 5) was found in 19·5 per cent. and narrow ones (Plate V, Fig. 14 and Plate II, Fig. 9) in 10·9 per cent. of the subjects. The epicanthic fold (Plate I, Fig. 3), one of the surest tests for Mongoloid affinity, was present only in 6·7 per cent. and absent in 93·3 per cent. of our subjects.

Fig, 5.

Fig. 6.

Chauba, *maipa* of Changninglong. (See Chapter II Tables XI, XII and XIII. No. 17.).

Eye-brows

(See Table XI)

The quantity of hair in the eye-brows is medium in 50·0 per cent., thin in 31·7 per cent. and thick in 18·3 per cent. of the Purums. The mutual position of the eye-brows shows them to be 80·0 per cent. " separate " and 20·0 per cent. " connected."

Root and Form of the Nose

(See Table XI)

The depression at the root of the nose is " deep " (Plate I, Fig. 3) in 56·7 per cent., medium in 36·7 per cent. and shallow (Plate V, Fig. 15) in 6·6 per cent. of the subjects. The bridge of the nose is fairly divided between straight (Plate I, Figs. 2 and 6) and concave (Plate I, Fig. 3), the former being 51·7 per cent. and the latter 41·7 per cent. Convex nasal bridge is rather uncommon (6·6 per cent.).

Prominence of the Zygomatic arches

(See Table XI)

Marked prominence of the zygomatic arches is a characteristic feature of the Mongoloid people. But among the Purums 50·0 per cent. (Plate I, Figs. 1-6) have none, 31·7 per cent. (Plate V, Figs. 14-15) slight, 15·0 per cent. medium and only 3·3 per cent. marked prominence of these two arches.

Lips

(See Table XI)

In the matter of thickness of the lips the common type among the Purums is medium (78·3 per cent.). Both thick and thin lips are uncommon (8·3 per cent. and 11·7 per cent. respectively) while tumid lips were found in one case only (1·7 per cent.). Sixty per cent. of the Purums have slightly everted (Plate I,

Fig. 1) lips. In 20·0 per cent. eversion is absent and in 18·3 per cent. it is medium. Only one person (1·7 per cent.) showed marked eversion.

Chin

(See Table XI)

In dealing with the prominence of the chin we find that most of the Purums have medium type of chins (71·4 per cent.). In 17·9 per cent. it is prominent while in 10·7 per cent. receding. The shape of the chin among the Purums is predominantly oval (67·9 per cent.). Square and round chins occur at the rate of 17·0 and 13·2 per cent. while one person only had a pointed chin.

Analysis of Measurable Characters

We have already indicated the different somatometric measurements taken by us on sixty Purum men. The measurements were taken according to the technique advocated by Martin in his *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie* (1928) and we have also followed his classification of them.

Out of the sixty persons measured, one (No. 41 of Tables XI and XII) was fifty-four years old at the time of measurement. Inspite of this we have included him in our series as he did not show any outward sign of physical deterioration. In one feature. namely head-height, he presented an abnormally low figure (7·0 cm.) which, of course, was not due to age. In all other respects he showed normal characters. The age of the different subjects has been mostly recorded in round figures. In most of the cases the author had to depend for this factor on his own judgment. Most of the Purums were unable to give their true age.

Stature

(See Table XII)

The Purums are mainly short in stature (65·0 per cent.). The groups " short " and " very short " comprise together 86·7 per cent. of the series; 11·7 per cent. are below medium and 1·6

per cent. medium. The range of variation is 22 cm.—the maximum and the minimum stature being 165·6 cm. and 143·6 cm. The mean stature is 154·9 ± ·42 cm. The mean stature of sixty Thadou Kukis (male) measured by Dr. J. H. Hutton [9] is 160·3 cm. which is 5·4 cm. higher than that of the Purums. In this Thadou series 43·3 per cent. are short, 30 per cent. below medium, 13·3 per cent. above-medium while very short and tall are 3·3 per cent. each according to Martin's classification.

TABLE IV

Frequency of Stature Groups

(Purums—60; Thadous—60)

Class	Range in mm.	Purums		Thadous	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Pigmy	X—1299	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
Very short	1300-1499	13	21.7	2	3.3
Short	1500-1599	39	65.0	26	43.3
Below medium	1600-1639	7	11.7	18	30. 0
Medium	1640-1669	1	1.6	4	6.7
Above medium	1670-1699	*Nil*	*Nil*	8	13.3
Tall	1700-1799	*Nil*	*Nil*	2	3.3
Very Tall	1800-1999	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
Giant	2000-X	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
	TOTAL	60	100	60	99.9

STATISTICAL CONSTANTS OF STATURE

	Purums	Thadous
Maximum	1656 mm.	1722 mm.
Minimum	1436 mm.	1482 mm.
Mean with P. E.	154·9 ± ·42 cm.	160·30 ± ·47 cm.
Standard deviation with P. E.	4·88 ± ·29	5·54 ± ·34

Comparison of the distribution of stature between the Purums and the Thadous shows that both the groups have a general similarity in the basic short element. It may be pointed out here

9 William Shaw—*The Thadou Kukis*, 1929, Appendix H, pp. 159, etc.

that the two goups " short " and " below medium " include 76·7 per cent. of the Purums and 73·3 per cent. of the Thadous. But there is considerable difference in their tendencies—the Purums showing it towards the shorter and the Thadous towards the taller direction.[10]

Cephalic Index

(See Table XII)

The Purums are a mesocephalic people with tendency towards dolichocephaly. Broad heads are infrequent. The cephalic index [11] is distributed in the following manner in our series: mesocephal—60·0 per cent., dolichocephal—28·3 per cent. and brachycephal—11·7 per cent. The cephalic index varies from 70·81 to 84·07 with the mean at 77·25± ·28. In this character the Purums differ considerably from the Thadous among whom 48·3 per cent. are dolichocephalic, 41·7 per cent. mesocephalic and 10·0 per cent. brachycephalic. The mean cephalic index of the Thadous is lower than that of the Purums.

Statistical Constants of Cephalic Index

	Purum	Thadou
Maximum	84·07	83·5
Minimum	70·81	70·0
Mean with P. E.	77·25±.28	76·64±·30
Standard deviation with P. E.	2·80±·17	3·51±·21

[10] The average height of Lakher men is about 5 ft. 6 inches. They are taller than the Lusheis. (N. E. Parry—*The Lakhers*, 1932, p. 25).

[11] Hutton gives the following figures as the average cephalic and nasal indices of the different Naga tribes, measured by him, and " worked out to the nearest unit from the averages for each tribe."

	Angami	Sema	Rengma	Lhota	Ao	Chang	Konyak
C.I.	76	79	79	79	81	79	77
N.I.	79	80	82	88	80	80	89

(J. H. Hutton—*The Angami Nagas*, 1921, App. XI. p. 437.)

TABLE V

FREQUENCY OF CEPHALIC INDEX GROUPS

(Purums—60, Thadous—60)

Class	Range	Purums		Thadous	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Dolichocephal	X—75·9	17	28·3	29	48·3
Mesocephal	76·0—80·9	36	60·0	25	41·7
Brachycephal	81·0—85·4	7	11·7	6	10·0
Hyper-brachycephal	85·5—X	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
TOTAL ..		60	100	60	100

STATISTICAL CONSTANTS OF NASAL INDEX

(See Table XII)

	Purums	Thadous
Maximum	86·96	97·6
Minimum	53·57	67·3
Mean with P. E.	70·84±·58	80·95±·07
Standard deviation with P. E.	6·40±·39	7·66±·04

The nasal index of the Purums also shows a mesorrhine preponderance (55·0 per cent.) with a very strong strain of leptorrhiny (43·3 per cent.). The chamaerrhine element is negligible (1·7 per cent.) and this is very peculiar for a tribe with admitted Mongoloid affinity. The range of variation of this index lies between 53·57 and 86·96 with the mean at 70·84±·58.

Among the sixty Thadous of Dr. Hutton mesorrhiny is the predominant element (63·3 per cent.) but the chamaerrhine element is definitely stronger than the leptorrhine one (26·7 and 10·0 per cent. respectively). The Thadou mean for this index is much higher than that of the Purums which really brings out the considerable difference that lies between these two peoples.

TABLE VI

FREQUENCY OF NASAL INDEX GROUPS

(Purums—60, Thadous—60)

		Purums		Thadous	
Class	Range	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Hyperleptorrhine	X—54·9	1	1·7	*Nil*	*Nil*
Leptorrhine	55·0—69·9	25	41·6	6	10·0
Mesorrhine	70·0—84·9	33	55·0	38	63·3
Chamaerrhine	85·0—99·9	1	1.7	16	26·7
Hyper-chamaerrhine	100·0—X	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
TOTAL ..		60	100	60	100

STATISTICAL CONSTANTS OF LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF THE HEAD

(See Table XII)

	No. of subjects—60	No. of subjects—59 (No. 41 omitted)
Maximum	85·96	85·96
Minimum	36·46	54·96
Mean with P. E.	73·45±.07	
Standard deviation with P. E.	8·36±.05	

The Purums have an almost uniformly hypsicephalic head (93·3 per cent.). Chamaecephaly prevails to the extent of only 5·0 per cent. and orthocephaly is negligible (1·7 per cent.). The maximum length-height index of the head is 85·96 and the minimum 36·46. This extremely low minimum is due to the abnormally low head-height (7·0 cm.) of a single person (No. 41 of Table XII). If this case be omitted the minimum length-height index of the head rises to 54·96 and the minimum head-height to 10·4.

TABLE VII

FREQUENCY OF LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX GROUPS OF HEAD OF SIXTY PURUMS

Class	Range	Frequency	Percentage
Chamaecephal	X—57·6	3	5·0
Orthocephal	57·7—62·5	1	1·7
Hypsicephal	62·6—X	56	93·3
TOTAL ..		60	100

Statistical Constants of Breadth-height index of the Head

(See Table XII)

	No. of subjects—60	No. of subjects—59 (No. 41 omitted)
Maximum	109·49	109·49
Minimum	47·62	72·22
Mean with P. E.	93.51 ± ·87	
Standard deviation with P. E.	10.25 ± ·63	

The breadth-height index of the head $\left(\frac{\text{Auricular head height} \times 100}{\text{Head-breadth}}\right)$ is classified by Martin into the following three groups :—

Tapeinokephal	X—78·9
Metriokephal	79·0—84·9
Akrokephal	85·0—X

Among the Purums 86·6 per cent. are akrokephals, 6·7 per cent. metriokephal and 6·7 per cent. tapeinokephal.

Orbito-nasal index

(See Table XII)

Let us now consider the orbito-nasal index which is regarded as a fair guide to Mongoloid affinity. A broad, flat face is said to be a common characteristic of the Mongoloid people. Among the Purums 51·6 per cent. are platyopic, 26·7 per cent. proopic and 21·7 per cent. mesopic. The maximum orbito-nasal index of our series is found at 126·08 while the minimum comes down to 101·85. The mean with probable error is at 110·34 ± ·44.

Table VIII

Frequency of Orbito-nasal index Groups

Class	Range	Frequency	Percentage
Platyopic	X—109·9	31	51·6
Mesopic	110·0—112.9	13	21·7
Proopic	113·0—X	16	26·7
	Total ..	60	100

The jugo-mandibular index (Table XII) of our series ranges from 94·59 to 70·23 with the average at 78·473. The transversal-cephalic index (Table XII) varies from 100·0 to 77·08 with the average at 92·97.

TABLE IX

SHOWING STATISTICAL CONSTANTS OF DIFFERENT PHYSICAL CHARACTERS AMONG PURUMS AND THADOUS

(Purums—60 and Thadous—60)

(Figures in centimetre)

		Maximum	Minimum	Mean	Standard deviation
Stature	Purums	165·6	143·6	154·9±·42	4·88±·29
	Thadous	173·2	148·2	160·30±·47	5·54±·34
Head-Length	Purums	19·3	17·0	18·38±·04	·51±·03
	Thadous	20·2	17·5	19·02±·04	·50±·03
Head-Breadth	Purums	15·7	13·1	14·23±·06	·79±·04
	Thadous	15·5	13·5	14·54±·04	·45±·02
Nasal-Height	Purums	5·7	4·2	4·89±·03	·35±·02
	Thadous	5·7	4·2	4·76±·03	·34±.02
Nasal-Breadth	Purums	4·1	3·0	3·47±·02	·24±·01
	Thadous	4·3	3.4	3·85±·05	·23±·04
Auricular Head-Height	Purums	15·5	7.0	13·18±·13	1·52±·09
Max. Bizygomatic Breadth	Purums	14·4	11·1	13·20±·04	·54±·03
Bigonial Breadth	Purums	12·1	9·2	10·28±·05	·58±·03
External Orbital Breadth	Purums	11·7	8·5	9·33±·05	·62±.03
Biorbito-Nasal Arc	Purums	12·5	9·6	10·13±·04	·55±·03
Horizontal Circumference of Head	Purums	56·8	48·4	53·29±·13	1·49±·09

Table IX above shows the maximum, minimum, mean with probable error and standard deviation with probable error of the different physical characters such as stature, head-length, head-breadth, nasal height, maximum bizygomatic breadth, bigonial breadth, etc. We have also included in this Table the maxi-

mum, minimum and mean of the Thadou measurements of Dr. Hutton as far as available for comparative purposes.

We have already discussed the relative position of the Purums and Thadous as to their stature. In head-length the Thadous have a higher figure than the Purums in all the three categories *i.e.*, maximum, minimum and mean. But when we come to deal with the breadth of the head we find that the maximum is higher in the Purum and lower in the Thadou while the minimum is reversed. But the mean breadth is higher in the Thadou.

The Purums and Thadous have the same nasal height in both maximum and minimum though the mean is higher in the Purums while in nasal breadth the Thadous have a uniformly higher figure in all the three categories.

TABLE X

CORRELATION TABLE OF STATURE, NASAL INDEX AND CEPHALIC INDEX

			C. I. X—75.9	C. I. 76.0—80.9	C. I. 81.0—85.4
Stature	N.I.	X—69.9	2	4	
1300 to 1499 mm.	N.I.	70.0—84.9	1	6	
	N.I.	85.0—99.9			
Stature	N.I.	X—69.9	5	12	2
1500 to 1599 mm.	N.I.	70.0—84.9	6	11	2
	N.I.	85.0—99.9		1	
Stature	N.I.	X—69.9	1		
1600 to 1639 mm.	N.I.	70.0—84.9	1	2	3
	N.I.	85.0—99.9			
Stature	N.I.	X—68.9			
1640 to 1669 mm.	N.I.	70.0—84.9	1		
	N.I.	85.0—99.9			

Analysis of Correlation Table X

Stature	Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Frequency	Percentage
Very short	Dolichocephalic	Leptorrhine	2	3.3
Very short	Ditto	Mesorrhine	1	1.7
Short	Ditto	Leptorrhine	5	8.3
Ditto	Ditto	Mesorrhine	6	10.0
Below medium	Ditto	Leptorrhine	1	1.7
Ditto	Ditto	Mesorrhine	1	1.7
Medium	Ditto	Mesorrhine	1	1.7
Very short	Mesocephalic	Leptorrhine	4	6.7
Ditto	Ditto	Mesorrhine	6	10.0
Short	Ditto	Leptorrhine	12	20.0
Ditto	Ditto	Mesorrhine	11	18.3
Ditto	Ditto	Chamaerrhine	1	1.7
Below medium	Ditto	Mesorrhine	2	3.3
Short	Brachycephalic	Leptorrhine	2	3.3
Ditto	Ditto	Mesorrhine	2	3.3
Below medium	Ditto	Mesorrhine	3	5.0
		Total	60	100

By analysing the correlation table of stature, cephalic index and nasal index (Table X) we find that the mesocephalic, leptorrhine, short statured element has the highest frequency (20 per cent.); next to it is the mesocephalic, mesorrhine, short-statured element (18.3 per cent.). The third place is occupied by the mesocephalic, mesorrhine, very short statured element and the dolichocephalic, mesorrhine, short statured element (10 per cent. each). The fourth place goes to the dolichocephalic, leptorrhine, short statured element (8.3 per cent.) while the fifth position comes to the mesocephalic, leptorrhine, very short statured element. These five groups monopolise among themslvees 47 persons or 78.3 per cent. of our subjects. The bachycephalic, short statured, leptorrhine and mesorrhine elements have 3.3 per cent. each while the brachycephalic, below medium, mesorrhine element has a frequency of 5 per cent.

If we now coalesce into one group the two classes of stature, namely, very short and short, we find the following results :—

		Frequency	Percentage
Group I.	Mesocephalic, leptorrhine, very short and short statured element	16	26.6
Group II.	Mesocephalic, mesorrhine, very short and short statured element	17	28.3
Group III.	Dolichocephalic, leptorrhine, very short and short statured element	7	11.7
Group IV.	Dolichocephalic, mesorrhine, very short and short statured element	7	11.7
	TOTAL	47	78.3

This rearrangement shows that Groups I and II above include the largest number of persons (54.9 per cent.) while the remaining two Groups (III and IV) have the next largest number (23.4 per cent.).

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC LIFE

SEC. I.—THE HOME OF THE PURUMS

Villages and Dwellings

According to the Census operations of 1931 the Purums number 303 persons in all, who live in four villages situated at a short distance from one another. The villages are homogeneous; families belonging to other tribes are not allowed to settle in a Purum village nor do the Purums go to live in villages of other tribes. The four Purum villages are known as Purum Khulen, Purum Tampak, Purum Changninglong and Purum Chumbang. The first part of the village-name refers to the name of the tribe which occupies the village. Terms like *khulen* and *tampak* are also used in naming villages of other tribes according to the nature of their location and are distinguished by prefixing the name of the tribe which gives the surest indication about their identity. So in dealing with the Purum villages we have omitted the first part of the names for the sake of convenience. Each village-name has a meaning of its own and points to some characteristic feature of the village. Of the four villages, Khulen is the oldest and largest one. It is stated that the other three villages have sprung from this one. Inspite of this, Khulen has no political or social supremacy over the other villages. However small it may be, each village is an independent unit with its village officers, its communal religious rites and festivals and its social, political and economic rights and responsibilities. Purum political organisation has not developed beyond the village.

Khulen had forty houses when we visited the village in 1936. Tampak came next with twenty-nine houses. Chumbang had twelve or thirteen while Changninglong was the smallest village with about eight or nine houses. Each house represents a family, whether biological or joint.

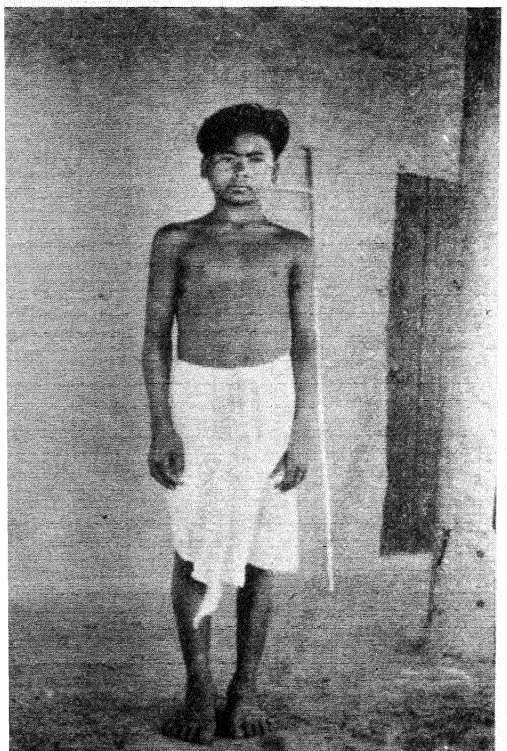


Fig. 7. An unmarried boy of Tampak.

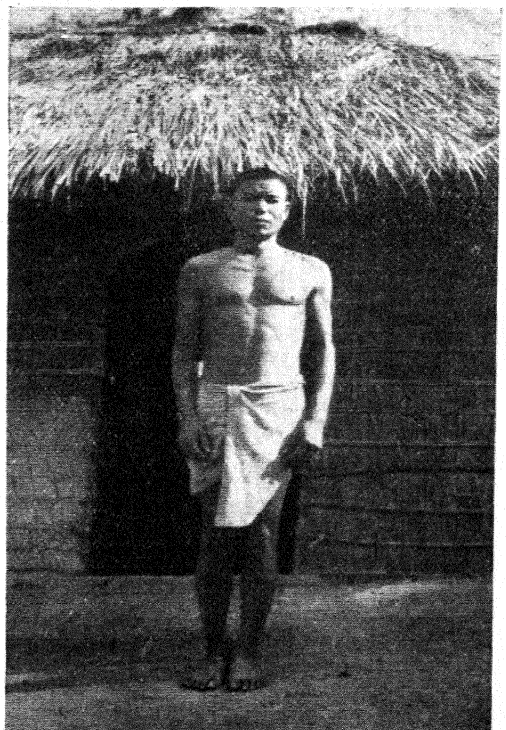


Fig. 8. Tupi of Khulen
(See Chap. II Tables XI, XII. & XIII No. 16).

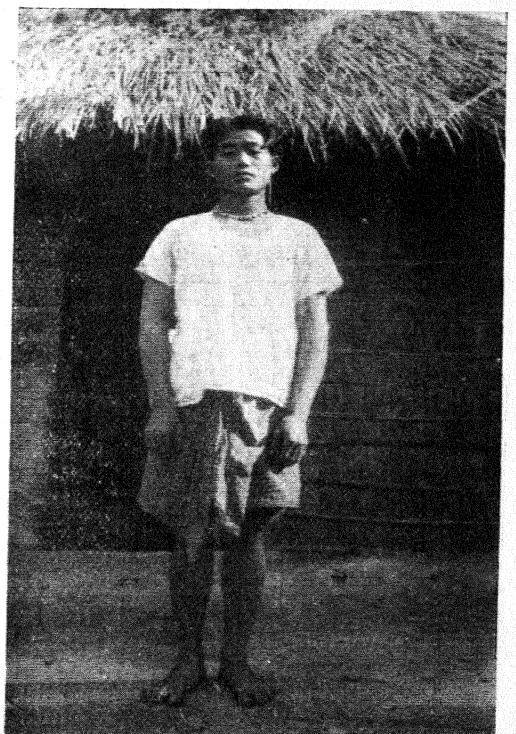


Fig. 9. Ningthemchao of Khulen
(See Chap. II Tables XI, XII, & XIII No. 15).

The establishment of a new village is preceded by two divinatory ceremonies to find out the suitability of the site.[1] There is no specially auspicious month for starting a new village but an auspicious day is necessary and Mondays are preferred for this purpose. On the day appointed for taking the omens those who wish to start a new village go to the selected site and perform the fowl-divination. One of them strangles a cock to death with his hands uttering a prayer and drops the bird on the ground. The position of the legs of the bird after it has fallen on the ground and died, indicates the future of the proposed village. If the right leg is placed on the left one, the omen is good; but if the reverse occurs or if the two legs are apart the site is abandoned as the omen is not propitious. Provided the fowl-divination is indicative of good luck another divinatory ceremony is performed on the same day and on the same spot soon after the first one, probably for confirmation of the result of the previous one. This is done with two hen's eggs. One of the party of villagers breaks a little of each of the two eggs at their little end. If the contents of the eggs overflow or at least remain brimful, the sign is good but if either of them be a little empty or rotten the omen is not good and the site is abandoned. At the time of egg-divination the following prayer is uttered :—

Artui-nango nungai-piu ti-le-chu
Hrao nungai no-ang ti-le-chu
Artui-nango pumo

Freely translated it means according to our interpreters—

Oh Eggs! If this site be good for us, you remain well.
Oh Eggs! If this site be bad, you also be bad.

1 The Thadous also divine the future when establishing a new village. At one end of an egg the shell is removed and the egg placed on three sticks. A fire is lighted below. If the egg bursts or the contents overflow the omen is bad but if the liquid congeals on the top, it is good. (Shaw—*The Thadou Kukis*, 1929, p. 83.) Among the Lakhers omens are taken before the establishment of a new village, with two cocks. Some elders go to the site and place one cock above and the other below their temporary shelter where they pass the night. If the top one crows first and the lower one replies to it the omen is good. But if the order is reversed it augurs evil and tht site is abandoned. (N. E. Parry—*The Lakhers*, 1932, p. 61.)

Dreams are not expected at the time of establishing a new village. The founders are not required to observe any taboo on food nor are they expected to observe abstinence from sexual intercourse on this occasion. No sacrifice is made at this time.

Changninglong was established about thirty years ago from Khulen. The place was selected owing to the facility it provided for the cultivation of valley-land. Themhil, Jaipu and Santhei first came to the place with their family. Themhil was then about 50, Jaipu about 60 and Santhei nearly 40 years of age. Manjhai, father of Amphot the present *khullakpa* of the village, and Wankhai, father of Shemchao the present *luplakpa*, came two months later with their family. At that time their age was about 40 and 35 respectively. Thus Changninglong was established. The age of the different persons recorded here was estimated by us from the facts supplied by our informants. The Purums are never very accurate about the statement of their own age, not to speak of the previous generation. This explains the round figures about the ages mentioned above.

Situation of the Villages

The Purum villages are situated between 24′ 23″ and 24′ 27″ N. latitude and 93′ 56″ and 94′ 2″ E. longitude. The four villages are not very far away from each other. Khulen (Plate V, Fig. 16), the oldest and biggest village, is situated on the top of a ridge [2] just to the east of Waikhong. The village is at a height of about 4,000 ft. above sea level. It is approached by a foot-track leading from the foot of the ridge at its western side which is about 40 minutes' walk from the Waikhong Rest House (Plate VIII, Fig. 26). The path from the foot of the ridge to the village is very steep and narrow and is only used by the tribal people. Khulen may also be ap-

2 Thadou villages are also situated on the top of a ridge or on the slope, a little below (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 83). But Lakher villages are placed on a high slope which can be easily defended. They do not build on the very top (Parry—*Op. cit.*, p. 60). The Lushais, on the other hand, build their villages on the top of a ridge or spur (Shakespeare—*Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 20). The selection of the Khulen site was made under conditions of old culture. In Changninglong the same tendency is observable. But Tampak and Chumbang were established under new conditions.

proached from the western side of the hills by two other routes. One of them reaches the village from the southern side *via* Lamgang Pantha while the other approaches it from the northern side *via* Tampak and Changninglong. Both these paths are less steep according to the Purums themselves though they are more circuitous. Another path leads from Khulen towards the east to Chumbang and finally reaches the valley on that side. Khulen lies between two peaks (Plate V, Fig. 16) on the top of the ridge, and is roughly north-south in length. Both the eastern and western sides are very deeply inclined, so that there is very limited space for erection of houses. The slopes on both sides are so deeply inclined that houses cannot be built on them. The western slope is heavily forested but the eastern slope is clearer while the north and south are covered with jungle through which paths to adjacent hill villages lie. It has got one street running north-south along the length of the village which connects on both ends the paths to the valley or other hill villages. It is not very broad but as most of the houses lie to its western side its breadth cannot be always rightly judged. The village street runs practically through the highest part of the village land.

Purum Tampak is situated towards the north of the Waikong Rest House more than two miles from it. The Shuganu road passes about a mile to its west and the best means of approaching it from this (western) side of the hills is by this road up to the parallel of the village and then to cross the meadow by foot track through it. The village (Plate XII, Fig. 38) is situated on the southern slope of a low hillock in a picturesque setting. Towards the south the meadow lies for about two miles skirted by a range of hills on the east. Towards the west the whole valley of Manipur lies for miles and miles with here and there a low hillock bare of trees in the near distance. The north is blocked by the hillock at the foot of which the village stands while towards the east the range of hills, already mentioned, lies in the immediate vicinity. As the village is situated on a gentle slope there are several paths leading to the different tiers of the slope from the main thoroughfare which runs east-west through the lowest part of the village. The houses are arranged in tiers one above another.

Changninglong lies about a mile towards the east from Tampak and is placed on the top of a fairly high hillock. The path approaching it from the west is the same up to Tampak from

which a foot track leads to it, running through the plains for a while and then rising to the top of the hillock in a steep gradient. Here the houses are arranged on both sides of a street running along the highest part of the ridge.

Chumbang stands on the eastern side of the ridge on which Khulen lies. It is situated in the valley, at the confluence of two small hill streams called Maha Turel and Timit Lok which discharge their waters in the Sengmaijin Turel which again is a tributary of the Manipur River. This village is about two miles from Palel and is more easily approachable from it.

Public Places of the Village

All the Purum villages have their *laman* and their *ruishang*. These are the public places of the village. The *laman* is the place for the god Nungchungba [2a] while the *ruishang* [3] is the village assembly hall. Both these places are situated a little apart from the cluster of dwelling houses. In Tampak the *laman* (Plate VI, Fig. 21) lies towards the south of the village on the top of a low mound. The *ruishang* (Plate VI, Fig. 19) is about 200 ft. from this place on the same mound, and both of them are about 200 yds. from the nearest dwelling house. In Changninglong also we found the *laman* a little away from the dwelling houses, on the top of a peak, while the *ruishang* was near about 150 ft. towards the east. We have already stated that Khulen is pressed for space yet we found the *ruishang* at the furthest south-east corner of the village a little away from the dwelling huts while the *laman* was further south. The *laman* is an important place in the socio-religious life of the village. Here

2a Shakespeare found among the Chothes an oval level space at the end of the village with the houses of Pakhangba and Nungchungba situated on two sides of it. In the former were two stones and in the latter three vertical ones with a horizontal one on the top (Shakespeare—*op. cit.* p. 159).

3 Cf. *Lai-sang* of the Meitheis. "The greater gods have sacred groves near to the villages of their special worshippers; inside the grove is an open-spot, at one end of which is the *lai-sang*, gods' house, and on either side are long open sheds in which the villagers sit, males on one side and the females on the other, all arranged in due order of seniority, during the lai-harauba or 'pleasing of the god,' a ceremony which usually takes place once a year." (Col. J. Shakespeare—The religion of Manipur, *Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, 1913, p. 426.)

the villagers—old and young, male and female—assemble for seven consecutive days in the month of Phairel and pass their time in dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments and make merry over the zu-cup. This is repeated in the month of Kalel for another seven days.

Besides the *laman* and the *ruishang* we found in some of the villages, especially Khulen, raised platforms, roughly rectangular in shape, covered with slabs of stone. These were found generally situated at the end of the village on the road-side.[3a] They are the relics of the *thien-hong-ba genna* performed by the rich villagers in order to attain social rank and to leave some mark for the posterity to talk about.

Another important place within or outside the village is the village spring or stream from which water is collected for drinking and other household work. Whenever the Purums establish a new village they make sure that the supply of water will not fail at any season of the year. Here the women and children assemble every morning and afternoon with their pitchers placed in the carrying basket (Plate IX, Fig. 32). Almost always they come in batches and the hill-side rings with their voice and laughter.

The Domicile

The domicile (Plate VI, Fig. 18) of a well-to-do Purum householder generally consists of a living house, a cowshed and a granary. The cowshed is discarded by those people who have no valley field or who hire cattle for ploughing it. Naturally they do not require it. Almost every man has a pigsty and a place for keeping the fowls. In front of the living house there is always a courtyard—big or small. The cowshed and the granary are sometimes placed on one or other side of this courtyard but this is not always so. In Tampak we found several houses on this plan but in Khulen, where the building area is limited, the cowshed and the granary are often placed at any convenient corner near the living house. In Purum villages the granaries of the whole village or of a number of persons of it, are not grouped together at one place, a little away from the

3a A Marring rich man erects a pile of stones to commemorate his name and kills six Mithuns. (McCulloch—*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., p. 66.) *Cf.* Chiru custom.

dwelling huts, as we found among the Chirus. The Purums construct their granaries—each in his own compound.

We did not find any fruit tree by the side of any Purum house in the three villages we visited.[4] In Tampak and Changninglong rows of cactus trees were found planted around the compound of a number of houses perhaps for fencing purpose. In one house, however, we saw a few guava trees which were not evidently planted by anybody but have grown themselves. Even plantain trees were not visible near the houses but many kinds of jungle trees were found in and near about the villages. In Tampak we saw clumps of bamboos growing near the homesteads.

Purum living houses (Plate VI, Fig. 18) are generally substantial constructions. They are rectangular (Plate XIX, Fig. 74) in ground-plan. The floor is made of beaten earth and the plinth is about one to two feet in height from the level of the courtyard. But when the house is constructed on a slope, the plinth or rather one or more sides of it may be only a few inches above the ground while the opposite sides may be fairly high. The Purums, however, never build any of their houses except the granaries on piles. The size of the house depends on the means of the family. The living house of the headman of Tampak, who may be regarded as a substantial man, was 15.75 metres in length and 7.70 metres in breadth. The house of the *khullakpa* of Khulen (Plate VI, Fig. 18) was almost of equal size or may be a little smaller. Many ordinary householders had houses of this size in all the three villages we visited. But this does not mean that this is the usual size of a Purum house. Most of the people have houses of lesser dimensions (Plate V, Fig. 16) though we did not meet with any hovel in Purum villages as we are accustomed to see in the plains of Bengal. It seemed to us that Tampak houses were better constructed than those of Khulen. Every living house has a spacious verandah in front, which is not a separate construction but an integral part of the main house. One of the smaller sides of the rectangle is placed facing the courtyard and this is the front of the house. Ordinarily there are two types of houses based on the nature of the roof which is four-sloped in one class and two-sloped in another.

[4] In Thadou villages too "A few banana trees are sometimes found, otherwise, fruit trees are conspicuous by their absence." (Shaw—*The Thadou Kukis*, p. 83.)

When a house with four-sloped roof is to be constructed wooden posts are driven into the ground on all sides of the rectangular ground-plan. Stringers of wood are placed on the top of the posts on all four sides and wooden cross-beams join the posts standing on opposite sides along the longer axis of the house. The roof-trellis on each slope is made of a number of bamboos of requisite length, tied between bamboo slivers with bamboo strips. It is supported on the ridge-pole and the stringer. When necessary a piece of bamboo or wood is placed underneath the roof-trellis along its entire length and supported at intervals on vertical posts set up on the cross-beams. In four-sloped houses the roof-trellis of the two smaller sides is triangular in shape and rests on the stringer as well as on the rafters—the vertex of the triangle lying either on the ridge-pole or a little below it, thus forming a pocket as it were. The roof is covered with thatching grass laid out thickly and evenly. The thatch is held in place by means of bamboo splits, placed over and across it, and tied at intervals to the slivers of the trellis underneath, with bamboo strips. Thatching is begun at the eaves and carried upwards to the ridge-pole. It is laid out in such a fashion that a succeeding line always covers about half the preceding line if not more. In laying the grass the stem is always directed upwards while the leafy parts point downwards except at the lowest level (*i.e.*, at the eaves) where the position is reversed. At the junctions of the slopes the thatching is doubled which effectively prevents leakage.

In setting up the posts of a house the middle one on the left-hand side (as one enters into the house) is erected first. This post is known as *chhatra* (Plate XIX, Fig. 74) and often figures in religious and magical rites. Usually it is set up on a Monday which is believed to be auspicious. The next post to be set up is *senajumphi* which forms the middle post on the right-hand side. After this all other posts may be set up as convenient. The stringers (*loyu*) are next placed on the top of these posts—the left-hand one first and then the right-hand one. They are followed by the two stringers on the smaller sides (in case of two-sloped roofs—cross-beams)—the back one to be placed first and the front one next. After this the other cross-beams are laid. The walls of the house are made of a kind of reed tied between bamboo slivers with bamboo strips or cane-splits. These reeds are spread out in a thin layer and covered with a thin plaster of

earth on both sides which are carefully polished white and look nice. Walls of bamboo matting are also found in many houses. Poor men are satisfied with walls of thatching grass bound between bamboo slivers at regular intervals. Such walls are also sometimes plastered with mud. Each house has two doors, one in front and the other at the back or at the further end of one of the side-walls. The front door is not generally placed in the middle of the front wall but more towards one of the sides. The door sometimes consists of two panels made out of two logs of wood chiselled into shape with arrangement for closing it with a cross-bar from both sides as necessary (Plate XIX, Fig. 75). The door-panels move on peg and socket arrangement both on top and bottom, on the further side from the midline. Sometimes single-panel doors of bamboo or reed are also found, especially in the houses of poor men. These doors also move on the same plan. Generally the back-door of even a substantial man is of this variety. Purum houses are not divided into compartments and have only one room with a spacious open verandah in front. In Khulen the latter is not found in most of the huts of two-sloped roofs of ordinary villagers. The houses are not oriented to any particular direction in any village. The beams and the vertical posts set up on them in the verandah are often curved with linear and floral designs. Before building a new house the owner collects the materials himself and then asks his co-villagers to help him at the time of construction. Such help is rendered readily and gladly. Even when a huge tree is to be felled or brought home from the jungle for building purpose help is obtained from the villagers and no money payment is made for either of these purposes. The builder only regales the party with rice-beer and the quantity spent on such occasions depends on the condition of the supplier.

The Purum living house (Plate XIX, Fig. 74) is divided into two equal parts by an imaginary line running along the longer axis of the house. The left side, as one enters into the house, is called *phumlil* while the right one is known as *ningan*. The master of the house has his bed in the *phumlil* part, nearer the wall—a little towards the back from the *chhatra* post. Unmarried sons and daughters lie in different beds placed in front of him along the same wall. Future sons-in-law, guests, and young-men who come to pass the night in his house, have their beds on the other side of the house *i.e.*, the *ningan* part opposite to

those of unmarried sons and daughters.[5] The family hearth is situated a little away from the bed of the master of the house towards the back. The shelf for dried fish and meat hangs over the hearth from the beams or rafters above. The water pots are placed further towards the back from the hearth and not far from it. In the house of a *pipa* the place set apart for Senamahi is fixed nearer the right wall (as one enters the house) pretty little towards the back from the *senajumphi*. The place of Senamahi was indicated by a *pipa* and was not verified by us.

Purum houses of the better type show unmistakable signs of Meithei influence especially in the villages near the plains such as Tampak and Changninglong. In shape and details of construction they differ very little from the houses found in the valley. The decorative patterns are also borrowed from the latter. The open verandah, the high eaves and the four-sloped roof point to the same source of influence. Khulen seems to be more conservative in this respect. There, most of the houses have two-sloped roof and the spacious open verandah is rarely met with. The walls are generally of thatching grass and thus Khulen huts are in every respect poorer than those of Tampak or even of Changninglong. It is possible that this style of huts is the effect of comparative poverty of the Khulen people who have few fields in the plains. The Tampak people are more progressive in this respect and this may be directly traceable to their plough cultivation which has placed them in a more affluent condition. Plate XIX, Fig. 74 shows the following particulars of a Purum living house. The broken line divides the house into two parts namely *phumlil* and *ningan*.

1. Chhatra post.
2. Senajumphi post.
3. Bed of the master of the house.

5 *Cf.* Kom custom (P. C. Dasgupta—A note on the Kom People of Manipur. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVII, 1935). The Lakher house is divided into three parts with partition walls—front veranda, main room and back room. The parents sleep in the main room by the side of the main hearth. The daughters sleep in the back room and there the young men also sleep. There also is a heating hearth. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 60-71.)

Among the Lushais the two parts of the house are named *Kumpui* and *Kumai*—the former is occupied by the parents and the latter by the girls and the young children. "If a young man is found on the Kumai nothing is said to him; if, however, he trespasses on the Kumpui he is fined." (Shakespeare—*Lushai-Kuki Clans*, p. 53.)

4. Beds of unmarried sons and daughters.
5. Beds for future sons-in-law, who come to serve the *yaun-gimba* period and of the guests and of young men who come to sleep in the house.
6. Family hearth.
7. Shelf for keeping dried fish and meat.
8. Place where the *zu* pot is kept.
9. Place where the water pots are kept.
10. Front door.
11 *or* 12. Back-door.
13. Altar of Senamahi in the house of a *pipa* (according to Shemchao the Julhung *pipa* of Changninglong).

House-entrance

On the day of entering a new house the *maksa*[6] prepares the requisite quantity of *zu* and keeps it ready in the centre of the house. At first the *thempu* or the oldest man of the place offers a *chunga* (a vessel made from a section of bamboo with a node kept intact at the bottom—Plate XVI, Fig. 61A) of this *zu* to Nungchungba by pouring it on the centre of the floor. At the same time he utters the following prayer to the god in question :—

Apu Nungchungba-o ! Na-in-sakhi
Pun-si-ti-ke. Thi-na-ompi-na-o.

6 The term *maksa* indicates the husband of the daughter, sister, father's sister, etc., in fact it means the husbands of the daughters of the family of all the generations preceding and succeeding. It seems to be a generic term of very wide connotation which can be used by any member of a family with reference to any person who has married in the family without any distinction of generation. There are other and more definite terms of relationship to indicate particular marital relations included under *maksa* but the latter is a general term used by all alike. The term *ningan* is similarly used in respect of all the daughters of the family without any distinction of generation. They are the wives of the *maksas*. There are other particular terms of relationship used in respect of persons included under *ningan* but the latter is a general term which can be utilised by all the members of the family with reference to its daughters. *Vide* in this connection the author's article "A possible relic of matrilocal residence among the Old Kuki tribes of Manipur (Assam), in *Anthropological Papers, New Series*, No. 6 published by the Calcutta University in 1941.

It has been translated by our interpreter in the following terms :—

> Oh Sir Nungchungba ! I have constructed this house,
> Let us live long. Let us not die of illness.

After this offering the *thempu* or the oldest man drinks a little of this *zu* and he is followed, in order, by the *khullakpa, luplakpa, khunjahanba, keirungba, selungba,* and the *changlai.* After them all others present make merry over it.

This is followed by the ceremonial kindling of fire for the first time in the newly constructed house. The *maksa* kindles the fire. Formerly it used to be produced by sawing method but now a stick of the safety match may serve the purpose. In a new house the fire must not be brought at the first time from another man's house, however nearly related he may be. Fowls or pigs may be killed on this occasion but only for the feast. No animal sacrifice is necessary. Where animals are killed for the feast it is done by the *maksa*. This completes the house-entrance ceremony.

Cowsheds

The cowshed is generally a hut with two-sloped roof constructed on wooden posts. It is protected on three sides with walls of reed tied between bamboo slivers. Sometimes these walls are dispensed with. The ground-plan is always rectangular and the plinth is slightly raised above the ground level. The floor is made of beaten earth. The roof is thatched with grass as in the case of living huts.

Granaries

We have already said that the Purums construct their granaries (Plate VI, Fig. 20) within the compound of the house. The ground-plan of the granaries is always rectangular. They are built on piles or on blocks of stone or logs of wood.[7] Usually

[7] The Chirus and the Lakhers have similar granaries built on piles and rectangular in ground-plan. The Lushais build their granaries in some sheltered nook, a little away from the village. The Lakhers construct it half-way between the *jhum* and the village. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 80, and the illustration facing this page; Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 33.)

three rows of piles are driven into the ground or three rows of heavy blocks of wood or stone are merely placed on the ground and on them wooden beams and stringers are laid out and secured to them. These beams and stringers are socketed at different intervals to receive the lower ends of the wooden posts on which the two-sloped roof is supported. The floor is usually made of bamboo-matting but sometimes of bamboo-halves or even wooden stakes closely and evenly spread out. In rare cases planks are used. In every granary the upper surface of the floor is plastered with earth. The walls are generally made of bamboo-matting supported on the outer side at very short intervals with bamboo or wooden posts placed on the stringers. Walls of other materials such as reed or grass are rare though not absent. The inner side of the walls are always plastered with earth and sometimes the outer side too. The roof is invariably two-sloped and is constructed in the same way and with the same kind of materials as that of the living house. A simple piece of wood driven into the ground in front of the door serves the purpose of the steps. Sometimes a notched piece of wood is placed in an inclined position before the door when the floor is fairly high. The door is most often placed on one of the shorter sides of the rectangle and towards one corner. In very big granaries it is also seen in the middle of one of the longer sides. The door is made of either single or double panels and is of the same type as found in the dwelling houses. The length of the granaries varies from three to six metres and the breadth from two to three metres. The height from the ground to the ridge-pole is about three metres. Inside the granary the grains may be simply deposited on the floor or kept in special receptacles of cylindrical shape constructed within the granary with reed or bamboo mats.

Pigsty and Fowl-pen

The pigsty and the fowl-pen are described in connection with domestic animals.

Sec. II.—Means of Food-supply

Agriculture

Agriculture forms the principal occupation of the Purums. At present they practise both dry and wet cultivation, though it

Fig. 10. A dancing pose of the women of Changninglong,

Fig. 11. Men and women dancing at Changninglong.

seems that the latter form was adopted from the dwellers of the valley after they had come to settle near the low-lying area. Indeed, it was stated by one of our informants that some of their villages had been established in order to secure land in the plains. Changninglong is said to have been colonised for such reasons. Tampak is a more recent colony which originated from the same purpose. Inspite of this persistent demand for land in the valley, *jhum* or shifting hill cultivation still forms the main source of food-supply of the Purums.

Rice is the staple food of the Purums and every householder grows the necessary quantity in his own fields. In addition to paddy they also cultivate a few varieties of vegetables such as gourd (*kadu*), colocasia,[8] cucumbers (*khira*), *saukri* (a kind of plant the leaves of which are eaten by the Purums though they taste bitter), etc. Maize, onions and sesamum are also grown in the *jhums*.

The Purums live on the western fringe of the hills which separate the valley of Manipur from the Kabaw valley. In most cases the fields in the valleys are owned and cultivated by the Meitheis while the slopes of the hills have fallen to the lot of the Purums and other tribes living in this area such as the Lamgangs, Aimols, Marrings, and others. The area over which *jhuming* right is exercised is roughly fixed in relation to each village. It is marked out with natural or artificial boundary marks. Trespassing is rare though not absent—the villagers being wide awake on this point. Disputes between adjacent villages on this ground are commonly settled by a joint session of the officers of the contending villages and only rarely taken to the Courts of the State. Generally the *jhum* land lies around the village and may not be at a great distance from it as cultivation of such land is carried out from the village. On account of the growth of population within the village or exhaustion of the soil, when the annually available *jhum* land falls short of the

8 The Thadous are very fond of taro (*colocasia*) and a section of them greatly relies on it. Hutton states : " It is said that it is only of comparatively recent years that rice has supplanted taro as the staple crop of the Thado, and taro (*colocasia*) is still largely cultivated." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 87 and Fn. 2.) The Lhota and the Ao Nagas grow it in their *jhums* for the pigs. The former offer it for releasing the soul when it has been enticed away by some *tsandhramo*. Taro is the staple crop of the Konyaks and they prefer it to rice. (Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, p. 125; Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 57, 61, 135 and xxix.) The Lakhers do not know it.

necessity of the village, ordinarily a colony is sent out. Thus the pressure on land is sought to be relieved.

Among the inhabitants of the village, any one may select a particular plot from the village *jhum* land which has not already been cleared or marked out for the same purpose by some other inhabitant. Our informants told us on various occasions that there is no attempt at equitable distribution of *jhum* land among the villagers by the village officers or any such public body. It is left to individual choice and discretion. All the villagers do not prepare their *jhums* in the same area but select sites at random. It is strange that they do not seem to realise the benefit of preparing *jhums* in adjacent tracts in protecting the crops against the depredations of wild animals. When an individual selects a *jhum* site from the available jungle land, he clears a portion of it and puts up on a big tree his mark by removing a part of the bark and fixing up a cross-piece of wood into the body of the tree on this spot. This mark is usually respected by other seekers of *jhum* sites. When two persons quarrel over a particular plot of land the *khullakpa*, with the help of the village elders, decides the dispute on the evidence produced by both the parties. If evidence be not available the disputants have to take oath before god Senamahi.

After selecting the site the householder prepares himself to see in dreams the nature of the plot.[9] If he finds himself mixing on good terms with the spirit (Lam-hel) of the locality it is a favourable sign and he may proceed with his work. But if, on the contrary, the spirit shows signs of displeasure and fights or quarrels with him, in dream, the site is forthwith abandoned and a new one selected and similarly tested.

A *jhum* site, if specially fertile, may be cultivated for four succeeding years at the utmost, after which it is allowed to lie

9 The Lakher depends on dream revelations for the final selection of a *jhum* plot. A man intent on cultivating a particular plot cuts a patch of jungle in it on the first day. He believes that the spirit of the locality being thus aware of his purpose will inform him in a dream about the suitability of the plot. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 77.) The Lhota shows his intention of cultivating a *jhum* by erecting a stake in the midst of a small clearing and cutting a notch on the side of the stake and filling it up with earth. He also notes his dreams on that night and if it augurs ill the plot is abandoned. (Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, p. 46.) The Ao, in addition to dreams, also tries to divine the nature of his new *jhum* plot by means of fire-thongs. (Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, p. 110.)

fallow for about ten years. During this period the land regains its fertility by accummulation of mould and becomes ready for another period of cultivation. When *jhum* land is not specially fertile it may be given up even after one year. When the land is under cultivation the right remains with one who has cleared it first but when it is given up to recuperate its fertility it may be renewed by any one else like waste land. The proprietary right in *jhum* land seems to rest with the village community as a whole while the individual householder possesses the usufructuary right only.

The jungle is cleared in the month of Phairel (February-March) and allowed to dry on the spot for about a month. The bigger trees are usually not cut down but their branches only are lopped off. The saplings, as a rule, are all removed while the undergrowth is removed in patches. In Lamta (March-April) when they are completely dry and the jungle grass has also withered fire is applied in accordance with the direction of the wind. The dried up trees and shrubs help in burning the green patches of undergrowth and thus much labour is saved. At the time of cutting the jungle a number of persons work together (the *lam*) and they proceed in a line. The *cham* (Plate XV, Fig 59) is used in felling the saplings and shrubs while the axe is reserved for bigger trees. The workers produce a sound like hei-ho hei-ho which gives them some relief in their work. *Zu* is constantly supplied to keep up the spirit.

More or less a month after burning the jungle, in Kalel (May-June), when the rains are expected, paddy is sown broadcast over the ashes.[10] Sesamum is also sown mixed up with paddy at the same time. The seeds are carried in a basket and one or

10 The Aos, Changs and Konyaks sow seeds broadcast in their *jhum* fields. But the Angamis, Lhotas, Rengmas and Semas dig a little hole and drop the seeds into it. (Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, p. XXIX.) The Nagas living among the Kukis, according to Shaw, sow broadcast but the Thadous and the Lushais put the seeds into holes made with a small hoe and a square-ended *dao* respectively. Among the Lakhers the ground is scratched with a hoe and about ten seeds dropped into each scratch, " The seeds are left uncovered, as the heavy rain soon washes the earth over them." (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 78.) The Kabuis, according to McCulloch, scratch the *jhum* field with a small hoe and mix up the ashes with earth and then sow the seeds broadcast. (McCulloch —*op. cit.*, pp. 43-46.) The Chirus also mix the ashes with earth by hoeing and then sow broadcast, covering the seeds with soil by lightly hoeing it over again. The Tipperahs of Hill Tippera sow several kinds of seeds together in holes made with a *dao*.

two persons scatter them over the field from their hands. At the same time several others lightly turn over the soil with the *lau-chau* (a kind of small hoe). Thus the grains are buried with a quantity of ashes which, it is believed, help in increasing the fertility of the land. In a part of the same field they plant onions, while in other convenient places seeds of cucumber, gourd and *saukri* are sown. The last seems to be a kind of jute plant. Its leaves are eaten, though bitter in taste, and its bark is utilised for preparing ropes. In some other part of the same field they build up ridges and sow seeds of Indian corn on them. Thus in the same field they grow almost all the necessities of life. Inspite of this the paddy plants arrest the greatest part of their attention and all their agricultural rites and festivals are performed in relation to them.

A month or so after sowing, when the paddy plants have attained a certain height, weeding begins. It is performed for the first time in the month of Inga (June-July) followed by the second and third operations in the months of Ingel (July-August) and Thaoal (August-September) respectively. Weeding is performed with a small iron implement called *atu* which has the shape of a hoe. Both the sexes take part in this operation. In fact, except sowing, both the sexes take equal part in all the operations of the *jhum* field. When the grains are about to ripen each householder constructs a temporary hut in his *jhum* where he passes the night and the greater part of the day, guarding the crops against wild animals and birds.

Harvesting operations begin in Mera (October-November) and continues for a pretty long period. The paddy-stalks, one or two inches below the grains, are cut with a sickle[11] and carried in baskets to the *jhum* house where the grains are removed by striking the stalks with a *cheirung* (Plate XIII, Fig. 46) on a mat.[12] These are next cleaned by slowly pouring from a height

11 The Lakhers, instead of cutting the paddy stalk, pull up the plants with their roots and then beat off the grains. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 81.)

12 This method of threshing seems to have been borrowed from the Manipuris along with the implement (*cheirung*). Shaw does not mention the method of threshing among the Thadous. The Lushais employ two or three methods. The ears of paddy are " trodden out by persons dancing on them or are beaten with sticks." The third method " is to construct a platform about 7 or 8 feet from the ground on which a circular bamboo bin is fixed, into which the ears of rice are thrown and a young man with a girl as a companion dance merrily among

when a blast of wind is passed through the falling grains by means of basketry work. These grains are next carried home in finely woven carrying baskets slung from the forehead on the back and stored up for future use. Straw is not collected as the cattle are never fed at home. The other crops are collected at their proper times.

Several of the Purum rites and festivals seem to be connected with agriculture. The worship of Nungchungba[13] in the month of Phairel when the *jhums* are cleared seems to be connected with the beginning of the agricultural operations of the year. The *khunjahanba* tries to learn the future of the villagers during the coming year in course of this ceremony by means of egg-divination. This is an occasion of great merry-making when dancing and singing continue for seven days. Work in the field is tabooed during this period.

The worship of Sabuhong [14] or Phaumikauba is performed in the month of Mera when the paddy-stalks have made their appearance and the village officers coax the paddy to come from all possible places to the fields of their village-men in a magico-religious ceremony.

A Purum householder may not begin his harvesting operations before his *pipa*[15] has offered the first fruits of the year to Senamahi. When the paddy has ripened each householder collects a quantity of them and goes to the house of his *pipa* for offering the first fruits[16] of his field to Senamahi. The *pipa*, who is in charge of the Senamahi of the *sib* or *subsib*, as the case may

them, singing all one while." This separates the grains which fall on the ground. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 33.) The Lakhers separate the grains by trampling under feet (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 80) which is also one of the methods practised in some parts of Bengal. The Angamis, Lhotas, and the Aos thrash by trampling the ears of paddy.

13 For details see Chap. V. " The Chirus at the time of cutting the *jhums* go in procession with drums and gongs to the place chosen. . " (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 168.)

14 For details see Chap. V.

15 For details see Chap. V.

16 Shakespeare refers to the performance of harvest feasts by the Purums like the Pawl-Kut of the Lushais. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 167.) The latter kill fowls, dress their children in the best finery and feed them with rice, eggs and meat. (*Op. cit.*, p. 87.) Among the Koms it lasts three days and is called Lam-Kut. The Aimols hunt on this occasion and dance, sing and drink to their heart's content. Among the Lamgang and Anal the " best crop in the village is reaped by the whole community gong to the field with dance and song." The owner has to feed the community on this occasion for three days.

be, offers this rice to the deity with due prayers on behalf of the householder. Now-a-days they go to the house of the *pipa* of the *subsib* instead of the *sib*. Some fish are also offered along with the rice. Later on these are cooked in the house of the *pipa* and partaken of by all the members of the latter's family and the householder who brought the rice. Such offerings to Senamahi may not be made by any other person than the *pipa* or at any other place except his house where Senamahi of the *sib* or *subsib* is maintained and duly worshipped. After this the householder may begin to harvest his field and eat the new rice.

Some of the Purum families have land in the valley which they cultivate in the manner of the Meitheis. These fields are prepared by ploughing and seeds sown broadcast or seedlings transplanted according to the nature of the soil. Communal right in such kind of land is not recognised. The individual owner has got the right of sale, mortgage and gift over such land. This kind of land is not abandoned after a few years of cultivation but is kept under the plough from year to year.

So long we have tried to give an idea of the older form of cultivation practised by the Purums. Plough cultivation is at present pursued by all the four villages of the Purums. But it is still confined among the richer section of the tribe. Land in the valley is owned mostly by individual proprietors of the Meithei community. The villages on the hills inhabited by the different tribes have no traditional proprietary right over such land. The latter only exercise this right in relation to the tops and slopes of the hills. So, valley land is available only by purchase, or in rare case, by gift. The Purums have fully realised the value of valley-land and they have now a great attraction for this type of fields. We have already stated that Khulen is regarded to be the oldest settlement of the tribe in this area. Changninglong and Chumbang were established at a later stage for the purpose of cultivating valley-land. Tampak is of more recent origin and was definitely established for the same purpose. Of the four

(*Op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.) The Lakhers sacrifice a red hen at the beginning of the harvest, near the *jhum* house, before a bamboo or wooden post. Every kind of grains and vegetables grown on the *jhum* is anointed with this sacrificial blood. When all the families have stored their paddy a feast called *Pazusata* is performed in Savang. In it the village children " are allowed to do and say anything they like without let or hindrance." It has the character of a saturnalia and is believed to cause the paddy to last throughout the year. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 436, 438.)

villages Khulen is situated at the highest point while Tampak and Chumbang have grown up in the plains. The remaining one occupy an intermediate position though not very far removed from the valley. From the situation of the villages, it appears that the Purums had been guided by this attraction for farming in the valley in all their attempts at colonisation and perhaps it further marks the stages by which they adopted the different elements of culture from the dwellers of the valley. On our way to Khulen from Waikhong market we found, after crossing a hill stream and rising a little above the plains, three or four thatched huts constructed at close quarters. They were above the valley but not far removed from it. The few families of Khulen which have valley-fields on this side of the hill take their paddy at the first instance to this place[17] after harvesting and keep it there till they find sufficient time to remove the grains to their home in the village. They often remain there even at night specially when the crop has to be guarded against the depredations of wild animals and during and after the harvest operations. It is not improbable that such temporary field-houses have led to the establishment of permanent villages. The movement from Khulen towards the valley is still going on. Thus, Waipu, who was the *khullakpa* of Tampak in 1936 when we visited the village, came down from Khulen and settled at Tampak not many years ago. He left his parents and other brothers at Khulen where he was born and brought up. While at Khulen, he entered into an arrangement with a Manipuri farmer to cultivate some of his fields in the valley in return for a stipulated quantity of grains. This was only possible from Tampak and not from Khulen, so he changed his residence and came down to Tampak. There is a system in this part by which a man may cultivate another man's fields in return for twelve baskets (*sangpot*) of paddy per *pari*[18] of land so cultivated. The owner of the field does not give any kind of help—not even the seeds. *Sangpot* is a Manipuri term which the Purums have adopted. They have no term of their own to indicate the basket. A *sangpot* holds about two maunds (164 lb. av.) of paddy which fetch a price

17 The Lakhers also carry their paddy grains to a granary built half-way between the *jhum* and the village. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 80.)

18 It is a land-measure. Two *sangams* make one *lourak* and two *louraks* make one *pari*. Dr. Lairen Singh gives the following etymological meaning of *sangam*. *Son*=Bullock; *gom*=can perform *i.e.*, the plot of land that can be ploughed by one pair of bullocks in one day.

of about one rupee (about 18 pence) during harvest time while at other times it may rise up to two rupees or near about. Waipu saved some money in this way and purchased three *sangams* of valley land from a Manipuri villager at a price of Rs. 30. He increased the size of this field by clearing up the jungle surrounding his plot and bringing the land under cultivation. Thus, his field grew up to five *sangams* or one *pari* and one *sangam*. Generally this much of land produces forty to fifty baskets (*sangpots*) of paddy every year but unfortunately, owing to flood, he did not expect to get more than thiry baskets of paddy in the year under consideration (1936). The way adopted by Waipu to establish himself in life shows perhaps another method by which villages might have grown up near the plains though the ultimate urge is the same, namely, attraction for valley fields.

The fields in the valley are used for cultivation of paddy. Generally wet cultivation is practised in this kind of land. The Purums till such fields with the plough instead of the hoe. Ploughing usually begins in the month of Kalel and is finished by Thaoal. After ploughing the field twice or thrice, water is let into it from a neighbouring stream by means of a canal constructed for the purpose. After watering, the field is again ploughed about three times at which the earth turns into mud when it becomes ready for reception of the paddy seedlings. A wet paddy field is occasionally ploughed for as many as seven times. Seeds are not sown broadcast in this kind of field. Paddy seedlings are grown at first in a convenient place and when they are a month and a half old they become ready for transplantation. Purum householders who have wet paddy fields in the valley either grow their own seedlings or purchase them from others. When the field is ready the seedlings are uprooted and transferred there in bundles. The *lam* to which the owner of the field belongs comes to his help. The seedlings—about a foot and a half in height—are next planted singly in the prepared field at a distance of about six to nine inches from one another.[19] The workers, both men and women, generally stand in a row and plant the seedlings as quickly as possible. Their aim is to finish planting the field within the day. This, however, is not difficult as the wet fields are never very big in area

19 The Meitheis also sow seeds broadcast in addition to transplanting.

in this part. The size of the fields depends on various factors. Every wet field has got earthen ridges all round it for keeping the water brought from the stream or flowing through it from higher level. They always attempt to make the bed of the field absolutely level so that water may remain at the same level all through the field. At the foot of the hills where the ground gradually slopes down to lower and lower level till it reaches the lowest plane, this is only possible if the fields are of small size. In a small field the gradient will be low and levelling will be less difficult. But these considerations do not play any part when we come to the dead plane or depressions where naturally we find bigger fields. Even in such fields the Purums always desire to complete planting the entire field within the day. Though the wet paddy fields of the Purums, especially in the higher reaches, look like terraced fields they are not typical instances of this kind of cultivation. When a Purum householder has no plough or rather the animals to draw it, he may hire one from his neighbours. Payment is made in paddy on the basis of land cultivated with the plough or rather the animals. Thus in Tampak two *sangpots* of paddy are given for each *sangam* of land ploughed.

Weeding is done generally once, about a month after transplantation. But if weeds grow in abundance it may be repeated twice or even thrice. The grains ripen about four months after transplantation. The fields have to be guarded against both birds and wild beasts, especially from the time when the ears begin to appear till harvesting. Deer and wild boars cause immense damage to the crop at the earlier part while, when the grains begin to ripen, huge flocks of birds, especially the parrots, fly about from morning till afternoon. So, at this time of the year, all the members of the family—both men and women, children and adult—remain near the field and drive away the birds by shouting and producing various kinds of sound by beating on different kinds of articles. This is also practised in the *jhum* fields.

Harvesting begins in Painu (December-January) and extends over ten or twelve days of Wakching (January-February). The stalks are cut about two or three inches below the grains with a sickle. The grains are separated from the stalk by beating with a *cheirung* (Plate XIII Fig. 46) and cleared of impurities by pouring them slowly from a basket when another man passes

a blast through the falling grains with a big fan made of bamboo-splits. The grains are next carried either to the field-house or to home. At home it is stored in the granary (*shir*).

Implements of Husbandry and Domestic Utensils

It has already been stated that the Purums now practise both plough cultivation and hoe cultivation though the latter is the more ancient method. In *jhuming* (hoe cultivation) the implements generally used are the *cham* (chopper), the *lau-chau* (hoe) (Plate XIII Fig. 48), *atu* [19a] (smaller hoe for weeding) (Plate XIII Fig. 47), *arei* (axe) and the sickle. Of these, the first two are the most important.

Whenever a new *jhum* is made the jungle covering the slope of the hill is cleared mainly with the *cham* (chopper) by the workers both male and female, proceeding in a line. The implement (Plate XV Fig. 59) varies much in size but not so much in shape. The Purums now use the ordinary Manipuri chopper which they either purchase in the market from Manipuri blacksmiths or get it manufactured by their own village blacksmiths. The blade is a flat straight piece of iron slightly concave in shape at the cutting edge, the posterior end of which is truncated. From the posterior end the blade decreases in width towards the handle where it has the least breadth. From this place it assumes the shape of a pointed tang which is introduced into a bamboo or wooden handle. The blade end of the handle is strengthened with an iron ferrule. The sharpness of the cutting edge depends on the use of steel. The upper part of the blade is always made of pig iron while the cutting edge, in the better class of implements, is provided with steel. At the time of manufacturing the *cham* a lump of pig iron is hammered to a thick rectangular shape. The edge intended for cutting is next bifurcated and a piece of steel dovetailed into it. It is next heated and hammered several times to give it the necessary shape and size.[19b] The upper edge of the *cham* is always thick and blunt. The *cham* is practically the constant companion of the hillman. It is at the same time an implement as well as a weapon. With this he clears the jungle in his field, cuts his way through the dense forest, protects himself against the attacks

19a *Cf.* Lakher *atu*. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 56.)
19b *Cf.* Lakher method of making axe. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 55.)

of wild animals when necessary and embelishes with carvings his house and domestic utensils.

The Purum plough (Plate XIII Fig. 42 and Plate XII Fig. 39) is an exact copy of the Manipuri plough which is also most probably derived from the plains of Eastern Bengal. It has no connection with the Burmese type. It consists of three parts—the yoke, the beam and the body. The yoke and the beam differ according to the number of animals employed in drawing the plough. Generally one buffalo or two bullocks are used to draw the plough though it may not be always strictly followed. When two animals are employed the yoke is made of a piece of bamboo or wooden pole about 1.5 metre long with a diameter of about 7 or 8 cm. Two pegs of bamboo or wood each about 45 cm. in length are inserted through two holes bored into the yoke about 30 to 40 cm. from the two ends. The top of these pegs are sometimes carved into steps. They gradually narrow down towards the lower end. The two bullocks are placed on the outer side of these two pegs so that they may not come too near each other and thereby obstruct their own progress. There is a single beam in such a plough which is made of a wooden pole. It is roughly rectangular in cross-section towards the body-end while rounded or oval towards the yoke-end. At the latter part there are several notches at the lower side with which the length of the beam may be adjusted. The beam is inserted at about the middle of the body and kept tight by means of a wedge. The free-end of the beam is placed below the yoke and tied to it with a piece of rope at one of the notches of the former. The body of the plough is made from a single piece of wood which is practically straight up to the beginning of the share-beam where it is bent at an obtuse angle. The share-beam of the body is roughly semi-circular while the upper part is nearly triangular or trapezoid in cross-section. In both parts the dimension diminishes towards the ends. An iron plough-share is fitted at the end of the share-beam while the top-end of the body is provided with a tail which the cultivator catches hold of with his left hand at the time of tilling the soil and by means of which he guides the plough.[20] In case of a plough drawn by a single animal the yoke is a curved piece of wood

[20] The modern Manipuri plough seems to be much improved than what McCulloch describes in his *Account of the Valley of Munnipore etc.*, and which has been quoted by Hodson in his book *The Meitheis*, p. 41.

placed on the neck of the animal. The beam is made from a suitable tree with two branches of almost equal strength and thickness diverging from a common stem which is introduced into the body of the plough at the same point as in the previous case and in the same manner. The free ends of the two diverging branches are connected to the two ends of the yoke. The animal is placed in-between these two branches of the beam and the plough handled as before.

The body of the plough is generally purchased from the market while the yoke and the beam are made at home.

In the valley fields, harrowing is often necessary in order to kill the weeds or thin out the paddy plants, which have grown inconveniently thick. Like the plough, the harrow also consists of three parts—the body, the beam and the yoke. The yoke is the same as that used with the plough drawn by two animals. The body (Plate XII Fig. 39 & Plate XIII Fig. 44) consists of a heavy piece of wood, roughly rectangular in cross-section and about 1.5 to 2.8 metres in length. On one side of this log a number of pegs are vertically fitted about 5 to 7 cm. apart from one another in a tight manner. They are not fitted in one line. This arrangement prevents the body from bursting when the pegs are tightly driven in. The pegs are either made of iron or of wood and are pointed at the free-end. On the opposite side of the body a wooden stake is bent and fixed into two holes bored at the middle of the log about a metre apart. This forms the handle of the implement. As the harrow is operated by two animals the beam is made accordingly. It consists of two wooden poles fixed into the third side of the body of the harrow which faces the draught-animals when in use. They are set about 60 to 90 cm. apart in the middle region of the body and are bound together at the other end which is tied to the yoke when in use. The two branches of the beam impart more strength. The harrow is generally drawn by two bullocks, the cultivator standing at the back holding the handle with his left hand and guiding the animals with a stick in his right hand. The pointed free ends of the pegs are introduced into the ground and regulated by means of the handle. The soil is slightly scratched which uproots the weeds as well as the paddy plants which are left on the field to dry up. The harrow is generally made at home though this is also available in the market.

Fig. 12. Unmarried girls of Tampak.

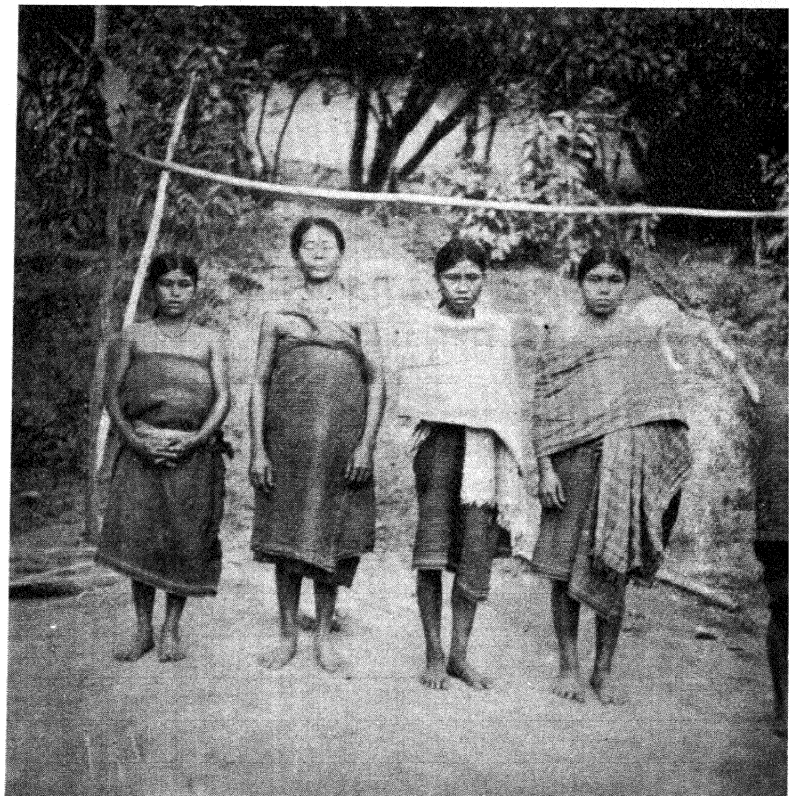


Fig. 13. Married women of Changninglong.

The leveller (Plate XII Fig. 39 and Plate XIII Fig. 45) also consists of three parts—the body, the beam and the yoke. The beam connects the body with the yoke as usual. The leveller is made of a heavy piece of wood, rectangular in cross-section and about 2.5 metres in length. It has a beam of single pole like that of the plough drawn by two animals and a handle of a bent wooden stake like that of the harrow but smaller in size. It is drawn by two animals. The operator stands behind, catching the handle in a stooping position throwing the weight of his body on the implement. Sometimes one or more children are asked to stand on the body of the leveller to increase its weight. The implement is made at home.

Harvesting is done with a sickle in which the cutting edge is serrated. It is generally obtained from the village blacksmith or may be purchased from the market.

The Purums use the same threshing implement as the inhabitants of the valley. It is called *cheirung* (Plate XIII Fig. 46) in Manipuri. It has got the shape of a human hand with the fingers spread out. The implement is made from a sapling or branch of a tree with three smaller branches diverging from about the same place. These smaller branches are brought to the same line and their upper part slightly curved under pressure. The operator catches hold of the *cheirung* at the lower part and strikes with it on the stalks of paddy spread out in a thick layer on mats. The implement may be made at home or purchased from the market.

Domestic Animals

The Purum domestic animals consist of cows, buffaloes, pigs, dogs, cats, and fowls. Pigeons and ducks also are kept by some persons though their occurrence is rare.

The Purums do not give any regular name to their domestic animals. When a particular animal is to be referred to it is distinguished by some physical peculiarity such as colour of the body, nature of the horns or tusks, as the case may be.

The cows and buffaloes are not fed at home.[21] In the morning each family sends out its cattle to the forest alone or

[21] The Thadous also do not feed their mithuns and buffaloes at home (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 85) and the Lakhers treat their mithuns and cows in the same manner. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.) Among the Lusheis also the mithuns graze in the jungle and come home at dusk.

in charge of grown up boys to graze on jungle grass and shrubs which grow in abundance in this part of the country. Usually the cattle roam over the hills at will while the boys pass their time in playing. In the evening they return home and are kept in the cattle-shed. There is no arrangement for supplying them with water or rice-gruel at home. The Purums rear cattle mainly for use as draught animals and also for their meat. Milk or any of its preparations is not generally used by them.[22] Even infants are not ordinarily fed on cow or buffalo milk. Only motherless infants are reared on milk of cows or buffaloes. Now-a-days, some persons occasionally take milk in imitation of the Hindus of the plains. But this is rare and a recent introduction. There is no market for milk and consequently the cows are never milched. The calves have the free use of their mother's milk. This has perhaps led to the gradual deterioration of the milk-giving capacity of these cattle. There is no attempt at improving the breed by selection of bulls or by crossing with improved varieties.

Every householder of ordinary means keeps a number of pigs. They are fed on leaves of *colocasia* and the refuse of husked rice or of *zu* boiled together. Each house has got a pigsty where the animals are penned during night. The pigsty is a small covered enclosure about 1.8 meter to 2.4 meter in length, 1.2 to 1.8 meter in breadth and 1.2 to 1.5 meter in height. It is made of logs of wood driven into the ground on all four sides of the pen touching each other, with a door on one side. The roof is also similarly made with a number of logs of wood spread over the enclosure. One side of the roof is slightly higher than the other and the logs lie along the slope. The logs forming the wall of the pigsty are sometimes tied between bamboo slivers

(Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 31.) The Angamis send out their cattle in charge of a cowherd. (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, p. 80.) The Ao cattle wander about in the jungle, and return home only to pass the night. (Mills—*Ao Nagas*, p. 133.)

22 Most of the Lakhers regard milk as dirty and do not drink it. But there is no taboo on it. Cows supply them only with meat. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 165.) The Chins, Garos, Khasis, Miris, Mikirs, Daphlas, Abors, Lhotas, Angamis and Ao Nagas also do not take milk. Some of them have a natural aversion to this important article of food but most of them have no taboo on it. Among these tribes mithuns, buffaloes and cows are kept for their meat. (W. C. Smith—*The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, pp. 139-140.) The Western Rengmas keep cattle in large number for their meat but abhor to use their milk. (Mills—*The Rengma Nagas*, p. 92.)

or wooden splinters at regular intervals. The binding material is often bamboo-strips and sometimes creepers. The logs forming the roof remain in position by their own weight and are rarely bound together.

Pigs are reared for two purposes: they supply the householder with meat on all occasions of social importance. Thus, at the first hair-cutting ceremony as well as at the time of marriage and funeral, pigs are killed for feasting friends and relatives. When a man is honoured with the *to-lai-hong* (Plate VII Fig. 24) he kills three pigs and gives a feast to his villagers. Every newly appointed village officer has to supply a number of pots of *zu* and one or more pigs to the villagers for feasting on the occasion of his installation. The second and more important use of pigs in Purum society lies in their demand as sacrificial animals to both the malevolent and benevolent deities. When a disease takes a serious turn and the sacrifice of fowls has no effect a pig must be offered to the deity presiding over the disease. During important communal rites like the worship of Porak-lam-taiba pigs are sacrificed. Indeed, one of the village officers has the honourable duty of selecting pigs for use on public occasions.

Dogs and cats are also found in Purum houses. They mainly depend for their livelihood on the refuse of the plate. The dogs are useful on hunting excursions but that does not mean that the latter are trained in any way for this purpose. The cats are very useful in driving away the rats who are a menace to their granaries. Dogs and cats are never eaten by the Purums though the former are considered to be delicacies by the neighbouring Nagas.[23]

The fowls are found in large number at every village. Even the poorest man keeps a pair or two. They are kept either within the hut under baskets at night, or in small sheds constructed on one side of the living house under the eaves. The latter arrangement is made by one who has a large number of birds. This shed is also made by planting logs of wood or bamboo-halves in the ground on three sides and the fourth side is made up by the wall of the house. The roof is made in the

[23] Shaw writes that the "Thadous are not averse to dog flesh but do not place it in the front rank." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 86.) Among the Lakhers dogs are used for food and sacrifices. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 167.) The Lusheis also employ them for the same purpose. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p 32.)

same way as in the pigsty. The walls of this shed are plastered with earth. The fowl-shed is almost always placed beneath the eaves of the house so that the birds may not suffer from the rain.

The chickens supply the Purums with fresh meat and are also largely used in sacrifices to deities. They are sometimes fed on rice or paddy but mostly satisfy their needs by foraging about the precincts of the house. The male birds are sometimes castrated for producing soft meat while the females are kept to lay eggs. The eggs are in great demand both as a delicacy and for divining the future. Egg-divination is a recognised method of knowing the future of individuals as well as of the community.

Fishing

Fishing is not practised as a profession by the Purums. Sometimes they catch fish for home-consumption and never for selling. Even this is also limited to the villages near the plains, especially Tampak. At Khulen we did not find any fishing contrivance at all. Tampak has got a few varieties of fishing traps together with the rod and line. We did not meet with the fishing net in any of their villages. At Changninglong also we found a number of these traps.

Fishing is not an ancient mode of producing food among the Purums. From its distribution as well as the methods adopted, it seems, they have borrowed it from the dwellers of the valley. Moreover none of their religious rites and festivals is connected with fishing. But certain kinds of fish are especially required as offerings to some of their deities. Two particular kinds of fish (*ngaprum* and *ngaril*) are believed to be the staffs of Senamahi and they are tabooed to the *pipas* who may not eat them.

Though fishing might have been borrowed from the dwellers of the valley yet fish form an essential element of their food. The variety of dishes prepared from fish shows that it plays an important part in their domestic economy.

The different methods of catching fish as practised in Tampak are given below. We have already stated that Tampak is situated at the foot of the hills. Towards its east the hills rise tier after tier while towards the west, at some distance, lies the Logtak Lake with its annually inundated area almost com-

ing up to the boundary of the village. A number of streams which have their sources in the hills pass through this area and discharge their water ultimately in the Logtak Lake. The Tampak people practise fishing either in these streams or in the inundated area of the Logtak Lake. We found three different types of fishing traps at Tampak. The largest of these is called *rupi* (Plate XIV, Fig. 49) which is a lobster-pot type of automatic trap. It is conical in shape—with a length of about two metres and seventy-five centimetres. The base of the cone which is its mouth is about 2.12 metres in circumference. It is made of bamboo splits tied with fine cane-splits to a spirally circulating bundle of bamboo-strips which run through the inner side of the trap. The mouth of the trap is open and wide while the posterior end is closed and more or less pointed. The trap is made in two parts—the posterior end of the front part fits into the anterior end of the back part. The two parts are generally kept separate except when the trap is set. This division into two parts is necessary as the trap is inconveniently long and difficult for one man to handle. Moreover, fish imprisoned in the trap can be easily taken out by separating the hind part where they usually assemble, without disturbing the main trap and later on fitted to it again. The trap is set on the bed of shallow streams and in the inundated area. In the latter case either a bridge on the road passing through the area or a place reputed for passage of fish is selected. It is set horizontally in all cases. When it is set on the bed of a stream the mouth is directed against the current and weirs or dams are constructed from both banks up to the mouth of the trap. In the inundated area long stretches of weirs are more visible than dams. Fish trying to pass through the weirs enter into its mouth and push towards the posterior end where they find the passage blocked. Owing to narrowness of the trap at this part they cannot turn back and are thus imprisoned. The type of fish captured in these traps varies with the nature of the diameter of the trap at its hindmost part. There is no valve arrangement in this kind of trap and no bait is used.

The other two types of fish-trap—the *kapouru* and the *taicep* —have valve arrangements. The *kapouru* (Plate XIV, Fig. 50) is cylindrical in shape with both ends gradually diminishing in diameter. It is about 80 cm. long and 60 cm. in circumference at the middle, on the outer side. One of the ends is permanent-

ly closed, while the other, though kept open, is closed at the time of setting with a bundle of grass. Fish are taken out by the latter end shaking the trap thoroughly. The valve consisting of a number of bamboo spikes connected with one another by twining with cane-splits at regular intervals is fixed to the mouth of the trap placed at its middle part. When the fishes push from the outer side the valve opens, allowing them to enter into the trap but closes at once. When they try to come out the pointed spikes of the valve efficiently obstruct their egress. The *kapouru* is also made of bamboo strips tied with cane-splits to a spirally circulating bundle of bamboo-splits passing over the outer side of the trap. This is also set on the bed of shallow streams or at places reputed for passage of fish in the inundated area in a horizontal fashion with the mouth near the ground. Weirs may be employed for setting this trap but not always.

The *taicep* (Plate XIV, Fig. 51) is a smaller trap of rectangular shape. It is about 40 cm. long, 20 cm. wide and 10 cm. high. This trap also has a valve arrangement running through its entire length. It may be set in two positions—with the valve either lying parallel to the ground or standing vertically on it. The proper places for setting such traps are of the same type as in the previous case. Both *kapouru* and *taicep* are not meant for catching large fish.

Besides these few types of traps the Purums also possess the fishing hook with rod and line (*koi*). The rod is made from a particular type of bamboo which grows in abundance in this part of the country and which is eminently suited for this purpose on account of its elasticity. The line is usually made of twisted cotton yarns which they manufacture for weaving cloths. The hook is made of iron and is purchased from the market. It is generally of foreign manufacture. The bait attached to the hook is generally an earthworm or grasshopper or in rare cases the larvae of wasp. Sometimes a float is attached to the line in order to keep the bait suspended at a certain level. This also serves the purpose of a tell-tale to the fisherman. In shallow clear streams the float is not used. The use of wheel and sinker is unknown to them. The Purums have not yet adopted the use of nets but, we are sure that they will be introduced sooner or later—especially the Chinese net which we found manipulated by men as well as women on both sides of the roads

passing through the annually inundated area of the Logtak Lake. Fishing by poisoning is unknown to them.

Hunting

The Purums are perhaps the most docile of all the tribes that live in the hills which separate Assam from Burma. Whatever might have been their previous records, at present, they do not seem to have any warlike spirit. Even they have lost the wild and ferocious looks of their neighbours such as the Lamgangs and Marrings of the adjoining hills.

Hunting is never practised as a means of livelihood by individuals or groups nor is it pursued for the purpose of replenishing or supplementing the larder. In most cases, however, it is, so to say, the by-product of agriculture. Wild animals, *e.g.*, deer, boars, bears, etc., often cause heavy injury to the standing crops and the Purums have to guard their fields at different stages against these animals. Birds also are a menace to the crops when the paddy begins to ripen. In order to protect their crops the Purums sometimes kill these wild animals and birds. Herds of deer often come to graze on the young shoots of paddy plants in the *jhum* fields. Wild boars turn up the soil in both ploughed and *jhum* fields in search of tubers. Bears are very fond of the paddy grains when the latter form milk. The birds like the ripened grains. Thus the Purums are confronted at every stage of the growth of the main crop with one or other kinds of wild animals and birds. Deer are often dealt with by individual hunters. But when the appearance of a big bear or wild boar is suspected they organise parties for hunting the animal.

The weapons employed for hunting wild animals are few and simple. They are the bow and arrow and different kinds of spears. Besides these, they also carry the *cham* (chopper) which is their constant companion. Matchlock guns have now-a-days come into use for this purpose but they are rarely found among the Purums. Of these four kinds of weapons, the *cham* (chopper) is more a tool than a weapon and the matchlock gun is of recent introduction. Of the two remaining weapons the Purums seem to be more at home with the spear. The Purum bow is not a substantial weapon. It is rather small in size and does not possess any remarkable strength. It mainly depends for its effectiveness on the poisoned arrow. The Purums do not

prepare this poison themselves but purchase it from the Marrings.

There are at least two different kinds of *sai* (spears). The true spear (Plate XV, Fig. 57) is made in three parts—the spearhead, the shaft and the butt.[24] The spearhead again consists of three parts—the socket for insertion of one end of the shaft, the shank and the blade all of which are made from the same piece. " The shank spreads into a more or less lozenge-shaped blade with a shallow mid-rib." The spearhead is about 45 cm. in total length of which the blade is about 25 cm., the shank nearly 8 cm. and the socket about 12 cm. in length. The greatest breadth of the head (about 9 cm.) is at the junction of the shank with the blade. The shaft is about one and a quarter metre in length, round in cross-section with a circumference of about 7 cm. It is made from a particular type of bamboo which does not grow very thick but is practically solid and almost uniform in girth. The lower end of this bamboo is merely pointed and rammed into the socket. Sometimes gum is applied to strengthen the junction. A mature straight bamboo is selected for this purpose. It is often smoked which gives it a fine deep brown colour. The butt also consists of two parts namely the socket and the point, though made from the same piece. It is about 30 cm. in length. The socket part is circular but the rest is rectangular in cross-section. The upper end of the shaft is fitted into the socket of the spiked butt in the same way as the spearhead. Prof. Hutton has associated this type of spear with the Ao Nagas.[24a]

The other type of spear (Plate XV, Fig. 58) is more or less a harpoon. It consists of two parts only, the head and the shaft. The head, though made from one piece, may be divided into three parts, the socket, the shank and the blade. The socket

24 The Lusheis have also two types of spear—one with a blade 30 to 35 cms. long and shaped like a laurel-leaf and the other is much longer and diamond shaped. The latter is used for sacrificial purposes. Both the types have got an iron spike at the other end. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 15.) The Thadou weapons are " daos, muskets, bows and arrows and cannon of sorts. The spear is not popular, the non-use of the throwing spear, which is the principal Naga weapon of offence being one of the points that distinguishes Kukis from Nagas." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 146.) The Lakhers constantly use the spear (*asei*). The spearhead is lozenge-shaped without barb but with a small mid-rib. The butt has an iron spike. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 53.)

24a Vide Hutton—*Sema Nagas*, p. 15, Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, Plate facing, p. 34.

and the shank are circular in cross-section and their combined length is about 25 cm. The blade is flat and more or less triangular (?) in shape with a length of about 9 cm. It has two barbs at the upper end near the junction with the shank. Each of these barbs is about 4 cm. in length. The shaft is about three metres long and is of the same type as in the true spear. It is lightly inserted into the socket which has a ring at its upper end to strengthen it. One end of a thick bark-rope is tied tightly to the shank of the spearhead and the other end coiled round the shaft and at last tied to it. The rope is kept in place on the shaft by means of a small bamboo peg inserted transversely into it so that the rope-knot may not slip from its place. This spear is worked on the principle of the harpoon. The shaft slips out of the socket as soon as the head enters into the body of the prey, but being tied to the head by means of a rope, as already stated, it causes obstruction to the flight of the animal. The barbs at the head also help to the same end (*Cf.* Andamanese pig-spear and pig-arrow). This type of spear is not found among the Nagas and may be an ancient Kuki weapon. The spearheads and the butt-points are manufactured by the Purum blacksmiths in their own villages.

The Purum bow (*phal*) is a plain or self-bow (Plate XV. Fig. 54) made from a single piece of bamboo sliver.[25] The stave is about one and a half metre in length. Its central part is more or less oval in cross-section. Each of the two ends gradually tapers to almost a point and is circular or nearly so in cross-section. About 3 or 4 cm. from the end, on both extremities, the diameter of the stave is suddenly diminished to produce the so-called horn for keeping the bow-string in place. The bow-string (*phal-lui*) is made by twisting together a number of grass of the variety locally called *pongan* and rubbing it with the leaves of a particular plant. (*phal-lui-lan*?). One end of this string is permanently fixed to one end of the stave while the other end is formed into a loop which is put on the other end of

25 Bows have now become obsolete among the Thadous—those in use are of the same type as found among the Purums. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 147.) "Before Lakhers acquired guns their weapons of war were bows and arrows, *daos* and spears." The Lakher bow is also similar to that of the Purums. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.) Among the Lusheis bows and arrows have entirely disappeared now though they were in use in the past especially in hunting. Their bows were also made of bamboo and were small in size. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.* p. 15)

the stave when the bow is required for use. The horns at both ends of the stave prevent the string from slipping. The bow is not always kept strung as that impairs the strength of the stave. We did not find the pellet-bow or the cross-bow among the Purums.

There are different varieties of arrows. One of them has a barbed arrowhead (*torshum*) made of iron. One end of the shaft, made of reed, is rammed tightly into the socket of the arrowhead, the other end is provided with two pieces of cane leaves cut into proper shape which serve the purpose of feathers. This end is also provided with a notch for seating the arrow on the bowstring at the time of releasing it. Sometimes these arrows are provided with poison which is placed on the shank of the arrowhead in the form of a thick plaster around it. This poison (*tur*) is not prepared by the Purums but is purchased by them from the Marrings of Khoipu who import it from Burma.[26] It is said to be the sap of a kind of big trees the name of which they do not know. A very small dose of this poison is said to be sufficient to kill a large animal.

The arrows are kept in a quiver (*laua* or *lavapai*) made from a bamboo section (Plate XV, Fig. 55) shaved thin towards the top with one of its nodes kept intact. It has a lid also made from a bamboo section which fits the upper end of the quiver tightly. Both the upper end of the quiver and the lower end of the lid are strengthened with braided work of cane-split. The lid is kept hanging from the quiver with a cane-split band.

The only defensive weapon which the Purums have is the oblong shield (Plate XV, Fig. 56) made from a single piece of mithun hide.[27] Its length is about 50 to 60 cm. and the breadth on the top-end is about 40 to 45 cm. which gradually diminishes to 30 to 35 cm. at the bottom. The central part of the shield protrudes outward in the form of a cone or pyramid. This is nowadays a mere ornamentation but in former times it

26 Barbed arrowheads provided with poison (probably aconite) were in use among the Thadous. They used to get the poison by trade from other tribes. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 147) Formerly the Lakhers also poisoned their arrows but it is doubtful whether that was effective. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 50).

27 The Garo shield is also oblong in shape and the Nagas of Manipur use a similar weapon. The Angami shield is of the same shape but greater in length. (W. C. Smith—*The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, pp. 146-147.) The Lakher shield is quadrangular and that of the Thadou oblong in shape. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 57; Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 148a, Fig. 3.)

was intended to slide away the blows. This pyramid or cone is produced in the following manner. A piece of wood is shaped like a cone or pyramid of a required size. A hole is dug on the ground which exactly fits the cone or pyramid of wood in an inverted position. Now a piece of raw hide is stretched over this hole with the wooden block tightly pressed into the hole over the hide. In this position the hide is dried for several days after which it is taken out and cut into proper shape. Two vertical loops of hide are attached to the centre of this shield on the inner side and with these it is held in the left hand. The Purums do not manufacture their shields nowadays but purchase them from the Lamgangs. They used to make their own shields in former days. The description given above of the manufacture of shields is followed by the Lamgangs and was recited to us by the Purums. As war has disappeared from the life of the Purums shields have lost their original significance and necessity. As a result, they have become scarce in Purum villages. Only a few persons possess them and use as dancing equipments.

Generally the flocks of birds which fall upon the fields of the Purums are driven away by shouting and producing a tremendous sound by beating on boards, cans, etc. Often we have heard from a distance the ho! hoing of the Purums in their *jhum* fields. They also use the bow and arrow in shooting or driving away the birds. Besides these they have a number of snares, the most popular of which are described below.

Wild fowls are found in this part of the hills and are very much liked by the Purums for their meat. These birds are generally very wary and difficult to catch. Like all forest-dwellers, the Purums, while passing through the jungle always keep their eyes and ears alert for the signs of movement of wild animals and birds. Whenever they pass through the jungle they look for the foot-prints of animals and birds on their way as it is absolutely necessary for their safety in the jungle. The Purum fathers attract the attention of their children to these signs and sounds and teach them what they indicate. Thus they are enabled to find out the nature of the animal or bird from its foot-prints or sound and its size too from the former. This knowledge helps them to find out the paths frequented by wild fowls and the Purums set the snare on such paths. Sometimes a number of these snares are set on the path—each at a dis-

tance from the other and they barricade the intervening spaces by fencing. The snare is set in the following manner (Plate XV, Fig. 53.).

A sapling or a bamboo sliver (No. 1) of proper strength and elasticity is driven into the ground in an inclined position and a string (No. 2) tied to its upper end and let down. A small peg (No. 3) is driven into the ground below the top of the bamboo sliver (No. 1). A small bamboo split (No. 4), to one end of which a slip-knot (No. 5) is attached, is tied to the lower end of the string (No. 2) let down from No. 1. This bamboo piece (No. 4) is then drawn downwards with force and lightly fixed to the peg (No. 3), keeping the slip-knot (No. 5) at the required position and place. The bird trying to pass through the path puts its head and neck through the slip-knot (No. 5) and thereby disturbs its position which releases the bamboo-stick (No. 4) and the spring-action of No. 1 takes the bird up and strangles it in the mid-air.[28] No bait is necessary for this type of snare and it is always set on the ground.

For smaller birds they have another type of snare which is usually set on the branch of a tree but it may be also set on the ground if necessary. The method of setting is as follows (Plate XV, Fig. 52) :—

A bamboo sliver (No. 2) with requisite elasticity is selected and one end of it tied to the branch of a suitable tree (No. 1). One end of a string (No. 3) is tied to the free-end of the bamboo-sliver (No. 2) and at the other end a silp-knot (No. 7) is made. At about the middle of the string or a little below, a small bamboo-peg is tied. This peg is then brought downwards with force and lightly fixed by its upper end to a cane-band (No. 6) both ends of which are tied to a branch below. A small stick (No. 5) is then placed horizontally in between the two sides of the cane-band and the lower end of the peg (No. 4). One end of this stick (No. 5) projects a little outward and on it the slip-knot (No. 7) is carefully spread out. A bait is placed in such a position that the bird allured by it comes down and sits on the

28 The Lakher *piva* and *khangkha* are also similar in nature (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 154-155). The Thadous have also a trap of this type called *thangte* but it is used for catching squirrels and such small animals. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 89.) The Angami snare for small game resembles more closely the Purum trap. (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, p. 88 and Fig. III.) The Lusheis also seem to be acquainted with this principle of spring-release trap. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.)

Fig. 14.

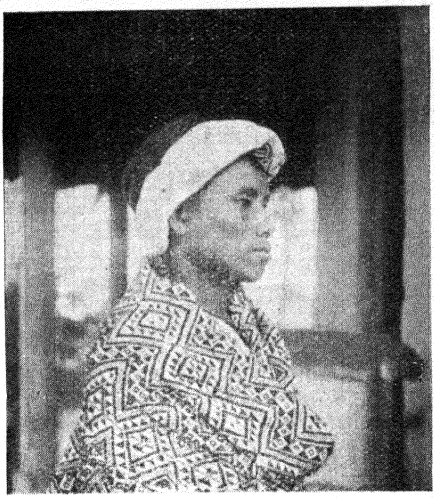


Fig. 15.

Kongthang, *luplakpa* of Khulen. (See Chap. II. Tables.XI, XII & XIII, No. 7.)

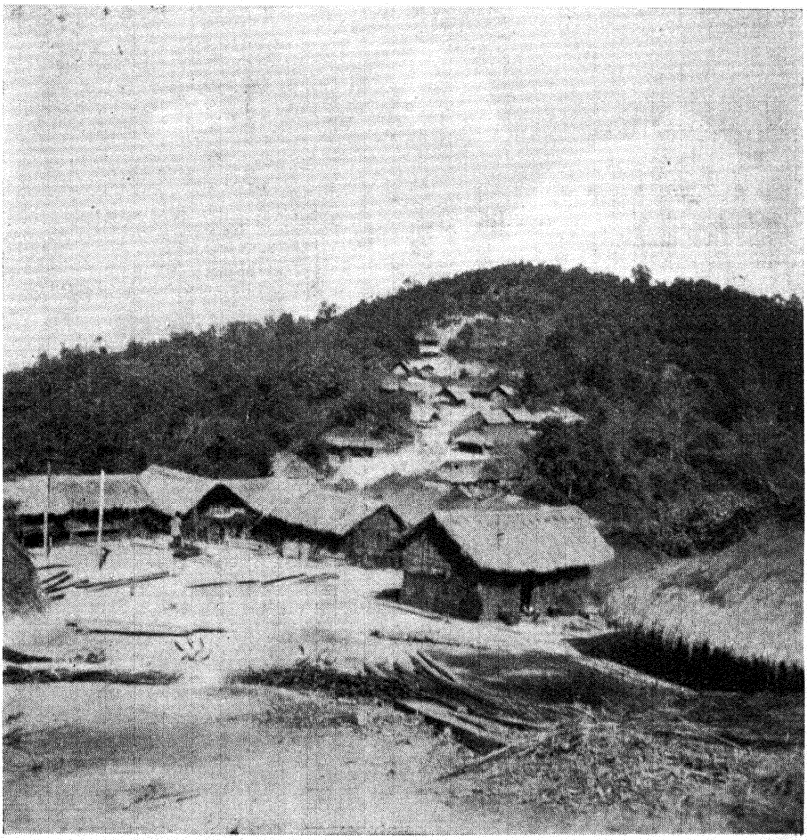


Fig. 16. A view of Khulen.

stick (No. 5) on which the slip-knot (No. 7) has been spread out. The stick gives way under the weight of the bird which releases the spring (No. 2) and the bird is taken up caught by its leg in the slip-knot.

Sec. III.—Preparation of Food and Drink

Food and its Preparation

Food is an important factor in tribal economy. Economic activities and food are very intimately connected and act and react on each other at every stage of their progress. Any change of food in a tribe leads to a similar change in its economic activities. Thus introduction of a new kind of food often leads to new activities which may ultimately create a new group in the socio-economic organisation while the abrogation of a customary food leads to the abolition of certain economic activities which directly or indirectly affects the group responsible for its production or supply. The intensity of the change is commensurate with the importance of the type of food so affected. This interdependence of food and economic activities is almost equally felt among peoples of both high and low types of culture.

Purum economic life is hovering between hoe-culture (*jhum*) and plough-culture and the latter seems to be gaining strength every day. In both the forms of cultivation, paddy is the principal crop and rice is their staple food. So, change from hill-cultivation to plains-agriculture has not affected the staple food of the tribe. But it has exerted its influence in other quarters. Before the introduction of plough-culture the Purums had to depend only on their *jhums* for cereals and vegetables. But this was, no doubt, a comparatively meagre and uncertain source. The amount of production in a *jhum* is not always sufficient to maintain even a family of normal size and this is more so with the Purums with their improvident nature and excessive love for drink. After the harvest they enjoyed themselves for sometime and this used to affect seriously the food-stock. So they were, after some time, forced to replenish their larder by collection of wild vegetable products and hunting. This was indirectly helpful in various ways. It led to a more

balanced diet, provided the thrills of hunting and tracking and thereby relieved the monotony of their life.[29] These conditions have now disappeared owing to the introduction of plough-cultivation which has more successfully solved the bread-problem. Hunting for the sake of food has practically disappeared, collection of wild roots and fruits is no more necessary. Their place has been taken by fishing. But fishing cannot provide the thrills which hunting used to produce. The result is that whenever they now want a change from monotony of life they flock to the *zu* pot. Moreover, as almost every family possessing plains-land has also *jhums*, they find little leisure to indulge in more manly pleasures of life. Thus, though plough-cultivation has given them a greater amount of security against shortage of food, it has, at the same time, robbed them of many of the pleasures of life and has virtually turned them into toiling serfs.

Consumption of food, though an act of individuals, has social implications too. Drinking and feasting are the two principal modes of enjoying life among the Purums. They are the outward expressions of internal joy. Society has also stamped them as the conventional method of giving expression to this internal feeling and of communicating it to others. So, all occasions of individual or group happiness or relief culminate in either drinking bouts or feasting or both. Dancing and singing are the two other means of expressing the same feelings. The greatest occasions of individual or group happiness are celebrated with all of them together—that is drinking, feasting, dancing and singing. But these occasions are not celebrated by the individual alone or by his immediate family. Relatives, friends and neighbours are invited to join and heighten the occasion by their presence. There are perhaps very few occasions on which the Purum householder can enjoy life alone. He requires partners in his enjoyment whose mental condition reacts on the mind of their host and thereby heightens his pleasure. This interchange of feelings has also influenced the social homogeneity of the people. Marriage, birth, attainment of social rank and political position etc., are occasions in the life of an individual when he feels happy and tries to infect

[29] The Lakher men hunt and fish "not simply for amusement but in order to add to an otherwise meagre and unvaried diet." The Lakhers are still in the hoe-culture stage. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 75.)

others with the same feeling. Occasions of public happiness or relief are those when the different deities responsible for the welfare of the villagers are worshipped by the village community as a whole or when thanks-offerings are made at the end of harvest or some other agricultural operation etc.

Food may be taken inside the house as well as outside. The morning and the evening meals are usually taken inside the house while the midday meal is carried to the field during the seasons of field-activities. There it is consumed, if possible, under the shade of some tree, or, may be, under the open sky. In course of short journeys cooked food consisting of boiled rice and one or two kinds of curry is carried, tied into a neat bundle with plantain leaves. Such food is usually taken on the road-side at a convenient place especially where water is available. When they do not expect to return at the end of the day they generally carry cooked food for the first day and uncooked food such as rice, dried fish or meat, salt, chilly, vegetables, etc., for the subsequent days. They also carry on such occasions one or two cooking pots. Such uncooked food is generally carried when they undertake long journeys through the plains or to the towns, but when they go to visit other Purum villages they are usually entertained with food, drink and shelter by their own siblings or by the *khullakpa* of the village. If they go on a visit to the village of a different tribe they are given food and shelter by the *khullakpa* who is by custom responsible for their entertainment. Whether the visiting party will get cooked or uncooked food depends on its strenggth—if it be a small one cooked food is supplied but in case of a large party uncooked food is given which they have got to prepare. A general feeling of friendliness and mutual help now run through the villages of the hill tribes surrounding the valley of Manipur. This is in no small degree due to *pax Brittanica* which has put a stop to intertribal and inter-village blood-feuds which still characterise the tribal life in unadministered areas. The hill-tribes of Manipur are now growing into a consciousness of unity amongst themselves as against the Hindu dwellers of the valley who look down upon them as something less than human beings. The latter show little interest and less sympathy to the aspirations of the hill people whose very association is polluting to them. As a result of this attitude the hill people do not expect to find any hospitality in the valley save and except in the

houses of Kabui Nagas who are now found in large number settled in the valley.

Ordinarily husband and wife take their meals from the same plate together and the young children sometimes join them. But the children generally prefer to take their meals with their grandparents when the latter put up with them in the same family. A man may eat from the same plate with his grown-up sisters—either elder or younger—married or unmarried. He may also take his food with his elder brother's wife but not with his younger brother's wife nor with any unrelated woman. On occasions of social or religious feasts this homely arrangement does not prevail. In course of these feasts the priests and the village elders including the village officers take their seats in a definite order prescribed for the occasion. Thus we hear that on the occasion of the first hair-cutting ceremony the seat of honour is given to the *thempu* who officiates on the occasion, followed by the village officers like the *khullakpa, luplakpa, hanzaba, hithangba, keirungba, selungba,* in order. After them the village elders take their seat in order of seniority of age. Women, youngmen and children may not sit with them in the same place but occupy a separate area where they enjoy themselves freely. Rice-beer (*zu*) and meat-curry are first served to the *thempu* and then to others in order. The installation of a new *khullakpa* is the occasion for a great socio-political feast when inhabitants of other Purum villages as well as friends from other tribes are invited. A huge quantity of rice-beer (*zu*) is brewed and a number of pigs are killed at the cost of the newly appointed headman. At this feast the villagers and the invited guests take their seat in the following order. The new *khullakpa* takes his seat at the head of the row and is followed by the *khullakpas* of other villages invited on the occasion. Next comes the *luplakpa* of the village followed by the invited *luplakpas* of other villages. This goes on till the *changlai* of the village and the *changlais* of the other invited villages are seated. After them the elders of the village sit in order of seniority of age followed by other ordinary villagers and outsiders. The same order is maintained in the feasts held on the appointment of other village officers as well. It is quite clear that women do not hold any position in such socio-political or socio-religious feasts. It has been noticed on various occasions that whenever drinks are offered to the Purum village

officers, the *changlai* carries the first cup to the *khullakpa* whatever his age may be, and the next ones to the other village officers in order of rank. Older inhabitants or even retired village officers have to wait for their turn. This respect for the village officers tell a tale different from what their present position indicates. It is, however, not impossible that the same order of precedence in feasts is not observed by all the villages or at all the feasts but there is no doubt that there is some sort of precedence based on gerontocratic ideas.

The children take three meals a day in all the seasons. The adults generally take two meals a day except when there is work in the field when they also take three meals.[30] The morning meal is taken at about 7 or 8 A.M., the midday meal at noon and the evening meal after sunset or when they like, after returning from work. The morning and the midday meals are cooked together in the morning while the evening meal is prepared in the afternoon. Preparation of food including cooking is one of the duties of the wife. She is helped in her task by her grown-up unmarried daughters and perhaps by the mother-in-law when the latter lives with her. Though preparation of food is regarded as womanly duty which the wife is expected to discharge besides other engagements, there is no taboo on it for the husband. When the wife falls ill or is othewise unable to discharge this duty the husband performs all the tasks in this connection. Widowers prepare and cook their food from day to day for years together and even a few bachelors who had no female member in the family were observed to perform all these tasks. Excepting a few fruits and one or two curries all the other dishes are cooked before eating. Boiled rice is never taken alone—it is always accompanied by side dishes. Boiled rice is the staple food and it is taken mixed up with one or other of the curries to be described later. Sometimes a pinch of salt is mixed up with the cooked rice in which condition it is taken—each handful being followed by a pinch of curry. Though boiled rice and curry are constant companions in ordinary meals there are certain occasions when curry prepared from sacrificial meat is taken alone without boiled rice.

The Purums are acquainted with all the three methods of cooking, namely, boiling, roasting and frying. Their hearth

30 The Lakhers have three meals a day. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 82.)

consists of three pieces of stone about half a cubit in height, placed in the form of a triangle on the floor of the house. On this tripod the cooking pot is placed and the fire fed with fuel from one of the three sides. There is no pit in the centre of the hearth and this leads to considerable waste of heat. At the slightest breath of wind the flame either flickers or is extinguished, giving rise to volumes of smoke which find it difficult to go out. As a result, all things kept within the house soon turn sooty black. Moreover, so long as cooking goes on, someone must constantly attend to the hearth and inspite of her best efforts the house remains full of smoke throughout the greater part of this operation. They burn wood in their hearths—coke or animal dung is never used for this purpose, the former is even unknown to them.

We have already stated that their staple food is rice. Paddy grains are stored up in the granary after the harvest. A quantity of it is taken out every day and spread out in the sun either on mats or on big flat circular basketry trays with slightly raised rim. The latter are made specially for this purpose though other articles, *e.g.*, chilly etc., are also sunned in them when occasion arises. During the rainy season a greater quantity of paddy is always put under the sun. When the sky remains overcast with clouds for days together the Purums place bamboo sunning trays with the grains on a frame-work hanging over the hearth. The rice required by the family is daily prepared by husking sunned paddy in a mortar with a pestle. This is the work of the wife or other female members of the house though there is no taboo on the males. Usually two persons stand facing each other and ply their pestles alternately on the grains kept in the mortar while a third person —if available—moves the grains in between the strokes. The operation can be done even by one person with equal success though more time is necessary on such occasions. After sometime the grains are taken out and cleared of their husks and other impurities with a winnowing tray and again put into the mortar and pestled. Pestling and winnowing thus go on alternately till the grains are fully cleared (Plate IX, Fig. 23).

Rice is next washed in water and put into an earthen pot with sufficient quantity of water for boiling. When the grains have attained proper softness the gruel is strained off and kept apart in a vessel for the pigs. The cooking pot with the boiled

rice is next placed on a quantity of burning embers taken out of the hearth. In this position it remains for sometime during which the boiled rice inside is turned over once or twice so that all the grains may be evenly cooked and the residue of the gruel dried up. Salt or any other kind of spice is not used in cooking rice.

Every adult male or female consumes at every meal from a quarter to half a seer (8 to 16 oz) of uncooked rice. In preparing every curry salt is used and a number of spices. The common spices of the Purums are chilly, turmeric, onions, etc. Coriander leaves are also used in preparing curries especially when they are not cooked. The preparation of a number of the more important curries are given below.

NGA-NDAI (*Curry made from fresh fish*)

If the fish has scales they are removed and also the intestines and the fins. It is then cut into pieces if it happens to be a big one. In case of small fish this is not necessary—they are cooked whole. Turmeric, onion, chillies and coriander leaves are ground into a paste and fried in sesamum oil at first. Next the fish to be cooked is placed on the pan with the spices and fried in the same way in sesamum oil and next salt and water added to make up the soup. The fish is boiled till it becomes soft. When oil is not available they boil the spices in water for a period of time and then put the fish into it and thus prepare the curry. They know by appearance as well as by taste whether the fish is properly cooked or not. Generally no vegetable is added to *nga-ndai*.

NGA-KANG-AN (*Curry made from dried fish*)

The fish is neither burnt nor washed nor steeped in water. It is simply cut into pieces and boiled in water along with the spices mentioned in the previous case. It is not necessary to fry the fish in oil previous to boiling. Different kinds of vegetables, *e.g.*, pieces of *colocasia*, gourd, pumpkin, etc., are cooked with dried fish.

NGA-AN-RUN (*dried fish curry cooked with rice*)

This curry is prepared in the same way as *nga-kang-an*, only a quantity of rice is boiled along with the fish. The

quantity of water depends on the quantity of rice. No gruel is strained off.

AN-PAL (*curry made with dried fish without cooking*)

The fish is cut into very samll pieces; turmeric, onions, and chillies are ground into a paste; coriander leaves are torn into pieces. All these are next mixed up with salt and a little water and kneaded with the right hand for sometime. When all the ingredients are thoroughly mixed up it is ready for consumption.

When it is not convenient to prepare any curry one may eat his usual quantity of boiled rice only with a piece of dried fish singed over the fire. No spice, not even salt, is necessary to eat such a piece of dried fish.

Ame-but is the term used for all kinds of meat curries. They are also prepared almost in the same way as fish curries; there is very little difference.

Mering-but (curry prepared from fresh meat) can be made from any kind of meat and is cooked in the same way and with the same spices as *nga-ndai*.

When there is more fresh meat than a family can possibly consume in a day or two, a portion of it is dried up over the family hearth. Such meat is cut into thin strips of about 30 to 45 cm. in length and spread out evenly over a bamboo framework hanging over the family hearth. Here they remain till they are consumed. Generally, when there is no fresh fish or meat for a number of days, curry is made with this dried meat. This is known as *mekang-but*. It appeared that the Purums preferred dried fish to dried meat. In order to prepare *mekang-but* the meat is first singed over fire and then softened by beating with a piece of wood or stone over another piece of either material. It is then cut into pieces and cooked in the same manner as dried fish.

When big animals like pig, baffalo, mithun or cow are slaughtered a curry is made from their entrails which is called *shong-amei-but*. The entrails are taken out and cleared of their contents. The liver, heart, lung etc. are cut into pieces and mixed with salt and spices like chilly, onions, etc., ground into a paste. This is next put into the intestines of the animal along with its blood and both the ends of the intestines are closed. It is then boiled in water. Other parts of the entrails are also cleared and cut into pieces and cooked along with the intestines. The meat of the animal is cooked separately.

Dried meat is also eaten like dried fish, after scorching it in fire, without any spice or even salt. Neither fresh fish nor fresh meat is eaten raw. Vegetables are cooked with dried meat but seldom with fresh meat.

The Purums grow a number of pulses in their *jhums* such as *beloi* (*shingjel-howai* in Meithei), *belik* (*chak-howai* in Meithei), *chhagol* (same in Meithei), and *beshow* (*nung-howai* in Meithei). They are prepared for eating in the following manner. In the case of *beloi* a soup is prepared by boiling the pods and the leaves when green. Salt and some of the spices mentioned before such as chilly, turmeric etc., are added and eaten in this state. In the case of the rest, the grains are only boiled with salt and spices to form a soup which is eaten. They require a longer period to cook. The grains of *belik* and *beshow* need not be broken before cooking but *chhagol* pulses require this operation. None of them, however, is cleared of their husks.

Milk has come into use in recent years and is taken by a very small number of persons here and there. It has been, no doubt, borrowed from the dwellers of the valley. It is consumed after boiling. Mother's milk is still the chief food for infants though now-a-days motherless infants are fed on cow or buffalo milk.

The Purums grow a large number of plantain trees in their *jhums* and the fruits are taken ripe either alone or with boiled rice. Honey is rare in their hills and so they use it only for medicinal purposes. Sugar and molasses are liked by everybody, old and young, but they have not the money to purchase them now and often. They are procured on occasions and mainly for the children.

Among domestic animals the Purums prefer the meat of pigs while among wild ones they like boars. Wild hens are preferred among wild birds.

In times of famine or scarcity of food the Purums eat *bal-ra* the tuberous root of a creeper found in the hills. It is cut into pieces and boiled before eating.

The Purums are not omnivorous like some of their neighbours. They have to observe restrictions in respect of quite a good number of objects. Among birds, the crows (*kowak*), the Bengal kite (*ramu*), the *bhimraj* (*hlan-hla*), and the vultures (*lang-dia*) may not be eaten. These birds are for-

bidden as they eat carrion and even human flesh. Among animals they generally avoid elephants, tigers, bears, dogs, rats, moles and all kinds of snakes.[31] One of our informants gave the following reasons for their avoidance. The tiger is forbidden as it has a coat similar in design to the upper cloth of the men of position in Purum society. The elephant was created with a bit from every other animal including human beings so to eat its flesh means cannibalism. Bears are repulsive animals while the dogs are sensible creatures and understand orders. Rats and moles are not eaten as they burrow into the earth where they possibly eat all sorts of unclean things including human corpse. Snakes are dangerous owing to the poison in their mouth. Such are the grounds for avoiding these animals and they rather seem to be fanciful interpretation of the individual informant and is possibly not the customary belief of his community. In only two cases there are real religious taboos. The *ngaprum* and *ngaril* (possibly eel fish) which are believed to be the staffs of Senamahi may not be eaten by the *pipas* who are the priests of the deity.

Butchers' Art

When required for ordinary feasts animals and birds are killed in the following manner. It is believed that this keeps intact the taste of the meat by stopping overflow of blood from the body of the animal. In religious sacrifices some of these methods are employed though not all. Animals of both the sexes are killed, without any distinction, for their meat, though this is not the case in religious sacrifices.[32]

Small pigs are killed by beating with a stick on the head but the bigger ones are despatched by spearing at the junction of the body with the front legs. The spear is thrust in such a manner that it pierces the heart which causes immediate death to the animal. The entrails of the pig are then removed and the body is singed over fire and cleaned by scraping with the sharp edge of a *dao* (chopper) and by washing in water. It is then cut into pieces and is thus made ready for cooking. Pigs are

[31] The Lakhers practically take all kinds of meat. The Thadous also are not behind them in this respect. (Parry—*op.cit.*, p. 83; Shaw—*op. cit.*,

never skinned as the Purums consider the skin to be quite tasteful and eat it along with the meat.

The buffaloes are slaughtered by beating with pestles. The animal is tied to a post at its neck and horns. The man stands in front and delivers the blow on the head between the horns. It takes about two or three strokes to kill even a sturdy animal. Cows and *mithuns* are also killed in the same manner. These animals are always skinned before their meat is prepared for cooking. The Purums do not like to eat their skin. The entrails of all these big animals including the pigs are also cleaned and eaten by them. The hoofs of cows, buffaloes and *mithuns* are not used in any way but drinking cups and musical instruments are made from their horns.

Birds, like domestic fowls, are killed by throttling. The feathers are plucked out one by one either after dipping the body in hot water or after scorching it over fire. The intestines are removed and thrown away as they are not eaten. The meat is cut into pieces along with the skin which is never removed. It is then ready for the pot. They say that if the skin is removed much of the fat will be lost and the meat will taste rather flat.

Drinks and their Preparation

Water is the drink par excellence for every Purum man or woman. It does not cost them anything. But a more valued one is *zu* a kind of rice-beer prepared by the housewife herself. Every house stocks a quantity of this beverage for daily use. But on festive occasions it is prepared in large quantity and freely distributed among the assembled guests. Not only this, it is the common drink which every man offers to friends and relatives who come to visit him in his house ; in a word it is the means of showing courtesy and welcome. *Zu* has another and a more important use : in all religious and magico-religious rites oblations of *zu* are made to the deities concerned. In fact, it appears, that other kinds of offerings like animal sacrifices, sweets, etc., are communicated to the respective recipients through this beverage which on all such occasions is poured out after uttering the name of the deity for whom the offerings are intended. Perhaps we shall not be wrong to state that it plays the same part among the Purums as clarified butter and *Soma* used to play among the ancient Aryans in connection with sacrifices.

The Purums have two kinds of liquor namely *wai-zu* and *zau-zu*. The former is made by fermentation while the latter is obtained by distillation. Ordinarily *wai-zu* is called merely *zu* and we have used the term in this sense throughout this work. *Zau-zu* is more intoxicating than *wai-zu*. Both these kinds of drinks are made by the Purums.

Wai-zu is prepared in the following manner.[33] A quantity of rice is cooked in the usual manner and spread out on a basketry tray for cooling. It is then mixed with a quantity of paddy-husk. Yeast is next added in a powdered form and thoroughly mixed up with the stuff. The mixture is then put into a closely woven deep basket. A depression is made on the top of this stuff at the centre and a few *khaichu* leaves put into it. On these leaves a few burning charcoals are placed and the whole covered with plantain or any other kind of leaves. The smoke produced by the *khaichu* leaves, burning under the charcoals, tries to escape through the stuff and thereby imparts its flavour to the *zu*. This flavour is very much appreciated by the Purums. We have already noticed that *khaichu* leaves are often burnt to drive away good as well as evil spirits and it is not impossible that this might have had some connection with its introduction in the preparation of *zu*. However, at present, it is used only to flavour the liquor. It is kept in this condition for twenty-four hours after which the stuff is removed to a big earthen jar especially kept for preparing *zu*. Here it remains for four to ten days according to the season. In winter fermentation is delayed and it often takes about ten days but in the summer months four days are quite sufficient for the purpose. During these days the jar is placed near the hearth and in winter it has sometimes to be placed under the sun in the courtyard during daytime. During summer season it is not necessary. At the expiry of this period water is added and half-an-hour later it is ready for consumption.

The yeast (*chol*) used by the Purums for fermentation is sometimes purchased from the market but more often it is prepared by them. Rice is at first powdered into flour. The bark of a tree called *jang-zu* is cut into small pieces and ground into

33 The *vaiju* of the Thadous and *sahmapi* of the Lakhers are the same as the *wai-zu* of the Purums. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 93; Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 87.) The Lushei *zu* is similar though not prepared in the same manner (Shakespeare—*op.cit.*, p. 37.)

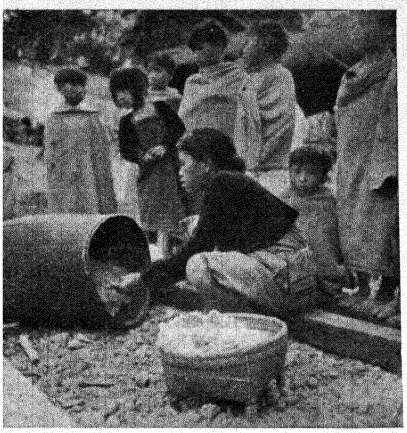


Fig. 17. Woman carding cotton inside a basket.

Fig. 18. *Khullakpa* of Khulen standing on a big mat before his house.

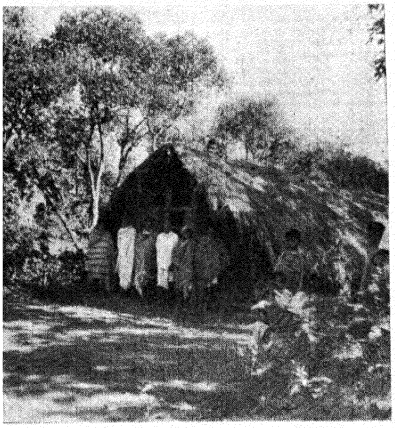


Fig. 19. *Ruishang* of Tampak with village elders in front.

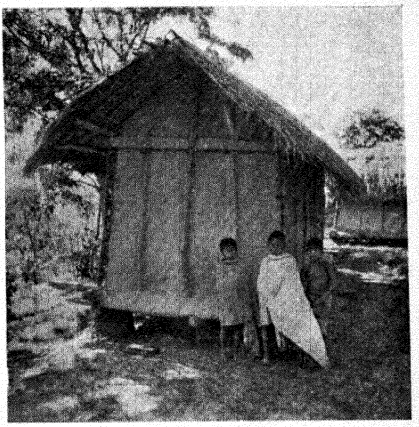


Fig. 20. Granary of the Khullakpa of Tampak.

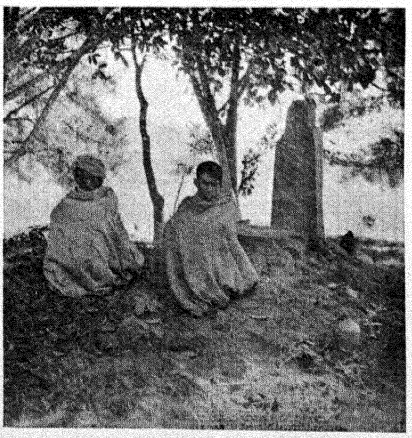


Fig. 21. *Khulpu* before *nungshuk* of Tampak

Fig. 22. *Zu* vessels—Changninglong.

a paste. It is then mixed up with rice-flour and water is added. Small thin circular cakes are made from it and placed in a basketry tray on a thin layer of paddy-husks, spread out on a piece of cloth. These are then kept to dry within the house near the fire-place. They become ready for use in four or five days, and keep well for three to four months.

We have already stated that *zau-zu* is prepared by distillation.[34] In preparing *zau-zu* all the processes are the same as in the case of *wai-zu* up to the addition of water after fermentation —the only difference being that no husk is mixed up with the stuff from which *zau-zu* is to be distilled. The fermented material is saturated with water and transferred to the upper vessel (No. 4) of the distillation plant (Plate XVI. Fig. 60) which is described below. A big earthen pot (No. 3) about half-filled with water is placed on the fire-place. On the top of it another earthen pot (No. 4) is placed and the junction of the two pots is tightly closed with wet cloth or earth. At the bottom of this pot (No. 4) an aperture (No. 8) is made on which a bamboo sieve is placed supporting the fermented material. The top of this pot is also closely covered with a lid and earth so that no vapour may escape through it. Another smaller earthen pot (No. 6) is placed near about in a wooden vessel filled up with water. A bamboo pipe (No. 5) connects these two pots namely Nos. 4 and 6 at their middle-height or a little above. The top of pot No. 6 is closed tightly so that no vapour may escape. A gourd ladle (Plate XVI Fig. 61B) is kept in the wooden vessel already referred to. Now every thing is ready and fire is kindled in the fire-place at the bottom of Pot No. 3. Vapour rises from the water contained in this pot and passes through the aperture (No. 8) at the bottom of Pot No. 4 and at the same time through the fermented stuff placed on the sieve over No. 8 and is ultimately led into Pot No. 6 through the bamboo pipe. It may be mentioned here that the junctions of the bamboo pipe with the pots are also tightly closed and made vapour-proof. Some one remains seated near the plant and constantly pours water over the outer surface of Pot No. 6 in order to keep it cool. The vapour entering through the bamboo pipe comes in contact with the cool inner side of the pot (No. 6) and

34 *Zau-zu* of the Purums is similar to the *jukha* of the Thadous, *zuri* of the Lakhers, and *rakzu* or *zuthak* of the Lusheis. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 93; Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 87 and Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 37).

is thereby condensed at once and collected at the bottom of the pot. This is *zau-zu*.

Domestic Utensils

Earthen ware

The Purums do not nowadays make their earthen pots themselves nor do they have any tradition of their manufacture by them in the past.[35] Their villages are now situated at a place which is near one of the few centres of pot-making within Manipur State. As a result, the Purums purchase their earthenware from the dealers of Waikhong market. The price of the articles is less here than in many other parts of the Manipur hills.

The Purums generally use three different kinds of earthen pots for three different purposes, namely for cooking rice, keeping water and brewing *zu*. The water-pot (Plate XVI. Fig. 62A) is high and narrow with a wide mouth and long neck. This shape has perhaps something to do with the method of bringing water. Water is fetched from village springs or streams in these pots placed in an ordinary carrying basket (Plate IX Fig. 32) and carried slung from the forehead as usual. Another kind of pot (Plate XVI Fig. 62C) was observed in some of the villages. It is low and wide and is almost spherical in shape. It has a narrow mouth with a very short neck. This type of pots is used for keeping water as well as liquor. It has no decoration. The water pots are placed on circular stands made by braiding cane-splits.

The pots (Plate XVI Fig. 62B) for cooking rice (*bu-bel*) are also low and wide and has almost a spherical shape. It has practically no neck but a rim about an inch in height round the mouth which is comparatively larger. The pot is thick in texture. The rice-pot (*bu-bel*) is usually kept on a circular earthenware stand or iron tripod.

The pot in which *zu* is finally brewed (*zu-bel*) (Plate VI Fig. 22) and mixed with water is larger than the *bu-bel* and is high and provided with a comparatively narrow bottom. Its neck is of medium size. It is always provided with a circular

35 Hand-made pottery only is found among the Lusheis manufactured by the womenfolk. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 29.) The Lakher women also make cooking pots with their hands. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 128.)

stand of braided cane-splits which is connected with a band of the same material round the neck by means of a number of cane-splits or strings. Two handles are sometimes made out of this neck-band with cane-splits or strings for easily removing the pot from place to place. The *zu-bel* also has no decoration on it. The Purums also use, especially the poorer section, earthen plates with high rim for taking their food from, as well as for other purposes. Sometimes an earthenware stand is provided to the hookah or hubble-bubble.

Wooden Utensils

Though the Purums depend for their earthenware on the dwellers of the valley, they manufacture almost all their wooden utensils themselves. Generally the householders themselves make the wooden seats, pestles, mortars, handles of *chams*, etc. But in every village some persons are more skilled in carpentry than the rest. Their services are often requisitioned by other householders. No payment, however, is made for such services. Their only reward is the praise which they get for executing a good piece of work together with a liberal supply of *zu*. The tools for woodwork are generally the *cham*, axe, chisel and the wooden hammer.

The wooden utensils of the Purums generally consist of the mortar and pestle for husking rice, wooden vessels (*heng*), wooden seats (*lakhang*), mortar (*hlengsum*) and pestle (*hengshorol*?) for pounding chilly and other spices, etc. The mortar for husking paddy is made in two forms. In one variety, (Plate XVII Fig. 63B) one end of a block of wood is scooped out to form a cup which receives the grains. It stands on the other end while the middle part on the outer side is constricted. The other variety of mortar (Plate XVII Fig. 63A) is also made from a block of wood in which the cavity for receiving the grains is scooped out on one side, already planed to a flat surface, instead of on one end. It has the additional advantage of a rectangualr tray-like formation with a raised rim scooped out of the wood all around the cavity. This tray-like formation prevents the grains from falling on the ground when they spring up, struck by the pestle. In order to lessen the weight of the mortar the wood around the cavity on the outer side is shaped into a rectangular form while the remaining part is removed. Sometimes in this kind of

mortar, two or more cavities are formed in the same block of wood. The pestle is a wooden pole about 1'5 metres in length, cylindrical in cross-section with a diameter of about 10 cm. at the base or working end. The diameter of the pestle decreases to a very slight extent towards the upper end. It is provided with an iron ferrule closely fitted around the working end.

Wooden vessels (*heng*) (Plate XVII Fig. 65) are of different sizes. They are generally scooped out of sections of a tree and are deep and circular in shape, and provided with handles shaped from the same piece of material. They are generally used for storing cooked articles and may be used for other purposes as well. These wooden vessels are generally purchased from the market though some of them may be made at home. In many cases these vessels are imported into Manipur from outside.

Lakhang or the wooden seat (Plate XVII Figs. 66A & B) is a genuine home product of the Purums. It is almost always manufactured by the householder with his *cham*, his chisel and hammer. The *lakhang* is generally rectangular in shape but varies in size. It is made from a single block of wood with the top planed into a flat surface and the two upper borders are often rounded though it is not essential. The wood from the lower side is scooped out and the transverse section along the breadth appears like an U or V. Every householder has a number of such *lakhangs* which are used by day as seats and at night as head rests.[36] Though the Purums grow cotton in the *jhums* they do not make pillows with it.

Wooden troughs (Plate XVII, Fig. 64) are used to give food to the pigs. They are about a metre in length and are made by scooping out one side of a tree-trunk. This is also a home product and is never purchased.

For pounding chilly and other spices the Purums use a small wooden mortar (*hlengsum*) which looks more like a cup. The pestle (*hengshorol*) in this case is always of iron with its upper end curved so that it may be easily suspended from one of the bamboo slivers of the house-wall.

Another wooden contrivance, used for collecting paddy spread out on the ground or for removing dung from the cowshed, consists of a bamboo handle and a wooden board joined together. The handle is about 1·5 metre long and the wooden board is

[36] The Lakhers use bamboo-halves as pillows. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 36, Fig. 2.)

arched at the top and straight at the bottom where it is about 40 cm. in length. The handle is tightly fitted through a hole bored at about the middle part of the board. The lower edge of the board is bevelled on the outer side. This is also made by the Purum householder himself.

Bamboo sections are used as drinking cups (Plate XVI. Fig. 61A) and for keeping oil. Among some tribes such as the Chirus, they are also used for bringing and keeping water. But among the Purums we did not find the latter use. It may be due to the cheapness of earthen pots in this area but we shall not be surprised to find bamboo sections used by some poor men for this very purpose. In the *ruishang* (village assembly hall) of Tampak we found more than a score of these bamboo drinking cups. The length of such cups varies from 10 to 30 cm. or even more. The inner diameter is generally a little above 2 or 3 cm. or so. It is made from a bamboo section with one node kept intact at the bottom. An U-like cut is made at the upper end for providing an air-passage at the time of drinking. The smaller ones are generally meant for drinking *zu* while the bigger ones are employed in taking water. The bamboo vessel for keeping oil is exactly similar to the drinking cup—the only addition being a lid of the same material. These bamboo vessels are all made by the Purum householder himself with the help mainly of his *cham*. The quiver for keeping arrows is also made from one or more internodes of bamboo and is sometimes fitted with a lid of the same material. A kind of spoon is also manufactured from bamboo.

The gourd is used for various domestic purposes. The green fruit is eaten as a vegetable while the ripe one is utilised for making a number of domestic utensils. The fruit is grown both at home and in the *jhum*. Vessels for keeping *zu* and water as well as ladles are made from ripe gourds. A hole is made into the body of the fruit at the required spot and a little salt or cowdung or both are put into it. The inner soft part of the fruit soon decomposes and is washed out. The outer shell is then dried in the sun. Now the rind becomes quite tough and strong and any liquid may be kept in it. But the Purums smoke it on a shelf over the family hearth for some time before use. Soon it assumes a very pleasing brown colour. It is now ready for use. Generally water or *zu* is kept in such vessels in which they may be carried to the field or on journeys. Gourd ladles

(Plate XVI. Fig. 61B) are also made in the same fashion—only the opening is made bigger and that at the lower part—the upper part being used as a handle.

Metal Utensils

The metal utensils of the Purums consist of brass pots (*tui-don*) (Plate IX Fig. 29) and bell-metal plates (*sum-buhu*) (Plate IX Fig. 29). All of them are purchased from Manipuri dealers. These plates and pots are imported in large number from Sylhet. Some of them may be manufactured by the Meithei braziers. Such metal utensils are available only in the houses of well-to-do Purums. Ordinary householders do not indulge in such luxuries. For them, the earthen plates and bamboo cups are quite sufficient. Besides these brass and bell-metal utensils, one or two iron cooking pans may be traced in the houses of substantial men. These are also imported into Manipur from outside.

Baskets

Baskets of different sizes and shapes form indispensible adjuncts to Purum households. They are used for various purposes such as for carrying grains, water-pots, fuel, cotton, etc., for storing paddy, for brewing *zu*, for carrying things on journeys, for sunning paddy and other objects, and for keeping sundry articles. They are mostly made of bamboo-splits though cane-splits are sometimes seen to be used. Basketry is the special department of the males though it is not tabooed to the females. Whenever men find time and opportunity they engage themselves in making baskets to meet household necessity and never for selling in the market. Baskets for particular purposes have special technique. The Purums sometimes purchase baskets from the Marrings and we found a few beautiful specimens of these at Khulen. Most of the Purum baskets are of plaited variety with here and there a wicker-work. Coiled baskets are neither made nor used by them. Most of the baskets have square pedestals made with strips of bamboo or a kind of inferior timber. Sometimes they are provided with four hoofs instead of a pedestal—the hoofs being made with sections of bamboo. Purum baskets, excepting the trays, are invariably square or rectangular at the bottom and round on the top.

These baskets are very simple in their shape and design. Though basketry provides among many tribal groups a very suitable field for showing artistic embellishments, this has not been so among the Purums. Neither geometric figures nor designs from nature decorate their baskets. Sometimes the technique of weaving is abruptly changed and this is not done from any aesthetic motive but for durability (See top of carrying basket).

Purum baskets may be roughly classified into four groups based on their use *viz.* (1) Carrying baskets, (2) Storing baskets, (3) Haversacks for men and (4) Trays.

(1) Carrying baskets

There are two main types of carrying baskets—one used for carrying grains and the other for sundry articles of bigger size. The difference in the two types lies in the technique of weaving. The former (Plate XVIII Fig. 70) is a closely woven basket in which twill-weaving is used entirely while in the latter (Plate XVIII Fig. 69) the technique of weaving is open hexagonal. They have got almost the same shape but the size varies according to the age of the carrier. Adults have got one size and the children another. The carrying basket for adults is about 70 cm. in height. Its bottom is about 25 cm. square while the diameter at the top is about 45 cm. Though the bottom is square, the basket assumes a rounded form within 6 or 7 cm. of its height and gradually the diameter is increased towards the top. The technique of basketry of the flat bottom is generally of the check variety while the entire side-wall is either made of twill-work or hexagonal open-work. At the mouth of the basket the heads of elements are bent obliquely and tucked inside the finished part immediately below. Next the rim is protected between one or two pairs of bamboo slivers taken round the entire mouth of the basket and tied at regular intervals. This process of protecting the rim is followed with slight variations in all the different kinds of baskets. The carrying baskets are provided with pedestals made from a single thin strip of wood or bamboo about 5 cm. in breadth which is bent at the four corners—the two ends being secured either by sewing or binding. It is fitted below the square bottom of the basket on which it stands. Each carrying basket has a strap the middle part of which is made of a flat strip of basketry work

about 7 cm. broad, which assumes a tubular form towards the ends. It is made by twilling fine bamboo strips. At the two ends, strips of fibre ropes are added. The strap is attached slightly below the middle part of the basket, which hangs from the forehead on the back of the carrier. The basketry part of the strap is placed on the forehead or on the frontal bone.

(2) Storing baskets

This group of baskets also presents at least two varieties of shape and different grades of size. There are the big cylindrical baskets for permanently storing grains in the *acuk* (granary) and the bowl-shaped ones of large size used for keeping grains temporarily as well as for measuring them. The smaller ones of the latter variety are used for keeping cotton while ginning or for storing cotton rolls ready for spinning. In the village smithy we found baskets of similar shape but bigger size (Plate XVIII Fig. 72) in which the tools and other requisites were stored. Most of these baskets consist of closely woven check-work but those found in the smithy had open space in-between the different elements. They are all provided with a square bottom and round top. In one of the specimens—a Marring basket (Plate XVIII Fig. 73) we found four hoofs made of four sections of bamboo.

(3) Haversacks

Men often use haversacks (Plate XVIII Fig 71) of basketry work when going out on a journey. These are roughly oval at the mouth and straight but pressed at the bottom. The height is about 45 cm. and the breadth at the bottom more than 30 cm. The depth gradually increases towards the top to about 15 cm. They are made of thin bamboo splits—the technique of basketry being twill-work. They have straps similar to those of carrying baskets and are hung from the right shoulder on the left side below the arm-pit. Sometimes the strap is made from a piece of hide dried in the sun by stretching with bamboo pegs and then simply cut into required shape. No other treatment is necessary.

(4) Trays

The basketry trays (Plate XVIII Fig. 68) are almost always circular and flat in shape with a slightly raised rim. The

diameter of the bigger ones reach up to even 1'22 metre. They are made of bamboo splits of different breadth and thickness. The technique of basketry is either check or twill work. The rim is generally protected between a pair of bamboo slivers tied at intervals with bamboo splits. These trays are generally used for sunning paddy, chillies, tobacco leaves and other articles. A small tray of basketry work with a circular pedestal was found at Khulen used for holding cotton rolls ready for spinning.

Some of the flat check-work trays have open spaces between the elements and they serve as sieves (Plate XVIII Fig. 67).

The Purum winnowing fans also may be classified with the trays.

In this account of the different types of baskets we have tried to indicate the most important uses of the different varieties. It does not mean however that a basket stated to be used for a particular purpose here may not be used for any other purpose.

Sec. IV.—Dress and ornament

The ordinary working garment of a Purum man (Plate II Figs. 8 and 9) is a piece of loin-cloth about four or five cubits in length and twenty-five to thirty inches in breadth. It is all over white in colour and is manufactured generally by the womenfolk of the house from yarns which they themselves spin from the cotton grown in the *jhum*. It is worn around the loin—the two ends being either allowed to dangle loosely in front or one of them is passed between the thighs and tucked at the back, the other end in such cases is gathered together and tucked in front. In cold weather they use an upper cloth (Plate I Fig. 3.) which is thicker in texture and is sometimes made of coloured yarns. It is about five or six cubits in length and three cubits in breadth. This upper piece serves various purposes; it gives warmth in cold weather, adds grace and dignity when he goes on a visit to some other place, serves as a bag when his carrying-basket is not at hand and may be spread out to lie on when a properly made bed is not available. Besides these two pieces, which may be called indispensable there is another, the turban, (Plate I Figs. 1—6) which does not always grace the head of a Purum man. It is about five cubits in length and one cubit in breadth.

On special occasions the dimensions of the loin-cloth are increased but there is no change in its colour and texture. Nowadays mill-made cloth has appeared among the Purums but it is

a rare luxury which can be afforded only by those few who have secured a State job or acquired some money by some windfall. The turban may be made from an ordinary piece of white cloth (Plate I Figs. 3 and 5) but often it has coloured borders (Plate I Fig. 1) on all sides with tassels on the two ends. To cite an example the turban piece of the *thempu* of Chumbang, when I saw him in 1931, had elaborate ornamentation on all sides.

The upper cloth of the Purums varies more extensively in its design, ornamentation and colour. Besides the plain white variety (Plate XI Fig. 37) of everyday use there are two others, namely, the *rangambusum* and the *aoa-ampi*. The *rangambusum* (Plate I Fig. 3) may be worn by both young and old but the *aoa-ampi* (Plate I Fig. 1) is reserved for the old only *i.e.*, those who are on the wrong side of forty. An exception however is made in the case of high officials of the village community such as the *khullakpa*, *luplakpa*, etc., who may wear it even if they are below forty on account of their dignified position. Neither *rangambusum* nor *aoa-ampi* can be used by any woman whatever her age or position may be. Our informants told that the *aoa-ampi* imitates in design the skin of the aquatic snake called *rulpi* in Purum and *lairel* in Meithei.

The Purum woman (Plate IV Fig. 13 and Plate X Fig. 34) practically covers herself from the calf to the top of the breasts with a single piece of cloth. The two ends of this cloth are brought together below the left armpit, draping the body once, and tied together on the spot. The upper cloth is either tied round the waist in the form of a belt (Plate X Fig. 34) as when dancing or performing such other works which require vigorous body-movements or merely wrapped round the upper part of the body. The ordinary lower garment of everyday use is plain and white in colour but on festive occasions they wear a piece generally striped red and black alternately (Plate X Fig. 34).

These clothes seem to be the indigenous garments of the Purums—both male and female. They are entirely manufactured by the Purum women on their simple looms. Even the yarns for these fabrics are spun by the womenfolk from cotton grown in their own *jhums*. The Purums are therefore completely independent so far as their indigenous dress is concerned. But now-a-days certain items of dress have appeared among them for which they have to depend on the traders of Waikhong market or even of Imphal. They purchase from the

tailors of Waikhong shirts, *panjabis* and *fatuas* (vests) made from comparatively finer imported fabrics (Plate II Fig. 9). Jerseies are also in evidence. These are worn by the male folk mostly on festive occasions. The coat is also coming into favour (Plate I Fig. 5) and is either made by the same tailors or purchased from the dealers in discarded army clothing. The women also wear on festive occasions a kind of blouse with full sleeve (Plate III Fig. 10) made from velveret. These are either sewn by the women themselves or by the tailors.

Children of tender years go without any lower garment till they are six or seven years old when they put on a *lenguti*. During winter months they are covered with a piece of upper cloth (Plate VI Fig. 20) which is wrapped round the body once or twice from the neck down to the calf or knee. The upper ends of this piece are tied round the neck with a simple knot at the back. They put on the usual lower garment at about tenth or eleventh year—the girls a little earlier than the boys.

Decorations

Purum ornaments are neither numerous nor expensive. They do not wear any ornament on the wrist, arm, ankle, nasal alae, nasal septum, or toes. They have rings for the earlobes and fingers and different varieties of necklaces for the neck. There is no decoration for the waist except the piece of cloth tied round it like a belt at the time of dancing which is more utilitarian than decorative.

Most of these ornaments are made of brass and are purchased at the market from the Meithei dealers. They are manufactured by the people of the valley. The Purums seem to have borrowed most of their ornaments from their neighbours in the plains. Gold and silver ornaments we did not find at all. It is not impossible however that they will also appear with the gradual increase of cultivation in the valley fields.

Almost every grown up man has one or more necklaces (Plate II Fig. 9) worn closely round the neck. These are generally made of brass beads—circular or rectangular in cross-section. Women wear necklaces of more elaborate patterns (Plates XIX Figs. 76, A, B, C and Plate IX Fig. 33) which usually hang down up to the sternum or even below that.

Purum women are very fond of flowers. They often wear garlands of wild flowers on the neck when they dress for

dancing. Circlets of flowers also decorate the crown of the hea on similar occasions. We have seen them often wearir *dhutura* flowers on the top of the ear between the helix and tl parietal bone.

We have elsewhere dealt with coiffure. Cicatrization i unknown to this people and tattooing also was not observed The earlobe is perforated during childhood and except this n other part of the body is mutilated. They do not use any kin of paint or unguent for beautifying the body.

Sec. V.—Industries

Spinning

Spinning and weaving are the two most important industries of the Purums. Cotton is grown in individual *jhums*. Almost every householder produces sufficient quantity of this stuff to meet his annual necessity. Cotton may also be purchased from the market at a nominal cost. It is first of all dried in the sun on circular basketry trays (Plate XVIII Fig. 68) for a number of days after which the seeds are removed. For this purpose they now-a-days use a small ginning machine which is found among the Manipuris as well as the Assamese. It consists of two wooden rollers placed horizontally on two vertical wooden posts fixed on a board or wooden frame. The rollers are geared to move in opposite directions. The operator imparts motion to the rollers by means of a crank attached to the end of one of the rollers protruding outside one of the vertical posts. With one hand he moves the crank and with the other he feeds the machine with cotton. After seeding the pressed cotton is again put in the sun. It is next carded with a small bow of ordinary shape made with a simple bamboo split and bark (or grass) string. At the time of carding, the cotton is either spread out on a mat or placed inside a closely woven basket commonly used for storing grains (Plate VI, Fig. 17). A little of it is put on the bowstring which is snapped whereon the matted fibres become loose and the cotton looks fluff When carding is done inside a basket the process is the same. It is perhaps resorted to on windy days, when carding in open air entails some loss of the material.

A little quantity of the carded cotton is next rolled round a cylindrical stick (about 1.5 to 2 cm. in diameter) of smooth

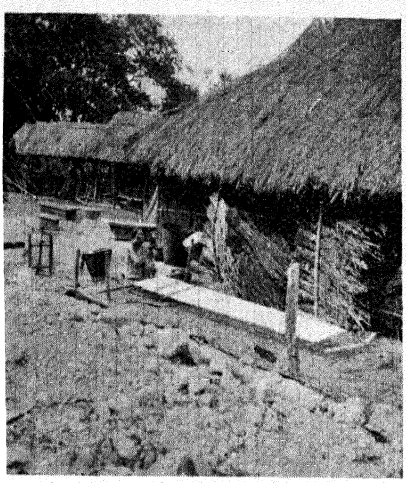


Fig. 23.
A Purum loom

Fig. 24.
To-lai (palanquin)
presented to *khullakpa* of Tampak.

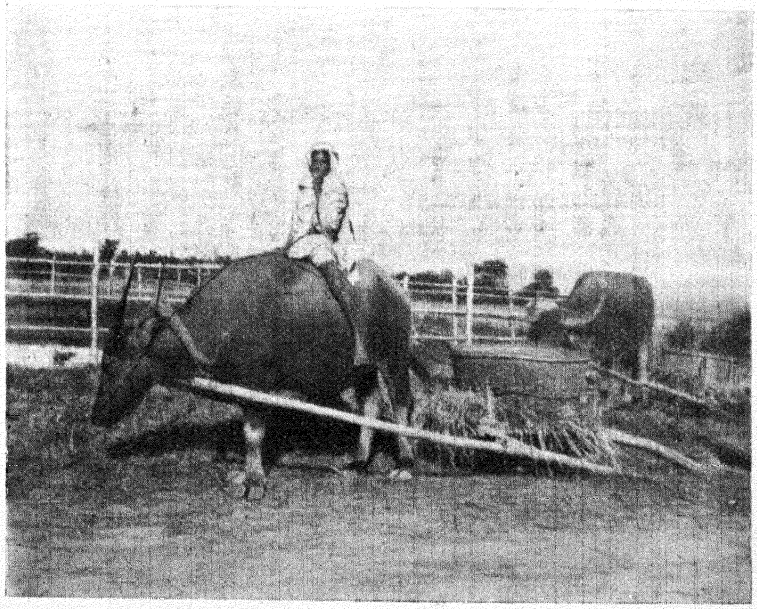


Fig. 25.
Kangpot (wheelless trailer carrying paddy)

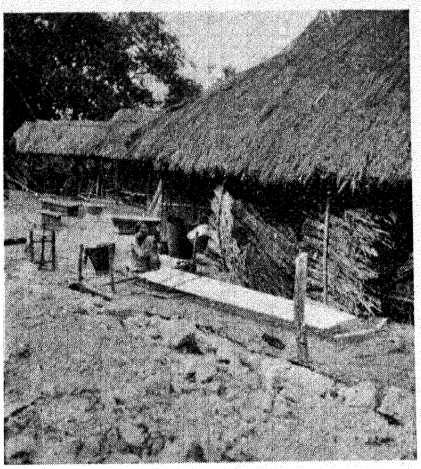


Fig. 23.
A Purum loom

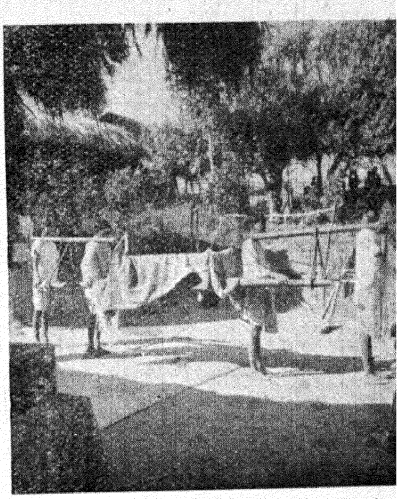


Fig. 24.
To-lai (palanquin)
presented to *khullakpa* of Tampak.

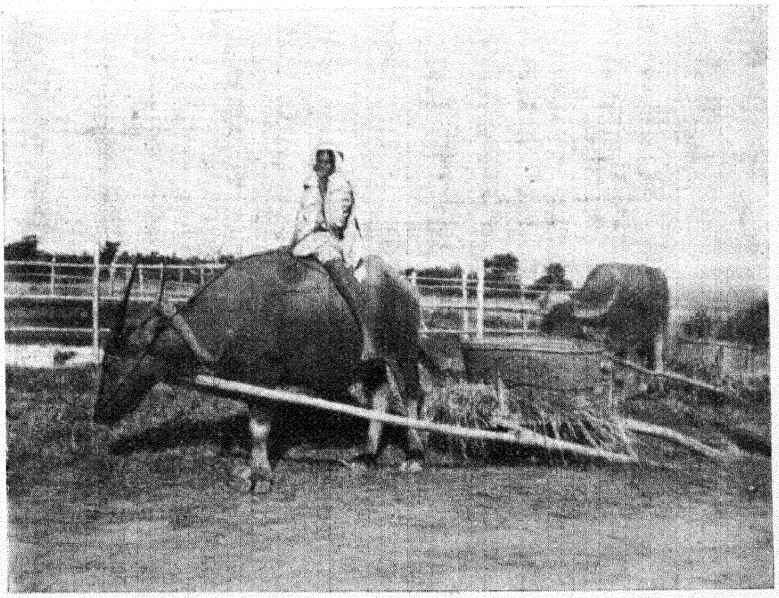


Fig. 25.
Kangpot (wheelless trailer carrying paddy)

surface to make up sausages of convenient size preparatory to spinning.

These rolls of cotton are then spun on a simple spinning wheel. We did not meet with the use of the spindle for spinning among the Purums. The spinning wheel which the Purums use is common throughout the valley of Manipur. It consists of three parts, *viz.*, the base, the so-called wheel and the spindle. The base is made of two pieces of wood rectangular in cross-section, dove-tailed at right angles near about the ends of two other pieces of wood of heavier dimensions but shorter in length and having the same type of cross-section. At one end of this base, on one of the heavier pieces, two vertical posts of wood are set up which are connected at about the top by a loose-fitted horizontal wooden bar, circular in cross-section. Both ends of this horizontal bar protrude beyond the vertical posts but one of them more than the other. To this end the crank for moving the wheel is attached. The so-called wheel rotates on this horizontal bar. It is made in the following manner. Three pieces of plank about 25 cm. long, 5 cm. broad and 1 cm. thick are placed cross-wise one upon another and perforated in the middle. Two such groups are placed between the two vertical posts while the horizontal bar passes through the perforations and is tightly fitted into them. The cross-pieces are generally provided with necks and grooves at the ends. The twelve tips of the two trios of cross-pieces are next joined by a fine cane-split or string obliquely. Thus a drum-like object is made which is the so-called wheel. At the opposite end of this base two smaller vertical posts art set up on which the spindle is poised in such a manner that it may rotate freely. The spindle is generally made by the village blacksmith from an iron bar, round in cross-section, and about 25 cm. long and 3 mm. in diameter with one of its ends pointed. The drum-like wheel and the spindle are connected by an endless cord passed round them at about their middle. The drum is moved with the crank held in the right hand which imparts motion to the spindle.

A bit of thread is tied near the pointed end of the spindle and as soon as the latter begins to move rapidly the operator touches lightly the free end of the thread with one end of the sausage of cotton held in her left hand. At once the thread catches the loose fibres of the sausage and a junction is estab-

lished. Now the operator moves her left hand upward and a length of yarn is twisted. It is next wound round the spindle and another section of yarn spun in the same manner. This process is repeated till the spindle is fully loaded after which the yarn is removed to a simple contrivance made of wood or bamboo and string. This is followed by sizing with rice-gruel.

Weaving

The Purums use the Manipuri framed loom for weaving cloths with patterns but more commonly they use an improved variety of what is called the Indonesian tension loom (Plate VII Fig. 23).

Spinning and weaving are the works of the women of the household. Men do not employ themselves in these tasks. Basketry is their own province where women do not intrude. This appears to be mere division of labour and has not the force of taboos.

The Purums do not dye their yarns. They, at present, do not know any process of dyeing. Coloured yarns are nowadays purchased from the dealers in the valley and these are used in producing coloured fabrics.

Metal Work

At present the Purums do not extract any kind of metal from ore. Our informants could not say whether their ancestors knew it or not. Nowadays they purchase pig-iron from the market and manufacture the different iron objects in the village smithy. All the three villages we visited had their own blacksmith. He is also a Purum and leads the same kind of socio-economic life which the other villagers pursue—the only difference being that in addition to his *jhum* and valley-field cultivation he also follows this industry and adds a little to his income thereby. Socially also he holds an equal position with the rest of the villagers. The village blacksmith is neither a village officer nor a village servant. Like the *maipa* he plys his craft independently.

Charcoal is used for heating in the smithy. In a circular shallow depression the charcoal is arranged in a small heap. Air is forced into this depression from two cylindrical bellows (Plate VIII Fig. 27) vertically placed a little away from the

depression.[3] These bellows may be made either of wood or bamboo. Two short pipes tightly fitted near about the bottom of these two cylinders are inserted into a perforation in a block of stone which practically forms one side of the shallow depression filled up with charcoal. Sometimes in place of the block of stone a ridge of earth is made and the nozzles from the cylinders are introduced into a hole made in this ridge which communicates with the furnace. The perforation in the block of stone or ridge of earth is covered with charcoal. A piston made of a stick with a number of feathers tightly bound at one end is fitted into each of these cylinders. The operator stands behind the vertical cylinders and alternately works the two pistons with his two hands which forces a constant current of air into the furnace. In addition to the bellows we found the following tools in the smithy :—

(1) Hammers of different size and weight, made of iron.
(2) An anvil made with a piece of iron set in a block of wood.
(3) A huge block of stone which sometimes serves the purpose of the anvil.
(4) Pincers of iron.
(5) A chisel for cutting iron.
(6) A dug-out made from a log of wood for keeping water.
(7) A big basket filled up with charcoal.

The village blacksmith makes and mends the iron objects of the villagers. He generally manufactures the small hoes (*atu*). daos, ploughshares, spearheads, arrowheads, chisels, hammers, spindles, stands for vessels, etc., and repairs almost every iron object that may be brought to him.

Gold, silver, brass and bell-metal objects are never manufactured by the Purums.

37 Shaw also refers to a double cylinder bellow made with bamboo tubes and feather pistons used by the Thadou Kukis. Evidently this bellow is also vertical though he does not mention it. (Shaw—*op. cit.* pp., 92-93). The Lakhers also use a bellow of this type made from two hollowed out logs. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 107.) The Lusheis also have double cylinder vertical bellows. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.* p. 30.)

The double cylinder vertical bellows either made of bamboo tubes or hollowed out logs, are in use among the tribes of Arracan and Burma and also among the following Assam tribes, *viz.*, Khasis, Kàmptis, Singphos, Mikirs, Garos, Angami Nagas, Aos, Lhotas, Semas, Nagas of Manipur, Kukis and Chins. (W. C. Smith—*The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam*, pp. 144-145.)

Other Industries

We have already stated elsewhere that wooden objects like *lakhang* (seats), pestle and mortar, dug-outs for giving food to the domestic animals, etc., are made by the Purum householder himself—sometimes with the help of an expert in the craft. Baskets, mats, cords and objects of hide are also made in the same way by the householder himself. Sometimes he may purchase one or other of these articles from the market but most often he depends on his own efforts for these objects.

Sec. VI.—Daily Life

The crowing of the cocks declare the advent of the day to the Purum housewives who leave their bed at the third crowing, before the sun appears on the horizon and long before the males get up. Their first duty in the morning is to kindle the fire at the family hearth. After this they go out to bring water from the village spring or stream. Water is collected in a large earthen pitcher and brought home in the usual carrying basket slung on the back from the forehead. It is kept in these pitchers or in large earthen jars both of which are purchased from the Manipuri potters in the local market. The water required throughout the day is generally collected in the morning before the source of supply is polluted by the cattle or by washing dirty clothes, utensils, etc. If necessary, water may be brought in the afternoon or evening too. This duty finished, they turn their attention to cooking. Rice is cooked first and the curries next. Meanwhile the males have left their bed and cleansed their teeth with a bamboo split or twig, one end of which has been chewed into a brush. Next they wash their hands and mouth with cold water. The women also do the same after leaving their bed. By this time the breakfast is ready and the males and children sit to eat. They are soon followed by the womenfolk who join them after finishing petty household duties. After the morning meal, provided there is work in the field, all the adults, male and female, go to the field. The women carry the midday meal packed up in plantain or other suitable leaves, to be eaten on the field. The boys either accompany the parents to the field or go to tend the cattle on occasions. The work in the field continues till late in the afternoon. When there is no work in the field the women weave on the loom or

go out to gather firewood and the males engage themselves in making baskets. Sometimes they too go out to collect firewood. After returning from the field or forest the women cook the evening meal. On occasions when the males do not go out from the house they may cook the evening meal. Weaving and basketry are the respective industries of the women and men. There is no taboo for one sex to do the work of the other sex in respect of weaving and basketry but this long standing division of duties is respected by everybody. Some Purum families work as blacksmiths of their respective villages. Their daily routine is slightly different from the account given above. After taking the last meal of the day, whether it is taken in the evening or at night the men assemble at particular houses for interchange of gossips. They go to bed early under normal conditions.

Sec. VII.—Hospitality

The Purums are hospitable within their means. A Purum coming from a distant village,[38] on a visit, usually goes to the house of one who belongs to his sib. He is sure to find food and shelter there free of any charge. There he will be entertained even for a week without any murmur from his host. It is not, however, compulsory for a man to put up in the house of one of his siblings, he may, if he so desires, live with a friend or acquaintance belonging to a different sib. Persons belonging to a different tribe, coming on a visit to a Purum village, are lodged in the *khullakpa's* house. It is the latter's official duty to provide food and shelter to such persons. If the man happens to have a friend or acquaintance he may, of course, put up with him. Wherever he chooses to remain he is provided with food free of charge. The guests occupy the *ningan* part of the house at night. If they number only two or three, they are supplied with cooked food, otherwise raw food is given which they have to cook themselves. *Zu* is given free of charge to persons belonging to their own tribe; others have got to purchase it.

[38] This seems to have no application in actual life as all the four Purum villages are situated very near one another. It may, however, refer to Chothe villages found both on the east and west of the Purum area. The Chothes are still regarded as a section of the Purums and are believed to have separated not long ago.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

SEC. I—FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SOCIAL GROUPS

Purums have been referred to as a ' clan ' by some of the earlier writers on Manipur and its people. Col. J. Shakespeare is one of them. He refers to the Old Kuki tribes as 'clans' throughout his book—*The Lushei Kuki Clans* except on page 8. Thus he writes "Under this heading (The Old Kuki Clans of Manipur) I propose dealing with the Aimol, Anal, Chawte. Kolhen, Kom, Lamgang, Purum, Tikhup, and Vaiphei . . . . . who resemble each other in very many respects. Inspite of this resemblance, the clans, while acknowledging their relationship to one another, keep entirely apart, living in separate villages and never intermarrying".[1] Throughout Chapter III of Part II of his book, just quoted, he refers to these tribes as ' clans '. He even writes about the Thadous and the 'Lakhers as two different ' clans ' belonging to the non-Lushei group.[2] Prof. T. C. Hodson, writing in 1911, refers at least once to one of these so-called ' clans ' *viz.*, the Chirus, as a ' tribe '.[3] It is difficult to understand why Col. Shakespeare referred to these Old Kuki tribes as ' clans '. As far as our investigation among the Purums and the Chirus shows there is no reason to speak of these two groups as ' clans '. They do not possess the characteristic feature of the clan. In the *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929) edited by a Committee of Section H. of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, ' clan ' has been defined as " An exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which (*clansmen*) are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie of *clanship*. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a *totems* (*sic*), p. 76, or the common habitation of a village or district. Sib, sept, gens, and *totem-kin* have been used synonimously with

1 Shakespeare—*The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, 1912, p. 149.
2 Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 129.
3 Hodson—*The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, p. 86.

clan.''[4] From this definition it appears that the two most important features of the sib are its exogamous and unilateral nature. The Purums are not an exogamous group; rather it is an endogamous body with lapses on rare occasions. Exogamy and unilateral descent presuppose more than one group in a community without which they cannot function. In the case of the Purums it is impossible as they form a single endogamous community divided into a number of exogamous sibs. Prof. Lowie also lays special stress on the exogamous nature of the sib and writes " we find as one of the most common traits of the sib the law of exogamy " and he further adds " that exogamy is one of the most common characteristics of the sib ".[5] In view of these facts the Purums cannot be called a ' clan '. They have all the characteristic traits which compose a tribe according to the definition put forward in the *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929). Prof. Wissler adds one point to this definition of the tribe namely its inbreeding or intermarrying character. According to him " summarizing the various definitions offered by social students and, recognizing the biological nature of the group, we select the following outstanding characteristics of a tribe :

(1) Designation by a specific name.
(2) Possessing unity in speech or a dialect peculiar to the group.
(3) Claiming possession of a definite range or habitat.
(4) Constituting an inbreeding or intermarrying group.''[6]

The Purums satisfy all these conditions and so it should be treated as a tribe and not as a sib. The Thadous and the Lakhers, whom Shakespeare referred to as ' clans ', have also been, in recent years treated as tribes. In the ' Introduction ' to " *The Lakhers* " by Mr. N. E. Parry, Prof. J. H. Hutton refers to the Lakhers as a tribe and writes " Externally and

4 *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 1929, p. 55.
5 Lowie—*Primitive Society*, 1925 (Boni and Liveright, N.Y.), pp. 113 and 114.
6 Wissler—*An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 1929, p. 117. The fourth characteristic of a tribe, as mentioned by Wissler, is not clear. The word " intermarry " means " to marry between or among." Wissler most probably has used the word in the latter sense. But it is more commonly used in the former sense, *i.e.*, to marry between. It might also be a printing mistake for the word " intramarrying " in which case all the conditions are satisfied.

superficially the Lakhers appear to be a definitely Kuki tribe ".[7] In the same way Prof. Hutton speaks of the Thadous as a tribe in the 'Introduction' to "*The Thadou Kukis*" by Mr. William Shaw. "The Thado are a scattered tribe inhabiting parts of the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills, the Manipur State and spreading east into Burma in the Chin Hills and Somra tract ".[8] So, we shall not be wrong in treating the Purums as a tribe instead of a 'clan'.

The traditional emergence of the different Naga and Kuki tribes of Manipur Hills from a subterranean region through a hole in the earth, covered with a stone, is also found among the Purums.[9] According to one version of this story the first Purum to come out through the hole was Multon. He came out of the earth at a place about one mile to the north of Imphal. The passage is now covered with a stone called Khulpi-lingthum. Multon was the progenitor of the Marrim sib. He was followed by Tonshu—a woman—who established the Makan sib. The

7 Parry—*The Lakhers*, p IX.

8 William Shaw—*Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, p. 4.

9 The ancestors of the Thadous also came out through a hole in the earth called *khul*, from its interior. The *khul* is believed to be situated at the source of the "Gun" river which Shaw identifies with the Imphal River. When Chongthu the subterranean progenitor of the Thadous arrived at the mouth of the hole (*khul*) together with his party he found a snake and later a lion obstructing the passage. The snake was killed and a truce was made with the lion. Proceeding farther they found the passage blocked by a very heavy piece of stone which was raised by one of the party and only seven persons came out including the latter. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, pp. 24-26.) The Lakhers also believe that their ancestors came out of the earth through a hole before the great darkness called *khazanghra* enveloped the earth. The Lushais came after them. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 4). The ancestor of the Anals came out of a cave on the Haubi peak. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 150.) A similar origin is ascribed to the people of Sadu Koireng. (Hodson—*Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 16.) The Lamgangs say that their ancestral couple issued from a cave on the Kangmang Hill in the south. The ancestors of the Kolhen—a man and a woman—sprang out of Khurpui (*khur* in Lushai and Old Kuki dialects means "a hole"). (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 150).

According to Brown the Marrings also state that their ancestors came out of the earth in the Kabaw Valley. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 15). Hodson ascribes to the Tangkhuls a tradition which "declares that they sprang from a stone in the police lines" of Imphal. But Brown records that the Tangkhuls, according to their own narration, emerged from a cave. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 10.) The Angamis are said to be descended from two brothers or cousins who issued out of the earth. The Memi speaks of Maikel as the place of this incident (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, p. 110).

two were married. This version does not account for the origin of the remaining three sibs, *viz.*, Kheyang, Thao, and Parpa. After marriage this couple proceeded towards the south and reached Lungsuk at the boundary of the Chin Hills. It is not clearly stated whether they themselves reached this place or their descendants. However, from Lungsuk the Purums came to Chothe near Bishenpore. The Chothes of Chothe, near Bishenpore on the western bank of Lake Logtak, still speak of their genetic relationship with the Purums on the eastern bank of the same lake. The Purums further state that marriage with the Chothes is allowed and does not break the endogamous law. At Chothe a section of the Purums remained while the main body went towards the north and established itself at Shorouthil. After sometime they left this place and went to Langmaiching and thence to Yangpalkum.[10] From this place they went to Palel and thence to Kanshui near Kakching. From Kanshui they went to Titit near Khulen. The three other villages of the Purums namely Chumbang, Changninglong and Tampak have sprung up from Khulen.

The second version of this origin-story, that we have recorded, places the hole at Khulbi Nongthang-jing near Imphal. The first pair of human beings came through this hole and their names were Marrim or Mulshu and Multon. The man Marrim or Mulshu, as he was called, was the progenitor of the Marrim sib. Marrim married Multon the woman and four sons were born to them in the following order *viz.*, Makan, Kheyang, Thao

The usual Lhota tradition ascribes the origin of the tribe from three brothers—the ancestors of the three phratries—who came out of a hole in the earth at Kezakenoma. (Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, p. 3). "Ao tradition states quite definitely that the ancestors of the tribe came out of the earth at Lungterok. . ." The Phoms also have a similar traditon. (Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, p 6.) So it appears that the Purum story of genesis is connected somehow with a widespread tradition of the Nagas and Kukis.

10 Our interpreter, Mr. Nechak, himself a Vaiphei Kuki (one of the Old Kuki tribes) tried to identify some of the places mentioned in this migration story. He attempted these identifications with the help of those Purum informants from whom we got this traditional account. As regards the correctness of these identifications we are not in a position to offer any opinion. We, however, record them as they were told to us. Shorouthil, according to this identification, is the present Charoukathil which is situated about nine miles north of Imphal. Langmaiching, according to him, is Nongmaiching, "the hill which rises to the east of Imphal and which is . . . . . the scene of a rain-compelling ceremony." Yangpalkum is situated about one mile to the east of Thoubal an important village towards the south of Imphal.

and Parpa. These four brothers were the ancestors of the remaining four sibs of the Purums which were known after them. The rank of the different Purum sibs was based on the precedence in birth of their progenitors—the father's sib (Marrim) occupying the highest position.

In the origin-story there are some incrongruities regarding the origin of the Marrim and Makan sibs of the first version and of the Marrim only of the second version. In both these versions there are two possibilities about the origin of these sibs. In the first place they might have originated from unions with spouses other than those mentioned in the story. Thus the Marrim sib of the first version came into existence from union between Multon and a wife other than Tonshu while the Makan sib was born of a union between Tonshu and a husband other than Multon. Similarly the Marrim sib of the second version was formed by the children born of union between a Marrim man and a wife other than Multon. But in none of these two versions such marriages are mentioned. The second alternative is that Multon and Tonshu of the first version and Marrim or Mulshu of the second version, themselves belonged to these sibs at the time of their birth. But here also we find difficulties as they are spoken of as the first human beings to be born. When these anomalies were pointed out to our informants they realised the difficulties and stated that they could not account for them and that they told to us the traditions as they had heard from their elders.

The different origin of Marrim and Makan or Marrim alone, according to these traditional tales, is significant in view of the tri-clan organisation of the tribe. We shall refer to this topic later on.

Col. Shakespeare also mentions a story about the origin of the Purums. According to him " The Purum claim to be descended from Tonring and Tonshu, who issued from the earth. It is said that ' Pu rum ' means ' hide from tiger,' which connects them closely with the Lamgang legend ". The Chothes also gave him a similar story. " The Chawte told me the tale of the peopling of the world out of a hole in the ground, adding the graphic touch that an inquisitive monkey lifted up a stone which lay over the opening and thus allowed their ancestors to emerge ".[11]

11 Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

As already indicated in the origin-story, the Purums are divided into five sibs, *viz.*, Marrim, Makan, Kheyang, Thao and Parpa. Each of them is said to be an exogamous unit though actually they are not so now. At present sib-exogamy is giving way in favour of a smaller unit which may be called sub-sib. The sib and the sub-sib will be dealt with after we have discussed the nature of the family which is the smallest social unit in Purum society.

Family

The smallest social unit of the Purum society is the biological family consisting of a man, his wife and the unmarried children born of their union. Almost all the Purum families are of this nature. The joint family consisting of the parents and one or more married sons with their wives and children is rare. The three villages we examined, *viz.*, Khulen, Tampak and Chumbang had eighty families, out of which, in three only, the married sons lived with their parents. On the other hand, eight of them were composed of husband and wife only. The rest consisted of husband, wife and one or more children. We have not a single instance of three generations living together with their wives and children or of a number of married brothers living together. The composition of the Purum family is influenced by the laws of inheritance and also by marriage customs. Purum family is patrilocal in residence. When a Purum young man completes his *yaun-gimba* period (service for marriage) he brings his wife to the house of his father. Here he may remain till the marriage of the next younger brother with the option to continue till father's death but usually he soon sets up a separate house for himself and his wife where they live on their own earnings.[12] The father may give him some *tampak*

[12] Among the Lakhers a man remains in the house of his father even after marriage till the birth of the first child when he sets up a new house. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 69.) Among the Angami Nagas the married son usually sets up his house soon after marriage. The Angami family generally consists of a man, his wife and unmarried children, perhaps a widowed parent and an unmarried brother. (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, p. 55.) The Ao young man enters his new house with his wife just after marriage. (Mills—*Ao Nagas*, pp. 87-88, 271).

(plains) fields, if he can spare, at this time. All the sons thus marry and leave the father except the youngest one. The youngest or the only son of a man lives with his parents even after marriage and looks after them in their old age. He does not set up a separate house for himself and his wife. As a result he not only enjoys the entire property of the father during the latter's life-time but also inherits it after his death to the exclusion of his other brothers. But public opinion, however, forces him to share this property almost equally with his other brothers keeping only a bigger share for himself.

The daughters grow up under the particular care and control of their parents especially their mother. They remain so till they are married when they leave the family in order to join the family of their husbands. On the death of a man his unmarried daughters live, preferably, with their youngest brother, if he be married, otherwise they put up with one of the married elder brothers.

Purum family is by nature biological and all its tendencies are towards this direction. We, however, meet with a weak opposition to it in the case of the youngest son living with the parents. But this is the natural condition of a society which is based on shifting agriculture. As each of the elder sons marries, he constructs a new house with the help of the villagers and begins to produce his own food by cultivating a piece of forest land which lies all around the village and to which he is entitled by the laws of the land. He does not depend on his father for starting this new unit of society as no capital outlay is necessary for this purpose. In this way all the elder sons marry, one by one perhaps, and separate from the father and set up new houses. By this time the parents grow old and require help to perform the more arduous tasks of the field and so they naturally begin to cling more and more to the youngest son and when he also marries he is not allowed to leave them in their old age. The latter also finds it more convenient to live with the aged parents as thereby he comes to possess the effects of his parents on their death. This, perhaps, explains the custom of inheritance by the youngest son among this people and it also points out how the youngest son remains a member of the parental family even after his marriage, which only apparently interferes with the biological character of the Purum family though in reality it does not attain this end.

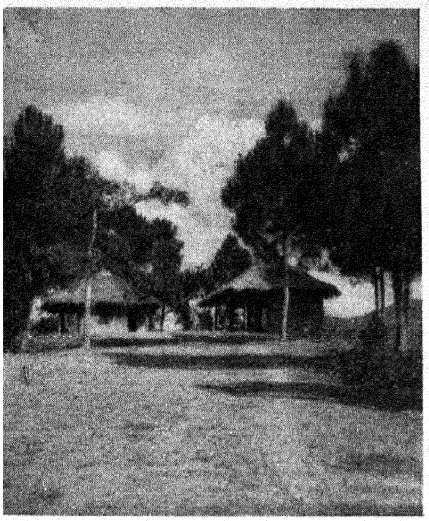


Fig. 26.
Waikhong Rest House

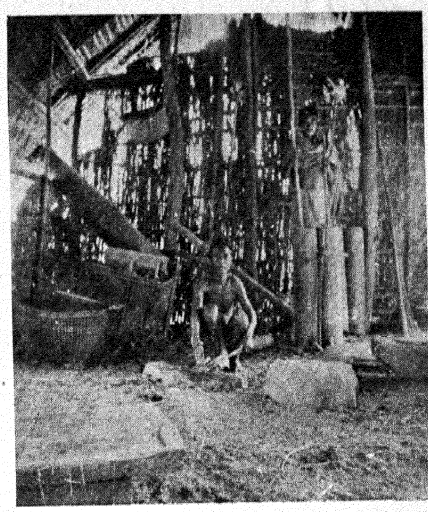


Fig. 27.
Smithy—showing double-cylinder vertical bellows, Changninglong.

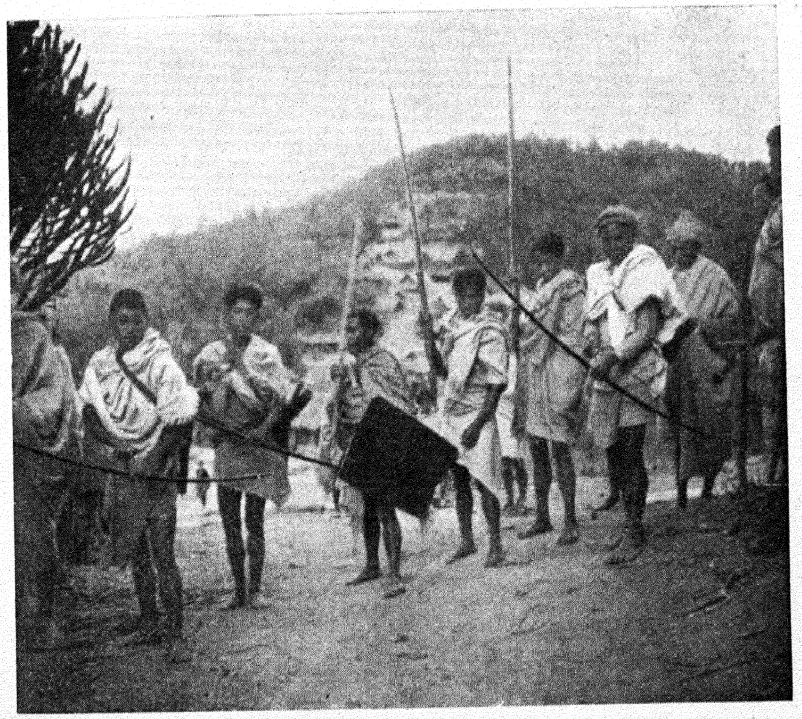


Fig. 28.
Purums with weapons

Purum family is patrilineal. The children of a man live amongst his agnatic relations and look up to them for help in times of difficulty. The father's brother is shown the same respect as accorded to the father. In the absence of the father a man will look up to his paternal uncles in preference to his mother's brothers. The sons of father's brothers are thought to be nearer than the sons of mother's brothers. Even a man's siblings are nearer to him than the sons of his mother's brothers He will look up to the former for help before going to his mother's brothers' sons as the siblings will inherit him if he dies without an heir.

The Purum family cannot be said to be homogeneous in nature. Owing to patrilocal residence the daughters leave their parents after marriage while the sons bring in wives from other families and sibs. Moreover the custom of marriage by service leads to the introduction of one or more young men from other families and sibs when there are marriageable daughters. These young men live in the house of their future father-in-law as members of his family for a pretty long period. They share the same house and the same hearth with their parents-in-law and take part in all the food-producing or other economic activities of the family. In fact they identify themselves, for the time being, with the family of their parents-in-law and behave almost like the sons of the family. But inspite of this there is one great difference between a son and a prospective son-in-law. In all matters concerning the direction of socio-religious or even economic affairs, their opinion is not sought after nor does it count in any way. They have no means of enforcing their opinion.

We have no record about adoption among the Purums. Among the eighty families about which we have particulars we do not meet with a single case though there are a few childless pairs which have passed the reproductive period. But our data on this topic is incomplete.

Slavery is at present unknown to the Purums and they have no memory of its past prevalence. Thus, slaves seem to have never coloured the family life of the Purums. Domestic servants are neither kept by them nor are they necessary in the households of chiefs even. Manual labour is not looked upon with contempt and the members of the family perform all kinds of menial service without being conscious of it. This is the case

with all the families even not excepting those of the village chiefs and other well-to-do men of the community.

In both the types of Purum family—limited-joint and biological—the father or the husband is theoretically the head of the family with limited authority over the persons of his children and absolute control over the family property. The father has the right to chastise his immature children which he rarely exercises. The Purum fathers are generally indulgent to an excess. Property in Purum society is mostly earned by the joint labour of husband and wife. The children also contribute towards it when they grow up. Thus it is the outcome of the labour of all the members of the family. But inspite of this its control theoretically lies with the father or the husband. But under normal circumstances the Purum father rarely exercises this authority. He is almost always guided by the advice of his wife and grown-up children whom he consults at every step. The father guides and controls all economic activities. In social, religious and political affairs he represents the family. He officiates as priest in some of the religious rites. In matters of village administration his opinion is consulted whenever necessary. In social feasts and festivities he takes precedence over his sons whether they be living with him or separately.

The relation between the parents and the children is of mutual affection and inter-dependence. We have often seen the Purum parents fondling their infant sons and daughters with equal affection, bearing with a smiling face all the depredations of these little tyrants. But as the children grow in age the sons become more and more associated with the father in his food-producing activities and grow up to be friends rather than dependents or inferiors. The daughters, on the other hand, grow up to be the assistants of their mother in her food-preparing activities. They also shoulder a substantial part of the mother's nursing duties. When the father becomes old the grown up sons living with him take his place in the more laborious tasks and relieves him from arduous duties. But on occasions of social festivities, of which drinking and feasting are the essential features, the old man is given the place of honour and regarded as the leader of the family. This privilege is not only accorded by the sons who live with the father but also by those who have already married and set up separate houses.

The relation between the husband and wife among the

Purums is one of mutual love and affection born in adolescence. We have already pointed out that owing to the custom of mother's brother's daughter marriage there is little scope for choice of mate in Purum society. But this does not mean that there is absolutely no scope for mutual selection. The rule of mother's brother's daughter marriage is not always and everywhere absolute. There may be more than one mother's brother's daughter. Moreover marriage is also allowed in the sib of the mother's brother. Thus, they find some amount of liberty in selecting their mate though its scope may be limited. Looking from another angle, it is possible that this custom induces love among young people who know from an early age who will be their mates in later life. Marriages generally take place within the village and adult marriage is the rule. The custom of passing the night in the house of a man who has one or more grown up daughters may have the intention of providing an opportunity to the young people to cultivate premarital love so that their union may be happy and unbroken. Purum society has realised this ideal to a considerable extent. Though divorce is allowed theoretically, we have not met with a single case in the three villages we have studied in detail. On the other hand we found a number of widows living in the house of their husband, bringing up the immature children left by their departed mates. Some of them were young enough to take a second husband and live more happily but they preferred to remain alone and willingly accepted a life of greater stress and strain in memory of their past love. Theoretically, the husband is to be obeyed by the wife but generally they consult each other in all matters of importance concerning the family. It is the duty of the husband to provide food for the family and bring things from outside while the wife prepares the food and makes all arrangements within the house. But each is helped by the other in his or her respective duties. Over certain things, *e.g.*, pigs, fowls, *zu*, cloth, etc., the wife seems to have some amount of liberty. She may part with them when she feels it necessary even against the wish of her husband. He will not take her to task for such behaviour. On the other hand he also may sell them whenever he feels a pressing necessity, even against the will of his wife. But these antagonistic rights do not lead to any permanent quarrel between the spouses. The right of the wife seems to be derived from the fact that she rears the pigs and the fowls of the family and manufactures the

cloths and the *zu*. Perhaps this is the remnant of a wider and a more absolute right which was modified by contact with a culture which extolled the rights of the husband over that of the wife. But she cannot exercise the same liberty in the case of the cows, buffaloes and mithuns which are thought to be in the absolute control of the husband who may dispose them up in any way he thinks necessary. These animals are looked after by the husband and the wife has nothing to do with them.

Brothers and sisters live together in the family till they grow up in age. They sleep with their parents in the same bed up to eight or nine years of age. After this they occupy separate beds—all the brothers having one bed in common and all the sisters another—within the same house, till they grow up to be twelve or thirteen years of age. After this the boys leave their paternal roof and pass their nights in the houses of men having grown up daughters preferably their mother's brothers or the siblings of the latter. But throughout the day they remain in their paternal house and mix with their sisters without the slightest restriction. They work together in the field and help each other in their duties. Often they present articles of their own manufacture to each other. Light jokes constantly enliven their talks though they may not refer to sexual matters. The duty of looking after infant brothers and sisters often falls to the lot of young girls which they render with affectionate pride. We have seen girls of eight or nine carrying a two or three years old brother or sister on their hip with great difficulty and trying to console them like grown up women, when they began to cry. They discharged their duty with all possible gravity and thereby received a very thorough and practical training in the duties of motherhood.

Polygamy is allowed in Purum society and it may introduce some amount of complication in the composition of the family and the nature of family life. But actually we did not find any instance of a polygamous family in the three villages we studied in detail. So we had not the opportunity to investigate the effects of such unions among the Purums. Re-marriage of widows and widowers, both having children by their former spouses, with bachelors and spinisters respectively, or of widows with widowers (both having children by their former spouses) might have led to a more complicated type of family life. But we had not the opportunity to study any one of these

cases as none of them could be found in the three villages in question.

The biological or the limited-joint family of the Purums is also the smallest and perhaps the most important economic unit of their society. All the food-producing activities are done by it and for it. It has one hearth and one purse. All the members of the family unite under the leadership of the *pater familias* to participate in all economic functions calculated to produce food. The economic tie works side by side with the blood-tie to keep the unit intact.

The family also behaves as a religious unit sometimes, though more often this aspect of their culture is connected with the village and sometimes even with the sib. A number of religious rites connected with the agricultural activities are performed by the individual families of both the types. In communal religious rites too contributions are levied from individual families which are recognised as units for this purpose.

Household

The *household,* according to Dr. Rivers " often includes members of the kindred as well as of the family proper. . . " It also embraces, " whether as servants or in some other capacity, persons who do not belong to the family at all, in any sense in which the term is used." [13] Though the household may differ from the family in higher culture it corresponds with the family among the Purums. They do not keep servants; dependents such as sisters' sons or daughters are rare. The only outsider who lives in a Purum family is the prospective son-in-law who also leaves it after a limited period. Thus practically the household as a separate unit does not exist among the Purums, rather, it is identified with the individual family.

Subsib

A number of families form a sib for which the Purums could not give us their own term. They now indicate the sib by the Meithei term *sagei.* The family and the sib are two older social groupings. But an intermediate social grouping was traced by

13 W. H. R. Rivers—*Social Organisation,* 1932, p. 16.

us in course of our investigations. This is the subsib which is not mentioned by any of the previous writers on the Purums. It seems to be younger than both the family and the sib. We shall discuss its chronological position later on.

Among the Purums we found fourteen subsibs. Each sib, except Parpa, is divided into a number of subsibs. The following table shows the different sibs together with their subsibs :—

TABLE I

TABLE OF SIBS WITH THEIR SUBSIBS

Names of the sibs.	Names of the subsibs
I. Marrim	1. Rimphunchong 2. Rimkung 3. Rim-ke-lek 4. Pilling
II. Makan	1. Kankung 2. Makan-te
III. Kheyang	1. Julhung 2. Aihung 3. Impi 4. Ingte
IV. Thao	1. Thao-kung 2. Thao-run 3. Teyu 4. Rangshai
V. Parpa	No subsib

From the village census the following distribution of the subsibs is found. Among the subsibs of the Marrim sib, Rimphunchong and Rimkung are found in Khulen, Rim-ke-lek in Tampak and Pilling in both Chumbang and Tampak. Both the subsibs of Makan appear in Khulen, while Tampak and Chumbang have each only one, *viz.*, Kankung. Among the subsibs of Kheyang, Julhung and Aihung can be traced in both Tampak and Chumbang though Khulen has only Julhung. Chauba re-

ferred to the existence of three families of Ingte in Tampak and four in Khulen in 1932 but we could not trace any one of them in 1936. As regards Impi we find it associated with two sibs namely Kheyang and Makan which is rather absurd and there must be some mistake. No such family is found in any of the three villages studied in detail. Of the Thao sib, Thao-run and Rangshai are found in Khulen and Thao-kung in Tampak. Chumbang has no Thao family. The Teyu branch was referred to by Chauba in 1932 and by the informants from Khulen and Changninglong in 1936. Chauba said that this branch had disappeared about eight years before 1932 with the death of its last representative who lived in Changninglong. We did not find any Teyu family in the three villages studied in detail. Families belonging to the Parpa sib are found in all the three villages mentioned before.

The subsib is a pure social grouping and consists of a number of either biological or limited-joint families or both. There is no term to indicate this type of social grouping among the Purums and they have not adopted any term from the Manipuris. On the other hand each subsib is known by a name. The nature of these names could not be, however, elucidated. We are sure that they are not of totemic nature. Possibly they are eponymous but we did not find any story pointing towards this direction.

The members of a subsib regard themselves to be related by blood and this relation is more intimate than that which subsists between members of different subsibs of the same sib. The subsib is either an expanded family or an embryonic sib. Perhaps it is more the latter. Descent is patrilineal in the subsibs. The name of the subsib descends from the father to the children and never from the mother to the latter. It is an exogamous unit and this character is derived from the sib. In one family of the Kheyang sib this rule has been broken (*vide* p. 122). In all other instances the subsib derives its exogamy from the sib.

Each subsib has a *pipa* (*piba* of the Manipuris) who is regarded as head of the group. Thus in November, 1936, the following men were the *pipas* of the different subsibs of the Purums.

TABLE II

NAMES OF THE PIPAS OF THE SUBSIBS

Sib	Subsib	Name of the *pipa*
Marrim	Rimphunchong	Panshang
,,	Rimkung	Muti
,,	Pilling	Waingam
Makan	Kankung	Kanshu
,,	Makan-te	Khemya
Kheyang	Julhung	Shema
Thao	Thao-run and Thao-kung	Thaongir
,,	Rangshai	Phitsho
Parpa	*nil*	Tupi

All these *pipas* were then residing in Khulen. The eldest son of the *pipa* succeeds to the office of his father on the latter's death. If a man has no son his youngest living brother assumes the role. The duty of the *pipa* is to worship the deity Senamahi preferably every year otherwise every alternate year. The god must not remain without worship consecutively for two years. This deity is worshipped by the *pipa* on behalf of his group and for its welfare. Besides this, individuals also may worship the deity. In both the cases the *thempu* (?) officiates as priest.

The concept of the *pipa* does not seem to be very well developed among the Purums. But this office is an important socio-religious post among the Manipuris. The Meitheis, according to a tradition, were divided into ten *saleis* namely Ningthaja, Kumul, Luang, Angom, etc., two or three of which were ' extinguished ' (*mut-khre*). The ten kings referred to in the *Numit-kappa* [14] of the Manipuris, were, according to the informants of Hodson, the *pibas* of the ten sibs. Some of them are still spoken of as *ningthou* or king.[15] " The *pibas* or heads of the clans are now dignified officers holding in the case of the *pibas* of the Angom, Kumul. and Luang clans, the title of Ningthou or King. They officiate at the annual ceremonies, which seem to be in honour of the eponymous tribal ancestor or which are connected with the crops,

14 It is a folktale of the Manipuris regarding the sun and the moon.
15 T. C. Hodson—*The Meitheis*, 1908, p. 73.

and special precautions have to be taken against any impurity on their part.'' Succession to pibaship is determined by primogeniture among the Meitheis and the post is among them associated with the *saleis* and perhaps not with the *sageis*. Hodson does not clearly mention whether it is associated with any group other than the *saleis*. The Meithei *saleis* are generally exogamous with definite rules proscribing marriage between particular *saleis*, *e.g.*, Luangs and Kumuls cannot intermarry nor Moirangs and Khabanabas, etc. Each *salei* is divided into a number of *yumnaks*. The *salei* has the character of the sib though Hodson translates it as a ' tribe ' in a footnote.[16] But he always uses the term ' clan ' to indicate this division in the body of the book. The *yumnak* has been translated as ' household ' but it seems to be the ' subsib ' and not the ' household ' as defined by Dr. Rivers. Pibaship is always connected with the *salei* among the Meitheis and never mentioned in connection with the *yumnak* but among the Purums we find it in relation with both the sib and the subsib. Senamahi whom every Purum *pipa* is required to worship regularly does not seem to have any connection with the Meithei *pibas*. But there is an important exception to this rule. Among the Meitheis '' The worship of Sena Mehi by a prince was regarded as a sure preliminary to an attempt by the worshipper on the throne and was reserved for the Raja alone.'' [17] The *chirouba* festival of the Manipuris is held in honour of Senamahi, '' the administrator of the Universe.'' [18] The Lois also worship this deity. In the *Numit-kappa*, however, this god appears as a female deity—the wife of Pakhangba and the mother of the slave of Khowai Nongjengba Piba who shot the sun with his arrow.[19] Among the Purums Senamahi is always referred to as a male deity. The similarity in the trait-complexes around the *pipa* of the Purums and the *piba* of the Meitheis does not seem to be a chance-coincidence. Possibly one is derived from the other or more possibly both are derived from a common source.

Sib

As already stated the Purums are divided into five sibs, namely, Marrim, Makan, Kheyang, Thao and Parpa. We have al-

16 T. C. Hodson—*The Meitheis*, 1908, p. 73.
17 T. C. Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 98.
18 T. C. Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 104.
19 T. C. Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 126.

ready seen that each of them, except Parpa, is again subdivided into a number of subsibs. The main social function of the sib is to regulate marriage. The Purum sib is primarily responsible for regulation of marriage though nowadays some of its functions have been taken over by the subsib. Each of the five sibs of the Purums is an exogamous unit.[20] There is only one instance in which this rule seems to have been broken. This is the case of Damshu and his two sons Lengmunnir and Phairel of Chumbang. (*Vide* Gen. Tab. III and village census of Chumbang.) Damshu married Jungai and they both belonged to the Kheyang sib but to different subsibs. Damshu was a Julhung and Jungai an Aihung. They had two sons and two daughters. The two daughters were married in the Makan sib while the two sons married in the subsib of their mother's brother, *i.e.*, Aihung, the elder one having actually married his mother's brother's daughter. These are the solitary instances of marriage within the same sib. The interesting point in this connection is that inspite of their non-observance of the exogamous rule in connection with the sib they were neither ex-communicated nor punished in any other way for

20 The exogamous sib exists among all the Old Kuki tribes that we investigated. It is found among the Chirus, Chothes, Kourengs, Koms, Anals, Aimols and Lamgangs. The Tikhup had no division into sibs. They numbered only twenty households when Shakespeare conducted his investigations. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 154.) But the New Kukis do not show the existence of this social unit. Shaw does not mention the occurrence of exogamous sibs among the Thadous. Shakespeare writes that the Thadous are divided into "four main families, all named after their progenitors, and these are further sub-divided into many eponymous branches". But neither the families nor the branches are stated to be exogamous. Writing about marriage he states that "young men of the families which sacrifice a sow to their Sakhua will not generally take girls from the families which sacrifice a mithan." (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 189 and 198). Our own investigation among the Haokips of Aihang also points to the same direction. It has been definitely stated that a Haokip may marry in his own sib or any other sib. The Lakhers also are divided into sibs which are not exogamous units. But marriage within the sib, according to Parry, is less frequent, which he attributes to the probable existence of an exogamous system among the tribe in the past. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 232). The Lushais too have no exogamous sib organisation. "A young man is not hampered in his choice by any table of prohibited degrees, nor is his choice confined to any particular family or clan; in fact, he can practically marry any woman he chooses except his sister or his mother." (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 50.) The exogamous sib system, on the other hand, is a widespread institution of the different Naga tribes who inhabit Manipur and the Naga Hills and some of the adjacent districts.

this social offence. They continued to remain members of Purum society and lived in a Purum village taking part in all socio-religious rites and ceremonies performed by the village community for the welfare of its constituent members. In short this was not regarded as an offence at all. But this does not seem to have been the case at the time when Shakespeare wrote on this tribe. According to him " Among the Anal, Purum and Lamgang marriages must be made within the clan but not within the family." [21] Shakespeare's ' clan ' refers to our ' tribe ' and his ' family ' is identical with our ' sib.' Even nowadays whenever a Purum is asked whether a man can marry within his *sagei* he at once denies it and this is the general feeling of the community. But the instances under reference show that the intensity of this feeling has diminished to a very appreciable extent and the sib is no longer the most important exogamous social unit. The idea of incest which generally accompanies the sib-concept has now been transferred in Purum society from the sib to the subsib. Marriage within the subsib is nowadays strictly prohibited and regarded as incestuous. A parallel instance may be found among the Angami Nagas among whom Prof. Hutton shows that it has been transferred to smaller and smaller social units for two or three occasions and those groups assumed the character of the sib. We find similar instances of this tendency among other Assam tribes.

The Purum sib was not only an exogamous unit but it was something more. Purum boys and girls could marry only in one or more selected sibs.[22] Such unions between the different sibs were fixed by traditional customs. Besides this there was another custom by which the boys and girls of any one of these sibs might not marry into the same sib; that is, they had to find spouses from two different sibs, the boys from one and the girls from another. Thus brothers and sisters could not marry into the same sib. The following table of marital relations reconstructed from terms of address used in respect of members of different sibs substantially confirms these rules.

21 Lt.-Col. J. Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, 1912, p. 153.

22 A similar custom prevails among the Chirus and Chothes. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 154.)

TABLE III

TABLE OF MARITAL RELATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT SIBS DEDUCED FROM TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY THE MEMBERS OF ONE SIB TO THOSE OF ANOTHER*

Group I		Group II	Group III	Group IV		Group V	Group VI	Group VII	Group VIII
Husband	*Wife*	*Wife*	*Wife*	*Wife*	*Wife*	*Husband*	*Husband*	*Husband*	*Husband*
Marrim	=		Kheyang	Kheyang	Marrim =	Makan	Makan	Makan	Makan
,,	=Thao	Thao	Thao	Thao	,, =	Parpa	Parpa	Parpa	Parpa
					,, =	Kheyang	Kheyang		
Makan	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Makan =	Thao	Thao	Thao	Thao
,,	=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang					
,,	=Parpa		Parpa	Parpa	,, =		Parpa		
Kheyang	=Thao	Thao	Thao	Thao	Kheyang =	Makan	Makan	Makan	Makan
,,	=	Parpa	Parpa	Parpa	,, =				Marrim
,,	=	Marrim	Marrim						
Thao	=Makan	Makan	Makan	Makan	Thao =	Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Marrim
,,	=Parpa	Parpa	Parpa	Parpa	,, =	Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang
Parpa	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Parpa =	Makan	Makan	Makan	Makan
					,, =	Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang
					,, =	Thao	Thao	Thao	Thao

* The marriage relations in (*a*) Groups I & V above are derived from terms used by the boys of one sib to the girls of another sib, (*b*) those in Groups II & VI are derived from terms used by the girls of one sib to the boys of another sib. (*c*) those in Groups III & VII are derived from terms used by the boys of one sib to the boys of another sib, and (*d*) those in Groups IV & VIII are derived from terms used by the girls of one sib to the girls of another sib.

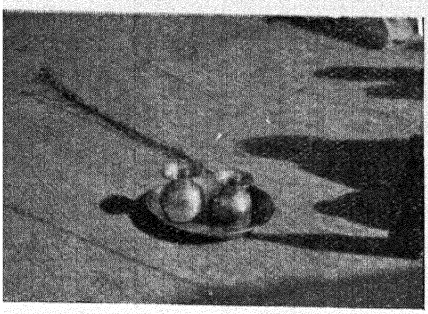


Fig. 29. Brass pots and bell-metal plate.

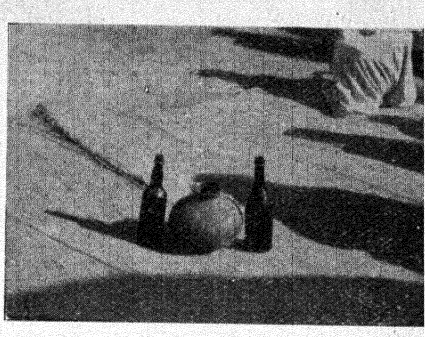
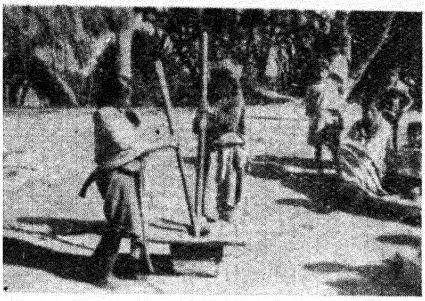


Fig. 30. *Zu* pot and bottles.



g 31. Husking paddy with mortar and pestle.

Fig. 32 A girl carrying water-pot in a basket

Fig. 33. Unmarried girl of Chumbang wearing ornaments.

Among the Purums unrelated persons of both sexes address one another by a number of definitely fixed terms of address on the basis of marital relationship subsisting between different sibs.[23] These terms have been borrowed from the ordinary terms of relationship. For each man belonging to Purum society the sibs are divided into three groups, *viz.*,

(1) his own or rather his father's sib,
(2) his mother's group of sibs or rather the group from which his wife is recruited, and
(3) his sister's husband's group of sibs *i.e.*, the group of sibs in which his sisters are married (this is sometimes his mother's mother's or mother's mother's mother's sib).

This is also true of the women. Thus a woman has,

(1) her own sib or rather her father's sib
(2) her mother's group of sibs, and
(3) her husband's group of sibs (this is sometimes her mother's mother's or mother's mother's mother's sib).

Now, the Purums, both male and female, in attracting the attention of persons who are not directly related to them (this is often relaxed and persons related are also addressed with these terms) use a number of terms based on the above-noted classification. They are given in a tabulated form below.

TABLE IV

TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY MEN AND WOMEN IN RESPECT OF PERSONS BELONGING TO THEIR OWN AS WELL AS TO OTHER SIBS, WHEN NO DIRECT RELATIONSHIP EXISTS

A man addresses a woman of his own sib as *Au* (if elder) or by name if younger.
A man addresses a woman of his mother's or wife's group of sibs as *U* (if elder) or as *Kanaunu* if younger.
A man addresses a woman of his sisters' husbands' group of sibs as *Katunu* (if elder) or by name if younger.
A woman addresses a man of her own sib as *Ata* (if elder) or by name if younger.

23 The Chirus also have similar terms of address between members of different sibs. (Unpublished data collected by the author).

A woman addresses a man of her mother's group of sibs as *Apu* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A woman addresses a man of her husband's group of sibs as *Upa* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A man addresses a man of his own sib as *Ata* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A man addresses a man of his mother's or wife's group of sibs as *Apu* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A man addresses a man of his sisters' husband's group of sibs as *Upa* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A woman addresses a woman of her own sib as *Au* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A woman addresses a woman of her mother's group of sibs as *U* (if elder) or by name if younger.

A woman addresses a woman of her husband's group of sibs as *Au* (if elder) or by name if younger.

Under ordinary circumstances these terms indicate quite a large number of relatives of varying types and degrees of nearness. A detailed discussion of them will be attempted in a later section. For the present purpose these terms indicate the following relatives.

U is an abbreviation of *Ku-u* and means elder brother's wife (Man speaking and Woman speaking).

Au is an abbreviation of *Ka-u*. It means elder sister (M. S. and W. S.) but it also means husband's elder sister (W. S.).

Apu is an abbreviation of *Kapu*. It means wife's brother (M. S.) and mother's brother, mother's brother's son and mother's father (M. S. and W. S.).

Upa is an abbreviation of *Ku-pa*. It means elder sister's husband (M. S. and W. S.) and husband's elder brother (W. S.).

Ata is an abbreviation of *Ka-atā*. It means the elder brother (M. S. and W. S.).

Kanaunu means younger brother's wife (M. S.).

Katunu means sister's daughter (M. S.).

We made a more or less complete collection of such terms of address used by men and women of each sib in relation to the members of their own sib as well as of every other sib. They are given below in the form of four tables.

TABLE V

TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY THE BOYS OF ONE SIB TO THE GIRLS OF ITS OWN AND OTHER SIBS

	* Marrim *Female*	* Kheyang *Female*	* Makan *Female*	* Thao *Female*	* Parpa *Female*
Marrim *Male*	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Katunu	Katunu	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	Katunu
Kheyang *Male*	Katunu	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Katunu	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	Katunu
Makan *Male*	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Katunu	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger
Thao *Male*	Katunu	Katunu	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger
Parpa *Male*	U (if elder) Kanaunu or by name when younger	Katunu	Katunu	Katunu	Au (if elder) By name when younger

Note.—Katunu is the relationship term which can be used to indicate both elder and younger persons but in addressing elder Katunus 'Au' is used, while the younger Katunus are addressed by name.

The Table is to be read in the following manner—A Marrim boy addresses a Marrim girl as Au or a Makan boy addresses a Parpa girl as U and so on. Here the terms are always used by a boy to a girl and never by a girl to a boy.

Katunus cannot be married.

TABLE VI

TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY THE GIRLS TO THE BOYS OF DIFFERENT SIBS

	Marrim *Male*	Kheyang *Male*	Makan *Male*	Thao *Male*	Parpa *Male*
Marrim *Female*	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger
Kheyang *Female*	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger
Makan *Female*	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By nam when younger
Thao *Female*	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger
Parpa *Female*	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger

Note.—The Table is to be read in the following manner—A Marrim girl addresses a Makan boy as Upa, or a Parpa girl addresses a Parpa boy as Ata, and so on.

The term Ka-ata is used to indicate the relationship but Ata is used to address him when he is elder.

Upa can be married but Apu cannot be married.

TABLE VII

TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY THE BOYS OF ONE SIB TO THE BOYS OF ITS OWN AND OTHER SIBS

	Marrim *Male*	Kheyang *Male*	Makan *Male*	Thao *Male*	Parpa *Male*
Marrim *Male*	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger
Kheyang *Male*	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Ditto	Apu (if elder) By name when younger
Makan *Male*	Ditto	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto
Thao *Male*	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto
Parpa *Male*	Apu (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Upa (if elder) By name when younger	Ata (if elder) By name when younger

Note.—The Table is to be read in the following manner—A Makan boy addresses a Kheyang boy as Apu or a Kheyang boy addresses a Makan boy as Upa. Ka-ata is the term to indicate the relationship but Ata is used to address him when he is elder.

TABLE VIII

TERMS OF ADDRESS USED BY THE GIRLS OF ONE SIB TO THE GIRLS OF ITS OWN AND OTHER SIBS

	Marrim *Female*	Kheyang *Female*	Makan *Female*	Thao *Female*	Parpa *Female*
Marrim *Female*	Au (if elder) By name when younger	U (if elder) By name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	U (if elder) By name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger
Kheyang *Female*	Ditto	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Ditto	U (if elder) By name when younger
Makan *Female*	U (if elder) By name when younger	U (if elder) By name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto
Thao *Female*	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Au (if elder) By name when younger	U (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Ditto
Parpa *Female*	U (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Au (if elder) By name when younger	Ditto	Au (if elder) By name when younger

Note.—The Table is to be read in the following manner—A Thao girl addresses a Makan girl as U, or a Kheyang girl addresses a Marrim girl as Au and so on.

These terms of address are always used in relation to sibs and never in relation to subsibs. The latter have not yet developed such a system of address. Thus a means of ascertaining the marital relationship that existed among the different sibs before the latter were supplanted by the subsibs have been left to us. With the help of these terms of address we are enabled to reconstruct the marital relationships of the different Purum sibs. The Table of marital relationships (see p. 124, Table No. III) prepared from these terms of address is not free from defects. Here also we find two or three cases where correction was necessary. This correction has been attempted with the help of the internal evidences of the Table itself as well as materials collected in 1932. The corrected Table of marital relations prepared from sib terms of address is given below :—

TABLE NO IX

CORRECTED TABLE OF MARITAL RELATIONS PREPARED FROM SIB TERMS OF ADDRESS

Boys		Girls	Girls		Boys
Marrim	=	Thao	Marrim	=	Makan
			,,	=	Parpa
			,,	=	Kheyang
Makan	=	Marrim	Makan	=	Thao
,,	=	Kheyang			
,,	=	Parpa			
Kheyang	=	Marrim	Kheyang	=	Makan
,,	=	Thao			
,,	=	Parpa			
Thao	=	Makan	Thao	=	Marrim
,,	=	Parpa	,,	=	Kheyang
Parpa	=	Marrim	Parpa	=	Makan
			,,	=	Kheyang
			,,	=	Thao

This Table IX shows that boys and girls of any one of the five sibs may not marry into the same sib but the boys have to select their brides from one or more sibs into which the girls cannot marry. This is also supported by the table of marital relations drawn up by Chauba in 1932. Chauba was a man of about fifty years of age. He served the village community in different capacities rising up to the post of *khullakpa*. At the time when

we collected our materials from him he was practising as *maipa* of Tampak. His Table differs from the one reconstructed from sib terms of address in one instance namely that of the marriage of Kheyang boys. If we accept this correction then there is practically no more difference.

But Chauba's (Plate I, Fig. 5) table of marital relations as well as the one prepared from sib terms of address perhaps record a past or rather passing stage in the regulation of marriage in Purum society. The evidences which we gathered in 1936 on this tribe show that the subsib has come into prominence and taken over some of the functions of the sib. Already we have seen that exogamy is now being associated with this unit and though it is still observed in relation to the sib there are clear indications that in a short time this connection will disappear completely. The rules regulating selection of brides and bridegrooms, *e.g.*, that a man and his sister may not marry into the same sib, have already ceased to operate in connection with the sib and are now associated with the subsib in preference to the sib. The following Tables prepared from (1) statements of informants, (2) village census and (3) genealogical charts will show how the tendency is working at present towards the subversion of the sib.

TABLE X

COMPOSITE TABLE OF MARITAL RELATIONS FROM THREE SOURCES VIZ. (*a*) STATEMENTS OF INFORMANTS, (*b*) VILLAGE CENSUS AND (*c*) GENEALOGICAL CHARTS

Husbands	(*a*) Wives	(*b*) Wives	(*c*) Wives	Wives	(*a*) Husbands	(*b*) Husbands	(*c*) Husbands
Rimphunchong	=Julhung =Kankung =Aihung	Julhung (3) Kankung (4)	Julhung (1)	Rimphunchong	=Parpa =Makan-te	Parpa (4)	
Rimkung	=Thao-kung =Thao-run =Julhung =Thao-teyu	Thao-kung (2) Thao-run (4)		Rimkung	=Kankung =Parpa = = =Makan-te =Rangshai	Kankung(5) Parpa (4) Julhung (2) Aihung (2)	
Rim-ke-lek	=Kankung =Julhung =Aihung =Thao-kung =Thao-run =Thao-teyu =Rangshai	Thao-kung (4)		Rim-ke-lek	=Makan-te =Parpa		
Pilling	=Kankung = = =Thao-kung =Thao-run =Thao-teyu	Kankung (1) Julhung (2) Aihung (1)		Pilling	=Makan-te =Julhung =Parpa	Julhung (2) Parpa (10)	Julbung (1)

Note.—(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) on the top of columns indicate the sources from which the unions are tabulated. Figures at the end of a sib or subsib indicate the number of cases of such unions found by us.

In the first column the name of the subsib of the husband has been given only in the first case and has not been repeated in the subsequent cases. The same arrangement has been followed in the case of the name of the subsib of the wife in the fifth column.

Husbands	(a) Wives	(b) Wives	(c) Wives	Wives	(a) Husbands	(b) Husbands	(c) Husbands
Marrim	=		Makan (2)	Marrim	=		Makan (7)
	=		Kheyang (8)		=		Parpa (8)
	=		Julhung (1)				
	=		Thao (12)				
Kankung	=Rimkung	Rimkung (5)	Julhung (3)	Kankung	=Rimphun-chong	Rimphun-chong (4)	
	=Julhung	Julhung (18)			=Rim-ke-lek		
	=Parpa	Parpa (2)			=	Aihung (2)	
					=Pilling	Pilling (1)	
					=Thao-kung	Thao-kung (2)	
					=Thao-run	Thao-run (10)	
					=Thao-teyu		
					=Rangshai	Rangshai (2)	
Makan-te	=Rimphunchong			Makan-te	=Thao-kung		
	=Rimkung				=Thao-run		
	=Rim-ke-lek				=Thao-teyu		
	=Pilling				=Rangshai		
	=Julhung	Julhung (2)					
	=Parpa						
Makan	=		Marrim (7)	Makan	=		Marrim (2)
	=		Kheyang (2)		=		Julhung (1)
	=		Julhung (13)		=		Aihung (2)

Note—(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) on the top of columns indicate the sources from which the unions are tabulated. Figures at the end of a sib or subsib indicate the number of cases of such unions found by us.

Husbands	(a) Wives	(b) Wives	(c) Wives	Wives	(a) Husbands	(b) Husbands	(c) Husbands
Julhung	=	Rimkung (2)		Julhung	=Rimkung		
					=	Pilling (2)	
	=Pilling	Pilling (2)	Pilling (1)		=Rimphun-chong	Rimphun-chong (3)	Rimphun-chong (1)
					=		Marrim (1)
	=	Aihung (1)	Aihung (3)				
					=Rim-ke-lek		
	=		Makan (1)		=		Makan (13)
					=Kankung	Kankung (18)	Kankung (3)
					=Makan-te	Makan-te (2)	
	=Rangshai	Rangshai (4)			=		Rangshai (1)
	=Thao-run		Thao-run (1)				
	=Thao-kung	Thao-kung (2)	Thao-kung (3)				
	=Thao-teyu	Parpa (10)	Parpa (8)				
Aihung	=	Rimkung (2)		Aihung	=	Pilling (1)	
					=		Rimphun-chong (1)
					=	Julhung (1)	Julhung (3)
	=	Kankung (2)			=		Kankung (3)
	=		Makan (2)				
	=	Thao-kung (3)	Thao-kung (4)				
	=		Rangshai (1)				
	=	Parpa (1)	Parpa (1)		=	Parpa (3)	
Kheyang	=		Parpa (2)	Kheyang	=		Makan (2)
					=		Marrim (8)

Note—(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) on the top of columns indicate the sources from which the unions are tabulated. Figures at the end of a sib or subsib indicate the number of cases of such unions found by us.

Husbands	(a) Wives	(b) Wives	(c) Wives	Wives	(a) Husbands	(b) Husbands	(c) Husbands
Thao-kung	=Kankung =Makan-te =Parpa	Kankung (2) Parpa (6)		Thao-kung	=Rimkung =Rim-ke-lek =Pilling =Julhung =	Rimkung (2) Rim-ke-lek (4) Julhung (2) Aihung (3)	Julhung (3)
Thao-run	=Kankung =Makan-te =Parpa	Kankung (10) Makan-impi (2) Parpa (4)		Thao-run	=Rimkung =Rim-ke-lek =Pilling =Julhung	Rimkung (4)	Julhung (1)
Thao-teyu	=Kankung =Makan-te			Thao-teyu	=Rimkung =Rim-ke-lek =Pilling =Julhung		
Thao-Rangshai	=Rimkung =Kankung =Makan-te =	Kankung (2)	Julhung (1)	Thao-Rangshai	=Rim-ke-lek =Julhung	Julhung (4)	
Thao	= =		Makan (2) Parpa (2)	Thao	=		Marrim (12)

Note—(a), (b) and (c) on the top of columns indicate the sources from which the unions are tabulated. Figures at the end of a sib or subsib indicate the number of cases of such unions found by us.

Husbands	(a) Wives	(b) Wives	(c) Wives	Wives	(a) Husbands	(b) Husbands	(c) Husbands
Parpa	= Rimphun-chong	Rimphun-chong (3)		Parpa	= Kankung	Kankung (2)	
	= Rimkung	Rimkung (4)			= Makan-te		
	= Rim-ke-lek						
	= Pilling	Pilling (10)			=		Kheyang (2)
	= Kheyang-impi	Kheyang-impi (2)			= Julhung	Julhung (10)	Julhung (8)
	=	Julhung (3)			=	Aihung (1)	
	=	Aihung (3)			= Thao-kung	Thao-kung (6)	
					= Thao-run	Thao-run (4)	
					=		Thao (2)

Note—(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) on the top of columns indicate the sources from which the unions are tabulated. Figures at the end of a sib or subsib indicate the number of cases of such unions found by us.

TABLE XI

COMPOSITE TABLE OF MARITAL RELATIONS FROM THREE SOURCES VIZ. (*a*) STATEMENTS OF INFORMANTS, (*b*) VILLAGE CENSUS AND (*c*) GENEALOGICAL TABLES, SUBSTITUTING SIBS IN PLACE OF SUBSIBS

Husbands	(*a*) Wives	(*b*) Wives	(*c*) Wives	Wives	(*a*) Husbands	(*b*) Husbands	(*c*) Husbands
Marrim	=Makan	Makan	Makan	Marrim	=Makan	Makan	Makan
	=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang		=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang
	=Thao	Thao	Thao		=Thao		
					=Parpa	Parpa	Parpa
Makan	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Makan	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim
	=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang		=	Kheyang	Kheyang
	=Parpa	Parpa					
					=Thao	Thao	Thao
Kheyang	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Kheyang	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim
	=	Makan	Makan		=Makan	Makan	Makan
	=	Kheyang	Kheyang		=	Kheyang	Kheyang
	=Thao	Thao	Thao		=		Thao
	=Parpa	Parpa	Parpa		=	Parpa	
Thao	=Marrim (?)			Thao	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim
	=		Kheyang		=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang
	=Makan	Makan	Makan				
	=Parpa	Parpa	Parpa				
Parpa	=Marrim	Marrim	Marrim	Parpa	=Makan	Makan	
	=Kheyang (?)	Kheyang			=Kheyang	Kheyang	Kheyang
					=Thao	Thao	Thao

Note.—In the first column the name of the sib of the husband has been given only in the first case and has not been repeated in the subsequent cases. The same arrangement has been followed in the case of the name of the sib of the wife in the fifth column.

Fig. 34.

Unmarried girls of Chumbang in dancing dress.

Fig 35.

Dancing party from Tampak.

The preceding Table No. XI (Composite Table of Marital Relations—from three sources—substituting sibs in place of subsibs) clearly shows how the rule that a man and his sister or in other words, a boy and a girl of any one of the five sibs, may not marry into the same sib, has been abandoned by all the five sibs of the tribe. Table No. X (Composite Table of Marital Relations from three sources) on the other hand shows that this rule is now-a-days being observed by the subsibs. In this Table No. X we do not find any case in which two persons of the opposite sexes belonging to any one of the fourteen subsibs have married into the same subsib. The boys and girls of each one of these subsibs always marry into different subsibs.

The Purum sib is a patrilineal unit; it descends from the father to the children. The girls do not give it up along with marriage but continue to hold it till death. The sib among the Purums is not connected with any locality, nor does it own any kind of property. It has some function in connection with inheritance. When a man dies without anybody in the male line of the family to inherit him, the members of the sib inhabiting the same village step in and divide the property among themselves. Daughters have no right to any kind of property of their father. There are indications to show that certain offices were linked up with certain sibs. It has been stated that the post of *khullakpa* (village headman) at Khulen, the oldest and the biggest village of the Purums, was ere long a monopoly of the Marrim sib. But in recent years it has disappeared. Among the Chirus, another Old Kuki tribe with a similar social organisation, this trait is more developed or, may be, better preserved. Among them the posts of *khullakpa* (village headman), *luplakpa* (assistant village headman), and *thempu* (village priest) are attached to definitely fixed sibs in each village.

The Purum sib does not seem to have any political function save and except the hypothetical association of the Marrim sib with the chieftainship of Khulen as already stated. Besides this each sib has a *pipa* or chief of the sib who is at the same time the *pipa* of some one of its subsibs. The *pipa* of the Kankung subsib is the *pipa* of the whole Makan sib. In the Marrim sib the *pipa* of the Rimphunchong subsib works as its *pipa*. The Thao-kung *pipa* is the *pipa* of the whole Thao sib, while the Julhung *pipa* acts as the *pipa* of the whole Kheyang sib. The Parpa has no subsib and so it has only one *pipa*.

The *pipa* of the sib has almost the same functions and privileges as those of the subsibs the only difference being that one is concerned with the whole sib while the other with a part of it.

The sib among the Purums has no economic function except the part it plays in inheritance. Neither has it any religious function except the worship of Senamahi associated with the pipaship of each sib or subsib.

The Purum sibs are said to be socially graded. The highest sib is that of Marrim and next in order are Makan, Kheyang, Thao and Parpa. We have already seen that according to at least one of the origin-stories the social rank of the Purum sibs was dependent on priority of birth of the originators of the different sibs. Though all our informants agreed to this social precedence among the different sibs we do not however find it in actual practice. The social function of regulating marriage is the most important function of the sibs. But social rank does not play any part in the selection of brides and bridegrooms. The concept of hypergamous union is neither found at present nor is there any evidence of its prevalence in the past. In feasts and festivals precedence is not accorded on the basis of sib-membership but on age and official position in the village community. In economic, political or religious life also there is no difference between members of the different sibs as such. But monopoly of village offices by particular sibs, as found among some other Old Kuki tribes of this area, may have some connection with this social hierarchy.[24] Among the Purums, however, we do not find its existence except in the case of Marrim sib at Khulen as already pointed out. But this is not sufficient to establish any connection between the two.

[24] cf. Chiru custom. The Aimols, Anals, Mantaks and Lamgangs are each divided into two moieties—one superior to the other. Among the Aimols the headman, assistant headman and priest are always recruited from the superior moiety and in one village at least the headman is elected from one particular clan of this moiety. Social gennas conferring honour and prestige can only be performed by the members of the superior moiety. Among the Anals the headman always belongs to the superior moiety still but among the Mantaks all the village officers used to be elected from the superior group. The Lamgang headman always belongs to one of the two particular clans of the superior moiety while the priest is requisitioned from a third sib of this moiety on all ceremonial occasions. Among the Marrings the posts of priest and headman are hereditary in two sibs which are superior to the rest. (J. K. Bose—Dual Organisation in Assam, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol XXV, 1934.)

SEC. II.—TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

The Purum terms of relationship were mostly collected in 1932 and verified in 1936. Chauba, who was an inhabitant of Tampak in 1932, gave us a more or less complete list. Chongshel of Chumbang corroborated this list except where mentioned otherwise. The terms in both the cases were collected with the help of the genealogical table of the informant concerned. We have given in Appendix II the terms of relationship collected from Chauba with the help of his genealogical table (Genealogical Table No. IV). Unfortunately all the terms of relationship could not be collected with reference to Chauba as he did not possess all the different kinds of relatives for whom we wanted terms. So we had to fill up the gaps with the help of other persons of the table. Thus when Chauba had not a particular relative we tried to find out two persons within the table who stood in that particular relationship and asked Chauba what relationships subsisted between them and how they addressed each other. This was a bit complicated, no doubt, but under the circumstances we had no better means of solving the difficulty. Most of the Purum genealogical tables are very small and contain only a few relatives. Chauba however discharged his duties with credit.

The Purums have comparatively a small number of relationship terms. Many of these terms are used in respect of more than one relative. Some of these indicate seven or eight or even ten relatives. The grouping of different relatives under the same term is often connected with Purum marriage customs or with classificatory ideas.

Generally speaking the sex of the relative is indicated by the addition of the suffixes *pa* and *nu* respectively for male and female. But in one case this differentiation is not maintained. Thus *Ka-terr* (m. s.) indicates both the father's elder brother and his wife on the one hand and the mother's elder sister and her husband on the other. Different terms are generally used by the Purums to indicate older and younger relatives of the same generation with the speaker. Thus the elder brother is *Ka-ata* and the younger *Kanaupa*; the elder sister is *ka-u* and the younger sister *kanaunu;* the elder brother's wife is *ku-u* while the younger brother's wife is *kanaunu* etc. This differentiation is also met with in the immediate higher generation of

the speaker specially among the father's brothers and mother's sisters. The father's elder brother is *ka-terr* and his younger brother *kapate*. But there is no distinction between the sisters of the father. They are all known by the same term namely *ka-ni*. In the same way the mother's elder and younger sisters are distinguished by the terms *ka-terr* and *kanute* respectively while her brothers are all known by a single term namely *kapu*. The distinction in the preceding two cases that is among the brothers of the father and sisters of the mother does not seem to be due to recognition of age-difference. Had it been so we would have met with the same tendency among the sisters of the father and brothers of the mother. It is perhaps due to marriage customs. The distinction among the brothers of the father is perhaps due to the practice of junior levirate with the exclusion of senior levirate while that among the sisters of the mother may be attributed to a custom by which a number of sisters could be married by a number of brothers according to seniority of age *i.e.*, the eldest brother was to marry the eldest sister and the next brother the next sister and so on.

Some of the terms include relatives of different generations as for example *kapu, kapi, katupa, katuni, etc.* The term *kapu* is used by a man to indicate his father's father as well as all male agnates of his generation and the generations above him. This term also refers to the father's father's sister's husband and probably the husbands of all the daughters of the family in higher generations. The term *kapu* is also used to refer to all the males of the mother's father's and wife's father's families which are practically the same where marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is practised. Thus, on this side, *kapu* includes the mother's father, mother's brother, wife's father, mother's brother's son, wife's elder brother and wife's brother's son. *Kapi* also refers to the wives of the same relatives. In the same way *katupa* is used to indicate the son's son and all males of his own and succeeding generations with whom blood relationship can be traced. The comprehensive nature of these terms indicates that they are either terms of honour or of endearment.

Terms of relationship are intimately connected with social conditions. The prevailing type of marriage often influences the nature and character of these terms. We have already seen, that among the Purums, marriage with the mother's

brother's daughter is the most widely practised type of union. There were sixty-two such cases among the eighty families which constituted the villages of Khulen, Tampak and Chumbang. Where actual mother's brother's daughter is not available they try to secure a bride from the sib of the mother's brother. There were nine such cases in those villages according to our census operations. Side by side with this prescriptive rule there is the proscriptive rule that a man must not marry his father's sister's daughter. Thus we find the prevalence of one type of cross cousin marriage to the entire exclusion of the other type. These two features of their marriage customs find ample expression in the terms of relationship.

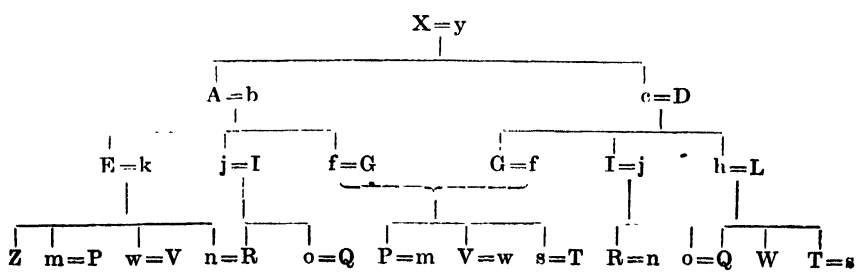
Habitual marriage with the mother's brother's daughter leads to the identification of a number of relatives in the different generations. A few of these equations are mentioned below. The two relatives in each of the following pairs have got the same terms to indicate them as they are the same person, or persons of similar standing.* Thus :—

MAN SPEAKING

1.	M. B.	=W. F. †
2.	M. B. W.	=W. M.
3.	M. B. D.	=W. or B. W.
4.	M. B. Z.	=W. B.

This Table shows the effect of marriage with mother's brother's daughter on terms of relationship. The capital letters indicate the males.

TABLE



† The following abbreviations have been used :—
F=Father ; M=Mother ; B=Brother ; S=Sister ; Z=Son ; W=Wife ; D=Daughter ; H=Husband. A Composite term like F. S. Z. means Father's sister's son, etc.

5.	M. B. Z.	=B. W. B.
6.	B.	=W. S. H.
7.	B. W.	=W. S.
8.	B. Z.	=W. S. Z.
9.	B. D.	=W. S. D.
10.	M. S.	=F. B. W.
11.	M. S. H.	=F. B.
12.	S. H.	=F. S. Z

WOMAN SPEAKING

13.	F. S.	=H. M.
14.	F. S. H.	=H. F.
15.	F. S. D.	=H. S.
16.	F. S. Z.	=H.
17.	F. S. Z.	=H. B.
18.	S.	=H. B. W
19.	S. H.	=H. B.
20.	S. Z.	=H. B. Z.
21.	S. D.	=H. B. D.

Among the Purums all these twenty-one equations are found. Besides these twenty-one, there are a number of others, *e.g.*,

MAN SPEAKING

1.	M. F.	=W. F. F.
2.	M. M.	=W. F. M.

WOMAN SPEAKING

3.	F. F.	=H. M. F.
4.	F. M.	=H. M. M.

which have not the same terms as their formation had been, perhaps, influenced by a stronger principle. These four pairs are included in the series of relatives which are indicated by honorific terms. In addition to these the following equations also do not appear among the Purum terms collected by us.

MAN SPEAKING

1.	M.	=W. F. S.
2.	F.	=W. F. S. H.

3.	F. S.	=S. H. M.
4.	F. S. H.	=S. H. F.
5.	S.	=D. H. M.
6.	S. H.	=D. H. F.
7.	S. Z.	=D. H.
8.	S. D.	=D. H. S.
9.	D.	=S. Z. W.
10.	W. B.	=Z. W. F.
11.	W. B. W.	=Z. W. M.
12.	Z.	=W. B. D. H.
13.	Z. W.	=W. B. D.
14.	Z. W. B.	=W. B. Z.

WOMAN SPEAKING

15.	H. F. B.	=F. S. M.
16.	H. F. B. W.	=F. S.
17.	H. F. S.	=H. S. H. M.
18.	H. F. S. H.	=H. S. H. F.
19.	F.	=H. M. B.
20.	H.	=F. S. Z.
21.	H. S.	=D. H. M.
22.	H. S. H.	=D. H. F.
23.	D. H.	=H. S. Z.
24.	H. S. D.	=D. H. S.
25.	D.	=H. S. Z. W.
26.	B.	=Z. W. F.
27.	B. W.	=Z. W. M.
28.	Z. W.	=B. D.
29.	Z. W. B.	=B. Z.
30.	Z.	=B. D. H.

Their absence however does not mean that they do not exist among the Purums. In these pairs, at least one of the two persons is a distant relative and terms for such distant relatives were not naturally collected; so there is no means of equating them.

Another marriage custom, namely, junior levirate, seems to be reflected in Purum terms of relationship. Thus *kapate* is father's younger brother and at the same time the step-father. *Kapa* indicates the father and by adding the suffix '*te*' which

means ' small ' we get the term *kapate*—meaning the small father or rather the step-father. In connection with marriage rules we have seen that levirate of both the types *viz.*, junior and senior, is found among the Purums. But the terms of relationship only support the existence of the junior type. The term *kanute* refers to the mother's younger sister as well as the step-mother. This may point to the existence of sorrorate. (?) This term is also formed in the same way as *kapate*. *Kanu* indicates mother; ' *te* ' (meaning small) is added to it in order to mean the step-mother and the mother's younger sister. The mother's younger sister is the potential wife of the father under sorrorate while the father's younger brother is the potential husband of the mother under levirate.

In connection with social organisation we have already seen that a man and his sister may not marry in the same family. This fact is sufficiently reflected in the relationship terms of the Purums. Almost all the terms concerned abide by this rule. Of the few exceptions we may point to *kanaupa* and *kanaunu* (woman-speaking). *Kanaupa* indicates both younger brother and husband's younger sister's husband while *kanaunu* refers to younger brother's wife and husband's younger sister. Thus these two terms point to the marriage of a man and his sister in the same family. But this is more apparent than real. The Purums, generally speaking, recognise the distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage but there are lapses here and there. The two terms under discussion are instances of such lapses. Here the woman-speaker identifies herself with her husband and uses the same terms which her husband uses in respect of the relatives concerned. Thus, she uses the same term for her own younger brother and her husband's younger brother, as well as for her own younger sister's husband and her husband's younger sister's husband, etc.

TABLE XII

PURUM TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

No.	Purum Terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speaking	No mention of the speaker
1	Ka-pu		1. Father's father 2. Father's father's brother 3. Father's father's sister's husband 4. Father's father's father 5. Mother's father 6. Mother's brother 7. Mother's brother's son 8. Wife's father 9. Wife's elder brother 10. Wife's brother's son	1. Father's father 2. Father's father's brother 3. Father's father's sister's husband 4. Father's father's father 5. Mother's father 6. Mother's brother 7. Mother's brother's elder son	
2.	Ka-pü		1. Father's mother (?) 2. Father's father's brother's wife 3. Father's father's mother 4. Father's father's sister 5. Mother's brother's wife 6. Mother's mother 7. Wife's mother 8. Wife's elder and younger brother's wife	1. Father's father's brother's wife 2. Father's father's mother 3. Father's father's sister 4. Mother's brother's wife 5. Mother's mother	

No.	Purum terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speaking	No mention of the speaker
3	Ka-tu-pa		1. Sister's son 2. Younger brother's son's son	1. Husband's sister's son	1. Son's son 2. Daughter's son 3. Son's son's son 4. Son's daughter's son 5. Daughter's daughter's husband 6. Daughter's husband 7. Son's daughter's husband
4	Ka-tu-nu		1. Sister's daughter 2. Younger brother's son's daughter	1. Husband's sister's daughter	1. Son's daughter 2. Daughter's daughter 3. Son's son's wife 4. Daughter's son's wife 5. Son's son's daughter 6. Son's daughter's daughter
5	Ka-pa A-pa	T. R. T. A.	Father	Father	
6	Kanu A-nu	T. R. T. A.	Mother	Mother	
7	Ka-pa-te	T. R.	1. Step-father 2. Father's father's brother's son 3. Mother's younger sister's husband	1. Step-father 2. Father's father's brother's son 3. Mother's younger sister's husband	
7A	A-pa-te	T. A.	Father's younger brother	Father's younger brother	
8	Ka-nu-te A-nu-te	T. R. T. A.	1. Step-mother 2. Mother's younger sister	1. Step-mother 2. Mother's younger sister	
9	Ka-terr		1. Father's elder brother 2. Father's elder brother's wife 3. Father's younger brother's wife	1. Father's elder brother 2. Father's younger brother's wife	

No.	Purum terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speaking	No mention of the speaker
			4. Mother's elder sister 5. Mother's elder sister's husband	3. Mother's elder sister 4. Mother's elder sister's husband	
10	Ka-ni A-ni	T. R. T. A.	1. Father's elder sister 2. Father's younger sister 3. Father's father's brother's daughter	1. Father's elder sister 2. Father's younger sister 3. Father's father's brother's daughter 4. Husband's mother	
11	Ka-arrang Arrang	T. R. T. A.	1. Father's elder sister's husband 2. Father's younger sister's husband 3. Father's father's sister's son	1. Father's elder sister's husband 2. Father's younger sister's husband 3. Father's father's sister's son 4. Husband's father	
12	Ka-pu-shal-pa			Husband	
13	Ka-nu-mei		Wife		
14	Ka-ata Ata-u	T. R. T. A.	1. Elder brother 2. Father's elder and younger brother's elder son 3. Mother's sister's elder son	1. Elder brother	
15.	Ku-u		1. Elder brother's wife 2. Wife's elder sister	1. Elder brother's wife 2. Husband's elder brother's wife 3. Father's younger sister's daughter	
16	Ka-u Ka-u A-u (acc. to Chongshel)	T. R. T. A. T. A.	1. Elder sister 2. Father's younger brother's daughter	1. Elder sister 2. Husband's other elder wife	1. Elder sister 2. Father's elder brother's daughter

No.	Purum terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speaking	No mention of the speaker
			3. Father's elder sister's daughter 4. Father's younger sister's daughter 5. Father's father's sister's daughter 6. Mother's sister's elder daughter	3. Father's elder sister's daughter 4. Husband's elder sister 5. Father's father's sister's daughter 6. Mother's sister's elder daughter	
17	Ku-upa	T. R.	1. Elder sister's husband 2. Father's sister's son	1. Elder sister's husband 2. Father's elder sister's son 3. Husband's elder brother 4. Husband's elder sister's husband	1. Father's elder brother's daughter's husband
18	Ka-nau-pa		1. Younger brother 2. Younger sister's husband 3. Wife's younger brother 4. Wife's elder and younger sister's husband	1. Younger brother 2. Younger sister's husband 3. Husband's younger brother 4. Husband's younger sister's husband 5 Elder and younger brother's son	
19	Ka-nau-nu	T. R.	1. Younger sister 2. Younger brother's wife 3. Father's elder brother's son's wife 4. Wife's younger sister 5. Mother's brother's daughter 6. Wife's brother's daughter	1. Younger sister 2. Younger brother's wife 3. Elder brother's daughter 4. Younger brother's daughter 5. Husband's other younger wife 6. Husband's younger brother's wife 7. Husband's younger sister 8. Mother's brother's daughter	1. Younger sister

No	Purum terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speaking	No mention of the speaker
19A	Ka-nau (This term may be distributed between Kanaupa and Kanaunu)		1. Father's elder brother's younger son (Kanaupa) 2. Mother's sister's younger son (Kanaupa) 3. Mother's sister's younger daughter (Kanaunu)	1. Father's elder and younger brother's younger son (Kanaupa) 2. Father's younger brother's younger daughter (Kanaunu) 3. Mother's brother's younger son (Kanaupa) 4. Mother's sister's younger daughter (Kanaunu)	1. Father's younger sister's son
20	Ka-shnau or Ka-shnau-pa	T. R.	1. Son 2. Elder brother's son 3. Younger brother's son 4. Wife s elder and younger sister's son	1. Son 2. Step-son 3. Sister's son 4. Husband's elder and younger brother's son	1. Son 2. Step-son
21	Ka-shnau or Ka-shnau-nu	T. R.	1. Daughter 2. Elder and younger brother's daughter 3. Wife's elder and younger sister's daughter	1. Daughter 2. Step-daughter 3. Sister's daughter 4. Husband's elder and younger brother's daughter	1. Daughter 2. Step-daughter
22	Ka-mau			Younger brother's daughter	Son's wife
23	Ka-thur-pa				1. Son's wife's father 2. Daughter's husband's father
24	Ka-thur-ni				1. Son's wife's mother 2. Daughter's husband's mother

No.	Purum terms	Nature of the terms	Man-speaking	Woman-speakin	No mention of the speaker
25	Ka-sarr-nu (acc. to Chongshel)		Younger sister	Younger brother's wife	
26	Ke-shel-te (acc. to Chongshel)		Younger sister's husband		

Note.—The following abbreviations have been used in this Table :—

T. R.—Term of Relationship.

T. A.—Term of Address.

acc.—according

No. 25 is to be read in connection with No. 19.

No. 26 is to be read in connection with No. 18.

According to Chongshel { Ka-nau-pa (Woman-speaking)—Elder brother's son / Ka-mak-pa (Woman-speaking)—Younger brother's son } See in this connection No. 18.

Fig. 36.
Oupram and Habil showing orthodox method of dressing hair.

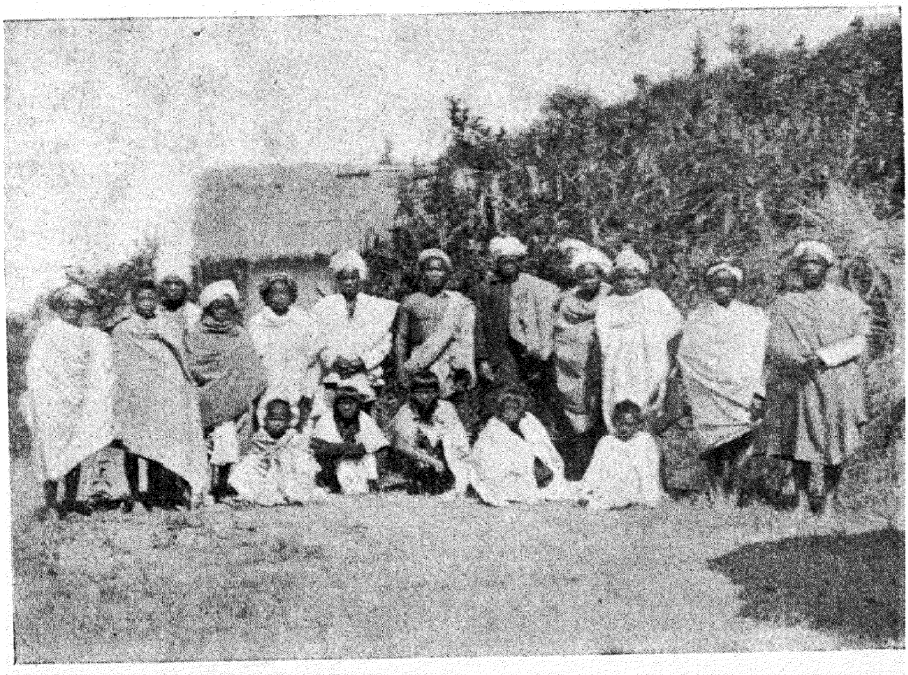


Fig. 37.
Dancing party from Chumbang.

Sec. III.—Taboos. Privileged Familiarity. Avoidance

We have already discussed the ordinary behaviour of different relatives, both by blood and marriage, towards one another. It only remains to deal with cases of taboos and privileged familiarity. Joking of any sort is not allowed with the parents or parents-in-law or anybody of their status. But a man may cut jokes with his brothers or sisters—younger or elder—but such jokes must on no occasion refer to sexual matters. Jokes referring to sexual matters are allowed between a man and his wife's sisters—both elder and younger—but not with the wife of an elder or younger brother. Among cousins it is tabooed between a man and his father's sister's daughters though it can be freely indulged in by a man with his mother's brother's daughters. This privileged familiarity is also extended to the unmarried girls of the mother's brother's sib.

These rules of taboo and privileged familiarity seem to be connected with marriage customs. Thus the taboo on the father's sister's daughter is due to the general prohibition of marriage with this type of cousins. On the other hand the mother's brother's daughter is the most suitable bride for a man and after her, any girl from the mother's brother's sib may serve the purpose. This explains the privileged familiarity enjoyed in respect of them. The restriction in case of the married women of the mother's brother's sib is perhaps due to the fact that some of them at least share the same status as the mother of the propositus and so all of them are avoided in joking after marriage. The existence of junior and senior levirate would naturally establish a joking relationship with the wives of the younger and elder brothers but this is specifically prohibited. Before marriage these girls happen to be on terms of joking relationship but after marriage this comes to an end. It is possible that the Purums believed in the past that continuance of such joking relationship within the family would adversely affect the sanctity of married life and this possibly explains its absence among them. It is only an exception to the general rule. The continuance of joking relationship with the elder and younger sisters of the wife is another instance of the rule that potential mates enjoy privileged familiarity.[25]

25 Lowie—*Primitive Society*, 1925, (Boni and Liveright.) p. 102.

The Purums do not observe any prohibition as to touching, talking, or looking at the face of anybody. The husband and wife may not call each other by their respective names. They have to take recourse to teknonyms. Nor a man or woman may utter the names of his or her parents-in-law. These are tabooed to them and they have to use relationship terms in each case. Thus the woman calls her father-in-law and mother-in-law by the terms *arrang* (father's sister's husband) and *ani* (father's sister) respectively. The man uses the terms *apu* (mother's brother) and *api* (mother's brother's wife) respectively for his father-in-law and mother-in-law. Elders are never called by names but by relationship terms. Elder or younger brother's wife may not be addressed by name. This is also the case with the wife's younger brother and sister. Either relationship terms or teknonyms are used in such cases. If anybody breaks these rules he is not punished in any way but is merely looked down upon as an unmannerly person.

Sec. IV.—Rank in Society

To-lai-hong Genna

When a man attains the rank of *khullakpa* or *luplakpa* everybody expects that he would perform the *to-lai-hong genna* and establish his claims to social superiority on a firmer basis. The initiative in this matter is taken by the villagers themselves headed by the other village officers. When everything has been settled the *to-lai-hong* (Plate VII Fig. 24) which is a palanquin-like construction, is made and the villagers all assemble in the house of the man to be honoured and present it to him. On receiving this present, the man makes a formal reply to the effect that as there is no *zu* nor any pig he cannot show his appreciation of the honour conferred upon him on that day. But he would be very glad to give them a feast on the expiry of a month or so—mentioning the date convenient to him.

On the appointed day he kills three pigs and prepares twenty pots of *zu* and invites the villagers to a feast. All the inhabitants of the village assemble in the compound of the *khullakpa* or *luplakpa*, as the case may be, and pass the day in dancing and singing. They are supplied with a profuse quantity of *zu* and fed on choice foodstuffs. At the end of the feast,

the old men who have come to attend the ceremony are carried back to their respective houses in the *to-lai-hong* by the young men of the village. On reaching the house each of them gives to the carriers *zu* to drink and fowl-curry to eat. From this time onward the performer of this *genna* is carried to the *laman* on the *to-lai-hong* by the young men of the village on the occasions of Nungchungba worship in the months of Phairel and Kalel.[26]

Thien-hong-ba genna

This *genna* is a ceremony for the attainment of social rank performed by the ordinary Purum villagers. One need not be a *khullakpa* or *luplakpa* in order to celebrate this *genna* as in the case of the *to-lai-hong genna*. When a man is successful in worldly affairs and acquires some amount of wealth in the form of cattle, rice, ornaments, etc., he naturally desires to establish a position among his fellow villagers and leave some mark of his wealth for the posterity to talk about. With this end in view he informs the villagers and the officers too about his intention to perform the *thien-hong-ba genna*. This is a three-day celebration and requires thirty pots of *zu* and a *mithun*. In the morning of the appointed day the villagers assemble in his house and begin dancing and singing with a liberal supply of *zu* from time to time. The *mithun* to be sacrified is tied to a Y shaped post of *thangchi* tree, planted in front of the house of the performer. Before sacrificing the *mithun* the performer of the *genna* pours a little *zu* on the top of the head of the animal saying "Oh! Mithun! You have been created for this rite of mine, so bless me." After this an egg is broken on the head of the animal. The *maksa* of the performer then kills the *mithun* by spearing it above the right fore-leg. The flesh of the animal is then cut into pieces and cooked. Five days before the date of killing this *mithun* a platform had been constructed outside the village by planting short pieces of stone on four sides of a rectangle and filling up the interior with earth. It was next covered with flat pieces of stone all over. In the centre of this platform a vertical piece of stone was set up. The young men of the village build this platform. After killing the *mithun*, the performer proceeds to this spot followed by all

[26] Shakespeare refers to a similar *genna* among the Aimols (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 172).

the villagers. On reaching this spot he takes his seat on the platform by the side of the vertical post, while the villagers, male and female, young and old, dance and sing before him. No other person is allowed to sit on this platform on this particular day. *Zu* is supplied in copious quantity to all present. After some time he is carried back home on a *to-lai-hong* borrowed from one of the village officers, by the young men of the village. Dancing, singing, and feasting continue for three days and nights in the house of the performer of the *genna*.[27]

Sec. V.—Law and Justice

The old order has changed, yielding place to the new. This is nowhere more prominent in Purum life than in the department of law and justice. Not many years ago these Kuki tribes were free as air. They did not know what subjection meant. Whenever and wherever they met with any attempt to bring them under the control of any outside authority they at once resented it and either rebelled against such authority or removed themselves far away into the forest where the arms of their temporary masters could not reach them. They loved freedom above every thing else and were not afraid of suffering from all kinds of privations in order to maintain it. The only

27 Similar *gennas* are also performed by the Tikhup Lamgang, Kom, Kolhen, Aimol, Anal and Ronte (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 171 and 175) The Angami Nagas have four preliminary and four final *gennas* for acquiring social status. The last one of the series entitles the performer to set up a stone to commemorate the *genna* and costs him twelve bulls and eight pigs besides 160 maunds of paddy approximately for the preparation of rice-beer. (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, pp. 230-233). The Lhotas have also a series of four social *gennas* culminating in raising a stone. (Mills—*The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 136-144). The Rengmas have a series of feasts of merit which establish the social position of the individual (Mills—*The Rengma Nagas*. pp. 181-195). The Semas and the Aos also give a series of feasts of similar nature for the attainment of honour and social prestige. The five *thang-chuah* feasts of the Lushais have also the same object in view. The performer of the fifth feast of this series is entitled to wear the much coveted *thang-chuah* cloth and to have a window in his side wall. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 87-89). The Lakhers have no such feasts except those performed by the Khicha Hleucang (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 372). The Thadou feasts known as *Sa Ai* and *Con* have the ultimate aim to secure a good berth in the heaven, though, in the process, the performer acquires honour and prestige in this world too. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, pp. 75-76).

authority which they could brook was that of their own village chief and village elders. Any control, however meagre it might have been which came from outside this group, was unwelcome and sure to meet with opposition. Such was the mental attitude of the Old Kuki tribes. But circumstances have now changed: they have lost their old spirit of independence. They have sold their freedom for peace and security. They are now after more and more food and this has brought them nearer the plains where powerful political organisations exist and they are no match for these organised States.

The customary laws of the Purums have suffered from contact with a suzerain power. They have to adjust their laws in accordance with the laws of the State under which they now live. The result is that in certain matters the old customs of the tribe have practically died out and new rules have come into existence. It will not be possible here to discuss in detail any one of these two branches of their laws. We shall give here only the broad outlines of their judicial machinery and the customary laws.

Judicial Machinery and Judicial Procedure

The Purum State—if it ever was a State at all—never advanced beyond the village. Politically the different villages of the Purums are absolutely independent of one another, though socially they may be closely related. Even colonies do not owe any allegiance to the parent village. Each Purum village has a number of village officers who look after the temporal affairs of the village (see Chap. IV). They form the judicial council of the village. The *khullakpa* or the village headman presides over this body which may sometimes include a few village elders too. Petty cases both civil and criminal, are laid before it at the outset and are usually decided by it though both sides have now the option to carry them over to the judicial courts of the State. Whenever a party is not satisfied with the judgment of the village elders it may appeal to the courts of the State.

All complaints, whether of civil or criminal nature, except those involving homicide and sometimes grievous hurt, are in the first instance laid before the *khullakpa*. The plaintiff has to give a jar of *zu* to the *khullakpa* as soon as he lodges the complaint just like our court-fee. The *khullakpa* at once summons

the defendant through the *changlai* to appear before the village elders generally on that very day or if necessary on a later date. He also informs the village elders including the officers to assemble at the *ruishang* (Plate VI Fig. 19) on the day fixed for hearing the case. When the date of hearing is removed by a number of days the *changlai* has to keep note of it.

The *ruishang* is the village council chamber and court house. There the villagers assemble whenever they have to discuss any matter concerning their social, political or religious life. Justice is also dispensed under the roof of the *ruishang*. We visited the *ruishangs* of Khulen, Changninglong and Tampak. These houses are no longer imposing structures. They are actually much inferior to the dwelling houses. The *ruishang* of Tampak (Plate VI Fig. 19) as we found it in 1936, was situated near the *laman* (Plate VI Fig. 21) a little away from the cluster of dwelling houses. It was a thatched house with a two sloped roof walled on all sides. The front-door was placed on one of the smaller sides of the house and at its middle. Entering the house we saw that on the right and left the floor was slightly raised while along the midline it was low—almost flush with the ground and this part was used as passage when the elders met. The elders sit on both sides in the following order. The *khullakpa* sits to the right and the *luplakpa* to the left of the door as one enters into the house. By the side of the *khullakpa* is the place of the *khunjahanba* while the *zupanba* takes his seat by the *luplakpa*. In this way the officers range themselves on both sides of the house. The *changlai* and the lads of the village prepare food and drink at the farthest part of the house which in this case was slightly screened off with a grass-wall. There were cooking pots and *zu* pots besides a basketful of drinking cups made of bamboo sections, hanging from one of the beams. The *ruishang* of Changninglong was also of the same type and had all these articles in addition to a number of small bamboo sticks called *mi-shing*. They are six or seven inches long and about three-quarters of an inch in circumference. These sticks are used to find out the day when a meeting of the elders or a festival is to be held or a case is to be decided. Thus when the date for hearing a particular case is fixed by the *khullakpa*, say after five days, the *changlai* keeps five *mishings* in a separate basket. Every morning he takes out a stick from this basket and the day on which the last stick

will be taken out is the date on which the case will be heard. At Khulen the *ruishang* is bigger in size and has the same articles as in the two other villages. It is not impossible that the *ruishang* is the remnant of the village bachelors' house. Among the Chirus, another Old Kuki tribe, we find this institution in existence. Among them this is the best and the biggest house. Besides serving the purpose of the bachelors' dormitory of the village it is also the council chamber and court house of the village among the Chirus. The Purum *ruishang* has possibly lost the first and the foremost attribute and now exists only for what had been its secondary purposes. This may account for the wretched nature of these buildings in the different villages. It may be noted here in support of the former existence of the Bachelors' House among the Purums, that every village has an officer, to look after the boys, who is called *Pakhanlakpa* and in whose house the bachelors pass two nights on two different occasions of religious importance.

On the appointed day the village elders headed by the *khullakpa* assemble in the *ruishang*. The parties together with their friends and relatives also repair to the place. Cases are decided on oral evidence of witnesses and in its absence, on oaths.[28] Documentary evidence does not play any part in these proceedings as most of the Purums are illiterate. Owing to the establishment of primary schools at Khulen and Tampak in recent years, the childern of the present generation have got a chance of making first-hand acquaintance with the three R's. This may, in future, introduce documentary evidence into their legal proceedings provided the young aspirants manage to keep in mind even a fraction of what they acquire during their childhood. The witness is, at first, examined by the *khullakpa* and he may be cross-examined by the defendant or plaintiff, as the case may be, personally but not by representatives. The fine for giving false evidence is one pig and a jar of *zu*. After hear-

[28] Different kinds of oaths are used by the Thadous in deciding disputes. In one of them the man bites a tiger's tooth when uttering the formula. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, pp. 67—69). Taking oath on tigers' teeth is described by Risley as a common practice of the Chota Nagpur tribes. The Lushais do not employ oaths in deciding disputes but a man "wishing to be believed will take an oath holding a tiger's tooth" and gnawing it. (Shakespeare—*op cit.*, pp 55—56). Decision of disputes with oaths is a common practice among the Naga tribes such as the Angamis, Memis, Lhotas, Aos, Semas and Rengmas.

ing the witnesses of both sides the *khullakpa* consults the village elders and then pronounces his judgment. When there is no witness the case is decided on oath. The plaintiff and the defendant, both, have to take the oath, the former first. If any one of them refuses to take oath he is punished with a fine of one pig and a jar of *zu*. If both of them take the oath then the case is adjourned for the time being. If any one of them suffers from an injury or serious disease within the period mentioned in the oath then he or his heirs (when the oath-taker dies) and descendants have to pay the fine. The following is a sample of an oath taken on the charge of a theft, devoid of the time-limit.

Plaintiff's oath—*Nangna kapot runong tilechu nangtou akeina bakshu.* (If you have not stolen my article I shall be eaten by tigers.)

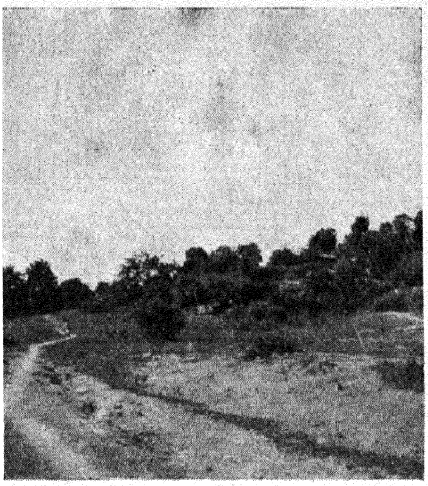
Defendant's oath—*Keinau napot rulengchu keitau akeina bakshu.* (If I have stolen your article I shall be eaten by tigers.)

Holding a few tiger's teeth the man takes the oath and later puts them into his mouth. This completes the oath. The severest type of oath is taken with the tiger's teeth tied to the stone which falls from the sky and is associated with the thunder in popular belief (perhaps a piece from a meteorite). These are immersed in a little water which the man drinks with the following words.

" If I am guilty of the crime I shall be killed by the tiger and the thunder."

Punishment

Death, mutilation, slavery, social ostracism, and fine are the different forms of punishment met with in the tribal world. But among the Purums we have only the last one and possibly also social boycott. The remaining forms of punishment are not allowed by the suzerain power to the village elders. Mutilation and slavery are against the principles of the Imperial Government while cases punishable with imprisonment are dealt with by the Central authorities. The fine which the village elders impose generally varies from one pig and a jar of *zu* to three pigs and three jars of *zu*. It is never realised in cash. In the matter of imposition of fine no distinction is made about



Fsg. 38.
A view of Tampak from the south-east

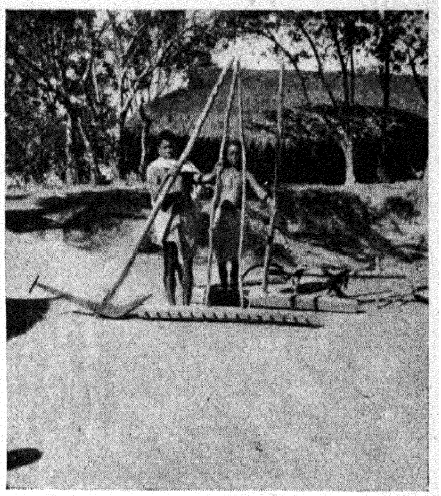


Fig. 39.
Purum agricultural implements

Fig. 40.
Lamgangs from Pantha.

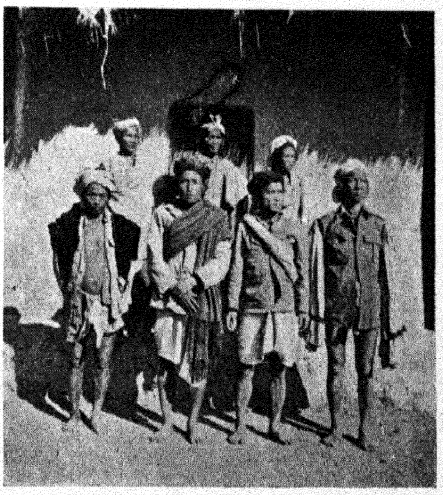


Fig. 41.
Haokips from Aihang.

the social, political, economic or religious position of the guilty person.

Theft

When a man finds that some articles belonging to him have been stolen, he, at first, tries to catch hold of the thief and if successful, he goes to the *khullakpa* with the thief, accompanied by his friends and relatives and neighbours who have possibly helped him to arrest the culprit. For stealing domestic animals from a hen to one or more *mithuns* or buffaloes the fine is a jar of *zu* and a pig. The animal stolen has to be given back to the owner. The pig and the jar of *zu* are consumed by the *khullakpa* and the village elders who help the *khullakpa* in deciding the case. The punishment is the same when any domestic utensil, heirloom, or money is stolen. If an object stolen cannot be returned then its value in money has to be given back to the owner by the culprit.

Assault

In case of assault, when the guilt is proved, the culprit has to ask for pardon of the injured person in the presence of the *khullakpa* and other village elders. If he is pardoned no further fine is imposed. But if the injured person is not satisfied with this sort of punishment a fine of one pig and one jar of *zu* is imposed. This fine is considered to be good enough for all kinds of assaults. No distinction is made between simple and grievous hurt. If the injured party is not even satisfied with this punishment then it may take the case to the courts of the State.

Use of filthy language is generally paid back in its own coin but if it leads to something more serious, the matter may be brought before the *khullakpa* and the elders who impose the usual fine of one jar of *zu* and a pig.

Sexual Offences

In case of sexual offences there is a constant attempt to give greater protection to married life.[29] The violation of a

29 *Cf.* Lakher custom. (Parry—*op.-cit.*, pp. 278, 282, 283, 284).

married woman, with or without her consent, entails double the punishment imposed on a man guilty of perpetrating the same offence on an unmarried girl.[30] Even the violation of an unmarried girl may go without any punishment if the perpetrator agrees to marry her.[31] In case of sexual offence the punishment almost always is imposed on the man and not on the woman. But when adultery leads to divorce of the woman, her father or his heirs have to pay a fine of three pigs and three jars of *zu* to the village elders.

In case of rape, if the woman be married, the offender is fined three pigs and three jars of *zu* which will go to the village elders headed by the *khullakpa*. The husband of the woman will get nothing out of it nor will he be given anything in compensation. But if the offender wants to marry the woman and the husband agrees to it then the former has to pay back the ' *maushem* ' which the husband of the woman gave at the time of marriage. Besides this he will also have to pay a new full ' *maushem* ' to the father of the woman but he will not be required to serve the *yaungimba* period. If the woman be an unmarried girl and if the violator does not wish to marry her he will have to pay a fine of one jar of *zu* and one pig. But if he agrees to marry her he will have to pay the fine if the case be put before the elders and will have to serve the *yaungimba* period but will not pay any ' *maushem.*' If the violated woman be a betrothed girl she will be treated just like a married woman for this purpose.

Cases of fornication or voluntary sexual intercourse with married or unmarried woman are treated in the same manner as rape. The consent of the woman does not count in assessing the gravity of the crime. When such offences are committed with unmarried girls they do not naturally come before the elders at all.

The violation of a sleeping woman whether married or unmarried is treated like rape [32] and punished in the same manner. Cases of seduction are also similarly dealt with.

When a child is born out of sexual intercourse between parties which are not formally married or betrothed the man

30 *Cf.* Lakher Custom as observed in the Saiko, Siah groups and in Tisi and the Hawthai villages. (Parry--*op. cit.*, p. 284.)

31 *Cf.* Lakher Custom (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 282, 284) and also Lushai Custom (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 53).

32 The Lakhers distinguish the two types of crime. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 281.)

has to give annually, for three years, fifteen big baskets of paddy to the woman for her as well as her child's maintenance. At the end of three years the child is made over to the begetter and further payment of paddy is stopped forthwith.[33]

Divorce

We have dealt with divorce in a separate section. When a married woman is divorced for adultery, her father is fined three pigs and three pots of *zu*. This punishment is equal to that imposed upon the co-respondent. The punishment of the father for the adultery of the married daughter is a peculiar feature of Purum legislation. It may be due to various reasons. Possibly Purum society wants to check the disruptive forces which intend to destroy well-ordered family life and so naturally tries to avoid divorce under all circumstances. Divorce ultimately benefits the father of the woman or his heir who receives a new *maushem* when she is remarried but is not required to pay back the *maushem* received from the first husband. So he may be naturally interested in all cases of divorce and may encourage such conduct on the part of his daughters. The severest type of punishment is prescribed in order to deter such tendencies on all sides.

Loans

Money is sometimes given on loan to persons of the same or different village. It is always given before witnesses though no document is executed. The period for which the loan is advanced is also fixed up at the beginning. In old days interest was not charged under any circumstance but nowadays interest at the rate of about 10% per annum is charged from borrowers from different villages but it is not exacted from co-villagers. If at the expiry of the stipulated period of time the borrower is unable to pay back the money the case is laid before the elders who force him to pay the loan even by selling his

[33] *Cf.* the *jo-lei* of the Thadous (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 62), the *Riathama* of the Lakhers (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 278-279) and the *Sawan man* of the Lushais (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 53). Among the Naga tribes, such as the Angamis and Aos, children born of unmarried girls used to be killed forthwith. It is believed that they bring ill luck to the village. (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, pp. 171-172.)

effects. If the borrower belongs to a different village the complaint will be laid before the elders of the borrower's village.

Damage by Domestic Animals

In case of damage to crops by domestic animals the owner of the crop lays his case before the *khullakpa* and pays the usual court-fee. The *khullakpa*, the village elders, the owner of the animal and the complainant visit the place of occurrence together and assess the amount of damage which the owner of the animal has to pay to the complainant. No fine is imposed in such cases.

Contract

Contract does not play an important part in the legal proceedings of the Purums. Refusal to marry by either party after the beginning of the *yaungimba* service is a source of litigation under this section. If the girl refuses to marry, the boy is properly indemnified for his labour during the *yaungimba* period and the village elders are entitled to a heavy fine which amounts to three jars of *zu* and three pigs together with an upper cloth for the *khullakpa*. But if the boy refuses to marry the girl he is merely fined one pig and one jar of *zu*. This as well as punishment for sexual offences clearly bring out the fact that chastity of women is not a matter for serious consideration with the Purums.

Land Tenure. Ownership. Inheritance

Land is primarily divided into two classes—*jhum* land and valley-land. In the former shifting agriculture is practised while the latter class of fields is kept permanently under cultivation. This has affected the right of ownership as well. The proprietory right in *jhum* land seems to be vested in the village community. Individuals only enjoy usufructuary right over the plots of land which they bring under cultivation for the time being. As soon as a plot of this nature is abandoned to recuperate its fertility it vests in the village community again and may be taken up for cultivation in some future date by anybody belonging to the village. This usufructuary right exercised by an individual over a *jhum* plot is passed on to his heirs on his death. It may also be transferred to another individual of the same village in return for some consideration

or as a gift. But such transference is not allowed to a man from a different village on any condition. This is the consensus of opinion but it has been controverted by the informants from Tampak who stated that valley fields as well as *jhum* fields could be sold or given away to anybody without any reference to the village elders. They denied the proprietory right of the village community over the surrounding jungle land and stated that there is no specified boundary to the *jhum* area lying around the village over which it exercises this right. On the other hand, according to them, individuals own patches of jungle land which they may alienate in any way and to anybody they like, without any hindrance from the village community. This statement of the Tampak informants goes contrary to the prevailing laws of land tenure not only of the Puṛums but also of a number of other tribes living around them and belonging to the same Old Kuki stock. Unfortunately we could not verify this statement by actually drawing up an inventory of the different patches together with the names of their respective owners. If it be true, this certainly marks a new departure which has been undoubtedly initiated in imitation of the proprietory right over the valley-fields one or more of which are owned by almost every inhabitant of this village.[34] Such

[34] McCulloch states that the mountain land around the village belongs to it (McCulloch—*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., p. 45). The idea of property in land is entirely absent among the Lushais according to Shakespeare. But the Old Kuki tribes who have come to reside near the valley of Manipur recognise individual proprietory right in *jhum* land. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 156). Among the Lakhers the chief is the owner of all lands in the village. The villagers get land from him for cultivation and in return they "must pay him certain dues, render him certain services and come to his aid when called upon. . ." (Parry—*op cit.*, pp. 248-249.) The Thadous also have a similar idea accord-ing to Hutton. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 64, Fn. 3.) Among the Lhota Nagas "land can be held either by the village, a 'morung', a clan, or an individual". Generally the waste land is the village common property. Most of the cultivable *jhum* land is held in common by members of individual sibs. Every year the members of a sib meet in council and distribute this land among themselves. (Mills —*The Lhota Nagas*, p. 97).

The Aos also have these four kinds of land although individual ownership in land eclipses the three other types. In the past "when a village was founded each clan took a portion of the land and held it as common clan land". Among the Aos also common village land consists of uncultivable jungle land with the exception of a few blocks of rice land here and there which have

patches of jungle land are inherited, according to these informants, in the same manner as the valley fields. As regards the ownership of the valley-fields which are annualy cultivated there is no difference of opinion. These plots are owned by individuals and can be disposed up by them in any way and to anybody they like without any reference to the village elders.

Like every other department of life the laws of inheritance also are changing under the influence of new conditions. The youngest son inherits the entire property [35] of the father—his

accrued to the village under peculiar circumstances. Most of the common sib land has now become individual property owing to certain peculiarity of the Ao laws of inheritance. (Mills—*The Ao Nagas*, pp. 187-188.) The major portion of *jhum* land is private property among the Angamis though a certain part of it still belongs to a kindred or sib or even the village as a whole. "In some trans-frontier villages all land is still common property of the village." (Hutton—*The Angami Nagas*, pp 140-141.) All *jhum* lands are now privately owned among the Semas though in one or two of the most eastren Sema villages land held by the entire community is found (Hutton—*The Sema Nagas*, pp. 155-156.) Among the Rengma Nagas who practise *jhum* cultivation land may be held by the individual or family or sib. Among the Eastern Rengmas it is also held in common by the "khel" or parts of villages. The proportion of sib land among the Western Rengmas is considerable and is gradually increasing.

These facts lead us to believe that individual ownership of *jhum* land at present found among the various tribes living around the Purums was most probably preceded by joint ownership either by the village community as a whole or a part of it such as the "khel" or by a sib. The growth of individual ownership might have been due to acquirement of individually owned permanently cultivable fields inducing similar attitude towards *jhum* land as among the Purums or to improvement of land by individuals such as terracing among the Angamis or again to dearth of sufficient *jhum* land.

35 The Lushais according to Shakespeare also have the same system of inheritance. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.* p. 54.) But Capt. Lewin states that the property is divided equally amongst the sons—the youngest getting the largest share (Lewin—*Wild Races of South Eastern India*, p. 253.). Parry clears the position : according to him a man's formal heir is his youngest son though in actual practice the property is divided among all the sons—the youngest being given an extra share of the cash money and the first choice of all other articles. (Parry—*A Monograph on Lushai Customs and Cerenomies*, p. 83.) But the Thadou law is exactly opposite to that of the Purums. Among them a younger branch cannot inherit "until all the senior branches are extinct in the male line." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 67.) Shakespeare also states that the eldest son inherits the entire property of the father among the Thadous. The younger sons get only what the latter may willingly give to them. This is also the case among most of the Old Kuki tribes according to him. The Anals, Purums, and pro-

domestic animals, grains, heirlooms like gongs, etc., house, land, etc. Whenever we asked anybody about the laws of inheritance we received a reply to this effect. The economic basis of Purum society and the type of family organisation are mainly responsible for this kind of inheritance. We have shown elsewhere (See *ante*, pp. 111-112) how the youngest son

bably the Lamgangs are exceptions to this rule. Among them the property is divided among the sons of the deceased " but the youngest son takes the house and supports the widow . . . ." (Shakespeare—*Lushei Kuki Clans*, pp. 155-156 and p. 200.) A Lakher's property is inherited by his eldest son who also pays his father's debts, but he generally gives a share to his youngest brother who has to pay their mother's *ru* or death due. The youngest brother, however, cannot make any claim to this share on any account. When the eldest or the youngest brother dies without a male child the survivor inherits the property of the deceased—the other brothers having no claim to it. (Parry—*op. cit.* pp. 285-286.)

Though Col. McCulloch states that the Manipuris had no law regarding the inheritance of property yet Hodson points out that movable property generally goes to the youngest son if he be living with the father at the time of the latter's death. But if he also has separated, then the property is equally divided among all the sons. (Hodson—*The Meithei*, pp. 77-78.)

Among Naga tribes also we find this preference for the youngest son sometimes. Among the Angamis each son gets his share of inheritance on marriage when he sets up a separate house. But on the death of the father the youngest son, though he has already received his share and lives separately, gets all that the father has at the time of his death (Hutton—*Angami Nagas*, pp. 135-136.) The Western Rengmas also practise a similar custom though, among them, it is postponed till the death of the widow of the deceased. (Mills—*The Rengma Nagas*, p. 143.)

The Lhota system is more logical as it is based on the needs of the inheritors. Land is not divided amongst the brothers but the movables are divided in an ascending scale from the eldest to the youngest when the latter is unmarried. But if the latter be already married the eldest gets a slightly bigger share than all the other brothers (Mills—*Lhota Nagas*, pp. 98-99). Among the Ao Nagas all sons inherit equally. (Mills—*Ao Nagas*, p. 190.) The Tangkhuls and the Eastern Rengmas have a peculiar system. On the marriage of a son the father practically gives him the bulk of his possessions to set him up in life and moves to a new house. This is repeated on the marriage of each son. Among the Tangkhuls he may return to the house of the eldest son when infirm but among the Eastern Rengmans the parents remain alone at the last stage of their life and on the death of them the eldest son gets the house and the movable property in return for the death ceremonies of the father performed by him. (Hodson—*Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 100-101, Mills—*The Rengma Nagas*, pp. 143-144). The sons of a Sema Naga do not divide the land of their father but leave it for the next generation. But the movable property is divided among the sons—the eldest taking something extra. (Hutton—*Sema Nagas*, pp. 156, 158).

remains with the father during his old age and inherits his property when his elder brothers marry one by one and set up separate houses for themselves where they live by the products of their own labour. Moral, social, and economic factors combined to set up and maintain this system of inheritance among the Purums.

If a man, say Waipu (Gen. Tab. VIII), dies without any son, his property is inherited by his youngest living brother Amutol. Nothing of it goes to Akil, Halshu, or Nemhoi. If Amutol and Akil predecease Waipu then the youngest living brother Halshu gets Waipu's property. If Amutol predecease Waipu leaving a son then that son gets the entire property of Waipu in supersession of the claims of Akil who may be living. If Amutol dies leaving no son but Akil leaves a son then Akil's son gets the property of Waipu in preference to Halshu. If all the brothers of Waipu die before him leaving no son, then his father Mithang inherits the property if he be living. The mother does not get any property under any circumstance. If Mithang dies before Waipu then the youngest brother of Mithang gets the property. If the latter be dead and leaves a son, then that son gets the property of Waipu; if there be more than one son to this man, then the youngest of them inherits the property. If Mithang and all his brothers are dead without leaving any male issue then Waipu's property goes to Chongthang if he be living. But if he also be dead then it passes over to his youngest brother or in case of his predecease to the latter's youngest son. In this way the property of Waipu passes through the youngest male line barring the case of father, grandfather and others who are directly connected and through whom the property passes to the next generation in its course through the youngest line.

Though all the villages agreed about this theoretical statement about inheritance by the youngest son yet we could trace here and there the opinion that property should be equally divided among all the sons giving a somewhat larger share to the youngest one. In Tampak this opinion has already gained a certain amount of strength. The reason seems to be that it is the natural consequence of plough-cultivation which the Purums have taken up in right earnest recently. The fields in the valley are valued possessions which can be sold to anybody at any time and thus converted into money. Moreover their

value increases with the passage of time. This is not the case with the *jhum* fields. They cannot be easily converted into money. They have no intrinsic value of their own: the price of a *jhum* field is calculated on the basis of labour spent in clearing it and it decreases along with the lapse of time. After three or four years of cultivation it loses all value and is abandoned. Thus, naturally, there is no market for this type of land, which fact explains the indifferent attitude of the married and separated sons towards this type of land left by the departed father. This accounts for the inheritance of property by the youngest son who lives with the father at the time of his death. But the possession of valley-fields has turned the situation. Now, all the sons are eager to share equally these valued possessions of the father. This has certainly affected the nature of the family unit and we now find all the sons trying to live with the father especially in cases where valley-fields are possessed by him. Under these circumstances we have instances to show that property had been divided equally among the sons who had lived together with their father till the latter's death. When Rimpu (Gen. Tab. IV) died, his effects were equally divided among Thanil and Mate his two sons who lived with him till the time of his death though they were married long before. Nowadays we find that residence with the father is the deciding factor in inheritance and in this respect Purum society is following the spirit of the law and has not stuck to its letters. The case of Amu (Gen. Tab. VI) clearly points this out. Amu had two sons, Panshang and Hrautam. Panshang the elder son lived with his father even after his marriage but Hrautam his younger brother set up a separate house soon after his wedding. On the death of Amu, Hrautam got one pig and one cow only while Panshang inherited everything else. When Hrautam set up his new house he got from his father one piece of cloth and Rs. 5/- in cash.

The Tampak informants state that even if the elder sons live separately from their father, each of them is entitled to a share of his property after his death though it may be less than that of the youngest son who lives with the father. Thus if Waipu (Gen. Tab. VIII) dies living three sons, all of them share his property—the youngest getting a bigger share. But if the youngest son of Waipu predecease him leaving a son then that son gets the entire property of Waipu after his

death. This grandson of Waipu may, if he likes, give a part of this property to his uncles but the latter have no claim to it as they would have if their youngest brother had been living and had inherited this property. This again shows the strength of the old law of inheritance by the youngest son.

The daughters are not entitled to inherit any property—movable or immovable, of their father. At the time of marriage they generally get a dowry. An unmarried daughter, on the death of her father, lives with the person who inherits the property of her father provided he is married. This man generally gives her a cow and a brass plate at the time of her marriage. He also receives the *maushem* and is also benefited by the *youngimba* service of her bridegroom-elect. So an orphan girl finds a ready home among her married relatives even if the inheritor of her father's property be not married.

A man without son, may give to his daughter a part of his landed property during his lifetime provided he has enough of it. But on no account can he bequeath his house, domestic animals and heirlooms. The land that he gives to his daughter is evidently valley-land about the disposal of which the father can exercise his discretion to a certain extent.

A man does not possess testamentary power to dispose his property in any way he likes. He cannot override the customary law of inheritance. We have seen that the youngest son is the sole inheritor of the property of his father according to old custom. If, for any reason, the youngest son is driven out of the home by the father, he comes back after the latter's death and inherits the property according to the prevailing custom of the village. He cannot be disinherited by the father. A man may adopt a son but he will keep only such things after the death of his adoptive father which the latter gives to him during his lifetime and there is a limit to such gifts. Our information on adoption was collected from Tampak but the informants told that there was no case of adoption in their village when we last worked among them (1936) but they had heard of it. They could not however tell us anything about the other villages. In the village census we do not meet with any case of adoption. Moreover this institution does not fit in well with the social organisation of the people especially the rules of inheritance. It is quite possible, however, that this notion has been borrowed by the Tampak people

from the valley. But the matter should be further investigated into.

We have already stated that the widow is not entitled to any part of her husband's property but she is entitled to maintenance if she remains in her husband's house and does not remarry. The widow of a man may purchase land and it is inherited by her son or sons or any other person who lawfully inherits her husband's property.

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Our data on Purum village organisation were mainly supplied by Panshang, the *khullakpa* (1932), and Thanil the *luplakpa* (1932) of Khulen, the oldest village of the Purums in this locality. In fact all the other villages of the Purums sprang up from this parent village or its offshoots. We have also incidental references to village officers and their duties, collected in connection with other topics, from Chumbang another important Purum village. This will help us in checking our account of Khulen. Inspite of this our description of Purum village organisation is nothing more than what prevails at Khulen, unless otherwise stated.

There are eight village officers to look after the temporal affairs of the village. They are, in order of precedence.,

(1) Khullakpa
(2) Luplakpa.
(3) Khunjahanba
(4) Pakhanlakpa
(5) Zupanba (Yupalpa) } (Hodson—*The Meithcis*, p. 72)
(6) Keirungba
(7) Selungba } (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 72)
(8) and Changlai.

The same men hold the posts of *khunjahanba* and *pakhanlakpa* at Khulen, at Tampak and at Chumbang. We are not acquainted with the position at Changninglong. Chongshel the *luplakpa* of Chumbang mentions seven village officers omitting the *pakhanlakpa*. His order of precedence is also virtually the same as given by Panshang. The *hanzaba* of Chongshel seems to be the same as *khunjahanba* of Panshang but his *hithangba* which comes after *zupanba* and before *keirungba* cannot be easily identified. Chongshel omits the name of *changlai*. His list runs as follows :—

(1) Khullakpa
(2) Luplakpa

PLATE XIII

Agricultural Implements of the Purums.

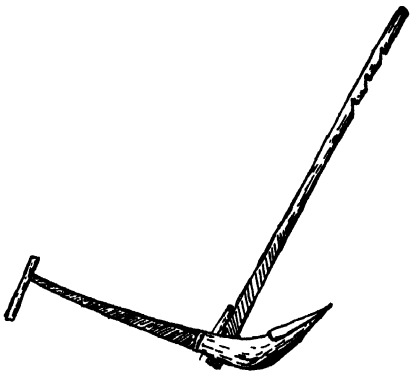


Fig. 42. Plough

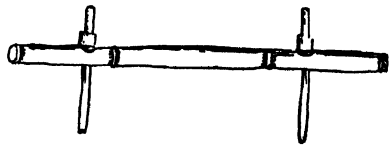


Fig. 43. Yoke

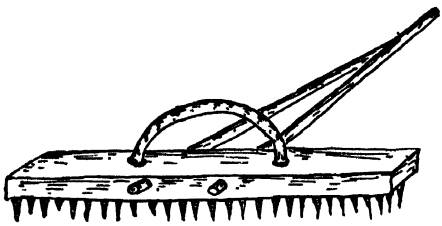


Fig. 44. Harrow

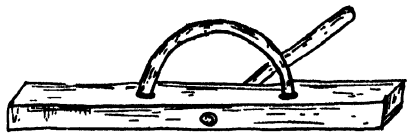


Fig. 45. Leveller

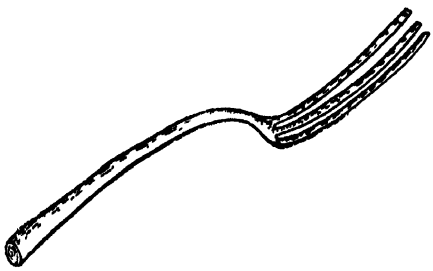


Fig. 46 Thresher (*Cheirung*).

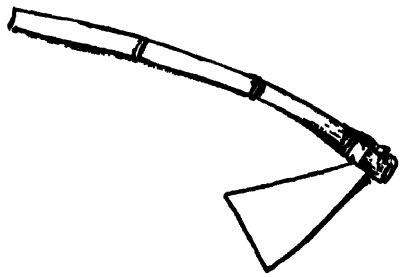


Fig. 47. Small hoe (*Atu*).

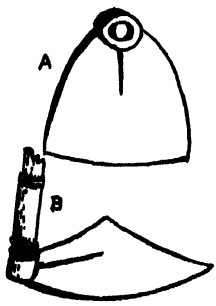


Fig. 48. Hoe (with broad blade).

(3) Hanzaba *Cf.* Telloi Hanjaba of the Manipuris (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 61)
(4) Zupanba
(5) Hithangba *Cf.* Telloi Hidang of the Manipuris (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 61)
(6) Keirungba
(7) and Selungba.

The names of these posts occur in Meithei language; we tried to collect Purum names but without any success as all our informants told that there are no Purum names for these posts. This may indicate that the present system of village government has been introduced by the Meitheis and that the Purums have completely lost their old form of village organisation, if they had any. In a Purum song sung on the occasion of the feast provided by the *khullakpa* on his election the term *karing* is used to indicate the *khullakpa*. This seems to be a genuine Purum term.

These posts are not hereditary. When a village officer dies or resigns his post he is succeeded by the next lower officer who in his turn again is succeeded by the next lower officer—thus each of the officers lower in rank to the man who died or resigned is automatically promoted to the next higher post. Thus, on the death or resignation of the *khullakpa*, his post goes to the *luplakpa*, and the *khunjahanba* becomes the *luplakpa*, and so on till the *changlai* is raised to the rank of *selungba*. A new man is then recruited for the lowest post. If the deceased *khullakpa* leaves a son behind, the latter occupies the post of *changlai*. In the absence of any son to the deceased, the post goes to a male member of his sib (*sagei*). If any officer from the intermediate grades, say the *khunjahanba*, dies then the next lower officers take the higher posts in turn, and the son of the deceased occupies the lowest post, *i.e.*, of the *changlai*. This method of filling up the vacancies in the village posts seems to be the ideal of the tribe and might have been practised in the past. But at present it seems to have lost much of its old stringency.

The village offices—even the higher ones—are no longer much sought after among the Purums. They have lost the power and dignity which usually accompanied such posts in the past. It is difficult to say what has brought about this change. These frontier villages used to lead a semi-indepen-

dent existence in the past and so had to depend on their own strength and organisation at times of war with neighbouring villages. The central government had little interest and only nominal control over these outlying areas where individual villages or groups of them fought against each other in order to safeguard their interests, without any interference from the centre. Freedom from outside control together with the unsettled condition of life prevalent in the area invested the village offices with real power in the past. But with the introduction of British control this nature of predatory life had to disappear and a settled and peaceful condition ensued. Thus the different village officers lost their power and became mere figure-heads. With the loss of power their rank and position also were adversely affected and deteriorated to a considerable extent. Moreover, under the present system, the village officers are required to perform certain duties which they do not appreciate much and which also hamper with their natural occupations. This is how the village offices have lost their old dignity and popularity and are now looked upon as burdensome duties which bring neither honour nor money. The result is that these posts are no longer held by the older inhabitants of the village who command universal respect in this gerontocratic community but are thrust upon younger heads, who are compensated with some social privileges. Though there is no limitation to the period over which an individual can enjoy the highest post—that of *khullakpa*—in practice, we find that it is not held by the same individual for more than two or three years. Young men who have risen up to this eminent position do not occupy it till death or even old age but relinquish it within a few years.

In the past the office of the *khullakpa* was a monopoly of the Marrim sib in Khulen. But lately the members of the other sibs protested against this system as a result of which the prohibition has been withdrawn in theory but in practice the custom persisted even at the time of our last visit (1936). In the autumn of 1932 the following persons held the different posts at Khulen. Panshang of the Marrim sib was the *khullakpa* and Thanil of the same sib was the *luplakpa*. Tute of the Kheyang sib served as both *khunjahanba* and *pakhanlakpa* while Tolba of Makan sib was the *zupanba*.. Themshu, a Parpa, worked as *keirungba* and Thanglen, a Thao, served as

selungba. Konga, a Kheyang, was the *changlai* of the village. In 1936 we found that Panshang had given up his post and had become the *maipa* of the village. His place had been taken by Rautam of the Marrim sib. Kongthang (Plate V Fig. 14) of the same sib had taken up the duties of the *luplakpa* in place of Thanil. Thus, in Khulen, both the *khullakpa* and the *luplakpa* were members of the Marrim sib in 1932 and 1936 inspite of the opposition of the other clans. But not so in the other villages. In Chumbang, Chau-thoi, a Marrim, was the *khullakpa* in 1936 while Rengmunger, a Kheyang, was its *luplakpa*. In 1932, Chongshel, a Makan, served in the latter capacity in this village. In Changninglong, Amphot, a Thao, was its *khullakpa* in 1932, while Shemchao, a Kheyang, was its *luplakpa* but in 1936, Sangkai, a Marrim, became its *luplakpa*. Tampak had a Kheyang *khullakpa*. Waipu by name, in 1936, while its *luplakpa* was a Parpa. From these actual facts it appears that though Khulen has practically maintained the monopoly of the Marrim sib as regards the office of the *khullakpa* other villages have already given it up both in theory and practice. This reminds us of the Chirus who still maintain the monopoly of particular sibs to some of the more important village offices (*e.g.*, *khullakpa*, *luplakpa*, *thempu* etc.)

If all the village offices fall vacant at the same time the usual method of promotion and appointment in the lowest grade cannot work and a special arrangement has to be made. Under such circumstances all the villagers meet together on a particular day and select the *khullakpa* first. They try to be unanimous in their selection but if any difference arises as to the proper person to be appointed, they are guided by the opinion of the majority. When the parties are equally strong the election of the office-bearer is postponed to a later date. This procedure is adopted in the appointment of all the other village officers. As far as we could gather there is no system of voting but decisions are arrived at by general acclamation. After the election of *khullakpa*, the *luplakpa* is elected on the next day and so on till the post of *changlai* is filled up.

When Lungsham was the *khullakpa* and Nemhoi the *luplakpa* of Khulen, Panshang was holding the post of *khunjahanba*. Lungsham resigned his post on account of old age. Nemhoi was then requested to hold the vacant post but he also refused on the same ground. Thus Panshang, being the next

available man, was promoted to the office of *khullakpa* superseding Nemhoi. Before Panshang came to occupy the post of *khunjahanba* he had to plod through all the lower offices.

Every village officer, whether automatically raised to a higher post or formally elected to a new office, has to provide a ceremonial feast which really forms his installation ceremony. The number of pigs to be killed or pots of *zu* to be provided is traditionally fixed in every village. The following table shows the practice in Khulen :—

Rank of the officer.	Number of pigs to be provided.	Pots of *zu* to be given.
Khullakpa ...	... 3 ...	... 20
Luplakpa ...	... 3 ...	... 20
Khunjahanba ...	... 2 ...	... 10
Zupanba ...	... 2 ...	... 10
Keirungba ...	... 2 ...	... 10
Selungba ...	... 2 ...	... 10
Changlai ...	... 1 ...	... 7

No mention is here made of the *pakhanlakpa*, perhaps, as the post is here combined with that of *khunjahanba*.

The officer in question is given sufficient time to make preparations for this feast. The day on which an officer is to be installed must be an auspicious one. This date is ascertained by the *thempu* on a Tuesday by a method of magico-religious calculation. A figure with the seven days of the week marked out separately, beginning with Tuesday and ending with Monday, is drawn on the ground in the manner shown below.

Chang [1]	Shi	Chang	Shi	Chang	Shi	Chang
Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday	Monday

The first day of the week thus marked out *i.e.*, Tuesday is a *chang* day while the next day *i.e.*, Wednesday is a *shi* day, the next day *i.e.*, Thursday is a *chang* day while the day after is a *shi* day and so on. Every *chang* day is good for the ceremony while every *shi* day is inauspicious for it. Sunday is always an inauspicious day even if *chang* falls on it. This method of distinguishing the auspicious from the inauspicious is not only practised in the case of selecting a suitable date for every religious or social ceremony but is also employed in other spheres

1 '*Chang*' means 'alive' and '*shi*' means 'dead.'

of their life.[1a] Thus, when a man is about to offer to a deity a number of, say plantains, he sees that the bunch when counted by *chang* and *shi* method ends in *chang* and not in *shi*. Naturally there are more than one *chang* day and the particular day on which the ceremony is to take place depends on the convenience of the officer concerned. This method of selecting the day is employed in every case of installation.

The grandeur of the feast depends on the importance of the post. Naturally the feasts given at the installation of the *khullakpa* and the *luplakpa* are the biggest ones and that provided by the *changlai* is the smallest. This is also shown by the table which indicates the number of pigs to be killed and pots of *zu* to be given by each officer.

On the appointment of a *khullakpa* all the inhabitants of the village and the members of his sib from other villages are invited. The village officers of other Purum villages also receive invitation. Even his friends and acquaintances who may belong to other tribes are also not omitted. On the appointed day half the number of *maksas* of the host engage in killing the pigs by spearing through the place above the top of the right fore-leg and in cooking the meat. The remaining *maksas* prepare *zu* which was being brewed for a long time. The *ningans* bring fuel, cook rice, and help in preparing the *zu*. The villagers without any distinction of age or sex or marital condition, join in dancing and singing on the occasion. They play on musical instruments like the drums (*khung*) (Plate XX Fig. 77), on the horns of *mithuns* (*sakki*) (Plate XX Fig. 79), and on *sarinda* (a kind of violin—our *sarengi*) (Plate XX Fig. 78) and *rotchem* (bag-pipe of gourd) (Plate XX Fig. 80). The following is a specimen of song sung on this occasion :—

Karing-o hrao
Karing-o shan-shong hrao
Shitai-phon-rango hrao
Karing-thin-phun thing-na-yam-tai hrao.

Freely translated it runs thus,

The *Karing* looks well
The *Karing* looks ruddy
Your dress looks well

1a Vide *Folklore*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 464-465.

You are the planter of these people;
Let them grow in greater number than the leaves of trees.

The term *karing* freely used in these lines is an equivalent in Purum dialect of *khullakpa* or Raja.

Before sitting down to the feast the *khullakpa* makes offering to Senamahi, the presiding deity of the house or of the sib. A few pieces of cooked meat and a quantity of vegetable curry but not rice, are placed in the centre of the *khullakpa's* house and on it he pours a little *zu* drawn with a new reed pipe. This type of pipe is used in drinking *zu* direct from the *zu* pot. Next, the oldest man of the village offers to the same deity in the same way. The *khullakpa* utters the following prayer on the occasion :—

Oh! Senamahi, I have been elected *khullakpa*;
Let me live long and well;
Let my villagers enjoy good health.

The oldest man who worships the deity on this occasion also utters this prayer with the necessary alterations. After this food and drink are served to the invited guests who sit in order of rank. The first seat in the line is taken by the *khullakpa* of the village in question and after him come the *khullakpas* of other Purum villages who have been invited. Next the *luplakpa* of the village sits followed by the *luplakpas* of other Purum villages invited on the occasion and this goes on till the *changlai* of the village and of the other villages are seated. After them the village elders take their seats and they are followed by the other inhabitants of the village as well as outsiders. The feast ends in the midst of great hilarity and lasts only for a day.

In the installation of other officers the same rites and ceremonies are observed. The *khullakpa* receives an appointment letter, nowadays, from the State under the signature of the President of the Manipur State Durbar.

The villagers seem to be the ultimate authority in the appointment and continuance in office of the village officers. If in a case of dispute the seven village officers go against the rest of the villagers, they may be dismissed by the latter and fined *zu* and pigs according to their rank. In case of difference of opinion among the village officers themselves, the side which will get the support of the villagers will remain in office and

the other party will be fined and dismissed and in usual course their places will be filled in. Where the villagers do not take any part and the struggle lies between the officers themselves the following procedure is adopted. If the *khullakpa* alone or the *luplakpa* too go against the other village officers then the former are removed from their office. But when the first three officers support one side and the rest the other, the decision of the former will stand but they are not entitled to oust the lower four officers from their posts. But when the first four officers differ from the remaining three, the latter may be dismissed by the former.

Duties of the village officers.—Khullakpa

The *khullakpa* is the chief officer of the village. His main duty is to decide disputes among the villagers. He is ultimately responsible for the collection of all rents which he is required to deposit in the State treasury. In this he is helped by the *selungba* and the *changlai* who actually collect the rent from individual villagers. At Khulen there were 35 houses in 1932 each paying a house-tax of Rs. 3/- (about 4 shillings) per house. Out of this sum the *khullakpa* was entitled to Rs. 6/- (about 8 shillings) only on commission basis. The *khullakpa* presides over the deliberations of the villagers assembled to discuss and decide social and political matters. In certain religious matters too he plays a prominent part.

Luplakpa

The duties of the *luplakpa* are the same as those of the *khullakpa*. When the latter is absent from the village the *luplakpa* steps into his place and performs all his duties and wields all his powers too. When both of them are present in the village they consult each other and jointly perform all their duties. From what we could gather it appears that these two officers have a special bond among themselves and stand apart from the other officers.

Khunjahanba

The *khunjahanba* [2] is also at the same time the *pakhanlakpa* of the village. When the *khullakpa* and the *luplakpa*

[2] Hodson translates it as "elder of the village" (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 60.)

are unable to attend to their official duties owing to absence or illness, the *khunjahanba* performs their duties. In addition to this he is the chief performer in the worship of Nungchungba. In the month of May when this deity is to be worshiped the village officers meet in his house on the day of worship and he performs the egg-divination ceremony. Later on he takes the seat of honour near the *nungshuk* stone when the villagers and the other village officers dance and sing before this stone. The ceremony lasts for seven days during which he occupies this position of supreme importance. The third officer according to the informants from Chumbang is called *hanzaba* who makes arrangement for labour when required by the State officers.

Zupanba

The *zupanba* makes arrangement for *zu* on occasions of public interest.[3] The communal festivals which every Purum village has to perform at specified times of the year are occasions of great drinking bouts. When the villagers assemble in meeting to discuss public affairs, or honoured guests visit the village, they are to be unstintingly supplied with this home-brew. A similar reception is also given to the servants of the State when they come to Purum villages. For this purpose every villager has to give one pot of *zu* in every cycle of distribution of this article. The particular householder or householders who are required to supply *zu* on a particular occasion are settled by the *zupanba* who informs them in time. Chumbang mentions two other functions in addition, namely, the *zupanba* has to deposit the rent in the State treasury and lodges any complaint that the village may have against another village, with the State authorities. But these functions do not seem to be in keeping with the position and importance of this particular official and we are afraid there has been some confusion in the matter.

[3] Hodson refers to *yupalpa* in connection with Meithei village organisation. He is next in rank to the *khunjahanba*. The word is translated as " the manager of *Yu* or beer, brewed from rice." He is according to Hodson, " a sort of gauger who tasted the brew each year, and was responsible for the entertainment of strangers, . . ." (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 60.) This officer is also found at Sekmai and other Loi villages where *zu* is manufactured. His duty at these places is to gauge the brew. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 72.)

Keirungba

When a man is fined one or more pigs it is the duty of the *keirungba* [4] to select the particular animal or animals to be killed on the occasion. This procedure is also followed on occasions of religious or social ceremonies when pigs are to be killed. The *keirungba*—accompanied by the *selungba* and the *changlai*—goes to the particular house which is to supply the pig. He points out the animal to the *selungba* and the *changlai*, who are to catch hold of it.

Selungba

The *selungba* [5] collects such subscriptions only which are paid in coins for the performance of religious rites. He has to accompany the *khullakpa* when the latter goes to a different place on public business and on these occasions he has to carry his luggage.

Changlai

The *changlai* collects rice at every religious rite and festival from the villagers and distributes it equally among the seven village officers who prepare *zu* from it. When the *khullakpa* or *luplakpa* leaves his village on public business he is entitled to food and other incidental expenditure from the villagers. The *changlai* collects rice from each villager on all such occa-

[4] *Keirungba* or *Kairungba* is also mentioned by Hodson in connection with the officers of the Meithei State. Among officials engaged in the administration of the country *kairungba yairek sang* and *kairungba maroi* are mentioned along with five others who "deal with the Royal granaries, storehouses, fields and cultivation, salt wells, and fisheries." We find another *kairungba* who is one of the fifteen officers collectively called *Patcha Loisang* who "are responsible for the safety and comfort of the Raja and Rani when touring in the country. . ." But the Purum *keirungba* does not show any affinity with any one of these two types of *kairungbas*. At Ningthoukhong the headquarter of the *Piba* of the Kumal sib there is an officer called *keirungba* who is ninth in rank but his functions are not mentioned. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68 and 72.)

[5] The *sellungba ahal* and the *sellungba nahi* of the Meitheis are included in the group of officers who are in charge of the royal polo apparatus. The *sellungba* is tenth in rank among the *Patcha Loisang* and is also mentioned as an officer at Ningthoukhong. But the Purum *selungba* does not possess the character of any one of these officers. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, pp. 67, 68 and 72.)

sions to defray the expenses of the former. This method is also adopted when a State servant or some other important man visits the village.

The informants from Chumbang do not mention the post of *changlai* but refers to one whom they call *hithangba*. They place him fifth in order of rank. According to them he is required to make arrangements for the despatch of letters when asked by the authorities. Both the *keirungba* and the *selungba* have the same functions according to these informants. They are required to make arrangements for the supply of food to State officers on visit. They have also to provide drink for village officers from neighbouring villages on a visit to theirs. They collect subscriptions for the performance of communal worship of the village and realise rent payable to the State from individual householders. Of these two officers the *keirungba* is held to be a little superior to the *selungba*.

Maipa or the medicine-man

The term *maipa* has been borrowed from Manipuri. We could not find the Purum term for this important profession inspite of our repeated attempts in this direction. All our informants pleaded ignorance. This is not only the case with the Purums but is true of many other tribes of the locality.

So long we have considered the arrangement for the temporal affairs of the village, mainly of a social and political nature. But, besides these, each village is required to look after its spiritual and medical affairs. The *thempu* is in charge of the religious functions of the village and he is a regular village official. But the magico-medical service is in charge of another set of private practitioners who are known as *maipas*. A village may have more than one *maipa* who are allowed to practise freely within and outside the village. They are not accredited village officers but their necessity is not in any way less than that of any other village officer on the temporal side. The chief function of these *maipas* is to render medical aid to the villagers. Whenever a man falls ill he sends for the *maipa* and asks him to find out the cause of the malady by means of divination or otherwise. When the particular spirit responsible for the illness is spotted the *maipa* offers sacrifice to him for releasing the patient.

In addition to these village *maipas*, the services of *maipas* from other villages or from other tribes even, are requisitioned in cases of difficult illness when the village *maipas* fail to effect a cure. Loungir the *maipa* of Tampak is a reputed practitioner of this quarter and his services are requisitioned by many persons of other villages in difficult cases. In fact, during our stay among the Purums in 1936, Loungir was called to treat a very difficult case in a Marring village about thirteen miles away from Tampak. There he remained for about a fortnight and treated the case.

Each *maipa* has to undergo a course of training before he is allowed to practise. This period of training extends over a year in ordinary circumstances. The novitiate regularly goes to the house of his *kuru* (apparently derived from the Sanskritic term *guru*) in the dead of night and learns the incantations (*laibas* in Manipuri) from him. Perfect secrecy is to be observed if the efficacy of the *laibas* is to be maintained. The *kuru*, who is also a *maipa* in possession of the lore, first recites the *laiba* in full and the disciple (*sibok* apparently derived from Sanskritic *sevak*) hears it and then repeats. If he commits any mistake the *kuru* corrects him. A *sibok* is first initiated on a Saturday and when he has mastered the science he presents to the *kuru* a pot of *zu*, a fowl, an *atu* (a kind of hoe), and a *pun* (a kind of upper cloth), which form the perquisites of the teacher. This presentation ceremony takes place on a Saturday which is believed to be of special import in magico-religious rites.[6] It is not necessary to observe chastity during this period of training nor is there any taboo on food of any kind for the *sibok* or the *kuru*.

The only public ceremony in which the *maipa* officiates according to our informants is the worship of Panthonglakpa which is performed at the two main entrances to the village. The senior-most *maipa* of the village officiates; a pig is killed and a quantity of *zu* is poured over it.

Panshang the *maipa* of Khulen learnt the *laibas* from Angau a senior *maipa* of the same village. There were three *maipas* both at Khulen and at Tampak at the time of our last visit (1936). Panshang shows great respect to his *kuru* Angau. At Khulen, Angau performs the worship of Panthonglakpa, he being the seniormost *maipa* of the village.

[6] Saturday is regarded in Bengal also as a specially potent day for the performance of magical rites.

Pakhanlakpa

We have already referred to the post of *pakhanlakpa* [7] as being held by one man simultaneously with that of the *khunja-hanba* in several Purum villages. He is the head of the bachelors of the village, and has the right of chastisement over his wards though he may not levy any fine. It is not clearly remembered whether the bachelors of the village, at any time in the past, occupied a separate building under the leadership of the *pakhanlakpa* or were accommodated in his hut. But now-a-days they are only required to pass two nights in his house on two different occasions—once in the month of February and again in that of May on the occasions of the worship of Nung-chungba. Both these days are occasions of public worship and festivity. In view of the fact that some other Old Kuki tribes still possess the bachelors' house or definite relics of it, it is not impossible that the Purums also had this institution in the past but have somehow lost it in course of time and the present condition is only reminiscent of the past. At present the lads pass their nights in the houses of such persons who have grown up unmarried daughters.[8] In each such house more than one lad

[7] *Pakhan-lakpa* is one of the seven officers who are collectively called *Fanam Ningthou semba* and who look after the polo apparatus of the Meithei Royalty. In Loi, Naga and Kei villages "the *Pakhan-lakpa* (*lakpa* of the young unmarried men) is the man who looked after the young men's club, for the custom of keeping the young men in one dormitory is known to have been at no distant date common among the Loi communities." In a note on the word *Pakhanval* referred to in the story of Khamba and Thoibi, Hodson remarks "The Pakhanval or Bachelors' Hall, is an institution of very great importance in the Hill villages, and there is reason to believe that in early times it existed in Manipur." But he does not clearly mention whether the institution existed among the Manipris or only among the hill tribes. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, pp. 60-61, 67, 145 and 153.)

This is a common institution in Assam. (Smith—*Ao Naga Tribe of Assam* pp. 124-128.) In Manipur it is found among the Kabuis, Chirus, Tikhups and Marrings at present. It formerly existed among the Thadous, Koms, Koirengs and Rontes.

[8] Shakespeare also refers to this custom of the Purums. (Shakespeare—*Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 152.). A similar custom is also found among the Haokips and Lamgangs. The Bachelor's House was in existence among the Jonga Koirengs a few years back but at present they practise the Purum custom. The Koms of Kairap told the writer that they also practised this custom in the past but have given it up at present. (Unpublished data collected by the author.) The Lakhers also have this custom and sexual intercourse with the girl in whose house they pass the night is not un-

PLATE XIV

Purum Fishing Traps.

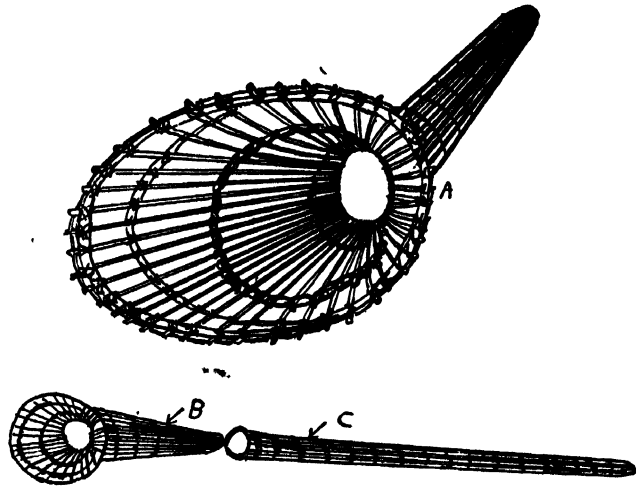


Fig. 49 (A) Lobster-pot (*Rupi*) showing the mouth.

Fig. 49 (B) & (C) Lobster-pot showing the two parts.

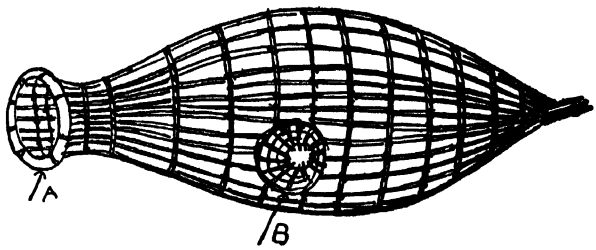


Fig. 50. Automatic fish-trap (*Kapouru*)

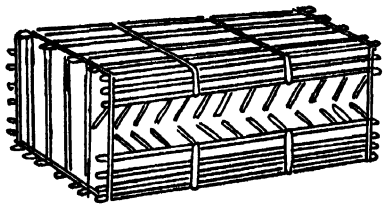


Fig. 51. Automatic fish-trap (*Taichep*).

may be sheltered—the purpose of such an arrangement is perhaps to provide an opportunity for love-making and final selection for marriage. Our informants assert that cases of lapse in morality, owing to this peculiar type of housing, are rare and the boys and girls are on an average careful about their sex life. But it is observed that when a boy is found to have transgressed the laws of morality he is fined a pig and a pot of *zu*. If marriage be possible they are united and the matter ends there, though in the opposite case no stigma attaches to the girl who is in due course married as a virgin to some other suitable bridegroom. But when a girl becomes pregnant owing to such lapse each of the party is fined a pig and a pot of *zu* and later on married, if allowed by the social laws. Otherwise they separate and the girl can no longer be married as a virgin. In such cases the father of the girl is deprived of his *yaun-gimba*, but receives a pot of *zu* only from the future son-in-law. The child born of this irregular union receives the clan of its father (?) and later on its marital relations are guided by his sib. Father here most probably means the begetter. Such a child remains with its mother for three years after which it goes over to its begetter.

---

usual. It does not however constitute an offence. (Parry—*Lakhers*, pp. 74-75, 247-248.) The Ronte and the Tarau young men also sleep in the houses of persons having unmarried young girls. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 173). Among the Rangte an unmarried youngman sleeps in the house of the girl he likes best, while the Paihte or Vuite accommodate the unmarried youngmen in the front verandah of persons of importance. The facts unmistakably point to the former existence of the institution of bachelors' house among the Kukis which has degenerated into its present form. Prof. Hutton's hypothesis that the bachelors' house organisation is not a genuine Kuki institution but that of the Nagas from whom the former have borrowed it, cannot be accepted without further evidence. (Hutton in Fn. 1, to p. 70 of Shaw's *Notes on Thadou Kukis.*)

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

The great French savant Emile Durkheim characterizes religion as " a more or less complex system of myths, dogmas, rites and ceremonies " and advises us to study " the various elementary phenomena of which all religions are made up, before we attack the system produced by their union." To him " Religious phenomena are naturally arranged in two fundamental categories: beliefs and rites. The first are states of opinion, and consists in representations; the second are determined modes of action. Between these two classes of facts there is all the difference which separates thought from action."[1]

The field anthropologist is confronted with the most difficult part of his work when he attempts to elucidate the religious life of a primitive people. He treads on uncertain grounds. Traits of material culture are mostly matters of direct observation: social life lends itself easily to the various technical methods employed by the field-worker for analysis; but not so religion. Primitive man is pre-eminently shy to lay bare his religious life; he is afraid of divulging his cherished secrets; he is not sure what attitude his deities and spirits will assume when their nature and methods of worship are described to a foreigner —a non-believer. The latter's inquisitiveness may not be welcome to them, may even lead to positive displeasure, when the poor informant will suffer for his indiscretion. Naturally he becomes reticent whenever questions relating to his religious lore are asked. Moreover the anthropological enquirer is not looked upon with favour always and everywhere; inspite of his frantic attempts to gain their confidence he is not always trusted especially in matters concerning public weal and woe. The primitive informant is subjected to a double set of checks: he is, at the first instance, concerned with his personal health and happiness and next with public safety. Possibly he jeopardizes both and so public opinion forces him to close his mouth

1 Emile Durkheim—*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.* Trans. by S. W. Swain, p. 36.

when he may be more or less inclined to risk his personal safety either out of confidence in the foreigner or in exchange of worldly effects. Besides these, there is the other side of the question. The foreigner, in primitive psychology, is endowed with some kind of ' mana ' or some magico-religious powers. Who knows whether they will not cause harm to the people? Thus the primitive informant is subjected to three sets of deterrent influences namely (*a*) he is afraid of the wrath of his gods and spirits, (*b*) he is obstructed by the members of his socio-economic group and lastly (*c*) he has to take cognisance of the ' mana ' of the enquirer. It is doubtful how far he can absolve himself from these considerations when he speaks of his religion to a foreigner. In addition to these, there are other difficulties towards a right and clear perception of the core of the religion of a primitive tribe. These difficulties are concerned with the individual limitations of the enquirer and of the informant. Usually there is a gulf of difference between the field-worker and his subjects as regards their respective mental horizon; one finds it difficult to understand the other. Unless the anthropologist can bring himself down to the level of his informants he cannot possibly follow the trend of their thoughts and arguments; their logic seems to be out of gear and their ideas incoherent. On the other hand the primitive informant also cannot comprehend the mental processes of the anthropologist. The latter is too high for him. Thus, if each pursues his own path the gap increases making it impossible for each to comprehend the other. In this predicament it is, of course, the duty of the anthropologist to make attempts to bring himself down to the level of his informants and thereby make himself fit to follow their mental processes.

Inspite of difficulties, the anthropologists have tried to analyse and explain primitive religion with considerable success. In the present attempt we have not approached the subject directly, especially that part of it which relates to the beliefs. In this case the difficulty has been further multiplied by our limitations on the knowledge of their language. To investigate primitive religious beliefs with limited knowledge of their language is to court failure. The beliefs of a foreign culture —especially those pertaining to religion—are always elusive. One can hardly understand them in their entirety. Partial comprehension often deforms them in such a way as to give

rise to contradictions which are at last attributed to the so-called alogical character of primitive mentality. Owing to these difficulties we made an attempt to approach this subject through the concrete, that is, their practices. Whatever we may speak of hereafter about the religious beliefs of the Purums are mostly deductions from the rites and ceremonies performed by them on different occasions—economic, social, religious or magico-medical.

Purum religion, like other religions, is composed of a number of beliefs and practices. These beliefs mostly relate to the nature of the supernatural beings, the ideas regarding the soul and the other world, interpretation of physical phenomena and other questions of similar nature. The religious beliefs and practices of the Purums show undeniable traces of loans from their Hindu neighbours. Some of them are of recent introduction and have not yet fully become assimilated into their culture while others are of comparatively ancient date and these have been thoroughly adapted to the pattern of their culture. Besides these there is a core which we may, at this stage, regard as purely Purum in origin. Of these three sets of traits the first has been drawn from the Hindus. Thus, there are the Hindu gods, Krishoa (Krishna), Mahadeo, Aram (Rama), Durga, Kali, Yama and others. Though they are regarded as deities yet most of them are not actually worshipped. Krishoa (Krishnà) is spoken of as the highest god but there is no rite associated with him. He is a direct loan from the Hindus through the Vaishnavite Meitheis and not of much ancient date. But Senamahi, the clan-god, is an important deity among the Purums who seems to have been adopted at a much earlier date either from the Meitheis or from some other people from whom the Meitheis also borrowed this deity. On the other hand, Nungchungba is a pure Purum deity who occupies perhaps the most important position in the socio-economic life of the village. Of these three classes of deities we shall deal with the second and third groups together at the beginning.

Nungchungba

Nungchungba [2] seems to be the most important deity of the Purums. He is sometimes spoken of as the tutelary deity

[2] According to Shakespeare (*Lushei Kuki Clans*. p. 159) the Chothes (Chawte of Shakespeare) have a deity called "Nungchongba." This deity

of the village but this is not always borne out by facts. He has his place just outside the village at the *laman* (Plate VI Fig. 21). The *laman* is a place set apart at the establishment of a new village at one of its ends. The *ruishang* (council house) of the village is not generally far from this place. In the *laman* on a raised earthen platform a big monolith is erected with a flat slab of stone placed in front. This is known as the *nungshuk* and it is regarded as the seat of the god Nungchungba. A few feet from this there is another menhir with a table-stone in front but both much smaller than the former ones. At Changninglong, we were told, that the latter also is equally the seat of Nungchungba.

Nungchungba is annually worshipped twice—once in the month of Phairel (Feb-March) and again in Kalel (May-June). The Phairel worship is connected with the clearing of the *jhum* while the Kalel festival is associated with the sowing of paddy in the *jhum* fields. Thus, two of the important agricultural functions of the Purums are sponsored with the worship of Nungchungba annually in every village. The worship of Nungchungba may be analysed into three component parts—(*a*) the egg-divination, (*b*) the *laiba* addressed to the ancestors of the *khunjahanba* and of his siblings and (*c*) the music, dancing and drinking which continue for seven days and form the most important feature of the programme. None of these, however, show any direct connection with the deity in question except the last one, which, if taken as a means of worship, justifies the name given to the rite. No offering, however, is made to him, no animal is sacrificed and no prayer is addressed to Nungchungba on these occasions. Thus the worship of Nungchungba, performed with dancing, drinking and music (both vocal and instrumental), shows that it is more a festival than a religious rite. But at Changninglong we were told that there

has a dwelling place "which consisted of three small stones, with a fourth one placed on the top" situated on an oval level place just outside the village. This place may be compared with the *Laman* of the Purums. The Chothes hold an annual festival of dancing and singing before this deity after the harvest and sacrifice a bull once in three years.

The Manipuris have a deity called "Nungshaba" or "Noongshaba" who is the Deity of Creation of rocks and stones (*nong*= stone and *shaba*=maker). He was allowed to be served by Brahmins. Shakespeare identifies this deity with *Nungchongba* of the Chothes.—(Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 98.)

were two priests—the *asei* and the *khulpu*—who worship Nungchungba in the village *laman*. The *asei* worships at the *nungshuk* stone while the *khulpu* [3] performs the rite before the smaller menhir. Unfortunately we could not ascertain the nature of this worship. Most probably it consists of a libation of *zu* only but of this we are not quite sure. Khulen the oldest and the biggest village of the Purums and from which Changninglong was formed, does not mention the *asei* and the *khulpu*. There the *khunjahanba* of the village performs the egg-divination at his own house on the first day of the festival and later on comes to the *laman* where he takes his seat near the *nungshuk* and before him the villagers, male and female, old and young, dance and sing. He merely witnesses the performance but does not take part in it. The dance is started by the *khullakpa* of the village at the behest of the *khunjahanba*. It may be noted here that the latter is an officer of lower rank in the village organisation (third in order of precedence) yet he plays the most important part on this occasion. He is also the *pakhanlakpa* or leader of the bachelors of the village. The long period of merry-making associated with this worship shows the intensity of feeling through which the Purums pass during this period. Often it has been urged that protracted periods of dancing, singing and drinking provide in primitive society opportunities for an extra amount of sexual indulgence which, according to the ideas of sympathetic magic prevalent among such communities, ultimately stimulates fertility in nature. But no such idea seems to be current among the Purums at present. The young folk on these two occasions particularly, are definitely forbidden from all kinds of sexual indulgence on pain of sure death from supernatural agencies. Of course, it may be argued that such a prohibition is the effect of contact with Hindu ideas of prudery to which they have been subjected for a considerable time. But on the other side, it may also be asked why the same influence has not pro-

[3] We do not find this officer mentioned by any other village. Shakespeare derives the word from *khul*=village and *pu*=protector and identifies him with the *thempu*. According to him the *khulpu* "officiates for the whole village, and by his skill in sacrificing protects the village from the devils." *Khulpu* is also a title of the *luplakpa* of Tangkhul villages and in the opinion of Hodson means "ancestor of the village." Chiru, Aimol and other tribes also have this officer. (Hodson—*The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 79, 80 and also Footnote 2 by J. Shakespeare).

duced a similar condition in other areas, as for example, in Chota Nagpur, where the tribal people have come in equal, if not more, intimate contact with the Hindus.

The worship of Nungchungba, in the true sense of the term, is however met with at the house-entrance rite. When a man formally and ceremonially enters a newly constructed living-house the *thempu* (priest) or the oldest man of the place offers a *chunga* (bamboo section with a node at the bottom intact) of *zu* to Nungchungba by pouring it on the centre of the floor (See *ante*, p. 50) with a prayer to the god. This couplet is a real prayer in which the invocatory spirit can be easily recognised. There is no trace of magic in it. Nungchungba is addressed as '*apu*'—a term which indicates quite a large number of relatives of whom the father's father is the most important one. We have already seen that it is a term of honour and endearment and as such shows the feelings of the Purums towards this deity. The offering made is *zu* which may be regarded as substitute for all other kinds of offerings just like water among the Hindus.

The festive character of the worship of Nungchungba in Phairel (Feb-March) and Kalel (May-June) is further demonsstrated by the tests of strength and dexterity which are held on these occasions and of which we got a graphic description at Changninglong. In the *laman* of that village we were shown a long bamboo pole fixed in the ground with a flag at the top. It is called *mul*. At the time of the annual worship of Nungchungba a *chunga* of *zu* is hung from this pole at a considerable height and the young men are asked to bring it down. He who succeeds, gets the *zu*. This is a source of great fun to the village youngsters who readily take part in this competition. In fact they eagerly wait for this occasion to show their strength and cleverness. The clumsy climber evokes peals of laughter from the onlookers and try to hide behind the gathering till the discomfiture of the next aspirant diverts the attention of the assembled public from him. There is another test with a large pebble. The young men are required to throw it one by one. He who throws at the longest distance is rewarded with a *chunga* of *zu*. But in return he has to give a jar of *zu* to the village elders. The bamboo-pole referred to above is usually changed on every occasion of worship and it may be used as fuel on the spot to cook food but cannot be

taken home by anybody, and used in the same or any other way.

Success in these feats of strength and cleverness attracts the attention of the village damsels too, who, perchance, are influenced in the bestowal of their favours by this. This is the talk of the village for a long time around the hearth when past incidents of similar nature are recounted by the older folk. The parents describe in glowing terms the successful feats of their sons with pride and pleasure beaming on their face. In fact, these two occasions transform the drab monotonous existence of the Purums into one of extreme joy and pleasure for which they wait with eagerness for months together and of which they talk about for a considerable time. These two occasions are the two important landmarks in the annual life of the village.

Lamhel

Lamhel is a spirit who seems to be connected primarily with the jungle round about the village where *jhum* fields are prepared.[4] When a man wants to prepare a new *jhum* he puts a mark on a prominent tree of the place which appears to him suitable for this purpose. His selection, in the first stage, depends on the agricultural suitability of the spot but the final selection is left to a divinatory dream. Supernatural assent must be secured before a new plot of jungle land is brought under cultivation. The soil of the field may be quite desirable and the position of the plot may be very convenient but these considerations do not weigh with the Purum householder until he receives the supernatural sanction. They only count when Lamhel has given indication of his approval of the action in a dream. A false step in this matter may lead to serious results in the form of disease in the family which even may ultimately cause the death of one or more members. So the Purums have not left it to mere chance but have evolved a dream-technique to find out the spiritual will. The nature and form of these dreams follow a traditional pattern. Lamhel is believed to appear in dream to the householder and either mixes with him on friendly terms or quarrels or even fights with him. In the

4 *Cf.* Lamlais of the Manipuris who are gods of the countryside shading into nature-gods. They control rainfall. (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 96.)

last two cases the plot is abandoned forthwith as the spirit has shown his displeasure and a new plot is selected and submitted to the same test. Cases are not infrequent when a person has to give up plot after plot as a result of this belief. It can be easily imagined with what amount of mental worry the Purum farmer awaits the expression of spiritual will at the very beginning of his agricultural activities. We may also gauge his sufferings when his selection is set at naught by Lamhel. The only silver lining to this dark cloud is that this sanction is only necessary when a new plot of jungle-land is to be brought under cultivation or an abandoned plot is to be renewed. The plots which have been cultivated in the preceding season need not pass through this test. This is only one of the many instances where the irrational holds sway over rational considerations in the exigencies of Purum life.

Lamhel is sometimes associated with his wife Sarui and called Sarui-Lamhel and characterised as mischief-makers who are driven out of the house with proper magical rites.

Lamtaiba

Lamtaiba also appears to be another jungle spirit. He is worshipped annually once in the month of Inga (June-July) when weeding of *jhum* fields begins. The place of worship is situated in the forest towards the north of the village. On the appointed day the seven village officers only go to this place and sacrifice a pig to this spirit for the general welfare of the village. The *khullakpa* officiates as priest. The expenses of this worship are met by the whole village. The ordinary villagers, male or famale, are not allowed to attend this worship. The worship of Lamtaiba was taken up by the Purums at the suggestion of two mythical persons Angte and Angsu, who went to the forest and never came back. It is believed that they turned into spirits. We could not find out what relation they had with Lamtaiba. This sacrifice also might have some connection with the agricultural function but our informants did not positively make a statement to this effect.

Sabuhong

Sabuhong is another deity who is also connected with agriculture. He is spoken of as the presiding deity over the crops

and our informants told that this deity has the same function as Lakshmi of the Hindus and Phaumikauba [5] of the Manipuris. In the month of Mera (October-November) the paddy stalks all appear and in some upland fields of the early crop they even ripen. At this time the Purums exhort the grains to come to their fields in a magico-religious ceremony. Shakespeare refers to this ceremony as Shanghong and characterises it as a feast.[6] Our informants have associated this magico-religious rite with the name of Sabuhong but there is no ground to justify this connection. An examination of the performances on this occasion will clearly indicate the position of Sabuhong. On a particular day of the month of Mera (October-November), fixed beforehand by the elders, each village officer (*phaumnaiba*) goes to his respective *jhum* field and collects a bundle of paddy leaves and brings it back to his house. He next hangs it up on the *chhatra* post (See *ante*, p. 47) of his house and recites a *laiba* (prayer or incantation?) in which he exhorts the paddy grains to come to the *jhum* fields of his village (see p. 221) from all directions and from all tribes and villages and even persons. With this he blows air from his mouth on the bundle. This completes the ritual part and we do not find any trace of an offering, prayer or sacrifice to Sabuhong who is not even mentioned by name in the *laiba* (prayer or incantation?). This, perhaps, indicates that the concept of a corn-deity, in imitation of the Hindus, or more directly, of the Meitheis, has been superimposed on an ancient magical rite to multiply the fruits of the field. The magical character of the rite is further demonstrated by the blowing from the mouth and the general commanding tone of the *laiba* though in the last three lines there is a little softening with a lure of food and drink for the grains. The rite is performed by the village officers individually for the common welfare of the village and all works in the fields are tabooed on this day. The villagers dance and sing and drink at the expense of the village officers on this occasion.

5 This name was mentioned by the Purum informants but neither Shakespeare nor Hodson refers to this name. In the opinion of Shakespeare, among the Manipuris, "the special Lai of rice is called Phauwoibi." (Shakespeare—The Religion of Manipur, *Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, 1913, p. 445).

6 Shakespeare—*Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 169.

Senamahi

Information on this deity was mainly collected from Khulen and Changninglong. Chumbang appears only once. Tampak has not at all been consulted. The data collected from these sources do not seem to be satisfactory in all respects.

Senamahi appears to be one of the most important deities of the Purums. He is spoken of as the house-god and the sib-god. As house-god he has a particular place set apart for him within the living house of every Purum family. The house-holder offers worship to him at this place whenever necessary. According to the informants from Khulen he may be worshipped at any time for health and prosperity of the family. The *maipa* officiates as priest. The rite is performed before the altar of Senamahi within the house at one of its corners (See *ante*, p. 49). Fowls are sacrificed to the deity by strangling. Generally the householder catches hold of a hen or cock and strangles it to death after the *maipa* has uttered the requisite prayer over the bird. Next the meat of the bird is dressed and cooked and again placed with boiled rice in a plate before the seat of the god, and the *maipa* again utters a prayer. This completes the ritual part of the ceremony. Next this boiled rice and meat are partaken of by those present. The position of the legs of the bird at the time of death indicates the future of the family. If the right leg be placed on the left one, it augurs well. But if the left leg be placed on the right one it forebodes evil for them.

At the time of installation of a village officer Senamahi is worshipped in his house. The following account of the worship at the installation of a *khullakpa* was given by the informants from Khulen. A few pieces of cooked meat of the pig killed on this occasion together with a quantity of vegetable curry are placed at the centre of the *khullakpa's* house. With a new reed pipe (This type of pipe is used for drinking *zu* direct from the jar) he pours a few drops of *zu* on this meat and curry with the following prayer :—

Oh Senamahi ! I have been elected *khullakpa*.
Let me live long and well and
Let the villagers enjoy good health.

Next the oldest man of the village offers in the same way to Senamahi, similar things. He also utters the same

prayer with the necessary alteration. In the case of the installation of the other village officers too the same rite is performed in the very same manner.

Besides his role as house-god, Senamahi also appears as the sib-god of the Purums. This aspect of the deity is more important in Purum life. He is not associated with any particular sib of the Purums but is equally claimed by all the sibs. At present, even he has come to be recognised as the tutelary god of the subsibs. The relation between the deity and the sib or the subsib, as the case may be, does not seem to be one of ancestor and descendants but rather that of protector and the protected. But it does not satisfactorily explain this association He may equally function in this respect as the house-god which reduces his connection with the sib or subsib absolutely unnecessary and redundant.

As the god of the social group he is worshipped by the *pipa* (See *ante*, p. 120). Each subsib has a *pipa* of its own and one them is the *pipa* of the whole sib. In the house of the *pipa* there is a special seat of the god. Shemchao the Kheyang *pipa* of Changninglong (1932) has a small platform at one corner of his house (See *ante*, p. 49) slightly raised above the plinth. A small earthen pot filled up with water is kept on this platform, covered with a basket made of bamboo strips. Every week, on Friday, Shemchao plasters this place with the water of the earthen pot mentioned above and fills it up again with water from the spring or stream from which the villagers draw their water. This is done in the morning. Women or other members of the family may not perform these tasks which the *pipa* alone is required and entitled to do. This water-pot seems either to represent the deity or is his seat only. It could not be definitely settled however.

Every year when the paddy in the *jhum* fields begins to ripen each *pipa* collects a quantity of it and offers it to Senamahi in a small bamboo basket. The paddy is husked and placed before the seat of the god and offered to him with the following prayer :—

Senamahi-o! Uni-o Kuma.
Chanautang-ange
Cheng-pak khut phau-pi-na-o
Napi-sapi-na-o.

PLATE XV.

Purum Weapons of War and Chase

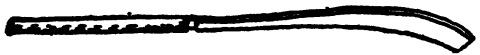


Fig. 59. Chopper (*Cham*).

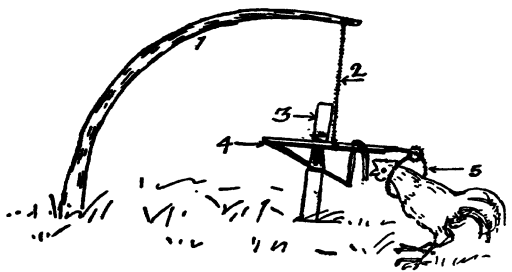


Fig. 53. Bird-snare

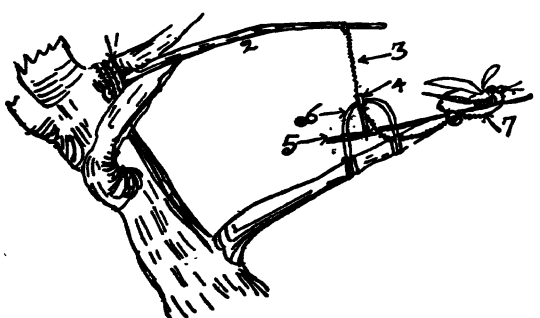


Fig. 52. Bird-snare

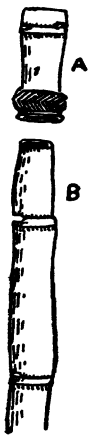


Fig. 55. Quiver

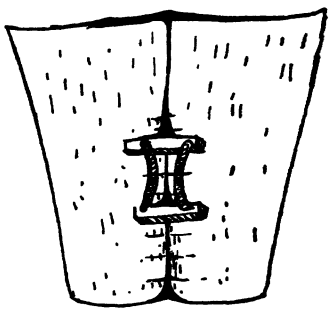


Fig. 56. Shield

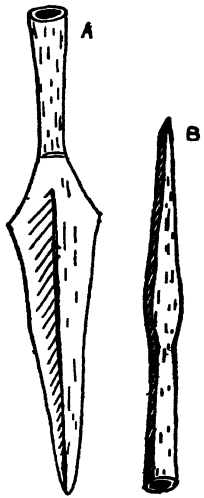


Fig. 57 (A) Spear-head
(B) Butt-end of spear.

Fig. 58. Harpoon.

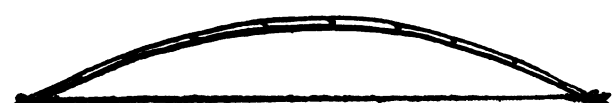


Fig. 54.
Bow (*Phal*).

Freely translated it runs thus :—

> Oh Senamahi! From to-day we wish to eat new rice.
> Do not accuse us of not informing you.
> Let us not be attacked with diseases.

This rice is next cooked by the wife of the *pipa* and all the members of his household partake of it. Henceforth the other members of the subsib are free to offer the new rice of their fields to Senamahi. Each ordinary member of the subsib collects a quantity of paddy from his *jhum* field and husks it and takes it to the house of his *pipa* who offers it to Senamahi of his house in the same way as in his own case. Fish is also offered along with this rice. The offerings are next cooked in the house of the *pipa* and eaten by the members of his household as well as by the man who brought the offering. After this the latter is free to proceed with his harvesting operations and may eat the new grains. This rite cannot be performed in the house of the ordinary members of the subsib though each of them, according to Khulen, has a place for Senamahi in his house. Khulen refers to an annual or biennial worship of Senamahi by the *pipa*. The deity must not be kept without worship consecutively for two years. The method of worship is similar to that performed in individual houses. Here also the *maipa* officiates as priest though the performance is held in the house of a *pipa*. This appears to be a departure from the original custom.

The offering of the first fruits of the field is an important socio-religious rite. It shows the links which bind together the different social groups—the sib, the subsib and the household. We have already seen that the office of the *pipa* among the Meitheis is connected with the *salei* or sib and that among the Purums too it was at first associated with the sib. Shemchao says that the eldest male representative of each sib is the proper person to worship Senamahi. But as gradually the sib has been pushed out of its original place by the subsib, the pipaship became associated with it and in this state we find it in all the villages of the Purums. But Khulen, being the biggest and the oldest village of the tribe, is naturally the leader in all cultural movements. New traits naturally originate in this centre at first and is then adopted by the other villages. This perhaps explains the occurrence of

Senamahi as a household deity of each individual family in Khulen with a place set apart for him, in the house just in imitation of what exists in the house of the *pipas*. That the trait is spreading in other villages too is proved by the existence of the seat of Senamahi in the house of Waipu the *khullakpa* of Tampak who is not a *pipa*. Waipu migrated to Tampak from Khulen and must have carried this trait from his original village. The lead of Khulen is surely to be taken up by other villages and it is almost certain that by this time (1945) it has spread in almost all the villages.

Hodson, in his *Meitheis*, refers to Senamahi as the deity who is worshipped by the Raja. If any Rajkumar attempts to worship him it is construed as an attempt to usurp the throne. At least this was the belief a century ago. The Chirouba festival is held in his honour among the Meitheis. But Senamahi who is referred to in the Numit-Kappa is a female deity and is described as the wife of Pakhangba and the mother of the slave of Khowai Nongjengba Piba who shot the sun with his arrow.[7] Dr. Lairen Singh, a Manipuri gentleman of advanced ideas, informed us that this deity is very much feared by the Manipuris. He is regarded as the household deity of the Meitheis.[8] In case of any illness in the family Senamahi is worshipped. Generally he is worshipped on the last Saturday of the month which has five Saturdays. The Brahmin priest officiates in the rite but the householder may also serve as priest. Cooked materials are generally offered to him and at the end of the rite these offerings are partaken of by the members of the family—the residue, if any, being buried under earth in the same room where the deity is worshipped. Dr. Singh told us that the deity is regarded as the resident of the north-western direction.

The worship of Senamahi among the Meitheis on the one hand and the Purums on the other are not isolated facts. They seem to be related. We have already said that there are two

7 Hodson—*op. cit.*, pp. 125-129. Shakespeare definitely points out that Senamahi is a male deity. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, 1913, p. 422.)

8 In 1717-1718 Gharib Nawaz, a Hindu monarch of Manipur "performed some religious ceremonies at the house of God Senamahi, with all his wives and servants, Senamahi being one of the umanglais and to this day the household god of the Manipuris." (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, 1913, p. 413.) To Senamahi the southwest corner of each house is sacred. There a mat and a bamboo section are kept for his use. (*op. cit.*, p. 443.)

alternatives namely that one is derived from the other or both are derived from a common source. The present position of the trait complex shows clearly that the second alternative is more probable.

Panthonglakpa

Panthonglakpa (sometimes pronounced as Panthonglatpa) is another deity whom the Purums worship annually once in the month of Kalel (May-June). Panthong means the ' gate.' The deity who is in charge of the village-gates is called Panthonglakpa. We have already stated that Khulen is situated on a lofty ridge running north-south. On the east and west the slope is very steep. At each end of the village there is a gate and Panthonglakpa is worshipped at both of them on the same day and in the same manner. The oldest *maipa* of the village (in case of Khulen—Angou in 1932) officiates in the worship. A pig is sacrificed at each gate and *zu* is offered to the deity. The expenses of this worship are borne by the villagers together.

Sun and Moon

The sun and the moon are not worshipped by the Purums except on one occasion. When a woman feels labour pain the *maipi* is called to attend. She is generally a woman of the village and of the same tribe with some knowledge of prayers and incantations. She helps in parturition and at the same time performs the magico-religious rites suitable for the occasion. In case of ordinary labour, the *maipi* offers five plantains, three *lather* leaves and a handful of rice to the sun and the moon for easy parturition. The offerings are made with a prayer uttered over the head of the parturient. This prayer seems to be a true invocation and does not show any trace of magical idea. The prayer is addressed to the sun and the moon wherein their aid is invoked for an easy delivery. The offering of plantain and rice reminds us of the common practice of the peoples of the plains of Bengal and Assam which has possibly filtered through the Meitheis to the Purums. The most noteworthy fact in this connection is the appearance of the sun and the moon in the present role. They do not play any part in connection with par-

turition among the Hindus of Manipur valley or outside.[9] Moreover they are not worshipped on any other occasion by the Purums.[10] In the eclipse-story the sun is described as coming to steal the life-giving bark of a tree when she was devoured by a black dog. The sun who is called *Ni* by the Purums is the wife of the moon who is known as *Hla*.[11]

Worship of Stars

Different stars are also worshipped by the Purums both for recovery from diseases as well as for the prosperity of the village. Khong-jom-nupi, Arango and Anango are some of these stars. Arango is placed towards the south from the moon and Anango towards the north. The distance from the moon to both of them is almost equal.

When the village is asleep at dead of night and when there is no noise the *maipa* prays to these stars for the recovery of a diseased person. Some sweets and fruits are also offered to them by the *maipa* in the courtyard of the sick person. Outsiders, however, are not allowed to attend this worship.

Our informants could not clearly state whether they worship the physical stars or the indwelling spirits of them. From the eclipse-story it appears that the sun and the moon are conceived as personal beings, and it is quite possible that the stars also appear to them in the same light.

Evil Spirits and Disease Godlings

Like many other primitive tribes the Purums also attribute disease and death mostly to evil spirits. Death is considered to be natural only when a person dies out of sheer weight of years. In all other cases it is said to be brought about by the

9 Frazer, however, refers to this character of the sun and moon as held by some Indians but he does not mention the area or the name of the group. (Frazer—*Worship of Nature*, Vol. I, p. 607.)

10 At the Loi village named Andro the sun, moon and stars are monthly worshipped with rice-beer, fowls, cakes, eggs and roasted fish. Tha-si-latpa or worship of moon and stars is the name of this rite. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, 1913, p. 445.)

11 The Lakhers also believe that the moon is the husband of the sun. (Parry—*The Lakhers*, p. 492.) For an account of the beliefs regarding the sex of the sun and the moon in Assam and elsewhere see Hutton's notes in Mill's—*The Ao Nagas*, p. 299, Fn. 3, and in Parry's *The Lakhers*, p. 492, Fn. 2.

machinations of evil spirits. Sometimes these evil spirits are offended by omission or commission of acts on the part of the poor villagers but most often they do not require any offence to enrage them. By nature they are mischievous and whenever they find an opportunity they inflict upon the guileless people different kinds of diseases. Besides these evil spirits with a natural propensity to injure the simple folk there is another class of spirits or deities which is not intrinsically of evil nature but sometimes punish their votaries with disease and death when they are offended for any reason. Such deities or spirits are Nungchungba, Senamahi, Lamtaiba and others. Each of them receives annual worship on specified occasions. They are generally connected with the economic life of the people and remain satisfied with the annual sacrifices, offierings and prayers. But if there be any neglect in this worship they also punish their votaries with disease. Naturally they are beneficent to the people and so should not be classed with the evil spirits. They really fall under a quite different category.

The truly evil spirits are a legion in number. It is difficult to name them one by one as it is not known to any one of the tribe. Moreover their number is always increasing. The most prolific source from which the evil spirits have been and are still being derived, is unnatural death. The souls of those persons who die by accident such as falling from trees, drowning under water, or burning in fire are believed to turn into evil spirits. Similarly the souls of those who are killed by wild animals or die in child-birth are transformed into malignant spirits and roam about in the forest.

The different disease-spirits are referred to in the incantation uttered on the occasion of cleaning the house when a person from another village has entered a lying-in-room. Here they are exhorted to leave the house. One of them is Burhu-pinu, who is believed to cause cough and cold. Lai-ok-pinu is also another disease-spirit with undifferentiated function. She is simply believed to cause disease and is not associated with any particular kind of it. Sunghrul-pinu is in charge of all kinds of troubles of the bowels. Oupram, the *thempu* of Chumbang, told us that he lost several of his sons through the activities of this spirit. His account shows that they suffered from cholera. Small-pox is attributed to Lai-thuk-pinu, a powerful member of this host. Lamhel, the jungle deity, al-

ready referred to, is also included among this group along with his wife Sarui. Besides these individual deities, the incantation also mentions several classes. The In-hingchas form a class of supernatural beings which are believed actually to eat raw human flesh. They are similar to the *rakshasas* of the Hindus. The next class is known as Lai-hingchas [12] which eat the gods even. When we asked how the gods could be eaten our informants replied that these supernatural beings behave with the gods in the same way as the *rakshasas* do with human beings. When we pointed out the contradictions involved in this belief they replied that they did not know anything beyond this. The two other kinds of spirits which are also ordered to leave the lying-in-room are the spirits of those who have died by falling from trees and those who have breathed their last by drowning. All these spirits —those who are mentioned individually as well as by class—are characterised as mischief-makers and are hence ordered to leave the room then and there. Oupram mentions another disease spirit Lai-yai by name which inflicts upon men a disease which appears in the form of long scars over the body. When a person is attacked by Lai-yai he succumbs within a very short time. Women dying in childbirth turn into very dangerous evil spirits which roam over the forest and catch hold of any pregnant woman who may happen to pass through the forest alone. They are so much feared that no man or woman except the *maipas* and the husband, would venture to look upon the corpse of such a woman. Even the villagers remain within doors till the corpse is disposed of. No pregnant woman would enter such a house for five days though in practice they shun this dwelling for many more days. The child also turns into an equally dangerous evil spirit.

Besides these evil spirits which cause disease and death, there are, according to some informants, two other spirits, one connected with forest and the other with water which are also of similar nature. The former is known as Haihru. When a man falls ill in the forest, this spirit is worshipped outside the boundary of the village and on that side of it towards which the man proceeded in order to enter into the forest. A chicken is offered

12 *Cf.* Hingchabi meaning "witch" according to Shakespeare. (*Hing* = alive, *cha* = eat.) *Folklore*, Vol. XXI, p. 82. They were originally seven but have increased. They are not ordinary witches but correspond to the Khawhring of the Lushais. (*Folklore*, XXIV, pp. 451-452.)

to Haihru, and instead of killing it the bird is let loose at the place of worship and driven towards the forest. It is believed that Haihru will release the soul of the suffering man in lieu of this chicken. A string is next laid between the place of worship and the house of the diseased man so that his soul, when let off by Haihru, may easily find its way to the house by following the string. Besides the chicken seven vessels of *zu* are also offered to the spirit on this occasion. All persons may attend this worship. Our informants could not say whether this deity was a male or female one.

The spirit connected with water is called Irai-ningthau. His wife is known as Irai-leima.[13] Both these terms smack of Meithei. *Ningthau* is the term for chief or king, so Irai-ningthau may be translated as king or chief of water. When a person falls ill immediately after bathing in a spring, pool or stream it is believed that the water-spirit has caught hold of him. Naturally arrangements are made to satisfy him. If possible, the worship is performed near the place where he has been attacked, if not, by the side of any spring, pool or stream. The *maipa* officiates in the performance. Two eggs and seven bamboo vessels filled up with rice-paste are offered to the spirit.

When a man falls ill after bathing in water, the water-spirit is first worshipped in the manner indicated above but if this does not cure the patient the forest-deity is worshipped. But when a man falls ill after visiting a forest, first Haihru is worshipped and if it fails then the water-spirit. One set of infromants claimed that these two deities—Haihru and Irai-ningthau—are responsible for all kinds of diseases and they are only worshipped for recovery from them. Apparently, this claim cannot be maintained in the face of what we have already described.

Besides these occasional worships of the water-spirit, Irai-ningthau and Irai-leima are annually worshipped twice by the whole village with similar offerings near the source of water-supply of the village. All persons may attend. The *maipa*

13 Ike Ningthau and Irai Leima are spoken of as deities of the rivers and lakes among the Manipuris (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, p. 430.). Among the Thadous the water spirits are regarded to be very powerful and therefore called Tui-pathen. They are worshipped with sacrifices of a white fowl, a pig, a dog and a he-goat whereas the spirits of rocks and stones as well of trees are only given cocks or hens. (Shakespeare—*The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 201.)

officiates on these occasions too. There is, however, no dancing or singing and no *genna* is observed on these occasions. They are worshipped once in the month of Inga (June-July) and again in Mera (October-November). The rainy season practically begins with Inga (June-July) and ends with Mera (October-November) and possibly these two spirits are connected with the rains too and, as such, indirectly with agriculture. This may account for the annual communal worship of these deities. Had they been mere disease-spirits, they would not have received any annual worship. It is believed, however, that they live in the pools, springs and streams from which the Purums draw water for cooking, washing and drinking. This naturally causes some annoyance to the deities, so they may be annualy worshipped. Thus a second ground for the annual worships is provided. But this does not satisfactorily explain the time of the annual worships which points to a more intimate relation with the rainy season. When we asked our informants how a single pair of spirits could live at different places at the same time they could not give a satisfactory reply. They did not, however, claim that these spirits have the power of omnipresence. Moreover they also did not agree that different pairs of water-spirits live in different places.

The spirits of the four directions of the compass are also believed to cause disease and death and are worshipped on occasions. They are :

(*a*) Nongpok-haihru, the spirit of the eastern direction,
(*b*) Nong-chuk-haihru, the spirit of the western direction,
(*c*) Awang-haihru, the spirit of the northern direction, and
(*d*) Wangbarel, the spirit of the southern direction.[13a]

When a man falls ill and one of these spirits is suspected to have kept his soul confined, the *maipa* prays to him to set it free. No food-offering is made and no animal is sacrificed on such occasions. The first part of the first three names is evidently taken from Meithei. (Nongchuk being the same as Nongchup of Meithei—Hodson—*Meithei*, p. 160.) The second part of the names of the first three spirits mentioned above possibly indicates that the spirits connected with the different directions of the compass are primarily forest deities who have been put

13a *Cf.* Wangpurel of the Meitheis. (Hodson—Meitheis, p. 98.)

in charge of paricular directions.[14] In fact, even at present. with the exception of Tampak, all the other villages of the Purums are situated in the midst of jungles and as soon as a man passes out of the village boundary he moves through the jungle. So it is not strange that the deities of at least three different directions are spoken of as jungle-spirits. Lamhel. who appears in dreams when a person selects a new plot of *jhum* land, is also a jungle-deity who causes diseases and death when angry. Lamtaiba, who is annually worshipped outside the village, also appears to be another jungle-spirit. Is there any relation between these different jungle-spirits, *viz.*, Haihru, spirits of the four directions, Lamhel and Lamtaiba? Though each of them has been spoken of as an individual spirit yet there are grounds to believe that they rather indicate classes instead of individuals. The same question which appeared in connection with the water-spirits also arises here and when we made enquiries on this point we were given the same reply.

Loans from Hindu Pantheon

At the beginning of this chapter, we have pointed out that the Purums have adopted a few of the Hindu deities from the plains of Manipur. The Manipuris, at present, are staunch Vaishnavas and worship Vishnu in the form of Krishna. The high caste Manipuris are very orthodox and strict in their devotion to this deity. They observe with great precision all the festivals connected with Krishna and many of them have temples of this god in their own houses where they daily worship the deity. Hinduism became the official religion of Manipur State in the reign of Pamheiba at the beginning of the 18th century [15]

[14] Among the Manipuris there are eight Magei-Ngakpa i.e., watchers of directions. "These are Khobru, the guardian of the North, Wangpurel, the guardian of the South, Nongpuk Ningthau Chief of the East, and Hang-goi Ningthau who guards the West." Marjing and Chingkei reside in the north-east, and Thangjing and his son Santhong live in the south-west. These eight gods are believed to have special protective powers over tracts of country, for which reason they are sometimes known as Lamlai or gods of the countryside. "In old times, these eight gods used to be worshipped annually on behalf of the Raja which kept the country free from disease." (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 423-424.)

[15] Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 47. According to the Manipur chronicles in 1704-5 Muni Goshami came from Assam with twenty-two companions and converted King Corairongba with his court into Hinduism. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, p. 418.) McCulloch also informs us

and during the long rule of Chandrakirti Singh it became firmly consolidated and recovered from the loss sustained during the Burmese occupation. It has, since then, advanced with rapid strides and has even influenced the surrounding tribal peoples who occupy the hills around the valley of Manipur. Hodson, in 1908, remarks that " The adherence of the people to the Vaishnavite doctrines which originated in Bengal, is maintained by constant intercourse with the leaders of that community at Nadia." [16] Even at present streams of pilgrims from the most interior parts of Manipur visit every year the sacred *tirthas* (holy places) at Nadia and Brindaban and thus renew the connection established long ago. The earnestness of these pilgrims is examplary. Absence of money does not deter them from undertaking a long journey for visiting these places—they literally earn their way to them. On one occasion the author met a group of six or seven of them at Amingaon Railway Station on the Bengal-Assam Railway. The party started from a village in the valley but had not sufficient money to pay their railway fare to their destination. So they began to earn their ' passage money ' by dancing and singing *kirtan* songs in the houses of the well-to-do Hindus on their way on payment of a fee. Thus they had come to Amingaon a distance of about 250 miles from their home in about two months. Though Vaishnavism is the prevailing faith of the Manipuris yet temples of Durga are found in certain villages.[17] Dr. Lairen Singh told us that a thin veneer of Saivism is found throughout the valley and possibly dates earlier than Vaishnavism. This is also confirmed by our study of the Purums among whom we meet with both Vaishnavite and Saivite deities.

Shakespeare in his *Lushei-Kuki Clans* (1912) writes : " Pathian is universally recognised as the creator who lives in the sky " (p. 157). The Anal and Kolhen call him as Pathel while

that Hinduism began to spread in Manipur a short time before Pamheiba or Gureeb Nawaz who ascended the throne after killing his adoptive father king Curai Romba. Through the efforts of Gureeb Nawaz and his successors Hinduism was established among the people of Manipur though they did not altogether give up their old religion. (McCulloch—*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., pp. 6 and 17).

16 Hodson—*op. cit.*, pp. 95 and 96.

17 An image of Kali was set up in a tank excavated, in 1725-26 and it was recovered when the tank was drained in 1906. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, p. 415.)

the Kom refers to him as Patheng. We found him as the chief deity of the Chirus in 1936. But among the Purums he was only once referred to as the highest god by the informants from Khulen in 1932. But the same group of informants on the very same occasion spoke of Krishoa (Krishna) as the highest god of the Purums. They were not in the least puzzled when the anomaly was pointed out to them. In 1936, we found that Krishoa had practically driven Pathian out of the stage and ruled supreme.

Though Krishoa is regarded as the highest deity he is not actually worshipped on any occasion with offerings and sacrifices. There is no annual worship for him. When a person falls into any kind of difficulty either in the jungle or in the *jhum* or even at home he prays to Krishoa for relief. There is no fixed formula for this prayer—it is a spontaneous invocation. He also salutes the deity with joined palms just like a Hindu. Among the Chirus, Pathian also is treated in almost the same manner. Shakespeare does not mention any elaborate process of worship of Pathian by the Purums. Possibly the Purums then treated Pathian in the same manner as the Chirus now do. Krishoa, on supplanting Pathian is meeting with the same treatment which the latter used to receive from his votaries not long ago. This is neither strange nor unique as the highest god in many of the tribes of Eastern India is not actually worshipped with offerings and sacrifices but is on most occasions only prayed to.[18]

Next to Krishoa is Ram (called Aram). Sometimes this place is given to Mahadev also. Aram is only known by name; he is neither worshipped nor prayed to on any occasion. But Mahadev has a definite function among the Purums. When a woman is not favoured with a child she worships Mahadev in her house. It takes place in the verandah of the living-hut. The *maipa* officiates on this occasion and prays to the god, on behalf of the woman, for children. He salutes the deity by joining the palms as in the worship of Krishoa and offers a bunch of plantain on a plantain leaf. The bunch should have an odd number of fruits, *i.e.*, one in which the last fruit is the *chang* one according to the magico-religious calculation with *chang-shi*. No animal is sacrificed to Mahadev.

18 T. C. Das—Sun worship amongst the aboriginal tribes of Eastern India, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XI, p. 87 etc.

The goddess Durga is worshipped by the whole village at the village gate (Panthong) every year in the month of Phairel (February-March) before the worship of Nungchungba.[19] She is worshipped for the prosperity of the whole village. The *maipa* officiates as priest and a pig is sacrificed to the deity. The cost of this worship is met from subscriptions raised from every family of the village.

Kali the well-known goddess of the plains of Bengal has also found a place in the Purum pantheon. She is worshipped when a person falls ill—whatever the nature of his illness may be. The *maipa* officiates as priest. Hens are sacrificed to this deity and *ngakra* (*Magur* or *Clarius batrachus*) fish are offered. This deity is generally worshipped at night though it may be done during day-time as well.

Yama the ruler of the nether world in the Hindu pantheon is known among the Purums as Chom. He is also worshipped when a person falls ill and constantly dreams of dead men or women. An image of the sick person is made and buried in the grave of the dead man or woman who constantly appears in his dreams with the prayer that the soul of the diseased man may be set free as souls of the dead and of the living should not associate with each other. This prayer is addressed to Chom and completes the rite.

Rahu (spoken of as Arahu) is another deity borrowed from the Hindus. He is worshipped when a man feels headache or pain in the chest. A plantain leaf is spread out on a spot, already plastered with water, within the house, in front of the front-door. On this, boiled rice and curry prepared from *ngakra* (*Magur* or *Clarius batrachus*) fish are placed and offered to the deity by the *maipa* with a prayer that the sick man may be cured. The boiled rice and curry are next given to the patient to eat. Arahu is worshipped on Saturdays only. It is believed that the eclipse is caused by Arahu devouring the sun or the moon as the case may be.

This short account of loans from the Hindu pantheon shows certain interesting features of Purum culture. The wholesale

19 According to Shakespeare Panthoibi, who is the most popular goddess of the Manipuris, is gradually being identified with Durga. In the same way Nongpok Ningthau, one of the great gods of the Manipuris, is being identified with Mahadev. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, p. 438.)

PLATE XVI

Purum Domestic Utensils.

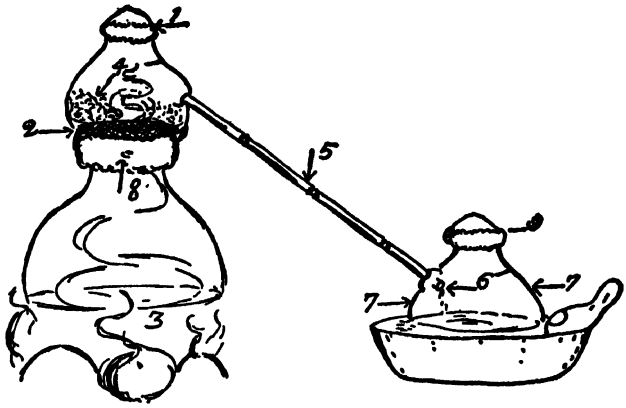


Fig. 60. Purum distillation plant.

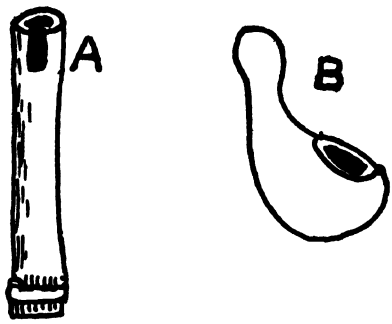


Fig. 61. A. Bamboo drinking vessel. B. Gourd ladle.

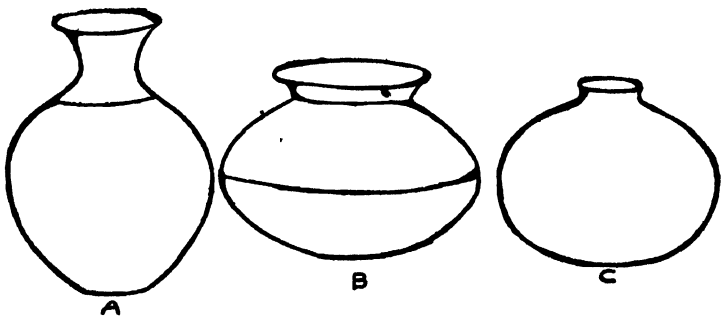


Fig. 62. (A) Earthen Water-pot. (B) Earthen Rice-pot (*Bu-bel*). (C) Earthen pot for keeping water or liquor.

absorption of Durga, as a tribal deity with annual communal worship at the village gate with sacrifice of a pig points to a long connection with this deity. There is no reason to believe that this deity has been adopted from their present neighbours among whom the worship of Durga is practically unknown. The goddess is, however, worshipped with great eclat at Imphal at a distance of about thirty miles from the present habitat of the Purums who rarely visit the State capital. Even if we admit that they have adopted this worship from this centre yet we have to solve the problem of the time of performance. The Purums worship her in Phairel (February-March) while the Imphal performances take place in Langpan (September-October). But on the other hand the same goddess is worshipped in another aspect, viz., that of Basanti, near about Phairel (February-March), in the plains of Bengal though the festivities on this occasion are not of the same magnitude as those during the Langpan (September-October) worship. The time of worship and the nature of assimilation perhaps indicate that the deity was not taken over from the Meitheis. We have seen that the Purums lived at different places on the western bank of Lake Logtak in course of their earlier migration and it is possible that they came in contact with some advance-post of Bengali culture from the District of Cachar from which they have adopted the worship of Durga.[20] This also seems to be the case with Mahadeva, Kali,[21] and Yama who are not worshipped by the Meitheis of the locality. Though none of them is annually worshipped yet their association with birth (in case of Mahadeva) and diseases shows that they are on the fair way to complete assimilation. Krishoa and Aram are

20 Hodson refers to the existence of a temple of Durga at Hiyangthang about six miles towards the south from Imphal on the road to Suganu *via* Mayang Imphal. This place is about twenty-five miles from the present habitat of the Purums. Hodson writes that this "is a temple of considerable fame, for here abides the Hindu Goddess Durga who is known to have avenged an insult to her shrine by causing the death of the sacrilegious. In this temple is a rough black stone which . . . was entirely unwrought. This was the *laipham* of the dread Goddess." (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 102) Whether the Purums adopted their worship of Durga from this place is difficult to say in the absence of further details.

21 There are references to the worship of Kali in the early days of conversion of the Meitheis to Hinduism. The Chronicles refer to the building of a temple of Kali in 1708-1709. In 1725-1726 a large tank was excavated and an image of Kali was placed in it. In 1906 this image was recovered from the foot of the consecration post when the tank was drained. (*Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 413-415.)

perhaps more recent accretions directly from the Meitheis and the high position given to them is in consonance with the prevailing faith of the Meitheis of the valley.

Ancestral Spirits

The Purums firmly believe that death does not put an end to the existence of an individual : it merely annihilates the material frame. But the soul continues its independent existence even after death and carries forward its individual consciousness. In the other world such souls lead an independent life almost similar to the one they lead here. Under the influence of Hinduism the nature of the life in the other world is believed to depend, to a certain extent at least, on the merits of the work of the individual in this life. Thus when a man dies, provided he is a good man according to the pattern of their culture, his soul goes straight to the house of his forbears who had been living in the other world for ages and generations. There he joins them—his parents, grand-parents and so on—that is those who have predeceased him. Some of them, of course, are born in the womb of Purum women and pass another span of existence in this world. But most of these souls remain in the *khamnung*. This idea about the soul and after-life may naturally lead to the formulation of a concept of a group of ancestral spirits and this has actually happened. These ancestral spirits are collectively known as *kasha-lai*. The suffix *lai* or god indicates their position in the mind of the Purums. Though these ancestral siprits are not taken into serious consideration at present yet they receive attention both annually and occasionally.[22]

22 Ancestor worship is present among the Lushais. At every feast and sacrifice offerings are made to the spirits of the dead. The first fruits of each crop are also offered to them. Effigies of the dead are also worshipped on certain occasions and taken out in procession. One of the Thangchua feasts is in honour of the dead. The Thadous, on the other hand, do not worship their ancestral spirits. (Shakespeare—*The Lushei-Kuki Clans*, pp. 65, 89, and 201.) The Lakhers also offer food and drink to the spirit of a dead person either in the house or on the grave every day till the erection of the memorial post. Besides this there is an annual ceremony in which the entire village takes part. It is called Laliachia. This is performed in October to induce the ancestors to give them good crops, healthy and fertile animals and good hunting. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 414, 445-46.) Hodson refers to the group of tribal ancestors as one of the four definite orders of spiritual beings of the Manipuris. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 96.)

Every year when Nungchungba is worshipped the *khunja-hanba* divines the future of the village by breaking an egg and examining its contents. He utters a prayer over the egg before he drops it on the ground. This prayer is addressed to his ancestors and also to the ancestors of his siblings who are entreated to give a bountiful crop to the villagers and also to keep them in good health.

Divination with the fowl is an approved means of knowing the future. It is practised on various occasions. Thus when a man falls ill and the particular spirit responsible for it is to be found out, fowl-divination is practised. If even two fowls do not give any indication *kasha-lai* are worshipped, and the process of divination repeated.

At the end of the harvest operations a thanks-giving offering is made to the ancestral spirits by every householder. A pig is killed and its liver, lung, heart and a little of the entrails are cooked and offered to the ancestral spirits at the foot of the *sena-jumphi* post of the house. The *maipa* officiates as priest on this occasion. The offerings thus made are not eaten by the *maipa* or the members of the house. A bamboo *chungya* filled with *zu* is also offered with the aforementioned articles. This worship is known as Apok-pa-hlou.

The most elaborate ceremony in connection with the *kasha-lai* is performed on the occasion of the first hair-cutting ceremony of a boy. It is gone through at the end of the third year of his life. A pig is killed and three pots of *zu* are placed beside it on the verandah. The boy sits before these offerings and the priest prays to the *kasha-lai*. In it he states that the child has become separated from the group of ancestral spirits and so should not be disturbed with dreams. After this prayer, the priest offers a little *zu* to each of the dead ancestors of the boy, naming them one by one as far as possible. Next he clips the hairs of the boy and buries them near a *peepul* (*Ficus religiosa*) tree. On this occasion too he offers a little *zu* to the *kasha-lai* and requests them to leave the child in peace. After this the *maksa* prepares curry from the pig's flesh and the *ningans* make ready the three pots of *zu* by diluting with water. Again the priest offers a little of each of these to the *kasha-lai* naming them one by one as far as possible. The same rite is performed in connection with the girls too but at the end of the third month of their life.

Magic and Divination

Magical ideas, in their true sense, are scarcely met with among the Purums. The concept of an impersonal force influencing human destiny (or course of nature?) can hardly be traced. The weals and woes of man, his disease and death, his food-supply and his happiness in general, are controlled by personal beings—mostly spiritual agencies. The various phenomena of nature—rain and drought, storms and the calm weather, flood etc.,—are also attributed to personal beings. As a result of this pure magic can hardly be found in the rites and ceremonies. There are, of course, a large number of taboos, some of which are magical in nature. The most prominent magical rite connected with their economic life is the Shanghong which is performed in the month of Mera (October-November). Though it is claimed that Sabuhong the corn-deity is worshipped on this occasion yet the *laiba* shows that it is an ancient magical rite. Herein paddy grains are invited to come to the fields of the Purums from all possible places and persons. The *laiba* is not a prayer to any personal being for a bumper crop but it directly tries to coax the grains to come to their fields. There is a ring of compulsion, as it were, in this *laiba* and as far as we could gauge the mental attitude of our informants, we could trace it even there.

Generally speaking spiritual beings are held to be the causes of human weal and woe and so they are propitiated. But there are attempts now and then to force them through magical means. Thus when a man from a different village enters unaware into a lying-in-room, the place has to be ceremonially cleansed or rather made safe. On this occasion the different kinds of spirits which might possibly have entered into the house in the wake of the foreigner are forced to leave the place with the help of a *laiba* (prayer or incantation) in which their names are categorically mentioned and they are ordered to go out of the house. It can easily be imagined that the Purum *maipi* does not believe that her order will be carried out by the disease spirits out of respect for her. She does not employ any supernatural personal being of greater strength to carry out this task. But she entirely relies on the force of the words recited on this occasion. In the same way the evil spirit responsible for the death of a woman in child-birth is driven out of the house by the *maipi* with a *laiba* (prayer or incantation) wherein also we

find this dependence on the power of words. Besides these *laibas* we also find certain articles used as prophylactics against the spiritual agencies. Water sprinkled with *tairem* leaves is thought to be efficacious against spiritual intervention. The smoke of *leikhum* and *khoichu* leaves (sometimes *tairem* leaves too) are employed to drive away the evil spirits and protect persons who have come in contact with them. Fire is touched by persons who carry a dead body for disposal, on their return, and before they enter the house or sometimes even the village. These incantations and articles used to control the evil spirits ultimately depend for their efficacy on some inherent power in them. It is firmly believed that this power guides and controls the different kinds of evil spirits independent of any personal agency. This concept of an inherent power seems to be magical in origin.

We also met with an instance of what Frazer calls imitative magic among the Purums in connection with the worship of Chom. When a sick person constantly sees in dream a dead person an image of the former is made and buried in the grave of the dead person with a prayer to Chom for stopping such association between the living and the dead.

The relation between a child and the after-birth is also of a magical nature. The latter is carefully buried in a corner of the house so that it may not be disturbed or eaten by any animal or insect. If it be injured in any way by animals or insects it is believed that the child begins to cry and ultimately succumbs. This seems to be an instance of contagious magic, according to Frazer.

Divination

To know what is hidden in the womb of future is almost a passion with the Purums. Almost all their social, religious, economic and curative activities are characterised by an intense will to know in advance what will be the effects of their performances. The more important functions in connection with the production of paddy—the staple food of the people—are accompanied by divinatory processes. The final selection of a *jhum* site is left to a dream which is divinatory in spirit. At the beginning of clearing a *jhum* site in Phairel (February-March) as well as sowing in Kalel (May-June) the future of the village is divined by breaking eggs. Soon after the birth of a child, on the second or third day, the Purums try to learn the future

of the child by means of fowl-divination. His or her name also depends on a similar ceremony performed with grains of rice in some villages and with a special kind of bow at others. The selection of a site for the establishment of a village is also dependent on a divinatory rite with eggs. The treatment of diseases is almost always begun with a rite of this nature sometimes to find out the cause of the ailment and sometimes to know whether the patient will at all survive the attack. During the worship of Lamtaiba, the village officers try to learn the future of the village from the position of the legs of the pig offered to the deity. Auspicious or inauspicious dates for the performance of certain rites are found out by a method of calculation which is partly divinatory in nature. Often things offered to deities are also submitted to this test in order to find out whether they will be acceptable to the deities concerned. During the worship of Senamahi in individual houses for the prosperity of the family the position of the legs of the fowl sacrificed to the deity shows the future of the family.

Priests

There is some confusion about the nature of the officiating priests in the different rites and ceremonies of the Purums. We have seen that the accredited village officers of the Purums are all concerned with the secular side of their life. There is no village officer to look after the religious side. There are three classes of peoples who officiate in the rites and ceremonies of the Purums. Some of the communal rites of the Purums are performed by one or other of the village officers. Thus the *khullakpa* officiates as priest in the worship of Lamtaiba while the *khunjahanba* performs the rites in connection with the worship of Nungchungba. The magical rite in connection with the Shanghong-ang is performed individually by all the village officers in their respective houses for the good of the whole village. On all these occasions the performers of these rites act in their capacity of village officers and not in their individual capacity, and all the rites are communal ones.

There is another class of rites wherein the oldest man of the village officiates as priest.[23] He is generally known as the *them-*

23 *Cf.* the *Pitsu* of the Angami Nagas. (Hutton—*The Angami Nagas*, p. 188.) Among the Old Kuki tribes, according to Shakespeare, the priest is known as *thempu*, *khulpu* or *bulropa*.

pu (?). Such a rite is performed on the occasion of entering a newly built house. Chumbang states that the *thempu* also officiates at the first-hair-cutting ceremony when the *kasha-lai* are worshipped. At the name-giving ceremony the *thempu* performs the divinatory rite according to Chumbang but Khulen attributes it to *maipi* who acts as midwife at the parturition of the child. At the end of the disposal of the dead body of a person who has died under ordinary circumstances, the *thempu* cleanses the house in which death has occurred according to Chumbang informants. At the boundary of the village he kindles by sawing method the sacred fire which every one who has taken part in disposing the body of a woman dying in child-birth, must touch and thereby perhaps drives away the evil spirit with which he has come in contact in course of this disposal. But the house of the dead woman is ceremonially cleansed by the *maipi* (the medicine-woman who acts as midwife). The *thempu* also appears as a second officiant in the worship of Senamahi performed on the occasion of the installation of a new village officer. All these rites are performed by the individual for his own sake or for his family. Communal welfare is not connected with any one of these rites.

The individual householder also appears as priest in a few rites performed in his own house.[24] The number of such rites is very small. When a man wants to attain a higher rank among his co-villagers he performs the *thien-hongba genna* in which he officiates as his own priest. At his installation ceremony each village officer officiates personally at the sacrificial rite. The *pipas* who are the heads of sibs or subsibs officiate as priests in connection with the worship of Senamahi on the occasion of offering the first fruits of the fields. They also officiate on behalf of the members of their sib or subsib, as the case may be, when the latter bring the first fruits of their fields to the house of the *pipas* to offer to the same deity. Khulen and

(Shakespeare—*Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 153.) Among the Lushais there is no regular priesthood. The *puthiam* (great knower) who performs the sacrifices is really a magician. Each village has a number of them though one is appointed by the Chief. They charge fees for their work from their clients. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp 80-81.) Among the Thadous the *thempu* is the village priest and magician. He officiates in individual houses as well as in communal rites.

24 The Lakhers have no village priest. Individual householders perform their sacrifices. (Parry- *op. cit.*, p. 246.)

Changninglong agree on this point but the former claims that the *maipa* officiates as priest when Senamahi is worshipped in individual houses, and even when the deity is annually or biennially worshipped in the houses of the *pipas*. Besides these, some of the newly introduced deities such as Krishoa and Aram are also approached individually. But there is no rite in connection with them.

The last but the most important class of officiants are the *maipas*. This term is a corruption of the Meithei word '*maiba*' The *maipa* is pre-eminently the medicine-man and deals with such deities and spirits which are considered to be responsible for causing diseases. He does not officiate in any communal worship except in the case of Durga a loan deity and Panthonglakpa. In the worship of all the deities borrowed from the Hindus the *maipa* officiates as priest. He also officiates in the sacrifices to the deities in charge of diseases such as Irai-Leima, Haihru, the *haihrus* of the four directions, the stars etc.

Means of Worship

The different deities and spirits which are believed to guide and control human destiny in this world are appeased or satisfied in different manners. Food-offerings, animal-sacrifices and prayers are the most common means of worship extant among the Purums. Music and dancing also may be said to appear in this role among them though this trait is not as clear as the other three mentioned above.

Food-offerings consist of both cooked and uncooked food. The first fruits of the field are offered to Senamahi by every householder at the beginning of the harvest season. On this occasion cooked rice and fish are offered to the deity. The meat of sacrificial animals is offered to many of the deities after cooking. *Ngakra* (*magur* or *Clarius batrachus*) fish is a favourite offering to Kali and Arahu. Fruits alone are offered to Mahadeva while sweets and fruits are given to the stars. To Irai-ningthau only eggs are offered.

Besides such cooked offerings of meat, animals are sacrificed to particular deities (e.g. Durga, *kasha-lai*) by severing the head, spearing the heart or by strangling. Often the meat of such animals only is cooked and again offered to the deities concerned. To Haihru, the jungle deity, is offered a chicken which is let off and driven into the jungle. Fowls and pigs are the most com-

mon sacrificial animals; *mithuns* only appear once in connection with the *thienhongba genna* but even there it is not offered to any deity but is only killed to supply meat for the feast.

Prayers are also addressed to a number of deities. They are uttered sometimes in addition to food-offerings and animal sacrifices and sometimes alone. Thus Krishoa and Aram are only prayed to on all occasions of difficulties without additional offerings or sacrifices. This is also the case in connection with the deities of the four directions who are often worshipped for recovery from diseases.

Zu is an important offering which is given to almost all the deities and spirits. Even other things are also conveyed, as it were, to their recipient, with oblations of *zu* (*e.g.*, at the first hair-cutting ceremony).

Myths or Wali

Earthquake

Just as there are men and animals on this world of ours there are similar beings in the underworld. The peoples of this underworld send from time to time a beetle to carry to them some animal-dung. Now, this beetle on returning to the underworld invariably reports that there is no man or animal on this world. All of them have disappeared. On this report the people of the underworld can hardly rely and they try to verify the statement by shaknig the earth which causes earthquake (*lingnu noke*). The animal-dung when carried to the underworld turns into gold and this is how gold originates according to the Purums.[25]

Thunder (*Atek*)

Thunder is caused by firing of guns by the heavenly beings. The lizard says to the heavenly beings that they will not be able

25 *Cf.* the tale given in Shakespeare's *Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p 184. The Lusheis believe it to be caused by the falling off of dung from the edge of the earth when it is being collected and carried by the woodlouse (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 487.) One of the Thadou versions has some resemblance to our story. (Shaw—*Notes on Thadou Kukis*, p. 72.) The Meitheis hold that the earthquake deity shakes the earth from underneath. (Hodson—*op. cit.*, p. 111.)

to shoot right at its tail. So saying it merrily climbs up the trunk of a big tree pointing its tail towards the sky. The gods, enraged at the impudence of this little creature, begin to shoot at the tail of the lizard and this causes thunder.[26] Lightning (*huchambrak*) is caused by the flash of the swords of the heavenly beings who whirl them so that people of this world may know that rain will soon pour down. The Purums think that the lightning is a signal of rain.

Rain

Rain (*ru*) is caused by the God so that all living beings of this earth may have food. It enables human beings to grow grains in their fields. The nature of the rain-giver is not however clearly given.

Rain-bow

Rain-bow (*hojeng-jang*) is said to be a god who has the shape of a pig. When it appears on the sky, it is believed, that this deity is seeking for crabs and eating them when found. The appearance of the rain-bow is believed to indicate that the rain will soon be over.

Eclipse

At one time there was a chief with seven sons. One day the sons went to hunt and killed a deer. The six elder brothers left the deer in charge of the youngest one under a tree and went away for further games. Sometime after a gust of wind caused two leaves of the tree to fall upon the dead deer which at once revived and fled away. In the evening the brothers came back and enquired about the deer. The youngest brother told them what had happened but he was not believed. They thought that the boy had kept it hidden in some place. At this thought they grew very angry and killed the boy and left him under the tree and went home. On their arrival the

26 Shakespeare records a similar story as prevalent among some of the Old Kuki clans. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 184.) The impudence of lizards is also believed to be the cause of thunderbolts among the Lakhers. A similar belief is also found among the Thadous. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 499, and Footnote No. 1 by Hutton.)

father asked about the youngest brother. They replied that they did not know any thing about him. Perhaps he had been eaten by wild animals. The father rebuked them for their neglect. In the meantime again two leaves fell from the tree on the body of the boy owing to a gust of wind and he revived. On this the boy thought that the tree possessed some medicinal properties owing to which both of them revived. So he collected a quantity of its bark and went home. When his father asked what had happened he told everything and the chief asked him to dry the bark in the sun. The sun now came flying and tried to carry away these medicinal barks. On this the chief asked his dog to catch hold of the sun who was however devoured by the black dog. At this the chief prohibited the dog from bringing out the sun by the mouth as that would lead to an incredible increase of men and women on this earth causing lack of food and space. He asked the animal to pass the sun by the rectum which would considerably restrict the growth of human population on this earth. The dog obeyed his master and this is the cause of solar eclipse. The lunar eclipse is also due to the same cause according to them—the moon being the husband of the sun. Hindu influence is noticed in the fact that nowadays this dog has been identified with Arahuketu (*i.e.* Rahu and Ketu) who even now devour the sun and the moon at certain times.[27]

[27] A similar tale is recorded by Shakespeare in connection with the Purums. The Kolhen and the Anal also speak of a dog devouring the sun and the moon at the time of eclipse. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 188.) One of the Lakher versions is very closely similar to our account (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 488-489.) Kabuis, Manipuris and Karens also have, according to Hutton, similar beliefs of a dog devouring the sun. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 489, Footnote No. 2.)

CHAPTER VI

FESTIVALS

The national festivals of the Purums number about four and they are performed in the months of Inga, Mera, Phairel and Kalel. Each of them is connected with the worship of one of the deities who either protects them from natural calamities or helps them with nature's bounties. These are occasions of great festivities when dancing, singing, and drinking of *zu* transform the ordinarily monotonous and drab existence of these poor people into a life full of passion and excitement. During these periods they temporarily forget the privations of life and allow themselves to be carried away on the wings of plenty and surfeit.

Porak-lam-taiba

In days long gone by there were two persons Angte and Angsu who went to the jungle one day and never came back. It is believed that they have become deities. When they entered into the jungle they asked the villagers to worship Lamtaiba in the month of Inga (June-July). At the same time they warned the villagers that if they fail to follow their advice disease and famine will make their life miserable. But if, on the contrary, they worship Lamtaiba they will be immune from all kinds of diseases and will be blessed with bumper crops. From that time onwards they worship Lamtaiba.

Lamtaiba is worshipped in the forest, towards the north of the village, outside its boundary. Only the seven village officers attend, and no other person, male or female, is allowed to be present. The most peculiar point of this rite is that *zu* is not offered at this worship. The offering consists of a male pig which is caught hold of by two of the village officers at the feet while the *khullakpa* holds the neck with his left hand. At the time of sacrificing, the head of the animal is kept pointing towards the village and it is held suspended in the air with its face up. The *khullakpa* now kills the pig with one rubbing of his *dao* (chopper) across the neck. Just after this the animal

PLATE XVII

Pŭrum Domestic Utensils of Wood.

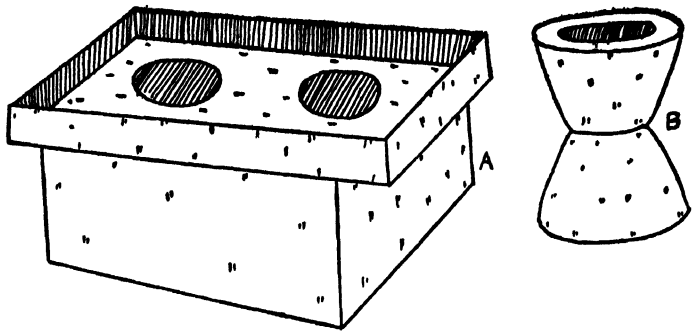
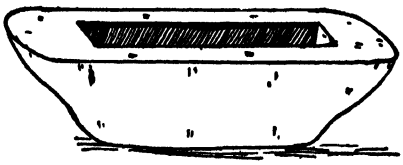


Fig. 63 (A) Double-mortar (B) Single-mortar.



Pig. 64. Wooden trough

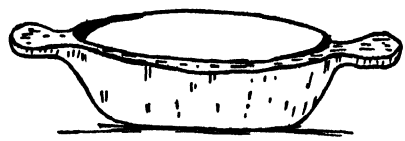


Fig. 65. Wooden vessel (*Heng*).

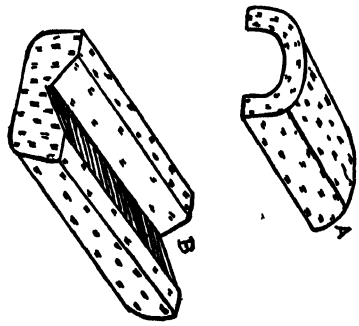


Fig. 66 (A) Wooden seat or head-rest (*Lakhang*)—upper view
(B) Do. lower view.

is dropped on the ground. If at this time it dies with its head pointing towards the village it augurs well for the villagers, any other position being indicative of the approach of famine and diseases. The flesh of the animal is next cooked on the spot and eaten with boiled rice by the performers only who then return to the village at about 11 or 12 noon. They repair to the house of the *khullakpa* first and make up for the temporary abstinence in drinking *zu* by completely giving themselves up to it. This *zu* is provided by the villagers and has been previously collected from every householder by the *changlai* and the *selungba*. This worship does not require any sexual abstinence on the part of its performers. No *genna* is observed on the entrance into or exit from the village. The sacrifice is performed on behalf of the whole village, and takes place at about 7 A.M. in the morning.

During the next three months of Ingel, Thaoal, and Langpan there is no religious rite or festival. Mera (October-November) the fifth month of the year again witnesses another festival sometimes known as Shanghong.[1] This time it is addressed to Sabuhong (Phaumikouba in Manipuri). The worship is performed on a date previously settled by the village officers (or *Phaumnaibas* as they are collectively called. The term seems to be a Manipuri one though the Purums have completely adopted it). On the day of Sabuhong worship each of the *Phaumnaibas* goes to his respective paddy-field and collects some leaves of the paddy plants and hangs them up in a bundle from the *chhatra* post of the house and recites the following *laiba*. This *laiba* is interesting from the standpoint of Purum history. It embodies the history of Purum migration from place to place and points out the people with whom they have affinities. Even the most recent migrations of the tribe are recorded in this chant and annually recited in the different villages. Thus it may be regarded as a somewhat reliable record of their past. The *laiba* runs thus:

(1) *Sang-hong-o* !
(2) *Lungshuk-a sang-hong-o* !
(3) *Chothe-a-sang-hong-o* !

1 Shakespeare also records a feast called 'Shanghong' performed in October when each householder brings a sheaf of the green-rice which is offered to the village god. (Shakespeare—*Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 169.)

(4) *Shorouthil-a sang-hong-o* !
(5) *Langmaiching-a sang-hong-o* !
(6) *Yam-pal-kong-a sang-hong-o* !
(7) *Pallel-a sang-hong-o* !
(8) *Kanshi-a sang-hong-o* !
(9) *Tui-ti-a sang-hong-o* !
(10) *Purum-khulen-a sang-hong-o* !
(11) *Kapi-hao, Kapu-hao, Kapa-hao, sang-hong-o* !
(12) *Sang-nei-ang-e.*
(13) *Mim-nei-ang-e.*
(14) *Zu-pey-ang-e.*
(15) *Ame-pey-ang-e.*
(16) *Asa-pey-ang-e.*

The following is a free rendering of this chant :

(1) Come Pady !
(2) Paddy ! Come from Lungshuk.
(3) Paddy ! Come from Chothe.
(4) Paddy ! Come from Shorouthil.
(5) Paddy ! Come from Langmaiching.
(6) Paddy ! Come from Yam-pal-kong.
(7) Paddy ! Come from Pallel.
(8) Paddy ! Come from Kan-shi.
(9) Paddy ! Come from Tui-ti.
(10) Paddy ! Come from Purum-khulen.
(11) Oh Paddy ! The wealth of *kapi* (father's mother), of *kapu* (father's father), and of *kapa* (father) come.
(12) Let these paddy come to me.
(13) Let these *mim* (?) come to me.
(14) I shall give you *zu*.
(15) I shall give you curry.
(16) I shall give you meat.

With these words the worshipper blows air from his mouth on the bundle of paddy leaves.[2] The *maksa* prepares *zu*

[2] Among the Lakhers at the beginning of the harvest a red hen is sacrificed. Before the sacrifice the performer utters a chant similar to the one used by the Purums. He coaxes the paddy to come from bottom and top, to swarm like *nghapei* and *nghalang* fishes and to fill ten, nay, a hundred baskets. (Parry—*The Lakhers*, p. 436.)

and the villagers are invited to drink. Singing and dancing take place. No one may go to work in the field on this day: it is *genna*.

Nungchungba worship

For the next three months, Hiangkai, Painu, and Wakching, there is no festival or worship. In the month of Phairel Nungchungba (sometimes called Lunchungba—' l ' and ' n ' being interchangeable) is worshipped by the *khunjahanba* (at Changninglong this deity is worshipped by the *khulpu* and the *asei* (?) on behalf of the whole village). On the day of worship the village officers meet in the house of the *khunjahanba* in the morning and take omen as to the future of the village. On the verandah, in front of the entrance to the house, a place is plastered with water only. The *khunjahanba* takes a hen's egg in the palm of his right hand and utters some *laibas* over it and then drops it on the ground from a height of about two feet. The manner in which the contents of the egg are scattered about shows the future of the village. If most of the contents remain in one place, it is good, but if they lie scattered about mischief is apprehended. The *laiba* which the *khunjahanba* recites over the egg is addressed to his dead ancestors and to the ancestors of other siblings who are entreated to give them bountiful crops and also to keep them in good health.

After this divination they go to their respective houses and eat their midday meal. The *khunjahanba* next goes to the *laman* of the village before every one else and he is soon followed thither by the villagers old and young, and male and female. Each family carries a gourdful of *zu*. The *laman* is an important place for every Purum village. It is situated at one end of the village. On the establishment of a new village some space is kept apart towards the customary side and a *peepul* (*Ficus religiosa*) tree is planted there. Underneath this tree a monolith is set up at the same time. This is the *nungshuk* (sometimes called Lungshuk) stone (Nungchungba-ku-meitam) the seat of the god Nungchungba. The whole place is called *laman*.

The *laman* is situated in Tampak, away from the village towards the south, on the top of a gentle elevation. There was one upright stone beside a big flat table-stone. This is

said to be the seat of the god Nungchungba. The *nuugshuk* stone is placed towards one side of a raised circular earthen platform covered with small pieces of stone. A few feet from this raised platform there is another smaller erect stone beside a flat one. In front of this a spacious circular area is cleared and levelled for the village boys and girls to dance and sing on. A number of big trees stand around this area. The *laman* of Tampak is beautifully situated and looks picturesque. The village *ruishang* (Plate VI, Fig. 19) stands about 200 ft. from the *laman*. In Changninglong, the *laman* is found on the highest point of the ridge on which the village is situated. This is towards the east of the village. Here also we found similar arrangements. There was the *nungshuk* stone, the smaller erect stone and the dancing place. Here it was said that both the *nungshuk* stone and the smaller erect stone were the seats of the same god namely Nungchungba. The *ruishang* of this village is about 150 ft. towards the east of this place. In Khulen we saw the *ruishang* at the south-eastern end of the village. The *laman* is a little further towards the south.

When the villagers come to the *laman* the *khunjahanba* asks whether all the villagers are assembled on the spot. It is a formal question and the answer being in the affirmative, he orders them to begin the dance. The *khullakpa* starts the dance and it is taken up by others present. All the dancers face towards the *nungshuk* where the *khunjahanba* remains sitting all the while.

At Changninglong the *khulpu* and the *asei* are the priests of this festival and both of them sit before the *nungshuk* stone. It is further stated that the *asei* worships at the *nungshuk* while the *khulpu* at the other stone. The *khunjahanba* may not sing or dance. The villagers make themselves merry over their gourd of *zu* and continue to dance and sing and play on musical instruments till late in the afternoon. The festival continues for seven days; each day the villagers come to the *laman* after taking their morning meal and dance and sing till about 3-30 P.M. in the afternoon. On the eighth day they all keep within the village and abstain from work. On each of these seven days every villager salutes the *nungshuk* both on arrival as well as at the time of departure. The young men and women are prohibited from all kinds of sexual indulgence during this festival as it would lead to sure death.

During the months of Lamta and Sajibu there is no festival to observe. But in the month of Sajibu groups of villagers subscribe to hold feasts which they celebrate in the house of a member of the group. This has nothing to do with the village as a whole and it has no connection with any sacrifice or worship or with the welfare of the village in any way. These are occasions of pure feasts when a large quantity of palatable food is consumed in company of friends and relatives.

In Kalel, Nungchungba is again worshipped in the same way as before. Dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments go on for seven days as on the previous occasion. This completes the annual cycle of Purum religious rites and festivals.

CHAPTER VII

THE LIFE-CYCLE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

SEC. I.—BIRTH AND PREGNANCY

Information on birth and pregnancy was callected from three different villages, *viz.*, Chumbang, Khulen and Changninglong, on two different occasions. Our informants on these topics were Chongshel (Makan sib), Ngaupram (Makan sib) and Rengmunnir (Kheyang sib) of Chumbang; Kongthang (Marrim sib), Panshang (Marrim sib) the *maipa*, and Kashin (Kheyang sib) the *zupanba* of Khulen and Sangkoi (Marrim sib) the *luplakpa*, and Rengneng (Kheyang sib) the *changlai* of Changninglong. Out of the six sibs of the Purums, four are represented among our informants and out of the four villages we have collected our data from three including Khulen which is the parent village.

Pregnancy

Pregnancy is always regarded with superstitious fear in primitive society. As a consequence of this attitude primitive mind has invented a number of protective measures for safeguarding the *enciente* during her delicate condition.

When the woman first feels the impending change, she generally informs her husband. Stoppage of the monthly course is normally regarded to be a sure sign of pregnancy. Khulen and Changninglong do not place any prohibition on the food and movements of the expectant mother during all the months of pregnancy. According to them she may even attend the burial ceremony of a person who has died under ordinary circumstances. But the Chumbang informants say that for the first eight months there is no change in the ordinary routine of her life; she attends to her daily duties as usual. But during the ninth and tenth months she is not allowed to move out of the village and is given only light work such as cooking, collecting fuel from near by places or is required to fetch water from the village spring or stream. During this

period she is often provided with delicacies by her parents but there is no compulsion in the matter. In Khulen and Changninglong the husband of a pregnant woman is not required to observe any taboo on food or general movements; only he is prohibited from having any intimacy with his wife during the last two months of pregnancy followed by another three months after parturition.

Parturition

There is no separate lying-in-room among the Puru-Kukis and parturition takes place within the living hut. When the woman perceives labour pain she spreads out a mat within the *Phumlil* part of the house, near the oven, which she occupies for some time after birth. On this mat she sits, resting on her knees, and catches hold of a post or rope let down from the roof of the house or from a beam thereof.[1] A female attendant holds her from behind while the *maipi* delivers the child. In order to facilitate delivery she forces down the foetus by acting on the necessary muscles through breathing.

According to Chumbang informants the parturient is attended by the *maipinu* and the womenfolk of her husband's sib. Her mother may also be present during the operation but women of other sibs may not remain within the house. But this is not so in Khulen and Changninglong. There, women of any sib may attend but men, including the husband even, are not allowed to remain inside the lying-in-room at the time of parturition. Generally the *maipi* with one female attendant only manages an ordinary labour case but in difficult cases three or four or even more may be requisitioned. The *maipi* is a woman of the same village and of the same tribe too who has learnt the *mantras* required to be recited on the occasion. Her sib does not interfere with her occupation. In Chumbang there is only one *maipi* who belongs to the Julhung section of the Kheyang sib, while in Khulen, Hathei (of Parpa sib) wife of Shema (Kheyang sib) is entrusted with this duty. The *maipi* is required to help in parturition and to treat the mother if she falls ill after child-birth. She must be acquainted with

1 A similar position is also adopted by the Lakher parturient. (Parry—*The Lakhers*, p. 388.)

the prayers and incantations recited in ordinary as well as difficult cases. In Chumbang men are usually not allowed to remain inside the house at the time of parturition but the husband is not required to observe this prohibition.[2] The children also may remain within the hut.

Before delivery the *maipi* offers five plantains, three *lather* leaves and a handful of rice to the sun and the moon at the door of the house where the parturient is lying. At the same time she utters the following *mantra* over the head of the woman :—

Ninu natho-yam hong-hetao hong-yo hlapa
Natho-yam hong-hyetya-o hong-yo-o oyani taibang mi cuo
Olshoye ninu noarhetyo oyarboyo suyo hlapa
Nobar hetyo oyarboyo suyo

My interpreter, himself a Kuki, freely translated the above stanza with the help of the informants in the following terms :—

Oh Sun ! Oh Moon ! the woman is feeling the pain.
Let the object of pain come out of her just as your rays come out of yourselves.

The offerings made on this occasion are the perquisites of the *maipi*.

As soon as the child is born it is caught hold of by the *maipinu*. The umbilical cord is cut a little above the naval, after it has been tied with a string. The operation is done with a newly made bamboo split by the *maipi*.[3] The after-birth is deposited in an earthen pot and covered with husks of paddy and placed under earth at one of the back corners of the living house. If the after-birth be disturbed or eaten by animals or insects, it is believed, that the child begins to cry and ultimately dies in a short time. The child is next bathed in tepid water and placed beside the mother who has also been cleansed in the meanwhile, though not bathed, and transferred to a separate mat on the floor.

2 Among the Thadous the husband usually helps the parturient while among the Lakhers he renders similar help when no woman is available. (Shaw—*Notes on Thadou Kukis*, p. 51, Parry—*The Lakhers*, p. 383.)

3 The Thadous cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo split or a knife, the Lakhers with the former only. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 51; Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 383.)

No attempt is made to save the child if the mother dies before delivery. In case of a still-born child it is placed with its face upwards near the place where it has been delivered and fanned with a piece of cloth or napkin of its father. If this does not prove successful nothing more is done.

There is no belief connected with the sex of the first-born child of a pair and no difference in treatment of either the mother or the child is made at this time on this ground. In Khulen and Changninglong, at least, there is no belief in connection with twins and their sex, as well as infants born with teeth.

From the time when labour pain starts the mother is not given anything to eat or drink except a little *zu*. For about twenty-four hours from the time of parturition the mother has to remain fasting. She bathes at the end of this period and then only she can take food. During this period the child is not allowed to suck at the mother's breast but is nursed by some other woman of the village. This taboo also is removed after the mother has bathed. Mother's milk forms the only food for the Purum child till the end of the third month. In the fourth month a date is fixed for feeding the child with rice. Rice-brew (*zu*) is prepared and a hen is killed and its meat cooked. The mother eats a little of this meat and sips a little of the *zu* and puts some rice in the mouth of the child after masticating it herself. Thenceforth the child is given rice to eat in addition to mother's milk which continues to be its chief nourishment for a pretty long period even after this ceremony.

During the three months following parturition the woman has to observe certain food restrictions. She may not eat the flesh of pigs and fowls; fish, vegetables, beans, pulses, etc., are also prohibited to her. If she breaks one or other of these taboos, it is believed, her blood will be poisoned and she will fall victim to diseases. Certain kinds of food are specially recommended for this period such as boiled rice, curry of *ngamu* fish, salt, pepper powder, and small pieces of dried beef or mithun's flesh singed in fire. During this period she occupies the mat on the floor, already mentioned, while her husband remains on the bedstead.

During the first three days after birth, the house is *genna* to the inhabitants of other villages but not to co-villagers. The

fact is notified to the public by hanging a branch of the *tairem* tree and another of the *leikhum* tree on the outer wall of the house occupied by the parturient. If any one breaks this taboo by inadvertence the owner of the house demands a fine of a bottle of liquor or a pot of *zu*. Moreover the guilty man has to bear the cost of cleansing the house. In this cleansing rite the *maipi* burns a *leikhum* leaf and a *khaichu* leaf on a fire kindled before the door of the house. Besides this, she pours a little *zu* on this fire and utters the following incantation :—

Burhu-pinu ! *Lai-ok-pinu* ! *Sunghrul-pinu* !
Lai-thuk-pinu !
In-hing-cha ! *Lai-hing-cha* ! *Sarui-lam-hel* !
Thing-ai-thi !
Tui-a-mong ! *ngai-ma-heishitoye unimahei insunga hoinopa hlanopa ngai-ma-hei-shitoye shukatheng-yaou.*

The incantation was translated by my interpreter with the help of the informants themselves in the following terms :—

Oh ! Goddess Burhu-pinu (the presiding deity over cough and cold)
Oh ! Goddess Lai-ok-pinu (the presiding deity over diseases)
Oh ! Goddess Sunghrul-pinu (the presiding deity over the troubles of the bowels)
Oh ! Goddess Lai-thuk-pinu (goddess of small-pox)
Oh ! God In-hingcha (god who eats men raw —Rakshasa ?)
Oh ! God Lai-hingcha (Rakshasa of the gods)
Oh ! Sarui-lam-hel (goddess Sarui the wife of Lam-hel the jungle-deity)
Oh ! Thing-ai-thi (the spirit of one who has died by falling from a tree)
Oh ! Tui-a-mong (the spirit of one who has died by drowning)
Oh ! You all mischief-makers who are present in the house to-day—go hence.

(*Ngai-ma-hei-shitoye*—you all, *uni-ma-hei*—to-day, *in-sunga*—within the hut, *hoi-nopa*—mischief-makers, *shuka-theng-yaou*—all go hence).

The taboo-breaker has to inhale the smoke which rises from the burnt *leikhum* and *khaichu* leaves. After this all of them drink the *zu* given by the taboo-breaker. For ten days the mother may not come out of the house but after this period she resumes her ordinary daily life. The *maipi* who helps in delivering the child is treated to a feast of fowl-curry and *zu* on the very same day, or according to some, on the next day, and is given a piece of new cloth as her remuneration. The attending women are given a jar of *zu* which is called *naokan-zu* [3a] (child-saving *zu*) and they are expected to drink more than the usual quantity of liquor on this occasion. From this the expression *naokan-chang* has come into use to indicate a large quantity.

Death in child-birth

Death in child-birth is regarded with excessive superstitious dread by the Purums.[4] Such a woman is buried in a separate place, far away from the village. No one visits this place nor prepares *jhum* in such a tract. The body is carried to the burial ground by the husband of the woman and the *maipas* of the village. It is not safe for an ordinary man or woman to look upon such a corpse. Indeed, they must keep indoor till the body is safely deposited in the grave and precautionary measures taken to protect the inhabitants. After such a death no fire is kept burning within the village till the carriers come back. When the party returns, each of its members must wash his mouth, hands, and feet at the boundary of the village and touch fire and inhale the smoke of burning *tairem* and *khaichu* leaves. After these precautionary measures, they may enter the village. The fire mentioned before is no ordinary fire but is kindled on the spot by the *thempu* by sawing method. It is taken to the village and given to the first house they meet with on their way after entering the village. It is then taken to the house of each other villager by the *thempu* himself—the last recipient being the husband of the dead woman. After receiving this fire the villagers may leave their house. For five days no pregnant woman should enter into the house of the dead woman, though as a rule, people are afraid

3a *Cf.* Thadou *Naodopju* and *Naodop-an* (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 52).
4 *Cf. Folklore*, Vol. XXIII, p. 467 etc.

to go there even pretty long after. The departed spirit, it is believed, remains near the grave. The soul of the child also turns out an evil spirit like that of its mother.

So far as regards the cleansing of the village but the house where the death occurred is also required to be similarly treated and this is performed by the *maipi*. As soon as the body is removed the *maipi* touches the different parts of the house with a *tairem* branch and scatters about some rice grains within the house reciting the following incantation :—

Kapar santepa deng-leng-chu namit deng-le deng pheyange.
Naha deng-le deng-rhok-ange.
Nala deng-le-chu deng-hlokange.
Nalung deng-le deng-bul-lange.
Theng-yu uni-makhei-chu.
Am-na naram-chu ku-u-nao om-ange.
Ha-na narame.

Freely translated it means :—

Kapar santepa (name of a kind of rice) is being scattered. Your eyes will be injured. Your teeth will be broken. The joints of your limbs will be shattered. Your bowels will go wrong. Go hence from to-day. Don't remain here. Your place is far away from here. Your place is on the other side.

After this the house is plastered with water only and not with cow-dung solution. The house is thus ceremonially purified or rather guarded against evil spirits and the fire given by the *thempu* (as already referred to) is lit and this finishes the house-cleaning ceremony. A jar of *zu* is next prepared and the pall bearers including the husband drink it. This *zu* is tabooed to the children of the deceased woman.

Death in child-birth is believed to be caused by the spirits of women who have died under similar condition. These spirits roam about in the forest and when any pregnant woman goes there she is caught hold of by such a spirit who causes her death. Such spirits are equally feared by the young and the old.

In case of abortion or miscarriage the foetus is buried in the jungle, far away from the usual burial place, in the same manner as in the case of a woman dying in child-birth.

PLATE XVIII.

Purum Baskets.

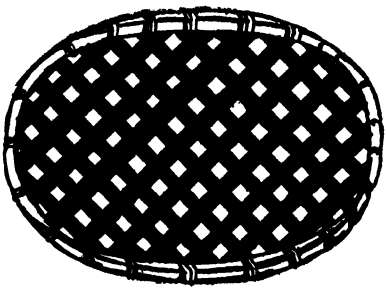


Fig. 67. Sieve.

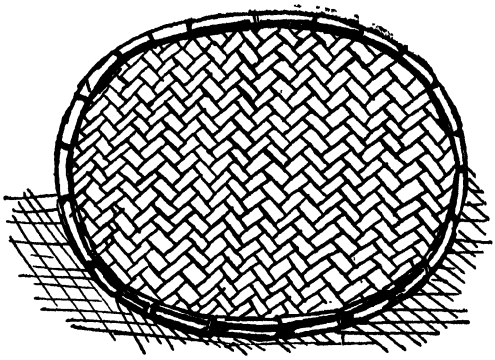


Fig. 68. Tray.

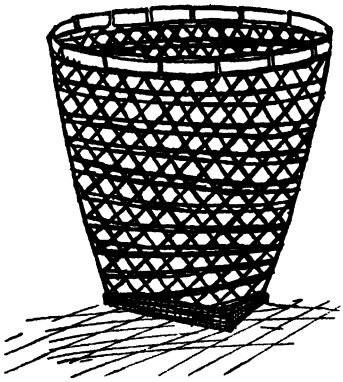


Fig. 69. Carrying basket (open-hexagonal).

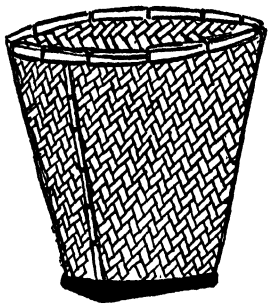


Fig. 70. Carrying basket (Twill).

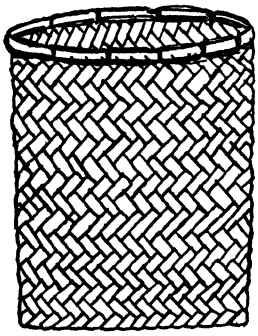


Fig. 71. Haversack.

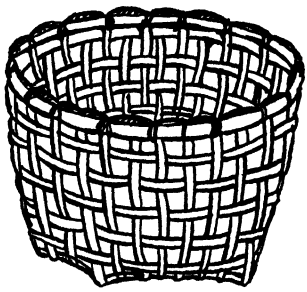


Fig. 72. Storing basket.

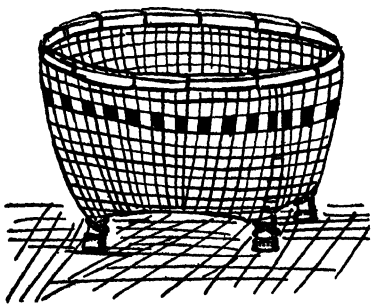


Fig. 73. Maring basket.

Similar precautionary measures are also taken in this case. The souls of such children also turn out evil spirits of a very dangerous type.

Ear-boring Ceremony

When the child is one month old the *maipi* is called on the thirty-first day to perform the ear-piercing ceremony. The child is placed on the lap of its mother and the *maipi* pierces the earlobes of the child with a threaded needle besmeared with pig's fat. The thread is left within the wound for seven days and on the eighth day it is replaced by iron or brass ear-rings. The mother of the child puts these rings and throws away the thread. The *maipi* is entitled to a handful of rice for her services on this occasion in addition to three pies. If the wound takes time to heal mother's milk is applied.

Sec. II.—Name-giving Ceremony

On the third day (in Khulen on the second day) after the date of birth (*i.e.*, if the child be born on Monday name-giving takes place on Wednesday) the name-giving ceremony is performed. The Purums have only one name and there is no secret name. In Chumbang a bowl of water is placed before the *thempu* who takes three grains of paddy and clears them of their husk with his own hands. A name is selected in consultation with the parents of the child and uttering it the *thempu* drops the three grains of rice in the waters of the bowl simultaneously.[5] If all of them sink together, the omen is good, and the name is kept, but if they fail to go down together the test is repeated twice more in the same way. If all the three tests fail, the name is given up and a new name is tried in the same manner. This continues until a suitable name is found out. Usually the name of the great-grand-father is given to a boy. If that name fails to stand in the test then the name of one of his brothers is given. If the names of all the brothers of the great-grand-father also prove unsuitable in the test then the name of a man who belongs to the generation of the great-grand-father and also to his sib is selected and tested in the

5 A similar rite is performed by the Chothes on this occasion according to Shakespeare. (Shakespeare—*Lushei-Kuki Clans*, p. 160.)

usual way. In case of failure here too, they try with the names of the grandfather, his brothers, and siblings of his generation in order of precedence.[6] If, such an exigency arises that none of these names passes the divinatory test the ceremony is postponed to a different date when the same experiments are repeated in the very same manner, and this goes on until a suitable name is found out either on that date or on any other day later on. These divinatory rites are performed on the verandah of the house of the child's father.

In Khulen and Changninglong a slightly different method of divining a suitable name is practised. There instead of the *thempu*, the *maipi*, who has delivered the child, finds out the name. A bow made of a particular kind of bamboo with a cane-strip as its string is required. The *maipi* holds the bow-string lightly at the middle and utters the selected name. If the bow moves of itself, it augurs well and the name is given. But if it does not move another name is uttered and this goes on till a suitable name is discovered.

During the name-giving ceremony attempts are made to divine the future of the child. In case of a male child the *thempu* catches hold of a cock and strangles it to death. The position of the legs of the bird shows the future of the boy. If the right leg be placed on the left one, it is regarded as a good omen and the boy's mother will have more sons. But if the left leg be on the right one or if they are apart from one another, it forebodes evil to the boy. In case of a girl the rite is performed with a hen and if the left leg be found on the right one it indicates future good health of the girl herself and a bounteous female progeny to her mother. But when the right leg is on the left one or when they are apart, it forebodes ill to the child. When the omen is bad the rite is repeated again and again till it augurs well. Divination with the fowl is a general culture trait of the Purum Kukis. It is performed

[6] The Thadous use only "a part of the compound name of grandfather or father, or grandmother or mother of the child according to whether it be a male or female." Hutton thinks that "a boy is always given a name from the side of his patrilineal ancestors but there is no fixed rule as to girls." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, pp. 51-52 and Foot-note on page 52.) Lakher boys are often called after their grandfather or one of their ancestors and Lakher girls after their grandmother or other female ancestor (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 391.) *Vide* Clan Monopoly of Personal Names among the Purum Kukis by the author, *Man*, January, 1939, No. 2.

on other occasions as well. When Shang-hong-ang (Phaumi-kauba in Manipuri) is worshipped, the future of the standing crop is divined by this means. Again when a man falls ill the particular spirit responsible for the malady is found out through this means. When even two such cocks do not give any good omen, *kasha-lais* are worshipped and the process is repeated again. This divinatory rite at the time of illness is known as *muil-ha-kok* in Purum language.

At name-giving the *thempu* is entitled to an *atu* (*jot* in Manipuri) and a gourdful of *zu*. *Atu* is a kind of hoe made of iron and used in *jhuming* operations. If *atu* be not available on this day some other piece of iron must be given to him. The *thempu* may use this piece of iron in any way he likes but may not give it to another person. The parents of the child are not required to give any feast to their friends or relatives, on this occasion.

Clan-monopoly of personal names was in existence among the Purums in the past. " But in course of time, with the change of ideas, new names were added to the list, and the old names became unpopular and gradually went out of use " (Vide *Man*, Jan. 1939. No. 2 for a detailed description of this custom).

Sec. III.—First Hair-cutting Ceremony

When a boy is three years old his head is shaved all round keeping a circular patch of hair, about two inches in diameter, on the top. As the boy grows, this patch of hair also is allowed to increase in diameter, say, at the rate of about one or two finger-breadths every year till it reaches the extremity of the head on all sides. Usually this occurs about the fifteenth year of the boy when hair-cutting is finally stopped. From this time onward all the hair are collected at the back of the head and tied up with a simple knot.[7] At about this time he gets a piece of turban-cloth from his father with which he covers his head henceforward.

7 The Thadous also practise the same custom. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 13). Lakher boys cut their hair up to the age of nine after which it is completely stopped. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 35.)

usual way. In case of failure here too, they try with the names of the grandfather, his brothers, and siblings of his generation in order of precedence.[6] If, such an exigency arises that none of these names passes the divinatory test the ceremony is postponed to a different date when the same experiments are repeated in the very same manner, and this goes on until a suitable name is found out either on that date or on any other day later on. These divinatory rites are performed on the verandah of the house of the child's father.

In Khulen and Changninglong a slightly different method of divining a suitable name is practised. There instead of the *thempu*, the *maipi*, who has delivered the child, finds out the name. A bow made of a particular kind of bamboo with a cane-strip as its string is required. The *maipi* holds the bow-string lightly at the middle and utters the selected name. If the bow moves of itself, it augurs well and the name is given. But if it does not move another name is uttered and this goes on till a suitable name is discovered.

During the name-giving ceremony attempts are made to divine the future of the child. In case of a male child the *thempu* catches hold of a cock and strangles it to death. The position of the legs of the bird shows the future of the boy. If the right leg be placed on the left one, it is regarded as a good omen and the boy's mother will have more sons. But if the left leg be on the right one or if they are apart from one another, it forebodes evil to the boy. In case of a girl the rite is performed with a hen and if the left leg be found on the right one it indicates future good health of the girl herself and a bounteous female progeny to her mother. But when the right leg is on the left one or when they are apart, it forebodes ill to the child. When the omen is bad the rite is repeated again and again till it augurs well. Divination with the fowl is a general culture trait of the Purum Kukis. It is performed

6 The Thadous use only "a part of the compound name of grandfather or father, or grandmother or mother of the child according to whether it be a male or female." Hutton thinks that "a boy is always given a name from the side of his patrilineal ancestors but there is no fixed rule as to girls." (Shaw—*op. cit.*, pp. 51-53 and Footnote on page 52.) Lakher boys are often called after their grandfather or one of their ancestors and Lakher girls after their grandmother or other female ancestor (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 391.) *Vide* Clan Monopoly of Personal Names among the Purum Kukis by the author, *Man*, January, 1939, No. 2.

on other occasions as well. When Shang-hong-ang (Phaumi-kauba in Manipuri) is worshipped, the future of the standing crop is divined by this means. Again when a man falls ill the particular spirit responsible for the malady is found out through this means. When even two such cocks do not give any good omen, *kasha-lais* are worshipped and the process is repeated again. This divinatory rite at the time of illness is known as *muil-ha-kok* in Purum language.

At name-giving the *thempu* is entitled to an *atu* (*jot* in Manipuri) and a gourdful of *zu*. *Atu* is a kind of hoe made of iron and used in *jhuming* operations. If *atu* be not available on this day some other piece of iron must be given to him. The *thempu* may use this piece of iron in any way he likes but may not give it to another person. The parents of the child are not required to give any feast to their friends or relatives, on this occasion.

Clan-monopoly of personal names was in existence among the Purums in the past. " But in course of time, with the change of ideas, new names were added to the list, and the old names became unpopular and gradually went out of use " (Vide *Man*, Jan. 1939. No. 2 for a detailed description of this custom).

Sec. III.—First Hair-cutting Ceremony

When a boy is three years old his head is shaved all round keeping a circular patch of hair, about two inches in diameter, on the top. As the boy grows, this patch of hair also is allowed to increase in diameter, say, at the rate of about one or two finger-breadths every year till it reaches the extremity of the head on all sides. Usually this occurs about the fifteenth year of the boy when hair-cutting is finally stopped. From this time onward all the hair are collected at the back of the head and tied up with a simple knot.[7] At about this time he gets a piece of turban-cloth from his father with which he covers his head henceforward.

7 The Thadous also practise the same custom. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 13). Lakher boys cut their hair up to the age of nine after which it is completely stopped. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 35.)

The first hair-cutting ceremony for the boys is performed at the end of the third year. The parents are required to supply a pig and three pots of *zu*. The ceremony takes place on the verandah of the house. The pig is killed by the *maksa* by spearing, a little above the foreleg on one side. It is then placed in the verandah with its head pointing towards the east. A pot of pure *zu* (not mixed with water) is also placed at the same time beside the pig by the *ningan*. The boy sits before these offerings and the *thempu* prays to the spirits of the dead ancestors of the boy who are collectively known as *kasha-lai*. The burden of this prayer is that from that day the child has become separated from the spirits of his ancestors and so it should no longer be disturbed with dreams. After uttering this prayer the *thempu* pours a little *zu* for each of the dead ancestors, naming each of them as far as he could remember or gather from his clients. The boy is next given a little *zu* to drink, after which the *thempu* cuts the hair of his head in the manner described before with a knife called *sambou* which the Purums themselves make. The clipped hair are tied into a bundle with *peepul* leaves and buried under some tree, preferably a *peepul* (*Ficus religiosa*) which stands near the house. Placing them in the pit the *thempu* again offers some *zu* and prays to the *kasha-lais* to leave the child in peace as he is driving away the diseases along with the hair.

After the offering in the verandah the *ningans* take the pot of *zu* inside the house and mix water with it and thus makes it ready for the guests. The water that is mixed with this *zu* must be brought by the *ningans* themselves. At the same time the *maksas* prepare curry with the meat of the pig. When *zu* and curry are ready the *thempu* offers a little of each to the *kasha-lais* naming each one of them as far as possible. After this the *thempu* puts a little bit of the curry into the mouth of the boy and a little *zu* later on and he also takes a little of each variety at this time. This is followed by a feast to others who sit in the following order. The first seat is reserved for the *thempu* and he is followed by the village officials in the following order—*khullakpa, luplakpa, hanzaba, zupanba, hithangba*, and *selungba*. After them the other village elders sit in order of seniority of age. Women as well as young men and boys are not allowed to sit there along with the officers and elders. Thus seated the latter drink *zu* first and then eat the meat-curry. The

young men and children together with the women sit in a separate place and they eat rice with meat curry and drink *zu*. The *maksas* and the *ningans* keep company with them.

The head of the pig is cooked in a separate pot and eaten by the village officers and the *thempu*. Though it is not tabooed to others, it is given to the former as a mark of respect. Along with this meat another pot of *zu* is also given. At the end of the feast, when the *thempu* is about to start for his house, the boy salutes him by prostrating at his feet. The following dialogue takes place between the two at that time. The boy says: "From to-day all my evils have departed. The pig we have killed is small and the *zu* we have prepared is not so nice but in future, if I am allowed to grow older and remain free from diseases, the pig will be bigger and the *zu* nicer still." The *thempu* says in reply: "From this day you are free from all evils and you will remain well etc." Saying this he puts his right hand on the head of the boy and rubs it a little. As the boy is only three years old he neither knows the formula nor can he recite it properly. So, naturally his father comes to his rescue. After this the *thempu* departs for his house followed by the *maksa* with a gourd of *zu* and some meat-curry for the members of his family. This ends the first hair-cutting ceremony. Afterwards when the boy's hairs grow long they are cut off by his parents. At about the fifteenth year when hair-cutting is brought to an end no ceremony is performed.

The girls also undergo the same ceremony but at the expiry of the third month instead of the third year of the boys. The whole of the head is shaved leaving a small patch a little above the neck at the back.[8] They cut their hair up to the end of the fifth year from which time they grow them long. The same offerings are made and a similar feast is given to the villagers.

Sec. IV.—Puberty Rites

There is no puberty rite either for the girls or for the boys among the Purums.[9] When a girl is in her monthly course she feels shy and tries to hide her condition from others. At this time she wears more than one piece of cloth so that the

8 The Thadou girls also follow the same practice. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 18.)

9 Lakhers also have no puberty rites for their boys and girls. (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 393-94.)

discharge may not be visible. Pre-marital menstruation does not entail any social disgrace to the individual or to her family. Sexual intercourse most often begins before attainment of puberty on the part of the girls. The system of bachelors' residence may be held at least partially responsible for it.

Sec. V.—Education

There is no organised method of imparting education to individuals of either sex. The different arts of life are acquired mostly by observation and imitation and later by apprenticeship. During the earlier years the children mimic in games the occupations of their elders. Little girls are seen busily engaged in cooking and looking after household affairs just like their mothers all in play. Sometimes boys also join and play the part of senior males. The different kinds of games in which the little boys engage themselves serve the purpose of physical exercise.

As soon as the children attain five or six years of age they are expected to help their parents. The girls look after their younger brothers and sisters, guard the paddy spread out for drying in the sun against birds and domestic animals, run errands for their mothers, bring water from the village spring or stream according to their capacity, etc. As they grow in age they are entrusted with more and more important household duties such as husking paddy, cooking, feeding the domestic animals, and finally working in the field. The boys on the other hand begin by looking after the cattle and driving away wild birds and beasts from the ripening paddy fields. Gradually they participate in the different operations of the *jhum* field and valley field and are at last taught how to manipulate the plough, the *arra* (leveller) and the harrow. All these operations they learn from their father or other elders who do not teach by lecturing but allow them to learn by observation and practice, only helping to solve their difficulties from time to time. Thus while weeding a paddy field when a boy is unable to distinguish the paddy plant from other similar looking plants the father comes to his help and shows the distinguishing marks. In this way the boy is taught the various arts of life.

The stories and folktales recounted around the fireside at night in the houses of the grown up spinsters impart to the young the knowledge of tribal customs and manners. The moral code

of the tribe is also learnt from this source to a great extent. This is also a training ground for love-life.

Dancing and singing are looked upon as important acquisitions especially in love-life. There is no definite institution for teaching them to the young aspirants. But they learn them mostly by observation and practice. There are numerous occasions when the whole village indulges in dancing and singing and very young children—say of five or six years of age—are also allowed to participate in them. They are seen standing on the ring or at the end of the line as occasion requires and trying to imitate their elders though often with indifferent results. Every one on such occasions tries his or her utmost and the little boys and girls also share this feeling and soon learn the steps and tunes. Besides this there are in each village some old men and women who are considered to be adepts in music and dancing and to them the children go for training. They teach them at their leisure and the pupils regale their tutors with *zu* for their labour. There is no professional teacher of music or dancing.

The village medicine-man (*maipa*) is an important adjunct to village life. His profession is not hereditary nor is it confined to any particular sib. Any aspiring young man may learn it and does so when the village *maipa* grows old. He approaches the old *maipa* with the present of a hen and a pot of *zu* and asks him formally to teach the art. The *maipa* accepts the gift and begins to teach him the *laibas* (Manipuri term for incantation) and the different procedures connected with the worship of spirits responsible for diseases and other public calamities, along with divination and magical rites. Chauba the *maipa* of Changninglong (Plate I, Fig. 5) learnt the art from Thathoi of the same village while Panshang of Khulen was taught by Angao of the same village. After the period of learning both of them showed their performances to their respective teachers in order to verify whether they could correctly perform the rites. The disciple always shows respect to his teacher and on his death gives a hen and a jar of *zu* to his household.

Sec. VI.—Marriage

Marriage rules and regulations were mainly collected from Tampak and supplemented from Khulen and Changninglong.

Tampak closely follows Khulen. Moreover we verified the accounts given by Tampak informants from the people of Khulen.

Theoretically there is no fixed age for marriage among the Purums. Boys usually marry at about the age of twenty or a little earlier or later. At twenty-five it is a bit late while at fifteen it is rather early. Girls marry usually earlier than the boys as they develop more rapidly. At about thirteen, they reach marriageable age. These theoretical assertions of our informants do not fully agree with the few definite instances they have given about the actual age of marriage of different individuals. Thus Shilung the *luplakpa* of Tampak, married for the first time at fifteen. Muchao, another man from the same village, married at fifteen a girl of thirteen—Linu by name. But Chauba married at twenty-three a girl of about eighteen. Shilung married for the third time at twenty-eight a girl of sixteen years. In a married couple it is usual for the boy to be older than the girl but cases are not unknown where the girl is older than the boy. Thus at Tampak there is a pair Akham and Sumhao by name where the wife is older than the husband by one year.

When a boy reaches marriageable age his parents remain on the look out for a suitable bride. They often discuss the advantages or disadvantages of a particular girl and thus in course of time set their mind on some maiden who fulfils all their expectations. They now consult the opinion of the boy concerned and if he be willing to the match they open negotiations with the parents or guardians of the girl. If the boy be not in favour of the union it is at once given up and another girl selected.

The selection of a bride is not always left to the parents of the boy. Sometimes he himself takes the initiative When a boy sets his mind on a particular girl he asks one of his friends to act as go-between. The latter privately approaches the girl and breaks the subject to her in suitable terms. If she gives her consent to the match the go-between next goes to the father of the boy and informs him about the wishes of his son and requests him to bring about the union.

This account of the selection of a bride either by the groom himself or by his father was gathered from Tampak in 1932 and was verified from the same village in 1936. It does not however exactly fit in with the information from other sources. The

Purums extensively practise cross-cousin marriage of one type, namely, with the mother's brother's daughter,[10] the other type, *i.e.*, with the father's sister's daughter being strictly tabooed. In 1936, we found that all the married couples of Khulen (42 in total) had contracted this type of union. In Tampak, out of 33 cases, 20 were of this type, four had married in their mother's brother's sib while among the remaining 9 some had married outside both these groups (*i.e.*, mother's brother's daughters and girls of mother's brother's sib) whereas, about others, our informants could not give any detail. In Chumbang there was only one case of mother's brother's daughter marriage, seven cases of marriage in the mother's brother's sib and two cases outside both these groups. Thus, out of a total of 85 unions recorded in 1936 in the three villages of the Purums, 63 (or 74.12 per cent.) happened to be brought about by union with the mother's brother's daughters, and in eleven (or 12.94 per cent.) cases the bride was taken from the sib of the mother's brother. If the latter class of marriages be the effect of a softening of the original rule of mother's brother's daughter marriage owing to obvious difficulties in individual cases then we can easily perceive the extent of mother's brother's daughter marriage among the Purums. Under such circumstances the information about selection of brides gathered from Tampak most probably refers to selection from amongst one's mother's brother's daughters or girls of the mother's brother's sib, and not from amongst all the marriageable girls of the community. Or is it an expression of the social will which wants to break through the traditional rule? Tampak, as a matter of fact, has absorbed a greater amount of the culture of the valley than any other Purum village and it may be the effect of such absorption. No doubt there is a change in the angle of vision in recent years and this is evident from a comparison of the table of marital relations of the three villages referred to before.

Whatever may the group be, from which the bride is selected, provided the father of the boy is willing to the match propos-

10 Among the Lakhers marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is the most favoured union. Hutton thinks it to be a common custom of the hill tribes of Assam. (Parry—*op. cit.*, p. 295 and Fn. 1.) But the Meitheis have an exactly opposite rule. They cannot marry a woman of their mother's clan. (Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 76.) A Lushai marries any woman other than his sister or mother. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, p. 50.)

ed by his son, he goes to the house of the girl's father, accompanied by his wife, at the earliest opportunity, with a bottle of *zu*. After the usual exchange of greetings the father of the boy expresses the object of his visit and makes the formal proposal by requesting the father of the girl to drink the *zu* he has brought from home in the following words :—

Kathurpa nasenauhi kashnau-dadi kaman changshu.
Kaju-ino nalung-shano kathur chang-wio.

The following is a free rendering of this formal address :

Kathurpa ! (Ingai) My son likes your daughter. Let him marry her. Please drink my *zu* and don't be angry. We shall have to be brothers henceforward.

When the father of the girl has no objection to the union he drinks the *zu* and accepts thereby the offer, but if he is unwilling, he refuses to drink and the matter is dropped then and there. No omen is consulted by the boy's parents on their way to the house of the girl's father. Provided the father of the girl is willing the terms are settled. There is not much difficulty on this point among the Purums as there is only one way to secure a wife among them and it is to serve for a period of three years in the house of the bride's father.[11] There is no bride-price or bride-groom-price among them, nor any means of commutation of service. The rule is very strict and clear on this point. The bridegroom-elect has to pass three years in the house of the bride's father and work for the latter to his satisfaction throughout this period. He may be employed in any work that the sons of the house may be required to perform. During this period he is given board and lodging by his prospective father-in-law. This period of service is known among the Purums as *yaun-gimba*. The cases when a man has not to serve this period are when he marries a widow or divorced woman or one who conceives before marriage. The records of village census show that in every case of the 85 unions noted

11 Shakespeare records marriage by service among the Aimol, Anal and Chiru tribes. Among the Chothes, Kolhens, Koms, Lamgangs, Tikhups, and Vaipheis a bride is secured by payment. (Shakespeare—*op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.) Marriage by service is also found among the Rangkhols. The boy serves for five years but at the end of three years he is married to the girl. (Soppit—*A Short Account of the Kuki Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier*, etc., p. 15.)

therein the bridegroom served the *yaun-gimba* period and paid *maushem*. Shilung of Tampak married for the first time a maiden and served the usual period. He divorced this wife on grounds of incompatibility of temper and married for the second time a divorced woman. On this occasion he was not required to serve the *yaun-gimba* period; this wife was also divorced on the same ground. He again married a maiden and served for the usual period of three years. At the end of the *yaun-gimba* period, when the bridegroom returns to his father's house with his wife or sets up independently a house of his own, he gives a feast to his parents-in-law. On this occasion he is required to kill at least one pig and give one jar of *zu*. Those who can afford kill more pigs and give more jars of *zu*. This is called *maushem* and every pair has to provide for it at the end of the *yaun-gimba* period.

Three days after the first visit, either the father or the mother of the boy goes to the house of the girl's father again and asks him to come to their house to formally ask the boy to go over to his house in order to serve the *yaun-gimba* period. On the appointed day the father of the girl goes to the house of the boy's father and formally asks the boy to come over to his house. On this the boy together with a friend of his goes to the house of his future father-in-law. They take their meals there and the friend departs for his own house while the boy remains to serve his period. Usually no feast is given to any party during these mutual visits to bring about the match. The terms of marriage need not be settled in the presence of the officers of the village nor is any witness necessary. Such precautions are unnecessary as the marriage dues are traditionally fixed. Moreover we have already seen that most of the unions are held between relatives. The village census further shows that an overwhelmingly large majority of marriages take place within the same village. These circumstances account for the absence of any precaution against fraud as regards terms of marriage.

Chauba of Changninglong says that during the *yaun-gimba* period the boy must not have any sexual intimacy with the girl. Though he remains in the same house with the parents of the girl, he occupies a separate bed at night. The girl's bed is placed in the *phumlil* part of the house while that of the boy lies in the *ningan* part and the two parts are separat-

ed by an imaginary line which runs along the length of the house. Thus there is very little obstacle to their intimacy inspite of what Chauba says. The *phumlil* side is occupied by the parents, unmarried daughters and married or unmarried sons while the *ningan* side is reserved for such persons who may pass the night with the family as well as married daughters and sons-in-law. For the occupiers of the *phumlil* side the *ningan* part is tabooed at night and *vice versa*. But the informants from Tampak (Atol—the *luplakpa*, Areppa—the *khunjahanba* and Chongkung—the *zupanba*) definitely stated in 1936 that when the boy comes over to the house of his wife's father to serve the *yaun-gimba* period he begins to live with the girl as man and wife from the very same day. This is further corroborated by the elaborate rules guiding cases of refusal on the part of a boy or girl to marry after the starting of the *yaun-gimba* service. It is difficult to reconcile such contradictory statements. As regards the present condition we are inclined to believe the informants from Tampak though it is not impossible that Chauba's statements refer either to the old times or to a condition which is the ideal of the tribe at present.

If a boy refuses to marry a girl, say, after a year of service (*yaun-gimba*), then his parents have to pay a pig and a jar of *zu* to the parents of the girl. This payment which is in the nature of a fine is called *mimalung* among the Purums. If, on the other hand, the girl refuses to marry a boy who has served, say, about a year for her, then her parents have to pay a fine of Rs. 50 in cash to the parents of the boy. Moreover, they have to give a piece of upper cloth to the *khullakpa* of the village and three pigs and three jars of *zu* to the village officers. This fine is called *manthio*. The difference in the amount of fine is rather remarkable. The heavy fine imposed on the girl's parents for her refusal may be attributed to two causes—one economic and the other social. In the first case the society wants to compensate the youngman for his labour in connection with the *yaun-gimba* service. The second or the social cause perhaps centers round the custom or right of marrying the mother's brother's daughter, actual or classificatory, which prevails among the Purums almost without exception. So, when a man is discarded by his mother's brother's daughter in course of his *yaun-gimba* period he not only suffers direct economic loss but is also deprived of a long established traditional

PLATE XIX

Purum House and Ornaments.

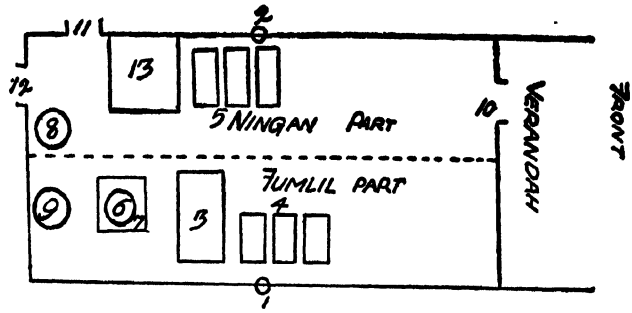


Fig. 74. Ground-plan of house showing internal arrangements.

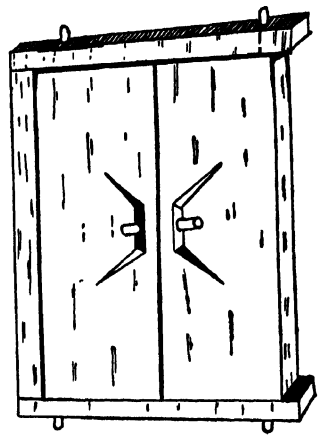


Fig. 75. Door-panels showing method of closing.

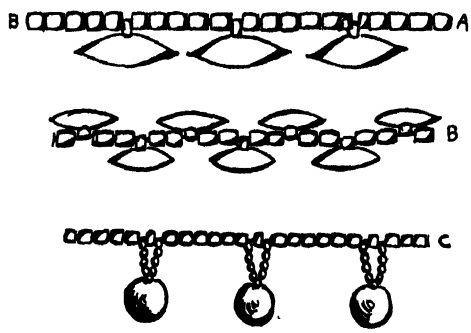


Fig. 76 A, B & C. Three types of neck ornaments.

right and is so entitled to heavy compensation. In refusing a boy the girl commits an offence both against the society as well as against an individual, *i.e.*, her *fiance*. So, her parents have to compensate the boy as well as the village officers who represent the society. But when a boy refuses to marry a girl her parents do not suffer any economic loss and so is entitled to a lower rate of compensation or fine. This fine may be also intended to protect a girl's right to the hands of her father's sister's son. This fine further discloses the fact that the Purums do not put a very high premium on female chastity before marriage. If the girl becomes pregnant during the *yaun-gimba* period and either party refuses to marry after this the fine remains the same. The child born of such union belongs to the begetter and is handed over to him later on. Such a girl does not experience any difficulty in securing a suitable husband at any later date but the latter is not required to serve the *yaun-gimba* period for her.

When the traditional period of *yaun-gimba* has passed off smoothly without any hitch, either the father or the mother of the boy comes to the house of the girl's father and asks him to send his daughter to their house along with their son. A date is fixed for the purpose, and if possible it falls on a Monday as it is held to be specially auspicious for the purpose.

On the appointed day the *maksas* who have been previously invited by the father of the boy come to the latter's house in time. Three pots of *zu* (*zu bel inthum*) have been already prepared by the members of the house and now the *maksas* kill a pig supplied by the parents of the boy by beating it with a club and then cuts it into pieces. They prepare a kind of curry called *shinsu* with this meat. It is cooked with a sufficient quantity of chilly, turmeric, etc. The *maksas* then start with this *shinsu*, carried in *sangphais*, while the *ningans* follow them with the three pots of *zu* already referred to. The party which goes out to bring home the newly married couple consists of only the *maksas* and *ningans*. It is not customary for the parents of the boy or any other member of his sib to go to the house of the girl's father to eat the *shinsu* and the *zu* sent therefrom. It would be a matter of great shame to go on that date though all of them assemble in the house of the boy's father and remain there till the arrival of the couple. The party of *maksas* and *ningans* generally arrive at the house of the

bride's father in the evening and the latter receives them with due attention. In the meantime the village officers headed by *khullakpa* and the male siblings of the bride's father arrive at the latter's house. They were invited beforehand. They sit in a line and eat the *shinsu* and drink the *zu* sent by the father of the bridegroom. No boiled rice is supplied at this feast. Neither the boy nor the girl can eat this *shinsu* or drink this *zu* as they are tabooed to them. Not only this, the female members of the sib of the girl cannot take these two articles as they are *genna* to them also. At the time of distributing *shinsu* and *zu*, they are first given to the father of the girl, then to her mother and next to the two oldest male members of the sib. The *khullakpa* and the *luplakpa* come next and they are followed by the other members of the sib according to seniority of age. The order of precedence in this feast shows that the parents of the girl have the foremost right over her and they are followed by the two representatives of the sib which lays an almost equal claim over her. The fact that the sib is represented by the two oldest male members indicates the working of the gerontocratic principle among the Purums. The position of the two village chiefs between the representatives of the sib on one side and the other members of the sib probably points out that they are intruders. Marriage among the Purums is primarily an affair of the family and of the sib, and the political authorities as they are now constituted have practically nothing to do. So the *khullakpa* and the *luplakpa* are given a minor position. On the other hand it is also possible to assume that the two oldest men of the sib are the relics of the two chiefs of the local group which used to be composed on sib-basis by members of the same sib in the past. When villages with members from different sibs came to be constituted on territorial basis the heads of the local sibs relinquished their political authority but retained their position in social matters affecting their respective sibs. One or other of these two hypotheses probably accounts for the nature of precedence accorded in this feast. This line of argument is further strengthened when we compare the order of precedence in the feasts given by village officers at the time of assumption of their offices. At the end of this marriage feast the girl salutes her superiors, *e.g.*, her father, mother, uncles, aunts and others who may be present on the occasion.

Now the girl departs to her husband's house in company of the *maksas* and *ningans* who have come to take her there. The bridge-groom does not accompany her but remains in her father's house for five days more. During this period he is, if possible, treated to feasts in which pigs are slaughtered. On this occasion the bride's parents may present her one or more of the following articles, namely, (1) *poon* (cloth), (2) *buhu* (brass-plate), (3) *loang* (basket for carrying), (4) *tapu* (basket with lid for keeping valuables), (5) *cham* (chopper), (6) *tuidan* (brass cup) and (7) *ngaupoom* (loom). When the parents are rich she may expect to get all of them but a poor man's daughter remains satisfied with one or two only.

When the bridal procession reaches the house of the husband's father it is sumptuously treated with *zu*. The friends and relations who happen to be present on the occasion are also similarly treated with this beverage. The boy returns on the due date, *i.e.*, five days after the arrival of the bride. A week after her arrival the bride goes to her father's place and returns on the same day. She may not pass the night there on this occasion. They now settle down to their ordinary life.

Among the Purums the married sons may either live separately or together with their parents. There is no hard and fast rule about the matter except in the case of the youngest son, and, perhaps also, of the only son. When a man has three sons the first two may marry and set up separate houses but the youngest son is required to live with his parents even after marriage until they die when he performs the funeral rites. After this the paternal property is equally divided among the three brothers—the youngest getting a slightly bigger share.

Polygyny is not usual, though not prohibited by custom. It is rarely met with. In 1936 we did not meet with any case of polygyny in Khulen, Changninglong or Tampak. But where polygyny is practised it is limited to two wives only and not more. Polyandry is unknown to them.

Insane persons are not allowed to marry. Post-marital insanity on the part of the husband is regarded as sufficient cause for separation of the wife. The wife of a mad man, if young and childless, usually goes over to her father's house and may remarry from there. In such marriages the bridegroom is neither required to serve the *yaun-gimba* period nor to pay

the *maushem*. When the wife of a mad man has a grown up son who is able to maintain his mother, she does not espouse the hands of a second husband but remains in the house of the first husband and looks after him. If the husband is cured before the remarriage of the wife, she may come back to him but if she be already remarried he has no claim over her.

Divorce

Divorce is not uncommon among the Purums. It may be effected by both the husband and the wife. A man may divorce his wife for adultery, disobedience, and the persistent habit of stealing, while a woman is entitled to divorce her husband for adultery and ill-treatment leading to bodily injury or severe pain. Barrenness on the part of the woman is not regarded as sufficient cause for divorce. Our records do not show whether impotency of the husband is a sufficient cause for divorce by the wife. Continuous illness of either party does not entitle the other to seek for divorce. When a man tries to divorce his wife for either barrenness or continuous illness he is fined a pig and a jar of *zu* by the village elders.

When a woman is divorced for adultery her father has to pay a fine of three pigs and three jars of *zu* but is not required to pay back the *maushem*. In the absence of the father the fine is realised from his heirs. The same fine is realised from the man when he is divorced for adultery. As already stated a woman is divorced for persistent stealing. She is warned on the first or second occasion after which the husband seeks for divorce. But the husband cannot be divorced for stealing. When the husband is punished with imprisonment for theft his wife may temporarily go over to her father's house but she will have to come back as soon as her husband returns home and asks her to come back. This anomalous treatment may be attributed to economic grounds. Imprisonment for theft is a trait introduced into the life of the Purums with the expansion of suzerain authority over them. Before they came under any civilised government the Purums punished such cases with fine only. So, a wife with a persistent habit of stealing was a source of constant economic drainage to her husband who was required to pay her fines. But a husband guilty of the same crime did not cause any economic loss to his wife as he himself

was the master of the family purse and was not responsible to anybody for any economic loss. Except perhaps a slight public disapproval the wife did not suffer from any other loss by the thieving propensity of her husband who could satisfy all her demands as usual. But with the introduction of this new punishment, *i.e.*, imprisonment, the position has been practically reversed. Now, when the husband is away to serve his term of imprisonment he is withheld from discharging his usual duties towards his wife who has to maintain herself and her children if any during this period. As a result she now goes to her father's house where she finds both protection and maintenance. This arrangement may continue in a *jhuming* society where the maintenance of an individual capable of doing work is not regarded as a burden on a family. But as the Purums are now moving fast towards permanent cultivation in valley fields the addition of members will be a real burden on the economic resources of a family. Moreover, when the wife is imprisoned, the husband, of course, does not suffer any direct economic loss but is deprived of her services in conducting the household affairs as well as her labours in the field. These new circumstances have not yet affected the laws of divorce but we shall not be surprised to find innovations in this department of their life in near future.

When a wife refuses to come back to her husband on the latter's return from gaol her father or his family has to pay a fine of one pig and one jar of *zu*. When a woman is divorced for stealing, her father or his heirs are not required to pay any fine as in case of adultery.

All cases leading to divorce must be placed before the village council presided over by the *khullakpa*. The parties themselves cannot bring about divorce. The village elders enquire into the matter and discuss the merits of the case and then pronounce their judgment. They may or may not allow divorce in a particular case and they have to find out which party is responsible for the guilt which leads to divorce. In all these matters their decision is final and there is no appeal. All fines imposed in connection with divorce accrue to them.

In Purum society the children belong to the father and not to the mother. In case of divorce all grown up children remain with the father. Only infants below three years of age go with the mother and remain with her till they are three years old

when they must be returned to the father. For the maintenance of each such child the mother is entitled to receive fifteen big baskets of paddy annually, from the father.

Widow Remarriage

Widow remarriage is practised by the Purums. Generally young widows, who have no child or only a few, marry for the second time. A middle-aged widow with grown-up sons and daughters rarely takes a second husband. In the records of the village census a number of widows is found living in their dead husband's house and rearing up children. There were three such widows in Chumbang and two in Khulen. It seems that sex inclinations play a very minor role in the remarriage of widows. It is the economic necessity which often forces young widows to marry a second husband. We have already stated that, as soon as a Purum boy marries he most often sets up a new house wherein he lives with his wife on their joint labour. In a family of this nature the death of the husband before at least one of the sons attains maturity leads to severe strain on the widowed wife. Single-handed she finds it difficult to perform all the functions connected with the food producing activities. Moreover some of these tasks are essentially masculine in nature and the young widow with a number of immature children cannot maintain herself on her own labours alone and is thus almost forced to remarry. This compulsion is all the more pronounced in case of childless young widows who have either to live with their parents or their heirs or have to remarry. Even among the Purums they, perhaps, do not find a very happy home in the house of their parents. From the village census it appears that several young childless widows had repaired to their parents' house soon after the death of their husbands and were remarried from there. It is a custom of the Purums that a widow cannot take a second husband so long as she remains in her dead husband's house. She may do it only after going over to her father's house.

There is no additional restriction in the choice of mates for the widows. The same rules of exogamy, endogamy, preferential mating and prohibited degrees guide the virgin and the widow. The family of the dead husband has no extra claim over her. She may marry one of the younger or elder

brothers of her dead husband but there is no compulsion on either side.[12] In remarriage of widows the bridegroom is neither required to serve the *yaun-gimba* period nor pay the *maushem*. The mother takes the infants below three years of age to her new home and brings them up there till they complete their third year when they are handed over to the heirs of her dead husband. In this case also she gets annually fifteen big baskets of paddy for each child, from the heirs of her dead husband as maintenance charge. The separation of the mother from the children seems to exert considerable influence in keeping the widows away from remarriage as Purum mothers are exceedingly affectionate to their children.

Sec. VII.—Death and Funeral

Information on death and funeral was collected from Chumbang in 1932 and from Khulen and Changninglong in 1936. We did not make any enquiry at Tampak as it happens to follow the customs of Khulen. The author did not witness any burial personally, so, what is recorded below was recounted to him by the villagers according to genealogical method.

Death is very rarely attributed to natural causes. When a man dies in exceptionally old age then only it is believed to be caused by natural decay; in all other circumstances death is regarded as due to the malevolent activities of evil spirits. Thus the five sons of Oupram, the *thempu* of Chumbang, died of the machinations of Lai-yai and Sunghrul-li (sometimes called Sunghrul-pinu). When Lai-yai catches hold of a man he expires very soon and the dead body shows the signs of the attack of the spirit in the form of long scars on it. Sunghrul-li manifests herself in the form of what we call cholera and takes away her victims one after another at a rapid rate. This account was given by Oupram himself from his personal experience.

Burial

A person about to die is placed on the floor of the house, beside the bedstead, upon a mat. The head of the man is

12 A Thadou widow also may remarry her husband's younger or elder brother. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 60, Fn. 4, by Hutton.)

directed towards the back of the house. On the expiry of the person, the relatives give vent to their sorrow by crying, which continues for a pretty long time. When the first wave of grief has subsided they engage themselves in making arrangements for the disposal of the dead body. It is washed in tepid water by the *maksa* or in his absence by the parents, brothers, sisters or other relatives. The waist cloth is changed and a new piece is given; the upper cloth remains as it is. A fowl is then killed and cooked in an earthen pot and placed beside the head of the corpse. It is believed that the soul of the dead man (*thaoai*) comes to it. If the body decomposes soon and gives out bad smell it is an indication that the soul has come and partaken of the repast offered to it; otherwise they believe that the soul has not come to take the offerings. Meanwhile the village officers and the other inhabitants come and sit either within or outside the house and they express their sympathy for the bereaved family. They may not take anything like *zu* or other edibles belonging to the house but there is no restriction on the *zu* brought by the married daughters of the house who come to see the dead. This is observed till the disposal of the dead body.

Before proceeding to dig the grave a pig is killed by the *maksa* by spearing; it is cut into pieces and cooked. At the same time sufficient quantity of *zu* is also prepared by him and all these kept ready for the feast after burial. Though the *maksa* kills the pig and prepares *zu* he does not pay for either. All the expenditure is borne by the family of the deceased. The *maksas* next go to dig the grave.

A coffin is made with planks joined by rope lashing—nails being tabooed in such constructions.[13] The head of the corpse together with the face is covered and bound up with the turban which he used to wear while living. A part of the upper cloth of the man is spread out inside the coffin and the body placed upon it. With the other half it is covered up. The coffin is made exactly to fit the body which is placed on its back with the hands stretched along the sides. If the body be of a male, a *cham* (chopper) and an *wanchang* (brass-cup) are placed inside the coffin. At the same time four copper coins are tied

13 The Thadous put the corpse in a log of wood roughly hollowed out. A piece of plank is put on the top to cover it before burial. (Shaw—*op. cit.*, p. 53.)

to each wrist with a piece of cloth. This is meant for purchasing food on the way to the other world. When a woman dies she is placed in the coffin with all her ornaments on.

Every Purum village has a separate burial ground which is away from the village on the slope of a hill. Within the burial ground each sib has a separate area. Women dying in childbirth are not buried in this ground but are interred in a place far away from the village within the forest, where people do not usually go or prepare *jhums*.

It is the duty of the *maksas* to dig the grave.[14] At first a rectangular pit is dug on the slope of the hill to a certain depth. Then, on the side opposite to the incline of the hill, a few feet under the ground level, a horizontal tunnel is prepared. The coffin is deposited in this tunnel. The tunnel is made as big as the coffin in which the body is placed before burial. Among the Purums there is no fixity about the orientation of the head at the time of burial. It depends upon the incline of the burial ground. If it be east-west, *i.e.*, the eastern side is higher and the western lower, then the feet of the corpse will point towards the east and the head towards the west and so on.[15] In case of accidental death the body is not buried in this sort of tunnel but is placed on a shelf excavated along one side of the vertical pit.[16] No coffin is made in such cases but the dead body is tied to a piece of plank and deposited on the shelf in this condition. The mouth of the tunnel as well as the open side of the shelf are barricaded either with pieces of stone, wooden planks or bamboo posts. The vertical pit is next filled up with earth. If another person of the same sib dies in the next year or any succeeding year this grave is opened, the coffin is taken out and the bones in it are collected and tied up in a piece of cloth. The coffin of the recently dead person is next pushed inside the tunnel and the remains of the previous one are placed beside it tied up

14 Among the Kabuis " The grave is dug by those who are connected with the family by marriage with its females." (McCulloch—*Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., p. 52.)

15 The Lakher commoners are buried in such tunnels though chiefs and important persons have family vaults (Parry—*op. cit.*, pp. 410 and 412). The Kabuis also seem to have a similar type of grave. (MuCulloch—*op. cit.*, p. 52.) The Jansen grave is also of the same type. (Soppit—*op. cit.*, p. 13.) Hutton speaks of graves of similar type prevalent among the Thadous but Shaw does not refer to it. (Fn. 2 on page 55 of Shaw's *Notes on Thadou Kukis*.)

16 A similar custom is also observed by the Lakhers. (Parry—*op.cit.*, p. 413.)

in a cloth as referred to above. The pit is then filled up as before. But if a man from the same sib dies within the same year then a new grave is to be prepared for him. The grave of a person dying by accident is never disturbed for any purpose. A man may be buried in the grave of any woman who has been married into his sib but not in the grave of his married daughter. For burial purpose there is no distinction of sib between a man and his wife. The wife is always buried in the burial area of her husband's sib.

The dead body is carried by four *maksas* on their shoulders. It is taken out of the house through the front door with the feet in front and carried in the same position up to the burial ground. Friends and relatives, both male and female, accompany the dead to the last resting place. Within the grave the coffin is placed by the *maksas*. On the top of the grave a temporary platform is constructed with bamboo and on it all kinds of food are placed in an earthen plate. *Zu* is served in a *chunga* (section of a bamboo with one node kept intact), which is also placed by the side of the plate of food. Below the platform a carrying basket (*pai*) is hung from a post and a spear kept fixed in the earth near by. In the basket, a gourd-shell filled with *zu*, a bow and a quiver with some arrows, are kept for the dead. These objects are given when the dead is a man, but in case of women the basket hung from the post is a *loang* (carrying baskets of women) in place of *pai* and it contains only a gourd-shell full of *zu* and not the weapons as in the former case. On the top of the platform the same food materials are kept as in the case of the men.

The part played by the *maksas* in the disposal of the dead is very significant. Practically it appears that in the disposal of a dead body the nearest relatives of the deceased have nothing to do except looking on the different acts as mere spectators. Is it a relic of former dual organisation or matrilocal residence?[17] Among the Tlingit and the Iroquios of America exogamous moiety organisation exists and among these two tribes reciprocal burial by the moieties is the custom, *i.e.*, the members of one moiety dispose the dead of the other moiety. Among the Purums this

17 Vide author's article on this topic in *Anthropological Papers*, New Series, No. 6, Calcutta University, p. 41, sq.

has been to a certain extent necessarily changed on account of the tripartite organisation.

After burial the members of the party return to the house of the dead person and each of them washes his or her hands, mouth and feet with water provided by the inmates of the house and change their clothes. A fire is kindled in front of the door within the verandah and every one of the funeral party touches it there. *Leikhum* and *khaichu* leaves are burnt on this fire. The *thempu* ceremonially cleanses the house by sprinkling water with *tairem* leaves. (In Khulen the house is again cleansed on the third day after death when the companion soul of the dead person leaves the house.) Then the oldest *maksa* drinks a little *zu* and eats a little of the pig's flesh which he cooked before going to bury the dead body. The *thempu* does the same after him and they are followed by others. Pregnant women may not eat this meat nor drink this *zu*. All persons may now enter the house. No *genna* is observed by the widow or the sons of the dead man either in respect of food, dress or general movements. The only taboo observed is that the widow may not remarry within one year after the death of her husband.

Concept of Soul and After-life

Information about the soul and after-life was collected in 1932 from Chumbang which was later on verified and augmented in 1936 from Khulen. In both these villages we were helped by the village elders headed by the *thempu* and the *maipas*. We have also incorporated into this account incidental references to these topics made on other occasions.

The Purums believe in the existence of the soul but there is difference of opinion regarding the number of souls possessed by an individual. The informants from Chumbang told us that each person possesses only one soul which resides within the body and departs from it at the time of death. But the Khulen people spoke of five souls for each person. One of these closely guards the individual against evil spirits and thereby saves him from different kinds of diseases and misfortunes which proceed from these evil agencies. This soul is called by the Manipuri term *loi-naba* or companion. Another of these five souls causes men and women to dream and it works and appears in dream only. This is the dream-soul. The third is

the shadow-soul which is identified with the shadow cast by a person against light. But the reflection in water is not regarded as a soul. As regards the remaining two our informants pleaded ignorance as they were not acquainted with the forms and activities of them. But they told us that they had heard of their existence from their elders.

After the death of a person his *loi-naba* or companion-soul remains within the house for three days as already stated and leaves it for the *khamnung* only when the house is cleaned for the second time. It is not definitely known what becomes of the other souls. Chumbang believes that all souls whether good or bad directly proceed to the *khamnung* where they are judged according to their merits but Khulen holds that only the souls of good persons can go to the *khamnung* while those of evil-doers are stopped on the way and led to the place of punishment.

There is no term for ' soul ' in Purum language. We questioned our informants from all the four villages on various occasions on this point but they always used the Manipuri word ' *thaoai* ' to indicate the soul and definitely stated that they do not know any Purum equivalent for it.

Khulen uses the word *khamnung* (a Purum term) to indicate the other world but Chumbang always refers to it by the Manipuri term *laireppa*. The *khamnung* is situated on the sky, according to Chumbang, towards the west. It is ruled over by Chom (evidently a corruption of Yama—the ruler of the under-world according to Hindu pantheon). The souls are either punished or rewarded according to the nature of the deeds they perform in this world. Those who are guilty of misdeeds like stealing, lying, etc., are required to live in pits of human faeces or are branded with red-hot iron or required to repeat their misdeeds publicly over there. The souls of good men, that is those who have feasted their villagers, are allowed to build their houses in the *khamnung* and live there. They are later on gradually joined by their relatives, as for example, their wives, sons, daughters, and others when the latter die, and live happily. The *cham* (chopper) placed in the coffin of a dead man serves him in the *khamnung* to construct his house while the *wanchang* (brass-cup) is required to keep food and drink. The ornaments which are put on the body of a dead woman appear in the other world on the body of her soul, deco-

rated with which she moves about in the house constructed by her husband who has perchance come to the *khamnung* before her.

The life in the *khamnung* for the good people is the same as here on this earth with the exception that there is sufficiency of food and no one suffers from any want thereof. But the Purums seem to have very vague ideas about the nature of life the souls lead there. They are not sure whether the souls have got to work for their living. The souls no doubt suffer from the pangs of hunger and thirst like anybody on this earth. It is also said that sometimes these souls are born again in the womb of the women of their tribe to pass another span of life here on this earth. The Khulen informants told us that the *loi-naba* (companion-soul) living in the *khamnung* has not the same strength which its earthly body possesses.

Purum ideas about the soul and the other world appear to have been considerably influenced by the conceptions of the Hindu dwellers of the valley. The concept of retribution which is absent among most of their neighbours and congeners seems to have taken root among the Purums. Men are rewarded or punished according to the nature of their deeds on this earth. Every soul cannot now go to the happy land of the dead where sufficiency prevails. The different kinds of punishment awarded to the wicked are also derived from the same source and tallies with what is recorded in the *Puranas*. But in the definition of the good we find a glimpse of the tribal mind. It seems that piety consists in feasting the villagers which can wipe out all misdeeds and earn for the giver of feasts heavenly rewards. Performance of religious rites and ceremonies like worship of Pathien, the Supreme God, or of other minor deities or spirits, does not count in the matter of attaining a place in the *khamnung*. Truthfulness has somehow or other created a position for itself but other ethical qualities such as kindness, charitable disposition, etc., have not yet entered into their religious conception. The sacrifices and offerings made to the different deities are not meant for securing bliss in the after-life. They are required to please or appease the deities or evil spirits who influence the worldly affairs of the Purums and bring about, on the one hand, death, disease and misfortune, when angry, and on the other, bumper crops and other kinds of happiness, when satisfied.

We have already said that all good persons go to the *khamnung* and live there but this only refers to those who die a natural death and not to those unfortunate ones who die through accident or by some other unnatural way. Thus when a man dies by falling from a tree or by drowning he is not entitled to enter into the *khamnung*. This also applies to persons who are killed by wild animals like elephants, tigers, bears, etc., and also to those who are burnt to death. Women dying in child-birth also share the same fate. These souls turn into evil spirits and roam about in the jungle and wreak vengeance on such unfortunate persons who may fall into their clutches.

CHAPTER VIII

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

SEC. I—MEASURES OF TIME

The Purum calendar is much influenced by the Meitheis. The year consists of twelve lunar months and is divided into two seasons namely summer or *kalel* and winter or *phalvi*. Each of these seasons consists of six months. The summer however, is further subdivided into two equal parts of three months each. The first three months of the year (namely Sajibu, Kalel and Inga) are real summer while the next three are known as *shurpi* or rainy season. Winter has no minor subdivisions; autumn and spring do not appear in the calendar as they hardly exist in these hills. Each month consists of thirty days and is divided into two parts of fifteen days each.[1] These divisions of the month have no name. The division of the month is based on the phases of the moon : one part starts from the day following the Fullmoon day and the other begins from the day following the New Moon day. The Fullmoon day is called *hlathul* and the New Moon day as *hlathar*. There is no name for each day of the two parts of the month nor are the latter divided into weeks. The Purums have no clear idea about the number of days of the year and we could not find out the means adopted for adjusting the lunar year to the solar one and thereby to the seasons from year to year. It was pointed out to the informants that if they follow the lunar calendar without proper correction then after, say about forty years, the months included under summer will go over to the winter and *vice versa*. This was too much mathematics for them to understand and they could not give any satisfactory solution. In actual practice however nothing like this has as yet cropped up which shows that there is a method of correction but unfortunately our informants were unaware of it.

[1] *Cf.* Lakher system which is almost similar to that of the Purums. (Parry—*The Lakhers*, p. 192.)

The names of the twelve months of the year are given below together with their Manipuri and English equivalents. They are arranged in order from the first month of the year.

Purum Calendar

PURUM	MANIPURI	ENGLISH	SEASONS	
1. Sajibu	Sajibu	April-May	Summer (proper) KALEL	KALEL or Summer
2. Kalel	Kalel	May-June		
3. Inga	Inga	June-July		
4. Ingel	Ingen	July-August	Rainy Season SHURPI	
5. Thaoal	Thoual	August-September		
6. Langpan	Langbol	September-October		
7. Mera	Mera	October-November		PHALVI or Winter
8. Hiangkai	Hiyangei	November-December		
9. Painu	Painu	December-January		
10. Wakching	Wakching	January-February		
11. Phairel	Phairel	February-March		
12. Lamta	Lamda	March-April		

The day and the following night are divided into eleven parts as given below. The day starts with the cock-crow.

1. Ar-hung (cock-crow).
2. Khau-war (break of day).
3. Ni-shok (sun-rise)
4. Ni-dung-ma (before midday).
5. Ni-dung (midday).
6. Nithang-kai (after midday).
7. Ni-ta (sun-set).
8. Kol-al (after sunset but before darkness has come over).
9. Ya-chang (beginning of night).
10. A-thim (complete darkness has enveloped the earth).
11. Nong-jai (mid-night).

After *nong-jai* another day begins with *ar-hung* or cock-crow. Very short period of time is called *nga-hak-ta*.

Sec. II—Measures of Length

There are two systems of measuring length. One of them is calculated with the ' breadth of fingers ' while the other

starts with the distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when the fingers are placed side by side, and ends with the arm-stretch. The first is generally used when comparatively short lengths are to be indicated. The two methods are given below :—

First Method

1. Kut-ani (width of two fingers—middle and index—in juxtaposition).
2. Kut-inthum (width of three fingers—index, middle and ring fingers—in juxtaposition).
3. Kut-inli (width of four fingers—index, middle, ring and small fingers—in juxtaposition).
4. Kut-pakhat (width of five fingers of one hand).
5. Kut-pak-ani (width of two palms or ten fingers).

In this way short lengths are expressed. Measures of thickness and width are also generally indicated according to this system.

Second Method

1. Khui—The distance between the tip of the thumb and the tip of the index finger when these two fingers are placed side by side in contact with one another.
2. Uchi-hap—The distance between the tip of thumb and tip of index finger when the fingers are spread out to the utmost extent.
3. Hapha—The distance between tip of thumb and tip of middle finger when the fingers are spread out to the utmost extent.
4. Hu-ning—Tip of middle finger to end of radiale. (cubit)
5. Ban-chan—Tip of middle finger to the top of shoulder.
6. Tha-khai—Tip of middle finger to the middle of sternum.
7. Wang-ma-ning-tul—Tip of middle finger to the farthest end of the shoulder blade, on the other side.
8. Lam-ha—Tip of middle finger to tip of middle finger on the other side. (arm-stretch).

This method of measuring length is used when dealing with comparatively longer distance. Very great distance is measured by day's journey. We tried to find out measures of area but were not successful as our informants could not grasp the idea.

Though height may easily be expressed with the help of any one of the two methods described above, the Purums use a different system for indicating it.

Measures of Height

1.	Ke-hong	...	... from ground to the ankle-joint
2.	Ke-rai	...	... ,, ,, ,, calf
3.	Khuk-bo	...	... ,, ,, ,, knee
4.	Tor-jum	...	from ground to the middle of thigh
5.	Hontar	...	,, ,, ,, top of thigh
6.	Kong	...	,, ,, ,, waist
7.	Pang	...	,, ,, ,, below rib-bones
8.	Yak-par	...	,, ,, ,, armpit
9.	Ling-chong	...	,, ,, ,, shoulder
10.	Hong	...	,, ,, ,, neck
11.	Bao	...	,, ,, ,, mouth
12.	Nak-lung	...	,, ,, ,, nosetip
13.	Mit	...	,, ,, ,, eyes
14.	Kur	...	,, ,, ,, ears
15.	Lu	...	,, ,, ,, crown of the head

The three different systems of measuring length among the Purums are absolutely based on the human body which perhaps proves their great antiquity and natural simplicity. In a few cases the terms have been coined with the help of foreign words but that has not in any way affected the systems. Nowadays they have come to know the English linear measures which are imposed upon them when they come to purchase articles like mill-made cloth in the market. Most of them do not understand this type of measurement and it is not strange that they are sometimes cheated by the wily merchants. Among themselves they never use it.

Sec. III—Measures of Capacity

The quantity of a thing is not expressed in weight but by volume. They have no weights and no balance. We did not

find the weighing-beam or steel-yard or the ordinary balance, but we think this condition will not continue for long. When they go to the market at Waikhong they have to purchase things weighed with the balance. The measures of capacity which they use are given below. They also show the intimate relation between the human body as well as domestic utensils manufactured by the Purums themselves.

1. Mut-kha —one handful.
2. Kutu-ha —one palmful.
3. Kutu-ani —two handfuls.
4. Tingkur —a small basketful (as much as a man can eat in one meal).
5. Tai-akha —one basketful (about 40 lb).
6. Lan-ha —one carrying basketful (about 80 lb).
7. Kok-ha —one big basketful (this type of basket is used to store paddy and may contain from 250 lb. to 400 lb. There is no fixed size for such baskets).
8. Pang —A very big basketry vessel usually kept in the granary. This may contain from 30 to 50 carrying-basketfuls of paddy.

The suffixes ' kha ' and ' ha ' are abbreviations of ' akha ' which means ' one ' in Purum.

Sec. IV—Numerals

The Purums do not exactly follow the Meithei system of counting. They have ten simple numerals at the beginning and the rest are formed on the basis of ' tens '. The multiplier follows the theme and is itself followed by the addendum. This is similar to the Thadou system except that the conjunction ' le ' which comes between the multiplier and the addendum among the Thadous is not used by the Purums. The relation with the Lushei system seems to be even closer than this. The first part of the synonym for 100,000 ' lakh-akha ' seems to have been borrowed from the plains of Assam or Bengal.

PURUM NUMERALS COMPARED WITH THADOU, LUSHEI AND MEITHEI NUMERALS

English	Purum	Thadou	Lushei	Meithei
1. One	Akha	Khat	Pa-khat	Ama
2. Two	Ani	Ni	Pa-hnih	Ani
3. Three	Inthum	Thum	Pa-thum	Ahum
4. Four	Inli	Li	Pa-li	Mari
5. Five	Ranga	Nga	Pa-nga	Manga
6. Six	Aruk	Gup	Pa-ruk	Taruk
7. Seven	Sari	Sagi	Pa-sari	Taret
8. Eight	Aret	Get	Pa-riat	Nipan
9 Nine	Aku	Ko	Pa-kua	Mapan
10. Ten	Ashom	Som	Shom	Tara
11. Eleven	Shom-akha	Som le khat	Shom-le-pa-khat	Taramathoi
12. Twelve	Shom-ani	Som le ni	Shom-le-pa-hnih	Taranithoi and so
on in this way up to nineteen.				
20. Twenty	Shom-ni	Som ni	Shom-hnih	Kul
21. Twenty-one	Shom-ni-akha	Som ni le khat	Shom-hnih-leh pa-khat	Kulama (?)
30. Thirty	Shom-thum	Som thum	Shom-thum	Kunthra
40. Forty	Shom-li	Som li	Shom-li	Niphu
50. Fifty	Shom-anga	Som nga	Shom-nga	Yangkhai
60. Sixty	Shom-ruk	Som gup	Shom-ruk	Humphu
70. Seventy	Shom-sari	Som sagi	Shom-sari	Humphutara
80. Eighty	Shom-ret	Som get	Shom-riat	Mariphu
90. Ninety	Shom-ku	Som ko	Shom-kua	Mariphutara
One hundred	Ri-aha	Ya khat	Za khat	Chama
Two hundred	Ri-ani	Ya ni	Za ni	Chani
Three hundred	Ri-athum	Ya thum	Za thum	
Four hundred	Ri-ali	Ya li	Za li	
Five hundred	Ri-anga	Ya nga	Za nga	
Six hundred	Ri-aruk	Ya gup	Za ruk	
Seven hundred	Ri-sari	Ya sagi	Za sari	
Eight hundred	Ri-aret	Ya get	Za riat	
Nine hundred	Ri-aku	Ya ko	Za kua	
One thousand	Li-shing-ha		Shang	
Ten thousand	Li-shing-shom		Shing	
One lakh	Lakh-akha			

Sec. V—Points of the Compass

The four points of the compass are *ni-sho* (east), *ni-tlak* (west), *awang* (north) and *hlang-ting* (south). *Ni-sho* and *ni-tlak* seem to be connected with the rising and setting of the sun (*ni*). The upward direction is called *chung-teng* and downward one *thoi-teng*. The four corners have no Purum terms but are at present indicated with the Manipuri terms. When describing the spirits of the different directions we found

that these terms are not used except *awang* which is perhaps a Meithei term adopted by the Purums. *Nong-pok* and *nong-chuk* are evidently taken from Meithei.

Sec. VI—Eclipses

We have stated elsewhere that solar eclipse is believed to be caused by a black dog devouring the sun (*ni*). This dog is nowadays identified with Arahuketu (Rahu Ketu). The lunar eclipse is also due to the same reason. On this occasion the moon (*hla*) is devoured by the dog or rather Arahuketu. The Purums do not sleep as long as the solar or lunar eclipse lasts. Moreover weaving is tabooed during the solar eclipse.

CHAPTER IX

MUSIC AND DANCING

SEC. I—MUSIC

Music, both vocal and instrumental, often enlivens the life of the Purums. On public festive occasions, such as the worship of Nungchungba, music and dancing form the most important items of entertainment. It has been stated that on this occasion the villagers, both male and female, married and unmarried, begin singing and dancing in the *laman* from about 10 A.M. and continue right up to 3-30 P.M. and this programme is repeated from day to day for seven days. The worship of Sabuhong is another public occasion when the villagers indulge in dancing and singing for a day only. Social *gennas* like *tolai-hong* and *thien-hong-ba*, performed by individuals are also occasions of great festivity in which villagers are invited to the house of the performer where they pass the time in dancing, singing, drinking and feasting. In the *thien-hong-ba genna* the festivities continue for three days. On occasions of marriage as well as when village officers are installed, dancing and singing form important features of the ceremonies.

The most important musical instruments of the Purums are the *sarinda*, *rotchem*, drum, horns of *mithuns* and the gongs. (Plate XX, Figs. 77—81.) The *sarinda* is a stringed-instrument hollowed out from a single piece of wood with a curious shape. (Plate XX, Fig. 78.) The upper part of this hollow is left open. The instrument is played on in an almost vertical position with a bow. It is also a common musical instrument of rural Bengal and has most probably entered Manipur from its western border. The name of the instrument also points to the same conclusion. The *rotchem* (Plate XX, Fig. 80) is the bagpipe of the Manipur Hills and is a very common instrument of the Lushei-Kuki tribes. It is made of a number of reed-pipes inserted into a gourd-shell. One of these pipes is the mouth-piece. Different notes are produced by varying the length of the pipes. It is a very common wind instrument found in almost every hill-village of Manipur and has a wide

distribution, outside this State, in Assam. A similar instrument called *cheng* is found in China but it has a greater number of pipes and is of very ancient date. It is not impossible that the *rotchem* is derived from this Chinese instrument.[1]

The drum (Plate XX, Fig. 77) is made of a log of *wang* tree, the inner part of which is scooped out. At both ends it is covered with hide preferably of deer. The pieces of hide at both ends are kept in position and stretched at the same time by means of narrow strips of hide passed through the perforations on their borders. The hide is prepared by keeping it under water for a day and then cleaning it by rubbing with the edge of a knife. The drum is generally kept hung up within the house and brought out only on two occasions, according to Changninglong, at the time of the worship of Nungchungba. Any one who breaks this taboo is fined one pig and a jar of *zu*. But this does not seem to be observed by all the villages. At Khulen a dance was organised by the youth of the village in honour of the present writer in which a drum was played upon. We did not however enquire whether there are different varieties of drums from ceremonial standpoint.

To keep company with the vocal music *mithun* horns and gongs are often beaten upon with sticks. (Plate XX, Figs. 79 and 81.) These are the few musical instruments of the Purums which break the monotony of their life. Dancing is almost always accompanied by vocal music. A number of Purum songs sung on different occasions are given below. They were freely translated by our interpreter Mr. Kampu with the help of the Purums themselves.

Marriage Song

Oni jui kilha ohe jui kilha
Changpi jui kilha sante jui suh

Translation

I have given my daughter in marriage to-day
I send her in my great sorrow.
May she be lucky by bearing many children.

1 *Vide* A. M. Meerwarth—*A Guide to the Collection of Musical Instruments Exhibited in the Ethnographic Gallery of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1917, p. 13.

Funeral Song

Chim rui lui—jang von lui changpi jui tui matum nuo !
Ratsia voretao wangma ningthou ngoupanpi ! !

Free Translation

Our fellow friend is dead and falls like the trunk of a banana tree.
His countenance has become pale and he has gone leaving us forever in great sorrow.

To-lai-hong-ba Song

Karengo ahrao rengo san sum ahra,
Sitai phanrang ahrae :

Our chief or *khullakpa* is very handsome and good and the *dolai* is also very nice to look at.

Rengin lam rengin lam hotin rengin lam
Michungah mo rengin lam
Michungah mo rengin lam
Somju theipa jung kaidom

Our chief's dancing is very good
You are dancing on the *dolai*
You are dancing on the *dolai*
I want you to drink my wine.

(*Note*—In Purum language ' reng ' means ' chief ' and ' ka ' means ' our.' So ' kareng ' means ' our chief.').

Nungchungba Song

Sako lamnu rimle vai in luttai
Umtui kunga sakam kei o
Ajek sengri hojai

Free Translation

Every tribe has dancing
Our *Nungchungba* god is also very handsome like the striped skin of a tiger which lives near the water.

PLATE XX

Purum Musical Instruments.

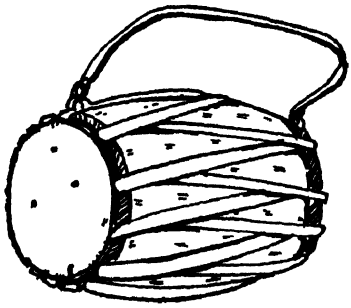


Fig. 77. Drum.

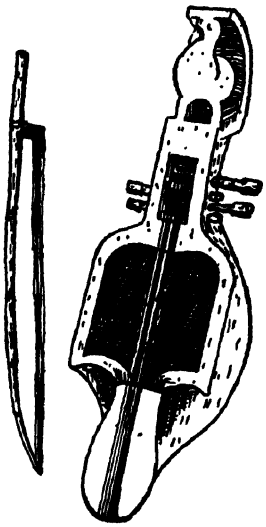


Fig. 78 Stringed-instrument (*Sarinda*).

Fig. 79. Mithun horn.

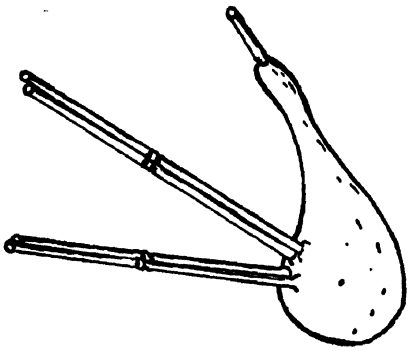


Fig. 80. Bag-pipe (*Rotchem*)

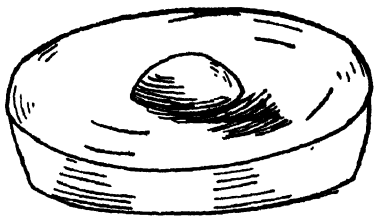


Fig. 81. Gong.

Pamjai a pamningbang kaningbang
Rangsel von ribik tui
Mirirona miriron'chan run eupa
Miri ronthei chamo-e.

Free Translation

Hanging on the side of the *mithun*
a tiger is biting it.
It is on a high mountain
and it is dead.

Love Songs

(Sung by a young man)

Oe dio! Ichung thang van timhel komo
Dio! Simlei tensang kaihal komo
Dio! Simlei koiha ngir ngui o! ana.

Free Translation

Oh my dearest! Though the sky above falls down,
Dearest! Though the whole world (earth?) cracks,
Dearest! Let us not forsake each other but live or die in the same spot.

(Sung by a young woman)

Arei kala kaditchu
Rengrei kala kaditchu
Dio! Achul kunga.
Achul rengrei kaditthei ana.

Free Translation

Of the flowers that I like best
Of the *rengrei* flowers that I like best
Dearest! I like you best
As the *rengrei* flower which blossoms in the old field.

(*Note*—The 'old field' referred to here is the abandoned *jhum* field where the *rengrei* flowers blossom in abundance.)

Sec. II—Dances

There are different varieties of dances among the Purums none of which seemed to be sprightly except one in which the men only dance in a circle with clubs in their hand. This is perhaps a weak imitation of the war dance of some of their neighbours. The most common form of dance is the one in which both boys and girls take part. The boys are either placed in front and the girls behind, or they move together in a circle (Plate III, Figs. 10 and 11). The boys spread out their hands laterally and the girls extend the upper arms only but keep the forearms in a more or less vertical position. Both the groups move the palms only all the while, keeping the rest of the arm in a fixed position. The steps are not at all lively and the pose gives an air of relaxation. The music is monotonous.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

SEC. I.—ACCULTURATION

In the preceding chapters we have passed through the different aspects of the life of the Purums. It now remains to pause and find out what recent or remote influences have helped to give them their present shape. From earlier accounts we learn that the Purums along with the other Old Kuki tribes of Manipur were dislodged from their original home somewhere in the Lushai Hills much earlier than the Old Kuki tribes of Cachar. The Chirus and Anals are mentioned in the *Manipur Chronicles* as early as the middle of the 16th century. The Aimol came from Tippera in 1723 but the eastern boundary of Tippera then extended to the east of Lushai Hills. These tribes were driven towards the north by the New Kuki tribes who were themselves forced towards the same direction, in turn, by the incursions of the Lushais. The Old Kukis sought shelter in the hills which skirt the Imphal Valley on the east and west. Isolated from their parent stock they began life anew in the seclusion of these hills. But they were not left long to themselves. Soon they were followed by the New Kuki tribes in their new home and were thus scattered in all directions again. In course of their peregrinations through the hills of Manipur they became practically isolated into small groups. In their new home they were immediately subjected to the influence of the Meitheis, who presented a higher culture with a more effective productive organisation. Manipuri culture was neither antagonistic nor absolutely different from that of these Kukis at least at the beginning of their contact. In their original home in the Lushai Hills, as far as we know, the Old Kukis were surrounded by peoples of the same type of culture from whom they had little to copy. But in the new environment the political and economic superiority of the Manipuris set an ideal before them and they eagerly began to imitate or assimilate those elements of culture which attracted their attention most. More-

over, these Old Kuki tribes do not seem to have suffered from inferiority complex at any time after their sojourn in Manipur. There is no conscious attempt to preserve their culture from the inroads of their superior neighbours and no antagonism has ever been felt against it. This attitude has greatly helped in the peaceful assimilation of traits of Meithei culture. The Purums have never tried to grow a hard shell like many other tribes of India by setting up social barriers to protect their own culture.

Besides the Manipuris, the Old Kuki tribes came in contact with a number of Naga tribes such as the Kabuis and the Tangkhuls, in their new home. The common traits of culture that we meet with among the Nagas and the Old Kuki tribes may be due to this contact. The New Kukis, who now form a substantial section in Manipur Hills, might have also affected the culture of the Old Kuki tribes to a certain extent. But it is difficult to ascertain the amount of their influence on the Old Kuki tribes after their settlement in Manipur as both the groups originally belonged to a common culture and common habitat.

In the life and culture of the Purums marked traces of Hindu influence are visible. But possibly they have not derived it directly from the Hindus of the plains of Bengal or Assam though it is not impossible in the case of certain other Old Kuki tribes, *e.g.*, Rangkhol and Bete, which settled in Cachar and came under the direct influence of the Hindus of the locality. The Purums seem to have derived their Hindu traits from the Meitheis which has necessarily coloured them to a certain degree. It is, however, difficult to assess accurately the extent of influence exerted by each of the different groups of people on the Purums. Roughly speaking the Meitheis seem to have exerted the greatest amount of influence on their culture. Next in order of importance are the Nagas. The contribution of the New Kukis, as already stated, cannot be properly assessed at this stage.

Besides contact with these groups of people there are other factors which have deeply affected the life of the Purums. They are no longer absolutely isolated from the vortex of modern civilisation. No doubt, they are away from the nearest rail-head by a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles which has given them relative immunity from direct attack by

foreign merchandise and money-lenders. But the road which connects Imphal, the capital of the State, with Shuganu passes by their habitat and is used for transport of men and goods by automobiles during the dry months. This brings to Waikhong market, through which the road passes, commodities of foreign manufacture. Waikhong market is constantly visited by the Purums of the three villages situated near it for business as well as for relaxation. Tailor-made shirts and coats of foreign fabric, lanterns, torch-lights, etc. are now seen in the houses of comparatively well-to-do Purums. The relatively high price of such articles owing to heavy transport cost now stands on their way to general adoption. But this is not always effective. Though foreign merchandise has come to Purum home, it is still immune from the money-lenders of the plains. This is partly due to difficulties of transport and partly to the judicious laws of land tenure of the State as well as the nature of land-economy of the people. Investment is risky where there is no permanently cultivated land with a marketable value. Nobody would invest money against *jhum* fields and the Purums have nothing else from which the loan can be realised. The recent introduction of permanently cultivated fields will sooner or later change the situation and if the State also relinquishes the stringency of the land-laws the Purums will fall easy prey to the land-grabbers who are sure to flock to their home.

Pax Brittanica has affected the internal political organisation of the tribe. The village officers now wield very little real authority. On the other hand they have to submit to a lot of troubles for holding these posts which no longer bring honour, prestige or profit as they used to do in the past when the arms of the Supreme Government did not reach as far as these border regions or were not so efficient.

In one respect the Purums appear to be more fortunate than some of their neighbours. The Christian missionaries do not seem to have turned their eyes upon them. This has saved the Purums from a number of complications which usually follow conversion to Christianity among such ethnic groups. State officers do not play an important role in the life of the Purums and State Service, excepting a solitary instance, has not attracted the Purums. They do not leave their home in search of employment as labourers. They live and die where they are born. These facts prove that whatever traces of foreign

influence the Purums show, must have been adopted locally either from the Meitheis or through them from the foreigners. We shall now try to show these influences categorically in the different departments of life.

It is difficult to picture exactly the nature of economic life of the Purums when they entered Manipur. From the meagre accounts of McCulloch and Brown it may be gleaned that they practised temporary hill-cultivation (*jhum*) as the most important source of food supply and this is still the foremost productive system among them. But the example of the valley dwellers has deeply influenced the Purums in this respect. We have already shown in a previous chapter that there is a steady growth of plough-cultivation among the Purums. In fact new villages have been established with an eye to this factor, and families are migrating towards the valley leaving their home on the hills in the expectation of getting land which can be permanently cultivated. This new orientation of their economic system has already begun to influence the different aspects of their life such as inheritance, marriage, religion, etc. The Purums were not acquainted with plough cultivation and its advantages. It is the example of the Meitheis which has opened their eyes to the better prospects of this form of cultivation. They have adopted it wholesale—methods, implements and even religious rites—from the Manipuris of the valley. The names of the agricultural implements used by them in this form of cultivation have also been taken from the Manipuris. In fact it is a good example of wholesale adoption of a trait-complex. Though plough-cultivation has assured them a steady supply of food-grains it has, on the other hand, tied them to the soil for a much longer period of the year which has deprived them of some of their more manly pursuits. Hunting as a supplementary means of supplying food has altogether disappeared. Traps and snares are set by individuals not for procuring meat for the family but as a pastime. Organised hunting is only resorted to when wild animals come to destroy the standing crop. Otherwise hunting has assumed a ceremonial character and is practised only once a year. The wild fruits and roots of their neighbouring hills and jungles no longer play any part in their economic life. Even at times of scarcity nowadays they do not turn to this natural source of food but try to borrow money from their neighbours.

Along with the change in the nature of cultivation there has been a corresponding change in the type of domestic animals too. Plough-cultivation requires draught animals. Cows and buffaloes are now found in the houses of persons who have cultivable land in the valley. These animals are not sacrificed to any deity which appears to have been the main incentive for keeping domestic animals in their pure *jhuming* days. She-buffaloes and cows are not generally milched. But nowadays some of the Purums take milk on occasions in imitation of the people of the valley. This now leads to occasional milching of these animals in some houses. But this innovation has not yet changed infant diet or diet of the sick nor have the people realised its great food-value. Those who take it now, do it perhaps from a sense of bravado.

In the matter of dress and decoration the Purums seem to have borrowed freely from the Manipuris. The previous writers on the Kukis would have us believe that the Old Kukis used to go about naked not long ago.[1] But at present nobody can accuse them of this indecency. The ordinary waist-cloth (Plate II, Fig. 8) of the Purums appears to be of Manipuri origin, together with the method of wearing it. The upper cloth (Plate V, Fig. 14 and Plate XI, Fig. 37) they might have brought from their own homeland, but the turban (Plate I, Figs. 1-6) is of doubtful origin. Many of them now use shirts and coats (Plate I, Fig. 5) on important occasions. These articles of dress are made of imported cloth and are sewn in sewing machines by tailors at the Waikhong market. The *fatua* (under-vest Plate VII, Fig. 24) is a common feature of the dress of the young men. These are evidently loans from the Meitheis who also borrowed them in turn from the people of the plains outside Manipur. The striped *phanek* (Plate X, Fig. 34) which the Purum women now wear on special occasions is undoubtedly of Manipuri origin and is even now purchased from the Meithei dealers in the market. The long-sleeved tight-fitting jacket (Plate III, Fig. 10 and Plate X, Fig. 35) made of velvet or satin with a preference for black or blue colour which Purum women don on festive occasions is also borrowed from the Meitheis. But the chemise and blouse which are so popular

1 *Vide* Shaw—*Thadou Kukis*, p. 18, Fn. 3 by Dr. J. H. Hutton.

in the plains of Bengal and Assam have not yet made their appearance.

Purum girls wear a number of ornaments (Plate IX, Fig. 33 and Plate X, Fig. 34) before marriage. These ornaments have all been borrowed from the people of the valley and they are always purchased from the dealers in the market and none of them is manufactured by the Purums themselves. After marriage even these borrowed plumes are discarded (Plate IV, Fig. 13) and married Purum ladies do not feel shy to go about without them. These borrowed articles of decoration have not yet taken root in their culture which seems to be utterly devoid of all traces of artistic genius. The vehicles of primitive art are their objects of daily use. In the culture of the Purums we do not meet with any expression of artistic sense save and except where they have come in contact with the Meitheis and borrowed from them. Even these adaptations have not freely flourished among them.

In the matter of hair-dressing men and women show marked influence of the dwellers of the valley. The young boys now rarely shave all around the crown of the head or keep a tuft of hair on the top (Plate XI, Fig. 36) as old customs require, nor do the young men wear their hair long tied in a knot at the back. This has given place to closely cropped hair especially at the back (Plate II, Figs. 8 and 9) in the style of the Manipuris. The old men, however, still pursue the customary fashion which will perhaps die out with them. Up to the fifth year Purum girls keep only a small patch of hair at the back of the head, a little above the neck, the rest of the head having been shaved clean. But from the sixth year custom requires them to grow their hair long. But this is not observed so strictly in these days. The Purum unmarried girls now cut the hair in the style of the Manipuri *leisabis*. (Plate IV, Fig. 12 and Plate X Fig. 34.)

The domestic architecture of the Purums has also been influenced by the Manipuris of the valley. The more substantial house with four-sloped roofs, spacious open verandah and decorative carvings (Plate VI, Fig. 18) on the beams is a direct loan from the valley. This type of house increases in number as we come down to the flat country. In Khulen it is rare, at Changninglong a fair number may be seen, while at Tampak it is common.

The ordinary Indonesian tension-loom which the Purums use is of ancient origin. But the more complicated loom on which the fabrics with designs are woven has been taken from the Manipuris. Some authors hold that the spinning wheel and the small ginning machine are also loans from the plains-dwellers for which, truly speaking, there is little evidence.

The Purums do not manufacture any kind of earthenware and purchase all the pots necessary for domestic purposes from the potters of Waikhong. Waikhong is one of the few centres of pottery manufacture in Manipur. Brass and bell-metal utensils are found in well-to-do houses only in imitation of the dwellers of the valley. These are purchased from the Manipuri dealers and are never manufactured by the Purums. The Purum householders generally make their own baskets. But the artistic baskets of the Marrings (Plate XVIII, Fig. 73) have penetrated among them and fashionable families are sure to possess one or more. The big mat (Plate VI, Fig. 18) woven by the Lois are also found in Purum houses of affluent means.

The entire village organisation of the Purums seems to be of extraneous origin. The eight village officers, each with particular duties set apart, do not appear in the accounts of McCulloch, Brown or Lieut. Stewart. McCulloch, writng of the Koms, states that " the heads of the pure Kom villages appear elective, and to have no great power or perquisites. " Brown speaks of the Purums as a branch of the Koms. According to him " The Kom villages resemble, in all respects, those of the Khongjais; their system of government is also similar." This is probably true of those Kom villages which, according to McCulloch, had come in close contact with the Khongjais and even had largely intermarried.[2] Lieut. R. Stewart in his account of the Old Kukis of Northern Cachar writes: " There is no regular system of government among the Old Kookies, and they have no hereditary chiefs, as is the case with the new ones. A headman called Ghalim is appointed by themselves over each village; but he is much more of a priest than a potentate, and his temporal power is much limited." [3] As regards the duties, privileges and method of appointment of the *khullakpa* there is not much difference between the old accounts and the present condition. But the other officers of present day Purum villages

2 *Vide* McCulloch—*Accounts of the Valley of Munnipore*, etc., pp. 64-65.
3 See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIV, p. 620.

appear to be either borrowed from the valley or imposed by the Meitheis to facilitate administration. The ancient term for the Purum village headman is *kareng* but this is now unknown to them. All the posts now bear Meithei names and the duties assigned to them are also Meithei in origin.

In the domain of social organisation or rather internal structure of the tribe in particular, there seems to have been little or no borrowing though there is sufficient similarity with the Meitheis. This similarity is most probably due to their participation in a common culture pattern. Almost all the tribes of this region have the same form of internal structure. In some cases however alternative Meithei names for clans have been mentioned by different tribes. This is, no doubt, the effect of a social desire to show affinity with the culture traits of the politically dominant group. The Purums also showed this weakness occasionally when we asked the names of their sibs, but it was only a temporary feeling which they could not keep up for long After a few minutes, unconsciously they would revert to their own names for the different sibs

The Purum laws of inheritance are now passing through a transitory stage brought about by the introduction of plough-cultivation. Permanently cultivable fields with a regular market for sale has affected the traditional laws of inheritance by the youngest son which is now being replaced by equal distribution among all the sons with a little in excess for the youngest.

It is in the domain of religion that the Purums have borrowed most from their neighbours, the Meitheis. Both beliefs and practices have undergone appreciable change. There are three elements in the composition of Purum religion, *viz.*, the ancient traits of their own culture, the direct loans from the Meitheis and Hindu elements borrowed through the Manipuris. Nungchungba, Lamhel, and Lamtaiba seem to be the original Purum deities who still hold sway over the health and productive system of the Purums. In addition to these, there is a number of other evil spirits, mainly disease-godlings, such as Lai-thuk-pinu, Lai-yai and so on, which form probably part of the old core of beliefs.

The god Senamahi is an important deity of the Purums. He is at the same time the household god as well as the god of the sib. He has a place set apart at one corner of the house where

he is worshipped by the householder when necessary. Leima-ril is spoken of as the wife of Senamahi by the Khulen informants and Hodson refers to a close connection between Senamahi and Laima-ren (the great Princess) in the beleifs of the Meitheis.[4] Senamahi's connection with the sib among the Purums is through the *pipa*. Each sib has a gnealogical head called *pipa* in whose house the god is worshipped. With the rise of the subsibs the *pipas* of these social groups now maintain Senamahi in their houses. The first fruits of the field are offered to him at the house of the *pipa*. Among the Manipuris Senamahi is the principal household god and in each house the south-west corner is sacred to him. There, a mat and a bamboo vessel are kept for his use. He is worshipped everyday in every house. This is the only role in which he appears among the Meitheis. He is not connected with the sibs among them. There are Pibas among the Meitheis too but these offices have no essential connection with this deity. It is, however, believed that formerly if any Rajkumar intended to wrest the throne he worshipped this deity with gold at a regular *lai-pham*. Though Senamahi seems to be equally important among the Purums and Meitheis, his worship is certainly more elaborate among the former. If we assume that the deity has been borrowed from the Meitheis it is difficult to account for his connection with the sib. It is certainly not true that the Meitheis borrowed it from the Purums as the latter are held in supreme contempt by the Meitheis. This would suggest a common source from which both the communities have assimilated this deity. It is, however, difficult in the present state of our knowledge, to locate the source from which both have borrowed.

The conceptions about the Irai-ningthou and Irai-leima of the Purums are suspiciously similar to those of Ike Ningthou and Irai Leima of the Meitheis. According to Shakespeare there are eight gods called Magei-Ngakpa *i.e.*, Watchers of the Directions. among the Manipuris. They are " Khobru, the guardian of the North, Wangpurel the guardian of the South, Nongpok-Ningthau, Chief of the East, and Hang-goi Ningthau who guards the West. The remaining four are not placed at the intervening points of the compass, but two, Marjing and Chingkei, have their abodes in the North-east, and two, Thangjing and his son

4 See Hodson—*The Meitheis*, p. 98.

Santhong, have theirs in the South-west."[5] Thsse gods are sometimes spoken of as Lamlai or gods of the countryside as they are believed to have special protective powers over particular parts of the country. The Purums also have spirits of the different directions but their number is four. They are Awang-haihru, Spirit of the North, Wangbarel, the Spirit of the South, Nongpok-haihru, Spirit of the East, and Nongchuk-haihru, the Spirit of the West. Wangbarel is evidently the same as Wangpurel. There is little difference between Nongpok Ningthau and Nongpok-haihru. Awang is the synonym for north both in Meithei and in Purum. Khobru is the name of a lofty peak which rises above the northern end of the valley and is reputed to be the seat of Khong Ningthau, one of the nine original Umanglais of the Meitheis, who is identified with the guardian of the northern direction. Nongchuk is the same as Nongchup the Meithei word for the western direction. These facts amply testify to the Meithei origin of these Purum deities.

The conecpt of the sun as the wife of the moon among the Purums cannot have any connection with the Hindu ideas about this deity in the rest of India. It has, on the other hand, direct relation with the well-known Indonesian belief. Moreover, the occasion on which their help is sought after by the Purums has no parallel among the Hindus of the plains of Bengal and Assam, though the offerings smack of Hindu influence.

The most interesting feature in the life of the Purums is their absorption of elements of Hindu religion. Krishoa or Krishna has practically ousted Pathien the Supreme God of the different Old Kuki tribes. He is now universally recognised as the chief of the Purum pantheon. The second place is claimed by Aram or Ram and Mahadev. Krishna and Ram are not actually worshipped with offerings and sacrifices but are only prayed to. But childless women worship Mahadev with offerings of plantain for progeny. The worship of Durga, the reputed deity of the plains of Bengal, has been fully assimilated by the Purums. Kali, Yama and Rahu are also comparatively ancient accretions from Hindu pantheon. We have already tried to show that there are reasons to believe that some of these deities at least have been borrowed by the Purums directly from the Hindus of the plains of Bengal or Assam while some others they have assimilated from the Meitheis, not of their present habi-

5 See Shakespeare—The Religion of Manipur, *Folklore*, Vol. XXIV, p. 423.

tat, but of some other place, possibly nearer the capital, where the Purums perhaps passed some years in course of their wanderings through the Manipur State.

Hindu influence is further perceptible in their partial adoption of the doctrine of *Karma*. Every soul of the Purums now, cannot enter into the *khamnung*. It depends upon the merits of the works done by the individual here on this earth. The souls of good men only are allowed to pass to this heaven while the rest have to suffer in the purgatory.

Sec. II.—The Future

The Functional School of Anthropology does no longer remain satisfied with mere recording of the details of tribal life as their predecessors used to do. The followers of this School believe that ethnographic information, scientifically collected, may be utilised for the betterment of the group concerned. In fact they think that such knowledge is a means to an end and not an end in itself. Application of such knowledge for the improvement of the people concerned is the ultimate aim of the modern ethnographer. He is no longer an academician like his compatriots of the other day. Study for study's sake is not his motive. This has led him to offer practical suggestions for the betterment of the people which he has studied. Though suggestions offered by these field-workers are often valuable and helpful to the people as well as to the Government of the country they are not always above criticism. Social groups behave like complex living organisms. Any attempt to improve or alter their condition affects the even tenor of their life and sets in motion a large number of known and unknown factors which regulate their behaviour. If all or most of them are not equally and evenly readjusted, improvement is naturally retarded or even made remote. This necessitates very intensive socio-economic survey of small groups which has hardly been started even by modern ethnographers. Let us evaluate one or two of these suggestions for bettering the condition of primitive tribal groups.

Many anthropologists have advised segregation of primitive groups in order to save them from contact with higher civilisation. In a recent publication on an Indian tribe [6] the author

6 Dr. Verrier Elwin—*The Baiga*, p. 515.

has advocated the creation of a ' National Park ' with a Tribes Commissioner, an expert on the people, at its head. "Non-aboriginals should be required to take out licenses; the scores of vagabond adventurers that wander through the country exploiting the people should be removed, and others only licensed on condition of their behaving properly towards the aboriginal. No missionaries of any religion should be permitted to break up tribal life." This is his idea of the ' National Park.' Without going into the intrinsic merit of the idea there are practical difficulties towards its realisation. What are we to do with the extensive culture-contact areas where the aborigines have come to live amongst the civilised? It is neither fair nor possible to drive out one section or the other. Moreover is it possible or advisable to keep the aborigines out of contact with the civilised forever? Is it essential or inevitable for his protection and betterment? To us, it appears like an attempt to stem the tidal bore. Modern civilisation with its railways, automobiles, aeroplanes, telegraph, telephone, wireless, and hunderd other means of rapid communication, has conquered time and space and has spread out its tentacles far into the heart of the country. It is not easy to check its advance, but at the same time, it is not advisable to place the aborigines face to face with this heavy onrush to be swept away. Civilisation to the savage is something like an intoxicating stimulant which is conducive to health when properly administered but causes disease or death when the control is removed. This is not all; we may keep away the ordinary vagabond or unscrupulous exploiter from the ' National Park ' but what about the foreign capitalist who establishes his cash-crop garden, or digs deep into the heart of Mother Earth for her hidden treasures or sets up huge factories where man is turned into machine. The ' National Park ' is not immune from his attack. The author does not suggest any means to keep him out of it. The capitalist is more dangerous than the rest. Under the circumstances setting up of ' National Parks ' will not save the primitive peoples from their inevitable fate. Prevention is of course better than cure but when it is not possible to prevent we should better try to cure.

In another part of India attempts have been made to improve the condition of a group of people who virtually form the lowest rung of the Hindu social system, by a method which is diagonally opposite to the one advocated above. The ostensible

means of livelihood of the Nayadis is to beg but this is a precarious means of existence. Mr. Conolly, the District Collector, made the first attempt to wean them over from begging and gave them land to cultivate near Calicut near about 1850. The colony was later on taken over by the Basel Mission but it could not flourish as all the inhabitants, except three, adopted Islam and merged in the Moplah group. Near about 1920 the Cochin State under the able guidance of Sir Vijayaraghavacharya, the then Diwan, made another attempt to reclaim them. The scheme was not, however, initiated from any humanitarian point of view. The Protector of the Depressed Classes of Cochin State wrote in a letter " As their (Nayadis) numbers increased, begging expeditions to the haunts of civilised men became more frequent, and their vociferous shouts to attract attention and enlist sympathy began to be looked upon as a nuisance to the people, so much so, the Government was forced to take steps to reclaim them."[7] Settlements were established in different parts of the State and the Nayadis were induced to settle there. The State made elaborate arrangements for helping these poor people. To each family a small patch of land had been given wherin it was expected to raise its food grains and thereby learn the methods of cultivation. Arrangements were made to teach them weaving, mat-making and similar other industries. Poultry farming had also been introduced and encouraged. Schools were established to give free education to Nayadi boys and they were even given the midday meal. Wells had been sunk in these colonies by the State to supply them with pure drinking water. Cleanliness was not only inculcated in words but was encouraged by free distribution of clothes. The State also looked after their spiritual interest and had established *Bhajan Mutts* or Prayer Halls in these colonies. This scheme appeared to be liberal in its outlook and fairly complete in its scope. As a result there had been some improvement in the condition of the Nayadis of these colonies. The Madras Government also tried to improve their condition by giving them land and also employment in Government concerns. There has also been private attempts by individuals to ameliorate their condition. But everywhere the Cochin State scheme was adopted with slight alterations or modifications. These attempts however

7 A. Aiyappan—*Social and Physical Anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar*, p. 91.

have not borne the desired fruits. The Nayadis have not turned out good labourers either in the field or in the factory. Their old habit of begging has not been altogether given up. The weakness of the scheme lies in its very philanthropic nature. Free distribution of food, clothing and shelter and free education cannot go on for ever, nor can they be provided for all the Nayadis and similar other castes of the country. It is evidently a temporary measure to wean them over from their disreputable means of livelihood. But, we are afraid that the scheme has defeated its own purpose by being too liberal in its scope and action. It has naturally destroyed individual initiative : when everything is found without asking, it is difficult to expect even a normal man to move about and work for himself and his family. The colonies are really charity homes and the Nayadi beggars instead of going from house to house find everything in these colonies without shouting. It is very doubtful whether the example of these colonists will improve the condition of their less fortunate brothers who have not been able to secure a restful corner in one of these colonies.

The Purums of Manipur, who have been deeply influenced by the Meitheis during the last hundred years, are now going to step into a new phase of life with the recent introduction of the traits of modern civilisation among them. We shall try to indicate in the barest outline how this contact can be adjusted to better the future of this little-known group of people.

In suggesting measures for the improvement of the Purums we shall confine ourselves to the betterment of their health, sanitation and the material comforts of their life. We shall not try to prescribe for the spiritual uplift of the people as we believe that improvement in this sphere can only come from within and can never be imposed from outside. The history of Christianisation of the African tribes bears undisputed testimony to the failure of such attempts.

The Purums know very little of modern discoveries in the domain of personal hygiene and rural sanitation. Their medicines, though sometimes effective, are mostly based upon magico-religious ideas. Many of the diseases, according to them, are inflicted by evil spirits whose displeasure they incur now and often, consciously or unconsciously. Treatment follows aetiology. Priests and magicians are employed to coax and cajole the spirits responsible for the ailment. Sometimes herbal

medicines are also administered but even these often show unmistakable signs of magical origin. This unfortunate ignorance about the real causes of disease is mostly responsible for untold miseries and a very high death rate. To this is also to be added their utter indifference to personal hygiene and rural sanitation. There is practically very little attempt to keep their village, their domicile or even their own person, clean. The domestic architecture is defective from hygienic standpoint. Air and light find little opportunity to enter into their huts. The smoke from the hearth begrimes the entire inner side of the house together with the domestic utensils which are not in constant use. The clothes are rarely washed and bathing is hardly resorted to. The drinking water is drawn from polluted sources and the food is not always properly balanced. Over and above these, their treatment of the *enciente*, of the parturient and of the newly born infant also shows the same carelessness born of ignorance. Most of these miseries can be easily remedied through proper training. The people are to be taught in a convincing manner the simple rules of health and sanitation. Primitive men are not devoid of intelligence; they have, on innumerable occasions, shown this by their ready acceptance of improved tools for the advancement of their material life. So, if only we can bring before them in an acceptable form the simple principles of health and sanitation they are sure to employ them without hesitation.

The next important item in which improvement is possible and necessary is material comforts. The Purums lead a very simple life. Their needs are few and these they manage to satisfy in as good a way as possible. In fact there is no dearth of food except in years of scarcity due to failure of crops. Their old productive system is largely responsible for this. Any one who is willing to work and labour hard, does not suffer from lack of food. The *jhum* system of cultivation may not leave a surplus but no one starves unless he is averse to work or is witheld from it by disease, drink, or some irrational belief about supernatural intervention or some other circumstance of similar nature. Almost every hill village in Manipur has enough jungle land where one may utilise any extent of land without let or hindrance. He pays the same tax whatever the area he may cultivate. In such a productive system the individual lives on his own labour and there is no limitation on the employment of

this labour. This is perhaps the main reason why the Assam tribes have not flocked to the cash-crop gardens which the capitalists have set up at their very doors. In fact we did not find a single Purum who had left his home for work in tea-gardens, mines or factories. Nor has any Purum gone out of his village home to the plains of Assam or Bengal for purposes of service or trade. They live and die where they are born. This has, no doubt, saved them from many miseries of life—social, economic and pertaining to health.

Though the Purums do not actually suffer from any lack of food in fat years we cannot leave out of account the lean years, and they are not rare in their appearance. Moreover the standard of living of this tribe is rather very low. Enjoyment of life does not mean merely keeping body and soul together. Even a moderate standard according to Indian and not European estimate is far from what prevails among this group. Dainties they may not have but variety in food is a hygienic necessity. In trying to secure a surplus of food or rather a sure and steady supply the more adventurous among them have adopted plough cultivation in the valley. But their efforts in this direction are limited by the price charged for this kind of land. Very few of them have ready cash to purchase cultivable land in the valley. Moreover, in Manipur, round about the home of the Purums, almost every such plot is already under the plough. If the Purums and the other hill tribes of the locality carve out a share of these fields it may improve their condition to a certain extent but it will surely affect adversely the interest of the dwellers of the valley, whose productive system is based on this type of land alone. Such a scheme may be successful where sufficient land of this type might be made available without ousting others. Otherwise it will be a mere transference of wealth from one group to another which will not ultimately solve the problems of either. Besides this, there are other factors which need careful consideration before a policy of this type is adopted by the Administration. A change from *jhuming* to plough cultivation is sure to induce changes in many other spheres of life. Truly speaking, it will affect the very basic institutions of the tribe such as its land tenure, law, marriage, concepts of property, moral attitudes and behaviours, etc. The experiment has been tried elsewhere in India with little success. A high Government official tried it among the Juangs of Orissa who soon ate up

the seed grains and the bullocks freely given to them and returned to their old ways of life. The same attempt was made among the Baigas as early as 1867-1869 by Sir Richard Temple the then Chief Commissioner. These people were brought down from their homes on the hill sides and settled to cultivate land in the valleys. Sir Richard started the movement from a purely humanitarian point of view. His idea was " to civilize these people and make them useful members of the Commonwealth " but the financial interest of the Provincial Government led to "a shifting of emphasis from Sir Richard Temple's policy of benevolent improvement for their own sake to a frank and simple desire to better the Provincial budget." Shifting cultivation was stopped and the Baigas were forced in certain areas to adopt plough cultivation. Dr. Elwin records the effects of this change-over in the following terms " The contrast between a bewar-cutting village and a ' civilized ' village is astonishing; the social and religious life of the latter is emasculated, void of reality and vigour. Materially it may be better off, but the inner life of the people is dying, and the Baiga of these villages will soon sink to the dead level of apathy and futility of their semi-civilized neighbours."[8] He further adds " bewar is for the Baiga a fundamental social and religious need ..... it is part of the very stuff of the tribe's mythology, folklore and poetry; to abandon it is to commit mortal sin."[9] He emphatically asserts that "the policy of weaning the Baiga from the axe has completely failed " and it " should now be definitely abandoned, and a new policy of bewar-education adopted in its place."[10] In the face of these experiences among the Baigas the introduction of plough cultivation among the Purums may not lead to a satisfactory solution of their problems. One may, of course, argue that what has failed in the Central Provinces may bear fruit in Assam. But even this does not sound sufficiently hopeful or convincing. The plight of the Kabuis, who had once lived on the hills and practised *jhuming*, points to the same conclusion. The picture of their life, as painted by McCulloch and Brown less than a century back, is not what we meet with nowadays in the valley of Manipur, where a large section of them has settled leaving their original home on the western hills.

8 Verrier Elwin—*The Banga*, p. 113.
9 Verrier Elwin—*op. cit.*, p. 518.
10 Verrier Elwin—*op. cit.*, p. 519.

They gave up *jhuming* and adopted plough cultivation and settled in different parts of the valley but this has not improved their condition on all sides.[11] So it seems that the solution of the problem does not lie in this direction. In other parts of the world, especially in Africa, attempts have been made to meet the situation by two means namely (a) by introduction of cash-crops and by (b) cultivation of new food plants. Cash-crop cultivation may, for the time being, introduce liquid money into the hands of tribal people but it is extremely doubtful whether it is an unmixed blessing. It lays the petty agriculturist a prey to the fluctuations of the world market over which he cannot dream of exercising any control. Jute cultivation in the plains of Bengal and Assam has ruined innumerable families during the world depression and it should open our eyes. But if cash-crops are cultivated as a supplementary means of livelihood better results may be expected. Such a cash-crop for the Purums is cotton. Each Purum family produces a quantity of cotton every year in its *jhum* field for its own use. The stuff cultivated at present is not sufficiently suitable for use in the manufacture of finer fabrics on power-driven looms. It is the duty of the Administration to find out a suitable variety of cotton which would easily flourish in the locality and possess the requisite qualities and introduce and encourage its cultivation by the tribal people of the locality. The selection and acclimatization, if necessary, of the particular variety to be introduced should be done with the help of experts whose services are to be made available by the Administration. The introduction of such an improved variety of cotton would not in any way disturb the agricultural economy of the tribe. On the other hand it will put a sufficient amount of ready cash into their hands. The textile mills of India are daily increasing in number and they purchase a huge quantity of imported cotton every year. It is not impossible to meet this demand from local products scientifically improved. We should not forget the fact that cotton for the famous muslin of Dacca did not come from outside India. But moderation is necessary and imperative when a tribe launches on such an adventure. Over-production of the cash-crop or abandonment of the cultivation of food-crops may jeopardise the benefits expected from such an attempt. Besides cotton, several

11 Hodson—*The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 5.

kinds of oil-seeds may be easily and extensively grown in the *jhum* fields and they will find a ready market in the plains of Assam and Bengal.

Cultivation of new food-crops is a safer alternative for the Purums than cash-crops. They may themselves consume a part of the produce and place the rest for sale in the local market. But there is one difficulty even in this sphere. The people of the valley of Manipur are almost all agriculturists and themselves produce their own necessities. The land in the valley is exceptionally fertile and the people do not generally purchase their ordinary daily requirements from the market except those few who devote their energy to one or other of the rural industries or are employed in fishing, peddling and such other business. Thus the market in Manipur is rather limited. But if these food-crops can be transported to places outside Manipur at a reasonable cost the tribal people may find an opportunity to improve their condition.

It would perhaps be more profitable to introduce fruit-gardening in these hills. According to McCulloch "Apples, apricots, raspberries, strawberries, oranges, limes, pomegranates, guavas, mangoes, and jack-fruit are all found within this mountain valley, but none attain to such flavour as might have been expected, from the total absence of care and skill in their cultivation; and we can hardly suppose that they would fail to prove as excellent as the pineapple were the same attention bestowed upon them that is shown in the culture of the latter." Oranges are grown in the *jhums* of the western hills by the hill tribes but not so much on the eastern ranges. They are sweet and of fair size. If the people are trained, better results may be easily obtained. Pineapples may be extensively cultivated on the slopes of the hills. Sir George Watt, K.C.I.E., wrote in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* (No. 2733, Vol. LIII, p. 562) that "in the valley of Manipur, the peach, the pear and apple trees were cultivated which would be quite an impossibility in any other part of India at the same altitude." It is worth while to carry out the experiment on the slopes of the hills. This can only be done by the Administration. Peaches and pears grow in abundance in the Khasi Hills and there is every possibility of success in the Manipur hills too. This would, if successful, open a vast field for the tribal people.

We have seen that Purum diet is deficient in one important item. It does not contain milk or any of its products. Recently only a few persons have taken to it but it should be made universal. Cows and buffaloes are reared only by those persons who have fields in the valley and they are only employed to plough these fields. The cattle are not generally milched. This should be stopped and an intensive propaganda should be launched to introduce milk as a common everyday food for persons of all ages and grades. Every family should be induced to keep cows and buffaloes for milk. There is enough pasturage all around the home of the Purums and these animals can be maintained without any extra cost and with the least amount of trouble or care. The introduction of cattle rearing would benefit the people in two ways at least. Firstly it will enrich their diet. The children, the aged, and the diseased will find a food suitable to each of the three classes of peoples mentioned above. All-round improvement of health for every section of the people may reasonably be expected with the adoption of this nutritious food. Secondly it will be a source of ready cash in their hands. Manipuri cattle have a good reputation in the plains of Bengal both as milkers and as draught animals. The Manipur bullocks are in great demand throughout Tippera and adjacent districts. A ready market may thus be available for these animals and the tribal people might be immensely benifited by setting up a trade between the hills and the plains through the Cachar road.

Besides cattle, Manipuri ponies were also in great demand in the plains. But with the extension of automobile traffic this demand has fallen off to a considerable extent and it is doubtful whether it can again be made profitable.

Spinning and weaving are the two most important industries of the Purums. Every Purum woman has her loom on which she weaves the cloths necessary for her family. But she never weaves for the market. Some of the women are expert in executing beautiful and complicated designs on their fabrics. The *aoa-ampi* and the *rangambusun* are examples of their skill and industry. Inspite of this there is scope for improvement in this sphere. The primitive Indonesian tension loom which they ordinarily use should be replaced by more improved ones. Purchase of imported yarns, especially coloured ones, should be stopped and spinning encouraged. Indigenous methods of

dyeing yarns should be revived. The people should be induced to produce for the market. This may give more profitable employment to a section of the people. Arrangement should be made for diseminating knowledge among them about the type of stuff for which there is a demand in the market. Above all facilities for marketing these goods should be organised.

So long we have looked to the health, sanitation and material comforts of the Purums. But man, after all, is not a mere animal to be satisfied with food and health; he is something more than that. This accounts for his discontent even when he is well-fed and well-groomed. Even in the lowest level of culture man hankers after some intellectual relaxation. This accounts for the various kinds of games and other amusements among the very backward peoples of the earth. Purums had a number of manly games but many of them have now disappeared under the pressure for food-quest. It is not impossible to revive them provided sufficient leisure is available. Dancing and singing form inevitable accompaniments of every feast and festivity. But creative art, the best and the most prolific source of individual and communal pleasure, is unfortunately remarkable for its complete absence among the Purums. Their music is monotonous; their songs are common and hackneyed and have no artistic beauty around them; they do not really harp on the eternal themes of life. They have no plastic art. Carving has no place in their life except where they have copied from the Meitheis. Etching and painting do not show any sign of their existence. Even their basketry has no artistic design. This singular lack of interest in all kinds of artistic activities is a peculiar characteristic of the Purums and is not discernible, at least to the same degree, among other tribes of the locality. Attempts should be made to fill up this blank; it is not impossible to introduce new ideas about them. Their folklore and mythology may be studied to supply themes for dramas in the pattern of *yatras* and *Ramlilas* of the plains. The successful introduction of these may destroy the drab monotony of their communal life. Introduction of carving, etching, and painting would indeed give immense pleasure to the individual artist. But this is not sufficient recompense for which one would sacrifice his leisure and sometimes even food. Art in other primitive communities, why primitive alone, even in advanced society, depends on the fundamental socio-religious urge. Appreciation by

one's neighbours and associates leading to honour and respect, is a more important incentive to artistic production. Religious merit also has induced individuals to production of artistic objects. But these incentives are not at present found among the Purums and until and unless such a basic condition is created one cannot be sure about the fate of attempts at introducing art among this tribe.

Improvement is also necessary in the method of administration of the primitive tribes. Purum village government is a part of the bigger question of tribal administration in India of which we have tried to give an outline elsewhere.[12]

These are only a few of the possible means by which the condition of the Purums may be improved. But every one of them pre-supposes some amount of preliminary training and organisation. It is not only necessary in connection with the betterment of health and sanitation, cultivation of cash-crops, and new food-crops, fruit-gardening, rearing of domestic animals like cows and buffaloes, improvement of spinning and weaving industries, but even in the introduction of art movements. Education should precede every such attempt at improvement. Naturally therefore we should try to envisage the type of education which should be imparted to this simple folk of the hills.

Education of the primitive is an unusually complex affair. There are pitfalls almost on every side; it is difficult to find out the narrow path which may ultimately lead to the benefit of the people concerned. Every scheme of primitive education in India should take cognisance of the three distinct lines which have met here : the primitives themselves have a system of their own which has been more or less affected, especially in the culture-contact areas, by the system prevalent among the advanced natives of the country. Upon these two the European system, or rather a poor copy of it, has been imposed throughout the whole country. We find its repercussions even in these remote hills of Manipur. Among the Purums we meet with only two schools of the Lower Primary Standard set up by the Administration to teach the boys how to read, write and do sums in arithmetic. Beyond these they have to depend on their own system of education. This is rather fortunate as no student

12 *Presidental Address*, Section of Anthropology, Twenty-eighth Indian Science Congress, 1941, pp. 23-28.

went out of these schools for any kind of higher education either within the State or outside. It has left them completely free from those ideas which are naturally associated with higher education. In fact we can begin with a clean slate.

In drawing up a scheme for the future education of the Purums we are naturally confronted with the wider question of primitive education in India. In general outline what is suitable for the Purums will also serve the other tribes of the country, though in particular aspects there may arise some difference. What is the aim of education in primitive society? It is not merely to train a particular section of the people for a special purpose as has been attempted in some parts of Africa. The experiment at Bukoba in Tanganyika Territory was intended to produce a class of leaders mainly from amongst the sons of the aristocracy who would play an important part in the future development of the country. The Native Administration School at Kizigo, Tabora, intended for the sons of subordinate chiefs and village headmen, also cater to a particular section of the community and not to the entire body. Moreover they lay more stress on the political side and less on social and economic adjustments under new conditions of European contact. Such specialised training is not what is wanted by the Indian tribes. We want education of the masses and not of the select few and our aim should be, in the language of Mr. W. C. Groves " to raise native standards, economic and material, moral and social; to improve housing and beautify village surroundings and raise the standard of personal hygiene; to improve the methods of production and the nature of food supply . . . ; to initiate group and individual economic projects which will provide the natives with the means to acquire European materials so as to simplify their everyday lives and ensure their greater personal comfort; . . . to allow more time for leisure and provide the means of using it wisely."[13] The tribal people in India almost universally live in isolated villages; the village should therefore be made the centre of all educational activities. Mr. Grove further adds: " . . . education must be village-centred; and all projects for the higher training of selected natives, whether practical or literary, must be directed towards fitting into the

13 W. C. Groves—*Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea.* Education Research Series, No. 46, Melbourne University Press, 1936, p. 68.

plan of village education. Higher education . . . will take the form mainly of preparing certain individuals to fit into the general system as village leaders, as visiting or resident teachers and instructors, and as specialists in different sides of village developmental work."[14]

Mr. Grove does not stop after merely enunciating the general principles but proceeds with the details of its working too. According to him there should be one teacher to every village and he is to be the leader of thought within the village. Each village should possess a school building, a house for the teacher, a club house for holding meetings and organizing amusements, a church, and a house for accommodating a dispensary or hospital. Among the Purums there is no necessity for a church and this is also the case among almost all the other tribes of India. The *ruishang* of the Purums may serve the purpose of the club house. In many other tribes the village bachelors' hall is utilised for this purpose. But these houses are to be constructed according to hygienic principles though local men and materials are always to be used. The idea is that they should show what improvement is possible with local men and materials under expert guidance. They are to serve as models for the villagers.

In the curriculum for study, greater emphasis is to be laid on instruction in hygiene and agriculture. We have already seen in what great need they stand for knowledge of these subjects. They are to be treated as the most important subjects of study. Knowledge of elementary science should also be imparted along with it. Training in these subjects should always be accompanied by practical demonstraitons. The teacher must always be conscious of the fact that his pupils will initiate new health movements and cultivate new crops. They are to be made fit for these tasks. Besides hygiene and agriculture, instruction is also to be given in primitive arts and crafts. Special attention is to be bestowed on spinning and weaving in this area. Basketry, mat-making, wood-carving etc., should also receive their due share of attention. Training in co-operative work is also necessary especially for marketing agricultural and industrial products under the new scheme. The idea of *lams* may be utilised for organizing bigger and more effective co-operative associations. Both practical and theoretical instruction for this pur-

14 W. C. Groves—*op. cit.*, p. 121.

pose should be provided by the village school. Tribal myths and legends inculcating tribal morals are also to be taught in these institutions.

In teaching language some difficulty may be experienced. Every tribe has a language of its own and in Assam their number is almost innumerable. The tribal language should certainly be taught, but for communication with the outside world a *lingua franca* is necessary. In Manipur Meithei serves this purpose. But even Meithei is not sufficient for this purpose. The Provincial language may meet this necessity till a *lingua franca* for the whole of India is established. Conversational ability in this language should be regarded as sufficient for our purpose.

The teachers of these village schools will act as the pivots of the whole scheme. They will be the community leaders. They will initiate reforms in almost every sphere of life and they will be the guides in these activities. This would certainly necessitate a special type of training for them. This can be provided in institutions particularly organised for this purpose. This is, in short, the type of education necessary for the primitive tribes. The experiences of Africa and Oceania corroborate each other. Indian tribes also may reasonably be expected to react to this stimulating attempt. Experiment is necessary before final judgment can be delivered. The Purums provide a suitable field for carrying out this experiment by their small number, partial isolation in a compact area and the simple type of social life and agricultural economy. Let us hope that the enlightened Durbar of Manipur would take up the work at an early date so that its tribal subjects may reap the benefit of this experience.

APPENDIX I

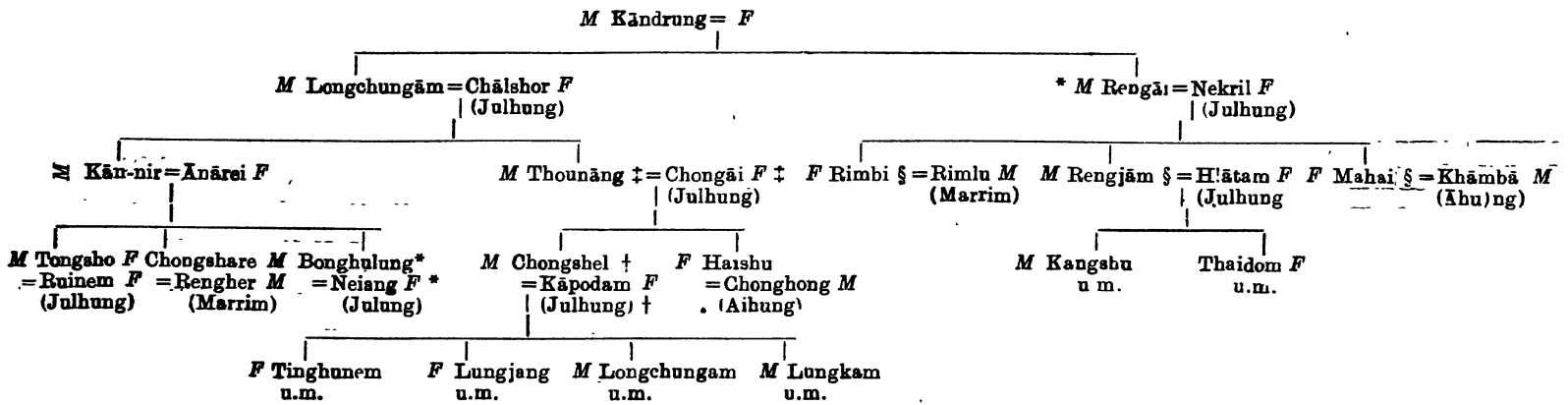
The Genealogical Tables

M=Male; *F*=Female; u.m.=unmarried,

TABLE I

GENEALOGY OF CHONGSHEL, LUPLAKPA OF PURUM CHUMBANG,

Clan—Makan, 1932

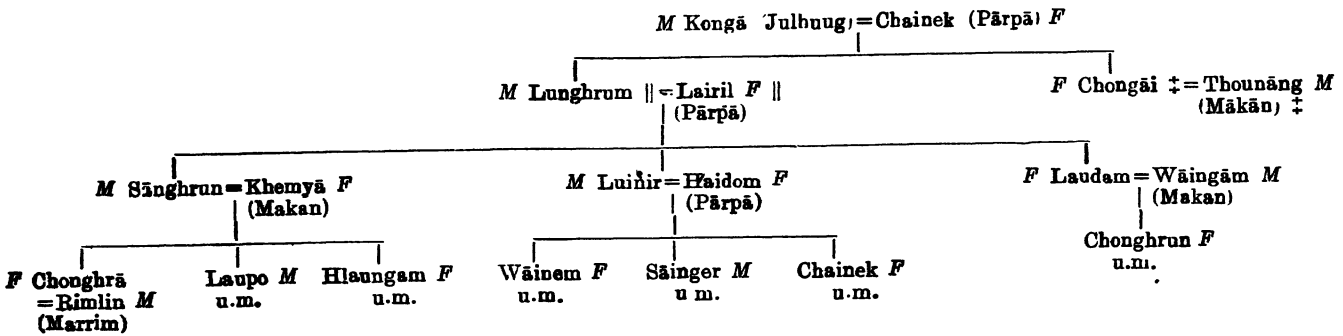


* Persons marked with asterisks in Tables I & III are the same.
† Persons marked with dagger in Tables I & III are the same.
‡ Persons marked with double dagger in Tables I, II, & III are the same.
§ Persons marked with section in Tabes I & III are the same.
‖ Persons with parallel in Tables II & III are the same.
M=Male; *F*=Female; u.m.=unmrrried.

TABLE II

GENEALOGY OF CHONGĀI, MOTHER OF CHONGSHEL OF GEN. No. I

Clan—Julhung, 1932

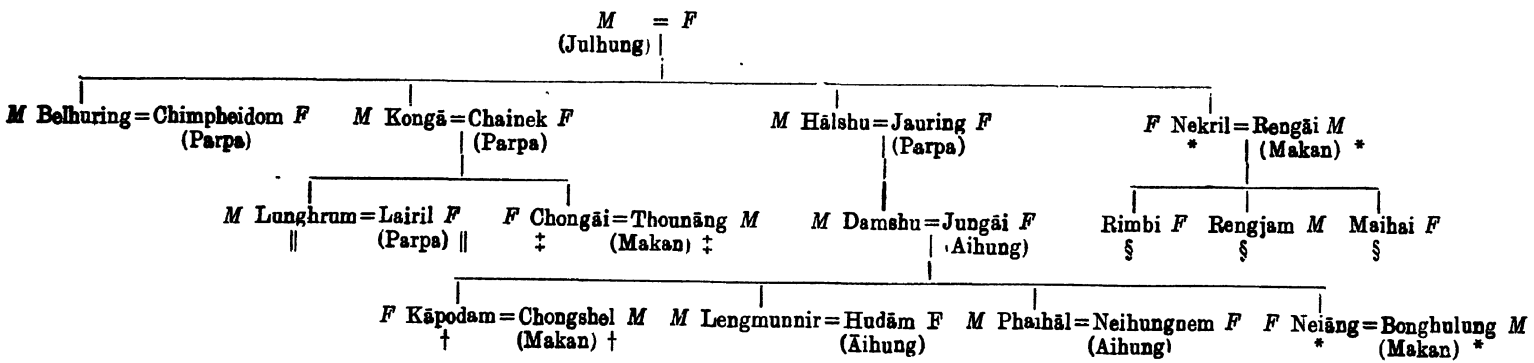


M = Male; *F* = Female; u.m. = unmarried.

TABLE III

GENEALOGY OF KĀPODAM, WIFE OF CHONGSHEL OF GEN. 1.

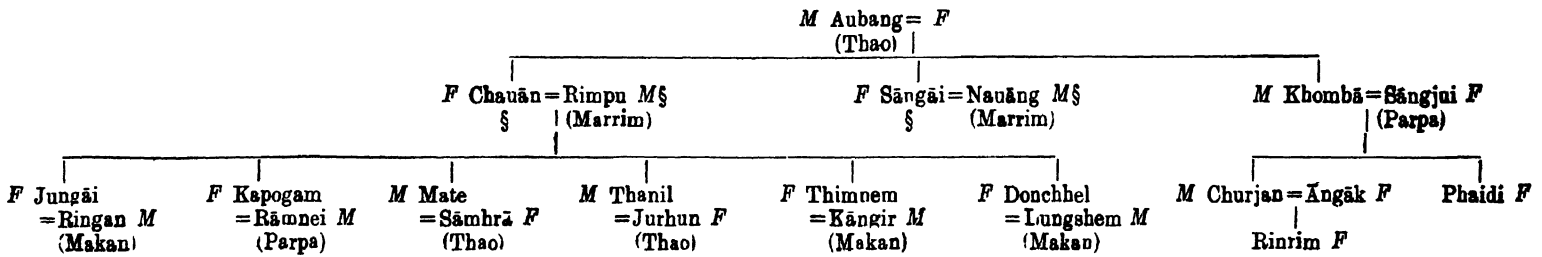
Clan—Julhung, 1932



M=Male; *F*=Female.

TABLE V

GENEALOGY OF SĀNGĀI OF THAO CLAN, WIFE OF NĀUĀNG OF GEN. IV, 1932

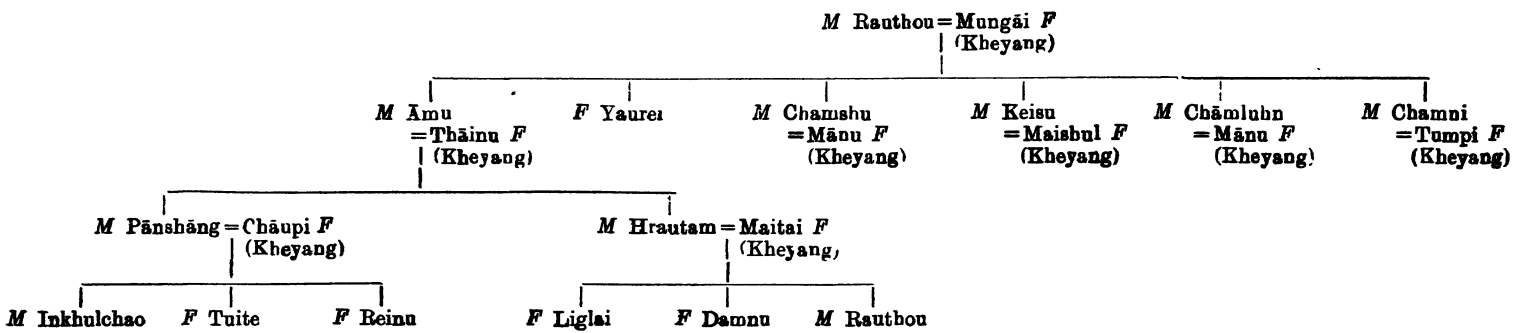


M = Male.
F = Female.

TABLE VI

Genealogy of Pānshāng of Purum Khulen

Clan—Marrim, 1932

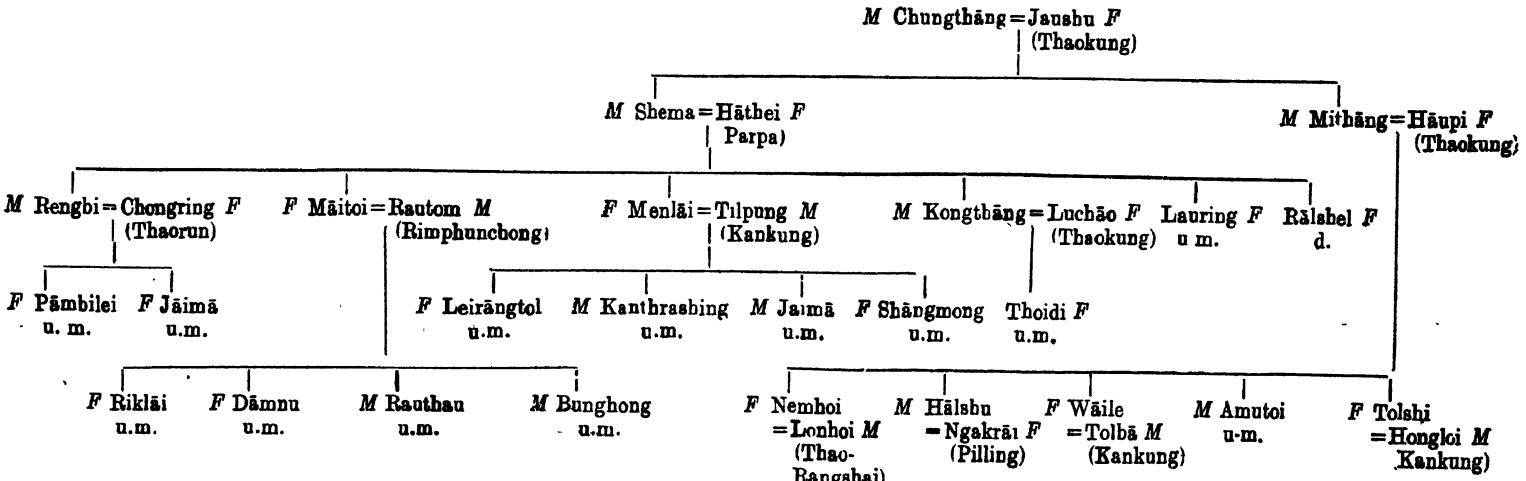


M = Male, *F* = Female.

TABLE VII

Genealogy of Kongthāng of Purum Khulen

Clan—Kheyang, 1936

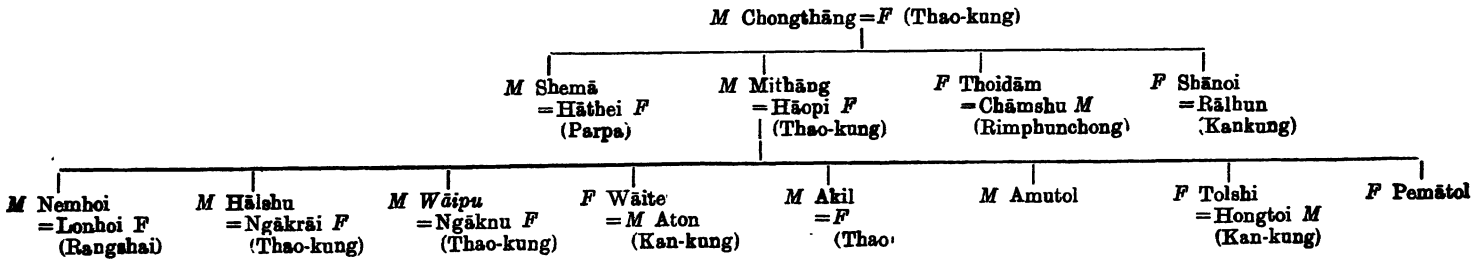


M=Male F=Female u.m.=unmarried d=dead

TABLE VIII

GENEALOGY OF WAIPU, KHULLAKPA OF TAMPAK

Clan—Kheyang, 1936



M=Male F=Female

APPENDIX II

Terms of Relationship Collected from Chauba with the help of his Genealogical Table.

READ ALONG WITH GENEALOGICAL TABLES IV & V.

Chauba	addresses	Nauang	as	Ka-pa
Shelleng	,,	Nauang	,,	Ka-pa
Chauba	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-terr
Shelleng	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-terr
Chauba	,,	Yaiche	,,	Arrang
Shelleng	,,	Yaiche	,,	Arrang
Thungir	,,	Kapogam	,,	A-ni
Thungir	,,	Ramnei	,,	Arrang (T. R. Ka-arrang)*
Ngairim	,,	Kapogam	,,	A-ni (T. R. Ka-ni)
Ngairim	,,	Ramnei	,,	Arrang (T. R. Ka-arrang)
Chauba	,,	Palshom	,,	Ka-pu
Shelleng	,,	Palshom	,,	Ka-pu
Chauba	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Shelleng	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Chauba	,,	Jurhun	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Shelleng	,,	Jurhun	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Thanil	,,	Chauba	,,	Ata-u (T. R. Ka-ata)
Kapogam	,,	Chauba	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Thanil	,,	Shelleng	,,	Ka-u
Kapogam	,,	Shelleng	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Thanil	,,	Muba	,,	Ku-upa
Kapogam	,,	Mate	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Kapogam	,,	Muba	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Thungir	,,	Tubi	,,	Ku-upa
Ngairim	,,	Tubi	,,	Ku-upa
Thungir	,,	Khambi	,,	Ka-u
Ngairim	,,	Khambi	,,	Ka-u
Thanil	,,	Mati	,,	Ka-u
Muchao	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-pu

* T. R. = Term of Relationship.

Ingeli	addresses	Rimpu	as	Ka-pu
Muchao	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-pi
Ingeli	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-pi
Muchao	,,	Dontel	,,	Ka-pi
Ingeli	,,	Dontel	,,	Ka-pi
Muchao	,,	Yaiche	,,	Ka-pu
Ingeli	,,	Yaiche	,,	Ka-pu
Muchao	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-pa-te
Ingeli	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-pa-te
Muchao	,,	Muba	,,	Arrang
Ingeli	,,	Muba	,,	Arrang
Muchao	,,	Jungai	,,	A-ni (T. R. Ka-ni)
Ingeli	,,	Jungai	,,	A-ni (T. R. Ka-ni)
Muchao	,,	Mati	,,	Ka-u
Ingeli	,,	Mati	,,	Ka-u
Muchao	,,	Palshom	,,	Ka-pu
Ingeli	,,	Palshom	,,	Ka-pu
Muchao	,,	Thumnu	,,	Ka-pi
Ingeli	,,	Thumnu	,,	Ka-pi
Chauba	,,	Sangai	,,	A-nu (T. R. Ka-nu)
Shelleng	,,	Sangai	,,	A-nu (T. R. Ka-nu)
Chauba	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-terr
Shelleng	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-terr
Chauba	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-terr
Shelleng	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-terr
Tubi	,,	Jungai	,,	Ka-terr
Tubi	,,	Ringan	,,	Ka-terr
Reting	,,	Ringan	,,	Ka-terr
Tubi	,,	Thimnem	,,	A-nu-te (T. R. Ka-nu-te)
Kanhoi	,,	Thimnem	,,	A-nu-te (T. R. Ka-nu-te)
Hungchao	,,	Thimnem	,,	A-nu-te (T. R. Ka-nu-te)
Hangri	,,	Thimnem	,,	A-nu-te (T. R. Ka-nū-te)

Kanhoi	addresses	Kangir	as	Ka-pa-te (A-pa-te?)
Hangri	,,	Kangir	,,	Ka-pa-te (A-pa-te?)
Kanhoi	,,	Tubi	,,	Ka-nau-(pa)
Tubi	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ata-u (T. R. Ka-ata)
Kanhoi	,,	Reting	,,	Ka-nau-(pa)
Reting	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ata-u (T. R. Ka-ata)
Tubi	,,	Khambi	,,	A-u
Khambi	,,	Tubi	,,	Ka-nau-(nu)
Maiyangam	,,	Khambi	,,	A-u
Khambi	,,	Maiyangam	,,	Ka-nau-(nu)
Chauba	,,	Khomba (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-pu
Shelleng	,,	Khomba (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-pu
Chauba	,,	Sangjui (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-pi
Shelleng	,,	Sangjui (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-pi
Chauba	,,	Churjan (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-pu-te (when younger)
Tubi	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-pu (when elder)
Tubi	,,	Sangkaichao	,,	Ka-pu (when elder)
Nirpu	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ka-pu (when elder)
Tubi	,,	Mate	,,	Ka-pu (when elder)
Kanhoi	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-pu (when elder)
Khambi	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-nau-(pa)
Hungchao	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-pu
Hungchao	,,	Sangkaichao	,,	Ka-pu
Tubi	,,	Ngairim	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Kanhoi	,,	Ngairim	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Khambi	,,	Ngairim	,,	Ka-nau-nu

Chauba	addresses	Phaidi	as	Ka-nau-nu
Shelleng	,,	Phaidi	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Kanhoi	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-pu
Khambi	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-pu
Khambi	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-pi
Sangkaichao	,,	Thungir	,,	Ata-u (T. R. Ka-ata)
Ngairim	,,	Thungir	,,	Ata-u (T. R. Ka-ata)
Sangkaichao	,,	Luchao	,,	Ku-u
Ngairim	,,	Luchao	,,	Ku-u
Nauang	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Dontel	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Nauang	,,	Thimnem	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Dontel	,,	Thimnem	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Rimpu	,,	Nauang	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Khambi	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Rimpu	,,	Sangai	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Khambi	,,	Johoi	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Hangri	,,	Johoi	,,	Ku-u
Rimpu	,,	Chauba	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Jungai	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Kapogam	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Rimpu	,,	Shelleng	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Jungai	,,	Naite	,,	Ka-mau-(nu)
Chauba	,,	Shelleng	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Jungai	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Jungai	,,	Kapogam	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Kapogam	,,	Jungai	,,	Ka-u
Thanil	,,	Jungai	,,	Ka-u
Chauba	,,	Kanshu	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Thanil	,,	Ringan	,,	Ku-upa
Donchhel	,,	Ringan	,,	Ku-upa
Jungai	,,	Lungshem	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Chauba	,,	Kaiham	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Chauba	,,	Angak	,,	Ka-tu-nu
Jungai	,,	Darkhuk	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Jungai	,,	Maiyangam	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Rimpu	,,	Muchao	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Rimpu	,,	Ingeli	,,	Ka-tu-nu
Rimpu	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-nu-mei

Lungshem	addresses	Thanil	as	Ka-pu
Ringan	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Lungshem	,,	Jurhun	,,	Ka-pi
Ringan	,,	Jurhun	,,	Ka-pi
Lungshem	,,	Thungir	,,	Ka-pu
Lungshem	,,	Naite	,,	Ka-mau-(nu)
Ramnei	,,	Donchhel	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Ramnei	,,	Ringan	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Ramnei	,,	Kangir	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Ramnei	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Ramnei	,,	Khambi	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Ramnei	,,	Darkhuk	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Ramnei	,,	Maiyangam	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Ramnei	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-pu
Ramnei	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-pi
Jurhun	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-pu-shal-pa
Chauan	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ka-pu-shal-pa
Sangai	,,	Chauan	,,	Ku-u
Sangai	,,	Rimpu	,,	Ku-upa
Sangai	,,	Thanil	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Sangai	,,	Thimnem	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Chauan	,,	Nauang	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Chauan	,,	Sangai	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Chauan	,,	Chauba	,,	Ka-shnau-pa
Chauan	,,	Shelleng	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Chauan	,,	Dontel	,,	Ka-nau-nu
Jurhun	,,	Jungai	,,	Ka-u
Jurhun	,,	Ringan	,,	Ku-upa
Jurhun	,,	Kangir	,,	Ka-nau-pa
Jurhun	,,	Kanhoi	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Jurhun	,,	Khambi	,,	Ka-tu-nu
Jurhun	,,	Rimpu	,,	Arrang (T. R. Karrang)
Jurhun	,,	Chauan	,,	Ka-ni
Palshom	,,	Aubang (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-thur-pa
Palshom	,,	Aubang's wife (Gen. V)	,,	Ka-thur-ni
Nauang	,,	Muchao	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Nauang	,,	Lainu	,,	Ka-tu-ni
Palshom	,,	Muchao	,,	Ka-tu-pa

Palshom	addresses	Ingeli	as	Ka-tu-ni
Nauang	,,	Ingeli	,,	Ka-tu-ni
Palshom	,,	Kanshu	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Palshom	,,	Kaiham	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Palshom	,,	Angak	,,	Ka-tu-ni
Chauba	,,	Ingeli	,,	Ka-shnau-nu
Nauang	,,	Kanshu	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Aubang (Gen. V)	,,	Palshom	,,	Ka-thur-pa
Aubang (Gen. V)	,,	Thumnu	,,	Ka-thur-ni
Nauang	,,	Kaiham	,,	Ka-tu-pa
Nauang	,,	Damri	,,	Ka-tu-ni
Rimpu	,,	Khambi	,,	Ka-tu-ni
Rimpu	,,	Dangkai	,,	Ka-tu-pa

All the terms of this table are not strictly "terms of address" as shown here. Some of them are also "terms of relationship."

APPENDIX III

Glossary

Glossary

Achuk	—	Granary.
Aoa-ampi	—	The upper cloth of a village elder or officer.
Atu	—	A kind of small hoe.
Cham	—	Chopper.
Chang	—	Alive; auspicious.
Changlai	—	The lowest of the village officers. He serves as orderly of the village headman.
Cheirung	—	An agricultural implement of wood which separates the grains from the paddy stalks.
Chhatra	—	It is the middle post of the Purum house on the left side, as one enters into it by the front door. It has ceremonial importance.
Chol	—	Yeast.
Chunga	—	Bamboo section with a node at the bottom kept intact.
Phumlil	—	The left half of the house. The master of the house with his unmarried sons and daughters sleeps in this part.
Genna	—	Magico-religious ceremony. Sometimes also means "taboo."
Jhum	—	Shifting hill cultivation.
Kapouru	—	A kind of automatic fish-trap.
Kasha-lai	—	Ancestor-spirits.
Keirungba	—	A village officer who selects the particular animal to be killed at a communal rite.

Kei-roop		Tiger-club; *kei*=tiger, *roop*=club or association. Each Manipuri village possessed an organization of this name responsible for fighting against tigers and leopards. When the *hui-rais* (*hui*=dog, *rai*=*nai*, to possess) or scouts brought information about the presence of a tiger or leopard the members of the *Kei-roops* of the neighbouring villages assembled near the haunt of the animal with nets and spears and surrounded the lair with nets. The animal was then forced to rush towards the net with rockets etc., and killed on the spot.
Khamnung	—	The next world where the souls of a dead man remain till rebirth.
Khullakpa	—	The headman of the village; *khul*= village, *lakpa*=overseer or protector.
Khunjahanba	—	A village officer who performs the duties of the *khullakpa* or *luplakpa* in their absence. He is also in charge of the village bachelors and is the chief performer in the worship of Nungchungba in some of the villages.
Kuru	—	Teachers; (from Sanskritic ' guru ').
Laiba	—	Prayer or incantation.
Laipham	—	Place of the gods; shrine.
Lakhang	—	Wooden seat.
Lam	—	Co-operative associations formed among the villagers for performing a particular agricultural operation.
Laman	—	It is a public place of the Purum village usually situated a little away from the dwelling houses. It is connected with the worship of god Nungchungba. In the months of Phairel and Kalel Purum men and women dance here on seven consecutive days.

Lau-chau	—	A kind of hoe.
Lava-pai	—	Quiver.
Leisabi	—	Unmarried young woman.
Loyu	—	Stringers of a house.
Luplakpa	—	The assistant headman of the village. His functions really show that he is rather the additional headman.
Maipa	—	Medicine-man.
Maipi	—	Medicine-woman. She is also the midwife of the Purums and performs the usual magico-religious rites connected with parturition.
Maksa	—	Husband of the daughter. The word is more often used to indicate the husband of a daughter of the family of any generation whatsoever.
Mantras	—	Incantations; prayers.
Maushem	—	Payments made by a man to his parents-in-law when he takes his wife to his house for the first time after the service (*yaun-gimba*) period.
Mithun	—	The domesticated variety of *Bos frontalis* found in Assam.
Ngaprum	—	A kind of fish regarded as the staff of god Senamahi.
Ngaril	—	A kind of fish regarded as the staff of god Senamahi.
Ningan	—	The right half of the house where future sons-in-law, who have come to serve for their brides, as well as strangers sleep. The left half of the house is tabooed to these persons at night. Ningan primarily means daughter.
Nungchungba	—	The name of an important deity of the Purums.

Nungshuk	—	The name of a vertical piece of stone with another flat slab before it set up in the *laman*. It is regarded as the seat of god Nungchungba.
Pakhan-lakpa	—	The head of the *pakhans* or bachelors.
Pari	—	A land measure; four *sangams* make one *pari*.
Phal	—	Bow.
Phal-lui	—	Bow-string.
Phanek	—	The lower garment of a woman. Generally it is the striped variety worn by Manipuri women from whom it is purchased by the Purums.
Phaumnaibas	—	Village officers collectively so called.
Pipa	—	The head of a sib or subsib.
Pongan	—	A kind of grass.
Pun	—	The upper garment of a woman.
Puranas	—	Sacred books of the Hindus which record their myths and traditions.
Rangambusum	—	The ordinary upper cloth of a Purum man.
Ruishang	—	It is the village council house and court house of the Purums. It generally stands near the *laman*.
Rupi	—	A kind of fish-trap of the lobster-pot type.
Sabuhong	—	The name of an agricultural deity of the Purums.
Sagei	—	Sib.
Salei	—	Tribe. Though Hodson gives tribe as the synonym of ' salei ' it is more like a sib.
Sangam	—	A land measure. *san* = bullock; *gam* = can perform. The plot of land that can be ploughed by one pair of bullocks in one day.

Sangpot	—	Big bamboo basket which holds about two maunds of paddy.
Selungba	—	A village officer who collects subscriptions from the villagers for the performance of communal religious rites.
Senajumphi	—	It is the middle post of a Purum house on the right hand side as one enters into it by the front door. It has ceremonial importance.
Senamahi	—	The name of an important deity of the Purums.
Shi	—	Dead; inauspicious.
Sibok	—	Disciple (from Sanskritic ' sevak ').
Shinshu	—	Curry made with the meat of pigs which is carried by the *maksas* to the house of the bride's father on the occasion of bringing the bride for the first time to her husband's house.
Taichep	—	A kind of automatic fish-trap.
Tampak	—	Plain land. Name of a village of the Purums situated in the valley.
Thaoai	—	Soul.
Thempu	—	Priest. Sometimes the oldest man of the village who acts as priest.
Thien-hong-ba genna	—	It is a ceremony performed by the rich men among the Purums in order to attain social rank. A feast is given to the villagers by the aspirant in which a *mithun* is killed. The villagers construct a stone platform, near the entrance to the village, by the roadside, in his honour.
To-lai-hong	—	Palanquin.

To-lai-hong-ba genna	—	A ceremony in which the villagers present a palanquin to one whom they wish to honour. The man gives them a feast on the occasion and thence-forward he is carried by the young men in the palanquin to the *laman* at the festivals annually held there.
Torshum	—	Arrow-head.
Umanglais	—	Forest gods of the Manipuris. Originally there were nine of them but they increased to 364.
Wai-zu	—	Rice-beer made by fermentation only.
Yaun-gimba	—	The period of time which a young man passes in the house of his prospective father-in-law, serving him for the hands of his daughter.
Yumnak	—	The household group. Subsib.
Zau-zu	—	Liquor made from rice by distillation.
Zu	—	Rice-beer. Also called *wai-zu*.
Zupanba	—	A village officer whose duty it is to make arrangement for the supply of rice-beer on all public occasions of the village.

INDEX

A

Abortion, custom at, 232-233.
Accounts, previous, of Purums, 6-9.
Adoption, 113; 170.
Adultery, leads to divorce, 248.
After-birth, treatment of, 228.
Agriculture, operations in jhum, 54-57; in valley fields, 58; 60-62; rites and ceremonies connected with, 57-58; implements of, 62-65.
Aimols, settlements of, 11.
Anals, settlements of, 11.
Ancestor-spirits, see " Kasha-lai ".
Animals, domestic, 65-68.
Aoa-ampi, 98.
Arahuketu, worship of, 208.
Aram, worship of, 207.
Arrows, poisoned, 72; 74.
Asei, see " Khulpu ".
Assistant headman, see " Luplakpa ".
Automatic trap, for fishing, 69-70.
Awang-haihru, 204.

B

Bachelors, reside in the house of Pakhanlakpa on two occasions, 184; head of the, 184; pass nights in the houses of men having grown-up daughters, 184-185.
Bachelors' House, probable existence of, in the past, 184.
Bagpipe, nature of Purum, 266-267.
Bamboo, sections used as drinking cup and oil-container, 93; quiver made of, 93.
Baskets, different uses of, 94; types of, 95; for carrying goods, 95-96; for storing, 96; used as haversacks, 96; for sunning articles, 96-97.
Bellows, description of double-cylinder, 103.
Birds, manner of killing and dressing, for meat, 87.
Blacksmith, social and economic position of, 102; tools of, 103.
Bow, not a substantial weapon of the Purums, 71; description of, 73-74.
Brothers, relation with sisters, 116.

Brown, Mr R., account of Kuki tribes given by, 7; refers to the Purums only once, 7.
Buffaloes, manner of killing and dressing, for meat, 87.
Burial, practised by the Purums, 252-254.

C

Calendar, of the Purums influenced by the Meitheis, 259.
Capacity, measures of, 262-263.
Carding, methods of, 100.
Cattle, use of, 66; treatment of, 66; manner of killing and dressing for meat, 87.
Cham, description of, 62-63; more a tool than a weapon, 71.
Changlai, position and duties of, 181-182.
Changninglong, establishment of, 42; situation of and approaches to, 43-44.
Children, relation with parents, 114.
Chothes, settlement of, 11.
Chom, worship of, 208.
Chumbang, situation of and approaches to, 44.
Cicatrization, absent among the Purums, 100.
Clan, see " Sib ".
Coffin, used in burial, 252.
Coiffure, male, 235; female, 237.
Colony, establishment of, to relieve pressure on land, 53-54.
Communication, linguistic, with Purums, 5.
Contract, generally absent, 164; breach of marriage, 164.
Cooking, methods of, 81-82.
Corn-deity, Sabuhong, 193-194.
Cotton, suggestion for encouragement of cultivation of, 288.
Crops, grown by the Purums, 53.
Cultivation, abandonment of shifting hill, 13.

D

Daily life, of Purum men and women, 104-105.
Dancing, in to-lai-hong genna, 154; in thien-hong-ba-genna, 156; training in, 239; nature of, 270.
Data, time of collection of, 1; method of collection of, 2-6.
Daughters, control over and residence after death of father, 112; do not inherit property of father, 170.
Day, divisions of, among Purums, 260.
Death, due to evil spirits, 200-201; precautions connected with, in child-birth, 231-232; disposal of

dead body of women who met with, in child-birth, 231; causes of, 251; treatment of the dying, 251-252.
Delivery, see " Parturition ".
Directions, names of, 264-265.
Diseases, spirits presiding over, 230.
Distillation, method of, used by the Purums, 89-90.
Divination, 221; 223; with fowl, 41; with eggs, 41; method of, 176-177; different kinds of, 213-214; with grains of rice, 233; with bow, 234; with fowls, 234-235.
Divorce, punishment for, in case of adultery, 163; customs relating to, 248-250; causes of, 248.
Durga, worship of, 208.
Durkheim Emile, definition of religion by, 186.
Dogs, use of, 67.
Domicile, constituent parts of a Purum, 45.
Dress, for males, 97-98; for females, 98; influence of the Meitheis and foreigners on, 98-99; for children, 99.
Drinks, order observed in serving, to village-officers, 81; magico-religious and social use of, 87; two kinds of, 88; preparation of, 88-90.
Drum, nature of Purum, 267.
Dyeing, 102.

E

Ear-piercing, rites at, 233.
Earthquake, 217.
Eating, customs connected with, 79-81.
Eclipse, 218-219; believed to be caused by the devouring of the sun and moon by a black dog, 265.
Education, 238-239, scheme for tribal, 292-295.
Environment, natural and ethnic, of the Purums, 10-11.
Evidence, oral, 159; on oath, 160.
Exogamy, observed in relation to sib, 122; non-observance of, not punished, 122-123.

F

Family, constituent members of the, 111; biological nature of Purum, 112-113; relation among different members of, 114-116; a religious unit, 117.
Father, nature of authority over members of family exercised by, 114.
Fauna, of Manipur, 18-19.

Feasts, precedence in serving food in, 178; 236-237; 246; at first hair-cutting ceremony, 236; organised in the month of Sajibu, 225.
Festivals, 220-225.
Fire-making, ceremonial, 231; 232.
First-fruits, offering of, 57.
Fishing, not pursued as an occupation, 68; recent introduction of, 68; methods of, 68-71.
Fish, preparation of curry with fresh and dried, 83; consumption of uncooked dried fish, 84.
Flora, of Manipur, 18.
Food, customs connected with eating of, 79-80; articles of, during journeys, 79; entertainment of guests with, by khullakpa, 79; order observed in serving on ceremonial occasions, 80; preparation of, by men and women, 81; methods of preparation of, 83-86.
Forest-gods, Lamhel; 192-193; Lamtaiba, 193.
Fowls, method of keeping, 67-68; use of, 68.
Fruits, suggestions for cultivation of, 289.
Functional-school, aims and objects of, 281.
Funeral, preparation of the body for, 252; nature of the grave, 253; orientation of the dead body in the grave, 254.

G

Gate, worship of the deity presiding over village, 199.
Genealogical method, application of, in collecting data on social organisation, 2-3.
Ginning, type of machine used by the Purums, 100.
Gourd, shell used as vessel for liquor and water, 93
Granaries, situation of Purum, 45-46; plan and construction of, 51-52.
Guests, treatment of, 105.
Guns, rarely found among the Purums, 71.

H

Haihru, spirit of the forest, 202-203.
Hair-cutting, ceremony at first, 211; 235-237.
Hair, disposal of, after first cutting, 236.
Harpoon, description of, 72-73.
Harrow, description of, 64.
Headman, see " Khullakpa ".
Higgins, Mr J. C., Political Agent, Manipur State, 5.
Hindus, deities borrowed from the, 205-210; spread of, religion in Manipur, 205-206.

Hithangba, position and duties of, 182.
Hodson, Mr T. C., mentions system of recruitment to village offices, 7; situation of Purum village inaccurate as given by, 7 Fn. 7.
Hook, fishing with, 70.
Horns, manufacture of drinking vessels with, 87; of mithuns used as musical instruments, 267.
Hospitality, 105.
Houses, size, plan and construction of living, 46-50; division into two parts, 48; influence of the Meitheis on Purum, 49; ceremony before entering a new, 50-51; driving away of evil spirits from, 230; 232.
Household, its absence as a social unit among the Purums, 117.
Hunting, not practised as means of livelihood, 71; connected with agriculture, 71; weapons of, 71-75; disappearance of, owing to plough cultivation, 78.
Husband, relation of wife with, 114-115.

I

Imphal Turel, a river of Manipur, 17.
Imphal Valley, geographical account of, 15-16.
Incest, concept transferred from sib to subsib, 123.
Inferiority-complex, Old Kuki tribes did not suffer from, 271-272.
Informants, nature of, 4.
Inheritance, 112; daughters have no right of, 139; rules of, 166-171; youngest son preferred in, 166-168; equal division of paternal property among the sons urged recently, 168-170; daughters deprived of, 170; absence of testamentary powers, 170.
In-hingcha, 202.
Insane, persons not allowed to marry, 247-248.
Interpreters, who worked with us on different occasions, 5.
Interview-method, applied in collecting data on life-cycle, 3; steps adopted to rectify data collected by, 3.
Iril, name of a river of Manipur, 17.

J

Jhum, selection of land for, 54; supernatural sanction for, 54; period of cultivation of, 54-55; proprietory right of, 55; agricultural operations in, 55-57; ill effects of abolition of, 286-288.
Justice, administration of, 157-160.

K

Kabaw Valley, distance of, from Purum villages, 11.

Kali, worship of, 208.

Kampu, Mr, one of our interpreters who passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of Calcutta, 5.

Kangpokpi, situation of, a Manipuri village, 10.

Karma, influence of the doctrine of, on the Purums, 281. See also ' Retribution ".

Kasha-lai, name collectively applied to the ancestral spirits, 210; recruitment of, 210; worship of, 211; worship of, at first hair-cutting ceremoney, 236.

Kei-roops, tiger clubs known as, 18.

Keirungba, duties and privileges of, 181.

Khullakpa, entertains guests on visit to the village, 105; presentation of a plalanquin to, 154-155; receives complaints and decides disputes, 157-158; claims of sib monopoly of the post of, 174; feast at installation of, 177; worship of Senamahi by, 178; duties and privileges of, 179.

Khulen, situation of and view from, 16-17; its relation with other Purum villages, 40; approaches to, 42-43.

Khulpu, duties of, 223, 224.

Khuman, Mr, retired State interpreter who worked with us. 5.

Khunjahanba, duties and privileges of, 179-180.

Kom, settlements of, 11.

Krishoa, worship of, 207.

Kukis, conversion to Hinduism and Christianity, 19-20; division into Old and New, 19; number and distribution of, in Assam and Bengal, 21-24; love of freedom of the, 156-157; migration of, into Manipur, 271.

L

Lai-hingcha, 202.

Lai-yai, 202.

Laman, situation of, at Tampak, Changninglong and Khulen, 44; 224; comparison with the place of Pakhangba among the Chothes, 44; set apart at the establishment of a new village, 189.

Lamgangs, settlements of, 11.

Lamhel, consulted in dream before preparing a new jhum, 192-193.
Lamtaiba, worship of, 193; 220-221.
Land, ownership of, 164; transference of jhum, 164-165; Tampak claims individual ownership of jhum, 165-166; ownership of valley, 166.
Length, measures of, based on human body, 260-262.
Leveller, description of, 65.
Levirate, occurrence of junior and senior, 250-251.
Loans, interest realised on, 163; how realised, 163-164.
Lobster-pot, fishing with, 69.
Logtak Lake, geographical position and importance of, 16.
Loom, 102.
Luplakpa, duties and privileges of, 179.

M

Macrae, Mr J., Purums not mentioned by, 7.
Magic, Sabuhong superimposed over an ancient magical rite for increase of crops, 193-194; general absence of, 212; articles used as prophylactics in, 213; laiba at Shanghong may be treated as, 221-222; incantation at cleansing of house, 230.
Mahadev, worship of, 207.
Maipa, position and functions of, 182-183; training of, 183; 239; officiates as priest, 215-216.
Maksa, definition of, 50 Fn. 6; duties in thien-hong-ba genna, 155-156; functions at Shanghong, 222; functions at first hair-cutting, 236; functions at the disposal of a dead body, 252-254.
Manipur, geographical position and extent of, 15.
Manipuris, religion of the, 205-206.
Markets, visited by the Purums, 10; articles available in these, 11.
Marriage, exogamous rules of , 122-140; age of, 240, selection of bride, 240-241; with mother's brother's daughter preferred, 241; negotiations of, 241-243; by service, 242-243; absence of sex-relations during service period claimed, 244; punishment for refusal of, after the starting of service, 244-245; bringing of the bride, 245-247; feast at, 246; presents given to the bride by her father at, 247; residence after, 247.
Material Culture, traits of, observed by us, 2.

McCulloch, Major, W., hill tribes of Assam mentioned by, 6; account of Purums given by, 6-7.
Meals, number and time of, 81.
Meat, process of drying, 84; preparation of curry with fresh and dried, 84-85; taboos regarding, of different animals, 85-86.
Medicine-man, see " Maipa ".
Meithei, spirits of directions possibly borrowed from the, 204-205.
Meithei-lumboo, official interpreter of the village, 4-5.
Midwife, duties of a, 199.
Migration, ideas about Purum, derived from laiba at Shanghong, 221-222.
Milk, consumption of, 66; 85; suggestion for the introduction of, in the diet of the Purums, 290.
Miscarriage, customs at, 232-233.
Mithun, manner of killing and dressing, for meat, 87; sacrificed at thien-hong-ba genna, 155.
Moon, see " Sun ".
Mortar, two varieties of, 91-92.
Months, names of Purum and Meithei, 260.
Musical instruments, 266-267.
Mutilation, of the ear-lobe, 100.

N

Nagas, settlement of, 11.
Nambul Turel, a river of Manipur,17.
Names, selection of, 233-234; clan monopoly of personal, 235; ceremonies at keeping, 233-235.
Nayadis, consideration of means adopted to improve the, 282-284.
Nechak, Mr., one of our interpreters, 5.
Nets, not used by the Purums, 70.
Ningans, definition of, 50 Fn. 6; functions of, at first hair-cutting ceremony, 236.
Nong-chuk-haihru, 204.
Nongpuk-haihru, 204.
Numerals, comparative table of English, Purum, Thadou, Lushei and Meithei, 264.
Nungchungba, worship of, at house-entrance, 50-51; worship of, in connection with jhuming, 57, worshipped by khunjahanba, 180; worship of, 188-192; the two priests of, 190; sports in connection with the festival of, 191-192; festival connected with 223-225.
Nungshuk, seat of Nungchungba, 189; 223.

O

Oath, nature of, 160.

Oldest man, officiates as priest, 214-215.

Offerings, to sun and moon, 199; at the worship of water-spirit, 203; chickens let loose as, 202-203; to Mahadev, 207; to Kali, 208; of different kinds of food, 216.

Origin, story of subterranean, 108; two versions of Purum, 108-110.

Ornaments, worn by the Purums, 99.

Other world, concept of, 256-258.

Ownership, exercised by women in respect of certain objects, 115; of jhum land, 164-166; of valley land, 166.

P

Pakhanlakpa, functions of, 184.

Palel, situation of, a Manipuri village, 10.

Pamheiba, recognised Hinduism as official religion, 205-206.

Panthonglakpa, worship of, 199.

Parents, relation with children, 114.

Parturition, takes place in the living hut, 227; helped by maipi, 227; worship of sun and moon at, 228; treatment of the new-born baby, 228, 229; treatment of the parturient before and after, 229; food taboos after, 229.

Pathian, 206; different names of, among different tribes, 206-207.

Physical characters, definite and indefinite, of 60 Purums, 26-39.

Pigs, method of feeding, 66-67; use of, 67; manner of killing and dressing, for meat, 86; manner of killing at the worship of Lamtaiba, 220.

Pipas, names of, 119-120; comparison with the pibas of the Meitheis, 120-121; worship of Senamahi by, 196-197; officiate as priests, 215.

Platform, of stone raiesd on the occasion of thien-hong-ba genna, 155.

Plough, description, of, 63-64.

Plough-cultivation, aim of establishing villages near the valley, 53; leads to shortage of leisure, 78.

Poison, not used by the Purums in fishing, 71.

Polygamy, extent of, 116.

Polygyny, 247.

Pottery, not manufactured by the Purums, 90; different types of, used by the Purums, 90-91.

Prayer, as a means of worship, 217.
Pregnancy, taboos connected with, 226-227; delicacies offered by parents during, 227.
Priest, oldest man of the village working as, 50, 178; different classes of men working as, 214; functions of, 214-216; cleanses the house after disposal of dead body, 255.
Privileged familiarity, between different relatives and its cause, 153.
Puberty, absence of rites at, 237.
Punishment, types of, 160; for theft and assault, 161; for sexual offences 161-163.
Purums, attitude to the author, 4; language used in communication with, 5; previous accounts of the, 6-9; natural and ethnic environment of the, 10-12; situation of the villages of the, 42-44, 16; their number, 25; their physical characters, 25-39; described as a clan, 106; more properly a tribe, 107-108; story of origin, 108-109; loans in the religion of the, 188; elements of religion, 188; traces of Hindu influence on the life of, 272, 280; influence of modern civilisation on the, 272-273; influence of Christianity on the, 273; influence of the Meitheis on the, 274-280; suggested measures for the improvement of the, 284-295.

Q

Quiver, description of, 74.

R

Rain, 218.
Rainbow, 218.
Rangambusum, 98.
Rank, established by gennas, 154-156.
Relationship, method of collection of terms of, 141; behaviour of some terms of, 142; terms of, indicating previous social condition, 142-146; terms of, 147-152.
Religion, difficulties of collecting data on primitive, 186-188; elements of Purum, 188; loans of Purum, 188.
Residence; patrilocal, 111.
Retribution, concept of, among the Purums, 257-258; see also " Karma ".
Rice, preparation of, 82-83; quantity consumed at a meal, 83.

Rice-beer, preparation of, 88-90; see also " Zu ".
Rivers, four chief, of Manipur, 17-18.
Roads, connecting Purum villages with other parts of Manipur, 10.
Ruishang, situation of, at Khulen, Tampak and Changninglong, 44; comparison with Lai-sang of the Meitheis, 44 Fn. 3; arrangements within, 158-159; possible remnant of bachelors' house, 159.

S

Sabuhong, worship of, in connection with jhuming, 57; a corn-deity imposed over an ancient magical rite, 193-194.
Sacrifices, of animals, 216.
Saivism, prevalance of, in the valley of Manipur, 206.
Saturday, worship of Rahu on, 208.
Segregation, consideration of the policy of, of the primitive tribes, 281-282.
Selungba, duties of, 181.
Senamahi, worshipped by Purum pipas, 121; compared with the Meithei Sena Mehi, 121; worship of, at the installation of khullakpa, 178; worship of, 195; as sib-god, 196; first fruits offered to, 196-197; worship of, among the Meitheis, 198.
Shakespeare, Lt.-Col. J., account of the Purums given by, 8-9.
Shanghong, festival of, 221-223.
Shield, method of manufacture, 74-75; purchased from the Lamgangs, 75.
Shuganu, situation of, a Manipuri village, 10.
Sib, solidarity of, 105; division into five, 111; functions of the, 122-140; indications about the future abandonment of exogamy associated with, 132.
Sickle, description of, 65.
Singh, Dr. Lairen, 206.
Singing, in to-lai-hong genna, 154; in thien-hong-ba genna, 156; occasions of public, 266.
Sisters, relation with brothers, 116.
Slavery, unknown to the Purums, 113.
Sleeping, prohibited during eclipses, 265.
Small-pox, superstitious belief about the cause of, 1-2; presiding deity of, 201.
Songs, sung by the Purums, 267-269.
Sons, residence of, after marriage, 111-112.
Soppit, Mr C. A., Purums not mentioned by, 7.

Soul, comes back to home by following a string, 203; comes to the dead body, 252; concept of, 255-258.
Spears, two different kinds of, 72-73.
Spinning, description of, wheel, 101; method of, 101-102.
Spirits, worship of, connected with four directions, 204-205; held responsible for human weal and woe, 212; compelled by magic, 212; names of evil, 230; presiding over different diseases, 201-202.
Stars, worship of, 200.
Stewart, Lieut. R., Purums not mentioned by, 7.
Still-birth, 229.
Stringed-instrument, 266.
Subsibs, names of, 118; distribution of, 118-119; nature and functions of, 119; names of pipas of, 119-120; observance of exogamy in relation to, 132; supplanting sibs, 139.
Sun, worship of, at the time of parturition, 199; 228; wife of moon, 200; steals life-giving bark, 200; traces of Indonesian concept of, 280.

T

Taboos, on the flesh of different kinds of animals, 85-86; on joking between different relatives, 153; cause of, 153; on names, 154; connected with lying-in-room, 229-231.
Tampak, situation of and approaches to, 43.
Taro, cultivation of, 53.
Tattooing, not practised by the Purums, 100.
Teknonyms, use of, 154.
Thadous, settlements of, 11.
Theft, 248-249.
Thempu, oldest man working as, 214-215; functions of, 215; functions at name-giving, 233; perquisites of, at name-giving, 235; function at first hair-cutting, 236; see also " Priest ".
Thien-hong-ba, stone platforms constructed in course of, 45; Marring custom of similar type, 45, Fn. 3a; performed by wealthy villagers, 155-156.
Thoubal, a river of Manipur, 17.
Thougnaojam, situation of, a Manipuri village, 10.
Threshing, description of implement for, 65.
Thunder, 217-218.

To-lai-hong, presentation by the villagers to khullakpa or luplakpa, 154-155.
Traps, for catching wild fowls, 76-77.
Tribes, investigated by us in Manipur, 2; consciousness of unity among, 79.

U

Umbilical cord, cut with a bamboo split, 228.
Usufructuary right, of jhum land, 164.
Utensils, made of wood, 91-94; generally made by the consumers, 91; made of metal, 94.

V

Village, establishment of a new, 41-42; 59-60; situation of Purum, 42-44; jhuming right of, 53; organisation of, 157; a State by itself, 157.
Village-council, cases of divorce placed before, 249.
Village officers, among the Purums, 172-173; recruitment of, 173, 175; unpopularity of these offices, 173-174; installation feasts of, 176-178; ultimate authority of the villagers over the, 178-179; duties of different, 179-182; perform a magico-religious rite over the growing paddy, 194; function as priests, 214.

W

Waikhong, situation of, a Manipuri village, 10.
Wangbarel, 204.
War, absence of any inclination for, 71.
Water, source of supply of, 45; worship of spirit connected with, 203-204; spirit probably connected with agriculture, 204.
Weaving, 102; tabooed during solar eclipse, 265; suggestions for improvement of, 290-291.
Widows, forego remarriage out of love for their dead husbands, 115; entitled to maintenance, 171; no service required for marrying, 242; remarriage of, 250-251; absence of any taboo on food etc., on, 255.
Wife, relation with husband, 114-115.
Wild fowls, 75; traps for catching, 76.
Woman, ownership over certain objects, 115; spinning and weaving practised by, 102, 105.
Worship, means of, 216-217.

X

Y

Yeast, preparation of, by the Purums, 88-89.

Z

Zu, preparation of, 88-90; offered to spirits and deities, 217.
Zupanba. duties and privileges of, 180.